

BLACK POLITICS

1995

isation. This was especially so in the case of National Working Committee members, the secretary-general and his deputy (formerly Jacob Zuma) "who were performing tasks which allowed them to give only minimal attention to their departmental and organisational responsibilities."



Ramaphosa

That problem was worsened by "a failure to prepare a second layer of leadership," a need made more pressing since many leaders moved into government or parliament. Incredibly, there seem to have been no formal channels of communication between the ANC's Shell House headquarters and regional ANC offices.

Ramaphosa goes on to lament the lack of effective management at national and regional level (his responsibility, ultimately), saying there were too many departments that were not properly managed, too autonomous and unaccountable, and a lack of sound management practices at an everyday level, which among other things reflects a lack of appropriate training.

Another serious flaw, he says, is the lack of a functioning membership system capable of making the ANC financially self-sufficient and providing a correct profile of the membership.

Also lamented are: a failure to build a collective leadership and this often resulted in cliques, factions, tensions and squabbles; an overreliance by many regions on head office; neglect of rural areas; failure to have minorities participating in various structures in a substantial way; a failure to capitalise on the tripartite alliance; and a tendency to restrict responsibility for implementing the RDP to Minister Without Portfolio Jay Naidoo's office.

Areas in which the ANC regards itself as strong are: leadership, with President Nelson Mandela being "a tower of strength and inspiration to all" and a leadership noted for its diversity of age, experience, sex and ethnic group; a presence throughout the country; sound and principled policies; a democratic culture and strong alliances with Cosatu, the SA Communist Party and the broad democratic movement.

All this, however, needs strengthening — especially in view of local government elections scheduled for October and the 1999 general election, which the ANC expects will be fought on a constituency basis as opposed to the list system.

Though part of a national unity government, it wants to establish the "right balance between maintaining interparty Cabinet unity and ensuring clear policy formulation and implementation on the basis of the mandate" given the ANC by the overwhelming majority. ■

THE ANC FM 6/1/95
Trying to catch up (11A)

In a frank assessment of the state of the ANC at the organisation's 49th conference in Bloemfontein recently, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa spoke of its "immense weaknesses and problems" and need to address a "new range of challenges brought on by changed circumstances." In part, however, responsibility for some organisational shortcomings must surely be placed his own door.

While the shift from 82 years of resistance politics to reconstruction and nation-building (the conference theme), requires "real renewal and innovation," it must at the same time be built on the liberation traditions and mass constituency of the ANC, said Ramaphosa. The ANC must take on the main responsibility for mobilising mass participation in these transformation programmes.

Though strong and capable leaders were elected at the previous conference, they did not always provide decisive leadership at crucial moments."

The absence of a code of conduct for ANC members "made it difficult to exercise maximum discipline within our structures," and leaders often failed to take appropriate action against wrongdoers, which contributed to a "general mood of ill-discipline in various areas at various times."

There has been an overconcentration of responsibilities on some national leaders, who have been involved in too many functions to the detriment of the organ-

Yengeni recalls his 'torturer'

11A

ARLT 14/1/95



GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
Weekend Argus Reporter

ANC national executive committee member Tony Yengeni claims to have gruesome memories of indemnified policeman Jeffrey Benzien pulling black bags over his head during torture sessions.

Warrant Officer Benzien — one of the 3 500 policemen granted indemnity before the April election — was also involved in the death of ANC guerilla Ashley Kriel, 20, who was shot in the back during his arrest in Cape Town in 1987.

Mr Yengeni claimed Warrant Officer Benzien had taken him "to the verge of death many times" with his torture sessions that often continued through the night.

"I still have serious nightmares about Benzien. I don't know how I would react if I saw him in the street," he said. Warrant Officer Benzien was

■ One of the 3 500 policemen granted indemnity prior to the April election was Cape officer Jeffrey Benzien, who had a notorious reputation among anti-apartheid activists.

accused of torturing suspects in the Yengeni terrorism trial in 1989 while in the terrorism detection unit but denied in the Supreme Court that he had seen injuries on Mr Yengeni's face.

During the inquest into the death of Mr Kriel, the magistrate found that the young man was accidentally killed by Mr Benzien "in the course of his duties" and that no unlawful act had been committed.

Mr Kriel's mother, Ivy, of Bonteheuwel, responded with bitterness to the magistrate's finding but Warrant Officer Benzien's police career appeared unaffected.

Mr Yengeni said, when he had seen newspaper reports about the police indemnities, his first thoughts had turned to Warrant Officer Benzien and

his instincts had told him that he would be one of those policemen on the list.

"The idea that they were granted indemnity on the eve of the elections, without the ANC or other parties being informed, is completely unacceptable. Jeffrey Benzien must stand trial for the crimes he has perpetuated against our people. He must stand trial for the cold-blooded murder of Ashley Kriel," he said.

Mr Yengeni said that he would urge Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar to not recognise the validity of the indemnities.

Warrant Officer Benzien, who was promoted in 1992 to station commander of Stanford, a village near Hermanus, has since been moved to another post and could not be reached for comment.



ANC member Lucky Zwane stands at the graveside of the Sasol three who were buried as paupers in Piet Retief.

PIC: SELLO

Heroes found in paupers' graves

By Sharon Chetty

■ SILENT ANC Who buried three

MK cadres in obscure graveyard?:

THREE MK CADRES who were involved in the 1985 bombing of the Sasol synfuel plant were buried as paupers under false names in Piet Retief in the Eastern Transvaal.

Barney Molokoane, Vica Khayiyana and a third person, known only as Sbephu, were killed in a police roadblock after attacking the synfuel plant in Secunda.

They were on their way to the Swazi border on November 28 1985 when they died in a shootout with police.

The three had been part of a team of six. After the attack, they split into two groups and were heading for the Swaziland border near Piet Retief when the shootout with the police occurred.

After their bodies had been disposed of by police nothing more was heard of them.

Although the ANC has known about the graves since 1993, their existence was not made public. *Sowetan* found out about them this week.

The "Sasol three" were based outside the country and infiltrated for the mission.

According to Mrs Violet Khayiyana, the widow of Vica Khayiyana, no trace of her husband could be found when she returned from exile in 1992.

She found that the Molokoane family were in the same position. She has not had contact with Sbephu's relatives.

The first clue to their whereabouts surfaced in September 1993 when ANC people in the Eastern Transvaal region were told by a municipal worker that the three cadres were buried in Piet Retief's Thandakukhanya township.

According to ANC regional official Vusi Sibiyi, the military headquarters

in Shell House checked the information and accepted it as correct.

No explanation was obtained for the pauper's burial, said Sibiyi.

They were told that plots 1069, 1070 and 1071 in the township cemetery contained the bodies of the three.

The names used to register the plots are: Mxwayiseni Nhlengethwa, Benjamin Dlamini and Mandla Fakude — possible pseudonyms under which the three operated.

The police in Piet Retief have denied knowledge of the graves of the Sasol three.

Came to light

The information came to light on the eve of a visit to the area by President Nelson Mandela who, during his tour in 1993, paid respects to the dead soldiers at their graveside.

But since then nothing has been done and the graves are unkempt and overgrown.

Yesterday an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier, who served in the camps in the Frontline States during the 1980s, described the three as part of an "elite" — they were a small group of highly trained soldiers responsible for special operations only.

"As well trained fighters, their missions were strategic.

"They reported directly to the president (then Mr Oliver Tambo)," he said.

"Barney Molokoane was legendary in the camps. Like Chris Hani and Solomon Mahlangu, we would sing songs about him.

"If he lived, he would have been made chief of staff — that is how well respected he was," the soldier said.

The three were part of the contingent that left the country in 1976 and 1977 and had proved themselves in battle several times.

Attacks on the Koeberg nuclear power station and the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria were some of the missions they were credited with.

When it came to weapons use and procurement, the three would have had carte blanche — they were able to and did use everything, from small handguns to anti-aircraft missiles, said the soldier.

Hundreds of MK cadres who "disappeared" without trace while in the guerrilla army are still not accounted for, MK sources confirmed this weekend.

At least two committees were set up by the ANC national executive committee to look into the matter.

In many instances there was little or no contact with relatives within the country while cadres were in camps abroad.

One committee dealt with tracing relatives of those who died in exile while the other has tried to trace those who were kidnapped and killed by the police and army.

Committee members could not be reached at the weekend for comment.

Eastern Transvaal police said they had had difficulty in getting information from the former security branch in the area and could not comment on the graves. ● See page 10.

23/1/95 (1/1)

KwaZulu/Natal school year starts smoothly for most pupils

DURBAN — The school year started smoothly for 5,2-million pupils in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday with officials reporting only minor enrolment disruptions at some of the province's 5 000 schools.

However, SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) officials said the situation was not as rosy as officials had claimed. Spokesman Nhlanhla Ngubane told leaders of the five education departments on a schools tour yesterday that inadequate consultation with unions and communities had caused enrolment confusion.

Acting education chief Bill Staude was told two new schools in Vryheid and one in Utrecht were without teachers.

At Durban's Carrington Heights, hundreds of pupils were bussed in and demanded a defunct primary school be reopened to accommodate them. They were joined by children from an adjacent squatter camp. (2) 25/11/95 BD
Natal Education Department head Ar-

thur Olmesdahl said 16 000 blacks had been admitted last year to the more than 200 formerly white schools — largely Model C schools — in the province, and he expected it to reach 25 000 this year.

KwaZulu Education Department secretary Sidney Shabalala said transport, teacher shortages and overcrowding would emerge as a major problem for black pupils trying to find better schools.

Sadtu claimed some credit for the absence of major enrolment problems, saying teachers were determining which schools had places available.

Enrolment is expected to continue until February 6.

□ About 500 prospective pupils from KwaThema, Duduza and Tsakane on the East Rand yesterday disrupted New Eureka High School at Geduld in Springs, demanding enrolment.

The formerly whites-only school has several empty classrooms but too few teachers and authorities say they can admit only 280 pupils. — Sapa.

ANC, Sanco meet to resolve differences

THE ANC and the SA National Civic Organisation have begun discussions aimed at easing tensions which have arisen over formulae for nominations to interim local government structures.

Sanco general secretary Penrose Ntonti said yesterday the organisation met an ANC delegation — led by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — on Friday for the first round of talks. (1A) BD 25/11/95

The organisations are expected to meet again this evening. Deliberations at today's meeting are likely to form the basis for discussions at a meeting of the entire mass democratic movement planned for Saturday. The movement includes church and educational organisations such as the SA

WILSON ZWANE

Council of Churches and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee.

The tensions between the ANC and Sanco stemmed from a perception among some Sanco regions that the ANC was bent on "running roughshod" over them when it came to representation on interim municipal structures.

Sanco does not intend to contest the October elections but it is believed that the organisation seeks guarantees from the ANC that it will not be sidelined from local government. Sanco members taking part in interim municipalities are doing so as ANC representatives.

AZAPO turns a polite but chilly face to outsiders

Star 28/1/95 (11A)

Not everyone's invited



THE Azanian People's Organisation has kept quiet since it decided to opt out of the national election last year. But things might change and more could be heard from it. AZAPO secretary-general Jairus Kgokong spoke to MAUREEN ISAACSON.

IT'S not much fun at this party. It's incredibly hot in the reception area and nobody is offering us anything to drink. Someone gives the man next to us a fruit juice, then swigs one down himself. You have to twist the guy's arm in knots to get him to let you use the phone. At last he breaks down and saves me from trekking to the pay phone somewhere else in the Dobsonville Kopanong community centre where AZAPO has their offices.

But it's not as if they exactly begged us to come. AZAPO secretary-general Jairus Kgokong thought long and hard before he consented to this meeting.

And now that we're here, it ain't quite open house. And it's not because of the scorching thing either. He makes it plain that the principles of his organisation have blow all to do with colour, as such. And the word "colours" comes up only once this afternoon.

But just because these guys claim "anti-racism" and "anti-sectarian" (as opposed to "non-racialism") and "non-sectarian" (terms Kgokong calls "amorphous"), does not mean I can take it easy.

RIGHT from the start, it is all defences up. It's us (the media) and them (Kgokong and AZAPO's treasurer for the Witwatersrand Central Region, Jeff Selshiro).

It's the tape recorder and eyes that watch across the room table to see that my spelling is correct.

The organisation's philosophy, says Kgokong, shares much with those of American black consciousness leaders Malcolm X, the "Rev Rap" Brown and James Cone. But it does not stop there.

It is born out of concrete conditions experienced by people in the country. At the inception, the definition of black is not to do with pigment.

"Being black does not mean anti-white. We have worked closely with white organisations like Beyers Naudé's Christian Institute, the Institute of Race Relations and several others."

"In the South African context, those discriminated against are Africans, people of mixed descent and Asiatics. Constitutionally, those outside cannot join the organisation."

"And besides which," he says, "if you read our manifesto you would not want to join."

There is no copy of the manifesto forthcoming, nor will be pinpoint exactly what it is that will change a Caucasian's desire to climb on board this extra-parliamentary organisation.

But to any white who has such a desire, Kgokong has one question to ask: "How would you go about addressing the problem of racism and deprivation?"

These are the problems he believes "politically conscious whites" have to address within their own communities.

"You give yourselves superiority over black people. You go further and use colour to explain people economically. Racism should be criminalised. I'm a victim of that kind of thing..."

On the problem of deprivation, Kgokong says: "We are addressing the problem of land-grabbing, the primary source of destruction in our country today." The black people, he says, did not receive the 13 percent of the land the architects of apartheid intended for them.



COOL RECEPTION: AZAPO secretary-general Jairus Kgokong thought long and hard before consenting to be interviewed guarded, when the time finally came. It wasn't open house and right from the start defences were up

THIS is going to be addressed," he says this with a certainty that is shadowed by the secrecy that blurs many of the issues that are raised in this room today.

Kgokong says he does not know how many people there are in his organisation. He just says there are "many".

The campaign by AZAPO's youth wing, the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), to remove white teachers from schools in black areas is justified because the white teachers are exploiting the system for financial gain. They get travel allowances into the townships and those who live in townships do not get allowances to travel outside to work, he says.

"The point of AZASM is that there are a lot of black teachers roaming our townships. And they do not only teach the vernacular and biblical studies as (Education Minister Sibesiso) Dengu said."

For more information on this he refers us to the president of AZASM. We don't get much more out of Kgokong about plans to contest the forthcoming local elections other than "we may..." and "we will see with the passage of time".

Being black does not mean anti-white... those discriminated against are Africans, people of mixed descent and Asiatics. Constitutionally, those outside cannot join the organisation.

About the Azanian Liberation Army (AZANLA), the military wing of AZAPO, he is equally vague. "We don't think it will be a good idea to take up arms against this Government. Suffice to say, AZANLA has not been disbanded."

As time passes it becomes clear that beneath the tense exterior beats a heart that has been fashioned by a series of events too painful to articulate.

While we are allowed to be privy to the potted version of Kgokong's life, we will get no closer to the pain that has shaped his ideas and attitudes.

The oldest of six, son of a taxi business owner and a housewife, early on in life Kgokong experienced his

first uprooting in Sophiatown to Dul. After matriculation of a law degree a by involvement with organisation and the Detentions and habeas have left 3 hosts of laughter.

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Shaw 28/1/95 (11A)
ZOH



AZAPO secretary-general Jairus Kgokong thought long and hard before consenting to be interviewed but was forthcoming, although he finally came. It wasn't open house and right from the start defences were up.

PHOTOGRAPH: MYKEL NICOLAJU

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The oldest of six, son of a taxi business owner and a housewife, early on in life Kgokong experienced his

first uprooting when his family were removed from Sophiatown to Dube.

After matriculating at Orlando High, the beginnings of a law degree at Turfloop University were disrupted by involvement with the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Consciousness 14 91.

Detentions and 12 years' exile in Botswana and Zimbabwe have left him bitter. He's a bachelor. Eligible? Hoos of laughter. "At my age?"

Fun? "There's no time for that." Think, Jairus, think. Oh yes, he digs music, "Our kind of music, mbaqanga. And jazz. The greats . . . Miles (Davis) is good, so is (Dizzy) Gillespie." He likes the message of reggae.

Top of his reading list are African writers Gabriel Okara and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. And African American writer Alex Haley and white writer Frederick Forsyth. ("Writing is writing, you can learn a lot about them, they have ideas.") And Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare, George Bernard Shaw . . .

We have bought an AZAPO calendar for R2. Under the slogan "Black solidarity for a socialist Azania" are 10 photographs of members of the national executive committee. Three photographs are missing. They will be on the calendar next year, he says. No, says Kgokong, AZAPO is not stuck in the 1970s. Definitely, we will be hearing from them sometime.

Past Island inmates stir up memories

(11A) Sowetaw
2/2/95

By Mokgadi Pela

WHEN hundreds of former Robben Island prisoners meet next month, sweet and bitter memories will fill their minds.

If the trip was not going to evoke horrendous memories, we could call it a pilgrimage.

But some might say it is, for it is at this island that black heroes such as Makana drowned while trying to escape. Because many prisoners believed that his soul lingered around the island, it has become a holy place.

Former inmates will meet over four days from February 9 to 12 when they attend the Robben Island Reunion and Consultative Conference.

The event has been put together by Peace Visions of Cape Town.

It will be a happy reunion of former comrades of the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan Africanist Congress.

They will recall horrors akin to those depicted by former inmate Dan Mdluli, alias Zwelonke, in his book *Robben Island*.

Briefly, this book depicts the situation on the Island. It depicts its loneliness, humour, horror and its value as a centre of knowledge where some of the world's most respected politicians have been imprisoned.

The list is endless ranging from president Nelson Mandela, PAC founder Mangaliso Sobukwe to BCM founder Dr Nchaube Mokoape.

Along with Mandela's celebrated autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Mdluli's book is a treasure.



Dan Mdluli ... his book is an eye-opener for future generations on the infamous prison.

“Many prisoners believed the soul of hero Makana, who drowned trying to escape, lingers around the Island making it a holy place”

NEWS FEATURE *SACP intends to follow its own agenda in the future*

SACP focus to bolster democracy

211A
SOWETAN
8/2/95

■ OWN ROUTE *We're putting into place the building blocks for socialism:*

By Tyrone August

WHEN Joe Slovo and Chris Hani were buried, they took with them two of the South African Communist Party's most vibrant and creative minds.



Chris Hani

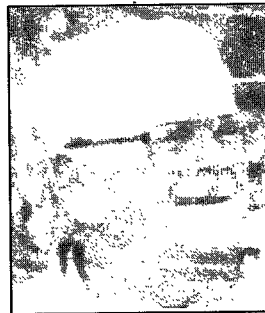
But, although frankly acknowledging the magnitude of these losses, the SACP remains confident of its role in building the democracy slowly unfolding in South Africa.

"We were affected by their deaths," admits general secretary Charles Nqakula, "because you can never find people to replace to the letter these types of leaders."

"But the party has continued to survive." He points to the earlier loss of distinguished leaders like JB Marks, Moses Kotane and Moses Mabhida as proof of the SACP's resilience.

"Each one of them brought a particular style into our leadership, and while we miss their incisive contributions and clear thinking, we were able to move forward," says Nqakula.

"Those leaders were working in collectives all the time and empowering everybody in those collectives. We are continuing to survive and work as this cohesive leadership collective."



Joe Slovo

Communist Party

In fact, against the trend in other parts of the world, South Africa's communist party continues to grow. By the end of last year, its membership stood at over 60 000.

"Although affected by the situation in the socialist world, the SACP continued to grow when other communist parties were collapsing," says Nqakula.

He attributes this to the political maturity of local workers: "The working class continues to struggle for better working conditions and is the vanguard of our membership."

This was already noticeable at its congress in 1991 — most delegates were from the working class. "The SACP has quite a clear case," says Nqakula.

"And this case has to do with the fact that the capitalists continue to do what they have been doing for years — exploiting working people."

He blames the high number of unemployed (he estimates their number conservatively at around eight million) on capitalism. "Those people will want to join

the party," he says.

"They understand it is the kind of political home they need to affiliate to in order to ensure capitalism is defeated. It is only when capitalism is defeated that unemployment will end."

But, even though there are capitalists in the ranks of the ANC, Nqakula does not anticipate an end to the SACP's alliance with the organisation in the foreseeable future.

"The ANC is a big church; which is multi-class," he says. "There are captains of industry who are members of the ANC, as well as working people who are exploited by those captains of industry."

"But there is not going to be conflict between the ANC and the party, because there is a programme of action which was defined when the ANC-SACP alliance was forged."



SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula ... optimistic about the future.

He does not deny that differences will arise between them from time to time. However, he feels these will not be fundamental and will be resolved through discussion.

Fledgling democracy

For the moment, he stresses, the priority is to build the fledgling democracy: "The emphasis is on strengthening the forces of democracy to ensure it is properly defended."

"And no-one can determine how long that will take. In the Soviet Union, the revolution triumphed in 1917, but it was only in 1935 that comrades could plan the way forward."

He argues that South Africa is now in this first stage, but predicts the SACP will eventually go its own way: "We are gradually putting into place the building blocks for socialism."

"The socialism we are building is a communist state in which class oppression and domination will be abolished, where we will build a society based on abundance."

"And that abundance will become the property of all the people of our country, on a basis of equal sharing and equal rights. And that is not the programme of the ANC."

Against the trend in other parts of the world, South Africa's communist party continues to grow

But, it is clear, the communism which the SACP advocates will differ a lot from that outlined in conventional theory. "We no longer engage in debates about nationalisation," says Nqakula.

"We look instead at the realities of the situation. Some institutions we can place under the command and control of our people, like the activities of municipalities."

"And others we will be happy to place in the hands of individuals to run as private enterprises. The operative word is creative; we must be

creative."

Nqakula is very optimistic about the future. "Socialism as a concept has not collapsed," he says. "Internationally, there was a collapse of socialist administrations — not socialism."

But this does not mean the SACP was not affected by the changes in Central and Eastern Europe. It suffered a major cutback in financial aid.

It now relies largely on subscriptions from its members, and these are obviously far from affluent (in fact, 58 percent of the working class delegates at its 1991 congress were unemployed).

As a result, the SACP is unable to service its branches regularly, leading to the collapse of many. Yet the SACP remains loyal to its vision of a new world.

To some, these ideals are naive and romantic (at best). To others, they are a sinister threat (at worst). And then there are those for whom the SACP is the only hope of a better future.

The SACP is determined to live up to the expectations of this group. It will use its congress in April as another opportunity to plan its way forward.

Until then, judgment will be reserved.

ANC on 'sound financial footing' after settling debts of R70m

CAPETOWN — The ANC had cleared debts totaling R70m in a few months, putting the party back on a sound financial footing, ANC senator Jackson Mthembu said yesterday.

"The ANC no longer owes anybody money," Mthembu said. "We finally settled all our debts last month."

The ANC disclosed at its national conference in December that it had accrued debts of about R70m, mainly due to the cost of its April election campaign.

The party's treasury department also reported at the time that sources of

DAVID GREYBE

finance have dried up since the election.

Mthembu said the impressive turnaround in the state of ANC finances was made possible by a "very active" international and local fundraising campaign, delivery of earlier fundraising pledges, notably from the US, the sale of ANC property in foreign countries, and the drastic restructuring of the ANC's operations since the general election.

He cautioned, however, that the ANC still had a substantial amount of fundraising to do for the local government elections scheduled for October.

The party is expected to finalise its local election budget this weekend.

"No party can ever say it is well off," Mthembu said. "But one could say we are now on a sound financial footing."

The ANC had sold "assets" in Canada, Bonn and Sweden. It was in the process of selling property it owned in Britain, the US and Zambia.

However, ANC property in Botswana and Mozambique was proving more difficult to sell because it had been made virtually worthless "after it was bombed by (NP leader F.W.) de Klerk's party" in the pre-transition period.

The ANC was in the process of drawing up an "asset register" for publication.

Mthembu was reluctant to confirm that President Nelson Mandela had taken the opportunity during his recent visit to India to raise funds for the ANC. "It is possible Mandela could have done that."

He was not prepared to divulge details of money raised from companies and individuals in SA, except to say it was "very helpful" to the ANC.

Savings had been achieved through cutting the ANC's pre-election national staff contingent from around 1 500 to 300.

He said there were plans to reduce the contingent even further to about 250.

The ANC had sold about 20% of its fleet of 700 vehicles.

Mthembu said the ANC had not yet made up its mind on whether to sell or lease its 21-storey Shell House head office in Johannesburg. **6D/10/21/95**
The ANC occupies only four floors, and three have been sublet.

Tambo quits ANC women's league post

STAFF REPORTER

ADELAIDE Tambo has resigned as treasurer-general of the ANC Women's League in protest at the formation of a joint tourism venture between actor Omar Sharif and the women's league.

Tambo told *Weekend Star* that the venture was launched behind her back. The launch, attended by Sharif and

league president Winnie Mandela, Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture, was held at a Johannesburg hotel on Thursday night.

The profits from the venture are to be shared between Sharif and the league on an equal basis.

Tambo said she was not consulted on the formation of the venture.

"I decided that if I am the treasurer-general my colleagues should have informed me about the steps they were taking to raise funds for the organisation.

"If you are a treasurer, financial matters cannot be discussed in your exclusion, so on that basis I decided to step down.

"I don't know anything about this Road to Freedom. All I can say is that was published in the paper," said a disappointed Tambo.

Asked whether she had discussed the matter with Winnie Mandela, Tambo

(1/19) Star 11/2/45

Tambo quits

said: "There was no need to talk about it and there is nothing to talk about. I don't see any need to discuss it with anyone."

Sharif has already invested more than \$1 million (R3,55 million) in the venture.

Asked to describe her relationship with Mandela, Tambo said: "We have come a long way. She is not a political colleague, but she is like my daughter."

But she said her relationship with the deputy minister would not be affected "because this is an organisational matter and not a personal one. All I can say is good luck to the Road to Freedom".

Her resignation comes

into effect today.

Tambo is a member of Parliament and a member of the ANC's national executive committee. She is also involved in community work in Tamboville in Benoni.

The Road to Freedom tour will take foreign tourists to traditional attractions as well as President Nelson Mandela's birthplace in Transkei, the Fort in Johannesburg and Bishop Trevor Huddleston's church in old Sophiatown.

Proceeds from the venture are to be used by the women's league to help women combat poverty and disease.

The first tour is scheduled for April this year.

Women's League thrown into crisis as 11 quit executive

TAMBO LEA BIG WALK

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC's Women's League was thrown into a deep crisis following the resignation of 11 members of its national executive committee yesterday.

Among those who resigned were treasurer-general Adelaide Tambo, secretary-general Nosizwe Maphisa-Nqakula and Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma.

The resignation of the 11 followed a marathon eight-hour meeting of the NEC in Johannesburg which included regional representatives from the organisation's nine out of 10 regions. This was in a bid to try and resolve what one delegate described as "the crisis facing the ANC and the Women's League". The meeting was also attended by ANC deputy president Thabo Mbeki who said there was nothing unusual about his presence. Mbeki was called in to try and broker peace between the two warring groups but apparently failed.

The emergency meeting was sparked by Tambo's dramatic resignation on Friday over the setting up of a business venture between the Women's League and film star Omar Sharif - a deal brokered by Winnie Mandela, without Tambo's knowledge.

Tambo was reported as saying the venture had been launched behind her back.

Mandela did not attend the NEC meeting because she allegedly said it was not "procedurally convened". She was said to be at a Contralesa meeting in nearby offices.

Problems

Maphisa-Nqakula said differences with Mandela over the Robben Island business venture was not the only reason that led to their resignations. She said there were several other factors. According to Tambo these had been brewing over several months.

"During the first six months of Mandela's leadership everything was amicable and went well. However in the last two to three months problems started emerging," said Tambo.

As a result of these resignations, ANC president Nelson Mandela will be meeting the NEC today. It is not known whether Winnie Mandela will attend the meeting. The eleven members all pledged "unwavering and solid support and dedication to the leadership of the ANC and the movement as a whole". They also declared their continued membership of the Women's League.

The Women's League is split down the middle with one faction headed by Winnie Mandela. Another faction is led by Adelaide Tambo.

Among those reportedly aligned with Mandela are Women's League deputy president Thandi Modise, national organiser Ntombi Shepe, both of whom did not attend the meeting.

Those who resigned are: Tambo, Maphisa-Nqakula, Baleka Mbete-Gositsile, Nomvula Mokonyane, Lindwe Zulu, Kedibone Gumbi, Nomatyalo Hangana, Ruth Mompoti, Zuma, Hilda Ndude, Mazizi Myakaka-Manzini.

Five years of freedom ...



Triumphant reunion on island

By WALLY MBELE

FOR thousands of former Robben Island prisoners, it was a triumphant second coming - a poignant reunion. They celebrated February 11 1990 when Nelson Mandela was released from jail. They first landed on the island as captives with leg irons around their feet, to make sure they did not escape.

But on Friday, they returned as free men and descended upon the island - for a reunion - as kings and queens wearing various crowns bestowed upon them by the struggle.

Some came back as Cabinet Ministers, others as Parliamentarians, while others as Councillors and others more as defence force chiefs ... esteemed

professionals in their various fields.

Most were ordinary men and women whose sentences had ranged from 18 months to life.

Those long spells in Robben Island indeed took their toll on others.

There were those who were carried in wheelchairs, others got support from walking sticks and there were

those who could no longer see properly.

However, the Robben Island graduates arrived with a common objective: to share past experiences, solidarity and discuss the future of the island.

Once they disembarked from the boat, they emotionally embraced and kissed each other.

Notable figures included President Mandela,

n into crisis as 11 quit executive

(11A)

30 LEADS WALKOUT

ep 12/2/95

years of freedom ...



SHOSHOLOZA ...
Former Robben Island veterans lift their picks in unison as they relive their imprisonment. **INSET: President Mandela on the island ...** BY PETER MCKEN

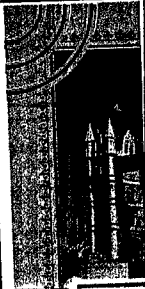
Triumphant reunion on island

FILE
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Notable figures included President Mandela,

Namibian leader and now a Cabinet Minister Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, PAC's Clarence Makwehu ...
As Mandela walked to break the lime quarry, the spirit and atmosphere of Robben Island was re-lived.
A silver plague was also unveiled. Former MP Helen Suzman made a surprise visit to the island.



Mandela

ANC women quit league in protest

ST 12/2/95

(11A)

By RAY HARTLEY and JACOB DLAMINI

ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela is facing her strongest challenge since the Stompe Seipei kidnapping saga, with 11 senior members resigning from the organisation in protest at her "undemocratic behaviour".

Among the 10 women who yesterday joined Adelaide Tambo, wife of former ANC president Oliver Tambo, in resigning from the league's executive, were:

- Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, one of three women cabinet ministers;
- Baleka Kgosisile, one of Mrs Mandela's most outspoken critics;
- Women's League spokesman Lindiwe Zulu;
- Veteran activist Ruth Mompoti; and
- MP Mavivi Mansini.

The Women's League wields decisive influence within the ANC, playing a vital role in the organisation's choice of leaders and its general policy direction.

Mrs Tambo said the resignations were linked to Mrs Mandela's decision to go ahead with a joint tourist venture — Road to Freedom Tours — with actor Omar Sharif, in defiance of a league decision to put the project on ice.

The joint venture has been set up to encourage African-American tourists to visit South African "sites of struggle", including President Nelson Mandela's birthplace and his prison cell on Robben Island.

Mrs Zulu said yesterday that the 11, along with representatives of nine of the league's 14 regions, called for an emergency consultative conference of the league. She added that they expected to be addressed

on the crisis wracking the league by President Mandela today.

The rebels went ahead with a scheduled executive meeting yesterday in defiance of a letter from Mrs Mandela cancelling the gathering.

Asked if the consultative conference would call for Mrs Mandela's resignation, Mrs Kgosisile said: "Maybe a change in her style of work would be a better solution."

In a statement following an eight-hour meeting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in Johannesburg's Devonshire Hotel, Mrs Zulu said the consultative conference would discuss behaviour by Mrs Mandela and her supporters which amounted to:

- Undemocratic deci-

- sion-making practices;
- Lack of transparency and accountability; and
- Inability to "unite women".

While the renegade members were meeting yesterday, Mrs Mandela was hosting a get-together of members of the traditional leaders' organisation, Contralesa, in her offices in an adjoining building.

The league has been plagued by serious splits since Mrs Mandela was elected president in 1993. Of the 13 NEC members who did not attend yesterday's meeting, five have been made trustees of the new joint venture — including Thandi Modise, the first ANC women guerrilla to be imprisoned.

- See picture Page 2



(2011A)

League splits on racial lines

(11A)
CT 13/2/95

By RONALD MORRIS

THE ANC Youth League in the Western Cape split along racial lines at its annual general meeting on Saturday.

The 31 disaffected youth leaders from Mitchells Plain, the Northern Suburbs, the Southern Cape, Macassar, Paarl and the West Coast said their action was not racist but politically motivated.

About 90 delegates attended the AGM and the walkout occurred while former national president Mr Peter Mokaba was present. The breakaway youth leaders have formed a new youth group, the Community Youth Movement, an interim name.

Areas which remain in the congress are Khayelitsha, Township (Guguletu, Nyanga, Langa) Bojand, Saldanha, Mamre, Strand and Atlantis.

In an interview last night spokesman Mr James Kruger, from Macassar, said youth leaders from the six areas "felt like strangers and exiles in the ANC Youth League."

"We were treated poorly and did not feel at home at the AGM," Mr Kruger said.

Northern Suburbs youth delegates were made to feel guilty about not having had a R20 registration fee for unlaunched branches. They were not even informed about it previously, he said.

He claimed the AGM was poorly organised. The result was that in some areas communities were not represented and people were not properly informed about arrangements for the congress.

"The youth leaders representing these communities felt strongly that the 20 interim branches, which did not have the required 100

members, deserved full voting rights so that the coloured voice could be reflected.

"It was not always possible to recruit 100 members for a branch," Mr Kruger said.

"Our view that the coloured voice should be heard was not considered and the discussion about our voting status was postponed. It seemed as if ANC Youth League leaders did not care for youth in rural and coloured communities."

Mr Kruger said they remained members of the ANC and would like to have a national youth movement outside the ANC Youth League.

S.A.'s National Seven-a-S



Winfield's
Seven-

Mandelas set for clash

President Nelson Mandela leaves a Braamfontein Johannesburg hotel where he yesterday intervened in a dispute between members of the ANC Women's League and his estranged wife Mrs Winnie Mandela.

A glittering Winnie in the glare of the light, is seen at the top left of the picture of the Women's Freedom League last Thursday — the issue that led to the latest furore.



BIG SHOWDOWN

NO BACKDOWN ANC Women's League

members stand firm over protest against

Winnie and their resignations:

By Mzimela Ngulile

Sowetan 12/2/95 (11A)

THE POLITICAL rift between President Nelson Mandela and his estranged wife Winnie deepened yesterday when the President emerged without a word from a meeting in Braamfontein, Johannesburg with members of the ANC Women's League.

"The ANC Women's League is in control (of the situation)," was all that Mandela said after meeting 11 members of the league who had resigned from the league's national executive committee in protest against Mrs Mandela's alleged undemocratic behaviour.

The 11 have vowed not to rescind their resignations until the issue is resolved.

Mrs Mandela was reportedly at a meeting of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa when the league met President Mandela.

The President is believed to have been angered by Mrs Mandela's latest actions and wants her to toe the line or face the ANC's censure.

Resolve the issue

Addressing the Press after the four-hour meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Mrs Nosiwe Npisa-Ngakula, one of the league's NEC members, said President Mandela had promised to resolve the issue.

Mpisa-Ngakula followed ANCWL treasurer Mrs Adelaide Tambo in resigning in protest against Mrs Mandela's alleged "undemocratic behaviour."

She said the leader would meet senior ANC officials this week and later refer the matter to a national executive conference.

The other nine ANCWL members who resigned are Health Minister Mkosazana Zuma, veteran activist Mrs Ruth Mompoti, Mrs Balaka

Kgoitsile (an outspoken critic of Mrs Mandela), the league's spokesperson Ms Lindiwe Zulu, MP Ms Mavivi Muzadini, Ms Nomatyalo Hangana, Ms Nonvula Mckoyane, Ms Hilda Ndude and Ms Kedibone Gumbi.

Ngakula said the resignations were sparked by Mrs Mandela's decision to go ahead with the Road to Freedom Tours, a joint tourist venture with international actor Omar Sharif, in defiance of the league's decision to put it on hold.

Given an ultimatum

The resignations were announced on Saturday, a day after Mrs Mandela was given an ultimatum by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki-in behalf of President Mandela.

The ultimatum demanded that Mrs Mandela should either retract her criticisms of the Government or resign, or be fired.

Speaking at the funeral service for Warrant Officer Jabulani Xaba in Orlando East the previous Saturday, Mrs Mandela reportedly challenged the ANC — as the majority party in Government — to demonstrate its consistency whether "we are in power or just in government".

'Use official position'

She was also recently embroiled in allegations that she used her official position to advance the interests of Sinunye, the new entertainment company of her daughter, Zinzi Mandela-Hlongwane.

She has also featured in what appeared to be a leadership tussle in the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

However, Contralasa president Chief Potholelo Holomisa has dismissed the controversy surrounding her election as the organisation's national treasurer as "having no basis".

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President enters Women's League row but resignations stand

LEADERS of the ANC Women's League yesterday emerged from talks with President Nelson Mandela insisting they would not return to their posts unless the ANC intervened in their dispute with Women's League president Winnie Mandela.

Eleven members of the league's national executive, led by treasurer-general Adelaide Tambo, resigned at the weekend in protest at Winnie Mandela's leadership. They included Health Minister Mkosazana Zuma and league secretary-general Westvive Mhisa-Ngekula.

"Our resignations stand... we have not-

MARK ASMUND and

ADRIAN RADLAND

ed the dissatisfaction and amount of hurt experienced by President Nelson Mandela (who) has indicated he could intervene. We have placed our confidence in the President. We remain loyal ANC members and activists," said Mhisa-Ngekula. But President Mandela told journalists: "This matter is entirely in the hands of the Women's League. They are in firm control."

Mhisa-Ngekula said Mandela would consider the resignations presented to him. We accept that he has the right not to accept them.

The four-hour meeting at a Johannesburg

hury hotel followed fruitless attempts by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to resolve the crisis on Saturday. Winnie Mandela did not attend either meeting.

A source said discontent over Winnie Mandela's failure to consult Tambo before entering into a tourism project this week was "only the culmination of problems that have been building up for a long time". The Women's League row comes on the heels of other tensions within the ANC over

the Deputy Arts and Culture Minister's public criticism of government policy.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's due to report to Mandela this week after talking to Winnie Mandela about comments she made which are reported to have upset her estranged husband. **BD 13/2/95**

Her controversial comments came at an Orlando, Soweto, funeral last week, where she accused government of failing to address apartheid imbalances and of indulgence in reconciliation. **SA 13/2/95**

Mandela's spokesman Joel Ntshangane

said yesterday: "The President is unhappy about the statements made at Orlando on many issues pertaining to government. The time has come to act with firmness." There was "no link between the events at Orlando and the Women's League".

A special committee to thrash out the issue with Winnie Mandela was formed last week after the President called a crisis meeting of ANC Ministers, deputy Ministers and senior officials at the Union Buildings. Some senior party members at the meeting called for her to be reprimanded or fired for her actions.

Winnie in R500 000 tucks

25/1
 21/11/2/95
 114

THE row surrounding Mrs Winnie Mandela grew last night with claims that a R500 000 cheque given to her, as ANC Women's League president, by Pakistan Prime Minister Mr Benazir Bhutto at a league function soon after President Nelson Mandela's inauguration last year was not given to the league.

The claim came as Mrs Mandela backed down yesterday from her accusation that the government was paying more aides than she was paying whites in the anti-apartheid struggle. She said she had not been her intention to embarrass the government, but to inform it of the government's expenditure on former league executive members and now members of Parliament, Ms Baleka Kgosibide, treasurer-general, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, was told the cheque

was for other projects.

A spokesman for Mrs Mandela said the money was not intended for the league but "specifically for upliftment projects in disadvantaged communities".

Mrs Mandela said yesterday the R500 000 presented to her by the government of Pakistan was not intended for the league but for upliftment projects in disadvantaged communities. She said she had been her intention to inform the government of the government's expenditure on former league executive members and now members of Parliament, Ms Baleka Kgosibide, treasurer-general, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, was told the cheque

ments around Johannesburg. Mrs Tambo has since resigned from her post, a move which precipitated the resignation of the other national executive committee members of the ANC Women's League.

Mrs Mandela said she had resigned over dissatisfaction with the ANC's financial affairs and lack of control over the league's financial affairs. Responding to President Mandela's demand that she retract her statement of resignation, Mrs Mandela said yesterday: "I have always been an honest and forthright member of the ANC. I have tried to be equally faithful to the government, and I mean to remain so."

She made the statement in a letter to Mr Mandela, Mr Mandela has read the letter, but has not indicated whether her public backdown was far enough.

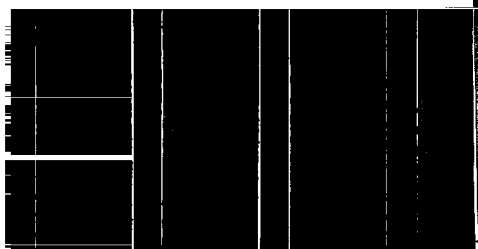
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which was released publicly, she wanted to clarify her motives and intentions when she criticised the new government for paying more attention to appeasing whites than aiding blacks.

"First and foremost I must make it abundantly clear that it was not my intention to insult the President or to embarrass the government. I was merely trying to assure the masses that the government and the ANC are aware of and concerned about the ways that the government must still deal with the impression of the public that we neither know nor care about that person. I was trying to say that that person, if in doing that was not my intention."



APOLGY ... Mrs Winnie Mandela writes a letter of apology.



Winnie embroiled in row over donation (11A) ~~253~~

CAPE TOWN — Two ANC Women's League leaders who resigned at the weekend yesterday accused Arts and Culture Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela of not handing over a R500 000 donation to the league from Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

The accusation came on the day that Mandela struggled to hold on to her portfolio by defending comments she made which were critical of government. She also clarified the whereabouts of the donation in a statement late last night.

Mandela yesterday sent a letter to President Nelson Mandela but failed to apologise or retract her comments which

TIM COHEN

reportedly accused government of failing to address apartheid imbalances. She said her intention was not to embarrass government or insult the President.

A presidential spokesman said last night the matter was not closed and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would discuss the letter with her today.

Two of the 11 ANC Women's League executive members who resigned at the weekend, MP Baleka Kgosisitile and Gauteng MP Lindiwe Zulu, said a R500 000 cheque given to league president Winnie Mandela by Bhutto had not been handed

over to the league.

Winnie Mandela's office said the Pakistani ambassador had told her that a sum of \$100 000 had been allocated for her to use at her discretion in developing underdeveloped SA communities. On her advice, the cheque was issued to the account of CAPP, a development project active in informal settlements around Johannesburg. "These details can be confirmed with the Pakistani embassy," she said.

Sapa reports that Kgosisitile said the cheque was handed over at a league function soon after the presidential inauguration last year.

□ To Page 2

Winnie (11A) ~~253~~

Zulu said league treasurer Adelaide Tambo was told that the money was being used for housing projects, which was "puzzling" because nobody was aware of such projects. But in any event Mandela should have informed the organisation which would not necessarily have objected if the money was going to a good cause.

A spokesman for Mandela said the money was not intended for the league but was "specifically given for upliftment projects in disadvantaged communities".

Responding to an ultimatum that she retract comments that the ANC-led government had betrayed blacks, or resign, Mandela said: "I was merely trying to assure the masses that government and the ANC are aware of and concerned about the flaws that government must still deal with.

"The impression of the people is that we neither care nor know about these things. I was trying to correct that perception. If in doing so I created a different impression, that was not my intention.

"I have always been an honest and forthright member of the ANC. I have tried to

be equally faithful to the government, and I mean to remain so."

Mandela is reported to have said at Warrant Officer Jabulani Xaba's funeral that President Mandela's "overindulgence" in reconciliation was "a weakness".

Mandela's spokesman declined to comment on the resignation of the 11 league executive members as no official notification had been received. The 11 have demanded that a consultative conference be held to resolve problems in the organisation and to draw up a plan of action.

Replacements for the 11 members — about half of the directly elected members of the executive — would have to be elected at the conference, although it is understood that Mandela's position will not be contested.

The controversy was sparked by Mandela's decision to involve the league in Road to Freedom Tours in defiance of a league decision not to proceed with the project. Members also complained of her generally "undemocratic behaviour".

● Comment: Page 18

BD 14/245 □ From Page 1

Winnie in R500 000 ruckus

CT 14 2195

THE row surrounding Mrs Winnie Mandela grew last night as she claims to her as ANC Women's League president, by President P.W. Botha's spokesman, that she had not given to the league in 1985.

She said it had not been her intention to embarrass the league or her fellow members and new members of Parliament, Ms Bulela Kgosane, who said she had not given the cheque to the league.

A spokesman for Mrs Mandela said the money was perfectly for the league's projects in disadvantaged communities, yesterday the league was told to use the money at her discretion and had to be used to the league's projects for informal settlements.

The money was given to Mrs Mandela for the development of women in South Africa, Mrs Mandela's cabinet offices said it has been issued to the league on the account of CAPF, a development project, active in urban development programmes in the informal settlements around Johannesburg.

She said she had not given the cheque to the league, but that she had given it to the ANC Women's League, which she said was equally faithful to the government and to the league.

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APOLGY .. Mrs Winnie Mandela writes a letter of apology.

She said she had not given the cheque to the league, but that she had given it to the ANC Women's League, which she said was equally faithful to the government and to the league.

ANC and civics heal their rift

(11A) BD 14/12/95

THE ANC and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) have agreed to work "more closely than before" to ease tensions threatening to wreck their relationship.

The tensions arose last year when some Sanco regions alleged the ANC was bent on monopolising seats on transitional local government structures.

Sanco national general secretary Penrose Ntonti said yesterday it was clear "all the tensions" were caused by insufficient communication between the ANC and Sanco and the inability of the two organisations to ensure resolutions filtered down to their grassroot supporters.

The two organisations convened a special workshop in Johannesburg last week at which they resolved that communication lines should be strengthened.

Ntonti said the national secretariats of

WILSON ZWANE

the ANC and Sanco would meet "more often" to ensure the workshop resolutions adopted were "properly implemented".

The resolutions at the recent meeting included:

- The establishment of mechanisms to speed up voter registration for the October local government elections;
- The finding of "common interpretation" of chiefs' role in development and reconstruction; and
- The establishment of a task team to prepare a framework for the organisations' approach to KwaZulu/Natal.

Ntonti said KwaZulu/Natal merited special attention because of its peculiarities, which included the chiefs' threat to boycott the local government elections.

Mandela demands an audit by ANC of Women's League

activities

CASEY KOHN — Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Winnie Mandela gave the \$100,000 donated by Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto for upliftment projects to an organisation which she heads.

In response to questions posed by former members of the ANC Women's League, Mandela said she presented the money to the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programmes (Capr).

According to papers presented in court recently, Mandela is Capr CEO.

Capr directors listed on the organisation's letterhead include businessmen, Abo Nkomo, Gijson Thula and Khehla Mkhomo, former Daveyton councillor

Tom Boyer, and former anti-apartheid campaigners Aubrey Mokoena and Moss Chikane. Approached to clarify Capr's activities, Nkomo would not comment.

Mkhomo said the board had met several times at Capr's office in Johannesburg, which it shared with Contralasa.

Thula said he was not aware that he was on the Capr board of directors. "This comes as a surprise to me."

At Capr's office, a Contralasa official said, the organisation had vacated the office without leaving a forwarding address, although it periodically came to collect correspondence.

Mandela hit back at her accusers in the

TIM COHEN
12/15/2195

she was involved in financial impropriety. According to Mandela, she demanded that the leadership of the ANC launch a full and transparent audit of the activities of the league, starting in 1990.

"And I demand that the leadership of the ANC publish their findings in full. I have nothing to hide."

The tone of her statement contrasted sharply with an apology she submitted to President Nelson Mandela shortly before the midnight deadline on Monday night concerning comments she made about the government of national unity.

The letter was the second she submitted, and to discredit the league by suggesting

who gave her, until midnight to apologise for comments she made at the funeral of police officer Jabulani Xaba.

In the first letter she said her intention was not to embarrass the government of national unity, but in the second she apologised and accepted the censure which the speech occasioned. Mandela committed herself to the concept and practice of collective responsibility of the Cabinet and said she was prepared to serve the government loyally.

The President accepted her apology.

At the funeral she told mourners that government had failed to redress racial imbalances in the workplace.

led correspondence.

Mandela hit back at her accusers in the

Group says it got Pakistani donor cheque from Winnie

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The organisation to which the Pakistani government pledged a donation last year has confirmed it received a cheque that was given to Winnie Mandela by the Pakistani High Commission.

Sydney Gata, a director of the Co-Ordinated Anti-Poverty Project (CAPP), said yesterday he was not sure what projects the money was used for, but it was the only big donation the organisation ever received.

Winnie Mandela was chief executive of CAPP last year and remains a custodian and founder member, but Mr Gata said she was no longer involved in the day-to-day running of the organisation.

CAPP was involved in upliftment programmes in "zero-income" groups, particularly in squatter camps, he said. **ART 162195**

Pakistani High Commissioner An-eesuddin Ahmed said a cheque of \$100 000 (about R360 000) was made out to CAPP and handed to Mrs Mandela last year.

This followed a meeting between Mrs Mandela and Pakistani Prime

Minister Benazir Bhutto, at Mrs Mandela's Soweto home on May 11 1994, the day after President Mandela's inauguration.

Mrs Bhutto had pledged the donation to Mrs Mandela for any organisation with which Mrs Mandela was involved. **(114)**

Members of the ANC Women's League charged that the money went missing and was in fact intended for their cause. The organisation lost 11 executive members last week amid controversy over the whereabouts of the money.

But a source in the league said it was the launch of the Road to Freedom tourism project which precipitated the 11 resignations rather than the money question.

The joint multimillion rand project was launched by Mrs Mandela and actor Omar Sharif at a glittering function in Johannesburg last week.

The league source said the project was unanimously rejected when Sharif proposed it in October last year but was later allegedly signed in secrecy by Mrs Mandela and four other league members.

● See page 23

ANCYL crisis to be probed

Sowetan 16/2/95 (119)

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

THE Western Cape ANC Youth League yesterday appointed four officials to investigate grievances of 16 disgruntled coloured leaders who quit the movement at the weekend.

Addressing a Press conference in Cape Town on Tuesday, ANCYL officials also dismissed the walkout from the organisation's AGM as the work "of people with a hidden agenda". The organisation said in a statement it was committed to nonracialism and did not judge people by their skin colour.

The rumpus within ANCYL flared up when coloured leaders charged that the movement treated them poorly and denied them voting powers.

They threatened to form a splinter

organisation but said they would remain ANC members.

ANCYL regional secretary Mr Themba Sikhutshwa said there was no racial conflict within the movement, and added it was merely a constitutional problem.

The disenchanted group had wanted their branches, which had less than 50 members, to be given full voting powers. Sikhutshwa said this could not be allowed as it was against the league's constitution.

"We have constitutional channels to deal with problems of any nature. It is therefore surprising to find that our comrades are forming a so-called community movement," said Sikhutshwa.

Four officials appointed to investigate the matter include Mr Andrew Dipela from the league's national office. Sikhutshwa said the ANCYL would present a report to the ANC about the incident.

Crucial women's league meeting We received Winnie's cheque from Bhutto.

■ BY MONDILIMAHANVA POLITICAL REPORTER

A crucial weekend summit of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) and the leadership of the ANC Women's League will decide whether an independent audit of the league's finances was necessary, the organisation said yesterday.

Responding to a challenge from ANCWL president Winnie Mandela this week to the ANC to launch investigations into the finances of the league, Eastern Transvaal senator and ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said a decision would be made at the weekend meeting.

Mthembu said although there was an eagerness within the ANC to see the matter resolved, it would be preferable if the request for an audit had come from the entire ANCWL leadership. Meanwhile, ANCWL sources

told The Star yesterday that a statement by the Pakistani high commission that the R360 000 donation by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was not meant for the league had dented the issue.

The sources said the weekend summit, called by President Mandela, would focus on the crisis brought about by the resignation of the league's 11 NEC members, among them former treasurer-General Adelaide Tumbo.

Adamant

The 11 said the sources would call for stern disciplinary measures to be taken against Mrs Mandela for acting "in an undemocratic manner". They are adamant they will not return to the league until this is done.

"Nothing will be decided or done until that meeting," said Mthembu. It is understood the remaining

NEC members will hold their own meeting prior to the summit.

■ The crowning of the arts, culture, science and technology deputy minister as "Queen of All African People" has been put on hold after the president's office failed to grant her permission to travel to the US this weekend.

The Star understands Mandela applied two weeks ago for permission to travel to the US, and all she has received in response was an acknowledgement of receipt from Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office. She has now cancelled the trip.

Her spokesman Allan Reynolds denied that the purpose of the visit was for her to be crowned.

She was, he said, scheduled to meet Assistant Secretary of State George Moose and cultural organisations, and to address a conference of New York State legislators.

■ BY BRONWYN LITTLETON

The organisation to which the Pakistan government pledged a donation last year has confirmed it received a cheque that was given to Winnie Mandela by the Pakistan high commission.

Dr Sydney Gaia, a director of the Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Project (CAPP), told The Star yesterday that he was not sure what projects the money was used for, but said it was the only big donation the organisation had ever received.

Winnie Mandela was the chief executive of CAPP last year and remains a custodian and founder member, but Gaia said she was no longer involved in the day-to-day running of the organisation.

Gaia said CAPP was involved in upliftment programmes in "zero-income" groups, particularly in squatter camps.

Pakistani high commissioner Anesuddin Ahmed said that a cheque for \$100 000 (about R360 000) had been made out to CAPP and handed to Mandela last year.

Mandela later went to the high commission in Pretoria and collected the cheque, CAPP had been made out to CAPP on her instructions, Ahmed said.

Members of the ANC Women's League had charged that the money went missing and was in fact intended for their cause.

When The Star visited CAPP's Braamfontein office this week, it was bedecked in posters of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contrales), of which Mandela is an executive member. CAPP came under the spotlight recently amid claims that Mandela was using it as a power base for a Contrales faction favourable to her. Mandela denied the allegations.

How will the ANC deal with its dissidents?

WM 17-23/2/95 (11A)

Gaye Davis

HARD questions will be asked at next weekend's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) in the wake of repeated scandals shaking the movement and the crisis wracking its Women's League.

The concern goes beyond the impact on the ANC's image within South Africa and abroad. "It goes to the heart of the problems the ANC is experiencing internally," an NEC source said.

Individuals' access to discretionary funds — such as the R350 000 cheque Winnie Mandela received from Pakistan — was a major worry. "This discretionary money is being used to play all sorts of factional games within the ANC," another NEC source said. "It is a recipe for factionalism, career-building and patronage.

It undermines the Women's League, and resulting weaknesses are then exploited. The same goes for the Youth League. These organisations end up being used as platforms for personal careers and not for the good of the organisation. It is clear now that large amounts of funds have been involved."

Another NEC source said: "There will be hard talking — we must meet these issues head on. There is concern that if we keep these people within the organisation we could be faced with a split some years down the line."

In a meeting on Monday between President Nelson Mandela and ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, it was decided to set up a standing disciplinary committee to investigate ANC members' misconduct. In the past ANC disciplinary committees have operated on an ad hoc basis.

It is unclear whether all ANC MPs have signed the code of conduct drawn up by constitutional affairs expert Kader Asmal, which demands disclosure of income and all gifts worth more than R200. But ANC members are asking why it took so long for the code to be finalised. A register is available to officials and members of the NEC.



Nelson Mandela: Set up disciplinary committee

It is understood President Nelson Mandela has received a report on an investigation into former Youth League member Peter Mokaba's National Tourism Foundation (NTF), which recently closed amid a welter of allegations about misused funds. Mokaba, chairman of the parliamentary select committee on tourism, earned a salary of around R250 000 a year from the NTF.

The ANC has always tended to keep dissidents within the fold, and has survived complex challenges during its years in exile by doing so. But members are asking whether the political cost is not too great.

"These scandals keep on breaking. It's a bit like *déjà vu* for people within the ANC who have been unhappy with people like Boesak since the 1980s — disreputable characters on whom we rather mechanically lean, expecting them to win constituencies they never deliver," a source said.

At the heart of the ANC's difficulties lies the 1993 assassination of South African Communist Party

leader Chris Hani, and the lack of effective, accountable leaders to take his place in articulating the concerns of the country's most marginalised, and potentially disruptive, sectors — the youth and the homeless. This gap, an NEC source said, had been exploited demagogically.

But, said an ANC MP: "The issue is not black and white. People like Winnie Mandela are under pressure to articulate concerns of that section of the community and it's important they're articulated within the ANC and not outside it.

"Ejecting people like Winnie could mean they take a significant, volatile portion of society with them," the source said. "The question is the extent to which it is important to keep those seen to be speaking on behalf of the most marginalised so as to keep them within the ANC, despite the political cost.

"This has to be weighed against the cost to the peace process if they went elsewhere and became less restrained." It was important to recognise the role they had played in keeping "potentially unstable parts of the community within the fold".

Others argue there are precedents in the ANC for clipping the wings of those whose conduct threatens the health of the organisation. "Not by throwing them out of the organisation but by firing some shots across their bows. This could involve removing them from their positions. Some lines have to be drawn," a source said.

Some ANC members are growing weary of renegade members being dealt with within the movement and then returning to haunt them. "North-West Premier Popo Molefe acted decisively when he axed (former agriculture MEC) Rocky Malebane-Metsing. Then he was undermined somewhere along the line and Metsing came back on board. The problem hasn't gone away — now we hear about the R14-million AgriBank loan."

There is also concern at the leadership's apparent passivity in dealing decisively and effectively with errant members.

Passivity on the part of the ANC hierarchy, while understood in terms of the delicacy required to deal with a party which, in the words of one ANC MP, is "virtually a multi-party democracy in itself", is also seen as enabling opposition parties to dance gleefully on the high ground.

Mandela himself is perceived to be tied down by his own morality: his intimation that Boesak might be found another government post if acquitted of criminal charges arising from his Foundation for Peace and Justice debacle sent shivers down the spine of ANC members who have long been troubled by his presence in the movement.

An NEC source said: "It would be worse if the truth didn't come out, because people could be manipulated by worse forces."

Dealing effectively with those who bring the organisation into disrepute puts the ANC on the horns of a dilemma — but deal with them it must.

ANC Youth split not racial

CT 17/2/95
THE breakaway of several branches of the ANC Youth League did not mean there was a split in the ANC itself, said Western Cape ANC leader the Rev Chris Nissen yesterday.

People should also not see the breakaway as racist, he said.

Describing the split as "insignificant", he said the group that broke away on Saturday did so because of various disagreements and not because of racial tension. — Sapa (iif)

Women's League problems remain

JOHANNESBURG. — A weekend crisis meeting between ANC leadership, including President Nelson Mandela, and senior members of the ANC Women's League national executive committee has failed to resolve the problems besetting the league.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting had been "very constructive" and all concerned had agreed on the need for a process to resolve the prob-

lems besetting the Women's League.

The meeting had, however, "simply run out of time" as a number of those attending had other engagements to keep. He said the meeting had "adjourned" and would continue soon on a date yet to be set.

Further constructive discussions would take place when the meeting resumed and those present were confident solutions would be found.

Mr Ramaphosa said

Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela was absent because of prior commitments, as were a number of other senior ANC officials.

The Road to Freedom, the tourism venture involving film star Omar Sharif and Mrs Mandela which was cited by the 11 who resigned as the last in a series of incidents that had led to their decision to quit, had not been discussed, said Mr Ramaphosa.

He said it would not be

proper at this stage to discuss issues that had been raised, but there were clear problems in the Women's League. The resignation of the 11 was "a problem in itself".

On her arrival at the venue one of those who resigned, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, described the mood (of the meeting) as "exuberant".

She denied a split in the Women's League, saying: "We are having discussions, how can you call it a split." — Sapa

Talks set to resume on another date

League crisis still unsolved

The top structure of the ANC, including President Mandela, and senior ANC Women's League national executive committee members, met in Johannesburg on Saturday night without resolving the crisis caused by the resignation of 11 ANCWL NEC members last weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting had "adjourned" and would continue soon on a date yet to be set.

Ramaphosa said ANCWL president Winnie Mandela — as was the case with a number of other senior ANC officials — was absent because of prior commitments.

He said the meeting had been very constructive and a number of views were exchanged.

All concerned had agreed on the need for a process to

LEADERS meet ANC Women's League in effort to iron out the organisation's differences, but they run out of time

resolve the problems besetting the women's league.

Those present were confident that solutions would be found.

Ramaphosa said the meeting had "simply run out of time".

A number of those attending, many of whom had been at an ANC workshop during the day, had other engagements to keep.

The meeting started at about 7 pm and ended shortly after 9 pm.

The Road to Freedom, the

Star 20/2/93 (11A)
tourism venture involving film star Omar Sharif and Mrs Mandela, and mentioned by a spokesman for the 11 who resigned as the last in a long series of incidents that had led to their decision to quit because of ANCWL involvement, had not been discussed, said Ramaphosa.

"We should be given a chance to address matters that have given rise to the problems," he said.

"The meeting was not inconclusive — we simply did not have time to address everything that needed to be discussed."

Some of the trustees of the venture had also been present at the meeting.

Ramaphosa indicated it would not be proper at that stage to deal with issues which had been raised.

But there were clear prob-

lems in the women's league, he added. The resignation of the 11 was "a problem in itself".

A whole range of issues needed to be discussed, Ramaphosa said.

The meeting was reported to have been called by President Mandela.

'Heal rift'

Last Sunday Mandela met the 14 members of the ANCWL's NEC in Johannesburg.

A spokesman said after the meeting that the 11 resignations stood, but that Mandela, who said he was "hurt and dissatisfied", would try to "heal the rift".

Those who resigned alleged that the ANCWL had undermined leadership. — Sapa.

Winnie okays resignations

Political Correspondent

ANC Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela announced yesterday the organisation would accept the resignations of 11 members who quit last week.

Mrs Mandela also said the Road to Freedom tourism venture with actor Omar Shariff

would go ahead.

She accused the press of reporting her incorrectly.

The venture was cited as a reason for the resignations.

The organisation's respected treasurer Mrs Adelaide Tambo was one of those who resigned.

Mrs Mandela an-

CT 21/2/95
nounced that the league's financial affairs would be subjected to an independent public audit. She was concerned about attempted fraud.

A cheque of R500 000 had to be stopped by the bank because it was suspected one of the signatures had been forged.

The government was

(11A)
not probing the activities of Mrs Mandela because there was "nothing to investigate", Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

He was questioned at a press conference about reports and allegations of financial impropriety and abuse by the Deputy Minister for Arts and Culture.

ANC

FM 24/2/95

(119)

Beyond negotiation

The sleazy soap opera starring former Bophuthatswana coup leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing and North West Premier Popo Molefe exposes more than ANC infighting. It is yet another sign of deep malaise in SA's majority party.

Malebane-Metsing's claim that Molefe was plotting to kill him seems far-fetched (Molefe called it "preposterous"). But the fact is that an ANC member has charged a provincial premier — a prominent ANC figure — with attempted murder.

It is politically akin to a series of other issues that have rocked the party in recent months: corruption claims surrounding various ANC luminaries; the breakaway of 11 top ANC Women's League members in protest at Winnie Mandela's leadership; and the ousting of Free State Premier Patrick Lekota as ANC's provincial leader, to name a few.

The North-West problems stem from old differences between the old Bophuthatswana hierarchy, where Malebane-Metsing draws most support, and the labour-dominated industrial and mining heartlands to the south-east, which favour Molefe — although he was not their first choice. They originally chose SACP official Essop Pahad, who later withdrew.



Molefe



Malebane-Metsing

The ANC's central leadership does not trust Malebane-Metsing, so it will not support his bid for the premiership. The solution, according to ANC strategists, is to draw Malebane-Metsing back into the Molefe government, entice his supporters to transfer allegiance to the party instead of the man, then discredit and discard him at a suitable time.

Molefe, meanwhile, is losing what little popularity he had in Mmabatho because of what locals regard as his playboy lifestyle. Is there an opposition party which can take advantage of this remarkable disarray? ■

Women's League rebels get a lashing from the regions

(11A) WM 24/2-2/3/95

Weekly Mail Reporters

MOST of the 14 regions of the ANC's Women's League have condemned the recent decision of 11 members of the league's National Executive Committee (NEC) to resign their posts without proper consultation.

The league's Northern Natal secretary, Nokwethemba Biyela, said 12 of the 14 regions had "stood up" at the NEC meeting last Saturday to say they fully support Winnie Mandela because it seems those 11 don't care about the regions'.

Of 10 regions randomly canvassed by the *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, representatives of six condemned the manner in which the resignations were carried out. They are Natal Midlands, Northern Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Eastern Transvaal and North-West.

Eastern Cape chair Dipuo Kondile said she was "very much disappointed" that the resignations were not submitted through the "correct channels. We, the regions and the branches, elected them to the NEC. They needed to consult us."

Western Cape secretary Nosipho Ntwanambi said that despite the resignations, the league was "functioning very well. The regions and branches make up the league — not 11 individuals. The league will be there with or without them."

Transkei and Northern Transvaal declined to comment, saying the crisis was not a matter to be debated in the media. Southern Natal said it had not yet received an official account of the issue and had not adopted a formal position.

Only Gauteng resolutely defended the action, with representative Nomvula Nkonyana — a member of the dissident group — arguing that the resignations were submitted at an NEC meeting and were within the parameters of the league's constitution.

Although many of the regions refrained from taking sides in the dispute, several were adamant in their support of Mandela and some hinted that the dissidents had seized on the clash between the deputy arts, culture, science and technology minister and her estranged husband, President Nel-

son Mandela, over her public criticism of the government of national unity.

"If they saw that Winnie had a lot of problems, you cannot bring more problems if you love that person... you must come and sit down and discuss it with her," said Natal Midlands chair Happy Blose.

Biyela blamed the resignations on the unwillingness of the 11 to attend a consultative conference planned for March where the treasurer's and secretary's reports would be demanded by members. There were allegations that NEC member Thandi Modise's signature had been forged on a R500 000 cheque, Biyela added.

Treasurer-general Adelaide Tambo led the walkout of the 11 women about two weeks ago. She could not be reached for comment this week. A spokesman for the rebel group, Lindiwe Zulu, declined to comment.

Ntwanambi said the women cited as a reason for their resignations, had been endorsed by the NEC last October. In terms of the venture, profits would be shared equally between Sharif and the league.

The venture would see Sharif enticing African-American tourists to visit South Africa's historic liberation sites, Ntwanambi said

the venture would also include projects to provide skills and employment to South African women.

North-West chair Olive Khobe said while her regional executive committee has still not met to discuss the dispute, she has received many calls from members who were backing Mandela. "She's a crowd-puller. People on the ground are saying just leave her alone and those who resigned took the wrong direction."

Eastern Transvaal treasurer Candith Mashego said while she understood the frustrations of the rebels, they needed to call a full leadership summit to tender their resignations. "We are very bitter about what is happening because we are worried about local government elections, especially in our weaker provinces like kwaZulu/Natal and the Western Cape. We will suffer in the elections and they are just having personal squabbles at head office."



**Adelaide Tambo:
Led the walkout**

Ideological spat on future of archives

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

Former anti-apartheid organisations are locked in a dispute over the future of archives meant to store their documents.

The archives at the University of Fort Hare's Centre for Cultural Studies was established in 1992 by the ANC, Azapo, the PAC and the New Unity Movement. But the ANC has subsequently transferred its materials from the archives, citing alleged mismanagement.

An ideological wrangle is now in progress, with the other parties accusing the ANC of renegeing on the agreement.

According to the agreement, which the presidents of the three organisations signed in 1992, all their archives would be bequeathed to the centre.

The fear now is that foreign funding for the archives will dry up and this will sound the death knell for what could have been one of South Africa's most precious historical collections.

"If the ruling party pulls out, it will say to the donors that the project is not working," said PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

President Mandela has appointed his special adviser and ANC MP Ahmed Kathrada to investigate the matter.

SAW 24/2/95

NEWS National Party victory in Cape local government elections looks likely

W Cape ANC faces challenge

1114 Sowetan 27/2/95

LOCAL POLL

Policies to be sold to coloured people:

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

AS long as the African National Congress in the Western Cape fails to make effective inroads into the coloured areas, the movement's desire to win local municipal elections in October will remain a pipedream.

After its embarrassing mauling in the April elections, it is expected the movement should know the key — no matter how colour blind it is — is to successfully sell its policies to coloureds, who are in the majority in the region.

It also has to accept that its principal political rival is the National Party, an organisation that is a master of race politics. This does not mean that the ANC should degenerate to the level of the NP in using racial mud-slinging, but the reality is that it should ensure that its policies are attractive to all, especially coloureds.

After all, the National Party derives its supporters mainly from the coloured working class — the same social class that the ANC is supposedly providing for.

The ANC, according to its own assessment, has more sound policies than the NP, which it accuses of many ills, including hang-ups with its apartheid past.

But surprisingly, the movement is still shell-shocked from the April election defeat — and does not appear to have any contingency plans to counter the NP juggernaut that is still quiet. Judging from its performance last year, you could say it's calm before the storm. In fact, the NP has its fair share of artillery to shoot down the ANC — the Dr Allan Boesak scam and allegations against Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Peter Mokaba.

Hearts and minds

Above all, the NP, being veterans of many elections, knows very well that the truth has got nothing to do with winning the heart and minds of voters.

On the other hand, the ANC is virtually limping in many regions, as it lost the cream of its leaders to Parliament. And the gap between the new MPs and the grassroots further widened when, the former, except Mr. Tony Yengeni, left the townships, in droves to live in posh formerly white suburbs.

Because of commitments in Parliament, MPs do not have sufficient time to devote their attention to the movement — consequently the ANC's branches are ailing.

Last September the ANC elected the Reverend Chris Nissen, who was then a member of the provincial legislature, in a bid to offset the leadership crisis. It also replaced several regional MPs.

But Nissen now has his hands full because last year he took over Boesak's post of Economic Affairs minister. The former cleric had to leave the post because he had eyes on a Geneva ambassadorial post.



Winnie Mandela



Peter Mokaba



Allan Boesak



HERNIS KRIEL

This takeover was preceded by a bitter ANC feud, which saw Nissen threatening to "quit the movement if not given the post". Hardly, a good advertisement for a united and strong movement.

Regional leadership

The ANC also brought activists from the grassroots into the regional leadership to bolster itself, but the new strategy does not seem to have invigorated the movement. To make matters worse, the recent rumblings of disgruntled ANC Youth League coloured leaders, who accused the movement of discriminating against them, does not augur well for its chances — irrespective of whether their complaints are justified or not.

Ironically, its predecessor, the United Democratic Front, was very popular across the board with disenfranchised people in the region. In fact, the regime's intense no-nonsense approach did not allow any room for petty differences among black groups.

Such evidence was there for all to see. To name a few incidents, there was the infamous Trojan Horse incident in which three youths were shot dead by police hiding in crates on a railway truck, tearing of peaceful Cape Flats school children's marches and the gatecrashing into a mosque by baton-wielding riot police.

During such trying times, the UDF, with the now-fallen Allan Boesak at the regional helm, thrived as it tackled bread and butter issues with highly-

visible campaigns. However, in the face of this popularity the "system" changed its plans — and cracked a divide-and-rule whip among the oppressed.

But the UDF's power-base within the coloured communities was undercut by the reforms brought on by the tricameral system.

The structure was dubbed a puppet of the Botha regime and was treated with political disdain, but it managed to uplift the standards of living of many coloureds. Education, which was always the ANC-aligned's favourite ground to organise support, received huge sums from the tricameral masters.

Coloured housing also improved. On the other hand, the conditions of Africans, who were complete spectators in the political football game, worsened.

This twin strategy of mixing reforms for the coloureds while using an iron rule for the Africans did wonders for the regime. And inevitably, the beneficiaries could see that after all the "white masters were not that bad".

Another significant move that contributed to the widening of the gap between coloureds and Africans was the demise of the UDF.

After the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the democratic movement resolved to disband the UDF on the grounds that it had "completed its task". But between the lines, it was clear that the popular UDF was dissolved to avoid a three-pronged

bun-fight for positions among comrades from the ex-islanders, exjles and UDF activists, who had been holding the movement's torch internally.

This left room for the ANC to enter the local politics scene. This entry may have been smooth sailing in other areas, but in the Western Cape it sowed the seeds of the sour fruits the ANC reaped in the elections.

Unlike the UDF, the ANC with its reputation of being non-racial, failed to set up grassroots structures which had widespread impact in the Western Cape. Nor did it manage to woo support for the movement as the UDF had done. Suddenly, the struggle became "Africanised". The first elected leadership in the Western Cape was mainly from the African townships and it did very little to draw support from the other areas.

Putting out fires

It spent a lot of time trying to put out fires in Crossroads, a constituency of Jeffrey Nongwe, one of its chief leaders. And it was also involved in mediating in the long-running township taxi conflicts that claimed many lives, including that of popular leader Michael Mapongwana.

Mitigating factors were that, after its unbanning in 1990, the ANC was nationally committed to the long-drawn out taxing negotiations with an obstinate regime. Its supporters in these major bases were deeply embroiled in violent bloody clashes with the Inkatha

Freedom Party.

But these commitments were largely seen as neglect by many coloured areas and reinforced their belief that the movement, just as the National Party had said, was for Africans only.

In January — two months before the crucial elections — the occupation of houses reserved for coloureds by a group of Africans reinforced these views.

The NP exploited the situation and promised to protect the coloureds from a discriminatory ANC onslaught. The NP drove home its point by introducing a racist comic book that further widened the gap between coloureds and Africans.

It also cleverly used former NP head FW de Klerk, who was widely seen as a saviour by the coloured community, to the extent that the regional premier candidate HERNIS KRIEL was kept in the background.

Positive factors on the ANC's side are that the sky did not cave when the black government took over from the NP, nor was there any anti-coloured victimisation. In fact, the constitution guaranteed everyone rights.

The ANC should be able to explain that affirmative action is not reverse discrimination and that it does not favour Africans only. The action is necessary to correct the imbalances inherited from the apartheid past.

But, the ANC's currently easy going style points to yet another National Party victory in the Western Cape.

ANC censures Holomisa

(11A) *sqwetan*
28/2/95

By **Vuyo Bavuma**
Political Reporter

THE ANC's national executive committee censured Deputy Environment Minister Bantu Holomisa for going against President Nelson Mandela in public.

It also urged the disciplinary committee to deal urgently with the "intenable" situation between Rocky Malebane-Metsing and premier Popo Molefe.

This emerged from the ANC's spokesman Mr Jackson Mthembu as calls intensified that the movement take action against errant members.

Mthembu said the NEC did not discuss the "merits and demerits" of the corruption in the Transkei, but if there was any evidence, it should be given to the disciplinary committee.

Winnie's defiance

Regarding the latest controversy surrounding Mrs Winnie Mandela, who allegedly defied President Nelson Mandela and flew to West Africa, Mthembu said the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture and Science would face the ANC's disciplinary committee.

"Winnie has defied the President of the country by not making herself available for certain meetings — and that needs to be tackled at governmental level.

"She has also defied the president of the ANC and that has to be another angle."

The ANC was anxious to solve the crisis within the ANC Women's League as soon as possible because it affects the smooth running of the entire movement.

Referring to the ongoing saga between Malebane-Metsing and Molefe, Mthembu said the NEC decided to rescind its decision that the former agriculture MEC be made a special adviser to the North-West government.

Assassination

Recently Malebane-Metsing alleged that Molefe had plotted to assassinate him.

Regarding Mr Peter Mokaba, Mthembu said the former ANC Youth League president, who is embroiled in a controversy about the misuse of the National Tourism Forum, wrote a letter to the movement, exonerating himself.

At the moment there was no investigation into Mokaba but the ANC would welcome it if anyone, including the Press, brought any evidence to the disciplinary committee.

Mthembu said it was possible that former ambassador-designate to Geneva, Dr Allan Boesak, would appear before the disciplinary committee in connection with allegations of embezzling Scandinavian funds.

The disciplinary committee's emphasis would not be to punish but to give its members a platform to clear themselves and help them to adjust their wrongful behaviour, he said.

ANC reorganises party operations

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC national executive committee (NEC) has endorsed sweeping changes to its operations which will strengthen the party's influence over government at all three levels.

The changes, adopted at a weekend executive meeting, were described yesterday by ANC spokesman senator Jackson Mthembu as "the biggest reorganisation yet of the ANC, and the NEC in particular".

The reorganisation aimed to compel ANC cabinet members at national and provincial level to report on a continuous basis directly to the party and its tripartite allies. Ministers and other senior ANC policymakers "will be able to put forward ANC positions" in government. The new set-up would "provide guidance to ministers and other senior ANC policymakers at national, provincial and local government levels", Mthembu said. *BO28/2/95*

The NEC endorsed the establishment of 14 so-called issues or functional committees made up of executive members. There was also a functional committee for each of the nine provinces. *(1A)*

Each committee will bring together ANC representatives dealing with a particular issue at all three levels of government. No one in the ANC leadership is left out, including President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The functional committees will report regularly to the newly elected 18-member

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(1A) BO28/2/95

From Page 1

national working committee which, in turn, will report about four times a year to the NEC. The functional committees will meet regularly.

ANC sources said the party intended the changes to ensure that it played "a pre-emptive instead of a reactive role".

The restructuring follows the election of a new 80-member executive committee at the ANC national conference in December.

Mthembu said: "Members of the NEC have never before had such a clear job description." The reorganisation formed part of the overall ANC restructuring which took place after the April election.

Among the functional committees will be those on social needs (which will bring together housing, land affairs and education), security and stability (defence and safety and security), economic transformation (finance, labour, trade and industry, public enterprises, public works and land affairs), the public sector, policy formulation and party discipline.

Others will focus on political education, parliamentary programmes, governance, the October local government elections, the finalisation of a tripartite local government candidate list, constitution-making and party finance.

Police allege bribe of R75 000

11/4

BD 2/3/95

ANNC 'to act' if Winnie is proved guilty

THE ANC promised last night to take appropriate action against Winnie Mandela if police allegations that she accepted payment from building companies to help them secure official housing contracts proved correct.

This followed yesterday's police raid on the Soweto home of the Deputy Arts and Culture Minister. Police alleged that she accepted payment from building companies - using her influence in return to secure them housing contracts from the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation. It was understood last night that she was flying home from the Ivory Coast.

Opposition parties called for her suspension pending the outcome of police investigations, while the ANC said it was "vertically disturbed" by the allegations. About 40 armed police officers raided Mandela's Orlando home and those of Northwest-based company Professional Builders' directors Vic and JJ Daniels. Eight other associated premises were also raided, police said. Police alleged Mandela used her influence as Co-ordinated Anti-Poverty Programme (CAPP) CEO to secure housing contracts at Vereeniging and Phola Park in return for payment from building companies. But CAPP director Sydney Gata

MARK ASHURST and TIM COHEN

dismissed the raid as "part of a campaign against Mrs Mandela". Contrary to a police statement, Gata said his home had not been searched and he had not been contacted by investigators. He said CAPP - which was formed in 1993 to provide developers with data on disvaluated communities - had no involvement at Vereeniging. Its Phola Park project was still at a planning stage and "has not even gone to tender yet".

Police commercial crime unit spokesman Capt. Dave Harrington emphasised investigations were at a preliminary stage, but said the raids were based on substantial evidence. "Our credibility is on the line. The allegations are grave. Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mlambe had been fully briefed on the investigation. President Nelson Mandela had also been broadly briefed that police were investigating the TRP and the Bophuthatswana development corporation but had not been informed of plans to search the home of his estranged wife, president. Police said they were probing claims that Mandela had received R75 000 via a bank account for ensuring the speed

of the TRP. To Page 2

Winnie 11/4 ~~11/4~~ BD 2/3/95 From Page 1
alleging project that Mandela's personal shopping and her daughter Zandi, would receive 49% shares in the company in return for building contractors and that Professional Builders had bribed banking officials to approve bond applications.

Well-placed sources said police were acting on information received from Professional Builders from negotiations manager Martin Haseloff. There was "no clarity" on whether Haseloff would be charged, Harrington said.

A spokesman for the Pakistan High Commission in Pretoria, which last year donated \$100,000 to CAPP after Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Pretoria, said CAPP's activities were "an SA issue... we aren't monitoring agency". The commission had briefed the Pakistan government on allegations by former ANC Women's League members that Mandela had mismanaged CAPP finances, but no response had been received. ANC sources said last night it was difficult to imagine how Mandela could retain her post given the variety of transactions she had apparently perpetrated. Mandela's personal secretary Alan Reynolds described the raid as "very irreg-

ular". Mandela was being subjected to a process of harassment in an attempt to discredit her, he said. "Everybody knows she is out of the country. There is no need for massive force."

Reports that police were sitting on the roof and walls of Mandela's home yesterday afternoon had led to Mandela instructing lawyers to seek a Supreme Court interdict for their removal. DP safety and security spokesman Douglas Gibson described the search of Mandela's home as "unprecedented in SA". If the ANC failed to consider disciplinary action against her, the disciplinary committee "might just get well done".

Meanwhile, Cabinet Secretary Jakob Geertzel said the President did not have prior knowledge of the raid and had things taken note of. He Geertzel said he had taken no indication that Winnie Mandela's position would be affected. Presidential spokesman Frans Mankhabana said Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would discuss various issues with her on her return. Mankhabana was referring to the outstanding issue of Mandela's unauthorised visit to Ivory Coast.

NEWS FEATURE *Movement has to avoid sliding into obs*

Azapo fails to win hearts and minds

By Vuyo Bavuma
Political Reporter

USEFUL TOOL Thought of freeing

the minds of black people is relevant:

WHEN IT COMES to strict armchair politicking, Azanian People's Organisation officials are likely to sway even hardened conservatives with their views.

With their eloquent discourses on the country's political problems, the disciples of this radical body, whose claim to fame largely revolves around the late Steve Biko, should be attracting many with ease into the black consciousness home.

They also tend to shine when outlining what "should not be done" but painfully fall short when it comes to implementing a practical programme of action to correct the ills. In short, they excel in pointing out deficiencies in their rivals' programmes.

But sadly, Azapo has failed to translate this grand theoretical prowess into winning the hearts and minds of significant numbers of people.

Indeed, the 16-year-old movement, with its "towers of knowledge", has become a preserve of the few — mostly those who had the luck to grace the social science department corridors of universities.

Granted, its lack of a substantial power base is not due to Azapo's own deliberate design only. After all, as politics is about power, the movement would like to win more power and not be consigned to the role of the Cinderella of black politics.

Nor does it want to degenerate into serving only as a resource material for post-graduate students studying protest politics.

True, this leftist organisation is too handicapped by certain external factors — such as lack of funds — to enable it to sell its views successfully to a wider audience.

But its think-tank, which has now amalgamated with the formerly exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, should be able to find alternatives — and embark on a road to more prosperity.

Nationwide branches

Yes, Azapo does have nationwide branches, but for an organisation whose power base is supposedly among more than 30 million indigenous black people, this support is a matter of drabs and drabs.

Azapo's inability to market itself has led to satirical charges that it comprises merely "a man and a fax with news agency numbers" while others, perhaps harsher, claim the relevance of the movement has now elapsed.

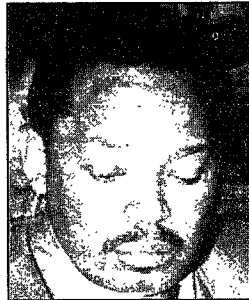
They further add that gone are the days when the movement was a useful political nursery of many comrades, many now in the ANC-led Government, who include Cyril Ramaphosa, Orange Free State premier Patrick Lekota and North-West leader Popo Molefe.

To rectify this shortcoming, Azapo does not have to adapt overnight the ANC-like populist "all-aboard" strategy, nor does it have to engage in a "numbers" game about its support. It has to devise means that would make a visible and high-powered impact on the country's fast-changing political spectrum.

To its advantage, its target is a well-defined constituency, which is hard-hit by many problems. But this does not mean this ready-made group will flock



Steve Biko



"Terror" Lekota



Cyril Ramaphosa



Mosibudi Mangena

to whoever claims to be spreading the gospel of liberation.

When the movement was formed in 1979, it raised eyebrows among the black population when it opposed the staging of a boxing world title fight between Peter "Terror" Mathebula and Santos Laciari in South Africa. Its headline argument was that the fight, despite the fact that it involved a popular black boxer, contravened the international cultural boycott.

For the record, the fight did take place, but Azapo seldom wavered from its headline stance.

Today, in fact, some believe the movement has overplayed its hand of "politics of refusal". Surprisingly, by its own staunch non-collaborative standards, Azapo activists in Cape Town have been involved in a "sell-out" negotiation process that will eventually lead to the local government elections.

In fact, there are several Azapo councillors who are serving on the Cape Metropolitan Council. Strangely, the movement has ruled that these "comrade councillors" should not participate in the October municipal elections — a process that could have exposed Azapo's support or perhaps the lack of it.

This double standard sharply contrasted with Azapo's unequivocal national stance when it refused to participate in the country's first democratic elections last year because in its typical fiery language this would have amounted to "selling out".

This stance gained Azapo short-lived glory as it seemed to be spot on, especially during the days of long-drawn negotiations characterised by endless killings in the townships.

This spate of killings was alleged to be orchestrated by shadowy groups on the payroll of ex-president FW de Klerk's government.

But the elections took place and a

predominantly black government was installed. Needless to say, this did not mean the problems of the black people disappeared overnight. Nor did it mean Azapo no longer had a leg to stand on.

On the contrary, this new ballgame required Azapo's think-tank to dig deeper into its resources and come up with a new bold practical programme.

Its days of churning out angry and tired resolutions about the "settler regime" ended. Azapo was required to be more pro-active and action-orientated.

Admittedly, Azapo has started to resuscitate the successful medical projects in the townships which were popular in the 1970s, but judging by the mountains of problems facing the black community, certainly much more action is needed.

Useful tool

Among other things, the movement has to serve as a useful tool to help prevent the country from degenerating into full-scale doom and gloom as predicted by eminent writer Franz Fanon.

After all, Biko's philosophy of psychologically liberating the minds of black people and empowering them to take up their own destiny is still relevant — and needs to be spread much wider than the halls of annual congresses.

With this philosophy ingrained in the minds of many black people, maybe the endemic crime in the townships would have not been so prevalent.

This weekend the expanded Azapo central committee meets to work out various matters, including a "clear definition of the relationship between the state under the Kempton Park constitution and the organisation's route to power".

Its chairman, Mosibudi Mangena, is expected to deliver a keynote speech, but it is not clear how far it will go to save the movement from sliding into obscurity.

Battle over papers

17A
MAY 23 1995

BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The wrangle over former anti-apartheid organisations' archives is threatening to put paid to what could have been one of South Africa's biggest collections of historical documentation.

The ANC is adamant there has never been an agreement with the PAC, Azapo, and the Unity Movement of South Africa to keep joint archives at the University of Fort Hare's Centre for Cultural Studies. It has now moved its archives out of the centre into the university's library.

The PAC, Azapo and the Unity Movement, all of whom are keeping their archives in the centre, are angry that the ANC has reneged on the original arrangement that the materials be stored together.

However, ANC chief archivist Narisa Ramdani said there was never an agreement to store all the organisations' documents together, and that it was the ANC's prerogative to put its material where it feels it will be safe.

The PAC and Azapo have taken the matter up with President Mandela as they fear the ANC's withdrawal from the project will lead to a drying up of the more than R8 million already committed to the archives by foreign and local donors.

The ANC has embarked on its own fund-raising drive for its archives.

Spokesmen for the other organisations admit they do not have the clout to raise funds on their own.

Ramdani maintains that the Centre for Cultural Studies cannot accommodate the ANC's huge archives, which include sensitive personal and financial details requiring tight security. Several rooms in the ANC's headquarters are stacked to the ceiling with documents and memorabilia from the organisation's former missions around the world.

Most ANC documents have already gone to Fort Hare while some are still being collected from various foreign universities and libraries, Ramdani said.

The PAC and Azapo are still in the process of collecting all their material from local offices and abroad.

NEWS NP leader canvasses on Cape

Uphill battle for ANC in W Cape

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

IT is really tough for the ANC in the Western Cape to settle down and establish some sort of equilibrium.

First they faced "the coloured vote" issue and lost it to the National Party, then came the Allan Boesak affair, the ANC walkout of the regional legislature cabinet, the Lerumo Kalako affair and then the "coloured" youth withdrew from the ANC Youth League.

And now ANC headquarters in Johannesburg are refusing to pay an astounding Western Cape phone bill of R300 000 incurred during last year's election.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has reportedly told the region's general council that Shell House was not responsible for its regional expenses.

"We are not inclined at headquarters to pay this account. You will have to find the money to settle the account," Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

He said there had been much indiscipline and disunity in the Western Cape — especially during the election.

Many senior national leaders had made concerted efforts to ease tensions in the region but very little progress had been made, Ramaphosa said.

"Some of the things which were done during the election campaign were shocking. In the Western Cape there were times when we had not been united, when we squabbled among ourselves. There were times when the problems we had, manifested themselves in racial terms," Ramaphosa told the 600 or so delegates.

These things should not be repeated during the forthcoming local government elections, he said.

TH
SOME TANGIBLES

ANC opens its 'surgery'

LJM 10-16/3/95

Gaye Davis in Cape Town

DR ROB DAVIES spent a couple of hours in his Sea Point surgery on Monday evening, hearing complaints and dispensing advice. But those who packed the small room weren't there with physical ailments, and Davies is not a medical doctor.

The ANC MP was making one of his regular appearances in one of the constituency offices the ANC is setting up around the country in a bid to close the gap between the public and its representatives in government.

Designed on a similar model to that used by British MPs, who regularly hold "clinics" or surgeries with voters in their constituencies, the system involves groups of MPs and members of provincial legislatures being deployed in urban and rural areas where they can be alerted to and help grapple with local problems. "Anyone can come to ask questions or

raise issues," said ANC MP Naledi Pardon, the whip responsible for co-ordinating constituency offices in the Western Cape. "They are there to serve the public of an area as a whole, and not just ANC members."

One of parliament's major concerns was that the new system of proportional representation effectively removed MPs from defined constituencies.

This deployment by the ANC is an attempt to create a link between MPs and constituencies — and also to respond to the neglected rural areas have experienced.

"We're developing criteria to guide the work of MPs in constituencies, because this is a new experience for us. But the offices are moving ahead smoothly. MPs have started holding regular sessions and are starting to address local problems."

The offices are funded by constituency allowances of R3 000 a month, to which every MP is entitled. (11A) (Cape)



Question and answer: ANC MP Rob Davies answers questions from Sea Point residents

PHOTO: ROBERT BOSCH

IMBIZO ALERT!

By SIPHO KHUMALO

(118) CP 12/13/95

TENSION is high in Umlazi where Inkatha-aligned chiefs today are forging ahead with their imbizo - defying a call by several bodies, including Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, that it should be cancelled.

As preparations for the imbizo at the King Zwelithini Stadium were being finalised yesterday, Umlazi residents and the local ANC branch said they feared violence.

"This is a declaration of war on the township. We do not know why the imbizo had to be held in Umlazi because there is not even a single chief who reigns here," said ANC local chairman George Sithole.

Umlazi residents were highly concerned at the potential for violence when Inkatha today buses in its supporters to the rally, he said.

"Lives have been lost in the past when similar meetings were held in this township, said many residents living near Umlazi's main road, Mankwato Highway, had left the area for the weekend as they feared violence on the night of the meeting.

Sithole alleged that last weekend Umlazi residents

had been attacked by Inkatha supporters returning from their special conference in Ulundi, Inkatha, however, said their buses had been attacked.

■ KwaZulu-Natal Committee of Safety and Security convener Bhekil Cele said contingency plans had been made with the police to protect residents.

"But violence has happened in the past with such events - we cannot be 100 percent sure that people will be protected," said Cele.

■ Today's controversial imbizo in Umlazi is Inkatha's second act in defiance of King Zwelithini's orders.

Last September Inkatha went ahead with a King Shaka Day celebration even though Zwelithini had said the celebrations should all be cancelled.

Church leaders from 19 denominations this week also called for the imbizo's cancellation to gain time to resolve the impasse between Zwelithini and the chiefs - but Inkatha has also ignored this call by Church Leaders Forum head Stanley Mogoba.

The objective of the imbizo has been clouded with controversy over the King's alleged death. Royal Council alleged that it is an attempt to defile the king. But Inkatha members say they only want their king "to return from spiritual exile" and meet his people.

By SIPHO KHUMALO

TAXPAYERS are to foot a further R10 million bill for the allowances of more than 360 KwaZulu-Natal traditional leaders, mainly chiefs aligned to Inkatha.

This emerged from a notice published in the KwaZulu-Natal gazette by the KwaZulu-Natal Minister of Traditional Affairs, Nyanga Ngubane, this week.

The notice published this week puts the annual salary of chiefs at between R18 000 and R37 000. This also depends upon the academic qualifications of the chiefs.

Inkatha has defended the increase by saying that it was important to pay chiefs properly to avoid the temptation of fraud.

R10-m more for Natal's chiefs

CP 12/13/95

disagrees with, the blanket payment of allowances to chiefs.

"It is our view that there are many chiefs who fulfil a valuable service and they should be properly paid for that," he said.

Nel suggested that it might be appropriate for the Department of Justice to establish a Corporational Basis on which to base the payments of chiefs.

The published gazette stipulates that chiefs should be paid as follows per year: Those below standard 10 (R18 000), those with standard 10 (R22 800) and those with diplomas and degrees take home R37 170 a year.

There is, however, in some cases money levied by chiefs from people when they allocate them sites and there are fines paid by tribesmen when found guilty in traditional courts.

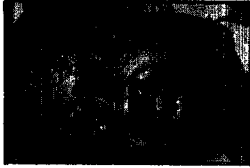
Improvement

"This compensation is an improvement on the stipend the chiefs were paid by the apartheid government. South Africa is a democracy and the chiefs should be looked after," said Inkatha MP Velaphi Ndlovu.

Ndlovu pointed out that this was Africa where the administration of indigenous and traditional law had to be carried out.

The Democratic Party said it was inappropriate to pay chiefs for an office they hold without being elected.

The DP's Wessel Nel says his party



RETURN ... King Zwelithini is in "spiritual exile".

What's to be done about Winnie?

(CP 12/13/95)

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Umlazi residents were highly concerned at the potential for violence when Inkatha today buses in its supporters to the rally, he said.

"Lives have been lost in the past when similar meetings were held in this township," said Sithole.

There were unconfirmed reports that many residents living near Umlazi's main road, Manguanga Highway, had left the township for the weekend as they feared violence might erupt.

Sithole alleged that last weekend Umlazi residents

had been attacked by Inkatha supporters returning from their special conference in Umlazi. Inkatha, however, said their buses had been attacked.

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The objective of the imbizo has been clouded with controversy over the King Zwelithini Royal Council alleging that it is an attempt to undermine the king.

But Inkatha says it is the only way to return the king "to return from spiritual exile" and meet his people.

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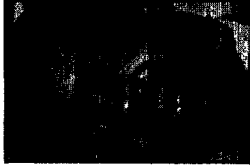
"It is our view that there are many chiefs who fulfil a valuable service and they should be properly paid for that," he said.

Nel suggested that it might be appropriate for the Department of Justice to prohibit chiefs on a case-by-case basis on which to pay chiefs for their duties.

Ngubane has argued that it was significant to base the payments of chiefs on education as it was a motivation for chiefs to improve their education.

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RETURN ... King Zwelithini is in "spiritual exile".

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CP 12/12/94



MOODLEY ... Strategising for future elections.



MANGENA ... Intent on buiding up Azapo's election platform.



NEFOLOVHODWE ... Wants Azapo to challenge for votes.



WAUCHOPE ... Should be heard in parliament.

Azapo's U-turn

By SEKOLA SELLO

Gearing up for election '99?

ep 12/3/95

(11A)

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation, which refused to take part in last April's election and has given the thumbs down to taking part in the forthcoming local government elections, is preparing flat-out for the hustings in 1999.

Azapo refused to participate in the April election on the grounds that it was not party to the agreements reached at Codesa - which paved the way for the present political set-up.

Although invited to take part in Codesa, Azapo refused, citing several reasons, including its opposition to the participation of homeland parties in the negotiations.

However, it has since emerged that the organisation did not take part in the negotiations process and election partly out of tactical considerations. The fact that the election was staged successfully, observers

said, caught the party on the back-foot.

Political commentators say the Azapo leadership did not believe the Codesa negotiations would lead to the election and when it came Azapo was ill-prepared to join the race. It was also disorganised and faced serious financial constraints.

It was against this backdrop that Azapo - most likely fearing a mauling similar to that handed to the PAC, which obtained less than two percent of the vote - decided not to enter the fray.

Following its October conference in Qwa Qwa, Azapo and its former external wing, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, merged and Azapo's spokesmen now believe that a more vigorous party is in the making.

Confidence within the move-

ment has reached such levels that the party leadership now believes it will soon be in a position to present a strong challenge to the ruling ANC.

Since its re-launch, the party has been concentrating on labour and education issues, as well as on the question of land ownership.

During a brief familiarisation visit to City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi, Azapo information chief Vuyisi Qunta said the party would take part in the 1999 elections - or enter mainstream politics even earlier - if the political climate was conducive to fair electioneering.

While to all practical purposes the party is already preparing itself for the 1999 battle, Qunta is ambivalent about Azapo's present relationship with the ANC and the Government of National Unity.

He maintains that Azapo

does not want the present administration to fail or collapse as the organisation has "at least a foothold" in it.

In fact Qunta said Azapo would give the ANC-led administration "critical support" while continuing to run its own programmes.

This is a contradiction. If Azapo hopes to win the next national election - frankly an impossibility in the foreseeable future - its best chance would arise if the ANC fails dismally to deliver and if it (Azapo) can capitalise by presenting a vigorous opposition.

Qunta argues cogently that along with other factors, the ANC came to power on the sheer charisma and appeal of President Mandela and that this appeal might wane in future years.

It is equally true that there is a growing mood of disillusionment among those who

voted the ANC into power.

This is shown by the poor response to urgings by the ANC leadership for people to register for the October election.

The ANC is also being harmed by its failure to deliver on election promises.

But it is doubtful whether Azapo has the capacity to turn the ANC failures to its advantage.

Programmes that the party has embarked upon in education, labour and the question of land are important but Azapo presently lacks the manpower and the financial resources to convert these into critical campaigning issues.

Another problem facing Azapo is that it is still living in the past.

Qunta said Azapo still cherished the ideal of a patriotic front comprising itself, the ANC and PAC - a goal which most political analysts contend is a dead issue.

Last year the ANC showed clearly that it was not interested in this tripartite alliance.

The Argus, Tuesday M

Sanco confirms stance on ANC

Political Correspondent

THE SA National Civic Organisation has reaffirmed its commitment to campaign for the African National Congress in this year's local government elections. (11)

This was announced after a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane. ARG 14/3/95

The organisations said, while they acknowledged traditional leaders, these should not be substituted for elected local government leaders.

Sanco and ANC sink differences

(11A) (2) SAN 14/12/85
■ BY MONDLI MAKHANYA
POLITICAL REPORTER

The ANC and the South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) repaired their strained relations after a four-hour meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

The two organisations have been at each other's throats in the last few months and this has been threatening their tentative election pact.

After Monday's meeting, at which President Mandela and Sanco head Mungisi Hlongwane were present, Sanco confirmed it would not have candidates in the October elections. It agreed to discourage independent candidates in its ranks opposing ANC candidates.

The two organisations also acknowledged the institution of traditional government. They said there should be a clear distinction drawn between traditional government and democratically elected structures.

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the security forces to strike, but should
provide alternative, compulsory mediation
and arbitration procedures; and
□ Multiparty joint committees of defence
and intelligence should oversee the said
structures. — Sapa.

ANC, Sanco agree on election strategy

THE ANC and the SA National Civic Organisation have established a joint sub-committee to co-ordinate voter registration and the "general mobilisation" of voters for the local government elections.

Sanco would not field its own candidates and would also discourage its members from standing as independents in the elections, Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane said yesterday.

Addressing a news briefing after a meeting between the ANC and the civic organisation, Hlongwane said his organisation would support the ANC in the elections.

The organisations jointly underlined the "importance of local government elections as the next vital step in the completion of the democratisation process".

President Nelson Mandela, who led the ANC dele-

WILSON ZWANE

gation, reaffirmed Sanco's role at the meeting "as an autonomous civic society formation... and as an important partner in the mass democratic movement".

While recognising the role of traditional leaders, the two organisations stressed the function of chiefs should "in no way be confused with or substituted for elected local government structures".

On atrocities which had allegedly been perpetrated by Sanco supporters against Eastern Cape chiefs, the organisations "condemned all acts of lawlessness" and called for talks to settle disputes.

Yesterday's meeting came days after Mandela had warned that he would come down hard on Sanco supporters who took the law into their own hands.

Eskom fraud trial resumed

DEBORAH FINE

Death probe

will not stop

DURBAN — An investigation task unit appointed by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to probe allegations of murder squads in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday vowed to continue despite opposition from senior provincial ANC member Sifiso Nkabinde.

Nkabinde has accused members of the unit of offering witnesses money and other rewards for making false statements, and said they were part of a conspiracy to falsely implicate him in murders.

Unit chairman Howard Varney said the unit welcomed police commissioner George Fivaz's announcement that, on receipt of the evidence on which the allegations were based, he would appoint a police team from another province to investigate. — Sapa.

Comment: Page 14

Rand

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Rift in Western Cape ANC

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

TOP-LEVEL attempts are under way to shore up racial and ideological divisions in the Western Cape ANC.

Senior coloured activists are unhappy over alleged "African chauvinism" and the perception that leadership positions in the organisation are dominated by Africanists.

President Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki are known to have intervened personally to try to heal the divisions in the Western Cape.

Bridging the rift is part of a concerted bid to win the local government elections in November.

Once again — as in the national elections last April — the coloured vote is seen as the key to success in the region.

In a confidential document circulated to delegates at the ANC's national congress in Bloemfontein in December, the ANC said:

(11A) ~~SECRET~~ ARG 17/3/95
Our failure to have minorities participating in the structures of the movement in a substantial way has limited our capacity to unite a broad section of the South African population behind our programme."

Last month the Western Cape ANC Youth League split along racial lines when 10 of its 18 interim branches in the region walked out of the annual general meeting, accusing the league of ostracising coloured people.

Although the disaffected youth quickly formed a new movement, the Community Youth Movement, they have not broken off ties with the party, only the league.

League secretary Themba Sikhutshwa said "without question, the ANC in the Western Cape is non-racial ... we are concerned at the perceptions of African arrogance and racism".

Eleven of the 13 league executives are black.

Meanwhile, coloured political parties have mushroomed in the

past few months. Now coloured activists still within the ranks of the ANC are questioning whether to remain or to fight the elections from outside the party.

A well-placed ANC source said there were still "huge sections" in all the organisation's branches who were committed to non-racialism.

"Africanism is concentrated in a few areas, mainly around Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads ... largely among a small group of senior activists ... a small cabal, not a grassroots split," the source said.

The ructions at the University of the Western Cape this week, where the student body was largely divided along racial lines, was "a barometer of what's happening in the region".

The division in the movement seems to have originated at the provincial congress late last year where activists separated into African and coloured caucuses.

'Call March 21 Sharpeville Day'

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu has called for the renaming of Human Rights Day to Sharpeville Day.

In a brief speech at the Sharpeville cemetery, in commemoration of the March 21, 1960, massacre of 69 PAC supporters, Mr Makwetu said the day had been a watershed for the "Africanist" struggle in South Africa.

Earlier today, PAC supporters gathered at the cemetery, where they conducted the annual clearing of the graves.

Azanian Peoples Liberation Army cadres staged a military parade, but, in the spirit of the new South Africa, no arms were carried.

PAC regional chairman Count Petersen said "Sharpeville Day" would commemorate a non-violent cam-

(117) MARCH 21/1974

paign which ended in violence.

"It is a watershed, in that the violence from the regime made us decide that non-violent protest in this country did not work."

Professor Petersen said the PAC first took up arms and launched the armed struggle against the government.

He said the armed struggle was followed by South Africa's isolation by the international community, and this was why the day was a watershed in the transformation of the country.

Professor Petersen charged that the naming of March 21 as Human Rights Day was a bid to make the masses forget the significance of the day, because it was the result of PAC activities. — Sapa.

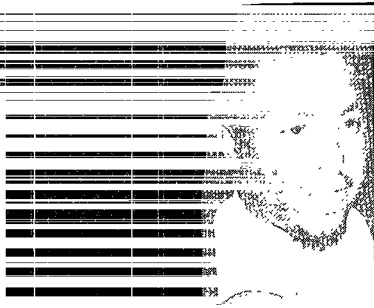
Azapo acts on councillors

ANTHONY JOHNSON
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

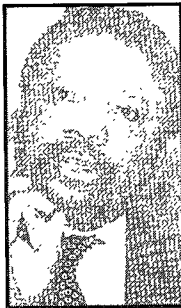
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THE Western Cape executive of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday it had suspended seven of its members for serving on the Cape Town Transitional Metropolitan Council.

One of the interim councillors had approached Azapo to make a case in favour of participation but it had been explained that the issue had already been debated and resolved at the party's congress.

"The few who felt something good could be done through the councils had to follow the decision of the many who felt Azapo should give its time to community projects, civics and residents' associations," Mr Qunta said.



Peter Mokaba



Cyril Ramaphosa



Thabo Mbeki

Mokaba denies 'Thabo vs Cyril' rivalry

AKLT 1/4/95
30 (11A)

NEWTON KANHEMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress hawks are backing Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's bid to eventually succeed Nelson Mandela as president and claim Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa has never been in the running for the position.

In an exclusive interview with Weekend Argus, Peter Mokaba, outspoken ANC national executive committee member and MP, said Mr Mbeki was the only leader officially nominated as successor to Mr Mandela.

Mr Mokaba was referring to Mr Mbeki's unopposed election to the deputy presidency of the ANC at the organisation's national congress in Bloemfontein in December last year. However, observers who attended said Mr Mbeki's right to succession had been implicit in his election and had not been openly discussed.

Mr Mokaba also denied speculation that Mrs Winnie Mandela might run for the presidency. In fact, Mr Mbeki "enjoys unconditional support" from the sacked deputy minister, he said.

"It is unfair to create an impression that Cyril is competing with Thabo for the presidential position. This perception seems to be the work of an enemy. It makes him (Ramaphosa) look ambitious, which he is not. I am sure he is aware of our support for him as that of Mbeki.

"We see no conflict between the two. People should not concentrate on petty issues," said Mr Mokaba.

Mr Mbeki was receiving unconditional support from what was perceived as militant camp, seen to include Mr Mokaba, MP Tony Yengeni, Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa and Mrs Mandela.

"The ANC must concentrate on developing a clear and obvious successor. Thabo enjoys our unconditional support.

"He is experienced and he is more senior than all of us. He is a capable man.

Thabo has no contender within the ANC. He had no contender at Bloemfontein. We do not know of any intentions of Cyril Ramaphosa wanting to be president.

"In Thabo, we see a Mandela, we see a Tambo. Because he has been elected to be deputy president, both of the party and the government, he becomes the obvious candidate. I can only begin to consider another candidate once that person has formally raised that question. This competition, which is becoming a daily issue in the Press, has been created from outside the party.

"Whoever wants that position should make it known to the organisation. There were no contenders at the Bloemfontein conference. There was no fighting. We acknowledge Cyril's potential. We also are solidly behind Thabo," said Mr Mokaba.

He added that there were no camps in the ANC, but said there were many people who imagined there were Mbeki and Ramaphosa camps.

"This is absolute nonsense. We do not understand the issue of camps. We have never seen ourselves as a clique. The policy of camps is the work of the enemy. The object is to destroy working relationships between Mbeki and Ramaphosa.

"I don't know of any anti-Cyril camp in the ANC. And, there is no Thabo camp in the ANC. I don't hate Cyril. It has always been the Press saying this. Cyril has respect for Thabo and Thabo has respect for Cyril."

Mr Mokaba said there was a misconception outside the ANC that all those who supported Mr Mbeki hated Mr Ramaphosa.

"There is no hatred between Cyril and myself. We have disappointed those who prophesied that a new organisation would emerge after Winnie had been fired," said Mr Mokaba.

He defended the militant camp and said it was difficult to understand those who claim to be doves in the ANC.

"We do not accept that Thabo is less



□ **CAMERA SHY?** Winnie Mandela tries to avoid journalists on her arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday. Since being fired last Monday as Deputy Minister of Arts and Culture she has been keeping a low profile.

militant than us. He is equally militant. Doves do not have a place in the ANC. If you are a dove, you are out. Our organisation is a radical organisation. Nothing but radical change can kill apartheid and we are here to kill apartheid.

"If you think being vocal against a system of injustice is being militant, then we are all militant. If we want to overturn this evil system, we have to be militant.

"The people who put us in government would feel betrayed if we got into the business of turning the other cheek to apartheid. We are dedicated to the course we set during the struggle and that is what our organisation stands for.

"We fully agree with Mbeki's position that there is no change that comes without pain. No one who is a dove can say such things.

"There is no 'doving' business in fighting apartheid. Who on earth expects us to fight apartheid with kid gloves? We have to take it head on," said Mr Mokaba.

His ally, Mr Yengeni, was reluctant to discuss his views on a successor to Mr Mandela: "We cannot talk publicly of Thabo for presidency while Mandela is still president. But, in private we discuss these things.

"I think I will cross the bridge when we get there. I will stay away from that. We have one president and that's fine.

"Our support for Thabo as deputy president has not changed, it's unflinching. Our view has not moved," said the firebrand former MK soldier.

Mr Mokaba said he believed Mrs Mandela would return to government, but in a stronger position.

"Certainly. Why not? The door is not closed for her to return to government. When she returns, she will be stronger. She is not gone from the scene. She is not out of the ANC."

Asked whether the relationship between Mrs Mandela and Mr Mbeki had withered in the prelude to her sacking, Mr Mokaba said nothing had changed between the two.

"The relationship is as perfect as you can imagine. Our support is not opportunistic. We do not withdraw our support because we have been criticised. No one should be above discipline. We do not blackmail people with our support."

After Mrs Mandela's sacking, an action believed to have been prompted by her criticism of the government, Mr Mokaba does not believe this action will silence those who are critical of the government.

"I don't think Winnie was fired because she was criticising the government. This cannot be true. I do not think that was the reason at all.

"Look, the ANC has a culture of constructive criticism. We were brought up in an organisation which practises that. That tradition should be defended."

Then, what could be the reason for her sacking?

"The problem is that the president has not given any reason and I cannot stand contemplating the reasons. I am not the one who took that action.

"I think if the president gives reasons he might undermine his action. I love and I support Comrade Winnie in private and in public. I will not apologise for this position and no one and nothing will stop me from supporting her. And that does not mean a withdrawal of support for Madiba."

Mr Mokaba said the so-called militant camp was the umbilical cord between the ANC and the masses.

"The attacks on the militant camp is the work of those who want to see the ANC cut off from the masses. We as ANC should urgently move away from this business of moles and sources within the organisation."

PAC wants amnesty for St James killer

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress has indicated that it would recommend amnesty for Gcinikhaya Makoma, 18, found guilty of the murder of 11 people in Cape Town's St James Church massacre.

At a time when there was "loud talk" about reconciliation, and in view of the fact that the government of F W de Klerk had indemnified 3 500 security force members, it was to be hoped that Makoma would be granted amnesty, PAC deputy president Motoko Pheko said in a statement.

Dr Pheko said that peace, political stability and economic advancement would come in South Africa only when victims of apartheid and colonialism "are shown consideration in the same manner" as were those in the security forces.

"Justice must not only be done — it must be seen to be done," Dr Pheko said.

He said the PAC had never adopted a policy of killing people at prayer and the organisation respected the church as an institution.

14/9/85 (11A)

"It is unfortunate that the St James Church incident occurred and innocent people died, but the cause of this misery, suffering and regrettable loss of life stemmed from colonialism and apartheid."

In Cape Town's Supreme Court on Wednesday, Mr Justice Marais found Makoma, a Standard 8 pupil, guilty on 14 charges on the basis of "truly overwhelming" evidence.

The charges included murder, attempted murder and the illegal possession of weapons. — Sapa.

Women's League ANC holds inquiry

APC 3/4/90
CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate problems in its Women's League.

The inquiry was agreed to at a weekend meeting between league president Winnie Mandela and members of the ANC national executive.

Also present were the 11 women, including Adelaide Tambo, who resigned from the league last month, citing as their reason Mrs Mandela's "undemocratic" leadership.

President Mandela was not present.

There has been speculation about whether the ANC leadership will allow Mrs Mandela to retain her post as league president after she was fired from her post as deputy minister last week.

The inquiry will focus on problems alleged by the group who resigned.

A special conference of the league will be held as soon as the inquiry is complete.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the conference would consider the report of the commission, review the work and structures of the league and adopt a programme of action.

He said all at yesterday's meeting had agreed "everybody concerned would work together to resolve these problems in a comradely spirit."

Mr Mamoepa said those at the meeting had called on members of the league to continue "pursuing our objectives of reconstruction and development towards a decisive victory in the local government elections, as an important part of our country's democratic movement".

The gathering was the first of the crisis meetings called to discuss recent problems in the league to be attended by Mrs Mandela.

Women's League crisis probe

A commission of inquiry is to be appointed to investigate the crisis in the ANC Women's League.

This emerged after the league's executive met with the ANC leadership led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in Johannesburg yesterday.

The commission will investigate allegations of autocratic leadership levelled at league president Winnie Mandela by 11 executive members who

resigned two months ago.

Mandela, who missed the last meeting called by President Mandela more than a month ago, was present at yesterday's three-hour meeting.

The commission will report back to the ANC within a month.

The report will be followed by a national conference of the league, where a new executive will be elected. Political Reporter

(CIA) Jan 3/4/95

Leave Winnie alone, warns Holomisa

Arg
4/4/95

(11A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

BANTU Holomisa has slammed weekend comments about Winnie Mandela by key African National Congress leaders as "divisive".

And he has warned the movement to take great care not to provoke a crisis by the way it handles her.

He also refused a high-level request to join the weekend rally in the Eastern Cape at which Mrs Mandela was strongly criticised, a leaked document revealed today.

General Holomisa was telephoned by Govan Mbeki, one of the senior leaders at the Eastern Cape rally, and asked to join the delegation. But he refused.

He explained why in a four-page memorandum, copies of which were sent to President Nelson Mandela, Mrs Mandela, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and members of the Eastern Cape parliamentary caucus.

He said he respected both Mr and Mrs Mandela and "would never go public or join forces which are intended to humiliate or embarrass either side".

Remarks made at the rally have prompted Mrs Mandela to consider le-

gal action against Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki and ANC veterans Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

Mr Mbeki and Mr Sisulu said they were authorised by Mr Mandela to make certain statements about her.

These statements allegedly included that the ANC would fight her as if she were "the enemy" if she continued to mobilise people against the government; that she was fired from her government post, because she went to West Africa without permission and that she had refused to discuss the matter with Mr Mbeki.

General Holomisa said in his memorandum that the notion of delegations going round the country to explain Mrs Mandela's expulsion from the government "needs to be discussed thoroughly by the leadership of the ANC first".

● Mr Mandela said today he believed it "highly undesirable" to engage in public debate with a former deputy minister on matters of good government "including the actions that the president may from time to time undertake in keeping with the constitution".

Red alert for SACP

7/14/95 (11A)

STILL Keen on the continuation of its symbiotic — relationship with the ANC, the SACP faces grave problems as it begins its national congress today, reports MONDULI MAKHANYA of the political staff.

WHEN the South African Communist Party emerged from underground in 1990 it was ridiculed as "the world's last communist party" and sceptics predicted it would not last long in a world that was reeling from the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Yesterday "The Party", as adherents affectionately call it, began its first post-election congress, justifiably gloating that it has confounded its detractors. It has grown from 2,000 clandestine activists prior to its unblinking to about 75,000 members who openly display its colours.

It boasts several senior cabinet posts, three provincial premierships and scores of national and provincial parliamentarians. SACP members head key parliamentary committees and hold some key provincial ministerships.

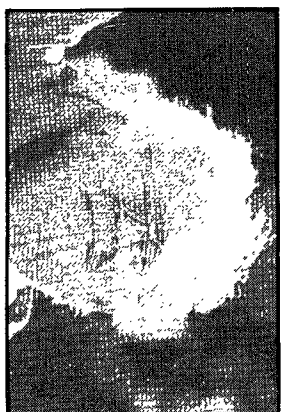
SACP members are also instrumental in the ANC's policy-making and pepper the civil service and are to be found in trilateral forums.

But these impressive statistics belie the truth of a party in ideological disarray, not quite sure how to reconcile its beliefs with concrete conditions.

For while the SACP remains one of the few Marxist parties that has definitely retained the "C" in its acronym, its pronouncements and policy positions are those of a more social democratic nature.

As an influential voice in the ANC, the SACP is an integral part of a government that is bent on privatising state assets, something which SACP Northern Transvaal chairman Lawrence Phokomo says "should be stopped or even reversed."

That government is also playing to a gallery of Western investors and donors agencies, something the SACP is uncomfortable



Joe Slovo



Chris Hani

about and describes as "naive".

The SACP is sailing rudderless, having lost luminaries such as general secretary Chris Hani and chairman Joe Slovo.

Master strategist Slovo spent the last sticky months of his life setting up the housing ministry and negotiating a housing finance deal with the banking and insurance industries.

The present incumbents, respectively Charles Ngakula and Eastern Cape premier Raymond Mhlaba, have failed to impress.

Ngakula is a hirsute, behind-the-scenes administrator who lacks the charisma needed to give the SACP a public profile.

Mhlaba, a Robben Island veteran, is regarded as a has-been and also has his hands full governing the chaotic Eastern Cape province.

Many of the party's key activists have moved into taxing government and civil service jobs, leaving very few available for party activism.

One party activist says moving

into the political mainstream has left the SACP out of touch with its goals.

The union movement — the SACP's key area of influence and leadership nursery — has also had its ranks depleted by the government, and critics say its thinking has been diluted by its flirtation with American unions.

There is also a view in the SACP that opening up membership to all and sundry has robbed the party of the intellectual edge it needs to fulfil its "vanguard of the working class" role.

"A communist party is a special type of party that should attract a special type of activist," says an official.

To deal with these multiple contradictions, the SACP has come up with a Strategy and Tactics document, an analysis of how a post-apartheid South Africa and the SACP fit into the New World Order run by international banks and multinational capital, the party's "class adversary".

The document suggests a "deepening of democracy by creating participatory forums at all levels of society so that democracy does not merely mean regular elections at regular intervals.

Current thinking in the SACP sees it as a sort of internal opposition, holding an ANC-led regime accountable to the working class needs and as a safeguard of the reconstruction and development programme which the party believes has been hijacked by big business and the ANC's foes.

We want to make sure the working class is at the head of the RDP. Other forces are contesting the RDP and they want to use the RDP as a means of weakening the working class.

"We also want to be part of the process of delivery so that we can't just blame the government if it fails," argues SACP thinker and ANC MP Bheke Ntseane.

This will position the SACP as a "responsible alternative to the ANC's populist" camp, unlike people in our ranks who are seek-

ing sentimental applause for their own purposes.
"There's a difference between speaking on behalf of the poor and lying to them about what you can do for them," says Cronin.
The SACP is also trying very hard to shed its mystique and the perception by many as a secretive Brotherhood within the ANC.
"To this end the SACP has taken the unusual step of opening all sessions of congress to the media and inviting observers.
There is a great unease within the ANC about the SACP's influence over the movement, with many ANC members complaining about the party's mode of operation.
This has in some instances resulted in clashes between grassroots supporters of the two parties.

The most cohesive among the ANC's many streams of thought, the SACP often votes en bloc at ANC conferences, a strategy that enables it to place its chosen candidates in positions and have its positions accepted.
Cronin admits: "We do have influence beyond our numbers and we are not apologetic about that. Like any party we seek to exert influence in pursuance of our agenda.

"Our agenda is socialism and we are not secretive about that."
While this weekend's conference will also focus on the building of a distinct identity for the party, the SACP is by no means keen on ending its symbiotic — some would say parasitic — relationship with the ANC.
On the contrary, it is looking at ways of strengthening this alliance so that it lasts beyond transition.

"The alliance," as Cronin puts it, "has not only survived the transition, it has been fomented by it.

Moves to impose discipline in ANC

(11A) 1926/14/95
Political Correspondent
and Sapa

THE African National Congress leadership is taking firm steps to instil discipline in the ranks and head off further trouble over the firing of former deputy-minister Winnie Mandela.

These moves have included:

- A sharp rap on the knuckles for Deputy-Minister Bantu Holomisa from President Mandela, after Press reports on his letter criticising the government.

- The withdrawal of ANC veterans Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu from a Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa meeting in Umtata today.

Contralesa leaders were reported to be planning to question the two about the sacking of Mrs Mandela. Mr Mbeki and Mr Sisulu would have had to share the stage with Mrs Mandela, who is Contralesa's secretary-general.

- A decision last night by the ANC's national working committee that there would be no disciplinary action against Mrs Mandela.

Mrs Mandela's planned legal action against her estranged husband, as well as against Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki, Govan Mbeki and Mr Sisulu, was discussed at last night's committee meeting.

Earlier in the day, lawyers for Mrs Mandela succeeded in preventing debate of the matter at an ANC parliamentary caucus meeting, claiming the matter was sub judice.

Mr Mandela has been reported as being "at the end of his considerable patience" about strife in his party.

On the Contralesa rally, Govan Mbeki said he and Mr Sisulu would not attend the meeting because they had been told "not all traditional leaders in the province belonged to Contralesa".

He would not respond to questions about whether the cancellation of their visit was related to Mrs Mandela's scheduled presence at the congress.

Mr Holomisa was given a talking-to by Mr Mandela about his letter over his refusal to attend last week's rally, at which Mr Mbeki and Mr Sisulu were reported to have given reasons why Mrs Mandela had been fired.

SACP to maintain tripartite alliance

By 7/4/95

(11A)

THE SA Communist Party had not abandoned its socialist programme, nor was the tripartite alliance in danger of splitting, SACP general secretary Charles Ngakula said yesterday.

Speaking at the 9th SACP congress in Crown Mines in Johannesburg yesterday, Ngakula said his party had contributed greatly to the building of the alliance but warned that it would not be maintained "at any price, or simply for old time's sake".

Ngakula said one of the SACP's critical tasks was to transform the party into an organisation capable of playing a vanguard role within the progressive movement. It would have to do so by consolidating cadre structures rather than through mass recruitment. This did not mean recruitment would be suspended.

It is a question of recruiting strategically, and ensuring that organisationally we are able to service those we recruit," Ngakula said. Defending the national democratic revolution demanded a decisive move towards socialism. He said part of the SACP's emerging perspective was that socialism was not just a desirable future, but that it had to be struggled for here and now.

Central committee member Blade Nz-

NONAVANGWA MATHEANE

made comment on the effect of the end of the Cold War on SA, which had resulted in a negotiated transition.

Nzame warned of "international hoodwinking". He said SA should be wary of taking advice that might "weaken some of the advances made" and warned against compromising SA's sovereignty.

He hit out at class forces which had been "dependent on the apartheid government", including the right wing and elites of the former homeland. He warned the "Kwazulu government... would like to roll back the past".

Sajpa reports a strategic document prepared for discussion at the congress said the party should ensure key public utilities such as Eskom, Transnet, Telkom, the Post Office and the SABC were not privatised or run down.

The Strategic and Tactics Document and expected to be overwhelmingly adopted when the congress ends on Saturday, it says. While it is necessary to transform public corporations, an effective public utility is necessary. The message will be addressed by President Nelson Mandela today.

Argus continues supplements bid



SACP general secretary Charles Ngakula, top left, addresses his report at the party's 9th congress at Crown Mines in Johannesburg within delegates, below. Nzame, Central committee member. The three delegates, top right, check the standing order and congress working committee. From: GARTH LINDLEY

Young killer is innocent — PAC

9/4/95
By SEAN JACOBS *C. Press* (11A)

WHEN 19-year-old Khayelitsha schoolboy Gcinikhaya Makoma was sentenced this week to an effective 23 years in jail for the attack on the St James Church in 1993, he shrugged and smiled, turned to his supporters in the packed courtroom, gave an open-handed Pan-Africanist Congress salute and led the chanting of "One settler, one bullet".

Makoma was convicted last week in the Cape Town Supreme Court by Judge Marais of 11 murder charges, the attempted murder of nearly sixty people and illegal possession of guns and ammunition.

■ While the survivors of the attack were satisfied with the sentencing and hoped his accomplices would be found and tried, his friends and supporters vehemently protested his innocence.

Makoma has called himself a "victim of whites". In earlier testimony before the court, Makoma testified that when police came to arrest him at a shack in Old Crossroads in August last year, he thought it was "the end of the world". He alleged he was tortured and forced to confess to the crimes.

PAC spokesman Donald Qusheka said after the trial Makoma had maintained his innocence throughout the trial and the PAC believed his innocence.

His convictions were based on "flimsy circumstantial evidence" and a "failure (by the court) to appreciate African culture", he said. The PAC saw the conviction as a ploy to placate white anger and whip up anti-PAC sentiments in the forthcoming municipal elections.

"When speaking to our elders or those we respect, we look down. The evidence of a witness testifying for Gcinikhaya was rejected because she showed respect to the court in this manner."

There was no evidence that Makoma had been at the church on the day of the attack and the court should have believed his alibi, Qusheka said.

■ On July 25 1993 then 17-year-old Makoma and a group of unidentified men burst into the St James Anglican Church situated in the largely white suburb of Kenilworth in Cape Town, sprayed the praying church congregation with machine gun fire and caused two handgrenades to detonate amongst the congregation.

Eleven people were killed — among them three visiting Russian seamen.

Judge Marais described the attack as "dreadful crimes".

Judge Marais described the attack as "coolly premeditated and planned", against a target that was one of the "softest and most defenceless — a congregation at prayer".



WIDOWS . . . Rebecca Kotane (left), Caroline Motsaedi, Gladys Marks and Martha Mabhidza with portraits of their late husbands, all former SACP leaders

By JACOB DLAMINI

THERE was a ghost at the ninth South African Communist Party congress at Nasrec in Johannesburg this week.

As the 600 delegates sat in the Chris Hani Memorial Hall or stood in queues waiting for food, the spectre of the defunct KISS party haunted conversation. It was the spectre of redundancy and irrelevance.

The SACP has made some impressive gains since 2 000 members met at its first legal conference in 1991. Membership has soared to 75 608. Three of the nine provincial premiers — Raymond Mhlaba, Manne Dipico and Ngoako Ramathodi — are SACP members. Several cabinet ministers and scores of MPs and MPLs are members of the party.

But what can the SACP offer that has not already been promised by the ANC?

Natal delegate Ben Dikobe berated delegates for "pretending that everything is well when the party is in a terrible state".

The SACP is an organisation battling to find rea-

Communists in struggle to hold off kiss of death

sons for its continued existence and, with many branches either weak or dying, this is the problem the motley crew, at least in appearance, of cabinet ministers, miners and students grappled with for three days.

Senior party members Blade Nzimande and Tony Yengeni said there was a need for a strong communist party with a separate identity.

Mr Yengeni said: "The challenge of this congress is to come up with a clear, concise and coherent identity of the SACP that is different to the ANC. We have to pursue our socialist objectives and it is nonsensical to say we are redundant and irrelevant."

Mr Nzimande told delegates that the RDP was "the most direct route to

socialism" but warned that the programme was being "contested by a wide variety of class forces".

A sign of the changing profile of the organisation was the many young men and women sent as regional delegates.

But, for a party which prides itself on having dispensed with its Stalinist past, there were telling signs of a party still caught in a time warp.

Observer delegations from China, Cuba and Vietnam received the wildest applause. When master of ceremonies Thenjiwe Mtintso asked delegates for a song in honour of the guests, it was Gauteng ANC MPL Bob Mabaso who struck the first note. "We work underground, working for little money," he belted.

The SACP is virulently anti-privatisation, yet individual members in Parliament tout for the privatisation of state assets. The party is opposed to "political demagoguery" but has failed to take action against Mr Yengeni, a central committee member.

General secretary Charles Ngqakula called for the democratisation of the Reserve Bank but central committee member Jeremy Cronin was quick

to state that the SACP was not calling for the nationalisation of the bank, or any other bank.

This week's congress was part celebration, part mourning. They celebrated the ANC's victory in last April's elections but also mourned the loss of Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Elias Motsaedi.

The widows of five former party leaders were invited to the stage where they were offered portraits of their late husbands, Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Moses Mabhidza, Dan Tloome, Chris Hani and Joe Slovo. Limpopo Hani was the only widow absent.

Monde Dladla, an Eastern Transvaal delegate, found time to collect autographs, including those of SACP chairman Raymond Mhlaba, Cosatu president John Gomo and Mr Yengeni.

Mr Dladla, a student at a technical college in Witbank, muttered something about the oneness of leaders and their followers as an explanation.

Helena Dolny, Mr Slovo's widow, offered the congress two pairs of red socks owned by the former Housing Minister for a fund-raising auction.

Those who came hoping the congress would lead to a socialist revival must have been disappointed. The party was too busy trying to avoid "going the way of the KISS party", to lead any revival, an Eastern Cape delegate said.

In the end the delegates seemed to agree that being socialists was reason enough for them to exist as the SACP.

(IIP) ST 9/4/98

ANC MP and former youth leader Peter Mokaba will take the reins in the Northern Transvaal "if asked to by President Mandela and the people of the region". The offer, he said, had been prompted by the "disastrous" performance of the ANC regional government. During a tour he made of his home province, residents had inundated him with complaints.

Dogged by controversy, hotfoot from the collapse of his National Tourism Forum, Mokaba is not a serious candidate for the job of premier Ngwenyama Ramathodi. But the style of the two men contrasts sharply with the ANC.

With due respect to the ANC's Tony Yengeni, who thinks the term "populism" was invented by capitalists to undermine party militants, Mokaba's statement is a piece of classical populist rhetoric. It diagnoses the desire for a mass following as coming from the masses. By using as a comparison the masses rather than what they ought to hear, it represents dereliction of leadership; it reduces complexity to baby talk for popular appeal.

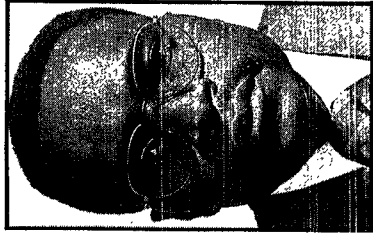
What are the facts in the North-Northern Transvaal? For barely a year the youthful Ramathodi and the rookies on his executive council have presided over the country's poorest province — nearly half its 5-million inhabitants are unemployed, 93% live in rural areas; three-quarters lack clean water; and 50% of the population is ill.

Grand apartheid lives on in the North. More than any other province, it is haunted by the partitionist fantasies of yesterday. The only region to vote "no" in the white referendum on the reform process, it was the most souly pre-ANC in last year's election. Alone of the provinces, it has a large number of rural villages of three to four thousand. Venda and Gasekulu — which have been beneath it a nightmare of administrative overlap, a wretched, corrupt and incompetent public service, and combined debts totalling R500m.

From these and elements of the ANC's general state, Ramathodi has inherited a province that is not being run as a station. His service delivery record

Man of action vs a man of words in Northern Transvaal

DREW FORREST



□ RAMATHODI

In January, 200 government vehicles in private use were impounded at roadblocks. The new "no work, no pay" policy has been made more difficult by the fact that not all public servants work for the region. Ramathodi was forced to petition national Justice Minister Puthi Ohar, before stopping the impounding of vehicles. He says that pension officials, who fall under the

Such sensitivities were highlighted recently by the outcry from Venda traditionalists over government attempts to remove a public statue of former homeland leader Chief Patrick Mphahleli. To counter accusations that it favours the majority Pedi tribe, Ramathodi has ordered speaking, but his executive is a political patchwork — the Legislature has studiously moved between Lebowa, Gomo in former Lebowa, Gyi in former Gasekulu, Thoboyandou in former Venda, and Pieterburg.

Despite enabling legislation last year, the region's House of Traditionalists failed to sit. Shandeni and Venda chiefs are on a system of representation which they fear will give their Pedi counterparts the whip hand.

Borchers says the work of the region's apprentice lawmakers — initially "chaotic", based on "hinder-garden, legal dragnetism" — has taken what the government first passed laws to establish a provincial exchequer, a tender board and a public service commission. Bills appointing a public protector and defining the powers and privileges of the provincial legislature are before standing committees.

By his willingness to make unpopular decisions, Ramathodi has won political enemies during his short time in office. Disgraced public servants, says regional government spokesman Jack Mokob, are "destabilising" the province.

Ramathodi has to contend also with wildly unrealistic expectations on the ground. "One must think there's a lot more happening elsewhere. Our response must be to rack up our communications to use ANC structures to tell them what is being done. "What we will not do is promise them manna from heaven. In 10 to 15 years, we can turn things around. We must lay a firm foundation while others are still trying to survive and reason for hope."

Ramathodi concluded with a striking anti-populist credo: "It's better if people hate me now and love me later. If we let them do the wrong things, in time to come they will accuse me. You should have known, you led us astray."

central state. Reassembling apartheid's scrambled egg has left the North with 116 000 ex-homeland officials, who may not be retrenched because of public service job guarantees in the interim constitution. A full 90% of them are black. Duplication of functions is worst at the top. There are, for example, seven directors-general of education, all of whom draw salaries of R10 000 a month.

Ramathodi said that to create an "administrative core", the province was now advertising senior posts. He was confident that many other officials would leave of their own accord if not encouraged to do so by being offered early retirement on generous terms.

But he was careful to stress that he did not foresee a massive shake-out in which would fuel unemployment in a region where private sector jobs are few. The plan was to create six subregional administrations, to be replaced by regional offices. Others might find a niche in local government structures, or move to the same salaries of management at the lower levels.

Ethnic consciousness, not a factor in homogeneous regions like the Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Free State, is another problem that has forced the new government to tread warily.

'DIVISION AND CONFUSION BEING SOWN'

Youth league leader hits out at 'malicious clique' in ANC

UNLESS the government takes the ANC Youth League seriously the ANC may as well shut up shop, says the league's leader. **ANTHONY JOHNSON** and **BARRY STREEK** report.

A "SERIOUS lack of understanding" has developed in the ANC about the role of its Youth League, and elements in the ANC establishment want to marginalise and control it.

This is the view of ANC Youth League president Mr Lulu Johnson — an authority on power relations in the party.

He also lashed out at a "malicious and mischievous clique" in the ANC that was sowing "division and confusion" by claiming its Youth and Women's leagues should have their wings clipped or be closed down completely.

Mr Johnson, a 31-year-old former student activist from Port Elizabeth who spent two years and five

months in detention without trial, was elected the Youth League president on January 17 last year.

A straight-talker who is guided in his thinking by issues rather than personalities, Mr Johnson said in an interview that the problems recently experienced by the Youth League in the Western Cape do "link to some power questions along racial lines within the organisation" and acknowledged that they had not been resolved yet.

He also said the ANC intelligence services had informed him that the National Party "had a hand" in the dispute which precipitated a walk-out of predominantly coloured members in the Western Cape.

In general, Mr Johnson feels the youth are not being taken seriously by the government and that if the prevalent attitude continues, the ANC may as well shut up shop.

"The ANC Youth League has not been given much support by the ANC."

Its call for a National Youth Council, representing all youth formations, had been ignored so far.

The National Youth and Empowerment Commission should have been established "by yesterday" but nothing had happened, although he had heard that draft legislation on the proposed body had now reached the President's Office, said Mr Johnson.

No youth ministry or department had been formed to drive the legislation along, make decisions and ensure delivery. In his view, the government and the ANC were

being short-sighted by not showing sufficient urgency and seriousness of purpose about youth issues and matters like the Gender Commission.

If the ANC was to have a 10-year strategy of systematically building the organisations, the youth movement had to be empowered "in a very serious manner".

Future needs

The ANC had to be defined today in terms of its future needs. It was doing itself a disservice in its attitude toward the youth.

He excluded Mr Mandela from these criticisms.

Mr Johnson said more than 40% of the ANC candidates in the local government elections in the Eastern Cape were from the youth, mainly from the ANCYL.

CT 27/4/95 (11A)

No to ANC's alliance with Cosatu

11A
5-11/5/95

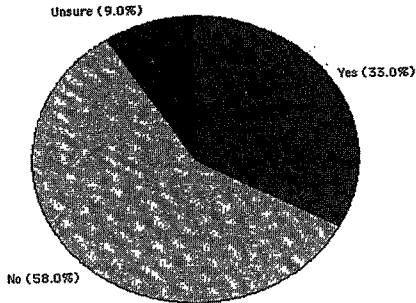
SOME 63 percent of business respondents to the survey vote "no" to the question, "Should the ANC/Cosatu alliance continue?"

Seventy-one percent of whites say no, and 39 percent of blacks. The contrast, says Case, mirrors the divisions between black and white business leaders on economic issues like redistribution, and contract quotas for small businesses.

Many black respondents (61 percent) and few whites (22 percent) claim to be very familiar with the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Most whites (74 percent) are only "somewhat" familiar with the RDP. All agreed business should support it financially as well as increase their

A resounding no
Unionists views on the survival of the ANC-Cosatu alliance



Unpopular: Business would like to see the end of the ANC/Cosatu alliance

own social responsibility programmes.

"Whites tended to be more optimistic about the RDP's ultimate success (58 percent) while blacks (48 percent) were more tentative, with the majority expecting RDP success

only if it is implemented properly.

"Interviewees commented on the vagueness of the RDP, which they felt hinders involvement, and a discouraging lack of government commitment to actual implementation."

ANC suspends Malebane-Metsing for a year

THE ANC's disciplinary committee has suspended the party membership of former Northwest agriculture minister Rocky Malebane-Metsing for a year after finding him guilty of breaching the party's disciplinary code and constitution.

The committee did not consider allegations of corruption and sexual harassment against Malebane-Metsing. "The only thing at issue was whether he breached a directive of the national executive committee," said committee chairman Kader Asmal.

The ANC said Malebane-Metsing had been reprimanded for bringing the party into disrepute. It would review the suspen-

(11A) DREW FORREST

sion in a year, taking into account his "conduct and adherence to ANC norms of discipline during his suspension".

Fired from his ministerial post in November after Northwest premier Popo Molefe accused him of campaigning against him, Malebane-Metsing was reinstated but the appointment was later rescinded. The ANC said that despite directives from its national executive committee, President Nelson Mandela and other senior officials regarding the dispute, "Metsing defied all and sundry".

Sacking may end in OFS ANC split

By ELIAS MALULEKE

(11A) (211C) CP 21/5/95

A THREATENED split in the Free State ANC has arisen over the sacking this week of housing MEC Vax Mayekiso by premier Patrick Lekota.

Several prominent members of the ANC are supporting Mayekiso, whom Lekota fired for allegedly using his office to enrich himself.

Among Mayekiso's supporters are Free State ANC chairman Pat Matosa and Welkom chairman Thanduxolo Khalipa, who represent the most powerful ANC branch in the province.

They have demanded that the inquiry which had originally been considered by the premier be instituted.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa was expected to travel to the province this week in a bid to defuse the situation, Khalipa said.

Lekota said when dismissing Mayekiso that after consultation with legal advisers he had decided against an inquiry.

Lekota said that he saw no reason why he should appoint a commission of inquiry because documents he had "proved that Mayekiso was guilty".

He said he had acted in terms of the constitution, which states that no member of the executive council should use their position for personal gain.

The storm in the province started after a Welkom filling station owner

complained to the premier that Mayekiso was allegedly using his office to enrich himself.

The businessman, R J Nkomo, alleged that Mayekiso and ABTOCSA, a taxi body, were pressuring him to sell them his BP garage, and that Mayekiso's wife, Nondumiso, was a guarantor for R50 000 towards the purchase of the garage.

Matosa told City Press that Mayekiso's sacking was unprocedural.

He said although Lekota had ruled out a commission of inquiry, an ANC inquiry would be held to look into allegations against Mayekiso and its findings would be

ANC split

From Page 1

binding on all parties, including the ANC leadership, the government and the premier (CP 21/5/95)

The premier has the right to reshuffle his cabinet as he wishes, but the findings of the commission will be final as far as allegations against Mayekiso are concerned, Matosa said. (211C)

A member of the ANC NEC attending a workshop in Johannesburg on Saturday echoed Matosa's sentiments, saying Lekota should not have fired Mayekiso until after the commission had made its findings. (11A)

"Allegations against Mayekiso have not been proved. It is a dispute of facts calling for a fair administration of justice," a senior NEC member said on Saturday.

Mayekiso told City Press yesterday that he had left everything in the hands of the ANC NEC.

He said, however, that he had been given a raw deal by the premier.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he was unable to comment.

... thousands

Shaun

The ANC is planning to lead the world with proposed new rules on MPs' extra-parliamentary earnings, reports **Eddie Koch**

MPs' gravy train at the junction

(CIPA) wmm 26/5-1/6/95

In a bold move to clamp down on venality in public office, the African National Congress has decided its MPs must open their family assets and extra-parliamentary earnings to full public scrutiny.

The dramatic decision — possibly a first for any political party in the world — coincides with efforts by the ANC to extend its own internal code of conduct to all parliamentarians.

The ANC's national executive committee decided at its last meeting to beef up its ethical code by insisting all of the party's elected representatives declare their private interests to the voters who put them in office.

The organisation has made this undertaking at the risk of revealing embarrassing details to the public while campaigning for local government elections — even though other parties remain shielded from this kind of scrutiny under the present system.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, who chairs a subcommittee on ethics in the House of Assembly, told the *Mail & Guardian* the decision "sets an important precedent and a principle for other parties to follow".

He said the ANC's initiative would give a boost to plans by his parliamentary committee to set in place a code of conduct that will prevent corruption and money-grabbing by elected representatives of all political parties.

"Our committee is busy working on a national code that we hope will apply to all members of the national assembly and provincial legislatures. We hope to finish our work by July so that the house is able to debate our recommendations when it comes back from recess in August."

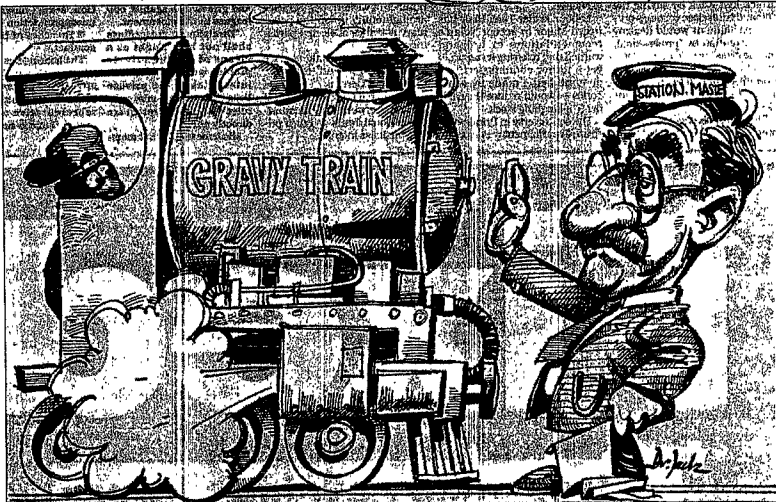
The ANC is the only party in the country to have adopted an internal set of ethical rules in the absence of national regulations or legislation to govern the extra-parliamentary business activities of MPs.

Its code of conduct includes tough clauses that bar the party's elected officials from using government office or parliamentary posts to distribute patronage or obtain personal fortune — and sets up a high-powered disciplinary committee to implement it.

Ministers, premiers and provincial executive councillors are prohibited from playing any active role in profit-making institutions and have to surrender all directorships they held before taking office.

The regulations require ANC members to declare their assets and all other posts from which there is financial benefit in other companies, boards or organisations.

"In particular, they must disclose all consultancies, shareholdings and directorships or any form of payment received by them or their family from



an external source," it says. It stipulates that MPs should treat their parliamentary posts as full-time and bans them from taking permanent employment in other jobs. Lobbying for organisations and companies is strictly prohibited. The ANC's code is in line with, if not more advanced than, progressive regulations for MPs in other western democracies. But it was flawed because these disclosures remained confidential and secret — until the recent NEC decision.

The ANC's executive has set up a committee, which includes Asmal and secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, to urgently devise a system for implementing its new "transparency" resolution.

"This is exceptional. As far as we know, the ANC is the first political party anywhere in the world to make this kind of ruling," said Asmal.

The national regulations being drafted by the House of Assembly's ethics subcommittee will be based initially on the ANC's code but will be refined and adapted to take into account suggestions from other parties. Parliament will have to decide if the national ethics will be legislated or accepted as a set of in-house rules. "We are in the ANC want full and pub-

lic disclosure in a parliamentary register that will be open to journalists and we want an effective enforcement machinery," said Asmal. "Lobbying should be banned. And it is important to include assets of family members and spouses in the declaration so that these can't be hidden from the public."

Stressing these were his personal views, Asmal said special regulations should be implemented for members of parliamentary standing committees as they could be in a position to influence policies that affect their vested interests. A code of ethics should also be devised for people in the chairs of parastatals.

He said his ethics subcommittee's report to the assembly will be influenced by developments in other democracies, where there is a trend towards tightening the controls on pecuniary benefits that MPs can obtain from being in office.

It can, however, be expected to go much further than most other Western systems that were set in place before disclosure became a major parliamentary issue.

"Since 1979 there have been a number of progressive developments and we have gained a lot of experience from countries like France, Spain, Ireland and Sweden. But at this stage

there are still many countries that don't have the kinds of restrictions and disclosure we are planning."

Asmal told the *Mail & Guardian* that international publicity surrounding the Nolan Committee, set up in the British House of Commons to devise ways of curbing corruption and sleaze on the part of some of its MPs, would provide a major boost to the work of his committee.

He said it was important to keep the code of conduct and the enforcement machinery simple and effective. "Look at the United States, which has complex regulations and an expensive bureaucracy to administer it, but lots of corruption. We want to avoid that."

Richard Calland, director of the Parliamentary Information and Monitoring Service (Pims) in Cape Town, said the ANC's move was in keeping with trends around the world, including England and Russia, where MPs are banned from any outside business interests.

But Calland warned that it was vital for a national code to be legislated — rather than enacted as a set of voluntary or in-house rules — as a matter of urgency if "transparency" was to become more than just a buzzword.

The ANC enforces its own code

THE African National Congress this week released details about how members can bring charges against individuals in the movement accused of breaching the party's code of conduct before its disciplinary committee.

According to a draft disciplinary procedure drawn up by the organisation's national executive committee, charges can be "initiated for violations of the basic principles and norms of the ANC as laid down in the constitution of the ANC and the code of conduct for public representatives".

It stipulates that "any organ and/or branch of the ANC" can initiate a charge at branch, provincial or national level. The disciplinary proceedings should take place at the regional level where the alleged violation took place.

The charge must be prepared by a presenter on behalf of the organ or officials. This person will be appointed either by a branch secretary, a provincial secretary or a the secretary general of the organisation.

The charge has to be presented in writing and has to state clearly which section of the constitution or code of conduct has allegedly been violated. The affected party must be given a written copy of the charge at least five days before the hearing.

The procedure is designed to ensure "discipline is applied in accordance with a just and fair procedure which is clear and simple". Members of the organisation must be suspended in absentia until proven guilty and must have the chance to defend themselves.

It includes clauses designed to

The international experience

SLEAZE, secrecy and corruption are targets of the toughest action taken in Britain this century to enforce ethical behaviour by MPs in the House of Commons.

Prime Minister John Major's cabinet last week accepted the broad thrust of the controversial Nolan Committee's report, which laid down "seven principles of public life" to guard against "slackness in the observation and enforcement of high standards".

The Nolan ethics committee urges British MPs not to undertake parliamentary services for lobbyists and to

declare all earnings from outside consultancies. It recommends that a parliamentary Commissioner for Standards be set up to police a new code.

Nolan suggests former cabinet members be vetted by an independent committee before they can take paid employment for at least two years after they leave office, so that they are prevented from trading in strategic information obtained while in public office.

It also proposes a complex investigation mechanism in which MPs' behaviour is subject to independent scrutiny, while final judgments on

guilt and penalties be left up to the House of Commons.

The committee's recommendations include tighter enforcement of the Commons Register of Members' Interests, so that precise categories are declared, mainly in bands of R5 000.

Financial misbehaviour, in particular, matters to us all because it strikes at the very heart of that confidence which people must have in ministers and the motives behind their decisions," says the report.

To force the pace of implementing its proposals, the committee suggests

three categories of action. Some proposals must be immediately applied, others this year and the rest before the end of 1995.

Four members of the committee have also urged parliament to extend its inquiry into ways of ensuring that party political funds are disclosed and monitored — although this has so far been resisted by Major.

The Tory cabinet is expected to set up an all-party select committee to set the ink to implement the proposals, but the ink had hardly dried on Nolan's

P. J. O. T

June 16 is not a festival, says Azapo

(11)

By Abdul Mifazi
Labour Reporter

sation's Gauteng provincial structure at Saulsville Arena near Pretoria on Sunday, Mabasa said.

"When the Jewish people remember victims of the holocaust, they do not bring on live bands to dance and celebrate,"

The Christians also do not celebrate in song, dance and parties when they remember the day of the Crucifixion.

"Why then do we try to please the same people who killed our brothers by

changing those days so that whites can feel part of them.

We do not have to apologise for having lost our people."

Mabasa said June 16 had always been a traditional day for Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

"We have been careful not to commemorate solemn days with festivities. June 16 is very important on the calendar of the history of black South Africans," said Mabasa.

Mabasa warned that black people were in danger of losing everything in the name of compromise.

● Azapo's weekend provincial congress elected the following people to its top positions: Lybon Mabasa (Chairman), Thiza Mazibuko (deputy), John Modiko (secretary), Kabela Seabi (treasurer) Dan Hadebi (political commissar) Morwabisi Duna (organiser), Moosa Motlame (proceedings officer) and Ledwaba Jonas (publicity officer).

ANC to probe former MEC

(11) CT 30/5/95

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC yesterday announced the establishment of a national commission of inquiry into the activities of former Free State local government and housing MEC Mr Vax Mayekiso.

Mr Mayekiso was relieved of his duties by Free State premier Mr Terror Lekota after allegations that he had misused his public office.

The commission, chaired by Mr Charles Ngqulula, will investigate if Mr Mayekiso had breached the ANC's code of conduct, which prohibits its elected representatives from using their public office for personal gain or enrichment.

The commission's other members are Ms Bridgette Mabandla and Mr Johnny de Lange. — Sapa.

IFP leaders rally round 20-point plan

WM 2-8/6/95

Arri Eveleth

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party leaders this week closed ranks around party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and engaged in a concerted damage-control exercise following the untimely leakage of the contentious "20-point plan" last week.

While African National Congress leaders accused the party of launching a bid to secede KwaZulu/Natal from the rest of the country, IFP leaders Siphso Mzimela and Ziba Jiyane rallied behind the proposal, saying its contents were consistent with the party's federalist principles.

Party secretary general Jiyane pointed out that the leaked document represented nothing more than a proposal to "speed up" the provincial-led process for federalism agreed at the party's special general conference in March. At that conference, Buthelezi called for the IFP's "provincial army" to stand up and lead the battle. Most of the 20 points can be found in prior negotiating documentation of the party which informed its pre-election boycott last year.

ANC leaders admitted this week that many of the proposals did fall within the parameters of the constitution, but criticised the "manner of implementation" in which the document calls for "as many actions as possible (to be) taken at the same time".

ANC constitutional affairs committee chairman Pravin Ghordan said this was aimed at "causing a constitutional crisis".

Ghordan—who attends meetings of the Intergovernmental Forum from which IFP KwaZulu/Natal Premier Frank Mdlalose withdrew last week—said such a crisis could not be deemed warranted in respect of any issues the party had raised at the forum. "The (IFP) has had the odd complaint ... there might be a few outstanding issues, but nothing to provoke a constitutional crisis," Ghordan said.

Mdlalose told the KwaZulu/Natal parliament sitting in Ulundi this week that central government's failure to assign powers was hampering progress in every area from education and health to local government and development: "The inordinate delay ... has no doubt put the provincial government in a very invidious position" because the failure to assign new laws

meant the continuation of separate apartheid laws for the former KwaZulu and Natal.

ANC provincial transport minister S'bu Ndebele retorted that when the former KwaZulu government had "rushed to control" hospitals, schools and other competencies it was not ready for, the result had been the deterioration of services.

Ndebele said "self-respecting black people and doctors left KwaZulu hospitals ... teachers left, police stations became feared by the communities ... (and) farms ... bought back from whites ... were leased back to whites". ANC provincial MP Mike Sutcliffe said the devolution of powers was not the real issue: "If this was a serious problem of the province not operating effectively because of a lack of powers it would've been discussed at Cabinet. It hasn't." Sutcliffe said it was clear that "most of the provincial departments have not even exercised the powers they have".

Sutcliffe said the education department, for example, had not even finished amalgamating the former apartheid departments: "So how can they think of taking over curricula, training, etc?", he asked.

The 20-point plan — which the IFP's Mzimela says still needs to be referred by the national council to the party's "strategy committee" where it originated, before being considered by the national council "in August at the earliest" — calls for the adoption of far-reaching provincial legislation claiming exclusive powers over land management, water, forestry, civil service and a "provincial security and protection force" which could employ "several thousand armed protection agents under the direct and exclusive control of the province".

The document also calls for a parliamentary budget for legal and economic support to be made "available to the IFP parliamentary caucus to develop additional legislative initiatives and to promote the governance of the province", the director of which should be "immediately accountable to the IFP leadership".

The ANC's Nzimande said aspects revealed the document to be a "first building-block for secession. It is not by accident called 'a minimal institutional plan'. It implies a wider offensive", he said.

Sanco splinter group positions itself

Mduduzi ka Harvey

(11A) 80 13/1/95

A FACTION of Actstop executive members is due to meet on Thursday to decide whether members should dissociate from their mother body, the SA National Civic Organisation, faction head George Sejaphala said yesterday.

The move follows an internal feud dating back to 1993 that resulted in the formation of two Actstop rival factions — one headed by Sejaphala and the other under Chris Mgidlana.

Last week, Sanco decided to suspend Cas Coovadia, the publicity secretary of the Actstop faction headed by Sejaphala, for favouring a seven-section metropolitan substructure plan for Greater Johannesburg as opposed to the ANC-driven proposal for four areas.

Rival faction spokesman Phineas Madisha questioned the legitimacy of Sejaphala's group saying it had no mass-based support. He said they were simply "leaders of leaders", who were more concerned about positions.

Azapo expels three West Cape leaders

Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation has expelled three of its Western Cape leaders for defying the organisation's instructions to suspend their participation in local government structures.

Azapo, which is boycotting the local government elections, gave Justice Gola, Mfuziso Meleni and Siziwe Matika until last Wednesday to resign from local government structures or be expelled from the organisation automatically.

The organisation's Western Cape chairman, James Xekiso said the three regional executive members had fired themselves. He said Azapo now considered the matter a "closed affair".

But Mr Gola said yesterday the three would fight the decision because it had been made undemocratically.

Mr Gola said he got the letter the day the ultimatum expired.

He said he believed Azapo's general membership was behind members who want to participate.

The three would continue serving in the metropolitan structure as Azapo members, Mr Gola said.

Tax law change

THE Taxation Laws Amendment Bill which aims to curb the use of trusts to avoid paying higher transfer duties has been tabled in parliament. — Sapa.

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress stalwart and KwaZulu-Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala died of heart failure at the Midlands Medical Centre yesterday morning.

The "Lion of the Midlands" will roar no more. But, said the ANC's KwaZulu-Natal provincial executive committee: "His roar will reverberate from generation to generation of struggle."

The ANC whip in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislature and a member of the SA Communist Party, Gwala was a former prisoner on Robben Island, where he served two sentences.

The first of these was an eight-year term which ended in 1972. Next was a life sentence which began in 1975 and ended in 1988 when he was released on compassionate grounds.

Themba Harry Gwala was 74 years old. His personal physician, Dr Elias Baig, said he was "not at liberty" to elaborate on Gwala's illness except to say his patient had been in and out of hospital recently.

Members of his family were at his bedside when he died.

Gwala suffered from a progressive motor neuron disease which paralysed his arms and eventually left him unable to control his neck muscles.

He had survived several attempts on his life.

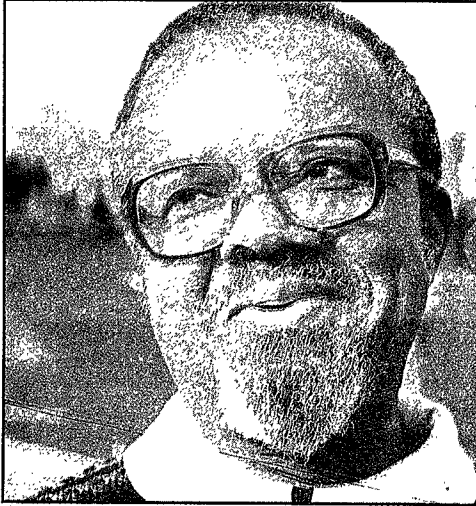
ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa left yesterday for Gwala's home to convey the ANC's condolences. Funeral arrangements will be announced later, the ANC said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told *Sowetan*: "It is truly tragic. Harry was in many ways a pillar of the movement in the 1940s and played an important role in the rise of the ANC. He will be truly

Harry Gwala dies of a heart attack

Sowetan 21/6/95

(11A) (H)



The lion of the Natal Midlands roars no more — Gwala is dead.

missed." Gwala was a tenacious personality who said what he thought. He was also courageous "beyond belief", the SACP said yesterday.

General secretary Charles Ngakula said the party had learnt of Gwala's death with sadness and a sense of great loss.

"His has been a lifetime devoted to political struggle," Ngakula said in a statement.

"Born into poverty, a one-time railway worker, largely self-taught, Harry Gwala had an outstanding and incisive intellect."

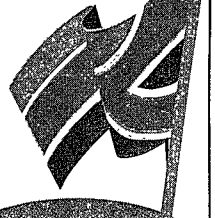
Said the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal: "Harry Gwala was always found in the midst of our people and yet at the

head of them. He never ran away from the people. He articulated the deepest feelings, desires and fears of the humblest among our people."

Among the first tributes to Gwala yesterday was one from the Black Consciousness Movement-aligned Azanian Youth Organisation.

Media liaison officer Mr Mpho Tsedu said: "Azayo sends its deepest condolences to the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Gwala family."

"We are really shocked at the passing away of a man who was truly of the grassroots, who could have easily lived in posh suburbs but instead chose to live with his people."



IN HIS WORDS

↳ The majority have fears too. The fear of the majority is that their struggle for freedom and democracy may be betrayed by people and leaders who stay in expensive houses in town ↴

HARRY GWALA speaking to Sowetan in November 1992 about white fears of a black government

'Lion of Maritzburg'

Harry Gwala, 74, dies

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: ANC stalwart and former SACP member Mr Harry Gwala is dead.

The 74-year-old kwaZulu/Natal Midlands leader died from heart failure yesterday after a long illness.

He suffered from incurable motor neuron disease which he contracted while serving a life sentence on Robben Island.

Tributes to Mr Gwala poured in from all over the country and from some of his fiercest critics.

Mr Gwala, who was the ANC's chief whip in the provincial legislature before his deteriorating health forced him to stop work last year, was hailed for his courage and ded-

ication to the province.

Regarded as a militant by his opponents, the ANC and SACP leader enjoyed massive popularity in kwaZulu/Natal, particularly among the youth.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, accompanied by a delegation of ANC officials, visited Mr Gwala's home in Edendale yesterday to finalise funeral arrangements which will take place at Swayimane near Greytown on Saturday, July 1.

Several memorial services have been planned.

President Nelson Mandela praised Mr Gwala for his determination to participate in the transition to democracy despite his illness.

"In his long struggle with

progressive paralysis, he demonstrated a rare courage and fortitude, kwaZulu/Natal is the poorer without him."

kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said Mr Gwala was a man of principle, he was one of the most experienced politicians in the legislature and impeccably loyal to it. "He will be remembered for his watchdog approach, he did not hesitate to criticise what he believed was wrong, no matter who was responsible."

ANC provincial secretary Mr Senzo Mchunu said: "The Lion of Maritzburg may roar no more but his roar reverberates from generation to generation of struggle."

The IFP called him a "true son of Africa". Despite its dif-



STALWART: ANC and SACP leader Mr Harry Gwala, 74, died yesterday.

(11A) CT 21/6/95
ferences with him, the IFP recognised his contribution to the liberation struggle and his unflinching patriotism.

The Pan-Africanist Congress said: "He was one of the few ANC leaders who still cared about the welfare of the masses of our people."

ANC breakaway youths form new movement

ST (CM) 25/6/95 (11A)
By AYESHA ISMAIL

A NEW youth movement was launched in the Western Cape last week following the breakaway of several coloured branches from the ANC Youth League earlier this year.

The Community Youth Movement (CYM) was launched at Genadendal mission station last week amid accusations of them being "ANC dissidents", "coloured nationalists" and "undisciplined ANC members".

President Nelson Mandela later invited CYM members to dinner at his residence.

This week CYM president James Kruger dismissed criticism of his movement, saying there was a need for an organisation to look after the interests and aspirations of the youth.

"Our breakaway from the Youth League should not be seen as racist. We had differences and thus felt it necessary to form another organisation," said Mr Kruger, a Peninsula Technikon medical technology student.

A week after the breakaway in February, President Mandela invited Mr Kruger and other members of CYM to an informal dinner at his official Cape Town residence, Genadendal.

"Mr Mandela told us that while he could not make decisions for us, he had respect for our views and decisions. He emphasised that we should focus on nation building and asked us to keep him informed of developments in our organisation," Mr Kruger said.

Rest in

Peace,

HARRY

(719) SOURCE
50/6/95

By Musa Zondi and Vuyo Bayama

THE ANC in KwaZulu-Natal is taking stringent measures to avoid bloodshed before and after the burial tomorrow of Mr Harry Gwala.

ANC provincial organiser in KwaZulu-Natal M Senzo Mchunu said police and army units, as well as ANC security personnel, would be out in force to ensure the proceedings tonight and tomorrow go as peacefully as possible.

Harry Ntshali, Midlands ANC chairman Gwala died of heart failure 10 days ago.

The security forces will be manning roadblocks at strategic areas as part of the security plan. All the routes to and from Maritzburg will be monitored. All buses bringing mourners to the night vigil and to the funeral will also be checked. Marshals will be supervising routes.

Minister of Safety and Security Mr Sydney Madimandla has been briefed and has promised tight security. The night vigil, which was earlier reportedly called off because of security fears, begins at 8pm tonight.

Compliance with a request

President Nelson Mandela will delay his trip to Japan to attend the funeral. In compliance with a request by Gwala before he died, his close friend and South African Communist Party comrade, Mr Govan Mbeki, will deliver the main speech at Jan Smuts Stadium in central Maritzburg, where the service will be held.

Mchunu said the ANC was concerned about threats that have been made by individuals from

the Inkatha Freedom Party. These included a certain Psychology Ndlovu, who was reportedly planning a party at KwaSwayimane, where Gwala will be finally laid to rest. The ANC views this as provocation, Mchunu said.

ANC deputy secretary-general Ms Cheryl Caroleus said yesterday that the organisation was "very, very nervous". She said the ANC was concerned about reported IFP blockades at Maritzburg ahead of the funeral.

The IFP is holding a major rally at the King Goodwill Zwelithini Stadium in Umhlanga, Durban, on Saturday.

The night vigil starts at Jan Smuts Stadium at 8pm tonight, when Gwala's body will lie in state until midnight. The main service will be at the same place tomorrow, and former deputy minister Mrs Winnie Mandela and Cosatu president Mr John Gomo are due to address mourners.

"The capitalist Press"

In Cape Town, ANC MP Mr Tony Yengeni yesterday attacked "the capitalist Press" for vilifying and criminalising Gwala as a warlord responsible for the conflict in KwaZulu-Natal.

Speaking at a memorial service in honour of Gwala, Yengeni said the Press also portrayed the Natal leader as a demagogue through "a shallow analysis". He described Gwala as his close friend and comrade, and said one of Gwala's faults was to trust too much those who were around him. At times this trust was betrayed, but Gwala's commitment to the struggle never wavered.

Farewell to working-class hero

□ Gwala will have a long-term effect on politics, says Mbeki
AR 5 30/6/95 (111)

ROGER FRIEDMAN
 Staff Reporter

HARRY Gwala's frankness and courage in expressing his views often made him unpopular, but his role as an ideological mentor on Robben Island will be reflected in South Africa's cabinet and political leadership for years to come.

Veteran activist and latter-day deputy president of the senate Govan Mbeki told a memorial service for Mr Gwala in the city hall yesterday that his former fellow-prisoner, "a both a great teacher and a saint", whose feet were firmly planted in the soil.

Mr Gwala died on Tuesday after a brief illness, was the chairman of the African National Congress's Kwa-zulu-Natal Midlands region and was the party's chief whip in the provincial legislature.

He was 74.
 Mr Gwala joined the South African Communist Party in 1942, and the ANC two years later.

"He gave everything of himself to the struggle and quite often was forced to live in poverty, dire poverty," said Mr Mbeki.

"Especially during the period of his first arrest in 1964 through to 1970, when he came out of jail, he bravely had nothing to live on or to support his family."

Mr Mbeki said: "He was a courageous comrade. Even when faced with extreme difficulties, he would not let it show — especially to the young."

"On the island, Harry's wife came to see him. Within days after she left, before she could get home to Pietermaritzburg, she collapsed and died here in Langa."

"Very few people would have managed to keep up their own spirits, as well as those of the comrades around him. But Harry would not show that the younger people — he stood courageously."

Mr Mbeki said he believed the lessons



TRIBUTE: Deputy president of the senate, Govan Mbeki, second left, is flanked by MP Tony Yengeni and ANC provincial secretary James Ngculu at a memorial service for the "Lion of the Midlands", Harry Gwala.

taught on the island still reverberated around South Africa.

"I think we succeeded because most of the leadership that you find in SACP got their education on Robben Island, if we failed to anticipate the possibility of negotiations, South Africa would not be where it is today.

"Many of the South Africans would be walking on blood even today."
 Turning to Mr Gwala's politics, and his deep devotion to Stalinism, Mr Mbeki praised Mr Gwala for being pre-

"They wanted to convey the view that he was not flexible, that the SACP was led by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. This new era got some people in the SACP, but the SACP was not in the habit of building monuments. The only monument we can build to commemorate Harry is to carry on the struggle where he left it."

The struggle did not end with elections last year, but had entered a "new phase".
 Mr Mbeki said: "In this new phase comrade Harry was with us..."

pared to put forward his views — even if they contradicted "some of the top-most comrades in the struggle".
 Mr Mbeki said: "His thinking on the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin were sometimes not correct, but he stood by those ideas."
 "I have seen some newspapers use a brush to paint people, and they think that once they have used that brush against you, you will be unpopular to a far greater extent than to most of us."
 "The brush that they used was Stalinism."

Nissen to quit as ANC head in Western Cape

By NORMAN WEST and RAYMOND JOSEPH

ANC Western Cape leader the Reverend Chris Nissen is planning to step down as leader of the organisation in the region and Minister of Economic Affairs — but he says he is under pressure to stay on until after the local government elections.

Mr Nissen dropped his bombshell at a Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) meeting in Cape Town earlier this week, when he said he wanted to quit as both party leader and provincial Minister of Economic Affairs.

But the party, faced with the prospect of a potentially divisive leadership battle only months before the elections, has made it clear they would prefer him to stay on until after the poll.

Mr Nissen was appointed leader in September last year after Dr Allan Boesak resigned to take up a diplomatic post, although he was ultimately not appointed after the scandal erupted over his Foundation of Peace and Justice.

Yesterday Mr Nissen confirmed that he would not be available for re-election as regional leader at the party's next conference which, sources said, would probably not be held until after the election.

He also confirmed that he planned to step down as Minister of Economic Affairs as he had made his acceptance of the post of ANC leader conditional on him having the same status as Dr Boesak, who also held the economics portfolio.

"I still remain a loyal member of the party and I want to continue to serve the ANC effectively," Mr Nissen said.

The post of Economics Affairs Minister is closely linked



STEPPING DOWN . . . The Rev Chris Nissen, who is planning to quit as leader of ANC Western Cape. Picture: JUSTIN SHOLK

to the implementation of the RDP and is regarded as the most influential post the ANC is likely to get in the NP-dominated provincial government.

Mr Nissen declined to give reasons for his decision to step down, but informed sources be-

lieve it is a direct result of the bitter infighting that plagued the ANC in the Western Cape in the run-up to the 1994 general elections.

These divisions were further exacerbated after the heavy defeat of the ANC by the NP in the election.

Leadership crisis in Western Cape ANC

(11A) SPAN 11/7/95

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The African National Congress is likely to postpone its Western Cape congress to avoid a leadership crisis, harming its chances in the local government elections.

Regional chairman and Minister of Economic Affairs Chris Nissen announced at a meeting of the provincial executive committee last week that he planned to step down from both positions at the annual congress, due in September.

Although Mr Nissen has preferred not to give reasons for his decision, saying he had only been elected for a single term, it is understood he is unhappy that he has failed to heal internal divisions between senior coloured and black members.

According to ANC sources, leading black members blame coloured voters for the party's poor showing in last April's elections. Coloured political organisations have mushroomed in the Western Cape as a re-

sult. President Nelson Mandela is known to favour a coloured leader for the region. But, it appears, the personal intervention of both President Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has failed to heal the rift.

Nissen was elected to succeed former regional chairman Allan Boesak at last year's congress last September, after Dr Boesak stepped down, saying he wanted to devote more time to his Economic Affairs Ministry.

A month later Dr Boesak retired as Minister of Economic Affairs as he was expected to become South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva. Nissen took over Boesak's ministry after threatening to resign as chairman if he did not get the position.

A Xhosa-speaking Presbyterian priest with strong rural ties and a solid anti-apartheid record, Nissen was seen as a unifying factor in the racially split regional ANC.

ANC set to delay congress to avoid leadership crisis

☐ *Nissen likely to stay through poll*

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According to ANC sources, leading black members blame coloured voters for the party's poor showing in last April's elections. Coloured political organisations have mushroomed in the Western Cape as a result.

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Mr Nissen was elected to succeed then regional chairman Allan Boesak last September, after Dr Boesak stepped down at last year's congress in September, saying he wanted to devote more time to his economic affairs ministry.

Mr Nissen scored a decisive electoral victory over two MPs — former regional secretary Tony Yengeni and former trade unionist Sallie Manie.

A month later Dr Boesak retired as minister of economic affairs as he was expected to become ambassador to the

AKG 11/7/96 (1/1)

BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

ROGER FRIEDMAN, Staff Reporter



Chris Nissen
United Nations in Geneva. Mr Nissen took over Dr Boesak's ministry after threatening to resign as chairman if he didn't get the post.

A Xhosa-speaking Presbyterian priest with strong rural ties and a solid anti-apartheid record, Mr Nissen was seen as a unifying factor in the racially split regional ANC.

Mr Nissen said yesterday he would probably carry on as leader of the party until after local government elections.

"It appears the elections will be postponed. We are discussing whether to hold our regional congress after the elections."

Mr Nissen said he would make himself available to continue as a minister, but that it was up to the party to decide whether they still wanted him.

He was standing down as minister because of his insistence that the ministry be

linked to the party leadership. "I stand by that decision. If I am no longer the leader it is up to the caucus to decide whether I should continue in the ministry."

● A senior ANC source said the ANC in the Western Cape was committed to non-racialism. "African chauvinism" was confined to a few areas and a handful of senior members.

"The rise of Africanism can be seen as a response to the election result in the region. The region must deal with it by a political process designed to show people that narrow Africanism is profoundly damaging and anti-traditional to the ANC."

In March, Mr Nissen said: "If we work very hard and address our problems in an honest and open way, we can win the local government elections."

"Organisationally, like all the other parties emerging from one election and plunging straight into another, we are experiencing a few problems."

"Mostly, those problems are not of the party's own making, but are due to the social environment, the legacy of apartheid and racism."

Indeed, Mr Nissen said, racism was active far beneath the surface in the run-up to the national elections. He cited the housing invasions at Tafelsig and Delft, the alleged rape of a coloured woman by 17 black youths on a train between Bontheuvel and Heideveld, and a "racist" and subsequently banned NP comic book, as examples.

Bad timing in W Cape

THE leadership rumblings within the African National Congress in the Western Cape could not have come at a worse time for the ANC — just three months before the all-important municipal elections in November.

The disclosure that popular ANC leader Mr Chris Nissen wants to step down, has surfaced amid claims that the party is ill-prepared and does not stand a chance to stop the National Party from entrenching its position in the Western Cape.

Small wonder that the ANC's main political rivals are rubbing their hands in glee because the respected cleric wants to resign as ANC chairman and regional MEC for economic affairs.

The alleged reason for his planned departure is the so-called "African chauvinism" within the ANC. This must be music to the NP's ears for it will mean that the ANC's non-racial glue cannot even keep its members together.

Not that all is well within the NP cauldron, but its well-oiled electioneering machine and willingness to play up the racial fears of coloured people puts them a step ahead.

On the record, Nissen merely does not want to make himself available for the leadership post at the next provincial ANC congress and will consequently also step down as economic affairs MEC. Sources claim he will return to the ministry.

Meanwhile, the shell-shocked ANC, still seeking a meeting with Nissen, is battling to limit the damage. It is likely to ask Nissen to stay on as leader until after the elections, which he has committed himself to.

Even if the ANC manages to persuade the former vice-chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches to stay on, it may be at a disadvantage because it will effectively be facing the elections with a leader who has his eyes elsewhere.

Positive aspects

Tactically, the move does have positive aspects because the ANC will avoid yet another bitter round of leadership bickering just before the elections.

In fact, tragically, the leadership tussles in the region have been marked by back-stabbing and sometimes naked racism whenever it is time to decide who-should-occupy-which-chair. Come election time, political "niceties" such as non-racialism, democracy and unity go out of the window.

Two years ago, ANC leader President Nelson Mandela thought up what is said to be the most effective way of finding a winning formula for the region, when he suggested the leadership should reflect the region's population.

Subsequently, former United Democratic

Chris Nissen's resignation as regional ANC chairman could have wide implications, reports Vuyo Bavuma

(11A) (etc) Sowetan 12/7/95



The Reverend Chris Nissen ... the ANC will be much the poorer without him.

Frontal stalwart Dr Allan Boesak, then considered to be a draw card for the highly-important coloured support, was elected to lead the ANC in Western Cape. But the gamble backfired horribly as the ANC lost to the NP, with most coloured people flocking to the "racist nest of their former oppressors".

And it was back to square one for the ANC to find a suitable leader.

At last year's regional conference, the missing piece of the puzzle seemed to have been found when Nissen was elected to lead the organisation.

He defeated two major candidates: Tony Yengeni, who enjoys large support from the townships, and Salie Manie, a former unionist.

Nissen was elected even though the party had publicly acknowledged that the new comrades-MPs needed to be relieved of extra-parliamentary work. ANC work, it was decided, should be tackled by fresh blood within the wider membership.

Adverse effects

Nissen, fully aware of the adverse effects of the NP's racist campaign in the general elections, vowed to fight against racism, which he said was tearing society apart. He also pledged to rebuild

the party's election machinery, especially in rural areas.

Armed with a solid background of struggle and vast grassroots connections — he can speak fluent Xhosa — Nissen set about to rebuild bridges among the racial groups. His style of leadership, which proved to be popular, embodied the non-racialism the party stood for.

However, hardly a month after he was at the helm of the ANC leadership, Nissen was involved in a bitter public row with his colleagues over who should take over Boesak's job as MEC for economic affairs.

An angry Nissen made it clear that if he was not given the post, he would quit the movement. He argued that his role as a leader would be untenable if the party could not trust him with the same powers and status as Boesak.

Within the ANC some favoured provincial chief whip Mr Tasneem Essop, while others favoured Ms Lynette Brown, the ANC's education spokeswoman. Essop went on to win the caucus vote.

Threat to quit

But in the face of Nissen's threat to quit and his overwhelming support from the extra-parliamentary ANC alliance, the party's parliamentary caucus backed down — and the cleric was elected MEC for economic affairs. Finally the furore died down.

In his typical down-to-earth manner, Nissen regularly visited workers at their factories to acquaint himself with their problems.

He also discussed their fears, which included affirmative action and attempts to drive a wedge between African and coloured workers.

He also went about his job as MEC in an almost casual style that pleased everyone, including businesses.

Not unexpectedly, he took an interest in the problems of the community and tried to mediate in the potentially explosive situation involving Grabouw coloureds who were squatting on land earmarked for Africans.

His no-nonsense approach in the regional legislature also won him the hearts of many: in one session he told the NP to stop complaining about under-funding and get on with the reconstruction and development programme.

Nissen also warned there was a danger the RDP could not be implemented in the region if the NP had an "attitude that everything that redresses imbalances or is deemed to be reconstruction will be left to the RDP office or projects".

But now Nissen's touch of being able to reach out to all communities will go away. And, without it, the ANC will be much the poorer.

Nissen looks to ANC grassroots

Western Cape ANC leader may change his mind about resigning if he gets support from branches

(11A) AKL 22/9/95

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

THE African National Congress in the Western Cape is leading for a leadership struggle as support for Chris Nissen grows after his announcement earlier that he was not available for re-election as ANC provincial leader.

■ Chris Nissen may stay on as ANC Western Cape leader after all, with strong support from ANC branches.

Mr Nissen has been under intense pressure from blacks in the party to give up his position in favour of a black leader — with Mr Yengeni the prime contender.

Racial tension between coloured and black members of the ANC has been worsening in the province, with blacks trying to oust coloureds from key positions.

Mr Yengeni, now chairman of the powerful parliamentary defence committee, challenged for the provincial ANC leadership position last year but was beaten by Mr Nissen, who is now provincial economics minister.

President Nelson Mandela, the ANC's national leader, is known to favour having a coloured provincial ANC leader as this would be in line with the coloured majority in the

Western Cape.

But with strong coloured support for the National Party in last year's elections, black ANC members believe the time has come for the ANC to have a black provincial leader, as the ANC's strongest support in the province comes from the black community.

However, a change to black leadership in the Western Cape could further undermine ANC support in the coming municipal elections among the coloured majority in the province.

Mr Yengeni is known as a militant in the ANC, with Winnie-Mandela and Peter Mokaba NP propagandists apparently relish the prospect of Mr Yengeni taking over the ANC provincial leadership, thereby alienating the party's re-

maining coloured support.

With the Cape municipal elections likely to be postponed from November 1 to early next year due to the wrangle over municipal boundaries, the ANC cannot afford losing Mr Nissen as provincial leader, which could undermine what remains of its coloured support.

ANC provincial spokesman Brent Strimms said it was still too early to speculate on the leadership issue, as Mr Nissen still had a year to go. Mr Strimms said although Mr Nissen had said he was not available for re-election, "branches might decide otherwise".

He said if enough ANC Branches re-nominated Mr Nissen next year, when the provincial leader is elected, he might reconsider his position and make himself available.

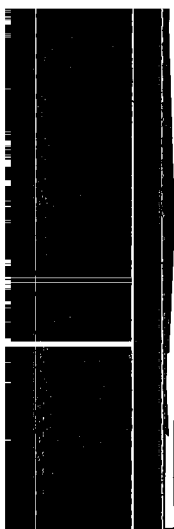
Mr Strimms said Mr Nissen was supported as leader by the majority of ANC branches and only he could decide to make himself available for re-election, depending on his support from the branches.



Picture: OBERD ZILWA, Staff Photographer.
□ CONTENDER: Tough-talking Tony Yengeni has strong leadership ambitions and backing from blacks to take over the Western Cape ANC leadership from Chris Nissen.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, Staff Photographer.
□ DEFENDER: Chris Nissen may stand again for ANC leadership if he receives enough grassroots support — in spite of his announcement that he is not available for re-election.



Ramaphosa, Mbeki fight for the throne

ARLT 29/7/95 (11A)

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

KNIVES are out between the supporters of Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa in a political street-fight to decide who will succeed Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela, 77, has already indicated his unwillingness to remain in office as president after the next general election, due in 1999.

Deputy President Mbeki has for some time played the role of Mr Mandela's crown prince. But supporters of Mr Ramaphosa, African National Congress secretary-general, have now launched an assault on one of Mr Mbeki's key powers — control of government propaganda.

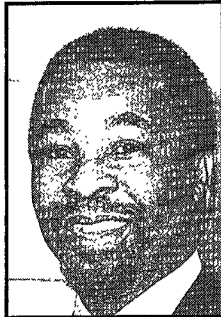
The confrontation is expected to come to a head at a three-day conference to be held in Cape Town from August 25, at which government communication and media policy will be formulated.

A determined bid is to be mounted at the conference to undermine Mr Mbeki's control of government communications, while Mr Mbeki's aides are trying to take the heat off him at the conference.

Mr Mbeki is the man in the middle. He is the political head of the controversial SA Communication Service (Sacs), the official propaganda arm of the government whose roots go back to the old Department (later Bureau) of Information that was at the centre of the Info scandal in the late '70s.

Sacs has now become the target of a concerted onslaught to reduce Mr Mbeki's sphere of influence to prepare the way for Mr Ramaphosa's challenge

■ Forces in the ANC are out to erode the power base of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as they prepare the ground for Cyril Ramaphosa to succeed Nelson Mandela.



□ **UNDER ATTACK:**
Thabo Mbeki



□ **RISING RAMBO:**
Cyril Ramaphosa

for the future leadership of the ANC and South Africa, government sources said.

Mr Mbeki's political grip on Sacs has been weakened due to his apparent backing of its acting head, David Venter, who Mr Mbeki inherited from the previous government. Mr Venter is believed to be one of seven candidates in line to become the permanent head of Sacs.

Mr Venter has developed a reputation as "Mbeki's man" and has taken much of the heat in Mr Mbeki's controversial bid to impose government information slots on SABC radio and TV.

Several ANC cabinet ministers and MPs have hammered Sacs for being run by propagandists of the "apartheid government" who are incapable of effectively communicating the new ANC-led government's

government departments have their own media liaison officers.

He says this anomaly creates confusion and the impression there are different centres of power. He has accused Sacs of meddling in the work of ministries and departments and that Sacs, as it now exists, should be shut down.

This has been widely interpreted in government as a concerted attack on Mr Mbeki's power, as the continued existence of Sacs is a major part of his power base.

Meanwhile Mr Mbeki's own team is trying to divert the heat from Sacs at next month's conference.

Mr Mbeki's spokesman Thami Ntenti, who is also chairman of the conference's preparatory committee, said the focus at the conference would be on communications in general and not just on Sacs.

Mr Mbeki has also been indirectly criticised by fellow ANC minister Pallo Jordan, until recently the head of the ANC's own information and publicity department.

Dr Jordan, now minister of posts, telecommunications and broadcasting, criticised the bid by Sacs, widely known to be Mr Mbeki's power base, to have direct government information slots on TV and radio.

Support for Mr Mbeki and Mr Ramaphosa appears to cut across simple ideological lines, with both receiving support from party hardliners, although a number of communists are said to favour Mr Ramaphosa for president.

ANC hardliner Peter Mokaba openly backs Mr Mbeki while fellow hardliner Winnie Mandela has a longstanding grudge against Mr Ramaphosa.

policies.

Mr Venter has been singled out for criticism, and some ANC MPs have even questioned the need for Sacs to exist — as most individual ministries and departments have their own information structures. This represents a direct attack on Mr Mbeki's power base.

One of the key critics of Mr Venter is former ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, now a senior MP and chairman of the parliamentary committee on correctional services.

Mr Niehaus says individuals with the baggage and history of Mr Venter are unsuitable for a job which requires sensitivity to the needs of the majority.

Mr Niehaus has criticised government communications as a bureaucratic maze, pointing out that cabinet ministers and

SACP man sentenced to 55 years for 'callous and clinical' murders

17/8/95 Star (IIA)

The killing of people to further political ends could not be taken as a mitigating factor, a Supreme Court judge said yesterday when he sentenced a SA Communist Party member to 235 years imprisonment.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst was commenting before sentencing Hollingwood Gushu (31) for murdering six people and attempting to murder six others in a series of inci-

dents in the Eastern Transvaal during 1991 and 1992.

He ordered that the sentences should run concurrently, so that Gushu effectively served 55 years.

Before sentencing Gushu, the judge said South Africa was sick and tired of senseless and barbaric violence.

Gushu had been an effective assassin whose attacks were particularly

cold-blooded as he had led all his victims into a trap. The attacks were carried out by a deadly shot who handled his AK-47 with precision.

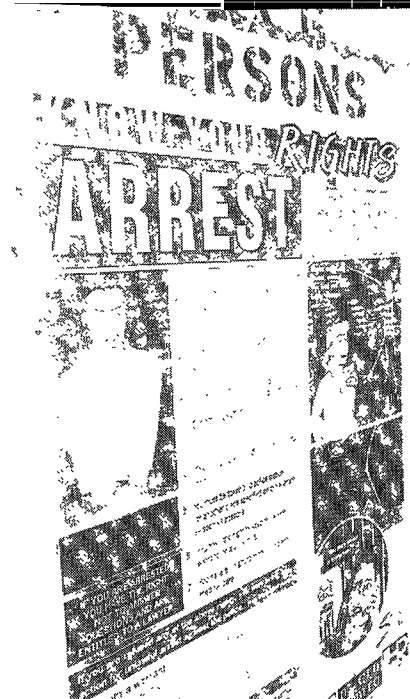
The judge said there was no clear motive for most of the killings, though it had been argued that Gushu shot his victims because they were members of the IFP.

"There is no evidence that the accused was affected by political vio-

lence," he said.

"This cannot be seen as mitigation in a new democratic South Africa. It would be an evil day if people had to pay for their political views at the hand of an assassin," he added.

The judge did not comment on the Constitutional Court's decision to abolish the death sentence, but said Gushu deserved to be sentenced to death. — Sapa.



MEMORY LANE . . . the new mayor of Odendaalsrus, Sello Dithebe, visits police cells where he was held as an ANC activist

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

By CHRIS BARRON

ST. 27/8/95 (11A)

Former prisoner dons new chains for return

His last time Sello Dithebe spent a night in Odendaalsrus it was as a prisoner in the local jail. The small mining town in the Free State was virtually the private fiefdom of right-wing Afrikaners then, and they regarded Mr Dithebe as a danger to their existence.

As a result he got to know the inside of the town's police cells better than most. Cold concrete for a bed, food that didn't bear thinking about and teargas when he complained.

Whenever he left he guessed he'd be back again. But never in his wildest dreams did he imagine he'd come back of his own accord. This week he did — as the town's number one citizen, wearing the golden chain of office round his neck that a black person had worn before.

"It feels like a homecoming," he said with a broad grin as he entered the cell he had last seen as an ANC activist in 1990.

He pointed to a newly placed notice on the cell gate which reminded prisoners of their legal rights. "If I'd tried that," he said, "I don't know if I'd be here today." He was referring to number two of the prisoner's rights: "You may refuse to answer questions."

For all he knows his friend Siphso Mutisi, at the time a fellow resident of the black township of Kutlwanong adjacent to Odendaalsrus, may have been trying to exercise that particular right when he died in detention in the mid 80s.

What he does know, is that he owes his presence as mayor of this once right-wing town to its most rightwing of town councillors. They saved him from a motion of no-confidence, brought by people they still accuse of having allowed a black mayor to take over their town in the first place.

The motion to depose Mr Dithebe was brought by the council's National Party members, supported by people they would have locked up as soon as look at until quite recently — the PAC.

They were only thwarted by the Conservative Party and Freedom Front, whose members have still not forgiven their erstwhile fellow conservatives for crossing the floor to join the Nats in 1990, costing the Conservative Party control of the council.

The ones smarting now, of course, are the Nats. Their bid to oust Mr Dithebe was spearheaded by former mayor Rais Vermaak.

But Mr Dithebe's most vociferous foe in council is the NP's Thom Bothma, who describes the new mayor as "intelligent", but can't, say Conservative Party

sources, stomach the idea that the NP, and more particularly Mr Bothma himself, is no longer in charge.

It took all of Mr Dithebe's considerable humour and patience to contain Mr Bothma at this week's council meeting when the ANC brought a motion of no-confidence against Mr Bothma for supposedly abusing his powers as executive committee chairman and putting a "racist" advertisement in the local newspaper, warning whites that if they didn't register for the local elections their gardeners would choose their councillors for them.

He misused his powers when he refused to allow the mayor to participate in a meeting of the executive committee, said an ANC source.

"Standing orders say the chairperson of the committee will rule whether a person who is not a member of that committee may speak," raged Mr Bothma. "If that is abuse of my powers then I reject it with the contempt that is due thereto."

During a dispute with Mr Dithebe, who at 27 is almost 20 years Mr Bothma's junior, Mr Bothma told him: "I have a

problem with the way you are handling this meeting. You are taking part in discussions, you are not acting as chairperson of this meeting. I thought you had now overcome that, sir. Please!"

"I will not be dictated to," answered Mr Dithebe. But the attempted browbeating in council seldom lets up.

During debate at this week's meeting about incidents involving an ANC councillor and ANC Youth League members the phrases "hit-and-run" and "hijack" were bandied about with such theatrical relish by NP councillors that Mr Dithebe, urbane, soft-spoken and highly articulate found it hard to keep a straight face.

"I am on the verge of getting cross again," announced Mr Bothma, glaring at him. "I saw you smiling. Is the damage and take-over of council property a joke?"

"I don't think I need to apologise to any one," responded Mr Dithebe. "I don't need to get into a discussion over why I laughed."

"We as a council are entitled to insist on knowing from you whether you consider this a serious matter?" insisted Mr Bothma.

If Mr Dithebe had learnt anything from the cells though, it was to keep cool.

"It is," blustered Mr Bothma in one of his tirades, "self-explanatory . . ."

"Self-explanatory," corrected the mayor of Odendaalsrus.

With a smile.

PAC's no to 'taxi police'

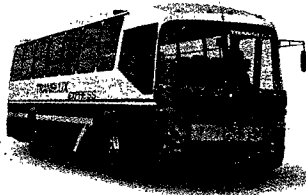
11A

Sowetan 7/9/95
THE Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday it was concerned by the number of policemen owning or operating taxis.

In Johannesburg, PAC secretary-general Mr Maxwell Nematshivanani said: "Their impartiality and credibility in deal-

ing with taxi violence is therefore questionable." The PAC welcomed Police Commissioner George Fivaz's announcement of an investigation into allegations that police had done nothing to prevent the recent taxi violence.— *Sapa*.

PLAY



TRANSLUX EXPRESS

Can the dead act as arbitrators?

(11A) WMM 8-14/95

The Azanian Students' Movement is misusing Steve Biko's name for its own sectarian interests, argues **Mamphela Ramphele**

THE tensions around the Azanian Students Movement's (Azasim) campaign to have white teachers in schools previously set aside for black people replaced by unemployed black teachers, in the name of black solidarity, is a chilling reminder of the divisions in our society and the perceived lack of a unified national strategy to heal the wounds of the past. It was, however, gratifying to see how strongly parents and pupils, in whose name the Azasim activists were said to be acting, protested this disruptive action.

There is no doubt that there needs to be a more visible strategic plan to map out a programme of action to deal with the legacy of Bantu Education as a priority area of concern of the Government of National Unity. There is also a crying need for a communication strategy to let the public know what plans are being developed, so that ordinary people can have the confidence that their expectations are being addressed, and the time scale over which their needs are likely to be met. In my opinion, ordinary people have shown an amazing willingness to wait for social change, provided they feel that there is light at the end of the tunnel. Our government has yet to understand this and has thus left a gap for some elements to discredit our nascent democracy as a sham.

Azasim represents an important constituency within the Azanian People's Organisation family, which is most vocal in its criticisms of the new dispensation.

The 18th anniversary of Stephen Biko's death in police custody on September 12 is an opportune moment to trace the continuities and discontinuities between the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of 1969 to 1977, and that of the 1977 to the 1990s.

The bannings of October 19 1977, following so swiftly after Biko's death, marked a turning point in the struggle for liberation. The oppressive system intensified its grip, and forced political activists to develop new strategies for continuing the struggle. Unity within the liberation movement — the main mission which took Biko to Cape Town on that fateful trip — became paramount.

The emergence of the Azanian People's Organisation (Asapo) signalled a division between those who believed in continuing the focus on black solidarity on one hand, and those who promoted a more united front approach to the liberation process.

It is worth recalling that the motivation for the formation of the BCM in the late 1960s was to raise the consciousness of black people



Dr Mamphela Ramphele: 'The dead cannot rule from the grave, nor should their rest be continually interrupted to settle intellectual disputes'

of the relationship between their physical oppression by a racist system and their internalisation of an inferiority complex, which constituted a psycho-social dimension to their oppression. The focus was thus on freeing the self from psycho-social oppression through solidarity, self-reliance and self-criticism as an important prerequisite to full liberation from all forms of oppression.

The enemy within had to be defeated to enable one to effectively tackle the external institutional one. Much comment has been passed on the success or failure of this process, but the BCM contributed significantly to the positive affirmation of the historical agency of black people and the revitalisation of the liberation struggle, including the ANC's armed struggle, which reaped the benefits of the energy of young activists who fled into exile.

The visibility of products of this era, such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Cheryl Carolus, Barney Pityana, Thenjwe Mthintso, Frank Chikane *et al.* in public office in a changing South Africa speaks louder than any words.

There is general agreement that part of the process of reconstruction and development is about restoring the fabric of our society, which has been torn apart by the brutality of our

past. The place of the Black Consciousness philosophy in such a healing process needs to be examined.

There is, on the one hand, a denial of the extent to which the legacy of racism has shaped our self-perceptions, our self-images, our sense of guilt and hurt. Such denials fly in the face of the everyday experiences of ordinary people who have voted for the new dispensation, but feel that their humanity is not properly affirmed in their dealings with fellow South Africans.

On the other hand, there are people who refuse to acknowledge the possibility of reconciliation of our divided past and the emergence of a truly non-racial social order. In the minds of these advocates, South Africans are doomed as prisoners of past racist practices.

The appropriation of the past to suit particular political-economic or socio-cultural ends is a global and age-old practice. A changing South Africa is witnessing the invention and re-invention of history to explain, legitimate and justify claims by various social actors of their role in the anti-apartheid struggle and the process of liberation.

Biko is often quoted as an authority on what political strategies in the 1980s and

1990s ought to be. The brandishing of his name is intended to silence critics, who are cast in the role of traitors to the cause for which Biko laid his life down. The dragging of the dead from their resting places to help win arguments often signals an unwillingness or, indeed, an inability to confront the present. The dead cannot rule from the grave, nor should their rest be continually interrupted to settle intellectual disputes.

Azapo's appropriation of Biko's name in its war of position in changing South Africa is particularly unfortunate for a number of reasons. First, Biko was not a member of Azapo — a post-1977 organisation — and it would be of academic interest only to explore whether he would have identified himself with its politics had he lived. It is not insignificant that none of his close political associates from the 1970s are members of Azapo.

Second, contrary to Azapo's assertion, Biko was never anti-white, nor did he ever act against white people in the name of black solidarity. Biko made a clear distinction between white people and the oppressive, racist white system. Indeed, among his many personal and dear friends were white people.

Third, the appropriation of Biko's memory and the legacy of the entire BCM tradition as sectarian symbols by Azapo has inhibited, and will continue to inhibit, the exploration and appreciation of the rest of the South African population of the relative contribution of Biko the person and the BCM to the struggle for liberation.

The eighteenth anniversary of his death is an opportune moment to free the memory of this remarkable man to roam freely in the country he loved so much, and for which he was prepared to die. The philosophy of Black Consciousness also needs to be freed from the trappings of sectarian interpretations, so that young black South Africans can learn how to come to terms with their blackness in a society in which, historically, that which is black was and still is symbolically linked with inferiority, incompetence, ignorance and so on.

Living in non-racial South Africa is not going to become a reality for many young black people until they have developed a sense of self which they can live with. There is a lot of tension, anger and bewilderment underneath the multiracial ethos which characterises many of the organs of civil society, including the church and political parties.

The road to non-racism is going to be a long and hard one. South Africans need all the unifying symbolic armour they can muster to negotiate the new environment. Delegitimising Biko and the BCM for sectarian interests does serious injustice to his memory. It is time to let him and the BCM be.

Dr Mamphela Ramphele is director of Idasa's public information centre

Can the dead act as arbitrators?

The Azanian Students' Movement is misusing Steve Biko's name for its own sectarian interests, argues **Mamphela Ramphele**

THE tensions around the Azanian Students Movement's (Azasom) campaign to have white teachers in schools previously set aside for black people replaced by unemployed black teachers, in the name of black solidarity, is a chilling reminder of the divisions in our society and the perceived lack of a unified national strategy to heal the wounds of the past. It was, however, gratifying to see how strongly parents and pupils, in whose name the Azasom activists were said to be acting, protested this disruptive action.

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Itumeleng Mosala takes issue with last week's article by Dr Mamphela Ramphele

A poor tribute to Biko

WM 15-21/95
(11A)

DR MAMPHELA RAMPHELE (*Mail & Guardian* September 8 to 14) makes several serious claims that need challenging.

I am a member of the Azanian People's Organisation; in fact, an immediate expresident, but, contrary to the opportunistic claims of Ramphele, I was not only a close associate of Steve Biko, I was one of many trusted comrades of his who remain members of Azapo.

It is time, albeit after eighteen years of typical African courtesy, that the truth be told about Ramphele — about her relationship with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), with Biko, with the black community as a whole and with the black and African intellectual community. There is a limit to how courteous we can remain; there is a limit to how tolerant we can be to a systematic and constant rubbishing of the black community as a way of climbing up the ladder of white privilege. There is even a limit to rationalising about black liberals in terms of the extent to which the pathology of apartheid has distorted their self-image.

Some of us who know Ramphele and remember her from the early years of the BCM, frankly recall only two outstanding things about her: the courage and bravery with which she smoked her cigarettes, in the context of a cultural conservatism that permeated even a movement as radical as the BCM. We admired her for daring to go against the stream of cultural behaviour, mainly because we were inculcating precisely that political trait among our people at a time when a major repressive machinery was grinding them.

Except for one more thing, there is nothing else some of us remember her for. The one more thing is this: she also had the distinction of having had the most well-known affair with Steve Biko. For these two things and for nothing else do some of us remember her.

Ramphele inveighs against the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) and Azapo for supposedly wanting "the dead (to) rule from the grave, nor should their rest be continually interrupted to settle intellec-

tual disputes". I beg your pardon, Dr Ramphele. We know what you want and mean by these words. You want to monopolise Biko. Your statements about your relationship with Biko here and internationally betray your real prejudice. You are unable to invoke anything from your own life and history to back the claims of your worth. Instead, you are continually introduced as a stalwart of the BCM and you yourself constantly and subtly attempt to let "the dead ... rule from the grave", and "continually interrupt their rest" as in your recent television appearance.

Many people overseas refer to you as the widow or common law wife of Biko. It is hard to believe that they have invented this themselves. Why don't you correct them? Why don't you tell them that Biko was married? His wife's name is Ntsiki Biko. She is the widow, not you.

Ramphele's relationship with the black community is a curious one. Many black people, especially among professional colleagues, are baffled by her continual anti-black rhetoric, indeed diatribe. Black people have taken enough cultural, political, intellectual and physical battering from white people for many years.

We do not expect more of the same thing from a black person who claims an important "connection" with one of the great heroes of our struggle. I am tired of letting courtesy hold me back. Frankly, for me, you come across like a more indigenous version of comrade Eugene Nyati: that is, you are always right and everybody else is always wrong and deserves to be lambasted. You could pay Steve Biko a better tribute than that.

As to the issue of black consciousness itself and Biko, here are my thoughts: no person has a monopoly of knowledge and power over the forces and waves of history. This includes Ramphele and Biko.

Frankly, I do not care whether Biko would

have belonged to Azapo or not. But, knowing Steve, he would have concurred with Muntu Ka Myeza, when he said, about the likes of Ramphele: "Renegades are not the best judges of the cause they have deserted."

Ramphele is an intellectual, but a strange one who cannot penetrate the depths of the campaign that Azasm is waging. Her comments on it remain on the surface almost as if she is one of the news reporters. This is a sad commentary on African Intellectualism if the likes of Ramphele are to be allowed to continue to claim to be a part of it. The contradictions of it are, for me, like those of a piece in an introduction to Edward W Said's book *The Pen and the Sword*, where a powerful statement is contradictorily analogised with South Africa:

"Said was invited to the White House, did not go and watched the 'tawdry' affair on TV: Clinton like a Roman emperor

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bringing two vassal kings to his imperial court and making them shake hands in front of him. Then there was the fashion show parade of star personalities ... and, most distressing of all, were the speeches in which the Israeli Prime Minister Rabin gave the Palestinian speech, full of anguish, Hamlet's anxiety and

uncertainty, the loss, the sacrifice and so on ... Arafat's speech was in fact written by businessmen and was a businessman's speech, with all the flair of a rental agreement." The writer then goes on to say: "It appeared obscene that just when South Africa was breaking free, there was all this hoopla over creating a Bantustan in Palestine; but Said's pain was obviously different and deeper" (1994:12).

As an African intellectual and black leader, my pain is also deeper, both because of Ramphele and because, contrary to the above quoted writer, South Africa has not yet broken free and Azasm's campaign points to that. Good people in all political organisations, especially black ones, may disagree with the tactics of Azasm, but they know that this is the truth. It's not yet Uhuru. There is a problem to be solved and it is a strange intellectual who denies this.

Azapo digs in over reopening of Biko inquest

■ BY ABBEY MAKOE

The Azanian Peoples Organisation has resolved to vigorously campaign for the reopening of the Steve Biko inquest and the transformation into a national shrine of the Pretoria Central prison cell in which Biko was died.

This was announced by Azapo's Gauteng chairman, Lybon Mabasa, during a historic visit by the organisation and the Biko

family to "the cell of death" yesterday.

"We have also requested the authorities that no one be allowed to sleep in that cell from Sunday," Mabasa told hundreds of Azapo supporters who marched through the streets of Pretoria to the prison.

Also present during the visit to the prison was Anna Tiro, mother of the Black Consciousness youth leader Nkgopotse Ti-

ro, who was killed by a letter bomb while in exile in Botswana in the 1970s.

Addressing supporters at a rally held at the Medunsa sports ground after the prison visit, Azapo president Mustbugi Mangena said: "We are going to challenge all those house niggers and Uncle Toms who are even failing to make quorums in Parliament to bring Biko's killers to book," amid chants of "Viva Azapo".

Mangena said Azapo was gathering signatures to petition the Government for a speedy reopening of the Biko inquest.

Speaking at the same rally was Steve Biko's eldest son, Nkosinathi.

He said: "As a democracy that we claim to be, there is no better mechanism to determine guilt or innocence than the courts - for both the complainant and the accused are given a fair hearing."

(253) (11A) Star 11/9/85

PAC launches its election policy (IIA)

Seweston 26/9/65

“W E ARE ON the African side, which side are you on?” This slogan constitutes the main thrust of the Pan-Africanist Congress' local government election campaign.

At the launch of the party's election manifesto in Kempton Park on Sunday, PAC president Mr Mlamli Makwetu charged that last year's election and the subsequent formation of the Government of National Unity did little or nothing to change the lives of the black majority and to address their needs.

The party's election manifesto deals with several key issues:

Delivery of services:

“In some communities, services have either collapsed or are non-existent. You deserve quality service in your community PAC will deliver.”

Community empowerment:

“The PAC believes delivery of services is interlinked with job creation. Millions of our people are without jobs. This therefore calls for self-help projects that will generate income for our people.

“We emphatically say that local people must be involved in all that goes on in the economic life of their residential areas. Be it in the building of houses, schools, clinics, shopping centres and so on. This will end the present situation of outside people coming to build and then leaving.

“Within our tendering document, the procedure must give preference to local contractors. In the event where there is no local contractor with the necessary skills, outside contractors will be awarded the tender and with a provision of subcontracting to a local contractor.”

Drugs, crime and the youth:

“Our youth is turning to drugs because of the absence of creative projects designed to build them as future leaders.

“We believe a greater emphasis has to be placed on providing places of recreation for this section of our community.

“The PAC hopes to work very closely with the youth in order to effectively address their needs in a more positive manner.”

Religious facilities:

“There is a need to allocate more sites for religious purposes for all religions in an acknowledgement of the right to religion.

“Many of our people worship in school classrooms or backyards. Our councillors will ensure that land is allocated to remedy that.”

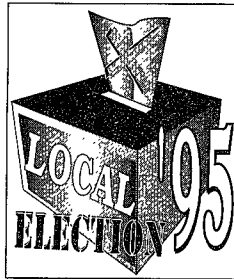
Farming:

“PAC councillors in rural areas will make it their task to allocate land for farming. Through farming

PAC promises more jobs, houses, schools, health care and roads



PAC president Mlamli Makwetu (centre) unveiled his party's local government election manifesto.



our people can eliminate unemployment.”

Traditional leaders:

“The institution of traditional leaders will be respected and maintained in defence of Africanism. The status of traditional leaders should be restored to what it was before the advent of colonialism.

“Powers will not be taken away from these leaders, because that will reduce them to ceremonial figures.

“The PAC wants to see chiefs playing the significant role they have been playing in our society. They are the custodians of our cultural values and norms.

“Through this institution we will be constantly reminded of who we are and where we come from.”

Rural roads:

“Many rural areas are inaccessible due to the state of roads there. Buses drop people off at the main roads, leaving them to cover several kilometres on foot.

“Local businesses spend more money than their urban counterparts transporting stock because of the inaccessibility of their area.

“PAC councillors in these areas will fight to have these roads repaired.”

Water:

“Rural communities spend hours drawing water for their homes. Some must be up before 4am to get water for the day. No one can live without water. Water is a necessity and not a luxury.

“Our councillors will work with the concerned communities to bring water closer to the people.”

Health care:

“Greater emphasis must be given to preventive health care and provision must be made for necessary curative health care. Clinics and ambulances are necessary to facilitate this.

“The PAC says every community must have a clinic that is well staffed and well equipped.

“Ambulances must be on standby to serve our people whenever they are needed. The PAC councillors will agitate for the provision of these facilities.”

Women:

“Now is the time for our women-folk to take part in decision-making on issues that affect their lives. After all, these daughters of Africa and mothers of the nation are the backbone of our society.

“They constitute over 50 percent of this country's population and this must be reflected even at the first tier of government. It is through their involvement at the local level that provincial and national policies can be influenced.”

On November 1 the PAC will contest the local elections to obtain a mandate from Africans to be their voice.

Need for greater party unity and better image —

ARG. 14/10/95 (11A)

(11A)

ARG 14/

A SHARPIY critical internal report by the African National Congress has urged renewed efforts towards transforming South Africa, building party unity — and improving the ANC's image.

The discussion document is an assessment of the achievements or otherwise of the ANC-led government of national unity.

The report expresses deep concern in the ANC about the capacity of its GNU partners, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party, to mobilise against change.

In a section on lawlessness, anarchy and crime, the report says: "The battle is for the loyalty of a significant portion of security forces, the civil service and, in KwaZulu Natal, traditional leaders."

The report criticises management of various institutions, not named, for responding to lawlessness in the same old way.

There was a vacuum of leadership in the

■ The ANC has compiled a frank report on the problems facing it, writes Political Correspondent **CLIVE SAWYER**

Mass Democratic Movement which was being exploited by opportunists, and there was counter-revolutionary mobilisation.

"Many of the forces involved hail from the middle strata or better-off workers."

Consultation, negotiation and firmness were the correct approaches.

"We can no longer postpone the question whether some of the problems are being orchestrated with the involvement of international anti-democracy forces."

The report called for a probe of the involvement of criminals in the former security

Network.

"What has happened to this network, and to what extent are some of them involved in the current wave of crime as a deliberate strategy of destabilisation?"

In a section of the report on the National Party, the ANC said the NP continued to cling to the notion it would win the next election, or get a bigger share of votes.

To do this, the NP was using racial mobilisation.

It was trying to portray the ANC as incapable of governing, dealing with crime, serving the poor, or leading economic revival.

"But the NP is also a weakened party whose main source of strength — patronage — is ^{system} irreversibly lost."

"The ANC is in a good position to reassert itself and directly with public servants, the business community, security force members and others, most of whom appreciate the mobil-

ity of the 'cause we pursue'.

On other "centres of power", the report said:

■ The constitution-making process had been laudable in its openness but was too slow.

Areas which needed attention were the ITP walkout and demand for international mediation, issue of traditional leaders, and attempts by parties to delay the process.

The ANC should resolve its internal debate on the senate, and should give delegates a wider mandate to manoeuvre.

■ The legislative programme of parliament had to be made more efficient.

■ National and provincial ministers had performed well but there was no clear corporate image of government.

■ There was rear-guard resistance in state departments, including security services.

■ National consensus on reconciliation and reconstruction was needed, but media strategy had to be improved.

ANC report
11/10/95

Firebrand heads Azapo assault

Sowetan 4/12/95

By Khathu Mamalla

IN preparation for the 1999 general elections, the Northern Province region of the Azanian People's Organisation has devised a new strategy known, in military terminology, as the diamond formation.

In this formation all troops direct their fire at one point to inflict maximum damage and ensure absolute

victory.

In line with this new strategy, Azapo's regional congress at Jane Furse this month, resolved to recall Mr Don Nkandimeng from his position as national deputy general secretary to head the region.

A lawyer by profession, Nkandimeng joined the Black Consciousness Movement in 1969 and is regarded in Azapo circles as one of

the organisation's tried and tested firebrands.

The congress unanimously endorsed a proposal that regional chairman Mr Sol Makabobe step down to become deputy, while Nkandimeng assumed the chairmanship of the region.

While Nkandimeng may be well-placed to challenge Northern Province premier Ngoako Ramatho-

di intellectually, it will take more than words to attract the 92 percent voters who supported the African National Congress in last year's elections.

But Nkandimeng is optimistic that his organisation will win the elections in the province. "Our people have realised that the Kempton Park deal was primarily to free whites," he said.

"Our chiefs are not happy. Black businessmen are not happy. Civil servants are not happy - but whites are happy. This must say something about our purported freedom."

These issues must be addressed by any party that hopes to win elections in the province, he believes.

Traditional leaders, who feel the new democracy threatens their role in their villages, are opposed to working with the newly elected local government structures.

The chiefs continue to encourage their subjects to shun the Government and its projects in an attempt to keep their hold on the village communities.

Black business is on the retreat as well. Now that the country is supposed to be a non-racial democracy, white businesses have moved into black areas.

As many black businessmen built inferior shopping complexes, largely because of a lack of resources, their white counterparts are building much better complexes.

A case in point is a big shopping com-

plex, with many big names behind it, which is due to open in Seshego. Many believe this kind of development will effectively close down black businesses.

Civil servants, particularly in the former Lebowa, have also been demoralised by the cancellation of their promotions.

These are some of the issues that Azapo hopes will rally people around in its campaign to win the 1999 elections.

"We have a responsibility to make our people happy by reversing this situation. We must protect budding black business," said Nkandimeng.

However, Azapo needs to explain why it has now decided to join in the election race when it earlier treated elections as forbidden terrain.

Nkandimeng argues that there is a fundamental difference between the April 1994 elections and the general elections scheduled for 1999.

In 1999, he says, the sunset clauses which committed the winning party to govern with all parties which obtained more than five percent of the votes will no longer be there.

Nkandimeng says Azapo will be able to implement its policies as it will not need the approval of other parties.

However, the ANC can advance the same argument. How will Azapo deal with this?

Nkandimeng argues that the local government elections vindicated Azapo's position that the majority of people have lost faith in the Government.

"The voter apathy proved to us that our people need hope from an alternative organisation. Azapo should be a vehicle of hope for people who have lost interest in government," says Nkandimeng.



Azapo leader Don Nkandimeng ... people need hope from an alternative organisation.

ANC and its youth league not seeing eye-to-eye

Star 6/12/95 324 (11A)

Reports of a cut-off in funding are 'devoid of truth'

but allegations that the youth league is 'clubbed' with

certain 'populist' leaders are viewed in a serious light

By JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Reporter

Differences are reported between the ANC Youth League and its parent body after the ANCYL's recent criticism of the Government, and questions are being asked about the league's autonomy and the postponement of its congress scheduled for Durban next week.

The Star understands that both want a resolution before the congress, which is now scheduled for next February 28.

ANCYL president Lulu Johnson said the postponement followed discussions between leaders including President Mandela, on the congress and future role of

the league.

He said reports that the ANC has cut off funding to the youth movement were "devoid of any truth". He, however, refused to divulge the state of the ANCYL's finances.

Johnson told The Star that the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance faced a major challenge about their individual relations with the Government.

"We've entered a difficult phase of national transition.

"This is a healthy political problem and shall remain as such.

"The issue is not only that we differ in order to agree but it is also of an internal nature," he said.

Johnson said that the ANC

had direct interest in the activities of the ANCYL and its future role because the youth movement was expected to carry out the policies and decisions of the ANC.

He said allegations that the ANCYL was clubbed with certain "populist" leaders within the ANC were viewed as serious.

The league, Johnson said, did not see the need to be associated with any faction within the ANC.

The ANCYL president said his organisation remained an autonomous body, which was committed to, and subscribed to, the policies of the ANC.

He said that he would personally continue to hold independent views on the transformation of the society.

BLACK POLITICS

1996 — 1997

ANC to move out of Shell House offices

Star 9/1/96

11A

Party to look for smaller premises in central Johannesburg to underscore its confidence in the city centre

By PATRICK BULGER
Political Correspondent

The ANC is to sell its Shell House headquarters in central Johannesburg and move into other premises in the city centre within the next two months.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told a media briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday that the 22-storey headquarters was too big for the organisation which he said was not in a financial crisis but "that does not mean we are super-rich".

Late in 1994 the ANC let some of the building's offices to other tenants when dozens of senior

cadres moved out to take their places in elected structures after the April 1994 election.

The ANC bought the 16 000sq m. building from the Shell Pension Fund in early 1991 for an undisclosed sum. The building was said to be worth about R20 million.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation would make the move in March or April. The ANC wanted to move into other premises in central Johannesburg to show its confidence in the city centre.

Mbeki confirmed that a week-end report detailing organisational and administrative problems within the ANC was "not incor-

rect" and said the functioning of the organisation as a whole was being re-examined.

About 100 regional executives were being established to deal with the branches below them. These regional executives had been equipped with offices and vehicles and were to undertake the task of reorganising the ANC at branch level.

He denied that there had been a dramatic fall-off in ANC membership which the report said had fallen from about 369 000 a year ago to 250 000 today and said the absence of branch treasurers meant membership fees were not being collected and membership was therefore falling.

PAC ranks in disarray

THE Pan Africanist Congress is out of touch with the new politics of South Africa, has a weak leadership, is rapidly losing members and may not exist beyond the next elections in 1999, say party insiders.

The resignation of PAC general secretary Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, which hit the headlines this week, has opened a can of worms, with accusing fingers pointing to party president Clarence Makwetu and his deputy Dr Motsoko Pheko.

"They are like shepherds without a flock or pastors without a congregation," said one official.

Nemadzivhanani cites work overload and the collapse of the PAC's administrative machinery as reasons for his resignation from the national executive council (NEC).

The disintegration of the party's administration is a particularly sore point with Nemadzivhanani.

He laments the fact that, in order to beef up the day-to-day steering of PAC activities, he personally selected the five-person administrative staff (which included the presidential personal assistant and administrator).

He also says that in spite of "single-handedly" running the organisation, he receives what he terms a barrage of criticism from party structures - "even for executing mandated tasks".

These "tasks" include his attendance last year of an Inkatha Freedom Party rally and addressing a meeting of the controversial South Western Johannesburg Civic Association.

Tip o f the iceberg

But Nemadzivhanani's reasons for quitting the NEC are just the tip of the iceberg of the PAC's leadership problems. The last straw, he says, came when even members began to criticise him - not through party structures but in the Press.

He says that he has covered up for the weakness and ineptitude of the PAC presidency for too long.

Now Nemadzivhanani says he is out of it for good, and would rather return to his home in Venda, where he plans to strengthen the PAC anew.

Makwetu, it is said, is more of a parliamentary leader than party president. One of his lieutenants has described him as "conservative and out of tune" with day-to-day politics.

"A president of an organisation is the embodiment of the people, but Makwetu is hiding in Parliament and his voice is never heard," says a disgruntled NEC member.

One source says Makwetu is inaccessible as

Confusion reigns in the hierarchy of the PAC and some members feel that the party has quietly been overtaken by political events. Political Correspondent

Themba Molefe considers the issue.



Maxwell Nemadzivhanani ... whose resignation from the PAC has opened a can of worms. PIC. CLEMENT LEKANYANE

a leader and during the December parliamentary recess retreated to his farm in the Transkei.

Pressure was put on him by the PAC leadership to cancel an official government trip to the United States this week because the organisation is in disarray, with all its administrative staff resigning. Its Johannesburg headquarters have now been closed for a month.

In fact, it is believed Makwetu and Pheko have never worked as a team, with each running his own office during their tenure in 1995.

"They have no agenda or vision for the NEC," says a source.

Says another official: "The PAC is not economically viable. As a political force, it fails to accept that the horizon has changed and it still clings to old liberation movement glory."

Further cause for disillusionment is that the PAC refuses to join mainstream political developments and, as a result, is left behind by the

Government of National Unity train.

"It is not a question of liking the GNU. It was elected by the majority of the people and not us. There is no reason therefore why we are not part of it and criticise it," says another official.

Some of the PAC leaders are also wary of the organisation's strategy of constantly criticising the majority African National Congress.

Says one: "I do not understand why we should keep attacking the ANC. Look, the ANC and (President Nelson) Mandela have been elected by the people to lead the GNU."

"The PAC has failed to become an alternative government, so we oppose for the sake of opposing."

There is also a growing group within the PAC which argues that the party should review its position on its central rallying point: the return of the land to indigenous Africans.

Without necessarily abandoning the founding principles of the PAC, current debate in its ranks strengthens Nemadzivhanani's argument that the party has to keep abreast with the times politically.

Away from the struggle

As a member puts it: "We have to move away from the struggle to secure the Cape-to-Cairo route."

"We have to be realistic and champion crucial issues such as building houses and education."

This means that for the PAC to survive, it has to refocus and adapt to the reality of the political scene of the day, just as the National Party is trying to do with its imminent restructuring.

Nemadzivhanani, who was the PAC's national organiser before he became general secretary, says party-building is eluding the organisation's focus.

He is reluctant to elaborate but also admits that factionalism - or, put bluntly, tribalism - still plagues the liberation movement in both the PAC and ANC.

● The PAC's NEC meets on January 27 to try to stem the crisis in its leadership ranks ahead of its annual congress in April.

MP Patricia de Lille is tipped to campaign for the secretary-general position.

Makwetu 'didn't abandon house'

CT 29/1/96 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG: Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday denied reports that he had left the party in debt and had abandoned party property, including a car and a house.

He told a news conference here that he had left his house in Davyton on the East Rand and was now living with his family in Cape Town.

The party had been informed about his movements.

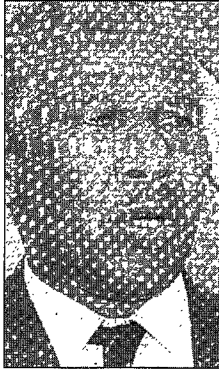
He found it difficult to own two houses. He would still be able to manage party business in Cape Town and Johannesburg, where the PAC had offices.

Makwetu said the PAC might be experiencing difficulties, but it was still operating and was intact.

He quashed rumours that it was cash-strapped and had closed down for a month.

The PAC owed it to the party membership, its support base and its "fallen heroes" to keep going.

The PAC was there to stay despite all the problems. It was busy preparing its national confer-



STILL FUNCTIONING: PAC president Clarence Makwetu

ence, which is scheduled for the Easter weekend in Bloemfontein.

At the Easter conference a new strategy would be developed for contesting the general election in

1999, he said.

Answering questions, Makwetu also said the party had no intention of changing its policies or principles.

He dismissed rumours that the PAC secretary for finance Mr Siphwe Cele had submitted a letter of resignation to the party leadership and that he had received death threats.

It had been established that the purported resignation letter was written on plain paper, Makwetu said.

Cele himself had informed the party leadership that he had not written that letter.

If Cele was the author of the letter he would have written it on a party letterhead, Makwetu added.

The PAC was investigating the allegations.

"If the culprit is found, he or she will be dealt with accordingly," he warned.

Cele had never reported any death threats to the party leadership. The allegations were a "dirty joke". — Sapa

PAC must drop current leaders if it is to survive

MONDLI MAKHANYA
Political Reporter

Since its formation in 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress has always been an enigma in South African politics.

While white South Africa feared its radical statements about land re-possession, blacks revered its militant rhetoric about peace among Africans and war against the enemy.

But whereas the PAC's war with the enemy has never really materialised, the organisation has never been at peace with itself.

It has been ravaged by internal conflict and has seen the assassina-

Younger men reluctant to take over the reins

tions of senior leaders like chairman John Phokela. It has suffered a steady drain of intellectual talent, most notably former deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, who was lost to the business world, and rising star Dr Ziba Jiyane, now a senior leader in the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Most recently the PAC has lost the services of its able secretary-general Maxwell Namadziwhanani, finance secretary Siphwe Cele and a host of other top administrative staff, all of whom have opted for jobs where monthly pay-cheques are guaranteed and where they will not have to run the gauntlet of intra-organisation wars.

The PAC has all the makings of a party in decline: a weak and directionless leadership, inner party squabbling, a steady stream of resignations and a mutinous membership calling for the heads of its leaders.

In April the party faithful will go into a crucial conference where they will attempt to extricate the party from the mire it finds itself in and refashion it into a force that can be taken seriously by both the voting public and its political opponents.

They will engage in a brutal introspection about why the party has been so badly bruised in two successive elections and why an appealing ideology has not been seized upon by ordinary people.

Interestingly, the venue for what PAC activists hope will be the beginning of its renaissance will be Bloemfontein, birthplace of the ANC, which was for decades the standard bearer of Africanism until the PAC broke away in 1959, saying the ANC had abandoned its historical mission after falling to the influence of white communists and liberals.

The Bloemfontein conference, which will be converted to a congress in order to allow for leadership elections, may mark a crucial turning point in the PAC's history.

It can either convert the PAC from a movement stuck in 1950s Uhuru politics and make Pan Africanism relevant in the post-colonial-era South Africa, or expedite the final break-up of an organi-

sation that has never acted with a single purpose.

Undoubtedly the highest priority on the minds of delegates will be getting rid of the present leadership that is digging the party's grave.

Facing the most pressure is Clarence Makwetu, the dour president whose five years at the helm have seen the PAC go into decline when it should have been capitalising on the moderation of the ANC as it drifted closer to power.

Makwetu, who defeated his deputy Dr Motsoko Pheko by a mere nine votes at the December 1994 congress, has not enjoyed the wholehearted support of his party since many interpreted the narrow margin as a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

But Makwetu's position is strengthened by the fact that he runs the strongest branch in the whole organisation and the Eastern

the formerly exiled leadership and those who were inside the country during the days of the struggle.

As a result, the two sides have never been able to merge their experiences: the exiles the political maturity learned in ideological training classes abroad and the internal wing the organising expertise learned in the turbulent 1980s.

There are also tensions between fulltime party operatives and parliamentary representatives who are seen as not contributing enough to party coffers and are accused of having lost touch with the membership.

Unlike many other parties which have several crown princes waiting in the wings, the PAC has no natural successor to Makwetu.

While Pheko should be the logical successor as the next man in the chain of command, his reputed arrogance has alienated many in the party's ranks.

The younger generation in the party - acting-secretary-general Carter Seleke and Nemadziwhanani, among others - are not interested in wearing the crown, preferring to bide their time.

Gauteng legislator Khoisan XI, who is said to be interested in making a bid for the presidency or the secretary-generalship, has no grassroots powerbase from which to catapult himself.

The mantle may fall on a man who has long awaited the moment: political affairs secretary Johnson Mlambo.

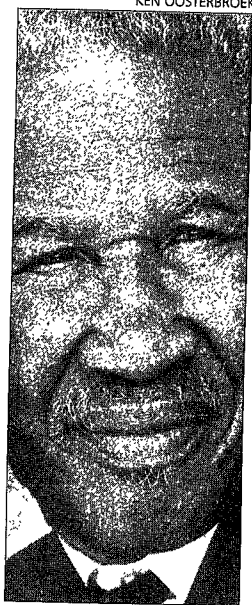
Mlambo carries a lot of clout in the PAC and is highly regarded for his intellectual ability.

But PAC leaders accuse him of indecisiveness and a tendency to over-consult before making a decision.

He may turn out to be the elder statesman the PAC needed to hold the party together.

In Bloemfontein the PAC will also seek to find a new direction for itself and update the "1959 documents" which have guided the party since its founding by rebel ANC militants.

Policy positions are currently being circulated among party branches to discuss before April. This will give the PAC clear policy directions in virtually all spheres of



KEN OOSTERBROEK

Clarence Makwetu ... runs the PAC's strongest branch.

Cape region from whence he comes forms the backbone of the party.

The paralysis during Makwetu's presidency been exacerbated by the less than perfect communication lines between himself and Pheko.

With Makwetu based in Parliament, Pheko has taken it upon himself to direct the organisation from the Johannesburg head office, leading to clashes between the two.

As secretary-general, Nemadziwhanani was caught in the middle of this tug-of-war, and PAC insiders tell of Nemadziwhanani having to literally facilitate a telephone connection so that the two leaders could speak to each other.

This has been cited as one of the reasons for his departure.

The PAC has also not got over the simmering conflicts between

Makwetu has not had the full support of the party

South African life and give party positions the same scientific backing that formed the nucleus of the ANC's RDP.

This, PAC leaders hope, will save the party from the embarrassment caused when party leaders make widely contradictory statements in the media or on public platforms.

It will also serve as a glue to unite the party and provide programmes around which party activists can rally communities.

Internal conflict tears PAC apart

By TEO MOTHEBU

The troubled Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has some serious soul-searching to do if it is to rise above serious factionalism within its ranks - the conflict is tearing the organisation apart, an inside source revealed this week.

Two weeks ago, when the organisation's secretary-general Maxwell Nemaodzinhani announced his resignation from his position and from the national executive committee, he cited factionalism and tribalism as some of the ills evoding the PAC.

But the *Saturday Star's* source argued that the PAC, "which has constantly paraded itself as the sole custodians of the genuine aspirations of the African masses", has to break away from its incongruous past in order to appeal to a broader audience and not just the angry and militant youth.

Another concerned party supporter asked, "Exactly what is the reason for the continued



THE LINEUP (left to right): lacklustre leader Clarence Makwetu, controversial contender Khloisan X and former secretary-general Maxwell Nemaodzinhani

existence of the PAC if it is not to spite the black vote?
"I strongly believe that the leadership of the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation would be wise to swell the ranks of the ANC, because apparently they do not have any justifiable reason to exist independently."

He suggests that some of the

leaders in the two organisations might be of more use helping the Government to realise some of its objectives.
It is an open secret that the knives are being sharpened ahead of the organisation's special congress in Bloemfontein in April, although some would prefer that it be held sooner because of the problems plaguing

the organisation.
The *Saturday Star* understands that serious clandestine lobbying is going on around the clock among the opposing factions planning for this emergency meeting of the Africanists.
After two consecutive lacklustre performances by the organisation in the national and local government elections

under the leadership of Clarence Makwetu, it is quite clear that the disappointed membership will be gunning for his head as he is seen as the main cause of the PAC's misfortunes and its possible demise.
Makwetu managed to retain the leadership of the PAC at its 1994 congress in Mmabatho by pipping his opponent, Dr Mofokoko Phiso, by a narrow margin of eight votes.

Respect

However, finding a man of Makwetu's stature within the party to fill his shoes will not be an easy task. After all, it took Makwetu considerable time and effort to establish himself as a leader worthy of respect after replacing the organisation's fiery former president Zephania "The Lion of Azania" Mthobeni.

Among those tipped to succeed the incumbent president are Phillip Aja Kgama, Dr Sibusiso Mkhabela and advocate Dikgang Moseneke, although Moseneke has made it clear he is no longer available to hold

political office.

If these candidates are not elected, some members feel that there are several people in the current leadership who are presidential material but who may fall because of "ethnicity" in the PAC's ranks.

"One need not look any further than the abilities and leadership qualities displayed by people like Ahmed Gona Ibrahim and Patrick de Lille, who unfortunately may not be allowed to rise to such positions by the conservative core membership of the organisation," says another reliable source.

The controversial outspoken Khloisan X is seen as a possible candidate, but is regarded as not being "African enough" to lead a black organisation.

Under normal circumstances, the deputy is usually given the first preference to fill the gap of his senior, but the same cannot be said of Mofokoko Phiso.

Apart from his unsupporting performance, Phiso's mistake is that, in an organisation caught up in the web of tribalism, he is not of Nguni origin.

AZAN 3/2/96 (11A)

ANC Youth League gears up to change strategies

(11A) *Star* 23/2/96

By Jovan Barrow
Political Reporter

As the South African transition glides into fourth gear, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) faces a number of challenges to restructure itself to tackle Nelson Mandela's new South Africa.

Formed 32 years ago, the ANCYL now has to discard outdated slogans, projects and military to focus on re-informing its organisational capacity, enhancing youth development, nation building, peace, stability and self-sufficiency.

Youth League leaders and strategists speak of a need to build a coherent leadership and move away from the one-person leadership image entrenched by the popularity of former ANCYL president and present MP Peter Mokaba.

As it goes into its three-day biennial congress in Durban next weekend, the organisation's leadership has identified its challenges and come up with a vision of new leadership to carry it into a new era.

In confidential discussion documents leaked to *The Star*, the organisation has done some extensive and frank introspec-

tion - a critical and fundamental requirement for short- and long-term planning.

Authors of the documents, whose contents will be vigorously debated at the congress, have conceded that the current state of the ANCYL "is bad".

"The organisation is characterised by the crumbling of structures, no consistency in leadership and other related factors. Administration pitfalls have been compounded by the lack of proper systems in all our offices," the authors wrote.

The league's other weaknesses were listed as a lack of consistent strategies to eliminate political violence, no self-sufficiency, a demotivated public profile, failure to effectively sustain lower levels of the ANCYL, a failure to enact initiatives or reflect the composition of society in ANCYL structures or to utilise limited resources productively.

The organisation has credited itself with the achievement of most tasks as spelled out by the last national congress.

They include successful campaigns which led to a decline in political violence rallying the youth in support of an ANC election victory, helping set up a youth structure within the Government, and the league's ability to sustain itself as

a mass youth formation.

After identifying the league's strengths and weaknesses, authors of the documents have proposed strategies to consolidate the organisation and overcome shortcomings. These strategies will be presented to the congress for rejection or adoption.

They include empowering members with organisational, leadership, communication and organising skills and establishing programmes to provide members and leaders with a wide range of administrative skills.

Political education programmes also form part of the strategy to rejuvenate the ANCYL. Authors of the document spoke of the need to intensify the ideological and political warfare to frustrate any possibility of "reactionaries overturning democratic forces".

"The programme will be aimed at educating (and) politicising (people) and building a defence for the revolutionary gains attained thus far," said the document.

Aims and objectives of the political education programme would be to en-

power members to engage in activities of the organisation, including debates on policy and leadership.

The programmes are also intended, among other things, to raise political understanding, "especially on new concepts like White Papers and nation building".

There are also plans to train members and leaders to understand the origins and importance of the tripartite alliance, the history of the ANC, the youth movement, the struggle in general, and the theory of revolution.

On self-sufficiency and funding, the authors have observed that the post-apartheid era was characterised by a shift in the funding of political organisations. This shift has brought into sharp focus the capability of organisations such as the ANCYL to sustain themselves.

"The ANCYL is faced with the challenge of boosting its morale in business, which is very low. Despite a chain of critiques the organisation still has to develop a system aimed at sustaining itself, subsequently reaching the stage of self-sufficiency. It is factual that resources are limited within the ANCYL. Accountability and efficiency in their usage should be the order of the day," said the document.

A paper on the development of the youth identified a need to mobilise the majority of young people behind its vision of transformation and to ensure the endorsement of a National Youth Development Programme.

The programme would reverse the effects of apartheid on the present generation of youth, ensure the implementation of policies aimed at the new generation of youth and children which would prevent alienation, integrate youth into the community and family life and into national development planning.

The documents call for the development of a national plan for the next five years by the national and provincial youth commissions in consultation with other departments and stakeholders.

Squawks and chirps as PAC hawks get their talons clipped

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Rumbles of discontent are being sounded in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) after its members have been gagged from using slogans like the controversial "One settler, one bullet".

The militant Africanists also have been banned by their own organisation from singing any songs or writing on their placards anything which may "offend settlers" or make white people feel uncomfortable.

The writing is now on the wall: "Leave white people alone and get on with your business — after all they are Africans."

The order, which has been issued by the organisation's secretary for political affairs and former commander of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Johnson Mlambo, is seen as a desperate attempt by the beleaguered movement to redeem itself from the political wilderness after its lacklustre showing in the 1994 general elections and the local government elections late last year.

Some pundits argue that since the advent of the new political landscape in South Africa which was ushered in by former president F W de Klerk in 1990, the PAC has been failing dismally in adjusting to the completely different political environment.

This has been blamed on its uncompromising policies which flow from its basic documents which were penned sometime around 1959.

Most of the contents of the documents have rendered some of the rhetoric of the PAC incongruous and less appealing to the electorate.

In a drive to drum up support for the activities of the organisation, through a memorandum which has been circulated to the regions and branches of the PAC, Mr Mlambo writes: "We must ensure that all songs, posters or placards used in the demonstrations must show the

PAC in a better light. In a peaceful march, slogans which we may like, but which frighten other people, should be avoided."

He urged his members also to ensure that their "general behaviour" increased respect for the PAC and all its component structures.

One die-hard supporter, who felt that the order was going to have far-reaching consequences on the image of the party, charged that Mr Mlambo had no mandate to change the course of the PAC "unilaterally".

"One needs to go back to the drawing board before issuing such a directive.

"If today, one member of the national executive committee has a new vision about the future of the PAC ... which I doubt is the case, it should be debated in the coming congress.

"If today we are told to change the slogans of the organisation because they scare other people, then that is absurd because our basic document states clearly that we are accountable to no external force but the will of the downtrodden African majority.

"And, anyway, who are those people who are frightened by our slogans and so special that we ought to change them?"

Meanwhile, another party loyalist who identified himself as Comrade Abel, threw his weight behind Mr Mlambo's endeavours to repackage the PAC.

"That is a great move — not only to increase the support for the organisation, but also because the political conditions have changed drastically in the country today and dictate that we employ new strategies," he said.

He believed that to ensure the survival of the PAC, they were obliged to undergo a "major change" from how they looked at the moment. And, that would include a change in the leadership," he said.

Learn from past violation of rights

21/3/96 CT. (11A)

SOUTH AFRICANS should pause for thought about the sanctity of human rights on Human Rights Day.

This public holiday grants each of us time to consider the mistakes of the past and the positive potential of the future. It is an excellent time to reflect on the importance of the new Bill of Rights now being finalised as part of the new Constitution.

This is the first year that March 21 is being observed as Human Rights Day. It was Sharpeville Day, in commemoration of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres.

At that time SA had no Bill of Rights, which meant the government could make laws which infringed on people's rights. This is what led so tragically to the loss of so many lives.

The new Bill of Rights should ensure that human rights in SA will never again be violated. It will protect the full range of rights, including equality before the law and freedom of speech and expression.

Some of the mechanisms already in place to guarantee fundamental rights of all South Africans are the Constitutional Court, the Human Rights Commission, the Public Protector and independent judiciary.

VALLI MOOSA

DEPUTY-MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS
PARLIAMENT

Pensioners still face apartheid

IN OUR Advice Offices throughout SA we experience daily the continued existence of apartheid in the administration of pensions. The waiting period for processing an application is three months. Our black advice seekers can wait between four months and two years.

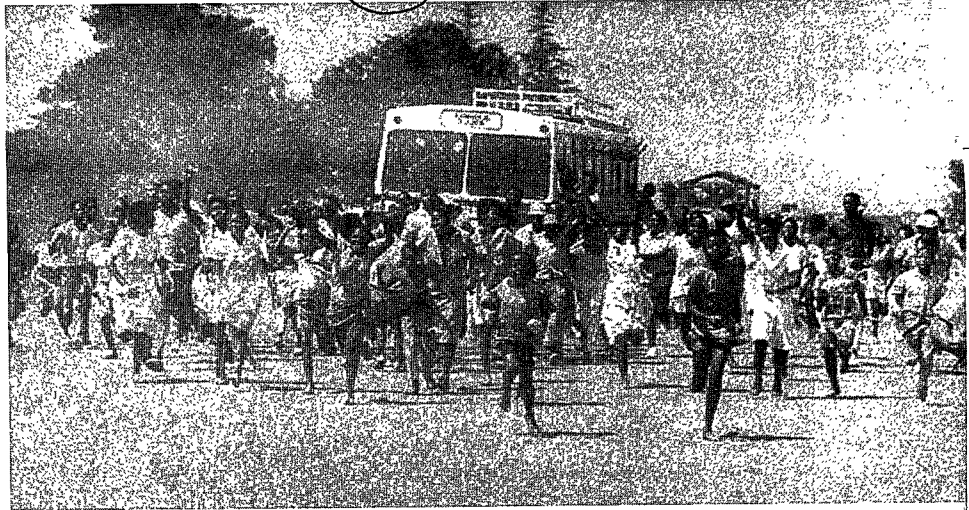
Unfair administrative action has been around for a long time. We have had a civil service that was neither civil nor a service and which has lacked accountability or transparency.

Our Advice Offices have identified the right to "Just Administrative Action" in the Bill of Rights in the refined working draft of our Constitution as the most important right for the people that we assist.

We have found that working co-operatively with officials so that both they and their clients come to understand the rights and obligations imposed by the Right to Administrative Justice (section 24) in the Interim Constitution leads to a marked improvement in the way people are treated and the way a service is provided.

We have continually lobbied for this crucial right to be entrenched in the final Constitution. The ANC's latest draft so waters down this right that it renders it toothless.

It simply says that the state must provide access to this right by way of relevant legislation.



SHARPEVILLE FLASHBACK: The massacre in which 69 people were shot by police during an anti-pass protest in 1960 is recalled in anger and sadness by one of the many groups that visit Sharpeville on anniversaries.

The irony is that it is the NP fighting for the full inclusion of this right.

Have the feared realities of governance changed the ANC from a liberation movement to a middle-of-the-road political party?

We think that fears of thousands of aggrieved people seeking to approach the courts are unrealistic. It is likely that a few simple actions taken through the Public Protector for the Human Rights Commission or non-government organisations will go a long way to correcting past wrongs on a wide scale.

On Human Rights Day the Black Sash recommit itself to monitoring and intervening on human rights at all levels and intervening whenever the abuse of basic human rights takes place. We remember Sharpeville on this day.

MARY HONEY

THE BLACK SASH NATIONAL OFFICE
CAPE TOWN

Give part of tax to rights victims

CHAPTER 2 of the Constitution enshrines the Bill of Rights. Its 39 clauses recognise that every human being has inherent dignity and inalienable rights. Those human rights need to be respected and protected.

Could we as South Africans, just for once, on

Human Rights Day, lower the accusing finger and each one put our hands in our own bosom.

How can the people of this nation truly express repentance of past violations of human rights?

How can true reconciliation be made tangible?

The dead cannot come back. Blown off limbs do not grow again. The survivors still grieve. Since justice needs to be seen to be done, I think of restitution in kind, the twin to true repentance.

Germany as a nation pays reparations to Israel to atone, in a way, for its crimes against humanity during the holocaust.

The question is not "who has done what" but "how can we lighten the burden and hardships of victims, survivors and their relatives?"

Their human rights are still being violated by living with the results of the atrocities committed to their loved ones. Thus, the spotlight is not on race but on suffering.

How about creating a government fund into which part of our taxes flow instead of being wasted on dubious projects.

The bottom line is: Not cheap words of confessions and forgiveness, rather helpful deeds.

REV HERBERT SYRE

MEADOWBRIDGE

Less racism seen in mental health

WHEN celebrating Human Rights Day we should be able to see examples of human rights as a fact. Since the change-over of government we do see this in certain fields.

In relation to the mental health field, this is evident in the exposure of abuse and malpractice in many psychiatric hospitals for the first time in decades. This is as a result of pressure from the Citizens Commission on Human Rights for more than 20 years.

Human Rights Day can also be celebrated in terms of the decrease in discrimination in mental health by the actions of CCHR in exposing these abuses, as well as the racism in psychiatry.

Even those labelled as "mental" should be entitled to basic human rights and should not be subjected to treatment against their will.

CCHR was started by the Church of Scientology in 1969 and now operates worldwide. A number of racist human rights violations by psychiatric institutions in this country were first exposed by our commission over 20 years ago.

FSTACEY

CCHR
CAPE TOWN BRANCH

PAC cracks down on its militants

Slogans which may be 'offensive to settlers' banned from within in bid to boost image

AK 4 23/3/96

(11A)

TEFO MOTHIEBU
Own Correspondent

RUMBINGS of discontent are being sounded in the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) after its members were gagged from using slogans like the controversial "One settler, one bullet".

The organisation has banned its more militant members from singing songs or writing on their placards anything which may "offend settlers or make white people feel uncomfortable".

The writing is now on the wall. "Leave white people alone and get on with your business - after all they are Africans."

The order, which has been issued by the organisation's secretary for political affairs and former commander of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Johnson Mlambo, is seen as a desperate attempt by the beleaguered movement to redeem itself from the political wilderness following its lacklustre showing in the 1994

■ Hovering on the peripheries of power politics after its poor showing in both the national and local polls, the Pan Africanist Congress is making moves to broaden its appeal in the eyes of the electorate.

elections and the local government elections late last year. Some pundits argue that the PAC has failed dismally in adjusting to the new, post-apartheid political environment.

This failure has been blamed on its uncompromising policies which flow from its basic documents which were penned sometime around 1960.

Most of the contents of the documents have rendered some of the PAC rhetoric incongruous and less appealing to the electorate. In a drive to drum up support for the activities of the organisation, through a memorandum circulated to the regions and branches of the PAC, Mr Mlambo writes:

"We must ensure that all songs, posters or placards used in the demonstrations must show the PAC in a better light

In a peaceful march, slogans which we may like, but which frighten other people, should be avoided."

He urged his members to ensure that their "general behaviour" increased respect for the PAC.

One die-hard supporter who felt that the order was going to have far-reaching consequences on the image of the party, charged that Mr Mlambo had no mandate to change the course of the PAC "unilaterally".

"One needs to go back to the drawing board before issu-

ing such a directive. If today, one member of the national executive committee has a new vision about the future of the PAC - which I doubt is the case - it should be debated in the coming congress."

"If today we are told to change the slogans of the organisation because they scare other people, then that is absurd because our basic document states clearly that we are accountable to the external force but the will of the down-trodden African majority."

"And anyway, who are those people who are frightened by

our slogans and so special that we ought to change the slogans? Any changes within the PAC will have to be a product of the collective effort."

But, another party loyalist who identified himself as comrade Abel, threw his weight behind Mr Mlambo's endeavor to repackage the PAC.

"That is a great move - not only to increase the support, but also because the political conditions have changed drastically in the country today and dictate that we employ new strategies," he said.

He felt that to ensure the survival of the PAC, they were obliged to undergo a "major change". And that would include a change in the leadership, he said.

Mnr. Daniel V.

Ester Engelbr

ANC delays decision on Contralesa head

Star 30/3/96 (1/1A)

Cape Town - The ANC disciplinary committee decision on the future of Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA president Patekile Holomisa will be released only after the party's national working committee had dealt with it, a spokesman for ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

said yesterday. Holomisa appeared before the committee for four hours on Thursday. The hearing followed a charge by ANC KwaZulu Natal leaders that Holomisa had supported an IFP march protesting against government treatment of local chiefs. - Sapa

PAC veterans decline party leadership

Sowetan 4/4/96
Party strategists fail in bid to get this weekend's congress postponed

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

METHODIST CLERGYMAN BISHOP Stanley Mogoba has turned down offers to take over the presidency of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mogoba and Mr Phillip Kgosana, formerly exiled youth leader of the 1960 PAC anti-pass campaign, were some of the people approached by a group of PAC strategists to take over the presidency of the party.

The group had suggested that Mogoba take over PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu's position and Kgosana replace deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko.

Mogoba yesterday confirmed that he was approached. "But I made it clear that I can't stand." Mogoba said his days in politics were over. "I have no intention of going back to politics. It's no longer part of my world."

The group is said to have tried in vain to secure the postponement of this weekend's congress to December, to allow

potential new leaders to retire from their different professions.

Mogoba is retiring from office next year while Kgosana, who is currently serving as programme coordinator of the United Nations International Children's Education Fund in Gaborone, Botswana, retires in December.

Media Workers Association of South Africa general secretary Sthembele Khala was also approached to stand for the secretary general's post, left vacant by the resignation of Maxwell Nemedzvihanani last January.

Not available

He told *Sowetan* yesterday that he was not "formally approached but sentiments have been expressed by regions for me to stand. I have made my position clear that I'm not available for any political office".

Former PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke is said to have also declined the offer, not only from the group, but also from some of the current leaders who have openly criticised Makwetu's leadership.

Hard congress awaits PAC

(11) Sawetan 4/4/96

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress is caught in a political quagmire – and has to restructure and reorganise itself if it wants to survive and realise its goal of ultimately taking power in South Africa.

The PAC is meeting in Bloemfontein this weekend in a conference destined to yield a new-look organisation in terms of strategy and policy. The organisation will review its policies and stem its leadership crisis.

That the organisation is headless is common knowledge, but the nagging question is whether it can survive until 1999, when it will contest the country's next general elections.

Already, the PAC is without a secretary-general: Maxwell Nema-zivhanani resigned from his position in January. Among the reasons he cited were that the party was not pragmatic and lacked foresight.

This could be interpreted in various ways. However, Nema-zivhanani opened a can of worms, perhaps deliberately, when he charged that the PAC was out of tune with current developments and was populist.

He is still a member of the party, but his departure from the national executive committee should be central to the renaissance of the PAC.

PAC insiders, both in the centre and extreme wings, acknowledge that the liberation movement is in crisis and that only a pan-Africanist convention can offer a solution.

In a document circulating in party structures, PAC members admit that the party is currently ineffective: "The PAC has even failed to make effective use of the parliamentary platform.

"Consequently the few voters who afforded us five seats (including one for PAC president Clarence Makwetu) in the national assembly and two in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal may be justified to feel that they wasted their votes by voting for the PAC."

The PAC's leadership crisis has led to some concerned members approaching those outside the fold to take over the leadership. The PAC

6 The ominous possibility is that, come 1999, the ANC will not have any viable black opposition if the PAC fails to reorganise itself 9

needs a president and a general secretary of stature, who can muster much-needed support.

Possible candidates

Names being thrown about are those of Methodist Church clergyman and noted human rights activist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, United Nations International Children and Education Fund official Phillip Kgosana, businessman and former PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke and Media Workers Association of South Africa general secretary S'hembele Khala.

Both mainstream and "watchdog" PAC members agree that there is no doubt that the pan-Africanist ideology and the political positions of the PAC are still rooted in the party's founding principles of 1959.

The PAC document states: "Our founding principles are still relevant

today, but require articulation in the context of the current political conditions and trends. This is something which the party leadership and organs have hitherto failed to come to grips with.

"When the political conditions changed, that demanded the PAC adapt and make tactical changes but the PAC failed to respond appropriately. The essence is that the PAC was unprepared for the emerging challenges."

The document, which reflects the feelings of PAC insiders, continues: "When an inadequate Reconstruction and Development Programme was authored, the PAC offered nothing as an alternative, and has still not done so. All it could do was to reject the RDP and call on voters not to be cheated again."



Tipped for leadership ... Phillip Kgosana.

it further states: "Hundreds and hundreds of members of the PAC military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are still languishing in prison cells.

"More are being arrested on a daily basis right from South African National Defence Force bases. In spite of all this, the PAC remains passive and paralysed to wage a concerted political battle and campaign for the release of these gallant heroes and heroines of the struggle for Azania.

Falling cadres

"The party is failing, or has no desire, to wage a legal battle in defence of the people's soldiers. Needless to say, these soldiers and their families may be correct to feel that they and the cause for which they have been incarcerated have been betrayed and abandoned by the PAC."

"This is indeed a serious indictment of a liberation movement which now realises – albeit too late in the day – that ideology should not cloud political reality.

Perhaps many members of the PAC, even in the current leadership, will go to the Bloemfontein conference thinking of the words of their former president, the late Zephania Mothopeng, in Zimbabwe in 1992.

He told a PAC unification meeting: "Do not think that because you have adopted the correct ideology, your struggle should end there. Get up and work."

Mothopeng was addressing his lieutenants on a different matter – finance – but the comment remains valid today: PAC members must work hard to keep the organisation afloat.

This week, the hard-working deputy president of the PAC, Dr Motsoke Pheko, said the Bloemfontein meeting would also review the policy of the PAC in the face of the party's crisis. An important liberation movement is on the verge of certain death – even its rival, the African National Congress, is worried. The ominous possibility is that, come 1999, the ANC will not have any viable "black" opposition if the PAC fails to reorganise itself.

By WILLIAM-MERVIN GUNDE

Bickering fails to halt PAC national congress

Star 6/14/96

The Pan Africanist Congress's national congress began in Bloemfontein yesterday - but it was almost derailed by a lack of funds and a last-minute attempt by an influential lobby within the party to have it postponed.

PAC MP Patricia de Lille said last week that party members would have to pay their own way to the congress and board and lodging.

The PAC's head office urged the party faithful to launch a funding drive to get the congress off the ground.

A spokesman from the faction that wanted the congress postponed said it would continue to lobby during the congress for a national convention to be held in August.

This should be followed by a special electoral congress at which the entire party leadership "should be axed or at least reshuffled", he said.

A strongly worded document drawn up by the group was presented to the PAC's national executive.

In the document, the group suggested that, as a matter of urgency, party leaders should convene a national Pan-Africanist convention, to be attended by all PAC members and PAC-aligned intellectuals.

In the document, the group lashed out at the party leaders' continuing criticism of the Reconstruction and Development Programme without having an equivalent programme that could be used to rally voters.

The group also lambasted PAC president Clarence Makwetu and other members of Parliament for failing to use Parliament effectively to get the party's viewpoints and programmes across.

The document singled out Makwetu, harshly criticising his low-key profile in Parliament and his lack of leadership, and said this was partly to blame for the party's inability to influence political

events.

A "new and younger" leadership should be elected "sooner rather than later" to ensure that the party did not fade into oblivion, the document said.

The sentiments expressed in the document do not mark the first outbreak of dissent among party members or the first time frustrated factions within the organisation have made such proposals.

Last year the organisation's radical youth wing, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, adopted a vote of no confidence in the leadership and called for early elections to install a new PAC national executive.

Party leaders quashed the resolution and reined in the dissenters.

The old guard gave the youth wing a stern warning and the rebellion lost steam.

However, angry party stalwarts have been paying for Makwetu's blood and he is under pressure to step down as

president to make way for a younger and much fiercer party leader.

The congress, at which heads are likely to roll, is expected to be a watershed for the party.

A new party leadership might be elected at this, the fifth congress of the party, said Shiphwe Shiphwe, the PAC's recreation, sport and culture secretary.

A vote of no confidence in the leadership was possible, he said. This would require a two-thirds majority.

In his opening speech at the congress yesterday, Makwetu said the party was in need of workers rather than leaders.

"Such workers will solve the problems confronting the party. They will raise resources to enable the leaders to promote the interests of the PAC," he said.

Disunity among members was weakening the party and preventing it from attending to the social upliftment of black people, he added.

Makwetu survives PAC bid to oust him

Nomavenda Mathiane

BLOEMFONTEIN — Battle lines were drawn at the weekend between the PAC leadership and other groupings within the party.

At a weekend conference called to debate the PAC's position in the new SA, most delegates had another agenda — engineering a vote on the party leadership. When their attempts failed, a compromise was struck — the PAC would call a special convention for all Africanists by June this year.

Disenchantment with the party leadership has afflicted the organisation for some time. At the PAC congress in Mmabatho in December

BD 9/4/96. (11A)
1994, delegates hoped to oust president Clarence Makwetu, whom they blamed for the party's poor general election results. But bad strategies and the refusal of prominent PAC members to stand for election against Makwetu saw him retain power.

Lobbying against Makwetu began well before this weekend's conference, with party members circulating documents calling for change.

The most outspoken faction of the PAC demanding the axing of the upper hierarchy was the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), which as early as last year voiced its lack of confidence in the party leadership.

Makwetu has denied there is a lead-

ership crisis, and has said he will step down if supporters feel he should do so.

The issue of funds, or rather the lack of them, also dominated the conference. Delegates were forced to pay their own expenses, and the conference found that 80% of the R5m Independent Electoral Commission money given to the PAC was unaccounted for.

There were also other funds certain members of the national executive council could not account for. A commission was set up to investigate the missing funds.

Paso members walked out of the conference on Saturday, saying security guards had manhandled their president, Ignatius Molapo.

PAC tottering: R5-m missing, records 'lost'

(11A) Star 9/4/96

Leadership under attack with its days numbered amid accusations of corruption and maladministration at congress

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Bloemfontein

The Pan Africanist Congress is bankrupt and has set up a commission to investigate the disappearance of nearly R5-million given it by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to campaign in the 1994 elections.

The Government is demanding an audited statement from the party detailing how the IEC grant was utilised, but the PAC has so far been unable to produce the document because the records of expenditure cannot be found.

The three-person commission is being led by Imani XI, (wife of Khoisan XI, formerly known as Benny Alexander), and was appointed at the party's national conference held in Bloemfontein over the weekend.

As allegations of corruption and maladministration were levelled during the conference.

The commission will be assisted by an accountant and a commercial lawyer, and its report is to be published by the end of May. It will also investigate the where-

abouts of other party funds earned from the sale of PAC properties in neighbouring countries.

A "highly confidential" 1995 end-of-year report drawn up by PAC finance secretary Siphwe Cele paints a picture of a party in financial tatters. It says "80% of over R5-million of the IEC funds went to items other than those stipulated by the IEC, and there has been no accounting whatsoever for the said 80%".

The report adds that attempts by former finance secretary T Gazo to compile a report about the funds were being frustrated by the fact that the PAC office in King William's Town, where some party documents are kept, has been attacked by creditors demanding R6 000 from the party.

"The few (members) who pay get their contributions squandered by branch leaders," it says. "Some delegates at the conference used the issue of the missing money to argue for the removal of the party's leadership. Others pointed fingers at members of the national executive committee and demanded a police investigation.

The controversy now has PAC president Clarence Makwetj and other leaders up against the wall in the run-up to the party's congress later this year.

While the weekend conference declined to pass a motion of no confidence in the leadership, which would have necessitated fresh elections, it did indicate that its days were numbered.

A committee of eight was set up to organise a "convention of all Pan Africanists" and a congress to elect a new leadership.

The committee will also closely monitor administration of the party's finances.

Cele's report reveals that the party's main source of revenue for 1995 was a R600 000 grant from a Dutch organisation called NZA. This was spent on servicing debts, and covering overheads at headquarters "in violation of conditions from the sponsor".

The report suggests that the PAC should continue to target "friendly embassies" and governments for money. It discounts the possibility of any support from big business.

Glimmer of hope for 'petrified' PAC

MHG 12-18/4/96 (11A)

Gaye Davis

A HIGH-POWERED group of African intellectuals, professionals, trade unionists and corporate high-fliers are spearheading a bid to pull the Pan Africanist Congress back from the brink and provide South Africa with a left-of-centre party promoting Africanist ideals.

Known as the Concerned Africanists, the group spearheaded the notion of a historic national convention of Pan Africanists that the PAC planned to hold, possibly in September, ahead of fresh leadership elections.

Instead, the PAC went ahead with its conference, with predictably disastrous results. The revelations of financial maladministration and near-bankruptcy, the walk-out by its youth wing and the futile denials of disunity by President Clarence Makwetu and his deputy, Dr Motsoko Pheko, served only to reinforce the impression of a party in its final death-throes.

But the decision to hold a convention of Africanists to map a new route for the PAC could offer salvation. Ironically, it was arrived at by way of a compromise, when a no-confidence motion in the PAC leadership tabled by the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (PASO) was countered by one from the African Womens' Organisation.

Effectively, the PAC's leadership is now in a caretaker role: the convention will be organised by members of the Concerned Africanists group working with members of PAC structures. It will be followed by a PAC congress and fresh leadership elections — at present, only due in 1997.

While the Concerned Africanists group has the interests of the PAC at heart, its agenda for the convention extends much further than sorting out the many internal problems that have paralysed the party.

In its bid to forge a new unity among Africanists, the convention will also provide a platform for former members to "speak bitterness". Members of PAC breakaway groups, including the youth-led Revolutionary Watchdogs and the United Kingdom-based Sobukwe Forum, are expected to attend.

A convention — with participation extending beyond PAC membership and structures and thus minimising the impact of internal factions — is seen by the Concerned Africanists as the only way out for the PAC.

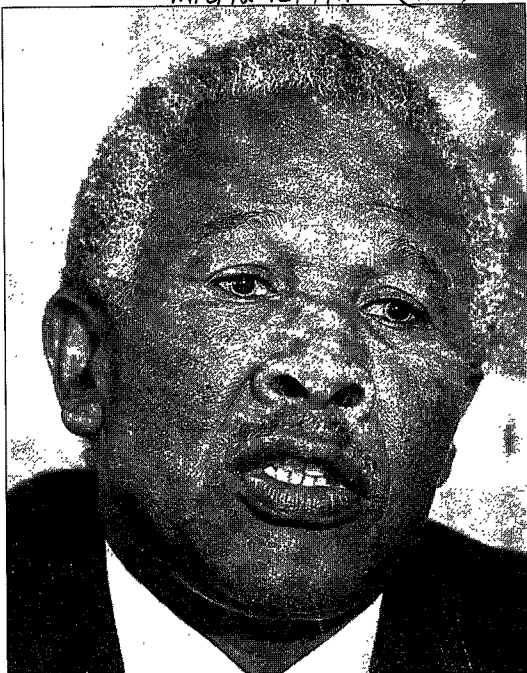
The group includes card-carrying PAC members and disaffected former members of the party, but is comprised largely of a floating membership of people who see in Pan Africanism an alternative to communism, narrow nationalism or tribalism.

A 13-member core committee has been meeting regularly since September last year and devised the notion of the convention, spelt out in a discussion document submitted to the PAC's national executive committee and in the possession of the *Mail & Guardian*.

The document pulls few punches, describing the PAC as "politically sterile", with a "petrified leadership" incapable of adapting to rapid political change or even realising that the PAC had been "completely obliterated" from the political scene.

It criticises the PAC's inability to:

- Offer an alternative to the Reconstruction and Development



Clarence Makwetu: Refuses to acknowledge the crisis in the PAC

PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU

'Makwetu's successor must be a visionary'

PHILIP Kgosana, the PAC veteran who in 1960 led a march of 500 000 people from Langa, Cape Town, in protest against the pass laws, is being mentioned as a potential successor to PAC President Clarence Makwetu — possibly the most unpopular leader in the organisation's 35-year history.

Currently employed by Unicef in Botswana, Kgosana is deputy chair of the PAC's North West Province committee in Mmabatho. He addressed a rally at the launch of the PAC's local government election campaign in the Western Cape last month, following a march commemorating those massacred at Sharpeville and Langa 36 years ago.

Makwetu, who has steadfastly resisted suggestions that he resign and has manoeuvred his way around attempts to oust him, used the PAC's recent conference to blame the party's failings on its members.

Said PASO secretary general

Programme, instead of just warning people against being cheated a second time;

- Campaign for the release from prison of cadres of its military wing, Apla, who felt betrayed and abandoned;
- Make effective use of its parliamentary platform — leaving voters justified in feeling they'd wasted their ballots.

"At a time when future structures of political power and economic advancement are being mapped out through inter-party negotiations, the

Clarence Hadebe: "The leadership does not acknowledge there is a crisis in the PAC. If they did, they'd be able to deal with it. But they blame the crisis on us, the general membership.

"The crisis in the PAC is self-inflicted. The PAC is its own worst enemy. The organisation needs a visionary. Makwetu was silent in his speech, because he said nothing new."

PAC national executive committee members are unsparring in their criticism of his inability to provide the party with a vision to lead it out of the morass it finds itself in, however, and he is almost certainly on his way out — though he may be permitted to retain his seat as an MP until the next election in 1999.

Other possible successors include Sithembale Khala, secretary general of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, and former Apla commander Lethlaba Mphahlela. PAC MP Patricia de Lille said she had no ambitions for the top post.

PAC is not yet equipped to play its meaningful role," the document says.

The document suggests a complete overhaul of the PAC, in terms of leadership, organisation, policies and strategies. The ANC was steadily "alienating wide support by roller-coasting on the gravy train and failing to deliver" on its promises; the PAC "should exploit these deficiencies".

What was needed was a fresh mandate, a clear programme of action and a leader whose image could be packaged to "optimise" the party, its values and its policies.

'Top politician, Wrong party'

De Lille 'still very optimistic' amidst continuing PAC woes

By CHAIRA CARTER

(114) CP 144/96
OBSERVING PAC parliamentarian Patricia de Lille hard at work in parliament, a fellow MP said: "Great politician. Wrong party."

Revelations last weekend of the dire straits in which the PAC finds itself seem to reinforce this view but De Lille does not plan to quit. Instead she is pinning her hopes on a mid-year Pan Africanist conference which she hopes will provide the PAC with the direction it so sorely lacks.

But it is De Lille herself on whom many in the PAC are pinning their hopes. Not only has she maintained a high profile in parliament but at the PAC conference in Bloemfontein last weekend, it became clear that the former Nacou vice-president is also the only senior PAC leader trusted by the organisation's youth wing.

Paso walked out of the conference after a motion of no confidence in the party's leadership was passed, claiming PAC security had mishandled Paso members and stopped them from speaking.

This was followed by revelations financial straits and could not account for millions of rands.

Key positions which remain vacant in the organisation include that of secretary-general, publicly secretary and, ironically given the party's emphasis on the land-quest, that of secretary for land and mineral resources.

This week, De Lille spoke bluntly about the sorry state of her party. "The PAC is in its death-throes. It can't sink deeper into the quagmire," De Lille said.

"We have an inert and corrupt leadership and I sympathise with Paso's views."

Referring to attempts by the party's leaders to silence criticism, De Lille said voicing problems was not a matter of disloyalty.

"I have a long history in the party. We are loyal members who love this party that is why we are speaking up. It is long overdue. Now we are aware of the shortcomings, there is a chance things might come right," De Lille said.

"We need new leadership, new policies and appropriate structures. The PAC has a habit of substituting leaders who then carry on in the same old way."

"If we change our leadership but don't address our policies and tackle questions of human resources and finances, we will not be able to survive."

De Lille said even though a range of prominent figures approached to stand for election in the PAC had declined, she believed once the party had a new vision, it could find the political outside for any leader to be at the fore of a dying party. Once we have a programme, we can find the leadership to implement it.

"The party needs to come to grips with the new political situation. It needs to position itself in the new political context; restructure development-reliance and organise finance and administration. Most of all we need to engage in political work."

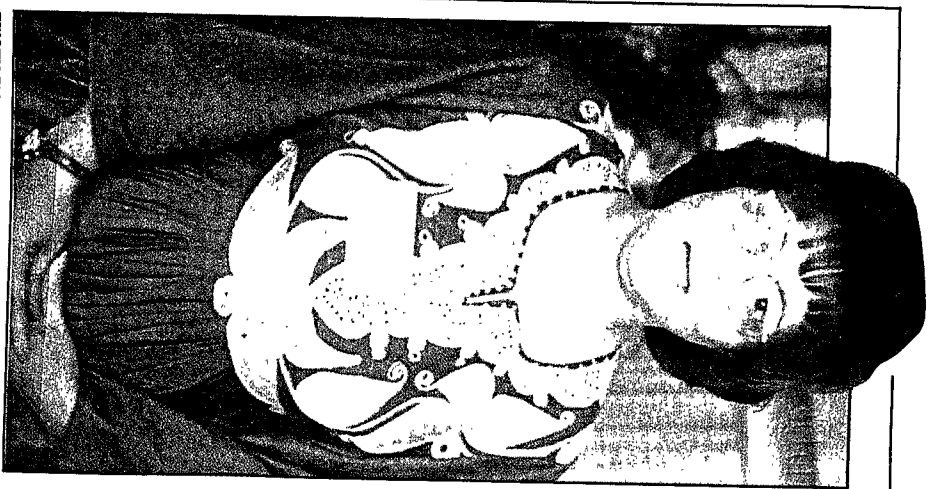
De Lille said changed policies did not mean the same thing as changing principle.

"We are firm on principles but we need to develop new policies," Key areas she saw land, education, agriculture, the constitutional process and health.

Given the state of disarray in the PAC and its poor showing in the 1994 national elections, the local government elections last year, she wondered if there is any reason the PAC should survive.

But De Lille said a multiparty democracy meant there had to be other parties besides the ruling one.

"I'm an optimist," she said.



FISTY FIGHTER... Patricia de Lille has not given up on the ailing PAC—in fact many of the youth and other party membership are pinning their hopes on her.

PAC conference seen as 'a political non-starter'

Nomavenda Mathlana
 "We have a fax, a telephone and we pay our rent." That was the parting shot from Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) secretary-general Clarence Hladbe to PAC MP Ratrika de Lille as he left the PAC's recent Bloemfontein conference — a gathering which Hladbe described as a "political non-starter".

Paso has demanded a price for demanding changes in the PAC, its parent organisation. At the conference, Paso representatives were treated with contempt by some older PAC mem-

bers — and were even manhandled by the party's security team. An elderly delegate from Soweto snook his head in dismay. "It is a shame that we cannot listen to the youngsters. They are doing what we pulled out of the ANC."

In some ways, the Bloemfontein conference was little different to the party's last congress, held in Maseru in 1994. Instead of getting into his house in order to attend the PAC 16th annual conference, Hladbe was cranked in the next morning for a midnight to 10:00 pm from disintegration.

CIRK **ED IS 14 16**

PAC president Clarence Makwetsh, opened the conference, using the analogy of a plane that would not take off because of a mechanical problem. He argued that no matter how competent the pilot, the plane would not take off if there were faults with it. This party needs workers more than it needs leaders. Such problems confronting us. They will raise the resources to enable the leaders to promote the interests of the PAC.

But the situation in Bloemfontein deteriorated to a point where it was feared the party would be dissolved there and sent to members threatened as members of the leadership's refusal to turn the conference into a congress for the purpose of conducting internal elections. A delegation of senior PAC members was sent to the Markweu to plead with him to step down in the interests of the organisation. He simply refused to do so.

The PAC crisis is bound to deepen as it battles to find someone who is willing to challenge Makwetsh for the leadership. A number of members approached have declined to be nominated for the top job. Among those who have turned down the opportunity is former PAC deputy-president, now businessman, Dik-gang Mosenke. Bishop Stanley Mogoba has also declined.

Former PAC member Ngila Maseruane is reported to be keen to take on the task, but only if certain conditions are met, including the party agreeing to get its house in order. There are those who say he would not be the right candidate because he has "deadly" enemies within the party.

But on another level, it was a different PAC from earlier days that met in Bloemfontein. There were the usual faces: former Robben Island inmates such as Mark Shomers, Vusi Mxumane, members Peter Mape and Antony Siza. From Atteridgeville, and controversial

Bishop Tshobit from Buterworth — one suspended for speaking out against the leadership. The new faces included erstwhile PAC secretary-general, now Soweto residents from Soweto — whom one would hardly have associated with a political party. Some came from the upmarket Diepkloof Extension and from Dubeatownship.

They claimed to have always been PAC members and had come to the conference because of unfulfilled promises made by the ANC, as well as because of the crisis in the PAC.

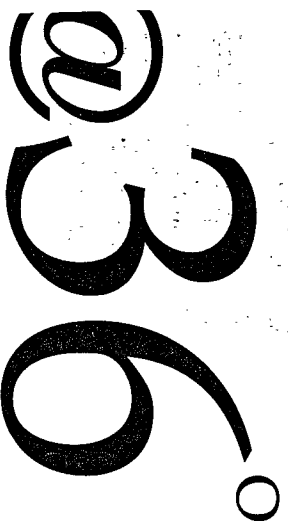
There was also a "coloured" delegation from the Western Cape, led by De Lille, and at least one white face in the crowd — 66-year-old Vic Fowler from Constantia, Cape Town.

"I joined the PAC because it is an honest organisation that tells it like it is," said Fowler. He had been a member of the DP, and had left it because its policies had been "stolen" by the NP. He had then joined the

IFFP which he left because he perceived it as "apartheid". A well-known face was that of former Labour cabinet minister Leson Bantjes. One seeing him, one member remarked: "The PAC is becoming the dumping ground."

Also noticeable was the number of middle-class delegates, straggling in the latest car models — a far cry from the days when PAC conference delegates were "accommodated" in townships. Except for the students who were staying at Maseru township, most delegates were staying at hotels in the city — at their own expense.

However, noticeable among those absent were the authors of documents circulated before the conference that called for the leadership to step down, as well as the Africanist Irish gangstia who have been meeting in Johannesburg lately, lobbying for a open convention to put the PAC's house in order.



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PAC conference seen as 'a political non-starter'

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"We have a fax, a telephone and we pay our rent." That was the parting shot from Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) secretary-general Clarence Hadebe to PAC MP Patricia de Lille as he left the PAC's recent Bloemfontein conference — a gathering which Hadebe described as a "political non-starter".

Paso has paid a heavy price for demanding change in the PAC, its parent organisation. At the conference, Paso representatives were treated with contempt by some older PAC mem-

bers — and were even manhandled by the party's security team.

An elderly delegate from Somerset West headed in this way. It is a shame that the young cadres listen to the young cadres. They are doing what we did in 1969 when we pulled out of the ANC."

In some ways, the Bloemfontein conference was little different to the party's last congress in 1994. Instead of getting its house in order in the intervening 16 months, the PAC leadership has continued to party over cracks in the party hopper for a miracle to avert it from disintegration.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, opening the conference, used the analogy of a plane that would not take off because of a mechanical problem. He argued that he would not take off if he were in the pilot's seat.

This party needs workers more than it needs leaders. Such workers will solve the problems confronting us. They will raise the salaries to enable the leaders to promote the interests of the PAC.

But the situation in Bloemfontein deteriorated to a point where it was feared that the party would

be dissolved there and then as members threatened to quit because of the leadership's refusal to turn the conference into a song-fest for the purpose of conducting internal elections.

A delegation of senior PAC members was sent to Makwetu to plead with him to step down in the interests of the organisation. He simply refused to do so.

The PAC crisis is bound to deepen as it battles to find someone who is willing to challenge Makwetu for the leadership. A number of members approached Makwetu and have declined to be nominated for the top job.

Among those who have turned down the opportunity is former PAC-deputy-president, now businessman, Dick Stanely Mogoeba. Bishop

Former PAC member Ngila Mwendane is reported to be keen to take on the task, but only if certain conditions are met, including the party agreeing to get its house in order. There are those who say he would not be the right candidate because he has "ready" enemies within the party.

But on another level, it was a bitter PAC from earlier days that made the difference in Bloemfontein.

There were the usual faces: former Robben Island inmates such as Nicky Shimmers, Van Niekerk, members Felix Mabe and Antony Siza, from Alexanderville, and controversial

Bishop Tobotti from Buterworth — once suspended for speaking out against the leadership.

The new faces included careerist lawyer-identities from Soweto whom one would hardly have associated with a political party. Some came from the upmarket Deylloof Extension and from Durbelltownship.

They claimed to have always been PAC members and had come to the conference because of unhilled promises made by the ANC, as well as because of the crisis in the PAC.

There was also a "colourful" delegation from the Western Cape, led by De Lille, and at least one white face in the crowd — 56-year-old Vic Fowler from Constantia, Cape Town.

"I joined the PAC because it is an honest organisation that tells it like it is," said Fowler. He had been a member of the DP, and had left it because its policies had been "stolen" by the NP. He had then joined the

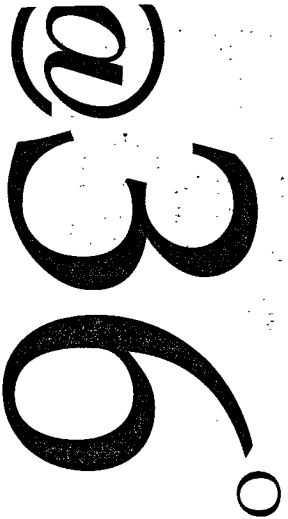
IFP which he left because he perceived it as "apartheid".

A well-known face was that of former Ixhosa chief minister Nelson Rantlho.

On seeing him, one member remarked: "The PAC is becoming the dumping ground" the number of middle-class delegates, travelling in the latest car models — a far cry from the days when PAC conference delegates were "accommodated in townships. Except for the students, who were staying at Managing township, most delegates were staying at hotels in the city — at their own cost.

However, noticeable among those absent were the authors of documents circulated before the conference that called for the leadership to step down, as well as the Africanist intelligentsia who have been meeting in Johannesburg lately, lobbying for an open convention to put the PAC's house in order.

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FACING THE FUTURE: Candidate Anda Ntsodo says that by 1999 the PAC will be a party for all South Africans

PAC 'shedding old cloak' in search of more effective political role

MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress is "shedding its old cloak" and reaching out to the business community, ratepayers' associations and other civic groupings as it seeks to reposition itself for a more effective political role.

The new strategy is aimed at erasing the party's negative image, asserting it as a constructive player in city politics and beefing up its electoral support.

It has launched an initiative to extend membership into the white and coloured communities, and has set 1999 as the target date for turning the organisation into a party for all South Africans.

So says Anda Ntsodo, one of the PAC's candidates in the metropolitan elections in Cape Town on May 29.

He heads the party's list for the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC) and is one of 76 PAC candidates standing in the elections. The party is fielding candidates for the CMC, and the central, southern, Tygerberg and Helderberg substructures.

Mr Ntsodo - who was branded a "pragmatist" and "sell-out" in the run-up to the 1994 election campaign for urging Pan Africanists to embrace the democratic transition - has been at the forefront of efforts in the party to ditch controversial sloganeering in favour of negotiation politics.

He told SATURDAY Argus that the PAC was "shedding its old cloak".

"South Africa is no longer an arena

for conflict, and the PAC that is calling for a unity of purpose between the rich and advantaged and the poor and disadvantaged, so they work together to ensure the Cape metropolitan area has a brighter future.

"With this in mind, we have launched a programme of discussions with the business community and the banks of the Peninsula, as well as ratepayers' associations and other civic organisations. The PAC wants to see the Cape metro flourish economically and we want to play a role in generating debate on what needs to be done to achieve this.

"The region must be investor friendly, but that must be balanced by strong social values and strategies to deal with crime, poverty, homelessness and unemployment. These are the things that top our election campaign agenda."

The PAC was also concerned about the pervasive "welfare mentality" among people who were willing simply to sit back and wait for the government, or the private sector, to provide for them. "We are asking our people to move away from that mentality.

"We cannot expect to get everything free from the government or from business. People must learn to be achievers, to work hard to get what they want. This is the attitude we will be promoting. It is up to communities to make things happen. This is our country and we have a collective responsibility to make it work, so all of us have to make a start."

(M) ARG 20/4/96

18/5/96

Star

Down-and-out PAC determined to pull itself off the ropes

By WILLIAM-MERVIN GUMEDE

The Pan Africanist Congress is preparing its own version of the Reconstruction and Development Programme that will be tabled at its planned national convention of Pan-Africanists in September.

The document, put together by a high-powered group of African academics and intellectuals, trade unionists, professionals and corporate high-flyers, is part of a bid to finally pull the party out of the political wilderness.

Ike Mafole, convener of the PAC's national convention committee (NCC), told the *Saturday Star* that if the party wanted to be taken seriously, it had to come up with a viable alternative to the ANC that went beyond mere criticism.

The troubled PAC is reeling after revelations at its Bloemfontein conference last month of maladministration and bankruptcy; a spoilt vote of no confidence by its student wing, the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation; and the refusal of its

president Clarence Makwetlo to step down and make way for a new leader.

Mafole said the organisation of the convention to relaunch the PAC as a "new" left-of-centre party promoting Africanist ideals was on track. At the moment, the PAC leadership is effectively playing only a caretaker role while the NCC organises the convention.

The NCC has established 10 commissions to prepare discussion and policy documents for the convention, which will be used by the PAC to seek outside help to solve its problems.

The commissions will look at the structure of the party, its leadership, a programme of action, repositioning the PAC, as well as housing, land, culture, education and health policies.

Mafole said members of the PAC's breakaway groups - including the Revolutionary Watchdogs, the UK-based Sobukwe Forum, as well as the Pan-Africanists from the US and the rest of Africa - would be part of the convention.

Imani X, wife of !Khoisan X

(11A)

(formerly Benny Alexander), is head of the four-person commission investigating the disappearance of almost R5-million of party funds. She said the commission had just completed auditing the PAC's books and would wrap up the rest of the inquiry soon.

"We are racing towards the deadline to complete the investigation in time to be tabled at the upcoming PAC congress," she said.

The money was given to the PAC by the Independent Electoral Commission to campaign in the 1994 national election.

Meanwhile, the reformist faction in the party has been working behind the scenes to revive the dormant Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) to bolster its ranks in its bid to overthrow the PAC leadership.

The thinking among those spearheading the campaign to oust those in top positions is that a revived Azanyu could give the Young Turks the necessary firepower to finally overthrow the leadership, which many blame for the PAC's moribund state.

Lekota's planned reshuffle stopped in its tracks

(11A) Star 13/6/96

By JUSTICE MALALA
Provincial Correspondent

The ANC in the Free State has stopped the provincial premier, Patrick Lekota, from going ahead with a reshuffle of his executive committee because it felt it had not been consulted thoroughly.

The organisation's provincial executive committee halted the reshuffle, undertaken to replace sole outgoing National Party Public Transport MEC Dr L van der Walt, soon after it was announced two weeks ago. Provincial premiers have the power to appoint and fire their MECs.

Lekota's spokesman, Sepiriti Monyobo, said the premier would announce a decision on the matter "in reasonable time". He said the MECs were continuing in their posts until the matter had been resolved.

The organisation's provincial executive committee halted the move and demanded that Lekota consult it on the matter before going ahead.

Monyobo said Lekota had said he had been deployed by the ANC as premier and, as part of the organisation, will be directed by its views. He said he did not



Under fire ... the balance of political power in the Free State is said to be tipping against the province's premier, Patrick Lekota.

know how far up in the organisation the consultations were taking place, but said the issue might reach up to a national decision-making body.

The politics of the province are complicated by the fact that Lekota was ousted last year as chairperson of the provincial executive by Pat Matosa. At present Lekota is an ordinary member of the

provincial executive committee of the organisation and the balance of power is tipped against him.

In the reshuffle, Lekota had shifted four MECs to new posts and promoted MPL Mxolisi Dukwana to head education.

Meanwhile, the province has denied that Safety and Security MEC Papi Kganare has resigned from the provincial cabinet.

Kganare's spokesman, Tebogo Sikisi, said it was not true that the MEC had resigned in anger at the lack of powers granted to Safety and Security MECs. "It is a fact that a number of ANC MECs are unhappy about the powers they have been given, for example, powers to veto police commissioners' decisions. Kganare was one of the most vocal."

i guard of ANC Women's League

w bombshell

(11A) ST 16/6/96

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

A DAMNING audit ordered by Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has found "serious discrepancies" in the spending of R7.8-million by the ANC Women's League.

During the period covered by the audit, the organisation's finances were under the control of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's bitter rivals, Adelaide Tambo and Makhosazana Njobe, who both served as treasurers.

The report, kept under wraps by the ANC since May, is likely to re-ignite the bitter feud between Mrs Madikizela-Mandela and former executive members of the league, including the Health Minister, Dr Nkosazana Zuma, and Deputy Speaker Baleka Kgositsile.

They left the league after an acrimonious fall out with Mrs Madikizela-Mandela last year over a donation from Pakistani President Benazir Bhutto.

Among the irregularities uncovered by the audit were:

- A debit note transferring R440 000 to "Cash Security A/C Property Guarantees", but "nobody at the ANCWL acknowledges authorising such a transfer";

- The purchase of three vehicles in March 1993 and

- four in January 1994 for which "no registration papers could be found" and that "verification of the existence of these vehicles and whose name they are registered (in) was not possible";

- Missing cheques for R250 000 and R166 040, which "could not be traced to any account belonging to the league"; and

- The payment of R110 000 towards a property in Stutterheim for which "no title deeds or any other documentation could be obtained" as well as payments to the Stutterheim Development Foundation for which no documents were available.

The audit report, completed at a cost of R91 000 by Hardman and Associates, concludes: "It is obvious that a vast majority of errors, omissions and discrepancies, whether by commission or otherwise, were a direct result of utter disorganisation, total lack of controls and internal audit procedures."

The auditors added: "However, we are certain that if the executive members of the ANCWL, both past and present, examine each cheque and transaction, that a majority of such cheques and transactions would have been approved by them if appropriate controls had been in operation at the time."

A statement given to the Sunday Times by one of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's rivals, on "condition of anonymity, hit back at the audit. "Not all stakeholders participated in the decision to appoint the firm that produced this report."

BREAKING RANKS: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela



The Sunday Times has learnt that Mrs Njobe has drawn up a memorandum, on behalf of the league's former executive members, explaining the discrepancies. It will be submitted to ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa this week.

Mrs Njobe said many of the discrepancies would have been cleared up had there been proper consultation between the auditors and the league's former officials.

She said the Stutterheim property referred to in the audit had indeed been bought and was used as a development centre.

The auditors also discovered that a long-standing internal feud over the fate of R1-million withdrawn from the league's account in March 1994 was due to a bank error and not misappropriation.

Although handed to Mr Ramaphosa in May, the report was passed on to ANC officials only this week after the Sunday Times asked for comment. But Mr Ramaphosa declined to comment.

Alan Reynolds, Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's parliamentary secretary, confirmed the audit had been undertaken on her instructions as women's league president, but would make no further comment.

She orders audit that damns ok
Winnie's

Missing cash riddle

ANCWL source says bank is to blame for lost R11m

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THE STRAY that has erupted in the African National Congress Women's League around irregularities involving millions of rands worsened yesterday with the disclosure that accountants had stolen former president Mrs Adelaide Tumbo about R11 million from the league's account.

The report that a report had revealed that R7,3 million of ANCWL funds had been spent irregularly.

SOURCE has come into possession of a letter to Tumbo which questions the withdrawal of R11 million from the league's account in 1994.

The letter, first obtained by the Sowetan, stated that the R11 million was meant for the funds (loan from RFB investment account).

"It reads in part: 'We note that a sum of R1 000 000 was withdrawn on March 16 1994 from the League's call account. We were advised that these funds were to be invested. To date we have not received any information about where these funds have been invested.'

Response wanted

The letter calls on Tumbo to respond to the query "as a matter of urgency". However, a source within the ANCWL told *Sowetan* yesterday that she was not sure whether the demand was for the disputed R1 million "if anyone is to blame, it is the bank".

The source said the R1 million had initially been credited to the ANCWL account in error. To set the account straight, the incorrectly credited amount had to be reflected as a withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the national executive committee of the ANCWL says it is deeply dissatisfied in the league has already become public knowledge - Madikizela-Mandela and the other leaders in the ANC have had the chance to examine it.

ANCWL deputy president Ms Thandi Motsepe said yesterday that the matter was internal to the ANC. People accused in the newspaper, *Sowetan*, should not be held responsible for the irregularities, she said.

She said the league would not be able to respond to the allegations levelled "against" them before the findings were made public.

THE *Sowetan* has also questioned the ANCWL's audit procedures. According to the newspaper, the ANCWL's audit procedures involved an amount of R7,3 million in spending, irregularities "has been revealed".

The report reveals that the ANCWL's "audit" procedures were "irregular" and "inadequate". It also stated that the league's "audit" procedures were "inadequate" and "inadequate".

Ms Baleka Kgositsile, on the executive, was in a state of "utter disorganisation, total lack of control and internal audit procedures".

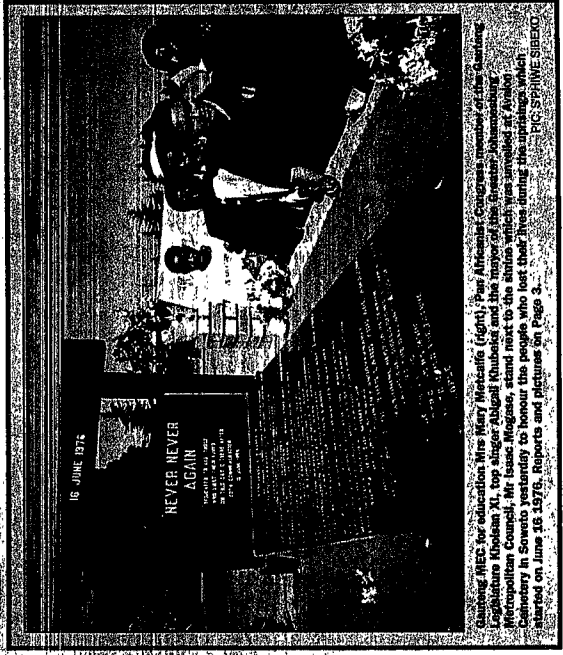
The audit found that the league was assuming to about R200 000 in debt note form of R400 000 made out authorised; three vehicles had been purchased irregularly; and a property in Sunterburg had been bought for R110 000 without any legal documents about the house being available.

It is known that there is an extreme rift between two camps currently runs the league under Madikizela-Mandela and the other faction, the "outlets", headed by Tumbo.

The identity of the person who leaked the auditors' report before the league and the ANC could discuss it with Mrs Motsepe.

Motsepe said "although we are committed to the principles of transparency and accountability, we strongly dissociate ourselves from the leaking of this report to the Press before proper internal procedures have been followed".

ANCWL's secretary Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's secretary Mr Alan Reynolds told *Sowetan* that she did not want to be reported saying anything else on the matter apart from confirming the fact that she had indicated the report in her capacity as president of the ANCWL.



ANCWL's secretary Mrs Madikizela-Mandela (right), Mrs Motsepe (left), Mrs Baleka Kgositsile (middle) and the mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Isaac Mgagisa, stand next to the shrine which was unveiled at Alibonjo in Soweto yesterday to honour the people who lost their lives during the struggle against apartheid. (Sowetan)

11A
Sowetan
17/6/96

Audit of ANC Women's League funds - 'R6-m was mismanaged'

AN AUDIT of the African National Congress Women's League accounts from 1992 to 1995 has been finished, and party sources say millions of rands have been mismanaged.

They said the amount totalled about R6 million, but this could not be confirmed with the ANC's leadership.

"It doesn't look good," another source said.

An ANC spokesman said the party's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, its treasurer-general, Arnold Stoffle, and ANCWL president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who was elected to the position in 1993, had received copies of the audit and were studying it.

The three, former ANCWL president Gertrude Shope and former treasurer Albertina Sisulu, would meet soon to discuss the report.

The ANC would issue a comprehensive statement once these discussions had been concluded.

The audit followed allegations and counter-allegations last year among members of ANCWL, prompted by the resignation of 11 senior

members, including Adelaide Tambo, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, Baleka Kgosisile (now national assembly deputy-speaker), Linahwe Sisulu-Guma (soon to be deputy Home Affairs Minister) and veteran activist Ruth Mompoti.

They accused Ms Madikizela-Mandela of making decisions undemocratically, and later of financial impropriety involving a R500 000 donation to the league by Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Ms Madikizela-Mandela in turn accused them of trying to discredit the league by suggesting she was involved in financial impropriety.

She denied the money was intended for the league and said she had presented the money to the Co-ordinated Anti Poverty Programme, of which she was chief executive officer at the time.

Ms Madikizela-Mandela said she had nothing to hide and called on the ANC's leadership to begin a transparent audit of the league.

The full audit began in mid-1995.

- Sapa.

Ex-ANCWL leaders deny cash claims

(11A) AUG 22/6/96

■ An audit report into the ANC Women's League, which said several payments made about three years ago could not be accounted for, has been condemned by the then leadership.

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Staff Reporter

FORMER national executive members of the ANC Women's League have dismissed as totally incorrect and unfounded a recent audit of the organisation's financial affairs which suggested "serious discrepancies" in the spending of R7,8 million.

Several cases of alleged discrepancies in 1993 and 1994 were cited by the audit, which is reported to have been ordered by the league's current president, Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

During that period the women's organisation's treasury fell under Adelaide Tambo and Makhosazana Njobe, who were among a group of ANC Women's League's stalwarts who resigned last year from the organisation's leadership.

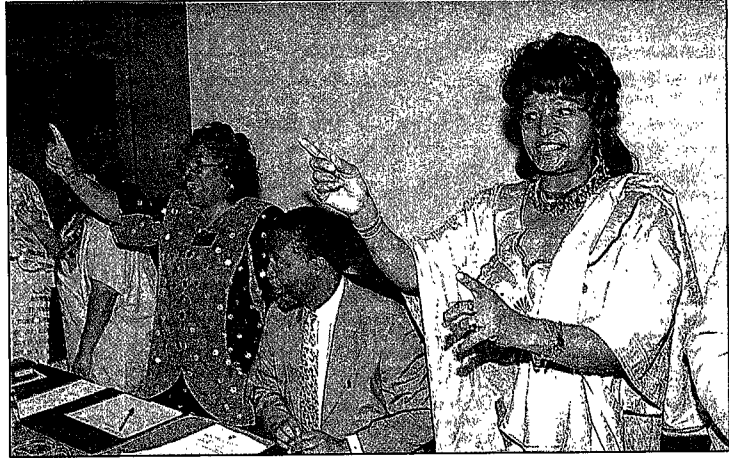
The women, who withdrew from the leadership following differences with Ms Madikizela-Mandela, included former president Gertrude Shope, former treasurer generals Ms Tambo and Ms Njobe, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and Nosiwive Maphisa-Nqakula. Among alleged irregularities discovered by an auditors' firm, Hardman and Associates, at a cost of R91 000, were the purchase of three vehicles in March 1993 and January 1994.

The report claimed "no registration papers could be found" for these vehicles and verification of their existence and the name of the person they were registered under "was not possible."

It also alleged that no one in the women's organisation could acknowledge authorising a debit note transferring R440 000 to a company called Cash Security A/C Property Guarantees.

Missing cheques for R250 000 and R166 040 could also not be traced to any account belonging to the league.

The other claim of irregularity was



FLASHBACK: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, flanked by the ANC Women's League president Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela-Mandela on the right and Dr Mantu Tshabalala, deputy minister of Justice designate, during the league's summit in Cape Town early this year.

Picture: ROY WAGLEY, Staff Photographer.

over the payment of R110 000 towards a property in Stutterheim for which "no title deeds or any other documentation could be obtained."

In a memorandum to the ANC president and secretary-general, the former ANC Women's League executive members said they wished to remind President Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa of two agreed principles relating to the matter.

"Firstly, the need for that audit was agreed by us all. Secondly, it was agreed that - in trying to solve the ANCWL saga - we had to keep all stakeholders on board at every step. Unfortunately, the appointment of Hardman and Associates without consultation with us was a violation of the second agreement."

The women referred certain issues raised by the report in a bid to illustrate the negative perceptions created and that such misleading conclusions could have been avoided "if we were also involved and consulted in the process of the audit."

They refuted, for instance, the claim made in the audit that the bank mandate had required two signatures - those of Tandie Modise and Ms Njobe - to appear on every cheque.

They said that in terms of the then draft constitution of the league three signatories were initially mandated - that of the president, secretary general and treasurer general. Later Ms Modise was added as a fourth signatory "for convenience."

"The reference to 'utter disorganisation, total lack of controls and internal audit procedures, total lack of documentation and ... the reliance by executives of the ANCWL on junior staff to operate the organisation virtually at will and without supervision' is not borne out by our experience."

The memorandum says former treasurer general Ms Njobe had, in fact, spent most of her time at the ANC headquarters supervising her juniors in executing the task of her office, and she also had a qualified accountant, Tamtam Ndziba, in her office.

"Ms Njobe is such a hard-working and meticulous person who paid attention to the finest detail in her work that she could not have displayed this shoddiness alleged by the auditors," added one of the former ANCWL office bearers.

Referring to the payment of R110 000, the memorandum said the amount was, in fact, paid to a company of lawyers,

Routledges, on January 13, 1993, who acted for the sellers, the Catholic nuns of the order of St Dominican. The R440 000 paid to Cash and Security A/C Property Guarantees was for the same purpose. The price of the property, they said, was R550 000 and the R110 000 was a deposit.

When the registration of the property was delayed for a number of reasons the R440 000 was transferred to another account to gain interest.

The memorandum goes on meticulously in its explanation and documentation of the alleged "serious discrepancies" in the league's finances pointed out by the auditors.

It also argues that from the list provided in the audit it was clear that numerous account books like journals, ledgers, cash and petty cash books and others were not included in the documentation that was examined by the auditors.

The authors of the memorandum, who said they were still genuinely concerned with the unity, integrity and effectiveness of the league, refused to comment on suggestions that the auditors were employed by the ANCWL out of malice in a bid to discredit its former leaders.



WINNIE MANDELA: An ANC spokeswoman says there are serious discrepancies in the ANC Women's League finances.

Audit riddle for ANC women

Cliff Manning/9/86

IXOLISIKASHE
SAR HESCHE

SIXTEEN months have elapsed since the dramatic walk-out by 11 prominent African National Congress (ANC) women's league members has quietly been brokering reconciliation does not seem to be near the "unfathomable solution" it has sought.

The difficulties facing the ANC in the wake of the walk-out for peace and unity in the ranks of one of its most powerful organs is due mainly to the fact that the women's league is headed by Winnie Mandela, who features prominently in the dispute, is somewhat less than a full-time position.

One of the issues cited when contradictions inside the league were made public in a showdown between the league and the ANC leadership was money — a sum

of about R200 000 which Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had donated to the ANC Women's League which allegedly was diverted by the organisation's president into the coffers of the Co-ordinating Anti-Poverty Project (Copp).

Ms Madikizela-Mandela later explained that the Pakistani government had agreed to donate the money to the ANC Women's League for the purpose of the Anti-Poverty Project. She said that the money had in fact been given to her to use at her own discretion.

ANC is the only organisation that has intended to become a "tourism vortice" proposed by the movie producer, and endorsed by Ms Madikizela-Mandela. That finally led to the big exodus of 11 stalwart members of the league who included former treasurer, Zuma, former treasurer-general, Mr. Adebaike Tambo and speaker Bala, Kgobela and

It has been a long time since the ANC Women's League split down the middle, and efforts to mend the rift are not any closer to succeeding.

others.

The latest issue, which will be decided by the former ANCWL executive committee, is the ANC's task of resolving the protracted crisis even more difficult is again money — an audit ordered by Ms Madikizela-Mandela. The audit, performed by a Gauteng company, Hardman Manning and Associates, R91 000, made this claim, among others:

"It is obvious that a vast number of errors, omissions and discrepancies have occurred by commission or otherwise, were as a result of utter disorganisation, total lack of control and internal audit procedures."

surfaced in the media in the course of the claims and counter-claims about the "serious discrepancies" alleged that the ANC Women's League's financial statements were "true allegations".

Ms Dlamini told SATURDAY Argus in an interview this week that the women's league and the ANC Women's League had completed its job and had not as claimed by the women's league, the company had not documents and financial records covering the quarter.

But withdrawing Hardman Manning's services in the wake of the report is not on the agenda of the league's current executive committee. "We talk, and the ANC agreed, that since this company had already started with the work, it would well finish it," said Ms Dlamini. She said one of the ANCWL's major tasks was to unite all the



CLADEAUDE TAMBO: She was one of those who were involved in a walkout. Women of South Africa said it could not do this effectively by itself.

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Women's League is hit by funds freeze

Nomavenda Mathiano

~~SECRET~~ (11A)
20 12 17 196
PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has frozen most of the ANC Women's League's funding, apparently because of its support for Deputy Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Bantu Holomisa, who faces disciplinary action from his party.

League sources said league branches had, on instructions from Mandela and the ANC's national working committee, been informed of the decision this week in a memorandum from ANC treasurer-general Arnold Stofile.

Only salaries of the league's provincial staff would be paid. No more funds would be made available for league running costs at regional level.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa declined to comment, saying it was an internal party matter.

Regional league secretary and Gauteng provincial MP Lindiwe Maseko said the league would be unable to operate without funding. She had no idea why funds had been stopped.

Continued on Page 2

League (11A) ~~SECRET~~

20 12 17 196
Continued from Page 1

It was not clear if the league's head office staff would be affected. If it was, only full-time administration staff, not office bearers like league president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and her deputy, Thandi Modise, would be affected by the freeze.

The league's national office said it had been trying since Monday to contact Stofile for an explanation.

Sources in the national office said Mandela had not taken kindly to the league's support for Holomisa after he was berated by the party for telling the truth commission last month that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau received R50 000 from a bribe allegedly paid to former Transkei leader Kaizer Matanzima by Sun International

boss Sol Kerzner. They said this appeared to be behind the move.

Sources outside the league suggested Mandela's instructions had been prompted by alleged maladministration of league funds, which was being investigated by auditors.

However, a member of the national office said the office had not been in charge of any funds since a number of prominent members quit. The ANC had been covering its payments. Unless a sound explanation was given for freezing funds, the league would act against the party, she said.

Meanwhile, Ecna reports that a crisis looms in the league's Eastern Cape branch, where a new executive is battling to take control. Sit-ins and demonstrations have marked the struggle as elected members battle to wrest control of assets from the previous executive. Members are to meet at the weekend to try to resolve the matter.

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Women's League problems resolved

(11A) b1 16/7/96
Nomavenda Mathiane

THE problems of the Eastern Cape ANC Women's League, which staged a sit-in at the Port Elizabeth ANC office last week, would be resolved by forming a single provincial structure, national deputy secretary Bathabile Dlamini said yesterday.

At present there are three regions, the Transkei, Eastern Cape and Border. These, Dlamini said, would have to merge for rationalisation and fair distribution of resources to take place.

The Eastern Cape region staged a sit-in last week, demanding the leadership be removed from office, and has also called for a commission of inquiry into the funds of the league in that region.

Dlamini said problems had been simmering for some time, but the intervention of the league's national organiser Ntombi Shope, who visited recently, assured members their grievances would be looked into.

Women's League problems resolved

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Re-audit for ANC Women's League

(11A) CT 18/7/96

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC has ordered a re-audit of the ANC Women's League's (ANCWL) books after an earlier report was rejected by some senior members of the league and the reputation of the auditor who conducted the investigation was questioned.

ANCWL sources said that after a series of meetings to discuss the report, which revealed mismanagement of R7,8 million, it was decided that because the appointment of Mr Jeffrey Manning was unprocedural, a new independent audit should be instituted.

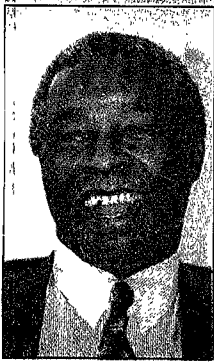
An "internationally reputable" auditing firm, which the ANCWL would not disclose, will do the re-audit.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe confirmed yesterday the party's national working committee was unhappy with Manning's report. He would not comment further.

Soon after the publication of the report, senior members of the ANCWL wrote to ANC treasurer-general the Rev Arnold Stofile expressing their dissatisfaction with the audit. It was on their motivation that the NWC ordered a re-audit.

Manning's report led to a decision by the ANC to freeze its financial support to the ANCWL until clarity was reached on whether or not financial embezzlement had occurred.

After a series of meetings, a decision was taken to appoint a new firm of auditors which has been given two months to complete the probe. The previous auditors took eight months on the assignment.



□ **PRIME MOVER:**
Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wanted him out.



□ **EX-DEPUTY MINISTER:** Bantu Holomisa 'not bitter'.

Mr Mandela did not give reasons for Mr Holomisa's sudden dismissal and presidential spokesperson Joel Ntshintzhe said it was not part of the President's custom to provide reasons for appointments to, or dismissals from, the cabinet.

Mr Holomisa said he knew three weeks ago that he was on his way out after he received information that Mr Mbeki had recommended that he be dismissed from the cabinet.

He denied being bitter as he was leaving his ministerial job with a "clean record, without any taint of corruption or a scandal. At least I can walk with my head held high."

He denied being frustrated by the dismissal as he had been warned some time ago by some "impeccable sources" that Mr Mbeki had recommended his removal from cabinet.

He said he would continue as an MP and make his contribution in the Environment, Tourism and Defence committees.

"I'm not bitter, not all, not after the tip off I got three weeks ago. My impeccable sources have at least saved me that agony," Mr Holomisa said.

● Meanwhile the National Party has reacted unfavourably to the appointment of Mr Mokaba to replace Mr Holomisa.

In a statement released yesterday NP spokesman Jan Bosman said Mr Mandela should be conscious of the investigation into Mr Mokaba's activities in the National Tourism Forum.

"A big cloud of uncertainty and of irregularities, in which Peter Mokaba was directly involved, is hanging over the National Tourism Forum."

■ Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Bantu Holomisa, who was fired yesterday by President Mandela, is unrepentant over statements to the Truth Commission that may have led to his dismissal.

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Staff Reporter

DISMISSED Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs Bantu Holomisa has disclosed that he knew three weeks ago he was going to be fired after learning that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki had recommended that he be removed from the cabinet.

President Mandela fired Mr Holomisa yesterday, but did not disclose any reasons for the move.

He is to be replaced by controversial ANC MP Peter Mokaba.

The firebrand ex-general said he believed he was fired because he had not shown the African National Congress leadership a copy of his statements before testifying before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) recently.

Mr Holomisa had testified before the TRC that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau had received a R50 000 bribe. This led to an outcry in certain circles of the ANC.

Mr Holomisa was summoned to appear before an ANC disciplinary committee.

He was also reprimanded publicly by Mr Mbeki for suggesting that Mrs Sigcau took a bribe.

"If my dismissal has anything to do with my testimony at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission about Stella Sigcau, then it is unfortunate. But I will never retract a bit from it. I still stand by everything I said," Mr Holomisa told SATURDAY ARGUS after Mr Mandela had dismissed him, with effect from August 1.

Holomisa blames Mbeki

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~~IIA~~

ARC

27/7/96

Mbeki

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Correspondent

THERE'S a rumour doing the rounds in the ANC that, soon after Peter Mokaba was asked to be deputy environmental and tourism minister at the expense of Bantu Holomisa this week, he received a call from Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. The message from Madikizela-Mandela, who was herself fired from a deputy ministry job, says she would like to "take the job". Mokaba is trying to divide us.

Mokaba would not confirm that Madikizela-Mandela had spoken to him, but he did hint at what he would have said in reply: "My problem is with this word 'us'. I don't see myself as part of a faction."

The ANC and the dismissal of Holomisa have dealt heavy blows to the group of ANC militants to which the two leaders belonged. In 1994, the group included the late Harry Gwala, Madikizela-Mandela, Mokaba, Holomisa and the Defence Committee chairman, Tony Yengeni. The ANC would count on the support of the ANC Youth League, of which Madikizela-Mandela presided, and the ANC Youth League, which Mokaba led.

At the ANC's December 1994 conference, Holomisa, Mokaba and Madikizela-Mandela rode a wave of impatience with delivery to take three of the top five places in the organisation's national executive committee. In the interim, Mokaba third and Madikizela-Mandela fifth.

But, by the time Friday's firing of Holomisa came around, the militants were in tatters. Gwala passed away last year, Madikizela-Mandela was fired from her ministry, while Mokaba and Yengeni had toned down their militant rhetoric in favour of quiet work on the ground in the urban and defence committees respectively.

Although the women's league remained loyal to the militants, it was divided, with a host of senior officials leaving and its finances in a state of chaos.

The youth league, meanwhile, signalled that it was ready to go far to get back the Springboks as an emblem for the national rugby team.

Holomisa has attributed his firing to what he describes as a campaign by "some ANC leaders" to label him a populist and remove him from a position of influence.

And he has implicated an ANC disciplinary committee headed by Nelson Mandela. The truth commission that Public Enterprises Minis-

Holomisa's axing splits ANC militants

(SIPA) (U/P) AT 28/1/96



ALLIES, ONCE . . . Nelson Mandela and Bantu Holomisa in 1993

ter, Stella Sigau took a R50 000 bribe, a national executive committee list. In January and February of 1995, I started to notice cam-paigns against me.

"There are individuals in the ANC who have influence and power enough to portray one in a certain way", he said.

But, while President Nelson Mandela and his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, have wanted to fire him for some time, the trigger for their decision may have been his statement that the former ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Mbeki needed to "get their houses in order".

He made the statement after the two criticised his testimony before the truth commission that Sigau had received R50 000 in bribe money from the former ANC secretary general.

Mbeki is said to have decided there and then that he could not accept public criticism from a deputy minister and that he needed to show he could exert discipline.

He and Mandela agreed to fire Holomisa three weeks ago, but decided to wait until Mandela had returned from London and Ramaphosa Mbeki was back from Washington this week.

Then, early this week, a letter from Madikizela-Mandela to Mbeki, in which she came to Holomisa's defence, was leaked to Johannesburg newspapers.

Seen as a move by Holomisa to head off his firing, the leak prompted Mbeki and the executive committee to bring forward the date of the decision.

They decided that the deputy minister would be given his marching orders on Friday, a week earlier than planned.

Holomisa and Madikizela-Mandela now have to decide whether to mount a last stand against an increasingly hostile ANC leadership or accept the ANC's decision with criticism to what ANC leaders are fond of calling "the appropriate structures".

The signs are that Holomisa, at least, intends to fight until the bitter end.

He said on Friday that he accepted "the judgment of my father", but he has continued to insist that he has no quarrel with the commission and to attack the legitimacy of the ANC inquiry into the incident.

Holomisa lashed out at the ANC's disciplinary proceedings against him.

"How can the chairman of the disciplinary committee hold a press conference and comment on my father's kangaroo court", he said.

He also attacked the ANC's decision to fire his deputy, Thabo Mbeki, and his testimony to Mandela's office before he had submitted it to the truth commission, in compliance with the ANC's guidelines on how testimony should be handled.

For his part, Mokaba has decided to wait. The appointment of ministers and deputy ministers should not lead to tension", he said.

"Our main objective is to remain in the mainstream of the ANC. We should never allow ourselves to become a faction on the outside."

Right now, both Holomisa and Madikizela-Mandela are on the outside — and more isolated than they have ever been.

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Labour faces unity challenge

Reneé Grawitzky

THE formation of one trade union federation in the country which united all working people was one of the labour movements major challenges in the future, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe said last night.

Addressing a SA Communist Party meeting commemorating the party's 75th anniversary, Motlanthe said the labour movement did not just consist of Cosatu but of all working people in the country. A key challenge was to find a common platform with those unions in privileged positions and to unite to form one trade union federation.

The building of sufficient capacity within the labour movement and the deepening of class consciousness of workers were other key challenges of the labour movement, he said.

At present the labour movement could not begin to influence processes because it did not have the capacity to do so. Motlanthe said it was crucial

BO317/96 (11A)
that labour added value to the alliance and also be able to ensure that as a key component it could think independently when all the parties came together to discuss issues.

SACP national deputy chairman Blade Nzimande said there was a concerted campaign to demonise organised labour as representing an elite. The party had to criticise such campaigns and protect labour.

He said the party had learnt the merits of alliances in the national liberation struggle. Nzimande said the SACP had to dispel any beliefs that it should break with the ANC and for SACP members to leave the ANC.

He reiterated that the SACP had not abandoned the path to socialism. The ultimate goal of the SACP was to ensure the reconstruction of a national democratic state and the fight around the property and lock-out clause in the constitution was to ensure that the state did not only protect the narrow interests of certain people but the broader interests of the nation.

Mbeki, Tshwete linked to Kerzner

Holomisa risks expulsion after attack on ANC

(11A) ~~(S2774)~~

DD 2/8/96

Drew Forrest

SACKED deputy environment affairs minister Bantu Holomisa risks expulsion from the ANC after he attacked the party and certain of its leaders yesterday, claiming they had received financial favours from hotel magnate Sol Kerzner.

Holomisa claimed in Johannesburg yesterday he would not get a fair disciplinary hearing from the ANC because it had benefited from Kerzner's largesse. He specifically targeted Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who he said had a major influence over his case. Kerzner's sponsorship of social events of ANC leaders had included bankrolling Mbeki's 50th birthday party, he claimed.

Holomisa said he had privileged information that Kerzner had financed the ANC's 1994 election campaign. As "a loyal ANC member" he wanted to resist the inference that the price paid by the ANC for Kerzner's aid had been his immunity from prosecution.

Holomisa said he would provide details of Kerzner's assistance to the ANC, if necessary under oath, if the party denied it.

He claimed Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, who lodged the complaint against him, had received free accommodation at Sun City while attending a boxing match last year.

The ANC denied the accusations yesterday, describing them as "scurrilous" and "repugnant". A well placed source said the ANC's national working committee was to consider Holomisa's statements at its meeting last night. It was likely to decide on his expulsion from the party and to seek ratification for the decision at the national executive committee meeting in a fortnight's time. Sapa reports Tshwete said yesterday Holomisa no longer had a future in the party. Kerzner also denied Holomisa's claims, saying they were outrageous.

Holomisa already faces an ANC disciplinary inquiry relating to his evidence to the truth commission that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau received a R50 000 cut of a R2m bribe allegedly paid by Kerzner to the former Transkei leadership.

In a letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, released yesterday, Holomisa said the real issue was Kerzner, not Sigcau.

Mbeki, Holomisa said, had failed to hear his side of the story and had publicly branded his remarks as malicious and ill-informed, indicating that he (Mbeki) considered him guilty.

Because of Mbeki's influence in the ANC, the disciplinary findings might be "more in line with the expectations

Continued on Page 2

Holomisa

(11A) ~~(S2774)~~

Continued from Page 1

of the deputy president than the merits of any case I might be able to put. The bottom line is that you must get yourself out of Kerzner's top drawer first — then you can point fingers."

Holomisa said the moves against him were the work of a clique in the ANC and that his case had not been fully canvassed in party structures.

Sacked deputy minister Winnie Mandela-Madikizela had been similarly ill-treated. As a result he was com-

municating directly with the party rank and file.

He said the public was finding it "extremely difficult" to separate his dismissal from government from his testimony to the truth commission, and that the disciplinary charges strengthened these perceptions. "The work and credibility of the commission will be extremely compromised." The ANC had no jurisdiction over him regarding his evidence on Sigcau, as he had said nothing new and had referred to a historical event "that can hardly be seen to be relevant to the ANC".

Picture: Page 8

Holomisa triggers major ANC crisis

(11A) Star 2/8/96

DON EMMERT / AFP



Fired deputy minister's claims of trade-offs with Sol Kerzner described by organisation as 'repugnant' and 'blatant lies'

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

The ANC is facing one of its biggest challenges since coming to power. Yesterday Bantu Holomisa levelled serious allegations of corruption against top ANC leaders including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete.

Holomisa was sacked from his position as a deputy minister last week.

Mbeki declined to comment but the ANC issued a statement later describing Holomisa's allegations as "scurrilous", "repugnant" and "blatant lies".

The allegations are that the leaders he named were given favours by the gambling tycoon Sol Kerzner so that Kerzner could avoid prosecution for bribery. In his response from a holiday in Europe, Kerzner said last night: "I find Holomisa's claims so outrageously false that they are not worthy of comment."

Holomisa, one of the ANC's most popular leaders, is now likely to be expelled from the organisation. He was sacked as a deputy minister last Friday for repeatedly defying the party leadership publicly.

The ANC's national working committee, which runs the day-to-day affairs of the organisation, met last night and was expected to accept a recommendation that he be expelled.

The Star understands that Holomisa will be expelled regardless of the outcome of his August 14 appearance before the ANC's



Holomisa ... likely to be expelled from ANC



Mbeki ... '50th birthday party paid for'

disciplinary committee, a hearing which he may choose not to attend.

"The NEC can act against him because this is a deliberate act of embarrassment against the organisation. It is different from the disciplinary process," said a senior ANC figure.

He is charged with having brought the organisation's name into disrepute when he told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in May that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau had accepted R50 000 of a R2-million bribe that Sun International supremo Sol Kerzner paid to the former Transkei cabinet, of which she was part.

Holomisa dared the organisation yesterday to act against him, releasing a confidential letter he had written to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

In the letter he insinuated that disciplinary action was prompted by the fact the ANC and some of its senior leaders had received favours from Kerzner in return for criminal charges against the hotel magnate being dropped.

He said the ANC received funds from Kerzner before the 1994 elections and alleged that Mbeki's 50th birthday party had been financed by Kerzner. In ad-



Tshwete ... 'guest at Sun City boxing match'

dition, other ANC figures had been feted by Kerzner, and Tshwete had allegedly received free accommodation and entertainment at Sun City during a boxing match involving British boxer Chris Eubank.

In its response, the ANC said it had not received any money from Kerzner and he had not funded Mbeki's birthday party. It further said Tshwete's accommodation at the Eubank fight had been paid by boxing promoter Rodney Berman, a claim Berman denied within an hour of the statement being released.

An unrepentant Holomisa told The Star that denials were a culture of South African governments and said that, like his past revelations of the previous government's activities, his claims would be vindicated. He called on the ANC leadership to free itself from Kerzner's grip.

ANC tries to gag Holomisa and hints at action against press

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC hit at General Bantu Holomisa at the weekend, attempting to gag him with legal papers and putting on a show of unity against the sacked environmental affairs and tourism deputy minister.

Lawyers representing Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, who have both been named by Holomisa as recipients of casino magnate Sol Kerzner's largesse, served Holomisa with papers warning him to desist from making "defamatory" remarks about them.

The ANC also threatened to take legal action against Holomisa

and hinted it may sue newspapers which continue publishing his allegations.

Holomisa has alleged that Kerzner financed Mbeki's 50th birthday party three years ago, feted Tshwete with free accommodation and entertainment during a boxing match at Sun City and pumped R2-million into the ANC's coffers in 1994.

He insinuated that these "favours" were in return for the ANC helping Kerzner escape bribery charges he was facing in the former Transkei. Kerzner was alleged to have paid the government of the former Transkei homeland R2-million for exclusive gambling rights.

Kerzner has denied the allegations, threatening to sue Holomisa.

At the weekend, ANC leaders used the unveiling of former ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi's tombstone to fire salvos at Holomisa.

At the unveiling, President Mandela and Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale condemned Holomisa for "hanging out the ANC's dirty linen" in public.

Mandela said that he enjoyed being challenged, but warned that people who challenged him did not recover when he hit back. Sexwale warned that people who sought popularity by saying things about the ANC would never succeed.

Meanwhile, the DP and the NP have stated that they would ask the public protector to investigate Holomisa's allegations.

All provinces want Holomisa expelled

Star 6/2/96 (11A)

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

ANC structures in all nine provinces are calling for the expulsion of Bantu Holomisa, sacked as a deputy minister, and he faces banishment to the political wilderness with the parliamentary caucus also set to discuss his removal from the national legislature next week.

The Star understands that the provincial executive committees have recommended to the National Working Committee (NWC) that it immediately expel the outspoken parliamentarian, who was fired from the Govern-

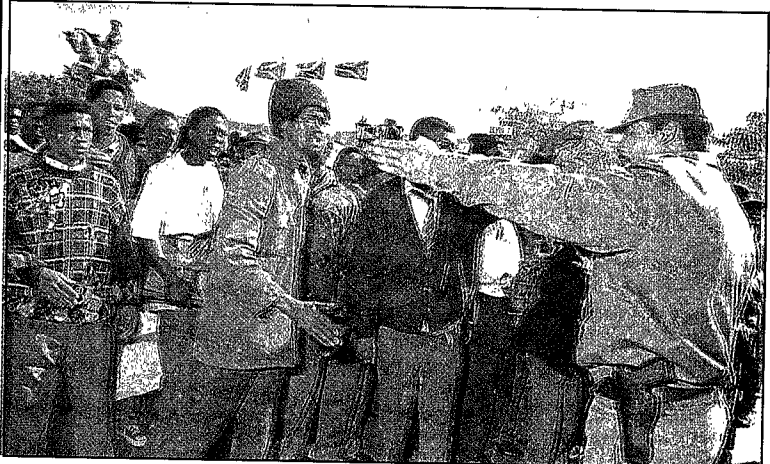
ment just over a week ago. The NWC meets tomorrow and the Holomisa affair will top the agenda. And the ANC's parliamentary caucus is also set to recommend that Holomisa be removed from Parliament when it meets in a week's time. Virtually all the ANC's parliamentary caucus leaders have agreed that the matter be raised at the first caucus meeting next Thursday, where a motion to expel Holomisa from the National Assembly will be tabled.

Holomisa has repeatedly alleged over the past week that casino supremo Sol Kerzner gave the ANC R2-million before the

1994 elections and feted high ranking ANC officials in return for them helping him escape prosecution for bribery charges he was facing in the former Transkei homeland.

While most of the other provinces have given their verbal endorsement to Holomisa's expulsion, the Eastern Cape provincial leadership has already written to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa calling for the NWC to expel Holomisa.

The Eastern Cape Provincial Executive Committee will meet this weekend, and it is expected to call formally for Holomisa's axing.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

THIS WAY PLEASE: Police at Plein Street direct marchers to move to Roeland Street – but the marchers insisted on going against orders.

Students' march ends in disarray

(11A) ARG 7/8/96

JUDY DAMON
Staff Reporter

A PEACEFUL march led by the Pan African Students Organisation (Paso) through Cape Town to demand the release of Pan Africanist Congress prisoners, ended when police chased Paso supporters through the streets of the city.

While dispersing from parliament yesterday, the 250-strong crowd suddenly diverted from the intended route in Roeland Street and were greeted by a

strong police presence in Plein Street.

They ignored warnings to return to Roeland Street, broke through police barriers and raced towards the Golden Acre shopping centre.

Police gave chase until the fleeing marchers reached Cape Town Station.

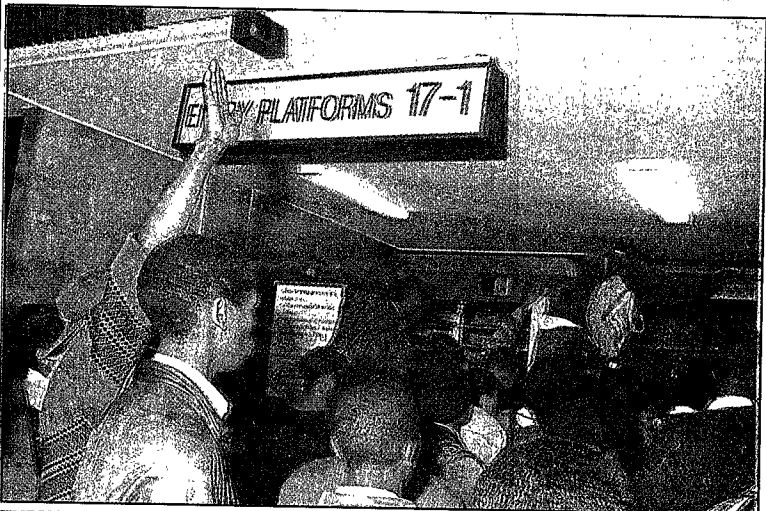
Traders' stalls were overturned and train conductors were shoved aside as the marchers jumped over turnstiles to board a train. The marchers narrowly escaped the police as

the train pulled away. There were no injuries.

Paso had earlier marched to parliament demanding the release of all Pan Africanist Congress prisoners.

The group said that PAC freedom fighters were unfairly imprisoned and tortured.

Paso leaders Ignatius Molapo and Richard Sizani walked hand in hand as they led the singing crowd to parliament to present a memorandum listing their demands to Director of Parliament Services Esser Allers.



TURNSTILE TROUBLE: Paso supporters force their way through turnstiles at Cape Town Station after their protest march to Parliament turned into chaos.

ANC sets date for Holomisa hearing

APR 8/8/76

Leadership angered by calls for an independent forum

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CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has scheduled Bantu Holomisa's disciplinary hearing, on charges of bringing the organisation into disrepute, for next Wednesday.

Mr Holomisa, whose continued defiance about repeating allegations of top ANC officials being compromised by accepting favours from hotel magnate Sol Kerzner has sent tensions soaring between himself and the leadership, is said to be the subject of calls by the Eastern Cape ANC for his expulsion.

He has rejected reports of these calls as being a "fishing expedition" by certain people within the organisation.

Meanwhile, his demand for an independent forum within which the charges against him should be test-



Bantu Holomisa

ed has further angered the leadership.

The case against Mr Holomisa has been prepared by Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin - based on written complaints by

Stella Sigcau, who he named before the Truth Commission as allegedly having received a bribe from Mr Kerzner - and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete.

The ANC last week announced an independent probe into the veracity of Mr Holomisa's claims that Mr Kerzner paid for Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki's birthday party and that Mr Tshwete was given free accommodation at Sun City by Mr Kerzner.

● Mr Kerzner, in a statement from London, has demanded a retraction by the South African Broadcasting Corporation of a report that he had allegedly offered about R42 million to the British Conservative Party for United Kingdom citizenship.

Mr Kerzner said none of the mainstream British Press had repeated the allegation, first made in a British financial journal.

(11A) (2000)

RENEGING ON TRANSPARENCY

The fracas between the ANC leadership and Bantu Holomisa represents the most serious crisis for the organisation since its decisive victory in the April 1994 election hoisted it to power.

It's too glib to dismiss as pique Holomisa's allegations that ANC leaders and the organisation "accepted favours" from casino mogul Sol Kerzner at a time when Kerzner was anxious to have bribery charges against him quashed.

One theory punted by ANC sympathisers is that Holomisa — disappointed by his dismissal as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs & Tourism or, alternatively, the decision to bypass him in favour of Pallo Jordan — when filling the ministerial vacancy left by the departure of Dawie de Villiers — is seeking to avenge himself.

The former Transkei military ruler has shown in the past that he's shrewd enough not to make allegations unless he has evidence to back them up. His role in leaking the military message sanctioning the 1985 murder of Mathew Goniwe and his comrades by security forces comes to mind.

Whatever his motives, Holomisa has put two questions in the public domain of crucial importance to the ANC's credibility as an organisation committed to open and honest governance of SA, the more so as he has cited no less a person than President Nelson Mandela as the source of his information.

Interrelated questions are:

- Whether the ANC and/or high-ranking ANC leaders received money, directly or indirectly, from Kerzner; and
- If so, whether they did so knowing that Kerzner expected their help in withdrawing the bribery charges against him.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus argues that the dispute is an "internal matter" that will be dealt with at an August 14 disciplinary hearing, where Holomisa will be formally charged with bringing the ANC into disrepute.

An internal hearing, however, will not remove the doubts raised by Holomisa's accusations. The process will be neither open nor independent.

Niehaus complains that Holomisa's allegations are "untested." He is right (even if he showed less sensitivity over untested accusations when they were directed against the National Party in the past). The remedy is for Holomisa's charges to be tested by an independent and transparent tribunal.

Holomisa has been bold enough to call for an independent audit of ANC donors to see whether Kerzner contributed money to the organisation.

Judging from the remarks of deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carolus, the ANC is less intrepid. She has rebuffed calls for transparency on who were donors to the ANC's 1994 election fund on the grounds that they are entitled to privacy.

Kerzner's entry into the dispute has compounded rather than resolved the issue. Judging from the remarks he made to the *Sunday Times*, Kerzner's denial that he paid R2m to the ANC electoral fund for the April 1994 general election leaves open the possibility that he may have paid a smaller — or bigger — sum to the organisation.

A later, perhaps more considered, statement to Sapa by Kerzner similarly does not exclude the possibility that he may have contributed a different amount to the ANC at another time.

Kerzner has labelled Holomisa a "ma-

nipulative, incompetent liar." Holomisa's riposte is that Kerzner is "not a credible witness."

Holomisa's response recalls an awkward juxtaposition for Kerzner: his initial denial, in huge newspaper advertisements, that he paid R2m to former Transkei premier George Matanzima for a gambling monopoly in Transkei, versus his later admission, to the Harms Commission on cross-border irregularities, that he had done so.

Holomisa's allegation that Kerzner paid for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's 50th birthday party in June 1992 — denied by Kerzner and Mbeki — recalls newspaper photographs at the time showing them celebrating at the party.

The photograph does not prove that Kerzner paid for the party. It does, however, hint at a warm friendship between the two men.

Two other events took place in that year, pointing to a close relationship between the ANC and Kerzner:

- The wedding of Mandela's daughter Zinzi and newspaper reports — not contradicted at the time — that the couple would enjoy their honeymoon at a Mauritius hotel "courtesy Sol Kerzner"; and
- The opening of the Lost City complex in the then Bophuthatswana and complaints from the Mmabatho branch of the ANC over cosy comradeship between the ANC and Kerzner.

Leaving aside the apparent incongruity of the friendship between the ANC (with its formal alliance with the SACP) and Kerzner (as an archetypal capitalist), another fact is central to the whole question. Kerzner has still not been called to account for the R2m that he has admitted paying to Matanzima.

Under the old order, Transkei was a nominally independent state and Kerzner — who supported the 1983 constitution which excluded blacks — could avoid prosecution by staying out of the territory. The reincorporation of Transkei into SA and the installation of an ANC-led government, however, does not seem to have made any difference. ■



'Vindicated' Holomisa will refuse to plead

Draw Forrest

SACKED deputy minister Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he would refuse to plead at the ANC inquiry into his conduct this week, as he first wanted the party to answer his objections to the entire disciplinary process.

Holomisa said his argument that the inquiry was fatally compromised had been vindicated by President Nelson Mandela's admission that hotel magnate Sol Kerzner had funded the ANC's 1994 election campaign. He insisted that at a meeting in Johannesburg in 1994, Mandela had specified a R2m contribution by Kerzner to party coffers. He said Mandela had raised Kerzner's request for immunity from

BD 12/8/96
(11A) (3047)
prosecution in the context of the latter's contribution to the economy.

Holomisa will, at a hearing on Wednesday, face ANC charges of breaching party discipline. The charges relate to his truth commission evidence that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau took a cut of a bribe paid by Kerzner to the Transkei government, and his subsequent claims that the ANC and ANC leaders accepted financial favours from Kerzner.

Holomisa said he would attend the hearing to reiterate his objections to it, and would not answer charges against him. Not only was the ANC embroiled in a conflict of interests, but the truth commission had yet to pronounce on his evidence. "In terms of government

ethics, you can't charge someone when the issue is still before a commission," he said. If he could not get a satisfactory response in this "trial within a trial", he would appeal directly to the ANC's national executive committee.

Holomisa said the NP should come clean on whether Kerzner had funded it between 1988, when the matter of the bribe was first raised, and 1994, when the NP lost power. He said Transkei attorney-general Chris Nel had asked the NP government to extradite Kerzner to Transkei in 1990. However, there had never been an extradition hearing, despite the extradition treaty between SA and Transkei.

Comment: Page 8

Kerzner's funding, 'nothing unusual'

By 19/18/96 (IHA) 

Bonnie Ngqivaza

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has defended the ANC's earlier denial that it received donations from hotel magnate Sol Kerzner, saying he was the only one in the organisation who had knowledge of the information.

At the Orlando children's home yesterday, Mandela said: "ANC secretary-general Cheryl Carolus and the other comrades are honest, disciplined members who have been tested in the crucible of the struggle."

Mandela rejected any suggestion that an apology would be made for the sacking of former deputy minister Bantu Holomisa, saying he would overrule any such recommendation.

Holomisa demanded an apology from the ANC after Mandela admitted that Kerzner donated money to the party's 1994 general election campaign. The ANC had earlier denied Kerzner's donation.

Holomisa tomorrow faces a hearing on charges of breaching party discipline. The charges flow from his truth commission evidence that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau received a substantial bribe from Kerzner, and later claims that the ANC accepted financial favours from Kerzner.

Contributions to ANC coffers by international donors, Mandela said, had chiefly been made on the understanding that they would not be revealed as some of them had political affiliations

divergent to the organisation. "What I did, therefore, was to keep my part of the bargain."

He saw nothing unusual in Kerzner's denial that he funded the election campaign, as it was the "attitude of big business the world over". Mandela expressed concern at coverage of the allegations, saying "very critical issues" had been overlooked.

The media had disregarded the fact that Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi had agreed to assist the investigation at the request of Transkei attorney-general Chris Nel.

Sapa reports Mandela said Carolus could be excused for denying Holomisa's charges because she was not aware of it at the time.

The amount was one of several from local and foreign donors. "Therefore the whole Sol Kerzner affair is a storm in a cup of tea," Mandela said.

Mandela also dismissed as unfounded Holomisa's statement that the R2m donation was a bribe for the withdrawal of bribery charges against the hotel magnate. Mandela said the matter was sub judice.

Holomisa accepted the President's view and said: "I won't argue with my dad. I am just thankful that he confirmed the donation."

On Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale's view that he owed the ANC an apology, rather than the other way around, Holomisa said: "I don't have time for opportunists."



President Nelson Mandela, centre, with children at the Orlando East orphanage in Soweto where he donated an undisclosed sum of money from his Children's Fund. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Concern over amendment

Ingrid Salgado

THE National Association of Broadcasters expressed concern yesterday that a proposed amendment to the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act

Fivaz castigates Pagad for displaying weapons

POLICE commissioner George Fivaz said the illegal display of weapons by People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad) members in Cape Town on Sunday, in violation of a deal with

form of gangsterism. Meanwhile, in Cape Town, the NP-dominated Western Cape government turned down a call by the ANC to declare a state of emergency amid grow-

I alone knew of Sol's R2-m, says Mandela

Star 13/8/96

(11A) (SFA)

President takes sole responsibility for ANC acceptance of donation which was 'one of many' from top businessmen

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Reporter

President Mandela has taken sole responsibility for the ANC's acceptance of a R2-million donation from casino magnate Sol Kerzner, saying he was the only ANC official who knew about the funding.

Addressing journalists during a visit to Soweto yesterday, a combative Mandela said there was no way the ANC would apologise to Bantu Holomisa for branding him a "blatant liar" when he initially revealed details of the funding.

"No apology will be made to Holomisa or anybody. Even, if people wanted to apologise, I would not allow them," said Mandela.

Holomisa has alleged that Kerzner gave the ANC the R2-million and feted senior ANC leaders in Durban for his escape from bribery charges he was facing in the former Transkei homeland.

Holomisa is to face an ANC disciplinary hearing tomorrow in connection with a statement he made to the Truth and Reconcilia-

tion Commission that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau received part of a bribe that Kerzner allegedly gave the former Transkei government, of which she was part.

Yesterday Mandela defended his acceptance of the R2-m donation and said Kerzner had never been found guilty of any crime. Allegations that he had bribed the Transkei government still had to be proved. He did not want to judge Kerzner before he appeared before a court of law.

"That would be to subvert a fundamental principle of our legal system. I am not prepared to base my relationship with anybody on the basis of allegation," said Mandela.

He said the donation from Kerzner was just one of many he had received from prominent businessmen during his fund-raising drive in 1993. The businessmen had granted the ANC money on condition that their confidentiality was protected. He had honoured this agreement and kept the identity of the donors secret even from the ANC's then

treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi.

He said the businessmen had made it clear they were not giving the money to the ANC but to the transformation process Mandela had initiated. "I saw no reason why I should not collect money from them. I was the leader of a liberation movement which had been banned for over 30 years so we had to fight an election against parties which had a strong financial base," Mandela said.

The president said he saw nothing wrong with accepting money from Kerzner, who at the time was facing bribery charges in Transkei.

He said he had worked with people against whom serious allegations had been made and he had overlooked these because he was "concerned about building a new South Africa" and effecting reconciliation.

Mandela also hit out at the media for linking the donation to Kerzner's attempts to have criminal charges dropped. This notion had been "completely destroyed" by the fact the charges were still pending.



(IIA)
 he believes he is a victim of an elaborate plan to silence him.

Bantu Holomisa ... he believes he is a victim of an elaborate plan to silence him.

ANC faces acid test from fired Holomisa

By Themba Molefe
 Political Correspondent

THE NOBLE BELIEF of the African National Congress in transparency and total democracy stands challenged — and this time because of one man in its ranks, Bantubonke Holomisa.

The ANC's dilemma is twofold: To dismiss Holomisa and face some turbulence, or leave him be and take heed of what he has publicly said so far.

The latest controversy began when Holomisa thought he was adhering to his party's intention to expose the BR of apartheid and South Africa's sordid past.

He went to the Truth Commission in June, convinced his party would appreciate his stand against corruption in the former Transkei homeland, where he became head of government after ousting then prime minister Stella Sigaua in a bloodless coup.

Instead, he was hauled over the coals, especially by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who urged that Holomisa be censured.

Sacrificed for Sigaua

He now has to appear before the ANC's disciplinary committee tomorrow for allegedly bringing the organisation into disrepute.

However, Holomisa believes he is being sacrificed for Sigaua, who became a Cabinet Minister — and therefore his senior in the Government of National Unity.

It is known that Holomisa claims that Sigaua received a R50 000 slice of a R2 million payment from businessman Sol Kerzner to secure gambling rights in the former homeland.

It is also commonly known that President Nelson Mandela subsequently dismissed Holomisa as Deputy Minister of Tourism and Environmental Affairs.

As in the case of former Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Deputy Minister Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the President did not give reasons for the dismissal.

In an interview with *Sowetan*, Holomisa threw the ball in his party leadership's court, saying the ANC's rank-and-file and general public

Ex-Transkei leader says the real issue is his stand against Kerzner

should decide whether he was wrong for demanding openness.

Indeed, Holomisa feels strongly about involving people "face-to-face" rather than deciding their fate behind their back. Perhaps it has to do with his in-Xhosa name, Bantubonke, which means "all the people".

He said he and Madikizela-Mandela were victims of internal influences on Mandela.

He believes there was a plan to remove or silence those ANC leaders who have been branded "populists". After emerging victorious in the 1994 elections, five of us were called "populists" in the media and it was urged that we should be kept away from Madiba.

The other four "populists" are Madikizela-Mandela, Dr Pallo Jordan, Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni.

Madikizela-Mandela's dismissal followed shortly after her comments against the Government at the funeral of a Soweto policeman who was shot by a white colleague.

Jordan was demoted from the Cabinet to an ordinary MP but appointed Minister of Tourism and Environmental Affairs after the National Party withdrew from the GNU.

MPs Mokaba and Yengeni are as outspoken as Jordan. However, Mokaba, Yengeni and Holomisa are considered Madikizela-Mandela's close associates.

Said Holomisa: "Has Winnie been treated with respect after her contribution to the struggle? Anyone close to her is hit hard."

"But it is not in my vocabulary to drop her, nor anyone who worked with us in the dark days."

"Winnie and Madiba are role models for many South Africans as far as the struggle is concerned, and need to work together."

Holomisa insists that the "populist" theory is responsible for his problem with the ANC leadership.

However, sources told *Sowetan* the real issue was Holomisa's refusal in

1994 to have fraud charges dropped against Kerzner and a warrant for his arrest withdrawn.

These charges relate to the bribery claims against Kerzner dating back to 1987. It is believed that even a series of behind-the-scenes meetings involving Mandela, Kerzner and Holomisa in 1994 yielded no results.

Also, Holomisa has questioned the Eastern Cape Attorney-General's failure to press the charges and the new Government for not arresting Kerzner. Kerzner is currently living abroad, where only last week he refuted fresh allegations that he donated more than R42 million to Britain's Conservative Party.

This happened as the ANC was grappling with Holomisa's claim that Kerzner boosted the party's election fund to the tune of R2 million.

Kerzner branded Holomisa a liar, threatened to sue him and said it was his right to donate money to any party.

Holomisa had more to say on this and challenged Kerzner to list all the parties he had funded between 1988 and 1994.

"What I can say is that Kerzner rubbed shoulders with the ANC leadership after the NP failed to get him," he said.

Cruel politics

"I am a victim of cruel politics. The issue is my stand against Kerzner, not Stella, because I was within my rights when I made those submissions."

"The ANC leadership knows I gave a copy of my testimony to the President although there is no party rule which forces me to do so."

Holomisa reckons the ANC national executive committee will not dismiss him because he is an elected official.

"Only a properly constituted commission of inquiry, with very wide powers, will solve this matter. The ANC must open its books to public scrutiny," he continues.

The terms of reference, Holomisa added, should include how Kerzner got involved with the ANC.

ANC stumped by Holomisa's motives

By Themba Molefe

THE African National Congress has yet to understand Bantu Holomisa's motives — its top leaders are simply baffled by his actions.

It has emerged that even a public apology from Holomisa will not appease the ANC's national executive and disciplinary committees. The message is clear: Holomisa must go.

What has also become clear is that Holomisa's testimony to the Truth Commission has the party leaders suspecting that he has a different political agenda. Said a very senior ANC member: "We are concerned. Who is behind Bantu and what are his motives?"

The ANC leadership — and, according to information reaching *Sowetan*, this includes President Nelson Mandela — has reached the end of its tether and wants decisive action on or against Holomisa.

Hotel tycoon

The ANC has questioned the loyalty to the organisation of the former Transkei military government head. "If you say you are loyal, as Bantu claims, would you go to the lengths he has taken — of disregarding rules and party leadership structures?" asked an ANC leader who spoke to *Sowetan*.

In fact, the ANC has accused Holomisa of undermining its authority by not consulting the NEC prior to his submission to the TRC against Minister of Public Enterprises Stella Sigaua.

Holomisa claimed at the TRC hearing in Eastern Cape that Sigaua, as prime minister of the former homeland, got R50 000 of a R2 million payment from hotel tycoon Sol Kerzner.

The ANC counters that, apart from violating party policy, Holomisa wanted to settle a personal score with Sigaua.

The ANC said as far as it was concerned, Sigaua was one of four Transkei politicians — and not the only one, the party official emphasised — who received a cut of the R2 million.

She was cleared on charges of corruption or criminal liability by subsequent commissions of inquiry, the ANC said. The other Transkei politician included in this inquiry was former president Kaizer Matanzima.

"Of course, we are angry that he accused another NEC member (Sigaua) and assumed she was corrupt without raising it with the president (of the ANC)," said the leader.

Quash the case

Over and above this, Holomisa's further allegations about Mandela's attempts to quash the case against Kerzner is seen as an accusation that the top ANC leadership is corruptible through bribes. Holomisa's continued pronouncements around this issue in the media is not helping matters either.

The organisation also rejects Holomisa's contention that when he



Stella Sigaua ... the ANC claims Bantu Holomisa wants to settle a personal score with her.



Sol Kerzner ... the ANC admits that the hotel tycoon donated money to the organisation.

Public apology

The ANC now also wants a public apology from Holomisa "Madiba has not at any stage denied that Kerzner donated money to the ANC. How else would we have survived if we depended entirely on contributions from the membership?"

"Not only did we receive donations from Kerzner, but from other sources as well — and it did not raise any eyebrows."

Holomisa has claimed that he did approach the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa about his TRC testimony, but the party cannot confirm this.

When tomorrow dawns, it might be the beginning of the end of Bantubonke Holomisa's political career in the ANC.

The daggers are drawn — he might have spoken too much and maybe too soon.

ANC prepares to hit Bantu

for six

Star 14/8/96

His career in the party is probably over
but he defiantly questions ANC's right to
judge him and demands a neutral inquiry

By **MONDLI MAKHANYA**
AND **JOVIAL RANTAO**
Political Staff

When ANC firebrand Bantu Holomisa appears before an ANC disciplinary hearing this evening he will face six charges - expected to result in his expulsion or suspension from the party.

The charges, leaked to the press yesterday, include publicly accusing party bosses of corruption, "attempting to defeat the ends of justice" and for violating the ANC's code of conduct by failing to raise his concerns within party structures.

Holomisa appears at 6.30pm in Cape Town before the ANC's Disciplinary Committee (DC), chaired by Professor Kader Asmal.

Should Holomisa be found guilty, he will either be expelled from the ANC or suspended for a lengthy period.

The charges against the sacked Deputy Environment and Tourism Minister stem from his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which he claimed that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau had accepted R50 000 of a R2-million bribe casino king Sol Kerzner had paid to the former Transkei government for gambling rights.

Holomisa has subsequently

accused senior ANC figures, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, of accepting favours from Kerzner.

Holomisa said yesterday he would not plead to the charges. He would instead ask that the matter be handled by a body outside the ANC because the organisation had compromised itself by

At a press conference on 1 August 1996, you read and released your letter to the Secretary General of the ANC of the same date, which implied that the ANC itself and its senior leadership including the Deputy President, had been guilty of defeating the ends of justice by corruptly obstructing or interfering with the prosecution of Mr. Sol

accepting money from Kerzner.

"I will be repeating the same thing that they cannot try me because there is a conflict of interest," Holomisa said last night.

According to a list, leaked yesterday, one of the charges

'Court case' hearing
Page 6

against him relates to his testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in which he alleged that Sigcau received a bribe from Kerzner while a member of the Transkei government.

The ANC charges that Holomisa failed to mention that the Alexander Judicial Commission of Inquiry had investigated the payment and had concluded

► ... To Page 2

► From Page 1

that the evidence did not disclose any wrongdoing on her part.

He will also be charged with making the accusations without first raising them within the ANC.

Holomisa is also charged with snubbing the ANC twice, first by cancelling his appearance at an election rally in Umlazi, KwaZulu Natal on the weekend of June 8 and 9 as a protest against the failure by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to respond to a letter.

The second snub, according to the ANC, came on June 12 when Holomisa publicly announced that he would refuse to attend the DC hearing.

He is also accused of publicly challenging the authority of the ANC's DC by stating that he would not retract the accusation whatever the outcome of the impending DC steps against him and making public accusations about ANC NEC members, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Sport and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete, without raising them first within the ANC.

The accusations included corruption and complicity in the attempts to defeat the ends of justice and to undermine the fairness of the DC hearing.

In summarising the implications of the initial charges against Holomisa, the ANC said:

"You publicly alleged that the ANC had allowed itself to be corruptly compromised to defeat the ends of justice and to deny you a fair DC hearing."

In its formulation of the extra three charges, the ANC says that Holomisa has violated the basic principles and norms of the organisation.

The fourth charge says that Holomisa failed to "observe loyalty and discipline" by accusing Mbeki, Tshwete and Sigcau of corruption and attempting to defeat the ends of justice.

The fifth charge relates to Holomisa raising his objections and accusations against the ANC outside organisational structures.

Another accuses Holomisa of behaving in a manner of unbecoming of "elected representatives who hold high public office" by making public accusations against senior ANC leadership.

The sixth charge is similar to the other five but goes on to accuse Holomisa of publicly casting doubt on the integrity and credibility of the ANC.

Transkei A-G to be asked for Kerzner report

Apr 15/8/96

(11A) (11A)

Cape Town - Transkei attorney-general Christo Nel will be asked to report in writing to the National Assembly's justice committee on the possible prosecution of hotel magnate Sol Kerzner for bribery dating back to the mid-1980s, its chairman Johnny de Lange said yesterday.

Democratic Party committee member Douglas Gibson asked the committee to ask Nel for a progress report on the prosecution, outstanding for many years.

"To me it is essential, in the light of the serious allegations made by Bantu Holomisa, that this matter be cleared up without any further delay," Gibson said.

Nel is on record as saying that no ANC leader had approached him to drop the investigation against Kerzner, who paid R2-million to former Transkei prime minister George Matanzima for exclusive gambling rights.

Nel said the prosecution had lain dormant after the NP govern-

ment refused Kerzner's extradition to the then Transkei. After the homeland's reincorporation the police investigation had been renewed and was now complete.

However, because he was prosecuting in a murder trial, he would probably only be able to devote attention to the Kerzner case at the end of next month.

If there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Kerzner a warrant of arrest would then be issued. - Sapa.

Sowetan 15/8/96 (11A)

By Rafiq Rohan
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress' disciplinary hearing against former deputy environment and tourism minister Bantu Holomisa has been postponed to Saturday.

Earlier, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal had recused himself from chairing the hearing. He told journalists outside the ANC offices in Cape Town that the appearance of impartiality in the hearings was "as important as the reality".

Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya will now chair the hearing.

Holomisa had earlier insisted in his submission to the hearing that he wanted the current panel on the commission to recuse themselves and be replaced with "an unbiased tribunal".

"I have a sense that my appearance here today is just a formality," he told the hearing.

Asmal himself had already "taken a view" on the matter and he (Holomisa) would not get a

fair trial or hearing. "It is my strongest contention that you should recuse yourself."

The panel comprised Asmal, Skweyiya, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and ANC national executive committee members Mr Ruth Mompoti and Mr Wilton Mkwayi.

Holomisa identified Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as the person who had already decided his fate. The ANC Youth League, "whose patron is Deputy President T Mbeki," had also demanded his expulsion from the organisation.

Mbeki was not the only person wanting him removed from the ANC. "Minister Steve Tshwete has stated quite openly that I must go and that the organisation would lose nothing by my expulsion," Holomisa said.

The main reason he was being disciplined was because of the evidence he had given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission damning Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau.

"It is only after and since I had given testimony in the TRC that I seem to have fallen out of

favour with certain members in the ANC and the President," Holomisa said.

Holomisa then turned to his allegations that the ANC had received funds from hotel magnate Sol Kerzner. He referred to ANC deputy general secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus' remarks that his claims were blatantly false, malicious and defamatory.

He said one could draw the conclusion that the ANC leadership's denial of having received the funds was "based on acceptance that such a transaction was clandestine in view of the fact that the benefactor is a fugitive from justice".


His integrity had been insulted by the ANC's national working committee. "By accepting donations from Sol Kerzner, a fugitive from justice, our organisation has been compromised," said Holomisa.

Earlier on his arrival at the ANC regional office at Wale Street, Holomisa told journalists that he remained a loyal member of the ANC and insisted he was "not guilty" of harming his organisation.


SIX SCANDALS IN 30 MONTHS ROCK THE GOVERNMENT

The National Party reign was marked by corruption scandals and harsh laws were used in attempts to keep the lid on their cans of worms. Today we look at how the ANC committed to a policy of transparency has handled the six major scandals it has faced since it came to power.


1 Allan Boesak
 1994-95
 Withdraws his candidature as ambassador to the UN in Geneva after a scandal about his misuse of foreign donor money meant for charity.



2 Riani de Wet 1995
 North West Premier Popo Molefe files MEC Riani de Wet after discovering she has been pilaging a government plane and funds.



3 Winnie Mandela 1995
 Sacked as arts, culture, science and technology minister while police investigate a dubious company registered in her daughter's name.




4 Absa Williams 1996
 Resigns from Government after police uncover corruption in his ministry. Police still probing him.



5 Nkosazana Zuma 1996
 Health Minister is forced to apologise to Parliament for wasting millions in public money on Absa play Sarafina 2. She finds a mystery sponsor to pick up the tab.



6 Bantu Holomisa 1996
 Former deputy minister of environmental affairs faces ANC disciplinary hearing after accusing Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and sports Minister Steve Tshwete of receiving favours from disgraced hotel magnates Sol Kerzner.



ANC needs to learn how to cope with these hiccups (11A)
Am 16/8/96

BY MORNELI MACHANWA
 Political Reporter

Of all the learning curves that South Africa's first democratic government still has to negotiate, the skill of managing scandals and crises seems to be crying out for the most attention.

Since it came into power more than two years ago, the ANC has been very messy at dealing with crises. It does not seem to have realised that scandals are inevitable in open societies and therefore strategies are needed for dealing with them.

Instead of dealing with a matter decisively at the onset, the ruling ANC often goes on the defensive. Party bosses fortify a beleaguered colleague and the organisation's publicity machinery churns out statements pronouncing on the

country's most talented young men. The office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki produced a report which cleared Boesak of any wrong-doing. Only after the Boesak affair had become a severe embarrassment to the Government was he, now facing a police investigation, made to withdraw his candidature.

Another issue was the Sarafina 2 furore, when the organisation used all means possible to protect Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma from censure. Zuma had not been corrupt but had political responsibility for the actions of her department, which authorised expenditure to the tune of R14-million on a controversial Aids play.

As the Sarafina scandal grew, the ANC hierarchy and publicity machinery exonerated Zuma. But when Public Protector Selby Baqwa later found a severe lack of controls in the department, Zuma eventually apologised to Parliament. The scandal put a blot on SA's image among foreign donors.

The most recent scandal to hit the Government is one that need not have happened in the first place. The ANC prompted the controversy by bringing disciplinary charges against Bantu Holomisa for his testimony before the Truth Commission. With his back against the wall, Holomisa retaliated by disclosing, among other things, that the ANC had accepted money from "fugitive from justice" Sol Kerzner.

First the party's publicity operators denied all his allegations, only to be contradicted by Mandela who belatedly admitted to having received cash from Kerzner. The messy handling of an affair that involves the integrity of at least three senior government officials has now ensured that perceived corruption in the Government is dominating both local and international news headlines.

A strategy which the ANC seems to use meticulously when under pressure has been to call on the irreproachable figure of Mandela, hoping that once he declares a matter closed, it will be so.

At provincial level governments have handled crises better. Mpumalanga Premier Matthews Phosa fired disgraced political consultant Eugene Nyati; North West Premier Popo Molefe dealt decisively with former MEC Riani de Wet when corruption allegations were levelled against her; Free State Premier Patrick Lekota sacked former MEC Vax Mayekiso and was about to do the same with MEC Ace Magashule, but was stopped by his party colleagues, when allegations were made against them. Raymond Mhlaba has also done the same in the corruption-plagued Eastern Cape.

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CRISIS

CP 18/8/96

(11A)



ANC crisis

(11A)

FROM PAGE 1

The main charge is that Holomisa brought the ANC into disrepute over his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission when he alleged that fellow minister Stella Sigcau accepted a R50 000 bribe.

Holomisa claims that the money was part of a bribe by Kerzner for gambling rights in the former Transkei.

Holomisa is also charged with challenging ANC authority, leadership and structures.

This week Holomisa said he would not plead at a disciplinary hearing because he felt the ANC was an interested party and could not give him a fair hearing.

Disciplinary committee chairman Kader Asmal recused himself earlier this week, saying that while he did not think he was biased, it was important for the hearing to appear fair.

The ANC previously accused Holomisa of being a liar for claiming the organisation received R2 million from Kerzner in return for dropping bribery charges.

Holmisa also claimed that Kerzner paid for deputy president Thabo Mbeki's birthday party and gave favours to several other ANC leaders.

These claims were denied by the ANC.

Last weekend, Mandela admitted Kerzner had funded the ANC's 1994 election campaign to the tune of R2 million, but denied that this gift was linked to the government closing its investigation into Kerzner.

This week, a parliamentary committee requested a briefing on progress in the Kerzner investigation from the Transkei Attorney general.

Holomisa's illness means the ANC NEC which is meeting in Cape Town this weekend will not be able to ratify a decision on Holomisa's future.

By SEKOLA SELLO AND CHIARA CARTER

AFRICAN National Congress regions are reported to be divided over mounting calls to kick sacked environmental affairs and tourism deputy minister, Major General Bantu Holomisa, out of the party.

Yesterday the ANC's provincial executive committee in the Northern Province became the first region to publicly call for the sacking and life banishment of the former deputy minister.

At the same time the ANC's most powerful region, the Eastern Cape, is reported to have taken a stand that they will not accept his expulsion.

The ANC Women's League is reported to be fully behind the general, and its president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, has publicly questioned the motive behind the hearing against Holomisa.

Some influential leaders of the ANC Youth League, on the other hand, are said to be in favour of his sacking, although it is believed that some members are opposed to this move.

Late yesterday afternoon the party's National Executive Committee met behind closed doors in Cape Town to strategise on how to deal with the Holomisa crisis - which is becoming too hot to handle, as well as divisive.

Although this NEC meeting, which started on Friday and ends today, is a normal party-gathering before the opening of parliament, it is

generally believed that the Holomisa case was the only sensitive issue discussed and took up much of the deliberations.

As divisions in the party become increasingly difficult to conceal, unconfirmed reports say President Mandela, who is also attending the NEC, is unhappy that he had to "carry the can" over the R2 million donation hotel megamute Sol Kerzner made to the party.

Northern Province ANC spokesperson Ian Madikoto said the provincial structures were amazed at what they called "Holomisa's foolhardy speeches".

Madikoto said Holomisa's days in the organisation were numbered because of his lack of discipline.

He said by publicly challenging the authority of the ANC disciplinary committee, Holomisa has "automatically dismissed himself from the ranks of the movement".

The disciplinary hearing into Holomisa's conduct was postponed this weekend to allow him time to recover from a respiratory illness.

Meanwhile Holomisa has asked the ANC to supply him with documents, including a copy of a letter of complaint from the Eastern Cape which apparently led to two additional charges against him.

Holomisa has questioned whether the Eastern Cape is really unhappy with his conduct.

In a letter to the ANC this weekend, Holomisa said it was possible that the Eastern Cape structures might distance themselves from the letter, forcing the ANC to withdraw the charges.

Holomisa also requested the minutes of meetings during which ANC leadership briefed the party's structures on the reasons Holomisa was facing disciplinary charges.

TO PAGE 2

Holomisa obliges ANC to follow disciplinary course

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would face a certain legal challenge if it expelled Bantu Holomisa without allowing the disciplinary proceedings that have begun to run their course, the former deputy environment affairs minister indicated yesterday.

With the twice-postponed disciplinary hearing now scheduled for August 30, the organisation faces six months of bitter wrangling with Holomisa unless special meetings of the party's almost 100-strong national executive committee are called to ratify any disciplinary findings.

The NEC, which completed its scheduled quarterly meeting last night, has to ratify any decision of the disciplinary committee. This means that ratification of the August 30 hearing will have to wait for October's next NEC meeting, unless a special one is called. Should the recommendations of the disciplinary hearing be ratified at

the October meeting, any appeal from Holomisa would then have to wait for the NEC's end of year meeting.

The controversy and Holomisa's accusation that hotel magnate Sol Kerzner bought immunity from prosecution with a R2m donation to the ANC is now causing divisions in the party.

It is understood that one faction wants him dismissed immediately without disciplinary procedures while another says litigation must be avoided at all costs by following, to the letter, all disciplinary procedures.

Holomisa said he had a right to challenge a summary expulsion in court because the ANC would be ignoring its own disciplinary procedures. These procedures, he said, were instituted by the ANC and not himself and they had been postponed initially by the ANC to comply with its own regulations. Now it had been postponed a second time as a result of his illness.

Continued on Page 1

Holomisa

Continued from Page 1

He said he had no hard information that Kerzner was a secret benefactor of Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma. He had raised this possibility because "he is the common denominator" and if Kerzner had been the one who picked up the tab for the R14.2m AIDS musical Sarafina 2, Zuma should be disqualified from sitting on the disciplinary committee.

Amanda Vermeulen reports that

three quarters of the R2m casino magnate Sol Kerzner donated to the ANC was actually paid by Sun International's parent Safren to the ANC's voter education programme.

Safren CE and chairman Buddy Hawton said yesterday that President Nelson Mandela had approached the group in 1993, leading to a R1.5m confidential donation in June of that year.

Kerzner is now believed to have personally given the party only R500 000.

Safren had stipulated to Mandela that the money be used specifically for voter education in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

Executive slams ANC indiscipline

(17th) Star 19/8/96

By **PATRICK BULGER**
Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Town — The ANC's national executive has hit out at party indiscipline, upholding disciplinary findings against an MP and a senator and warning that open debate should not be confused with pronouncements which undermine the party.

The national executive committee (NEC) after a three-day meeting in Cape Town, upheld disciplinary committee findings against MP Patekile Holomisa and Senator Dennis Bloem.

Meanwhile, the disciplinary hearing against sacked deputy minister Bantu Holomisa was postponed until Friday.

The NEC apparently did not discuss his case, but took a hard line on party discipline.

In an apparent reference to Bantu Holomisa, the NEC said "internal democratic debate should not be confused with public pronouncements by individual leaders and members challenging ANC policies, questioning the bona fides of other members and casting aspersions on the performance of the movement in government or elsewhere".

Holomisa could not attend the NEC meeting because of illness.

Contacted yesterday, he said he had noted the NEC statement and said he would continue to call for Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma to recuse herself from the disciplinary hearing.

He would not be running away from the charges, which I think I will win.

"I will not be steamrollered. Everybody is going to sweat on this one," he said.

ANC axes two,

slams Holomisa

(118) Souweter
19/8/96

The African National Congress national executive committee upheld the suspensions of Free State ANC Senator Dennis Bloem and Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, president and MP Pankilo Holomisa following disciplinary steps taken against them.

The ANC also slammed former Deputy Environment Minister Bantu Holomisa without mentioning his name in a statement issued yesterday.

Obviously referring to Bantu Holomisa the ANC said members who publicly criticised and challenged the party merely served to aid and abet those forces which

wished to weaken the ANC and undermine democratic transformation.

No specific reference was made to Bantu Holomisa who is involved in a public row with the party and senior leaders over statements he made to the Truth Commission regarding a R2 million bribe, a R2 million donation to the ANC and favours accepted by senior ANC members from Sol Kerzner.

The ANC said at the time that Bantu Holomisa was out of order because any ANC member speaking to the Truth Commission had to clear the statement with the ANC. The ANC said their meeting in Cape Town had been "seized with

the question of discipline within the ranks of the ANC"

Bantu Holomisa, a senior NEC member, was on Friday booked off ill from work by a doctor for three days, prompting the postponement of his disciplinary hearing on Saturday to August 30. He did not attend the NEC meeting. The NEC said it had unanimously endorsed "the long-standing ANC ethos of open, democratic debate and the contest of ideas within the ranks of the organisation".

Such debate was critical and the party prided itself as the "leading force within the country about the challenges of building a truly non-racial, non-sexist and democratic

society". However, democratic debate within the movement should not be confused with public pronouncements by individual leaders and members "challenging ANC policies, questioning the bona fides of other members and casting aspersions on the performance of the movement in government or elsewhere", the NEC statement said.

On whether the NEC had mandated its national working committee to handle any possible appeal from Bantu Holomisa should he be found guilty of the charges, ANC national spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa again reiterated that the matter was "sub judice" and declined to comment. — *Supra*



Picture: LEON MULLER, Chief Photographer.

SHAKE ON IT: Truth Commission chairman Desmond Tutu greets PAC leader Clarence Makwetu at today's hearings

Makwetu admits to Apla 'mistakes'

(11A) ARG 20/8/96

JOHN YELD

on the Truth Commission

PAN Africanist Congress guerrillas attacking targets in South Africa's white community often "made mistakes" during the 1990s, and the party's leadership accepted responsibility for these, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in Cape Town today.

This was one of the points in the PAC submission to the Truth Commission on the second day of the commission's special four-day hearing for political parties in the Good Hope Centre.

Mr Makwetu, supported by PAC executive member Johnson Mlambo, was watched by about 100 PAC supporters and members of the PAC caucus, many of them wearing party T-shirts.

Mr Makwetu said the commission might be disappointed that there were issues

which the PAC would not deal with today, "much as we would have loved to". Apparently referring to incidents like the St James Church massacre in July 1993 and attacks on the King William's Town golf clubhouse and the Highgate Hotel in East London, Mr Makwetu said this was "because some of our colleagues who should have been with us today are still languishing behind bars, relating to incidents that we won't deal with today."

"So far as we are concerned, they are sub judice."

Mr Makwetu said the PAC had been formed in 1959 after the African National Congress had adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955 which promoted multiracialism, "as opposed to genuine nonracialism". But the PAC had been banned less than a year after its formation. The "absolutely non-violent" campaign against the pass laws by the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 had been

met with "unprovoked extreme brutality" by the state at Sharpeville, and this had ended the party's nonviolent struggle and ushered in a period of armed resistance, he said. "In the period that followed, the PAC was demonised and hunted, and its members and sympathisers persecuted."

Pogo, the military wing of the PAC, had been formally established on September 11 1961, as the liberation movement had been compelled to add the armed struggle to its other means of political persuasion, Mr Makwetu said.

Later, Pogo had been combined with the task force - rudimentary armed units which had carried out armed operations - to form Apla (the Azanian People's Liberation Army).

"A new pattern arose in the 1990s where civilians within the white community were attacked. In the nature of guerrilla war - which is unlike conventional warfare - detailed plans could not be made from Dar es Salaam. The actual targets were decided by local commanders."

"We also found that internally trained cadres could mount many operations without early detection and arrest. This advantage had a disadvantage."

"In the militarised environment in our country in the 1990s internally based operatives often made errors that Apla had earlier avoided."

"There was little political work done, unlike in the camps abroad. These are the causes of the departures in the 1990s which we, as political leaders who declared war, must and do take responsibility for, even if war itself was forced upon us by the aggressor, the upholders of white domination," Mr Makwetu said.

Police and army 'still targeting our members'

TOP echelons of the police and army are still targeting former Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members, who are subject to "continuing harassment and contemptible treatment", the Truth Commission has been told.

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu was making his submission to the commission.

An example of this "totally unacceptable" bias was that former Apla member and current national defence force major Sichumiso Simpiwe Nonxuba had appeared in court in handcuffs and leg-irons, "as if he were an outlaw", although he had never run

away and hidden. Major Nonxuba was arrested in connection with the St James Church massacre in July 1993.

There was also an anti-Apla bias among some court officials, Mr Makwetu said. "Excessive" bail of R500 000 had been demanded of former Apla operations director Letlapa Mphahlele, while bail for former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, currently on trial for murder, had been set at just R10 000, Mr Makwetu said.

"Xundu and Nonxuba, both PAC members, were not merely arrested and brought before a court of law, but were made to stand trial in arm (sic) and leg irons."

ANC 'cannot say' how donation was spent

Amanda Vermeulen

THE ANC yesterday could not confirm that the R1,5m Safren election contribution to the party had been spent on voter education despite the group's request that the money go to educating the electorate.

ANC treasurer-general Rev Arnold Stofile said yesterday "it is very hard to determine if the money was spent on voter education". He said he did not know how contributions from businesses had been

used in the run-up to the 1994 general election.

In 1993 President Nelson Mandela approached Safren chairman and CE Buddy Hawton for a contribution to the party's election budget. Hawton said at the weekend the group had donated R1,5m on condition it would be spent on voter education.

Hawton said Mandela personally had also approached Sol Kerzner who was understood to have donated R500 000 in his private capacity.

Stofile said Mandela had solicited campaign donations from several businesses in 1993, but reused to comment on how much money had been raised, and who the funders had been. However, he said it had been a substantial amount. The ANC continued to approach business for party funding.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he understood the Safren donation had been channelled into the ANC's voter education budget. About 60% of the money from election fund raising had been spent on voter education programmes.

h on for successor to deputy president of ANC (11A)

Star 23/8/96

CLIMBING THE STEPS TO THE CORRIDORS

With the help of ANC officials and political analysts, The Star's political team has weighed the chances of the candidates.

15%
Cyril Ramaphosa



25%
Tokyo Sexwale



53%
Joel Netshitenzhe



65%
Mathews Phosa



OF POWER

80%
Jacob Zuma

Senior, highly regarded, has political acumen and has not been embroiled in scandals or controversies.

Mandela prefers a non-Nguni, and Zuma's being based in Durban has removed him from the national media spotlight.

Widely respected, key strategist and has performed well as premier. Does not necessarily have the support of other provincial chairmen.

Non-Nguni, intellectual with a lot of support in the organisation, including that of Mandela. Has low profile, and will have to leap over many others in order to secure the job.

Charismatic, good public speaker, master of sound bites. Not highly regarded in higher echelons of ANC, and seen as too ambitious.

Non-Nguni, an able administrator and enjoys corporate support and respect. Seen as "everything-or-nothing" sulker, alienated some influential people in the ANC, and does not get along with "Crown Prince" Mbeki.

DARK HORSES

- Dr Pallo Jordan, Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister
- Popo Molefe, North West Premier
- Steve Tshwete, Sports and Recreation Minister

TEXT: MONDLI
MAKEENYA
JOVALE/ANTAO
GRAPHIC
GAIL IRWIN

Urgent search on for successor

From Page 1

(11A)
Mar. 23/8/1996

But the suggestion was rejected by many senior ANC provincial and national officials who still feel bitter that Ramaphosa "jumped ship" after having turned down an offer of a cabinet post in 1994.

Once the draft constitution is approved by the Constitutional Court, Ramaphosa will quit his ANC position to join the private sector.

The spotlight has now fallen on ANC national chairman and KwaZulu Natal leader Jacob Zuma who, according to top ANC sources, is a strong candidate for the deputy presidency.

A former head of the ANC's intelligence department who has played a prominent role in transition and in efforts to curb the violence in KwaZulu Natal, Zuma is widely respected.

A surprise name being bandied about in ANC circles, particularly in the ANC Youth League, is that of Joel Netshitenzhe, the director of communications in Mandela's office.

Netshitenzhe is a veteran party man who for years edited the ANC's newsletter, *Majibuye*, and was an official on communication's organs while in exile.

Other strong contenders are Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale and his Mpumalanga counterpart Mathews Phosa.

Mandela intends quitting top ANC post in 1997

By **PATRICK BULGER**
Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Town - President Nelson Mandela will vacate his position as ANC president late next year, the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) said yesterday after a three-day meeting.

He will stay on as head of state until the next general election, due in April 1999, when he will step down to give way to his successor.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is currently also deputy president of the ANC, will almost certainly be the successor.

Mandela's decision, made in the form of a brief announcement to the NEC meeting yesterday, opens the way for Mbeki to move into the top party post some 18

months before the country goes to the polls in April 1999. It will also enable Mbeki to project himself as a future president and to consolidate his stature within the party's ranks.

The NEC announcement said: "President Mandela formally informed the NEC of his intention to step down as president of South Africa at the expiry of his term of office. The president also advised the NEC that he will not present himself for nomination as a candidate for the presidency of the ANC at the forthcoming national conference, scheduled for 1997.

"The meeting expressed its respect for the president's decision as well as its profound appreciation of the sterling service he has rendered to the ANC and the country in a lifetime of struggle".

19/8/96 (1/A) (SAA)
Mandela has been saying for some time that he did not intend making himself available for a second term after 1999. He repeated this during a recent state visit to the UK, saying he did not feel he could serve the country for a second term at the age of 80.

Mandela was first elected president of the ANC in 1991 and then again in 1994. In terms of the ANC's constitution, all office-bearers are elected.

Unless another prominent party member chooses to oppose Mbeki at next year's conference, Mbeki will be elected head of the organisation and will then be one step away from becoming head of state. That single step is an ANC election victory in 1999.

Discussions will be held with-

in ANC ranks in the months ahead to determine what position Mandela will hold within the ANC after he steps down next year. Theoretically, he will be a simple member of the ANC but the ANC will once again want to employ his vote-catching power.

With an eye on the next election, the NEC said it was warning against complacency and pointed to the need to activate ANC branches and regions.

In another development, the NEC said Cyril Ramaphosa would stay in his post as chairman of the Constitutional Assembly until the Constitutional Court has ruled on the new constitution.

► **NEC slams indiscipline**

... Page 3

KERZNER'S COINS CLATTER IN ANC BEGGING BOWL

Wages of ideological inconsistency

The ANC must rue its decision to discipline Bantu Holomisa. Instead of winning a quick victory, it finds itself engaged in a political war of attrition with him — one in which it has been thrown on the defensive.

An enigma lies at the core of the political saga: why did the ANC react so adversely to Holomisa's testimony to the Truth Commission recalling that Stella Sigcau had accepted R50 000 from former Transkei Prime Minister George Matanzima in 1987? Though Sigcau holds an important portfolio in President Nelson Mandela's Cabinet — as Public Enterprises Minister — there was nothing new in Holomisa's testimony.

It is common knowledge that:

□ Sigcau accepted the R50 000, having defended it as a "gift" from Matanzima; and

□ Matanzima's generosity occurred soon after he had received R2m from casino mogul Sol Kerzner in return for agreeing to grant a gambling monopoly to Kerzner's company.

One theory is that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — who played a prominent role in repudiating Holomisa — wanted to cut the popular, independent-minded Holomisa down to size. A corollary to it is that Mbeki was asserting his authority ahead of his expected election as President when Mandela steps down in 1999.

The move against

Holomisa — which culminated in his dismissal as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs & Tourism at the end of last month — is one of a series against independent thinkers in the ANC.

It was preceded by the dismissal of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela as Deputy Arts & Culture Minister last year and Pallo Jordan from the Posts & Telecommunications portfolio in March.

Aside from their intellectual independence, Holomisa, Madikizela-Mandela and Jordan (who, having had the whip cracked overhead, has since been brought back in to the Cabinet) are linked by another thread: conspicuous popularity with ANC delegates at branch level.

Two more ANC figures have fitted into the same mould: former Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, who died in 1995, and former ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who was promoted — or "co-opted" — to replace Holomisa as Deputy Minister.

Whether Mbeki has actually played the role attributed to him is uncertain. Against that, however, is Holomisa's firm belief that Mbeki is one of those campaigning against him, together with Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, Sport Minister Steve Tshwete and, of course, Sigcau herself (whom Holomisa deposed as Transkei Prime Minister in a bloodless coup in December 1987).

Another, perhaps deeper, question underlies the unfolding saga: why did Mandela appoint Sigcau to his Cabinet in the first place?

Leaving aside her acceptance of money from Matanzima, it is widely known that she served in the Transkei governments of the Matanzima brothers, Kaiser and George, and is thus tainted ideologically speaking in ANC eyes. As Mandela himself makes clear in his autobiography *Long Walk To Freedom*, the Matanzimas are regarded as "collaborators" who helped establish Transkei as a showpiece of grand apartheid.

Sigcau has no struggle credentials. Apart from her role as a bantustan collaborator, her father, Botha Sigcau, was Transkei's first president. According to no less an ANC grandee than Mbeki's father, Govan, Botha Sigcau, one of two paramount Pondo chiefs, played a key role in suppressing a pro-ANC rebellion in Pondoland in 1960 and in installing Kaiser Matanzima as Transkei's pro-separate development supremo.

Sigcau's appointment to Cabinet is another conundrum in the whole affair — unless it is explained as a move by Mandela to ensure tribal and gender balance by bringing in a woman from the Pondo royal family and turning a proverbial blind eye to her past.

Whatever the explanation, the historical context makes the ANC leadership's public defence of Stella Sigcau puzzling, especially when the issue would almost certainly have blown over had it chosen a discreet silence over Holomisa's testimony to the Truth Commission.

Continued on page 27



Continued from page 22

One explanation is offered by Holomisa — that the ANC's defence of Sigcau is inseparable from its sensitivity to the broader question of its relationship with Kerzner.

Holomisa, who has long crusaded for Kerzner to be indicted on bribery charges for his payment of R2m to Matanzima, believes that the ANC top brass is indebted to Kerzner and anxious to keep its link with the financial baron secret, understandably so given Kerzner's close past links with another alleged apartheid collaborator, former Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, and his openly declared support of the "racist" 1983 constitution.

For that reason, according to Holomisa's exposition, the ANC responds aggressively to finger-pointing on the Kerzner connection or, when vituperation fails, invokes pseudo-legal rationalisations about the issue being sub judice. His explanation supplements rather than contradicts the theory that Mbeki was cutting him down to size in preparation for the post-Mandela era, known in ANC circles as WMG (When Mandela Goes).

Holomisa's specific charges are now part of the record:

- The ANC accepted R2m from Kerzner for its 1994 election campaign at a time when Kerzner was trying to get bribery charges against him quashed; and
- ANC leaders Mbeki and Tshwete accepted "favours" from Kerzner, funding for Mbeki's 50th birthday party and hotel accommodation for Tshwete.

The rider to these charges is Holomisa's contention that the ANC cannot be both judge and prosecution in disciplining him. He rightly says that his accusers are interested parties in the move to discipline him for bringing the ANC in disrepute.

The disciplinary hearing, now set for August 30, has been postponed twice. Asmal recused himself at the first (curtailed) meeting because — in his curious phrase — "the appearance of impartiality is as important as the reality."

One wonders cynically whether Asmal belatedly wants to dissociate himself from the case. As a former chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, he must know that Kerzner is not a cause

worth fighting for.

There have been several salient developments since Holomisa first publicly voiced his accusations on August 2. They include vehement ANC denials, with Holomisa being castigated for telling "blatant and malicious" lies, and a later, startling admission, by Mandela himself that Kerzner did indeed pay R2m to the ANC electoral fund.

Mandela's admission has undermined the ANC's collective credibility and raised further questions. If the ANC's initial denial that it received R2m from Kerzner has proved to be false, why should anyone accept its word in insisting that it has not tried to get the case against Kerzner quashed?

To be fair, though, it should be recorded that Transkei Attorney-General Chris Nel has said that he was never approached by the ANC to drop the charges against Kerzner and that his request for help in the investigation received a positive response from Safety & Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi.

In the end, however, a central fact cannot be ignored. Kerzner, who admitted giving Matanzima R2m in evidence to the Harms Commission in 1989, has not been charged since the ANC came to power two years ago. The ANC can proclaim its innocence as loudly as it likes but many ordinary folk suspect that there is a connection between the failure to prosecute and the R2m donation.

A subsidiary and perhaps academic question relates to the same sum of money in the Kerzner-Matanzima-ANC triangle: a R2m inducement to Matanzima and R2m donation to the ANC.

Mandela has attempted to protect the ANC and its deputy secretary-general, Cheryl Carolus, stating that no-one but he — not even the ANC treasurer-general — knew that the money had come from Kerzner. His explanation is implausible in the light of the ANC's constant declarations that it is an open, accountable and democratic organisation. If the treasurer-general at the time — the now conveniently dead Thomas Nkobi — did not know, it can only be because he chose not to know or because he was deceived.

There is a further issue. Mandela, by waiting nearly 10 days after Holomisa voiced his accusation before offering his

explanation, gives the impression that he would have preferred to have remained silent and, by extension, allowed ANC office bearers to lie.

It is reminiscent of his 15-month silence before admitting that he had given ANC guards at Shell House the order to defend lives and property by all means, including shooting to kill, on March 28 1994.

On the ideological front, it is an open secret that many ANC members are appalled by the thought of Mandela shaking the ANC's begging bowl in front of Kerzner. Whatever rationalisations the ANC leadership may be forced to offer, Kerzner is widely perceived to have been an "enemy of the people," as the Mmabatho branch of the ANC made clear during its protests against ANC condonation of the opening of Kerzner's Lost City complex in Bophuthatswana in 1992.

An Azapo statement almost certainly captures the feelings of many ANC members. Labelling Kerzner a foe of the liberation movement, it says: "He is known for his open support of the bantustan system and apartheid... It is therefore surprising that an organisation of the ANC's calibre could have gone to the same person for assistance in its 1994 election campaign."

At stake is more than a question of ideological consistency. Knowing that Kerzner had opened his purse to secure favours from Matanzima, the ANC should have treated the casino mogul with extreme caution, if not outright suspicion. With its commitment to open and clean government, it should have given him a wide berth, not fraternised with him at Lost City and jolly birthday parties. By not doing so, it has sent an appalling subliminal message to its huge constituency.

The ANC national executive, admitting that it is "seized with the question of discipline within the ranks," has since accused those members who publicly criticise it of aiding and abetting unnamed forces wanting to destroy the organisation. It does not mention Holomisa by name but there is no doubt that he is very much in its collective mind.

But the origins of the crisis in which the ANC finds itself lie in Holomisa's testimony to the Truth Commission — very much the ANC's brain child — about an event nearly 10 years ago in which the ANC was not even involved. By over-reacting, the ANC is now deservedly writhing under the glare of public attention. ■



Kader Asmal

Holomisa will be axed and the media blamed

(11A) A 20 29/8/96

322
AOL 297

THOSE who know Fransket's first head of state, KD Matanzima, often speak of his uncanny manner of speech towards his enemies.

In an editorial in the World newspaper, the late Perry Gqobza once wrote that KD and his brother George ran the Fransket homeland like a Matanzima farm. KD — as he is fondly called — quickly replied that Fransket was, after all, their forefathers' land.

In later years, when tension between KD and now sacked deputy minister Bantu Holomisa reached fever pitch and KD was told that Holomisa was spreading nasty stories about him, he is reported to have smiled and said, "When some youngsters utter certain things, one can at least take the matter up with their elders. With Holomisa whom do you approach?"

Those who know Holomisa quite well are saying that each time he has an urge to bark, he simply goes to the vet to report the ANC. This time he preferred the truth commission to the newspapers and the radio. Contrary to public opinion, Holomisa does not have much of a following in the Fransket.

After topping George Matanzima in the 1987 coup, Fransketians thought they had been delivered from the Matanzimas who had been harassing them. But it did not take the people long to realise that there was more brown than brain, that Holomisa did not have the basic ability to govern.

At the time, when he was at the peak of his success and popularity, a senior Daily Dispatch journalist described him as "a man who meant well but was thrown into the deep end". Then, the youth and those outside Fransket were impressed by his governing style, but the average Fransketian adult saw him as a populist leader who took radical decisions that appealed to the young.

They blamed him for taking authority away from adults and giving it to the youth. However, activists hailed Fransket as a political haven in every form — from Copek Upoko in Bhebe to Jw de Klerk in SA. A few days ago the ANC was divided on the handling of the Holomisa debacle. The former exile sec-

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

tion of the party has become exaggerated with Holomisa and are quite happy to see him go. As for the local ANC, initially most members and followers were behind him. They were pleased that he had spoken out against corruption in his party. But when he started being adamant in his claims, naming big names and calling media conferences, they too changed. They then accused him of being arrogant and creating problems for the party. Some went on to say he should not be sorry when the party dealt with him accordingly.

There are those in the ANC who argue that the Holomisa incident is good for robust politics, that there is no rift within the party, that it only exists in journalists' minds.

There is another group that maintains that because the Eastern Cape region is in such a mess it is good that Holomisa came up with the scandal, now while Nelson Mandela is still president and is able to keep the party together.

Their fear is that this region only needs someone like Holomisa to stir trouble by alluding to the undelivered promises of the ANC. However, this argument does not hold much water because Holomisa has been blamed for much of the decay and chaos in some parts of that region. It is said he was not much of an improvement on the Matanzimas.

The Holomisa debacle demonstrates that parties do not tolerate dissent among their own. A storm is brewing in Britain where the Labour Party has been giving its outspoken shadow transport minister Clare Short a hard time for publicly criticising her party's policies.

However, one would have hoped that in the two years that the ANC has been in power that it would have learned that the best way to kill a rumour is to come clean. As they say in Alcoholics Anonymous circles: "Denial is not the name of a river in Africa".

The ANC should know that once the media comes up with allegations, chances are that they have their facts right. One can think of a number of incidents where the ANC

needed only to come out clean and the matter would have been dead and buried. Had the ANC, for instance, done that with the Strifana 2 saga, the whole incident would be history by now. Instead it keeps cropping up like a bad smell.

Holomisa has claimed that he will not back down on the Stella Sigcau and Sol Kerzner allegations without consulting his colleagues in the former Fransket Defence Force.

However, some of them have raised interesting questions about him. For instance Col Bengu, after the aborted mutiny directed at some of Holomisa's colleagues by junior officers, said "there has been an investigation on the victims of the mutiny. We are still awaiting action against the mutineers".

With that question unanswered, it is doubtful whether he will get the support he expects from his former colleagues. Based on previous experience, nothing is going to come of this issue. In a few weeks it will all be behind us. Holomisa will be fired from the ANC and, at worst, the media will once again be accused of having stirred up trouble.

LETTERS

No expulsion for me, predicts Holomisa

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Axed deputy environmental affairs minister Bantu Holomisa confidently predicted yesterday he would not be expelled from the ANC, and said the party's disciplinary action against him would be "a thing of the past very soon".

Holomisa's rescheduled disciplinary hearing, arising from his evidence to the truth commission that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau took a bribe from hotel tycoon Sol Kerzner, is due to take place on Friday this week.

Holomisa, in an address to several hundred cheering students at Natal Technikon, defended his decision to become involved in a public row with the ANC.

"If you throw grenades at me, I don't throw stones at you," he said. Holomisa was referring to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's description of him as "malicious".

Holomisa said he had provided historical information to the commission. Neither he nor Sigcau were ANC members when Kerzner allegedly bribed Sigcau.

Holomisa said there were only a "few" ANC leaders "eloquently" advocating his expulsion, but this would not happen. "Take it from me — I will still be in the ANC," he said.

Holomisa said there were no tensions between himself and Mbeki, but that he would defend himself if he saw "schemes" designed to destroy his political career.

Some ANC leaders might feel that people like him had to be "tamed" for being "too vocal". However, he would continue to speak out.

See Page 12

Striking teachers occupy govt offices

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Hundreds of teachers occupied education department offices in KwaZulu-Natal yesterday in a bid to force the provincial government to address widespread problems which were plaguing the education sector, SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) deputy chairman Thula Nkomo said.

He said the strike by teachers had also spread, and most former black, Indian and coloured schools in Durban and Maritzburg had been affected.

Education MEC Vincent Zulu's spokesman Nagoor Bissety said teachers at some north coast schools had also been on strike.

Angry parents had contacted the department, demanding that "firm action" be taken against the teachers.

Bissety said parents were concerned that the strike would affect their children's performance in examinations which were due to start in about two months.

Nkomo said teachers had staged a sit-in at department offices in central Durban, Umlazi, Umbumbulu, and Mpumalanga. He said the protest action was

aimed to "drive home the point" that the government had to address problems.

Sadtu national assistant secretary-general Mxolisi Nkosi and Sadtu KwaZulu-Natal chairman Edwin Pillay were part of a delegation involved in talks last night with premier Frank Mdlalose and his cabinet in a bid to break the impasse.

Details of the meeting were not available last night.

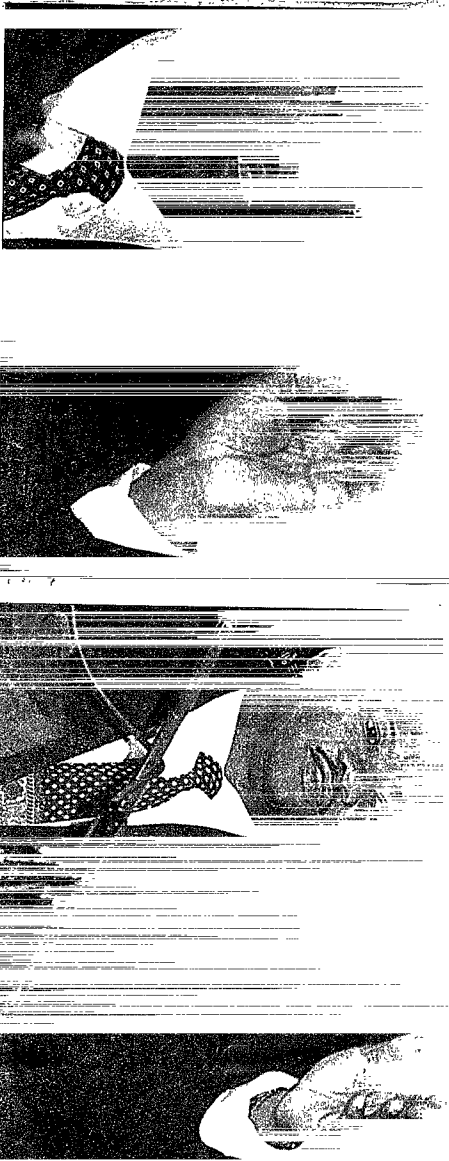
Sadtu's complaints included the failure to finalise the appointment of the 34 most senior education department officials.

Reconstruction

Sydney Tshabalala, who was at retirement age, was still acting superintendent-general of education, the union said.

Sadtu also claimed it had received no indication that more than R30m of reconstruction and development funds, earmarked for education in KwaZulu-Natal, had been accessed.

Sadtu said a large number of schools in the province had not received the new syllabus, even though they were expected to write examinations on it.



TAKE THAT AND THEN SOME: Former deputy minister Mr Bantu Holomisa gives a preview at the Cape Times Press Club of some issues he may raise during his appearance before the disciplinary hearing of the ANC on Friday.

PICTURES: THEMENKOSI DINKANYISA

I'm not here by accident — Holomisa

BARRY STRECK
POLITICAL WRITER

AXEID former deputy minister Mr Bantu Holomisa has bluntly warned Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his other critics in the ANC to pack "their bags right now" if they push for his expulsion from the ANC at his disciplinary hearing on Friday morning.

But he did not believe the ANC was "buying for my blood".

Confident and jocular, Holomisa, who was answering questions after addressing the Cape Town Press Club, said Mbeki would be the next South African president and that he supported him.

He would also be willing to serve under Mbeki if appointed to any position.

Holomisa said the government could ill-afford to adopt an iron-fist approach to

"a community policing endeavour" where communities were organising themselves into groups such as People Against Gangs, Sexism and Drugs to combat crime.

If there were moves on Friday to expel him from the ANC, it would be "the mother of all disciplinary hearings".

"They may expel me on Friday, but the individuals who are calling for this and are orchestrating this might also have to seriously consider packing their bags right now," he said.

But he avoided getting involved in the substance of the allegations against him and refused to comment on criticism of Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma. "I would not want to get involved in that. I have got too many problems."

He said the ANC would not expel him on Friday "because I am not here by accident".

The issue was not that he had told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that Public Enterprises Minister Ms Stella Sigau had accepted a R50 000 "gift" out of a R2 million bribe allegedly paid by hotel magnate Mr Soli Kerzner to former Transkei prime minister Chief George Matanzima.

"This is not an issue about Stella Sigau," he said. "Stella is a decoy. The key person is Mr Kerzner."

The disciplinary committee would not be able to decide on his fate unless it looked into who had introduced Kerzner to the ANC and President Mandela.

Holomisa said he had met Kerzner before the warrant for his arrest in connection with the alleged bribe had been issued, but that he had not been offered any bribe and that he had refused subsequent invitations to meet Kerzner.

Holomisa also said there was an urgent

need to demilitarise South African society and for individuals to surrender their weapons to the state.

Among the issues contributing to rampant crime was easy access to illegal weapons and the establishment of powerful crime syndicates.

There were several thousand people who were members of the apartheid government's Civil Co-operation Bureau, Umkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian People's Liberation Army and other private armies who had not been integrated into the armed forces, Holomisa said.

"These people are highly trained and are in possession of military weapons. Because of the high unemployment rate in the country, some of them could easily organise themselves into powerful syndicates for the perpetration of crime," he said.

CT 28/8/96

(11A)

LATEST

Defiant (IA) Holomisa walks out of ANC hearing

JOHANNESBURG. - Aged deputy minister Bantu Holomisa walked out of his ANC disciplinary hearing today after the tribunal refused to consider his objections to the inquiry on procedural grounds.

General Holomisa said he was considering an appeal to the African National Congress national executive committee and had reserved his right to seek recourse from the Supreme Court.

General Holomisa said ANC disciplinary committee deputy chairman Zola Skweyiya, who chaired the hearing, had over-ruled his concern he may not be guaranteed a fair trial. Mr Skweyiya had been adamant that the hearing continue, but he had refused, General Holomisa said.

The ANC's constitution guaranteed a member who faced disciplinary charges the right to ensure the tribunal was procedurally fair.

"I told him if they did not want to answer to my objections I would leave the hearing. I told him I would not give his court the honour of allowing them to proceed."

General Holomisa abandoned the inquiry 90 minutes after the hearing started and was mobbed by supporters when he left the ANC headquarters.

Before the hearing, he had vowed to continue his fight against the hearing on procedural grounds, including a call for Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma to recuse herself from the hearing.

General Holomisa had opposed members of the ANC's national working committee taking part in the hearing on the grounds they had discussed the charges against him and prejudged the issue.

"As a member of the NWC, Ms Zuma is entitled to the minutes of all meetings of the body. Also, the decisions of the NWC are binding on her," General Holomisa said.

He said he would also insist on being tried by an independent body because he believed the disciplinary committee had a conflict of interest.

The charges against General Holomisa include repeating to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission allegations that Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau received R50 000 from a R2 million bribe paid to then Transkei prime minister George Matanzima by hotel magnate Sol Kerzner eight years ago.

He has said the Kerzner/Sigcau issue is not an ANC matter.

He said that at the time the money was paid, neither he nor Sigcau was an ANC member. - Sapa and Political Staff.

Axed Holomisa remains defiant

Star 31/8/96
(1/1A)

By NEWTON KANIHEMA and ESTHER WAUGH

The expulsion of former Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa from the ranks of the ANC yesterday saw one of the organisation's most popular members reduced to an ordinary citizen of South Africa.

Holomisa had no respect whatsoever for the ANC in general, the party's disciplinary tribunal ruled yesterday, and then expelled the former deputy minister from the party.

In its unanimous judgment, after a hearing lasting more than two-and-a-half hours, the disciplinary committee said Holomisa had behaved throughout his disciplinary hearing as though "he is above the organisation".

The committee said it might have had some sympathy for the former deputy environment minister if he had stuck to the first charges, relating to his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which he implicated Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigau in corruption, when she was a Transkei cabinet minister.

Holomisa told the commission in May that Sigau had received a R50 000 cut from a R2-million "bribe" from hotel magnate Sol Kerzner to then Transkei prime minister George Matanzima for exclusive granting rights.

However, further charges, which related to Holomisa's subsequent claims that the ANC was corrupt and that its leadership, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, may have been bribed by Kerzner, could not be separated.

The committee said Holomisa's claims of ANC corruption and that the party was using its power to prevent Kerzner's prosecution on bribery charges arising from the payment to Matanzima "are very serious charges".

It had decided it could not simply suspend or publicly rebuke Holomisa and believed he should receive the strongest possible option allowed in the ANC constitution - that of expulsion "once and for all".

He was expelled for misconduct, bringing the party into disrepute and conduct unbecoming an elected representative.

On the ANC side, his expulsion may seem a permanent solution to the entire Holomisa debacle - but for the determined and defiant general it is only the beginning of what could become a long drawn-out legal battle.

"This is not the end of the case and this is not the end of me", Holomisa said shortly after walking out of the disciplinary hearing yesterday.

He added he was not shocked by his expulsion from the ANC and said he would appeal

against the decision. "I will still proceed with my appeal to the (ANC's) national executive committee (NEC). I am not satisfied with their verdict," he said.

The general would also consider taking the matter to the Supreme Court if his NEC appeal failed.

He said he remained a through-and-through member of the ANC. "My fate will not be decided by Zola Skweyiya, who has a disregard for procedures," said Holomisa.

At a press conference, Skweyiya said the disciplinary committee felt strongly that Holomisa had no respect whatsoever for the ANC.

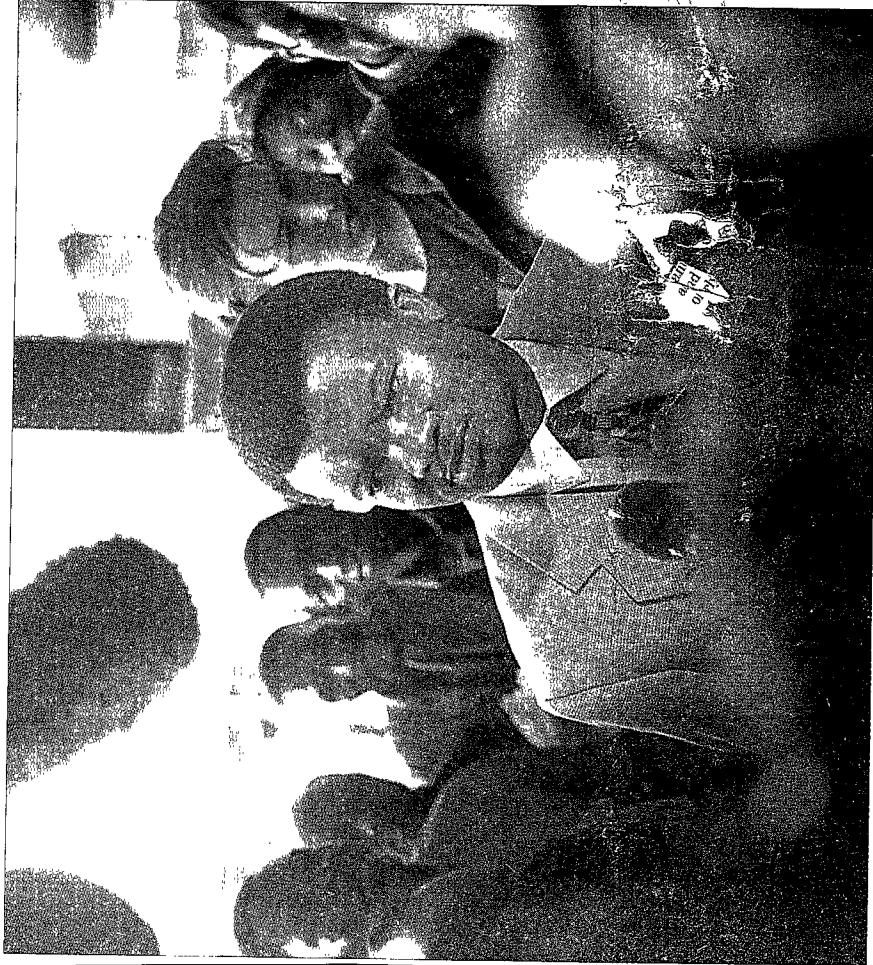
"He confuses his membership of the movement with his (former) status as being a head of the burstuan of the Transkei. He has turned the whole process into a public circus,"

Skweyiya confirmed that Holomisa's expulsion meant he had been stripped of all privileges, including being a member of Parliament for the party. This was regardless of whether he appealed to the NEC, Skweyiya said.

Holomisa said that as a citizen he was entitled to rights and he would refuse to be steam-rollered by the ANC's disciplinary committee.

TOP PAGE 7

P.T.O



EXPELLED: A defiant General Bantu Holomisa at his ANC disciplinary hearing at Shell House yesterday. "I'm happy with one thing," he said. "I leave the office without scandal hanging over me, without at any stage having been told by my superiors that I failed to perform my duties." PHOTOGRAPH: ANTON HAMMERS

Holomisa to stay on as MP

ANC rebel awaits appeal (11A)

ARG 3/19/96

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent

BANTU Holomisa is to keep his seat in Parliament as an African National Congress MP pending the outcome of his appeal against the disciplinary committee ruling expelling him.

A spokesman for the ANC said its national executive committee would "in due course" consider Mr Holomisa's appeal, but in the meantime his expulsion would stand.

But the very rule that an MP expelled from a party may not keep a seat in Parliament will ensure that Mr Holomisa will be able to hold on to his, at least for the time being.

"Since the constitution does not make provision for the reinstatement of a member of Parliament who has vacated his or her position, the ANC has decided not to have Mr Holomisa removed as an ANC MP until his expulsion can be considered final," the ANC spokesman said.

Yesterday, news of the disciplinary committee's decision prompted Frene Ginwala, Speaker of the National Assembly, to consult lawyers on what to do in the light of reports that

Mr Holomisa intended taking his seat, while, at that stage, the ANC insisted it no longer regarded him as a member.

The advice of the lawyers was to be given to Dr Ginwala today.

The ANC decision to allow Mr Holomisa to be given his seat meant that Parliament would be spared any disruptive shuffling of seats.

Mr Holomisa asked in a letter to the ANC that his expulsion be suspended pending the outcome of his appeal.

An alternative outcome of the feud between Mr Holomisa and members of his party's leadership was offered by Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts.

She said that if the Constitutional Court rejected the provision that MPs lost their seats when they left their parties, voluntarily or otherwise, Mr Holomisa would be free to form a party of his own.

For this to be possible, his appeal process would have to continue until the new constitution came into effect.

"The Holomisa saga is the single development so far that raises a credible prospect of a split in the ANC in the near rather than the distant future," Ms Smuts said.

APPEAL HAS BEEN LODGED

Bantu remains an MP — for now

(11A) 27 3/9/96
MAVERICK POLITICIAN Mr Bantu Holomisa has accused the ANC of violating its own constitution by making public the results of the disciplinary hearing at which he was expelled last week.

Expelled ANC member Mr Bantu Holomisa will remain an MP and an ANC senior official until the organisation's national executive committee hears his appeal against a decision by its national disciplinary committee to expel him.

This was disclosed by Sports Minister and leader of the National Assembly Mr Steve Tshwete yesterday.

Tshwete said the ANC's constitution allowed people who have appeared before the disciplinary committee five days in which to lodge an appeal. During the grace period, no ruling would be implemented.

"If he does appeal he won't be chased from Parliament," Tshwete said.

His statement ended speculation that Holomisa would not be allowed to take his seat during tomorrow's sitting of Parliament.

National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala has sought legal advice as Holomisa declared that he will take his place in the national legislature. Yesterday, he formally appealed against the decision to expel him.

In lodging his appeal with the ANC secretary-general's office, Holomisa requested that the national disciplinary committee's decision should be suspended

until his appeal has been heard.

"The rules of natural justice dictate that a notice of appeal, once lodged, serves to suspend the operation of the rulings made until the appeal is disposed of," the former deputy minister said in a letter to the ANC.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation's top leadership would meet soon to consider Holomisa's position in the light of his letter of appeal. In terms of the interim constitution, an MP automatically loses his or her seat if expelled from a party.

Holomisa also said his appeal, pending confirmation or setting aside of the disciplinary committee's ruling, entailed that the rights, duties and privileges attached to him, both as a citizen and an ANC member, should remain in place.

"(It also entails) that the organisation will accord me the respect enjoyed by all its members, pending the decision by the NEC."

In his letter, Holomisa also charged the ANC with violating its own constitution.

"In terms of Rule 26.11 of the ANC constitution, the decision to expel a person from the ANC shall be made public only if the appeal has failed, where a person affected has appealed.

"This provision was violated in any instance notwithstanding the oral notice of appeal given during the hearing," Holomisa wrote.

He also asked for a full text of the proceedings, and evidence-based reasons for his conviction to help him to prepare his representations. — Own Correspondent

HOLOMISA SAGA

ANC'S TACTICAL RETREAT

After preliminary skirmishes former Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa is ahead on points in his contest with the ANC leadership

Having been expelled from the party after a disciplinary committee hearing on August 30, Holomisa has won the right to retain his parliamentary seat until his appeal against expulsion is heard by the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

Holomisa's tactical victory comes after initial insistence by the ANC that his expulsion was immediately operative and that, as a constitutional corollary, he would automatically lose his seat.

As a candidate elected on the ANC party list, his status as an MP is dependent on his membership of the party, disciplinary committee chairman Zola Skweyiya said.

But, faced with Holomisa's pending appeal and his contention that his ejection from the organisation is in abeyance until then, the ANC has retreated. It now states: "(We have) decided not to have Holomisa removed as an ANC MP until his decision can be considered final."

The ANC's stated reason for its somersault is that the Constitution does not provide for the reinstatement of an MP whose appeal against expulsion is upheld. But, reading between the lines, the ANC appears to have recognised that it acted precipitately and exposed itself to a humiliating defeat if it persisted with its initial course. Having acted with indecent haste to start with, the party has now opted for prudence.

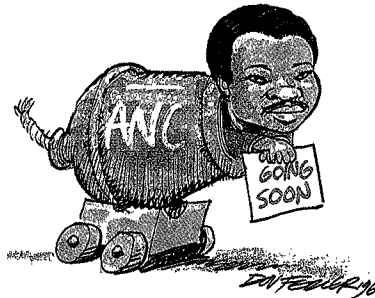
Another sign of its visceral impulse to crush Holomisa quickly is a recent NEC decision rescinding a ruling requiring it to ratify all disciplinary committee findings. But that decision — calculated to expedite the casting of Holomisa into the political wilderness — appears to have been quietly pushed into the back-ground.

The reasons for the ANC's agitation are self-evident. Holomisa has implicitly accused the leadership of:

□ Accepting favours from casino mogul Sol Kerzner, including a R2m donation to its 1994 election fund; and

□ Allowing an understanding to emerge that an ANC government would not pursue bribery charges against Kerzner for giving R2m to former Transkei PM George Matanzima to secure a gambling monopoly.

ANC embarrassment has been compounded by contradictions within its own ranks: indignant denials that it received R2m from Kerzner and a later admission by its president that the money had been paid into its coffers by the financial baron. Its discomfiture has not



been eased by a letter from Sun International — a company closely associated with Kerzner — confirming that it offers senior Cabinet members free hospitality and accommodation.

Unfortunately for Holomisa, to win a battle or even several battles does not mean that a campaign victory is ensured. While strategic considerations may have forced the ANC retreat, it seems intent on pursuing that matter to the bitter end. The unanimous decision of the disciplinary committee to expel him and its tough language points in that direction.

Holomisa has been found to have "no respect whatsoever for the ANC," to have confused his status as a member of the organisation with his former position as head of a "bantustan" — a reference to

his role as Transkei's military ruler from 1988 to 1994 — and to have turned the whole affair into a "public circus."

The decision to expel rather than suspend Holomisa is another sign of the ANC's intention to rid itself of the turbulent politico.

Ominously for Holomisa his position has weakened since the ANC's December 1994 conference, where he won the most votes in elections to the NEC after key positions, including those of president, national chairman, secretary-general and treasurer, had been filled.

His erstwhile ally, former ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba, has taken his place as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs & Tourism. His former ally Harry Gwala is dead. His only sure confidante in the NEC is Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, herself a controversial figure who has powerful foes in the ANC establishment.

A straw in the wind is the speed with which the ANC in Gauteng has dissociated itself with the decision of individual ANC members to invite Holomisa to address a rally in Thokoza within hours of his expulsion. A similar pointer is a statement by the SA Communist Party supporting moves by its ANC ally to uphold "organisational discipline."

On the same note, surveys by the Human Science Research Council conducted in July (when the Holomisa affair was already headline news) show no evidence of disaffection in ANC ranks and little or no intention by its supporters to change political allegiance in the pending 1999 general election.

The chances of Holomisa rallying support for his cause inside or outside the ANC appear to be scant. To use a military metaphor: he has gone a bridge too far.

The ANC has, however, suffered in the process. Outside its constituents, it is increasingly perceived as an organisation more concerned with crushing dissidence than exorcising corruption from its ranks. ■

Bantu still defiant

Holomisa draws thousands to weekend rally

By Abdul Milledal

Katlehong 16/9/96

(14)



CONTROVERSIAL former environmental affairs and tourism deputy minister Mfanduzo Holomisa drew large crowds at rallies at the weekend despite the African National Congress having distanced itself from him and accusing him of dividing the organisation along tribal lines.

Holomisa shocked the ANC top leadership and the country when he attracted about 1 000 people to his rally on the East Rand's Thokozwa township last weekend.

This was despite the fact that the ANC national executive committee, through its disciplinary committee, had dismissed him from the party. At the weekend Holomisa again

attracted large crowds. An estimated 2 000 people came to the rally in Mphahane's Emphahane township on Saturday and 5 000 people on the East Rand's Katlehong township yesterday.

The large crowd was testimony to Holomisa's strong national following, disproving claims that his strong support base was the Eastern Cape.

The Gauteng provincial office threatened to take action against the local office-bearers who facilitated the Thokozwa rally, which forced the branch office to issue a statement distancing itself from the rally.

Branch deputy secretary Mofokane Molaba was last week suspended pending disciplinary measures for organising the rally.

The Mphahane branch was

ignoring defiant and told the ANC national executive committee that Holomisa's dismissal was still to be debated at its provincial congress.

Mr Edwin Pogiso vowed to fight any attempt by the national office to censor it after trying Holomisa.

Provincial congress

Pogiso said the branch would also insist that Holomisa's expulsion be debated at the organisation's provincial conference at the end of the month.

In Katlehong it was the more militant, blanket-draped, panga-wielding, Xhosa-speaking groups who came to the stadium, while other residents watched from a distance.

These blanket-clad people have

been seen at all ANC rally country-wide since 1990 and do not mix with the normal crowd. They usually stick together singing traditional Xhosa songs and are armed with pangas.

The ANC's Katlehong branch and East Rand regional branch distanced themselves from the rally, accusing Holomisa of trying to divide the ANC along tribal lines and demanded a speedy finalisation of his expulsion by the NEC. They announced this at an urgent Press conference in Germiston only minutes after Holomisa began addressing the crowds at the stadium.

Holomisa's tone was conciliatory throughout his speech in Katlehong, calling on all ANC members to renew their membership and prepare for the 1999 elections.

Abuse of power

However, if the allegations were true, this would be tantamount to an abuse of power.

"If they (the ANC leadership) use government structures, we will soon degenerate to the level of ban-tustan administration, such as when former homeland leaders and the National Party used the intelligence community to discredit people."

Holomisa remains an ANC MP until his appeal against his expulsion is heard by the party's NEC.

Internal strife in the PAC causes ^(11A) *Sowetan* concern

20/9/96

By Pamela Dube
Political Staff

INTERNAL wranglings in the Pan Africanist Congress threaten to disrupt the three-day national convention beginning tomorrow at Vista University in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

The PAC Vaal branch said yesterday it was opposed to the convention. Regional chairman Mr Ike Makiti said members and the leadership would boycott the convention because "we are worried by the shunning of the presidency (and) that outsiders come to grace or open PAC events."

The convention would be officially opened by Bishop Stanley Mokgoba of the Methodist Church and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu would only welcome the delegates, a factor his followers question.

Sowetan has learnt that Makwetu was unhappy about the arrangements and felt he was sidelined.

However, the argument being advanced by the organisers was that the convention was "for all Africanists, not only PAC members". The PAC is just facilitating the convention as it was agreed at the Bloemfontein congress in April. "Even deputy president Dr Motsoko Phoko is happy about the arrangements," an insider said.

Makiti argued that the convention should have been called by the national executive committee and the fact that the convention was organised by an independent organising committee "undermines the PAC leadership."

Makiti alleged that there was lack of consultation and he was worried that the convention would be attended by individual members and non-members.

However, convention organiser Mudini Maivha insisted that the organising committee was constituted by the PAC congress and "we are not replacing the leadership or the NEC."

Meanwhile, PAC acting general secretary Carter Seleka yesterday dismissed the insinuation that "Revolutionary Watch-dogs" were a component structure of the PAC.

nat 9/96

De Lille confirms NIA report of alleged PAC plot to kill her

Accused of anti-Makwetu stance

(NIA) ARG 21/9/96

NIXOLIS MEXASHE
STAFF REPORTER

Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille has confirmed reports that she was told by the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) about a possible PAC plot to assassinate her because she was "anti-Makwetu".

Ms De Lille told Saturday Argus: "Yes, this is true. When the NIA officers told me, I asked for a written report with the names of the persons involved, where the meeting of the said conspiracy took place, who was present and who made the suggestion I should be killed, and for what?"

"I told NIA I was going to press charges against whoever is implicated.

"They said they were coming back to me, and they have not.

"Two weeks after they had disclosed the alleged plot, I'm still waiting," said Ms De Lille.

She said the NIA men had also told her the alleged plotters were from the PAC.

They had asked her if she had had any problems recently with anyone in the party and she told them of an incident involving a car that was sold to another PAC member in Mitchell's Plain by the party.

She said some "disgruntled chaps" might have been misled into believing she had pocketed the money herself.

Ms De Lille said she was told that the main reason for the alleged assassination plot was her alleged strong feelings against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

"This shocked me. I have never, for instance, considered myself to be anti-anybody.

"I differ with people because I have the democratic right to do so.

"The PAC believes every member has the right to agree or disagree with anyone, including the president Mr Makwetu," Ms De Lille said.

The PAC members the NIA tip off refers to belong to a security structure called the "Task Force" which operates much like the ANC marshals during PAC meetings and funerals.

They apparently also look into other aspects of the organisation and its leaders' security.

It is a structure the NIA has apparently not been too happy with, especially because the Government already offers protection to party leaders in Parliament,



Patricia de Lille: warned about assassination plot

and they have asked Mr Makwetu to disband the group.

He refused, according to reliable sources.

But a leader of the Task Force interviewed by Saturday Argus flatly denied the existence of any officially sanctioned plot to assassinate Ms De Lille, saying: "If she was against President Makwetu what is wrong with that?"

"We cannot misuse party structures for things that have nothing to do with the PAC."

True or false, the allegation of a plot to assassinate Ms De Lille comes at a very unsettling period in the PAC, with calls for a new leadership.

Mr Makwetu has been the main target of the calls, yet he has stubbornly refused to step down.

In the Western Cape, there are two regional executives - one pro-Makwetu and the other against him.

Reliable sources in the PAC have disclosed that Ms De Lille was not the only person who has been threatened with death and that the list seemed to be stretching.

It included various persons who might challenge Mr Makwetu's leadership.

Some have allegedly received letters and others telephone calls saying: "We are watching every move of yours."

The call for Mr Makwetu's resignation is led by the youth and student wings of the organisation who caused a widely publicised row at the party's fifth national conference in Bloemfontein in April this year.

A split in PAC ranks over change of leadership at that conference was averted by a proposal calling for a convention of Africanists, from the party and outside it, who would brainstorm on updating the PAC's 1959 policy and ideological positions to fit in with current demands.

The convention, which has not received much support from the leadership, was scheduled to meet in Pretoria last night.

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), which specifically led the anti-Makwetu movement in Bloemfontein, is hoping that there will be greater consensus on the burning issue of leadership for a party that has performed very badly in both the April 1994 elections and the recent local government polls in the Western Cape.

The convention may also have to deal with a financial crisis in the organisation which points to possible embezzlement of more than R10-million, including money from a Dutch non-governmental organisation, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Nigerian government.

Observers believe these funds could have put the organisation in a much better political standing in Parliament and in local authorities had the money been spent properly.

The Pretoria convention could be "hijacked" by the more impatient and militant youth and used to elect an interim national leadership that would begin implementing whatever programmes the participants adopt.

Some see it as a "make or break" situation for the PAC.

Whether the organisation still has a future in South Africa's political arena in the form of another organisation to the left of the ANC, or whether it will soon disintegrate completely, remains to be seen.



PAC President Clarence Makwetu chairs a news conference at the organisation's convention in Mamelodi outside Pretoria. PHOTO: GARTH LUMLEY

PAC to set up own truth commission

D.D. 25.1.1996
(11A)

Nomavenda Mathiane

THE PAC would establish its own truth commission, to be chaired by Bishop Stanley Mogoba, PAC political commissar Johnson Mlambo said.

This emerged yesterday at the three-day PAC convention held at the Mamelodi Vista campus outside Pretoria at which the organisation resolved it would continue with the liberation struggle until Africans were politically and economically liberated.

Convention organiser Ike Mafule said the party had achieved the purpose of the convention, which was to unite PAC members and reintro-

duce a culture of open debate in keeping with PAC tradition.

The convention followed a decision taken at the Bloemfontein congress in April where delegates were outspoken about lack of confidence in the leadership, and blamed it for the party's failure to win both the 1994 national elections and local government elections last year.

Issues discussed at the convention ranged from whether the party was relevant to the present SA; whether to change its strategies or abandon its principles; and how to position the PAC in the new political dispensation.

Inside sources said the party also took a critical look at itself.

Several members who had been in exile told how fellow members had abused them while they were in other countries, which led to the decision to set up an internal truth commission.

In one debate, PAC president Clarence Makwetu accused MP Patricia de Lille of making media statements about anonymous assassination calls made to her without telling him about them. De Lille said she had several times informed Makwetu and nothing had come of it. She said she had reached a point where she trust-

ed none of the security structures, be they those of the state or the PAC.

Resolutions adopted included a leadership training plan in preparation for the party's December elections.

PAC sets up own 'truth commission'



Sowetan 26/9/96

Party has never publicly admitted human rights abuses in exile

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

HUMAN rights abuses in the military training camps of liberation movements in exile were rife but not only in the African National Congress camps.

Pan Africanist Congress cadres from exile this week went public about the party's abuses and have requested the PAC to investigate.

As part of reconciliation within the PAC, the party's four-day convention at Vista University in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, party members from exile revealed how they were illtreated by colleagues.

Sowetan learnt that some PAC members from exile - particularly youths - told the convention that some commanders and administrators of the

Azania Peoples Liberation Army and PAC leaders were notorious for abusing their positions. In some cases, members complained of torture.

Apla cadres complained of being denied access to educational institutions and also accused some leaders of nepotism. This sometimes led to cadres being denied United Nations scholarships.

The convention decided to establish "its own truth commission" to investigate these allegations.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Johnson Mlambo said the commission, to be established soon, would be headed by Bishop Stanley Mogoba of

the Methodist Church.

The admission of abuses by the PAC, however, did not come as a surprise to the rank and file.

Just like the ANC, the PAC in the past used to complain about infiltration by agents of the National Party government. This led to innocent cadres being tortured. But unlike the ANC, the PAC never went public about its human rights abuses.

During a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last month, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu did not touch on alleged abuses particularly in its military camps in Tanzania.



I'm out of ANC, says Holomisa

'Expulsion confirmed, but I'll fight it in court'

(11A) ARG 30/9/96

STAFF REPORTER AND SABA

Johannesburg - Sacked deputy minister Bantu Holomisa says his expulsion from the African National Congress has been confirmed, but he vows to fight it in the Supreme Court.

Mr Holomisa emerged from a five-hour meeting with the party's national executive committee today and said his expulsion had been confirmed.

He told a crowd of 200 supporters outside the ANC's head office in downtown Johannesburg that he would be challenging it in the Supreme Court.

Asked if he had been formally told of his expulsion, Mr Holomisa said he had not, but he knew that this was the case.

Mr Holomisa appeared before the national executive of the ANC, including President Mandela, to appeal against last month's national disciplinary committee decision to expel him.

The NEC, headed by national chairman Jacob Zuma, comprises 55 elected members, and 18 others from the provinces and two each from the ANC youth and women's leagues.

Mr Holomisa had suggested he would take the ANC to the Supreme Court and eventually the Constitutional Court if he was expelled. He has blamed a small group of the ANC hierarchy, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, for his expulsion.

Saba reports that Mr Holomisa had probably told the NEC his expulsion was "extremely harsh and inappropriate" and should be overruled.

The appeal was the culmination of four months of drama prompted by his testimony in May to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and allegations of corruption linked to senior ANC members, including public enterprises minister Stella Sigcau and Mr Mbeki.

Mr Holomisa, charged with miscon-

duct, bringing the ANC into disrepute and conduct unbecoming, was sacked as deputy minister and then charged with a further three disciplinary counts for waging a public battle against ANC leaders.

In a 20-page handwritten submission, Mr Holomisa conceded that "the factors" that gave rise to disciplinary steps against him could have been "better handled".

The acrimony and the embarrassment to the ANC could have been averted had both sides shown more maturity, he said.

Mr Holomisa's appeal focused on the procedural unfairness of his disciplinary hearing, while using the disciplinary committee's own judgement to back up his submission argument. He identified four reasons why he believed the expulsion was inappropriate, including one that the ANC had never had "to deal with a matter of this kind" and that the "events presented themselves at a very early stage in our democracy where there were no procedures".

The disciplinary committee had found that although his actions prompting the initial charges were "unconradely", they were insufficient to convict and penalise him. Mr Holomisa said in his submission.

■ The ANC has refused to confirm or deny weekend reports that Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale has been asked by senior ANC officials to retract public attacks he has made on Mr Mbeki.

ANC spokesman Rommie Mamooepa said he could not confirm or deny reports that Mr Sexwale met senior ANC officials at the Shell House on Friday.

One report said the leaders had taken Mr Sexwale to task for statements in which he criticised Mr Mbeki for asking former president F W de Klerk whether there was any substance to rumours that Sexwale was at some stage involved in the smuggling of drugs.

See page 6

Still fighting: Bantu Holomisa refuses to give up

Holomisa to test expulsion in the courts

(11A)
Ston 1/10/96

ANC's top body confirms expulsion of maverick MP who considers verdict to be 'prejudiced and unprocedural'

**BY JOVIAL RANTAO
AND MONDLI MAKHANYA**
Political Staff

A bitter legal battle is likely between Bantu Holomisa and the ANC after the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) confirmed his expulsion from the party by a disciplinary committee for misconduct only weeks after he was sacked from his post as a deputy minister.

Holomisa said yesterday, after the failure of his appeal, that he was only waiting for a written confirmation of the decision by the ANC and, also, a formal notice from the parliamentary Speaker Frene Ginwala about removal from his seat before seeking "recourse" from the Supreme Court.

He would first apply to the Rand Supreme Court for an urgent interdict to suspend the effect of the NEC's ruling while he prepared a detailed case to contest his dismissal.

In his legal action Holomisa is expected to reveal details of a meeting, which he said took place at President Mandela's Johannes-

burg residence, at which NEC members were influenced to back the disciplinary committee's decision.

"The whole thing was unprocedural. The whole thing was full of prejudice. The whole thing was prejudged," Holomisa said.

The NEC is the ANC's highest decision-making body between national conferences.

Its decision means that Holomisa, who was fired from the Government only two months ago, loses his parliamentary seat with immediate effect.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said that, like any private citizen, Holomisa was entitled to approach the courts. The ANC would decide whether to defend itself once papers had been served.

The ANC is also set to intensify its campaign to isolate Holomisa from his grassroots support base. He has been receiving a flood of invitations from some ANC bases over the past few weeks and is scheduled to address rallies in the Western Cape, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the

Free State in the next two weeks.

ANC provincial chairmen and secretaries will be visiting branches to brief the local leadership and grassroots members about the reasons for expelling Holomisa.

After his expulsion yesterday, an emotional Holomisa told about 200 of his supporters who had gathered outside Shell House: "The Supreme Court is where some of them will be summoned ... even people like Sol Kerzner might be called upon to testify."

In addition to losing his seat, Holomisa loses his R15 000 monthly salary and a car allowance. He will be refunded his MP's pension fund contributions.

Before his expulsion, Holomisa pleaded with the organisation's leadership that the punishment "meted out" should be overturned because it was harsh and inappropriate. He submitted that the factors that gave rise to the disciplinary steps could have been better handled.

▶ See picture
Page 2

SACP feeling the strain of tripartite alliance

(I/A) CT 3/10/96

THE ANC-LED tripartite alliance with Cosatu and the SA Communist Party is on the skids, with relations between Marxists and neo-liberal capitalists at a new low, argues Contributing Editor ANTHONY HOLLDAY.

THE crisis is beyond concealment. The tripartite alliance between the ANC, Cosatu and the Communists is in danger as the bonds which bind the participants to one another stretch almost beyond breaking-point.

The most telling signs of this are not limited in their manifestations to the numblings emanating from the unions, although these are serious enough. The ANC leadership would be crazy not to take note, for instance, of the condemnations of the government's macroeconomic policy, voiced by delegates to the National Union of

Metallworkers national congress, given that Numata is the country's second largest and arguably most powerful union, with more than 230 000 members, 10 000 shop stewards and four seats on Cosatu's central executive committee.

Possibly Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will comfort himself with the thought that the Numata radicals failed to push through the idea that the tripartite alliance has served whatever purposes it might once have had, as happened after the 1993 congress when a resolution calling for an end to the alliance was passed but came to nothing.

But Mbeki and his cohorts cannot discount other omens of disaffection which are making themselves manifest

— not just in the unions and among the SACP's youthful rank and file — but among otherwise loyal Communists, MAs, who have up to now talked as if the terms of the alliance were indelibly carved in granite.

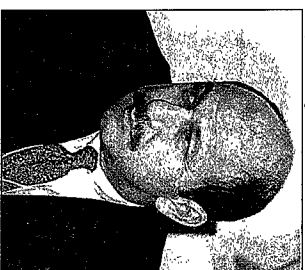
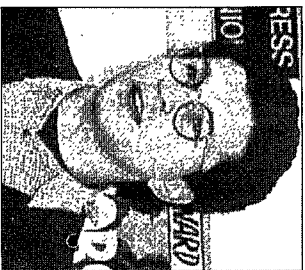
At a recent student meeting at the University of Cape Town, for instance, MP Phillip Dexter responded to a question from me by saying that he had not been merely angry but "ind" at Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's refusal to so much as discuss SACP criticism of the macroeconomic blueprint on the grounds that the policy was "non-negotiable".

He had been infuriated, said Dexter, not simply as a Communist but as an ANC member by this intransigence. There were a variety of views within the party on such issues as privatisation, Dexter, who clearly held that all these opinions ought by right to be heard.

Now it is highly unusual, if not unheard of, for any public figure in the SACP — let alone an MP — to launch an attack on any non-Communist ANC comrade — let alone a Cabinet Minister — from a public platform, even if the attack were provoked, as Dexter was undoubtedly provoked by my question.

That it was possible to provoke him shows beyond doubt that relations between Marxists and neo-liberal capitalists in the ANC have never been at a lower ebb.

That things have come to such a pass is due in no small measure to the fact that each of the disputants is in the grip of a politico-economic theory which determines the patterns of his policy formulation and the strategic paths which



GROWING APART: Finance Minister Trevor Manuel (right) and Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki (left) are steadily alienating their SACP allies such as MP Phillip Dexter, who was "ind" over the government's refusal to discuss its macroeconomic policy.

present themselves as viable possibilities. The neo-liberals, led by Mbeki and Manuel, have been driven by a combination of hubbly and blandinisms on the part of such representatives of parastatal finance as the Brentnust Group to adopt an economic theory with roots in the thought of Hayek and Milton Friedman, thoughts which exert the unlettered or barely lettered play of market forces above all things, promote privatisation and demand a diminution in the size and reach of the machinery of state.

This theory is the parent of the macroeconomic policy and privatisation strategy which, unsurprisingly, are on all fours with the course of action favoured for "developing" regions by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

As for the unionist and Communist wings of the alliance, their thinking is dominated by a far more venerable although possibly dated theory, born in the brain of Karl Marx, which purports to predict and explain the rise and fall of great epochs in economic and political history.

This it does by postulating as the pri-

mary determinant of historical change from, say, feudalism to capitalism, the tendency of the productive forces at the base of the social structure to develop until they shatter old relations of production — that is, the legal relations which determine who owns the means by which a society produces the goods it needs — thus causing an epochal sea-change in the political, legal, religious and ethical superstructure of society.

Unlike its neo-liberal rival, this theory is unmistakably a revolutionary and not a gradualist account of how change happens.

Accordingly, its adherents must see the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa as revolutionary and not incremental they think. And when they look to the future they must see this as resulting in a transition to socialism, no less radical than that which saw the wholesale collapse of apartheid and ushered in the history of which had seemed unthinkable to most whites and some blacks less than a decade before it happened.

It is this glaring contrast between gradualist and radical perspectives on

how change happens, in a context wherein the clock is ticking inexorably towards a general election in 1999, which makes the continued existence of the alliance beyond that date so difficult to take seriously.

And one is not helped to do so by the frightened talk about "consolidating the gains of the national democratic revolution" which has become one of the themes at the seminar series being held by the SACP's central committee.

As I have argued in these columns before, the alternative to its present implausible stance is for the SACP leadership to grasp the nettle and decide to contest the next election as a distinct political entity, enlisting union support for its campaign.

Were it to opt for this course South Africa would have a demonstration of democratic voting and campaigning never seen before in the history of the continent, because the voters will have been given a genuine choice.

Dr Anthony Holliday teaches philosophy in the University of the Western Cape's School of Government.

ANC youth, women support expulsion

Sowetan 3/10/96

Some see Holomisa's dismissal as a plot by senior comrades (11A)

By Dan Fuphe and Sapa

AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress' youth and women's leagues yesterday said they fully supported their organisation's expulsion of axed environmental minister General Bantu Holomisa.

In a statement in Johannesburg the national working committees of both leagues said they had total confidence in any decisions taken by internal structures of the ANC.

They reiterated a call for all structures to close ranks and focus on transforming South Africa.

The ANC's national executive committee on Monday upheld an earlier disciplinary committee decision to expel Holomisa from the party after finding him guilty of misconduct and bringing the party into disrepute.

Holomisa had said he would challenge the NEC decision in the Supreme and Constitutional Court, if necessary.

Meanwhile 17 ANC branches in Gauteng yesterday challenged the dis-

missal of Holomisa from the organisation.

Spokesman for the branches Mr Mphendulo Majola told *Sowetan* that as loyal ANC members they would like to register "our deep concern about the expulsion of Comrade Holomisa".

Majola, who is also the party's branch chairman in Germiston, said that "as far as the people at grassroots were concerned, Holomisa was the ANC's next president".

Decisions are binding

"We fully support our organisation's constitution and that disciplinary action should be taken against anyone who brings the organisation into disrepute, we respect the disciplinary committee and that its decisions are binding to all loyal ANC members.

"However, we feel the allegations levelled at General Holomisa fall short

of convincing us," Majola said.

He said the perception among many ANC supporters was that there was "one or two powerful senior comrades who were behind Holomisa's expulsion".

"The charges were carefully planned to suit the evil purpose of those comrades. The expulsion cannot be accepted by those who love the organisation and cannot therefore sacrifice a single comrade to "satisfy those leaders who are baying for his blood", he said.

Majola warned the ANC NEC not to deceive itself by believing that Holomisa was only supported by a tiny minority which made no impact to the ANC membership in general.

The masses found it hard to understand why President Nelson Mandela had forgiven Barend Strydom and Dirk Coetzee, who killed and maimed comrades like Griffiths Mxenge, he said.

Out in the cold?

(11A) Sowetan 3/10/96

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS is not unduly concerned about the implications of its dismissal of General Bantu Holomisa from the organisation.

The national executive committee (NEC) this week upheld a decision to dismiss him, which was taken by the ANC's disciplinary committee five weeks ago.

National chairman Jacob Zuma said the 77-member NEC, which included President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, had reached a "unanimous" decision to confirm his expulsion.

The NEC's contention, when addressing the Holomisa issue, was that "no one is above the ANC". This view was put into focus by ANC senator Jackson Mthembu when he said: "All members of the ANC subject themselves to its discipline. Even President Mandela is not above censure, and could be fired if found guilty of a serious offence with the potential of putting the organisation into disrepute."

On the implication of Holomisa's dismissal, Mthembu said: "Whatever political implications there are with regard to Holomisa's expulsion, the ANC will be able to deal with them quite efficiently and effectively."

Misinformed perception

He argued that there was a "misinformed perception" that Holomisa enjoyed an overwhelming support within the ANC structures.

"There can never be any truth in such arguments as to believe that Holomisa enjoys widespread support within the ANC.

"To begin with, Bantu Holomisa has never known how it feels to grow within the ANC structures. He has never been a branch nor provincial member of the ANC. In that sense, he is ignorant of the ways of the ANC," he said.

However, Holomisa topped the ANC national list of candidates chosen for Parliament prior to the elections in 1994.

Also, there is a school of thought that maintains it would be dangerous for the ANC to wish Holomisa away.

Another factor is that even though he may not have come through the ANC ranks, "you cannot simply wish away the fact that he is popular with the grassroots. He is the charismatic type".

The large turnout at rallies addressed by Holomisa over the past few weeks (an estimated 20 000 were at an Umtata rally) seem to indicate that he has a following, or has solicited some sympathy from within the ANC.

While some see the large turnout as a show of support from ANC members, despite calls from the organisation not to attend the rallies, others argue that there is an ethnic factor at

The ANC seems imperturbed by the implications of its dismissal of General Bantu Holomisa – but his popularity has some members worried. Political Reporter **Joe Mdhlela** analyses the turbulent relationship...



Bantu Holomisa ... will he survive as a politician?

play. They suggest that mainly Xhosa-speaking supporters attend Holomisa's meetings.

While the rally attendances are a boost to the former general's profile, the numbers are still minor compared with the masses who support the ANC.

The ANC is a well-structured organisation that has built up its support base over decades and Holomisa is unlikely to make a dent into that. And any suggestion that he may be able to lure away ANC supporters would be a naive oversimplification.

However, it would be foolhardy for the ANC to disregard Holomisa as he is capable of being a huge distraction among its supporters. He can cause much confusion and mistrust by his allegations of corruption among the ANC's top brass.

Like Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Holomisa's strength and constituency is among the grassroots who he is able to woo in his favour.

Last weekend about 20 000 supporters packed the Umtata Stadium to be in solidarity with their "exiled" comrade, demanding that he be reinstated.

“The tenacity with which Holomisa has handled his political fight with the ANC is remarkable”

While the ANC may no longer "need" Holomisa, he appears to want to remain a member and still claims to be loyal to the organisation. He says he will go "to the ends of the earth", including the Supreme Court, to ensure that he is reinstated.

But what seems clear is that the link between the ANC and Holomisa has ended.

The tenacity with which Holomisa has handled his political fight with the ANC detractors is remarkable.

Commentators, including newspapers columnists, predicted his demise, and one such comments read: "Bantu Holomisa's political future seems destined to end soon."

Sure, Holomisa has been scarred. No one can remain unscathed, especially when they are fired from their political home and, to crown it all, are dismissed as deputy minister in government.

Cast aspersions

But if Holomisa has been scarred he has also managed to cast aspersions on some of his senior ANC colleagues, including Deputy President Mbeki, Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete.

At the weekend, the national executive committee of the ANC cleared him of misdemeanour regarding his statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

In his submission to the TRC, he charged that Sigcau had accepted a R50 000 bribe from the former Transkei government under the leadership of George Matanzima.

The ANC said he had brought the organisation into disrepute and did not follow proper procedures when dealing with complaints.

Meanwhile, it remains to be seen whether Holomisa will survive the turbulence.

Charge Kerzner — Holomisa

(INA) CT 3/10/98

ADDRESSING a rousing meeting in Khayelitsha yesterday, sacked ANC Deputy Minister Mr Bantu Holomisa said hotel magnate Mr Sol Kerzner should be prosecuted immediately on corruption charges. **ROGER FRIEDMAN** and **ELINICE RIDER** report.

SACKED ANC MP Mr Bantu Holomisa says hotel magnate Mr Sol Kerzner should be prosecuted urgently to avoid a perception that the ANC-led government was perpetuating a cover-up started by its NP predecessor.

The former Transkei leader was reacting yesterday to revelations contained in a Department of Justice report that top members of the former NP government — including then President F.W. de Klerk and his ministers of foreign affairs and justice, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Koole Coetzee respectively — conspired to block Kerzner's extradition to the Transkei.

According to the report to the National Assembly's standing committee on justice, the Department of Foreign Affairs drew up plans in 1991 to block the extradition of Kerzner and his co-accused, former mayor of Cape Town Mr David Bloomberg, and submitted them to the cabinet, proposing the suspension of the extradition treaty on the grounds that the two would not get a fair trial in the Transkei.

Kerzner was being sought by Transkei authorities to face charges of bribery, corruption, fraud and lying to a commission — charges relating to his bid for gambling rights there.

In the Justice Department report this weekend, it was claimed that foreign Affairs Department legal advisers had said in a report the then President De Klerk had asked that the extradition issue be resolved "in a way in which the state will not be seen to associate itself with what Messrs Kerzner and Bloomberg allegedly did wrong in Transkei".

But the cabinet did not agree to suspend the treaty and in August 1991 — three months after South Africa received Transkei's request — referred the request back on the grounds that there were legal defects in the way it was made.

In June 1993, the foreign Affairs Department prepared a diplomatic note to Transkei saying that because of "legal and technical constraints and difficult-

ties", SA was unable to meet the extradition request.

Justice standing committee chairman Mr Johnny de Lange (ANC) said at the weekend he was "stunned and shocked" by Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar's report. The depths to which De Klerk and particularly Foreign Affairs had wanted to go to avoid prosecution of the two "were absolutely unbelievable".

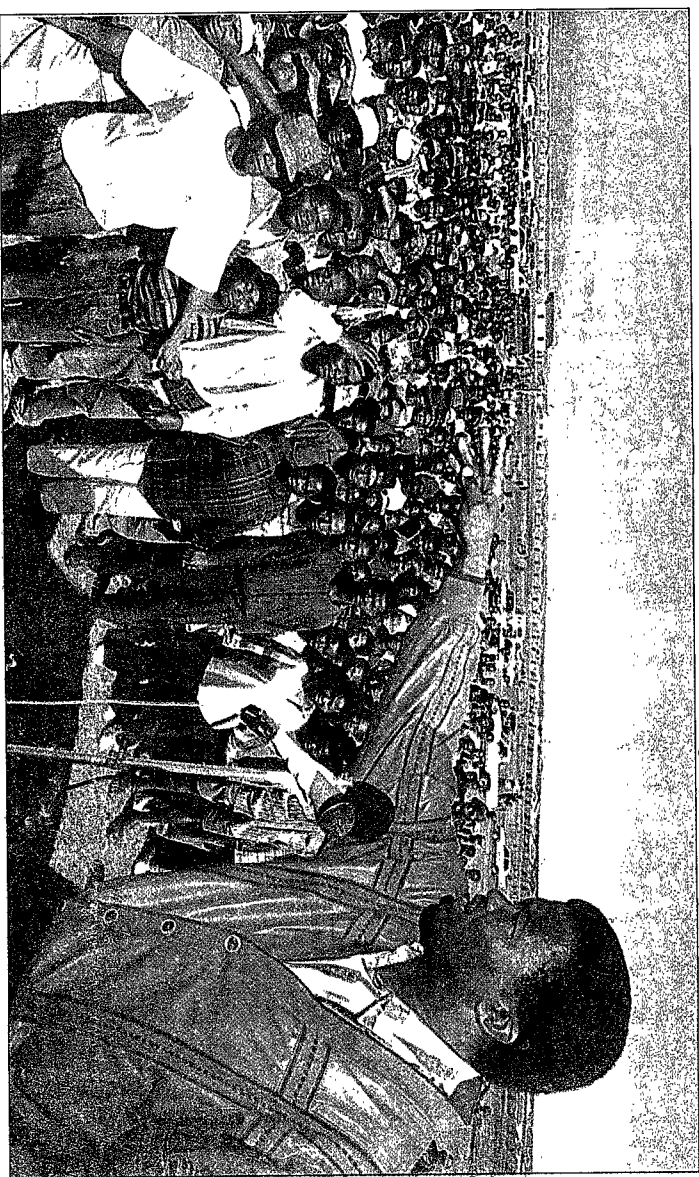
"The only question that arises is: Why did they do it? It's time for some explaining," he said.

Transkei attorney general Mr Christo Nel told the committee recently that staff shortages meant he would be unable to decide whether to prosecute Kerzner and Bloomberg for several months. Nel also said he feared it might be "unconstitutional" to prosecute Kerzner after the government had declined to extradite him.

Omar said in his report that Nel would be offered relief staff and that he would arrange for experts on international law to consult with Nel on the possibility of prosecution.

A spokesman for Omar said yesterday the minister was not prepared to make extra statements. Chief NP Justice spokeswoman Mrs Sheila Camerer said yesterday the report smacked of "an over-anxiety to score points off the previous government".

Over-zealous officials had "acted properly every time the issue (of Kerzner's extradition) arose". Meanwhile the ANC, without naming Holomisa, has suggested the apologetic publicity for bringing the ANC and its leaders into disrepute. The report put paid to claims "by a certain individual" that the party accepted money from Kerzner to clear the minds of justice, said spokesman Mr Rommie Mamooera. "It is instructive to note that the leadership of Mr Bantu Holomisa had failed to pursue the investigation into the matter, after the SA government returned the extradition request," Mamooera said. Addressing a rally in Khayelitsha — where one of the banners read: Holomisa



IN FULL CRY: Sacked ANC Deputy Minister Mr Bantu Holomisa received a hero's welcome at a rally in Khayelitsha yesterday.

PICTURE: BERNY GOOL

for President in 1999, Down with Thabo Mbeki — Holomisa said it was already "known all over the world that Kerzner assisted some political parties in this country, including our own (the ANC)".

He said: "I wish to reiterate what I said earlier in the year, that I want to resist the inference that the price that our organisation had to pay in return for financial assistance seems to be a quid pro quo of Sol Kerzner not being prosecuted."

"Two years have now elapsed since the election of a new democratic government, without a tangible or conclusive programme to bring Kerzner to book — although there is prima facie evidence against him."

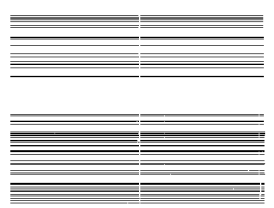
Holomisa, who began his address by explaining he had lost his membership of the ANC "because of Sol Kerzner", said he had been punished even though he

had produced evidence at his disciplinary hearing indicating present cabinet members continued to receive favours from Sun International.

"I furnished the DC (disciplinary committee) with a confirmation letter from Sun International (concerning) Sol Kerzner which indicated that senior ministers and others were receiving favours from the said company."

"I tried in vain to reason with the DC that mechanisms for identifying the senior mechanisms in question be put in place. It is worth noting that despite the failure to institute the suggested mechanisms no counter-evidence was advanced to rebut my submissions."

● Holomisa said there was no chance of him joining or forming a new political party unless the ANC conference next year expelled him from the organisation.



CAPE ARGUS, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1996

ANC boomed badly over Sarafina, Holomisa - Tutu

'They behaved like the National Party'

The ANC-led government has "boomed badly" over its reaction to criticism of the controversial Aids play *Sarafina 2*, says Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In a keynote address to editors attending a Commonwealth Press Union conference in Bellville, the former Anglican archbishop and prominent anti-apartheid campaigner said he had told Deputy President Thabo Mbeki this.

The criticism as a result of *Sarafina 2* was justifiable as "we struggled not only for democracy but to see a new and higher public morality established".

"They were, in that episode, merely perpetuating what their predecessors had

done in coming to the defence of colleagues out of blind loyalty," he said.

Nkosazana Zuma was a very able health minister and could have got out of the mess by a simple acknowledgement that things had gone wrong instead of trying to bluster her way out.

The ANC was also aware that he thought it had erred badly in its handling of sacked deputy environment minister and ANC MP Bantu Holomisa, Archbishop Tutu said.

"They can take that criticism because it comes from someone who tells them when they have done well," he said.

However, the Archbishop said that in

spite of its inexperience the ANC government was "not doing a bad job when you think they were not given a chance even by their best friends".

Despite the high level of criminal violence they had reduced political violence to negligible proportions.

"Just think of what used to happen in KwaZulu Natal and the Vaal Triangle," he said.

Inflation had been reduced to single digit figures and while the economy had not yet taken off as much as was needed, there was a positive growth rate.

"Those are accomplishments we should not be coy to trumpet." - Sapa

AKG 10/10/96
(11A)

Ambrosini comes out fighting over ANC expenses probe

110

29/10/96

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — An ANC attempt to put the IFF's controversial ministerial adviser Mario Ambrosini on the carpet for running up excessive expenses and for working for the IFF and not the state backfired yesterday when it was pointed out that presidential adviser Fink Hayson had done work for the ANC.

Ambrosini, special adviser to Home Affairs Minister and IFF leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was called before the National Assembly's home affairs committee to ac-

count for R500 000 in expenses over the past 27 months.

ANC committee chairman Desmond Lockey wanted to know what the SA taxpayer was getting for his money. The perception was Ambrosini worked for the IFF and not for the home affairs department.

Ambrosini confirmed that he had done no work for the home affairs department, but stressed that he was employed by the minister and his contract specifically barred him from becoming involved in the administration of the department.

He presented a full list of the ex-

penditures, and after comparing them with those incurred by a director in the public service, claimed his expenses were less. He also said the R112 000 spent on domestic flights was roughly the same as the 56 free flights a year allowed to MPs.

Members of the committee decided to know what he was doing at the Constitutional Assembly during the hearings on the constitution of the new constitution and also in negotiations for the 1996 election. Ambrosini said the ANC had been represented by Hayson, he said he had been in negotiations where

Hayson had represented the ANC. Ambrosini said that because of the principle of collective responsibility for Cabinet decisions, he had to advise on many matters so that Buthelezi could adopt informed positions in cabinet.

ANC MP Jannie Momborg said there were problems that he worked for the IFF and not for the minister. Ambrosini said he was not responsible for past problems, but in his presence at the constitution hearings was the case, so that he could advise Buthelezi on one of the most important events in SA.

He said he was not a member of Inkatha and never gave advice on party political matters.

Ambrosini said all his expenses claims had been properly processed by the department, and that his was confirmed as a home affairs director-general in Pretoria.

He suggested the interest in his raised expenses and expenses was aimed at undermining Buthelezi's credibility and integrity. He hoped the committee was not doing the same. Lockey said the committee was not vilifying Buthelezi, but merely monitoring expenditure.

Stofile to head ANC in Eastern Cape

By JUSTICE MALALA
Provincial Correspondent

Senior Government officials confirmed today that Eastern Cape premier Raymond Mhlaba is to be replaced by ANC treasurer-general and parliamentary chief whip Arnold Stofile in January.

Mhlaba (76) is expected to announce next month that he is stepping down from the position he has held since the elections for two-and-a-half years ago, giving ill health and advancing years as his reasons.

Confirmation of the switch came as weeks of speculation intensified in the province this week. The ANC's national working committee was briefed on the matter on Monday, when it decided to dismantle the Free

State government, and the organisation's national executive committee may make an official announcement after its meeting at the weekend.

Both Mhlaba and Stofile are out of the country on official business.

President Mandela met Mhlaba at his home in Qunu in the Eastern Cape on Friday and is said to have discussed the matter with him.

The discussions came as a top government task team moved to the province to stem the continuing tide of corruption in the civil service and to turn around the administration.

On Saturday, after the meeting with Mandela the previous day, Mhlaba called a surprise press conference before his departure on an official visit to Thailand.

The premier told reporters in East London he will make

an announcement concerning the chairmanship and the premiership at the party's congress on December 6-8. He re-

expected him to lead us up to 1999. We naturally expect his leadership to continue until the end of his term," he said.

He confirmed that Stofile had agreed to stand for the chairmanship of the party in December. Current chairman Dumisani Mafu is not expected to stand for re-election.

The ANC in the province will be meeting with its alliance partners in the province today to discuss current problems there and the issue of succession to Mhlaba may come up, Bata said.

Mhlaba returns on the 13th.

"The leadership thing is not an issue at all. We are not linking the chairpersonship with the premiership, and in this province we always wanted to separate the two," Bata said.

Mhlaba to give age and health as reasons for quitting

fused to elaborate.

ANC Eastern Cape spokesman Mncebisi Bata said Mhlaba had "not told us what the announcement will be".

"When we elected him we

(119) Star 7/11/96

Stanley Mogoba takes over as PAC president

Nomavenda Mathlani

A DISAPPOINTED Clarence Makwetu handed over the presidency of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to Stanley Mogoba, former head of the Methodist Church in SA, at an emotionally charged congress in Venda at the weekend.

Sapa reports that party members also voted overwhelmingly in favour of a police investigation of alleged financial mismanagement from the 1993/94 financial year, with 282 delegates voting in favour of police involvement and 22 against. Congress organiser Mudini Maivna said the matter would be referred to the police once the investigating commission had ascertained how much had been stolen and who the culprits were.

Mogoba, a former teacher who was arrested for PAC activities in the 1980s and sent to Robben Island, appealed to members to build the party anew. He said the challenge facing him as PAC leader would be to unite his party.

He would also aim to bring about unity between the PAC and the African National Congress (ANC) who had "suffered together in the trenches" to bring about democracy. Finally he hoped to bring about national unity. "There can be no peace and prosperity

without a unified nation," he said.

There were no fundamental differences between the PAC and the ANC, particularly as the ANC had "hijacked" PAC concepts including non-racialism, unifying Africans and the development of the poor. The PAC was the first to speak of nonracialism while the ANC spoke of multiracialism, he said.

Makwetu, who held the presidency for six years, saw the writing on the wall once PAC structures, including his biggest supporter, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, distanced themselves from him. He stepped down on Saturday following concerted efforts to get him to do so.

Makwetu's demise began in earnest after the PAC won less than 2% of votes in the 1994 election. Matters were made worse when the PAC continued to perform badly in the local government elections last year and this year.

His administration was also fraught with financial irregularities involving the misappropriation of funds, including R1.9m in Independent Electoral Commission money.

Other new positions filled were general-secretary, which went to Ngila Muendane with Ike Mafole as his deputy. Anthony Suze was elected financial secretary and Motsoko Pheku was re-elected deputy president.

RD 17/12/96 (11A)

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PAC 'will back death penalty'

Sowetan 27/12/97
THE Pan Africanist Congress will support calls for a referendum on the death penalty if there is public demand for stronger measures against crime in South Africa, PAC MP Gora Ibrahim said yesterday.

Speaking in Kimberley, in Northern Cape, Ibrahim called for a national debate on the prevention of crime. He said the Government will not be able to deal with crime if the proliferation of illegal weapons continued.

Ibrahim was speaking at the house where the late PAC founder Mr Robert Sobukwe was kept under house arrest. The PAC wants the house declared a national monument.

Ibrahim said the PAC was still awaiting a response from the Truth Commission on its request for a probe on the circumstances surrounding Sobukwe's death. - *Sapa*.

11A

Makwetu to be axed from PAC

stay 4/4/97 (112)

By RAMOTENA MABOTE
Political Reporter

Former PAC president Clarence Makwetu's career in Africanist politics has almost come to an end following an internal disciplinary hearing in Pretoria yesterday.

Sources said a four-member disciplinary committee, made up of senior PAC members, had concluded that Makwetu should be expelled with immediate effect. The recommendation will be made public only after it is tabled at the organisation's national executive committee meeting at Vista University in Soweto tomorrow.

Mogole Mphahlele, who was 'prosecutor' on behalf of the PAC, refused to comment.

The three-hour hearing, chaired by an unnamed Eastern Cape attorney, who is also a PAC member, started an hour late because Makwetu did not inform

them that he would not be coming. This, according to sources, angered the members, who then decided to continue without him.

Makwetu was reported to have been working on his farm in the Eastern Cape.

He confirmed, however, that he would attend the national executive committee meeting tomorrow. As the new PAC national chairman, he remains a member of the NEC.

Disciplinary action has been taken against Makwetu for three alleged contraventions of the party's constitution. He is accused of dividing the PAC, creating factions, and undermining party leadership contrary to the oath of allegiance taken by all members.

Makwetu lost the presidency to the former Methodist Church leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba at the party's national conference in December.

Makwetu suspended from participating in PAC activities

11# 7/14/97
Nomavenda Mathiane

PAN Africanist Congress (PAC) chairman and MP Clarence Makwetu has been suspended from participating in PAC activities, pending the outcome of a disciplinary hearing to be held later this month, general secretary Ngila Muendane said.

Makwetu, who failed to attend a disciplinary hearing in Pretoria last week, was at a national executive meeting at Vista University in Soweto on Saturday, at which the decision to suspend him was taken.

The executive also decided to expel three Eastern Cape region members — Bonginkosi Njoli, Khusela Makhapela and Gobani Katiya — who are accused of defiance and refusing to recognise the party's leadership.

Makwetu is charged with promoting factionalism within the party, violating the disciplinary code, violating the oath of allegiance he took when he joined the party and bringing the organisation into disrepute.

He did not attend last week's disciplinary hearing, allegedly because he wanted the party to pay for the costs of travelling to Pretoria. Muendane said the PAC would not finance the trip because the courts did not pay travelling expenses for court appearances.

The PAC has also refused to have Makwetu's lawyers attend the disciplinary hearing because they are not members of the party. "We will not expose our secrets to non-PAC members," Muendane said.

However, the party has allowed Makwetu to

have a member of the PAC who is in good standing with the organisation as his advisor to listen in at the hearing.

Makwetu's problems started in 1994 when the party garnered less than 2% of the votes during the election. Members declared a vote of no confidence in his leadership.

The three other expelled members are alleged to be ringleaders of the faction orchestrating a campaign against newly elected president Stanley Mogoba. They are accused of organising a meeting at Cape Town airport in January protesting against Mogoba's election.

During his suspension, Makwetu will continue to be an MP, but he is not allowed to participate in Parliamentary debates until the outcome of the hearing.

says he is innocent

People won't believe these allegations, says Nkabinde, accused of being an apartheid-era police informant

Star 8/4/97

(11A)

By RAMOTENA MABOTE
Political Reporter

Bhekumuzi Gabriel "Sifiso" Nkabinde, who was expelled by the ANC yesterday for allegedly being an apartheid-era police informant, said this morning he hoped to continue his activities in KwaZulu Natal despite the decision by the organisation's national working committee (NWC).

He was chairman of the KwaZulu Natal Midlands branch.

Nkabinde said in a radio interview this morning that the people of KwaZulu Natal would not believe the allegations that he was a spy who had infiltrated to destroy the organisation.

At a press conference last night at the ANC's Shell House headquarters, Transport Minister Mac Maharaj said Nkabinde, known to many only as Sifiso, was acting to destabilise and destroy the ANC from within as well as to foment inter-communal so-called "black on black" violence.

One of his tasks, another senior member of the NWC said, was to monitor the Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala, who has since died.

Nkabinde, was called to the NWC meeting yesterday, and informed of his expulsion shortly before the press conference. He left quickly before journalists could speak to him.

Maharaj said "irrefutable" evidence brought to the NWC's attention established that Nkabinde has not been a bona fide member of the organisation but was in-



In the cold ... Sifiso Nkabinde.

stead used to destroy the ANC in the past and at present.

In the early 1990s up to the present, Nkabinde has been in the forefront of the ANC's attempts to maintain peace in KwaZulu Natal, particularly in the Midlands area.

In a confidential report in The Star's possession, senior security police members have been mentioned as Nkabinde's handlers.

Nkabinde's alleged tasks, according to the report, were to alert his handlers on the activities of military and para-military groupings in the Midlands area. He would also allegedly report on demonstrations designed to undermine the safety and security of the state and the communities.

He is also alleged to have had a brief to report on the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe to destabilise South Africa through activities mounted from neighbouring states.

Nkabinde - who, according to the report, was paid anything

from as little as R100 to more than R1 000 per report - is believed to have been involved in such activities, even today in his capacity as MPL in KwaZulu Natal.

Towards the end of last year, sources said, Nkabinde organised a mass action to destabilise an attempt by senior IFP members to make a submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the Midlands' "seven-day war".

Apparently the IFP was going to mention him as having played a role in the war that claimed many lives and widened the gap between the IFP and the ANC even further.

According to the March 16 1992 report, a Sergeant Shain Ernest Morris of the crime intelligence services in Pietermaritzburg, signed an affidavit regarding informer SR 4252, Nkabinde's alleged agent number.

In the affidavit, Morris allegedly wrote: "Informer SR 4252 holds a very sensitive and high profile position ... and feels that his life could be in danger if his identity was exposed with the coming of the new South Africa."

Nkabinde allegedly assumed a code name, Derrick Nene, which was accepted and used as the signature of record to acknowledge payments for information given.

A leading ANC member who also sits on the NEC, Sakkie Mazozoma, said contrary to other alleged spies yet to be named by the ANC, Nkabinde was still continuing with his work to destabilise the new democracy.

Expelled ANC



Rocky times for parties' marriage

(11A) M+G 11-17/4/97

The SACP and ANC are at loggerheads over the shape of South Africa's new democracy, writes **Hein Marais**

If political alliances were marriages, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party (SACP) would be in counselling today, poring disconsolately over a new text that aches with unhappiness and disillusionment.

The text appears in the SACP's journal, *African Communist*. And it reads like a flurry of left-hooks to the ANC's chin. Written by SACP deputy chair Blade Nzimande and deputy secretary general Jeremy Cronin, it seems to ask "Is this really the same partner we betrothed four decades ago?"

Its target is an ANC discussion document released last year. *The State and Social Transformation*, which Nzimande and Cronin describe as a "radical and curious shift" from previous ANC thinking.

Slamming its "opportunism" and its "slide into a technocratic, 'class-neutral' approach to politics", they accuse it of "abandoning transformation of existing power realities" and of promoting a "passive, regulatory pragmatism" which "can only serve to legitimise and entrench ... inequalities".

With dismay, they note that the ANC document "polemically exhorts workers not to be 'economistic', not to be 'infantile' or 'subjectivist'" while "it hardly prescribes to capitalists at all".

This is the sort of tiff that tends to have pundits eyeing an imminent split through the prism of drained beer mugs.

The ANC document sought to sweeten recent government policies like the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (Gear) with a leftist gloss, arguing that the local and international balance of forces allowed no other option.

"I welcome its existence," Cronin said this week, explaining that it was the "first attempt to theorise these unfolding realities."

"There's nothing worse than dealing with an animal whose footprints you can see, but which itself remains invisible".

But he insisted that his and Nzimande's foray was aimed not at "some huge showdown" but "at a trend in the ANC, at a powerful tendency in it".

Still, it's a risky intervention, given the SACP's post-1994 experience of tugging covertly and somewhat forlornly, at the ANC's apron-strings. All the more so, when one discovers that the ANC document was nominally penned by an aide to Mbeki. It's safe to assume that it reflected Mbeki's thinking, even if he did concur with criticisms levelled at it in a SACP central committee meeting last October.

So, it's no surprise to discover that the essay's stridency — and the chance that it could be construed as a personal assault on Mbeki — has triggered some anxiety in the SACP.

On the other hand, the ANC document — and its close correspondence to government policies and processes — has already thrown down the gauntlet to the SACP.

Either it tags along in the wake of policies and trends that contradict its vision of transformation. Or it tries to render less opaque the contesting agendas and interests that are uneasily submerged in a pool of makeshift harmony.

Nzimande and Cronin's essay recognises this. Coming from within a party which has preferred to pursue its disagreements with the ANC behind closed doors, this is strong stuff.

So what does it all add up to? The pat reaction is that the alliance is fast approaching its expiry date. But there's much more afoot here.

This doesn't mean that one accepts the ANC's sanguine response that the essay be seen merely "in the context of discussions on various policy positions between the ANC and SACP".

In fact, it resonates at two levels — political drama (inducing reveries of strife and splits) and revitalised political analysis and strategy. Believe it or not, the real story lies with the latter.

The thinking arrayed by Nzimande and



Unity under threat: While the ANC and the SACP were once almost synonymous, cracks are growing in the relationship between the bedfellows

Cronin is an unexpectedly courageous and polemical outgrowth from a 1996 SACP strategy document. *Let us not lose sight of our strategic priorities.*

There, the party noted that the "national democratic forces represent complex, quite dynamic, shifting realities, which are liable to coalesce around two distinct versions of the national democratic project".

The first would seek to advance the interests of the poor via an actively allied "developmental state" and "broad, popular movement".

The second, paraded under the motto of "realism", would orbit around themes of modernisation, normalisation, globalisation, social unity, and law and order.

Here the SACP detected "a potential, new ruling bloc in formation ... including, in practice, both major fractions of the old [white] bourgeoisie and new, emergent capitalist fractions". The latter, it warned, would "conceal their dependency on the 'modernising' white fraction of the bourgeoisie with a great deal of rhetoric about 'the need for a patriotic bourgeoisie'".

What this analysis recognised was that the ANC's ascent to political power coincided with an intensified struggle over which set of social, economic and political forces would constitute a new ruling bloc. The ongoing contest over economic policies, the labour market and the social bias of development initiatives are part and parcel of that battle.

One of the key propellants of the negotiations process was the realisation among sections of the old ruling bloc that the capitalist

system in South Africa had to be "modernised" — in economic and political terms. We had to become a "normal" capitalist society. Despite its haphazard reform efforts of the 1980s, the National Party administration had proved manifestly unequal to that task.

The alternative was risky but not prohibitively so: it meant demodernising the political system and gradually forging a new ruling bloc, with a severely circumscribed or even dismembered ANC eventually serving as its political axis.

The SACP might recoil from so crass an exposition, but its current thinking recognises that the ANC is, at once, an agent and subject in this process. Likewise, the organised, skilled working class which, through regressive changes to the labour market, might find itself perforce appended to a new ruling bloc,

Far from having dissolved into a fraternity of common purpose, tranquillised by the leveling language of nation-building, we are in the midst of an intense, renewed struggle. The outcome will determine which interests and ideals determine the course of the new South Africa.

What Nzimande and Cronin have risked is to point out that already ossifying within the ANC are trends that ally it to an agenda which conflicts fundamentally with the interests and aspirations of the majority of South Africans.

The neo-liberal features of the Gear macro-economic strategy, the elitist nature of many black economic empowerment ventures, and the supine postures struck before the demands of corporate South Africa are, in such a reading, not anomalies.

If left unchecked, the result will be a revised division of society, with the current order stabilised around, at best, 30% of the population. For the rest — overwhelmingly young, female and black — the best hope will be "some trickle-down from a 'modernised' and 'normalised' new South Africa".

This raises not only moral but political problems. "The newly arrived", the SACP warned, will increasingly view "the excluded 70% as a threat to newly acquired privilege and power" — which brings the danger of a new authoritarianism in response to social instability.

Politically, the aim of Nzimande and Cronin's polemic is to galvanise the simmering disquiet in ANC and alliance ranks into progressive challenge, ahead of the ANC's December national conference. But the intervention might snag on a few problems.

The decision to obliquely address Mbeki himself might backfire. Mbeki personifies the trend of technocratic realism rallied against by Nzimande and Cronin. He is our version of Brazil's President Henrique Cardoso, a manager of social compromises. The authors seem to hope that this approach has been wrought less by conviction than by circumstance.

But a government obsessed with sending the "right signals" to investors will find itself hard-pressed to confirm that it has steered itself against attempts to push its policies in a more popular direction.

Within the ANC leadership there will be calls to shut the door on the SACP, by shielding policy-making even further from input by alliance partners (and even from key ANC structures themselves).

Moreover, like the ANC, the SACP is itself divided on these matters. Coursing through it are three broad currents.

Weaned on a diet of blunted political theory is

a rump of largely unreconstructed "traditionalists" who are, in equal measure, angered and dumbfounded by the post-1994 drift of the ANC. Ascendant is a loose grouping of neo-Marxists (Cronin, Nzimande, SACP national organiser Langa Zita, and the National Union of Metal Workers's Enoch Godongwana among them), who are keenly pursuing a strategic and organisational revival.

And there is a powerful array of "realists" (exemplified by Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin) who argue that global realities preclude an overly popular path towards transformation, at least for now. Like the ebb and flow of the tides, it is not easy to discern where one ends and the other begins.

Complicating matters is a lack of unanimity over continuing the alliance in its current form. Provisionally, the consensus is to redefining the party "in the context of an ANC-led alliance". But as the SACP's 1996 document admitted, "there is a debate in our party about the wisdom of this".

So, the challenges thrown to the ANC inevitably will also cause shudders within the SACP.

All of which is to the good. Not simply because, like regular exercise, "debate is healthy". But because this intervention might help distil from the mush of enforced consensus and muted disquiet the rapidly crystallising pockets of interests and ideological difference within the ANC, particularly, and the alliance, broadly.

Exactly where it's supposed to lead is unclear. A split is not on the cards, but the recasting of the terms of the alliance might well be. One attractive option would be a push to create platforms within the ANC, along the lines of Brazil's Workers' Party, in order to enable the clear expression and pursuit of divergent interests. For an organisation as ideologically elastic as the ANC this poses no threat of implosion. Rather it could place the organisation on a more genuinely democratic footing.

Whatever the outcome, Nzimande and Cronin have taken the plunge and said outright what many have long known: that corralling divergent interests under the canopy of coerced unity threatens South Africa's transformation, and that, true as it sounds, a struggle does continue.

Journalist and researcher Hein Marais's book, *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*, is being published soon by Zed Books.

Gauteng region leads breakaway from 'exile-dominated' Azapo

By **KAMOTENA MABOTE**
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was thrown into disarray this weekend when the Gauteng region announced a breakaway from the national organisation to establish an independent structure.

The Gauteng branch, in what seems to be the final straw on the leadership battle between former exiles and Azapo leaders who remained within the country, said it had the support of Free State and KwaZulu Natal regions.

Senior Azapo leader Professor Itumeleng Mosala told The Star that the three have decided not to recognise the national leadership headed by president Mosibudi Mangena.

"We are convening a national assembly of Black Consciousness people to determine the future of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and to elect new leadership," said Mosala. He added that they hoped to host the national assembly on September 12, the day Black Consciousness leader Steve Bantu Biko died in detention in 1977.

"If we do not do it by September, we must close shop in terms of the 1999 elections," he said.

Mosala emphasised that the new structure would definitely take part in the 1999 elections.

The national assembly is a similar route taken by the PAC

last year, amidst leadership problems, when it held a national convention of Pan Africanists where decisions were taken to help the organisation from its troubles.

But, Mosala adds, unlike the PAC's convention, at Azapo's assembly, according to Mosala, a former president of Azapo, a completely new BC organisation could be formed.

He emphasised that the leadership would not be invited.

"We do not want them (and) will prevent them from attending the assembly," said Mosala, also a former two-time president of Azapo.

Mangena, speaking from his home in Pietersburg, said he was not aware of the decisions taken by the Gauteng region.

But if they wanted to start a new organisation, it was their democratic and constitutional right.

Mosala, in a scathing attack on Mangena and his leadership, said BC philosophy had been distorted by a "whole array" of sectors which have kept it narrower than it should have been.

"The main reason for this, now we have realised, has been the sort of connection with the exile group.

"It has become clearer to us that they have come back and taken over the organisation."

The tension between former leaders of Azapo inside the country and those who led the exiled BCM has been going on for al-

most a year since the organisation's congress last year, where the new leadership contained a strong presence of former exiles.

Mosala said the new leadership had a "Stalinist" approach which continued to deny people the benefits of the BC philosophy.

Mosala added that Azapo leadership had not responded to the changes in the country.

Meanwhile, the disciplinary committee of Azapo is expected to announce the expulsion of five senior members from the organisation, after a disciplinary hearing this weekend, The Star learnt at the weekend.

Although DC chairman Nkosi Molala refused to reveal its resolution, a senior Azapo member said a motion was made for the expulsion of Gauteng regional chairman, Lybon Mabasa, his KwaZulu Natal counterpart Patrick Mkhize, as well as Mbulelo Rakwena, John Modikó and Monwabisi Duma.

They are all senior members in Gauteng, Free State and KwaZulu Natal, he said, who did not attend the hearing, are accused of bringing the organisation into disrepute when they led a walkout from Azapo's national congress last year.

Rakwena, who is also former Gauteng publicity director, said the DC decision would be of no political consequence because the membership stood behind the regional leadership.

(114) Star 14/1/97

Much ado about

ONE MEMBER says he does not know what they are fighting over while another believes it is over a dry bone and yet another opines that whoever emerges the winner will have achieved a Pyrrhic victory.

These three sentiments neatly sum up what could be the reasons for and consequences of the bitter infighting within the Azanian People's Organisation leadership which culminated in three regions out of nine deciding to leave the party and explore the prospects of launching another political home for the disaffected members.

There are no ideological differences between the two factions and both camps are still deeply rooted in Black Consciousness. Azapo has been limping internally in the last seven years, while the formerly Black Consciousness Movement of Azania which was based in exile – contrary to what its members might wish – never got off the ground.

Gomolemo Mokae, one of Azapo's intellectuals, acknowledged this when he publicly stated that the two groupings were fighting over a dry bone. He could not have put it better.

A number of reasons have been advanced for the break-away, particularly by the three regions – Gauteng, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal – who claim the present leadership is dictatorial, divisive and "militaristic".

Among the accusations levelled at the leadership is that they have flouted the party's constitution by extending the life of its office from two years to four years, enlarging the central committee with handpicked loyalists from 10 to 90 and failing to put the party on the centre stage of national politics.

The splinter group has also tried to project the differences as being largely between those who went into exile and those who remained inside the country under the banner of Azapo.

Deputy president Pandelani Nefelovhodwe denies that the leadership acted improperly by extending its tenure from two to four years and maintains that this decision was taken by congress, the party's highest decision-making organ.

To claims that the differences are between those who went in exile and those who stayed behind, Nefelovhodwe points at himself to debunk this. "I have never been in exile and yet I am not among those who broke away. This claim cannot be true".

It is equally not true to say leadership positions have been hijacked by the former exiles. Both sides are evenly represented in the party's core central committee.

The breakaway group may have a case when they claim that leadership has inexplicably increased the standing committee to 90 by loading it with loyalists.

Although the problems in the Black Consciousness Movement are only coming to a head now, they have been in the making for a long time. And those between Azapo and its former external half have been simmering since even before the unbanning of political organisations in 1990.

The movement suffered several body blows at an early stage of its birth. The deaths of such heavyweights as Mapetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro and Steve Biko was a devastating blow.

This was soon to be followed by the large-scale incarceration of its senior leadership and thinkers like Strini Moodley, Peter Jones, Saths Cooper,



THE splinter group of three Azapo regions who are threatening to start their own movement are basing their dissent on reasons that seem more petty than political, writes SEKOLA SELLO. There are no ideological differences between the two factions and launching a new movement will be self-destructive.

Terror Lekota, Nefelovhodwe and Zithulele Cindi.

While still reeling from these body blows, a large number of remaining leaders and youngsters who identified with the movement left for exile and ended up in the camp of the African National Congress.

Then, in the mid-1980s, they were locked in a mortal fight over political hegemony with the United Democratic Front. It was a bitter and bloody fight which exacted a heavy toll in lost lives.

When it was over, BC was a spent force and the UDF emerged as the dominant force in the South African political landscape. BC had lost ground among students where it was always strongest and the formation of the UDF-aligned trade union federation, Cosatu, further eroded its base among the workers.

It was the combined effects of these factors which left BC mortally wounded – and the movement has never recovered from this. Few people expect BC, through Azapo or any other new formation, to rise to the heights of the Biko era.

It must also be said that during its early years when it was at its strongest, BC leaders never decided whether they wanted to be a political party in their own right like the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Instead, they spoke of uniting the PAC and ANC so that blacks could speak with one voice. A noble goal – but unattainable, as any political observer would have realised.

This indecisiveness was once more displayed this week when the Gauteng regional executive committee declared that they had decided to "cut links with the national leadership of the party because it had failed to put the party back onto the centre stage of national politics".

Speaking at a media briefing in Johannesburg, Gauteng regional chairman Lybon Mabasa said their one-day congress had "resolved... that the Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Free State regions should cut links with the divisive, autocratic and militaristic national leadership of Azapo".

Mabasa said the congress had resolved to put

DIVIDED



'NOTHING TO DO WITH EXILES' ... Pandelani Nefelovhodwe.

ACCUSED OF MILITARISM ... Mosibudi Mangena.

PAINFUL BIRTH ... as Steve Biko came years of Black C...

to place interim regional and national structures with a view to convening a national black consciousness conference on September 12. In the process conference, Azapo branches would discuss ways chart the future of the organisation.

Mabasa should have clearly and unambiguously stated they had now decided to form a new party. Political scientist and one of the founding fathers of BC, Professor Themba Sono, blames the present crisis on Azapo's failure to grasp what he calls "bread and butter politics" – an accusation made by many other political observers.

Sono says BC members are high on intellectualism about being black – while not addressing pressing issues like crime, unemployment, power and the people's material conditions. "They have the foggiest idea of electoral politics or what

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DIVIDED WE FALL **PEACEMAKING**



NOTHING TO DO WITH ENIGLES... Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.



ACCUSED OF MILITARISM... Mosibudi Mangena.



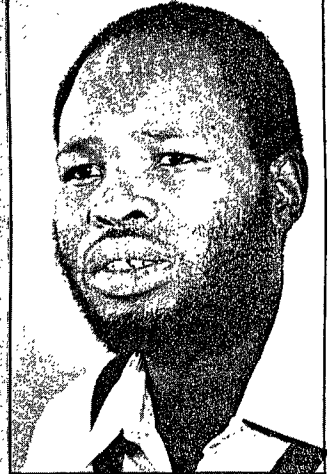
PAINFUL BIRTH... The deaths of such heavyweights as Steve Biko came as a devastating blow in the early years of Black Consciousness.



CUT LINKS WITH AUTOCRATS Lybon Mabasa.



FIGHTING OVER A DRY BONE... Gomolemo Mokoae.



'MAKE PEACE'... Former Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela argues that the differences between the two factions are not irreconcilable.

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Sono says BC members are high on intellectualising about being black - while not addressing pressing issues like crime, unemployment, poverty and the people's material conditions. "They don't have the foggiest idea of electoral politics or what

the people want."

As accusations fly thick and fast, personal relations between members of the two factions are far from hostile. When I arrived at Nefolovhodwe's offices in Johannesburg to try to make sense of the divisions, he was talking on the telephone to Mbulelo Rakwena - one of the brains in the Gauteng splinter group.

In typical fashion, Nefolovhodwe was most of the time cracking jokes with Rakwena. After putting down the phone, he remarked that Rakwena would state categorically that they were forming a new party. "I asked him what they meant by saying they no longer recognised our leadership. Mbulelo tried to dribble out of this. Frankly, I do not know what we are fighting over."

Lending support to the view that the two factions are fighting over petty issues is former Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela, who argues that the two groups have not tried hard enough to resolve their differences - which he says are not irreconcilable.

Pained by seeing brother pitted against brother, Mkhabela says if the two do not resolve their differences, there will not be a winner. "Whoever thinks he will emerge a winner is misled. This is going to be a Pyrrhic victory."

Indeed, if the splinter group goes ahead and launches a new movement, this will be a self-destructing exercise at a time when black consciousness - contrary to what its critics might say - is as relevant as it was in the halcyon days of the student upheavals.

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Makwetu expelled from PAC at end of disciplinary hearing

Star 12/5/97 (11A)

By RAMOTENA MABOTE

Former PAC president Clarence Makwetu was expelled from the organisation yesterday at the end of a two-day disciplinary hearing in Cape Town.

An official on the national executive committee said this morning Makwetu was "frustrated by the decision" which was yet to be placed before the NEC.

Makwetu's expulsion means he would have to vacate his parliamentary seat, if the NEC rat-

ifies the ruling. Makwetu may not belong to the PAC for three years after which he may reapply to join the organisation.

Makwetu, who was also PAC national chairman, is accused of bringing the organisation into disrepute by refusing to recognise the new leadership under former Methodist bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, as well as sowing division along ethnic lines.

PAC disciplinary tribunal chairman Sitembele Mgxaji said Makwetu was entitled to appeal against the sentence in

terms of the organisation's constitution. Mgxaji said Makwetu co-operated with the disciplinary tribunal after he initially threatened to either boycott or disrupt the hearing.

Makwetu was suspended as PAC national chairman some months ago, but retained his seat in Parliament pending the result of the disciplinary hearing yesterday. Mgxaji said a fuller report of the disciplinary hearing would be released after the tribunal submitted the results of the inquiry to the PAC's NEC.

After the hearing Makwetu, surrounded by about 30 supporters, remained defiant, and said he was not told by the tribunal that they had expelled him. He would appeal against any decision "wronging me". He claimed he was still waiting to be informed by the PAC's national executive committee or Mgxaji about his expulsion.

He said he had been at the hearing for 30 minutes only. Mgxaji denied this and said he had been present when Makwetu was told of the decision.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Racism charge rebuffed

11A
 PM 23/5/97

'Good housekeeping' should not be confused with antiwhite feeling

Suggestions that there is a new wave of antiwhite sentiment sweeping through the Inkatha Freedom Party, following calls in its National Council for the sacking of KwaZulu-Natal chief whip Mike Tarr, are being hotly denied in party circles.

Though senior members are, as usual, officially tight-lipped about the incident, the off-the-record explanation is that the issue related to "good housekeeping" within the party and disquiet over poor attendance of Inkatha members in the legislature and portfolio committee meetings.

Whether this is true or not, the timing of the controversy could torpedo any hopes Inkatha may have of attracting disillusioned members of the NP in the wake of Roelf Meyer's resignation. Defections from the NP and to a lesser extent the Afrikaner Right have proved a rich hunting ground for Inkatha in the past. Among those who made the transition include Jurie Mentz, Peter Miller and Koos van der Merwe.

Supporters of the "good housekeeping" view point to the fact that the whip was not a lone target for the committee's wrath. Also in the firing line was provincial caucus chairman Vincent Ngema.

"The issue came up in the national council because there is a great deal of disquiet about some Inkatha members' poor attendance, and general discipline," says one national council member.

"Clearly that is a reflection of internal problems which must be resolved. By the same



Mike Tarr... fate has been left in the hands of the provincial caucus

token the chairman of the caucus and the chief whip must be held to account, and if they cannot resolve it they must be replaced by people who can.

"As always in these situations there were calls for them to be fired on the spot."

The matter was not voted on. Tarr's fate has been left in the hands of the provincial caucus and acting national chairman and provincial premier Ben Ngubane, who is reported to have opposed his sacking.

Neither Tarr nor Ngubane was available for comment.

The council member adds: "There is nothing racist or sexist about the issue at all. The same would have happened if the whip was black, blue, or a Chinese man or woman."

But there are strong rumours that Tarr was targeted because of his failure to implement party policy, particularly in respect of the party drive to establish Ulundi as the provincial capital.

Tarr also raised the party's ire for his decision last year to open the National Council of Provinces in Maritzburg rather than Ulundi — the same issue that is believed to have caused a rift between party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his former confidante, the ailing Walter Felgate.

The emotive issue of Ulundi is one of the areas where some whites in the party are believed to be at odds with their black counterparts. Raising the issue is therefore seen as a possible pretext for antiwhite sentiment.

Certainly those who believe there's a conspiracy to purge or dump the party's whites have plenty of historical ammunition to support their arguments. The latest is the recent resignation of provincial MP Hugh Lee, making his the sixth white resignation since 1994.

Though Ngubane says Lee resigned for personal reasons, there have been suggestions that he was unhappy with the party's lack of support for the victims of violence, and the fact that his requests as chairman of the legislature's public works committee for the introduction of checks on expenditure were largely ignored.

There have also been those who have survived attempts to extricate

them. They include Miller and Arthur Konigkramer.

Derek Watterson, who has left the legislature, not the party, says there are some black party members who seem to resent whites occupying well-paid posts in the party, and take any opportunity to try to get rid of them. Watterson, stressing his loyalty to Buthelezi and Inkatha policy, also says a number of whites who have left believe they are unable to make a meaningful contribution.

A particularly low point for whites came after last year's local government elections, when white support appeared to have dwindled. Buthelezi's comments at the annual general conference about "disloyal party cranks" without a constituency or useful contribution were seen as a jibe at whites who had failed to deliver support.

Whether or not the initial attack on Tarr was racist, there will be those who perceive it so and believe it has happened before and will happen again.

Whites may be a small element in Inkatha, but they are important to its aspirations not only of holding on to power in KwaZulu-Natal, but also of spreading its influence further afield.

Herb Payne

Support for ANC drops — survey

BD 21/8/97

(11A)

SUPPORT for the African National Congress (ANC) has fallen 10 percentage points over the past three years, a survey by the Human Sciences and Research Council (HSRC) has found.

A total of 53% of 2 917 respondents questioned in February expressed support for the ANC, compared to 55% last year, 56% in 1995, and 63% in 1994.

Released in Pretoria yesterday, the survey shows the proportion of voters backing the National Party has shrunk from 19% in 1994 to 12% this year.

Inkatha Freedom Party support has stabilised at about 4%, while Pan Africanist Congress support has risen from 0,5% to 2% in the three years.

The Freedom Front's support base has shrunk from 3% to 1%, while the Democratic Party's support has grown from 1% to 2%.

"It is noteworthy that levels of sympathy, which do not necessarily translate into electoral support, for parties to the left have increased from 24% to 29% in the year up to February," HSRC executive director for population and development Vincent Maphai said.

Such groupings included the Azanian People's Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement.

President Nelson Mandela's popularity has grown but so has public discontent with his government, the survey showed.

Only a third of those questioned are satisfied with the country's economic situation.

Sixty-one percent of those surveyed feel Mandela is doing a good job, compared to 60% in February last year. Satisfaction with the way in the country is being governed has dropped from

53% to 43% over the same period.

Satisfaction with provincial governments has also taken a negative turn, with only four provinces receiving a nod of approval from more than 50% from their voters.

They are North West, where 60% of people indicated a positive sentiment to the provincial government, Western Cape (58%), Northern Cape (53%), and Kwazulu-Natal (52%).

"We clearly have a crisis in local government," Maphai said. "There has been a drastic drop of faith in our local governments." He ascribed the decline in satisfaction with the way in which the country was being governed to public concern about issues such as unemployment, crime and the economy.

In the survey 46% of respondents indicated that jobs were their most important personal concerns, followed by crime (18%), economic conditions (12%) and housing (7%).

Meanwhile, more than eight out of every 10 South Africans believe they should pay for services rendered by local government.

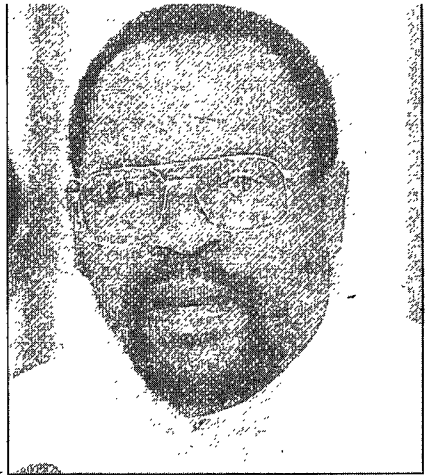
"This positive signal for local governments facing high levels of nonpayment was, however, tempered by the low level of confidence that local governments were able to solve problems," Maphai said. Only 38% of residents expressed confidence in their local governments, down from 57% in February last year.

Only 1% of respondents said they would resort to violence to show dissatisfaction with government.

"The survey seemed to indicate fundamental support for institutions of state," Maphai said. — Sapa.

Don't worry – my door will remain open to one and all, says Motshekga

Newly elected African National Congress Gauteng chairman, Advocate Mathole Motshekga (right), says he is approaching his office without any hidden agendas and that he has not closed his mind on debating any issue – an obvious reference to the megacity issue.



NEWLY elected African National Congress Gauteng chairman, Advocate Mathole Motshekga, is not likely to pursue policies different from those of his predecessor, Tokyo Sexwale. Speaking to City Press a few days after defeating Reverend Frank Chikane for the chairmanship and premiership of the country's richest province, Motshekga said he would "build on the good work" initiated by Sexwale, who is stepping down as premier in January.

Although he was elected against stiff opposition from a number of MECs, he is not expected to bring about any immediate cabinet reshuffle unless, according to one insider, "his opponents in cabinet force him to do so".

According to another well placed insider, a performance evaluation of ANC MECs in the seven provinces the party controls is imminent – and if some of these office bearers do not measure up, they could face the chop.

"Motshekga may not even have to act against some of these MECs. If they do not measure up to the performance evaluation, it will be enough to call for their removal."

Since his open support for the creation of a megacity for greater Johannesburg – a position decryd by the Democratic Party and the National Party – Motshekga has been cast in some business and political circles as a latter-day Robin Hood.

His critics suspect that behind his support for a megacity lies a more sinister plan – to take wealth from the rich and give it to the poor.

Motshekga has challenged his critics to come up with an alternative model that will best serve the interests of this metropolis.

A recognised authority on local government issues, Motshekga has contributed many articles on local governance to the ANC at national and provincial levels.

Following his election as successor to Sexwale, the question many are asking is whether his support for the megacity will continue, perhaps with even greater vigour, when he is premier.

The business community is also worried that he might introduce policies that may be harmful to the economy.

The premier-elect dismisses these fears. He says he is approaching his office without any hidden agendas and that he has not closed his mind to debating any issue – an obvious reference to the megacity question.

His business policies, he emphasises, will not be separate from those espoused by the ANC and will "build on the good work done by Tokyo (Sexwale)".

Motshekga also supports the latest position of the ANC/Cosatu/South African Communist Party on Gear. This calls for acceptance of Gear as the government's policy document on the economy and growth, but with "re-adjustments and refinements" where necessary.

Although he is no newcomer to the ANC and the anti-apartheid movement, he is still a relatively unknown quantity.

In fact, it took the machinations of some members of the ANC provincial executive committee (PEC), who tried to marginalise him, to thrust him into the national spotlight.

Motshekga stubbornly refused to be sidelined and, as the fight against the party bureaucracy went in to top gear, many asked: "Who is this Motshekga, standing up to the party leadership?"

A cursory look into his CV shows he has always been in the struggle. In his student days in West Germany and the United States, he was active in the anti-apartheid movement.

On his return to South Africa he was active in civic politics and was a senior member of the National Democratic Lawyers under Pius Langa, who is now judge of the High Court.

His struggle credentials notwithstanding, Motshekga was not the favourite candidate for the chairmanship and premiership among some influential ANC provincial leaders. This begs the question why.

ANC insiders, like Minister of Environmental Affairs Pallo Jordan, say Motshekga is an independent thinker and Africanist who makes many would-be kingmakers in the the tripartite alliance very uncomfortable.

"There is a powerful party lobby (South African Communist Party) which is always trying to place their members or those sympathetic to them or those they can manipulate into strategic positions within the three tiers of government.

"With the exception of Motshekga, all the people who were nominated for chairmanship would have been very useful to this

powerful lobby," one insider told me.

Apart from the SACP lobby, which draws much of its support from Cosatu, another bloc which was opposed to Motshekga was made up of people from Soweto who wanted the new leadership to come from this area.

Motshekga defeated his rivals, starting with Health MEC Amos Maseko – and last Sunday he easily dismissed Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's adviser, Frank Chikane.

He is still very much in touch with this constituency – unlike some of his colleagues who are the darlings of the media and the cocktail circuit, but are rarely seen among the grassroots.

It is this closeness with the grassroots that is likely to see him continuing to support the idea of a megacity which many in

the ANC regard as the only sensible way to share the city's economic cake.

But he is quick to emphasise that he will not adopt policies that will be harmful or favour one group over another.

"I do not want to impose anything on people. I am willing to listen to people, even the tiniest minority."

On October 23 and 24 he will hold a meeting with various stakeholders, including the business community, to find a solution for a model of local government that is suitable.

"I hope the business community will come so that they can make their contribution on this issue," says Motshekga.

It is said listening to people is what he is good at. He might not be as organised as a Prussian army chief, but he's not prone to making impetuous decisions.

Motshekga has over the years built strong ties with grassroots structures and the civic movement.

It is a constituency he is not about to abandon and he will continue to champion their cause.

But big business can take comfort. He is committed to seeing the economic cake being spread around and is no populist maverick who will embark on harmful policies.

After all, this is a highly educated man, an ex-lecturer-turned-politician with a doctorate in law.



Felgate takes dig at Buthelezi and IFP

(11B)

ET 9/10/97

DURBAN: IFP defector Mr Walter Felgate yesterday launched a blistering attack on his former leader and friend, Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accusing him of not being the democrat he claimed to be.

As a result, the IFP was bleeding and Buthelezi was in the political wilderness, said Felgate, now an ANC member, in a speech at the Institute of Race Relations here last night titled *Challenges to be faced in the transition to democracy*.

The IFP's lack of democracy, he said, was best demonstrated when controversial issues had to be confronted in the party's national council.

Then, a speech would be prepared for Buthelezi, with resolutions from the council prepared in advance.

"Buthelezi speaks, he is supported usually by one or another cabinet minister, and then one member after another stands up to support him," Felgate said.

"Thereafter he tells the world that the National Council has spoken, and as a democrat he has no option but to follow the directions of his party.

"I know — I wrote the speeches and framed the resolutions in advance."

He added: "Inkatha is bleeding. Buthelezi is vulnerable.

"The ANC can, and must win the 1999 election both in urban and rural KwaZulu-Natal. Let this be for the sake of democracy."

Felgate said the transition in SA had not yet run its course, and would not do so until after the 1999 elections.

He said 1999 would prove to be a doorway to real democracy.

But it remained to be seen whether the final democracy would be achieved by various political models.

Felgate said the destiny of the country would be shaped by either the development of a viable, challenging opposition to the ANC, or by the failure of a strong opposition, which voters would had recognised and rejected as useless.

"Here one must ask where Buthelezi is in the realignment of opposition parties," Felgate said.

"It is also striking that Buthelezi has nothing to offer in reshaping opposition forces."

Buthelezi could not be reached for comment last night. — Own Correspondent

Felgate accuses Buthelezi of IRA tactics threat (116)

Business Day Reporter

SD 9/10/97
INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not believe that the IFP could wage "struggle" only through Parliament, and had argued it could "dissent like the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Sinn Fein", former IFP MP Walter Felgate said in Johannesburg yesterday.

In an address to the Institute of Race Relations, Felgate said Buthelezi had written "scary stuff" to him in a private letter.

Buthelezi wrote: "It is a fact of life that people can dissent like the IRA and Sinn Fein without caring whether they are in 10 Downing Street or not, but do things as a matter of principle."

Felgate, formerly Buthelezi's adviser, claimed he told Buthelezi the IFP could wage only a "parliamentary struggle" in a democratic SA, but Buthelezi replied: "What then of the IRA and Sinn Fein?"

Felgate did not say when Buthelezi had made the comments, but gave the impression that they were when he was still an IFP member. Felgate recently defected to the African National Congress (ANC).

Felgate said the ANC needed to win the 1999 elections in KwaZulu-Natal, otherwise there would be a "steady shift down a slippery slope to a rural KwaZulu-Natal war of attrition."

He said that if Buthelezi was defeated at the polls, he would be "driven back" into his rural strongholds. He would then rely on chiefs — rather than mass support — to survive.

Local government elections were also scheduled for 1999.

"If Buthelezi and the chiefs say no to local government elections in rural KwaZulu-Natal, we will be in serious trouble," Felgate said.

It was "tragic" for SA that there were no "democratic checks" on Buthelezi within the IFP.

The more Buthelezi "blunders, or the more the party blunders, he and it try to do more of the same things that led to the original blunder."

The more public criticism Buthelezi faced, the more "praises" he received within the party.

Buthelezi rejects Felgate's claims as lies

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected as "the lies of a bitter man" a claim that he suggested to former adviser Walter Felgate the IFP could resort to armed struggle against government.

Felgate reportedly said on Wednesday that Buthelezi had told him he did not believe the IFP could wage "struggle" only through Parliament, and had argued it could dissent "like the Irish Republican Army and Sinn Fein".

"He is lying through his teeth," Buthelezi told reporters in Cape Town. "I think probably his illness has affected his intelligence ... any South

African would know that I reject the armed struggle. In every single speech I reject it."

On Felgate's claim that the IFP was undemocratic, Buthelezi asked why Felgate was saying this now when he had been in the party for 20 years.

"All of a sudden now we've become undemocratic because he feels jilted," Buthelezi said, referring to the unfulfilled promise of a KwaZulu-Natal MEC post made to Felgate. Felgate defected from the IFP to join the African National Congress in August this year.

Asked why Felgate was making these claims, he said Felgate was a sick and bitter man. — Sapa.

Markets

Continued from Page 1

opposite directions to their yields.

On equity markets, London's FTSE 100 index fell 58 points to 5 204, Frankfurt's equity index fell 104 points to 4 243, that of Paris by 55 points to 2 968 and Milan 540 points to 14 977.

European central banks followed Germany's example, but the Bank of England left its rates unchanged.

Net reports that SA bonds also weakened in response to the rates hike, although dealers said the impact had been softened by improved prospects of a domestic Bank rate cut arising from the lowest money market shortage since March last year. The

shortage was reported as R4,516bn yesterday, compared with the daily average of R8,121bn in October last year. The benchmark government long bond, the R150, was quoted two points weaker at a yield of 13,83% after hours yesterday.

Developments on international markets had a mixed impact on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, depressing industrial share prices but boosting gold counters on expectations that bullion would benefit from foreign-inflationary fears.

The all gold index climbed 27 points to 1 074 at the close, but the industrial index shed 69 points to 8 800 after having fallen 85 points at one stage. The financial index lost 65 points to 10 020, which helped push the all share index 48 points lower to 7 249.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Zuma set for No 2 job

ARG 27/10/97

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg -- African National Congress national chairman Jacob Zuma looks set to succeed Thabo Mbeki as the organisation's deputy president after his nomination by two key provinces at the weekend.

The nomination of Mr Zuma by Gauteng and the Western Cape follows similar backing from the ANC Youth League and KwaZulu Natal. The Eastern Cape is expected to follow suit soon.

North West and Mpumalanga, which have nominated Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa as their candidate, are expected to announce revised nomination lists soon, with Mr Zuma as their

man for the deputy presidency.

As expected, Mr Mbeki was nominated for the presidency of the ANC.

Mr Zuma's only opponent in the race for the deputy presidency is likely to be ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

The 400 delegates at the organisation's Gauteng provincial general council became the first ANC structure to nominate National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick "Terror" Lekota for a position among the top six leaders of the ANC.

The council proposed Mr Lekota as national chairman. Mr Phosa has been nominated for this position by the ANC Youth League.

Business Da

Phosa withdraws from race for top post

BO 28/10/97 (119)

Pule Molebeledi

MPUMALANGA premier Mathews Phosa has indicated that he will withdraw from the race for the deputy presidency of the African National Congress in an attempt to "promote a consolidated view" of ANC leadership.

Earlier Phosa had reacted angrily to an alleged request from President Nelson Mandela to withdraw from the race. He threatened to resign from politics as he felt it reflected a lack of confidence in his ability. He was persuaded not to resign.

Phosa disclosed his intentions dur-

ing an address to a nongovernmental organisations and civil society lunch in the Netherlands yesterday.

The two other candidates for the position are KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma and women's league president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Sources said Mandela's request was part of a detailed long-term strategy for the leadership of the party and SA. It was aimed at ensuring that Madikizela-Mandela had almost no chance of winning the deputy presidency and to build Zuma's stature before the 1999 election in order to win KwaZulu-Natal and make him the provincial premier.

"Given my limited appetite for higher office, I would like ... to promote the unity of the organisation first, the prominence of more competent leaders than myself second, and that of some of my own policy views, especially on good governance, lastly," Phosa said.

Mpumalanga ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said he was not aware of Phosa's intentions to resign.

Eight provinces and the ANC Youth League, which withdrew its nominations of Phosa and Mandela's aide, Joel Netshitenzhe, have nominated Zuma, while the ANC Women's League nominated Madikizela-Mandela.

Key Market Movements — 24/10 to 27/10

Gold				Currencies					Stock Markets				
Lon close \$/oz	Lon PM \$/oz	Lon PM R/oz	Krugger- rand	R per \$	\$ per R	Europe close DM/\$	Europe close R/£	3 month BA	FTSE 100	Nikkei Index	JSE Ov all	JSE Gold	JSE Indus
316,25	316,65	1 496,64	1 520,0	4,7799	0,2115	1,7752	7,9208	14,35	4 970,2	17 363,74	7 168,8	957,0	8 783,0
↓	↓	↓	↓	↑	↓	↓	↑	NO MOVE	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
311,75	311,80	1 490,37	1 480,0	4,7265	0,2092	1,7605	7,7152	14,35	4 840,7	17 038,36	6 763,2	894,9	8 360,0

Jacob Zuma stays calm as controversy rages over nominations for ANC deputy presidency

AKG 31/10/197

(11A)

PINDILE NGIBANE Pumla Sibi*

While the controversy over nominations for the African National Congress's deputy presidency rages on and South Africans wonder whether Jacob Zuma, the party leadership's favourite, will indeed become the next deputy, he himself appears to be unaffected by the excitement.

Mr Zuma has remained silent over the sudden withdrawal of Mpumalanga Premier Matthews Phosa - which is being questioned widely in some party structures - in spite of attempts to get him to comment on what is seen as the dictatorial role of the ANC's leadership in placing people in leading positions and blocking their contests.

Mr Phosa's withdrawal has left only Mr Zuma and ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela Mandela in the race, but Mr Zuma says he refuses to see this as a contest between the two of them.

He also will not say whether he sees himself as better suited for the position and he is certainly tight-lipped on the issue of Mrs Madikizela Mandela's election ticket; the call for the reinstatement of the death penalty.

The sudden focus on Mr Zuma has heightened public curiosity about a man whose contribution to the ANC was well as to the country since the party's coming to power is

seldom evident, say some observers.

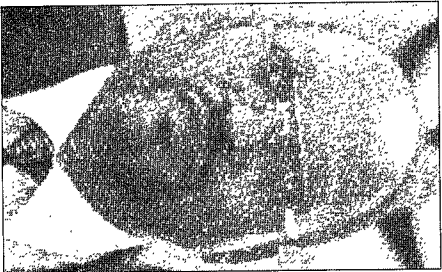
Perhaps this is because Mr Zuma seems to have gone about his duties as ANC national chairman, the organisation's Kwazulu Natal chairman and also the province's MEC for economic affairs and tourism without attracting much attention.

Mr Zuma, himself, does not understand the fuss over the deputy presidency issue and is perplexed by the calls for his comments on Mr Phosa's withdrawal or Mrs Madikizela Mandela's chances of winning. "One would think that the ANC is involved in a process foreign to other political parties. Is it not every party's right to decide which cadres to deploy where and also conduct rearrangements should the need arise?" he asks.

"I do not sit in my office and plot my next move. We do not do that in the ANC culture and so certainly not at war as some so desperately would like to believe. We get deployed."

Mr Zuma says his has been, and remains a challenging task. As the party's chairman he has to ensure that the ANC stays within its policies on matters decided at conferences and he presides at meetings on very challenging issues.

ANC members, he says, also often approach him on issues of concern. They do so not only in their capacities as representatives of organisational structures, but also in their



Keeping his cool - Jacob Zuma, who may become the ANC's next deputy president

individual capacities with requests for his intervention.

Mr Zuma says he has also had to play a mediatory role in provincial disputes that need his articulation of the ANC's policies.

This role has been particularly evident in Kwazulu Natal where, in May last year, both the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party resolved to

confront the issues dividing them. They have certainly a "peace package" to put an end to years of conflict between the two parties.

"The fact that we are agreeing to through working jointly instead of doing so as separate entities is in itself an important breakthrough."

But it appears that the last thing the province wants is the departure of someone who appears so committed to bringing stability there.

In fact, as much has been said about the implications of Mr Zuma's possible election as ANC deputy president.

But the affable Mr Zuma argues that those concerned about his possible departure should have taken their concerns to the national structure when the opportunity arose.

"Our party does not take any rash decisions and when it deploys its cadres it takes a lot of things into consideration."

"If any possible deployment was an issue, it should have been raised and debated in national structures," he says.

Although he cannot be persuaded to voice his stance on the death penalty, it nevertheless is not difficult to get him talking about the issue. His system's treatment of rape cases.

Himself a man with a large family (one of his wives is Health Minister Nosizama Zuma), Mr Zuma feels a lot more ought to be done to deal

with the country's rapists as they are certainly no ordinary criminals committing petty offences.

"These animals should not enjoy the same rights as every other South African citizen."

"There should be no ball at all for them and the punishment they get needs upgrading," he says.

This subject arouses anger in a man who throughout the interview has kept himself in check and certainly not given away more than he thinks he should - a man, also, who is not ashamed of his humble origins in rural Inkanda and about his modest formal education.

"While some people produce their certificates to prove their qualifications, I have received my education from people."

"Society has been my school and I am where I am because of people, which is why being always open to them is so important to me."

We wrap up the interview with a promise to meet after the ANC's December congress, whether or not the ANC deputy presidency will be decided by then.

After all, he points out, there will always be fundamental issues needing vigorous discussion regardless of the position he holds.

Who knows, maybe then one may get him to pronounce more freely on the country's sensitive issues without the fear of having them labelled as his "election ticket".

Phosa is pushed out of the running

MTR 31/10 - 6/11/97

(11A)

The dictatorial style of Mathews Phosa played a role in his being rejected by his own executive, reports Justin Arenstein

Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa didn't jump off the election bandwagon — he was pushed by his own ANC provincial executive committee.

The coup, with echoes of the unexpected power shifts so common in central Africa, occurred during an executive committee meeting last Sunday, while Phosa was touring Europe.

The 42-member provincial executive committee unanimously retracted its support for Phosa's nomination but decided to postpone announcing the retraction until it had discussed the move with Phosa on his return from Europe this weekend.

Only two of the provincial committee's members, ANC provincial spokesman and public works MEC Jackson Mthembu and finance MEC Jacques Modipane, defended Phosa's nomination during the heated debate.

Modipane served as chairman at the meeting but refused to comment on it to the *Mail & Guardian* this week.

Sources indicate, however, that one of Phosa's strongest supporters to date, provincial ANC Youth League secretary general, James Nkumbule, tabled the motion to withdraw Phosa's nomination.

Announcing that the league believed that there were "very senior and powerful" ANC leaders who feared Phosa's abilities and would therefore either block or frustrate any initiatives by Phosa, Nkumbule told the meeting the provincial youth league was withdrawing its support for Phosa and was also refusing to nominate him for any other position.

The rest of the 42-member provincial committee stressed that Mpumalanga's very vocal backing

for Phosa, in the face of stated preference for Jacob Zuma as deputy president-elect by the ANC's national leadership, was beginning to give local leaders a reputation as rebels.

"Mpumalanga is the only province that went against the national ANC trend and this, combined with growing dissatisfaction at what local leaders view as Phosa's dictatorial leadership style, pushed the provincial committee to a point where it didn't seem worthwhile to risk confrontation," explained one provincial council member.

After one hour of debate, the provincial council decided to withdraw its backing for Phosa and will

Phosa's tendency to 'shoot from the hip' was undermining his support

now instead nominate KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma for deputy president in the next national poll.

"Look, I can't condemn or deny the move, but I can say that there was an agreement to have a relook at this whole nomination thing," said Mthembu on Thursday.

"We agreed that we should look at national trends but have to wait until Phosa returns from Europe so that we can discuss it with him before making any announcements." Phosa was informed about the about-turn telephonically and reacted immediately by announcing in a series of speeches in the Netherlands this week that he had "limited political ambition", that he had decided to stand down from the race in favour of maintaining party unity and consolidating support around more senior party leaders.

"My own role... will be not to seek higher office but to serve my organisational deployment to the very best of my ability," he said, while delivering the keynote speech at a movie premiere.



Mathews Phosa: 'I will not be part of a divisive debate in this regard'

"While there are people who would have preferred to wait until our December conference to clarify positions, I need to make it very clear that I will not be part of a divisive debate in this regard."

The announcement caught ANC structures in Mpumalanga off-balance, with Mthembu and Phosa's

"But one thing remains clear. You should not take the body that nominated and supported you by surprise. It is a simple and essential courtesy to let us know first."

Stressing that he had no problem with Phosa's decision to withdraw unilaterally, Mthembu said there were, however, concerns that provincial ANC structures had not been taken into confidence about the larger national strategies or reasons for narrowing the election process down.

"It's very important that the normal internal ANC democratic processes don't get interfered with. We understand that there may be well reasoned and necessary national strategies but it is important that provincial structures are not forced, or seem to be forced, to support these," he added.

"People can call us rebels but we have every right, as elected leaders, to question positions or to suggest our own."

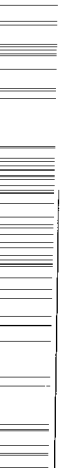
Mthembu vehemently denied that the provincial council also de-bated Phosa's leadership style or the growing use of "Mabutu" as a nickname for the premier.

"Your sources at least had a semblance of the previous debate but they're totally off the mark on this one. We never discussed any such issue," said Mthembu.

"The only thing which came even close to these allegations was debate about the growing irregularity of provincial committee meetings."

A number of provincial committee members said on condition of anonymity, however, that Phosa's failure to consult on important policy issues, his tendency to "shoot from the hip", his use of advisers from the former regime and "uncontrolled drive" to appear untainted by the corruption in his province were undermining his support at branch and regional level.

Phosa is scheduled to arrive back in South Africa on Friday afternoon and will meet with provincial committee representatives on either Saturday or Sunday. — *African Eye News Service*



02
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ANC to introduce tougher party code

BO 3111/97

204 (11A)

Drew Forrest

THE African National Congress (ANC) has proposed a tougher disciplinary code for members and more exacting conditions for membership and for election to local, provincial and national party structures.

The proposals appear to reflect the anxiety of ANC leaders about the rise of "careerism" in the organisation and the corresponding decline in the ethic of service and self-sacrifice.

The proposed revisions of the ANC's constitution would be tabled at its congress in December, the chairman of the party's constitutional amendment committee, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, said yesterday. Asmal stressed that the ANC's disciplinary procedures were not meant to stifle "the free exchange of opinions and ideas". A rule had to be breached before proceedings were initiated, otherwise discipline could be used to silence dissent.

However, to prevent "a flagrant thing continuing for months", it had been proposed that the national disciplinary committee be empowered to suspend members accused of misconduct.

While the committee could now act only if a complaint was referred by officers or top ANC structures such as the national executive committee, another proposal was that it should have "original jurisdiction" to initiate hearings.

Asmal said the ANC's disciplinary code was up for revision, and that the catch-all offence of "bringing the movement into disrepute" had been

further defined.

Among the proposed infractions were misappropriation of funds, the abuse of office for sexual and other advantages, corruption, sowing political and religious divisions in the organisation and taking part in factional activity outside the arena of free debate.

Asmal said a category of "provisional membership" had been proposed to ensure members had some commitment to the organisation.

Full membership would take effect only when internal processes had been finalised, Asmal said.

To be eligible as officials at branch, provincial and national levels, one, two and three years membership would be required respectively.

This was designed to screen out "Johnny come-latelies" who had joined the ANC for opportunistic reasons.

Asmal strongly defended the proposed expulsion of members who stood in elections against "duly endorsed candidates", saying this had been "maliciously" portrayed as a move to impede nominations. In fact it was standard practice, and the Democratic Party had such a rule, he said.

Among other proposed constitutional changes were the inclusion of provincial and local caucus members, and local government representatives, among delegates to the national congress. Asmal said this reflected the evolution of the ANC.

It was also proposed that the life of the national executive committee be extended from three to five years.

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Zuma puts ANC above everything else, even

JACOBS Zuma might have the credentials to become the African National Congress (ANC) deputy president, but it is questionable whether he is suited to the deputy presidency of SA — or the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal.

Having joined the ANC at the age of 17, Zuma (now 38) has loyalty to the party above everything. At the time of the Free State leadership crisis last November, Zuma said ANC leaders in government who regarded SA's constitution as being "more important than the ANC would land in trouble. Patrick Lekota heard what type of trouble such a leader would land himself in. He was ousted as Free State premier.

Zuma, loyally might serve Thabo Mbeki well, though, it will make lesser mortals in the party tremble. And it certainly will not be in the interest of an elite, yearning for good governance.

There is no question of Zuma having spiced for the apartheid government — an accusation which Mphahlele government and sometime rival for the party's deputy presidency Mathews Phosa has faced and denied.

In public Zuma — unlike Phosa and the other deputy presidency candidate, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela — shies away from controversy. However, he seemingly preaches the rule occasionally. At the same public meeting where he spoke of the Free State crisis, Zuma declared that Phosa was not ambitious.

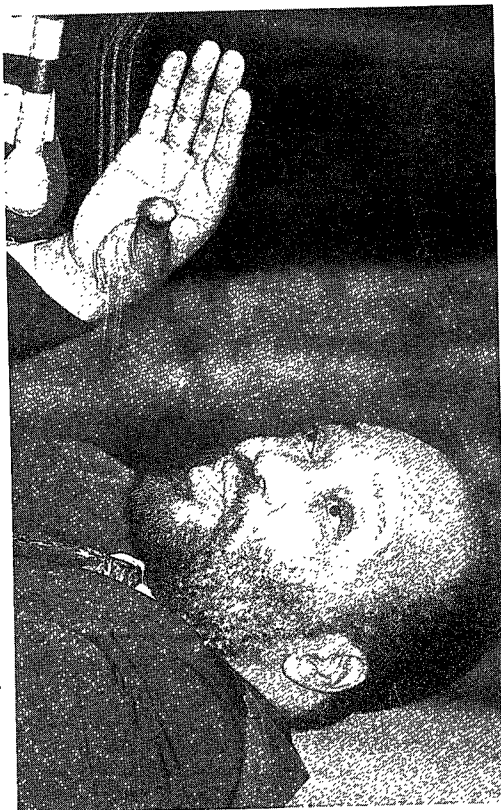
The Mphahlele premier knew that the turn of his generation to serve the ANC as deputy president had not yet come. Zuma said.

It was an extraordinary comment made in the presence of Phosa while introducing him to address the meeting, and the implication was that the Mphahlele premier agreed. In fact, he did not. But a year later, Phosa has reportedly been forced to withdraw from the race with a declaration that he had "hinted appetite for higher office".

One could not help but conclude that Phosa, when announcing his withdrawal, took a swipe at Zuma. "I would like... to promote the unity of the organisation first, the prominence of more competent leaders than myself second, and that of some of my own policy views, especially on good governance, lastly."

It is beyond doubt that Phosa is more competent than Zuma, and has a greater commitment to good governance.

Jacob Zuma has been touted as SA's next deputy president. Farouk Chothia profiles the African National Congress leader in KwaZulu-Natal



Jacob Zuma has the credentials but cannot match Mathews Phosa's commitment to good governance

bo's death. Mandela and then party deputy president Walter Sisulu unsuccessfully tried to bring a consensus decision that the Free State minister Kader Asmal, instead, had post-wed to Mbeki — then not the ANC top five — through an election. He gave the post political cloud, and rose to the deputy presidency in 1994.

At the same time, the post of national chairman was cut to suit Zuma's cloth. A constitutional provision barring a provincial chairman from becoming national chairman was amended to make it possible for Zuma to occupy both posts. Now Zuma — like his predecessor Mbeki — is using it to make a bid for the presidency.

As an MEC in KwaZulu-Natal, Zuma is expected to attend regularly meetings of the KwaZulu-Natal cabinet in Durban and meetings of the provincial parliament which he co-chairs with premier Ben Ngwenya. He must also undertake visits to woo investors.

His two ANC posts demand that he regularly attend meetings of the national working committee and executive committee, and its parallel structures

DD 2/11/97 (11A)

under the department in 1994 for reconstruction development programme-style projects. Civil servants were looting, provincial director of City Nxumalo took control of the fund. He has been accused of using it on questionable projects such as one related to "amakhosi" (chiefs) the R10m rollover on a R100m allocation by national minister Thevo Mlambe to promote infrastructure development in KwaZulu-Natal because that and Ngwenya have failed to ensure it was used. This poor track record might explain to some extent why Zuma and Mbeki have ruled Zuma as SA's next deputy president. Instead, want him to be an ANC deputy president, work against contest the premiership in KwaZulu-Natal. But any such decision is unlikely to be finalise for vigorous debate within the ANC.

Some questions which are bound to arise as Zuma being proposed as premiership candidate simply because Mbeki believes he will make a deputy president in government with ANC men in KwaZulu-Natal push him for the top national simply because they believe he will be a premier?

Certainly, Zuma has strengths. As MEC he been credited with championing the building of a new international Convention Centre, an air terminal airport in La Mercy, the development of Point Waterfront, and the special development initiative in the province.

Zuma has played a pivotal role in guaranteeing relative stability in KwaZulu-Natal through constant negotiations with the IFP's respect, though he has managed to keep the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to offer the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal somewhat in negotiations over a provincial constitution.

It is such qualities which have contributed to Zuma's rise in the ANC. Their value to the party in KwaZulu-Natal was highlighted when Zuma was elected the 1994 provincial SA Communist Party member Harry Gwede's SA Communist Party member Jeff Radebe in an election in which the entire party alliance took part.

It is such qualities which make him as crucial in KwaZulu-Natal in 1996 as they were in 1994. Given that violence is unlikely to reach past heights, should the ANC opt to reappoint MEC Sibhushu Ndabehle or head MEC Zeph Grinbly as provincial candidate, Zuma would be SA's deputy president, concentrated on keeping opposition parties committed to nation building while Mbeki grapples with the challenges of governance? Should the highly efficient Joe Makhosana become Mbeki's deputy, while Zuma remains in a province which still holds the potential for conflict? Or should Zuma be overlooked for both posts and the questions are finally answered, the fate of KwaZulu-Natal and SA, not only Zuma and the ANC, will be determined.

Inefficiency has led to the ANC losing opportunities to grow its support base in the province. A discretionary fund, worth several million rands, fell

TAKEN TO TASK

'Liar' Winnie under fire from ANC leaders

CT 20/11/97

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG: The gloves are off in the race to see who gets to be deputy president of the ANC, with an unprecedented public attack on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. **PATRICK BULGER** reports.

THE scramble for the top posts in the ANC, which will elect a new leadership at its national conference at Mafikeng next month, moved into top gear yesterday with a sharp party leadership-inspired attack on Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

The attack suggests Madikizela-Mandela "lied" to the national working committee (NWC) on the death penalty issue, that she "needs help to develop"; that she is an "armchair populist" who has made no contribution to policy debates and that she is a "politically wayward charlatan".

Disciplinary action against her is a "temptation", but will not be invoked. Instead, it would be "left to the membership to serve the first lesson".

The attack on Madikizela-Mandela, issued in the name of Sport and Recreation Minister Mr Steve Tshwete, criticises her for comments she made in an exclusive interview carried in the Cape Times on Monday.

In the interview, Madikizela-Mandela, who is vying to become deputy president of the ANC in opposition to KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader Mr Jacob Zuma, alleged that the party had reneged on its election promises and had abandoned its mass-based constituency. Zuma is being put forward

by the national leadership as a "consensus candidate".

Tshwete's reply, a carefully worded put down of Madikizela-Mandela, is clearly designed to take the sting out of her charges and to put the brakes on her ambitions.

The tone of her accusations and of Tshwete's reply represents an unprecedented bout of public infighting in a party that prefers to solve its disputes in the confines of its constitutional structures.

It also indicates that the gloves have come off in the leadership race.

Tshwete says: "I have taken this unprecedented step of replying to assertions by a member

of the national executive committee, a president of a constituent organ of the ANC, the Women's League, because in the years that I have served in the organisation, I can't recall a challenge to the movement by one so senior, except in instances where such individuals were on their way out.

"I am hopeful that Madikizela-Mandela, hitherto an asset to the movement, is not veering in the same direction. The comrade has made a contribution to the struggle; and besides this debate, I will personally

argue that we all need to help her develop."

Later he says: "Winnie's disparaging comments on the ANC's efforts to transform South African society, and her muddled reference to the Freedom Charter, underline the need to assist her in understanding ANC policy.

"It is this irony of our politics that never fails to amuse, that people who are often portrayed by the media as the ultimate revolutionaries more often than not in fact represent the most backward tendencies. Their muddled thinking, which is aimed at exploiting the baser feelings of the population, often represents propositions that may sound radical, but are in fact right-wing.

"This is the essence of populism: all armchair criticism and no real substance, and attempts to claim the masses as a refuge for irresponsible political positions."

The ANC yesterday played down speculation that Madikizela-Mandela could be hauled before the party's disciplinary structures.

An ANC statement issued by its spokesperson, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said the Cape Times interview had been referred to a meeting of the working committee, which would discuss it.

"References to disciplinary action can only pre-empt discussions," Mamoepa said.

● See Page 13

**TRUTH MUST
BE KNOWN
— PAGE 13**

The public must judge the truth

27 20/11/97 (11A)

SENIOR ANC member STEVE TSHWETE responds, in this edited article, to charges made by nominee for the position of deputy president — Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.



WILLING TO HELP: Steve Tshwete

AFTER its ordinary meeting some four weeks ago, the ANC national working committee (NWC) denied that Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela had made a public statement calling for a referendum on the death penalty. This was in reference to an article in a Sunday newspaper which had quoted her presumed spokesperson as confirming that indeed she was publicly calling for such a referendum.

That article also quoted a statement which was characterised as her opening salvo in the battle for the ANC deputy presidency. In this statement she was alleged to have said that the ANC leadership was ganging up with opposition parties against her.

Now, the issue of integrity comes into play here. How can the ANC be trusted if its NWC denies that a public statement has been made when, as is now obvious from the interview carried by the Cape Times on Monday, a referendum on the death penalty is exactly what Madikizela-Mandela is publicly calling for?

Why did the ANC issue that statement? The NWC, of which Madikizela-Mandela is a member, had asked her if the Sunday newspaper report was accurate. She flatly denied it, and agreed that the NWC should issue a statement repudiating it ... the NWC also accepted her assurances that the statement on her platform in the campaign for deputy presidency was issued by her lawyers without consulting her.

As the interview in The Cape Times now confirms, someone lied somewhere. And we leave it to readers and the public to make a judgment.

As a movement, we consider honesty a critical element of leadership. The ANC encourages boldness among its members in raising questions, not by stealth, but through relevant structures to help influence policy.

I have taken this unprecedented step of replying to assertions by a member of the NEC, who is also president of the women's league, because in the years that I have served in the organisation, I can't recall a challenge to the movement by one so senior, except where such individuals were on their way out.

I am hopeful that Madikizela-Mandela, hitherto an asset to the movement, is not veering in the same direction. The comrade has made a contribution to the struggle; and besides this debate, I will argue that we all need to help her develop.

As the historic 50th national conference of the ANC approaches, all of us are discovering what we had not fully internalised: the stakes are very high indeed. It is to be expected that those who vie for senior positions will campaign vigorously. Add to this a dose of ambition, and some will from time to time overstep the mark.

As a movement, we need to work out clear parameters within which such contests should take place. It is in this context that the conference discussion document on "Challenges of leadership in the current phase" poses the questions: "What rules should be developed to ensure healthy and comradely contest, rather than

campaigns of denigration or hero-worshipping of individuals? To what extent should the media be used in this regard — if at all?"

Though Winnie chooses to campaign on the basis that she is

"An NEC member should be above reproach in his/her political and social conduct — as defined by our revolutionary morality and through force of example, act as a role model to ANC members and non-members alike."

Winnie's disparaging comments about the ANC's efforts to transform South African society, and her muddled reference to the Freedom Charter, underline the need to assist her in understanding ANC policy.

In the interview conducted, according to the author, "in a second lounge where traditional African ornaments surround the burgundy chairs which match her jacket", Winnie makes interesting direct statements as a self-appointed spokesperson of the poor: "... the criminals are in control"; "... shouldn't we revisit this subject (the death penalty) ..."; it is business (not the state), by the way "... who have to create programmes which are people-driven, thereby distributing the wealth of this country"; "... does this mean that the enemy is still just the third force alone when you see ... the TRC, when you see Desmond Tutu hugging Pik Botha ...".

This is not the National Party speaking; but the words of a revolutionary par excellence! It is ironic that people who are often portrayed as the ultimate revolutionaries more often represent backward tendencies. Their muddled thinking, aimed at exploiting the baser feelings of the population, often represents propositions that may sound radical, but are in fact rightwing.

This is the essence of populism: all arm-chair criticism and no real substance, and attempts to claim the masses as a refuge for irresponsible political positions.

All of us are maturing within the ANC in the politics of change. But it is much easier to develop if one is honest and states one's views in real discussion within appropriate forums. There has just been an ANC policy conference and an NEC meeting; but neither in plenary nor in the commissions did Winnie state the views contained in the Monday interview.

The more I try to recall Winnie's contribution to debate in the ANC, the more I draw a blank. Go to NEC and NWC meetings; check minutes of cabinet committees which she used to attend, and you will not find a single substantive contribution ... In formal meetings where policy is thrashed out her contribution is silence, silence and more silence.

... In formal meetings where policy is thrashed out her contribution is silence, silence and more silence.

and yet to shout from the sidelines when it suits you, especially when the deputy presidency beckons.

The task of transformation requires leaders who are prepared to face difficulties and not flinch. In many respects, what we are involved in today is perhaps even more difficult than the previous forms of struggle. Indeed, as Winnie seems to realise, it is even difficult to identify the enemy (and if you lack the tools to do so you may end up implying that the TRC and Archbishop Tutu are the enemy of the revolution!).

This is because we achieved a victory that has got many limitations and constraints. As we assert in the draft strategy and tactics document, appropriately entitled, "All power to the people", we have only attained elements of power as a democratic movement; and much more needs to be done before we can realise a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa; before the people can truly govern.

To realise this, we need to transform the state in all its facets, including the judiciary, the army, the police and the civil service in general; we need to change the business sector and the instruments of ideological debate. This means changing the doctrines and mind-sets of these structures; it means changing their racial composition; it means rooting out corruption; it means involving people in the running of their lives.

This is a difficult undertaking, and it is not achieved by ducking responsibilities; by proclaiming purity from roof-tops; and by seeking to mislead the masses about the difficulties the democratic movement faces in government. If Winnie had cared to read the discussion documents for conference, she would have noticed that the basic positions of the ANC, including those contained in the Freedom Charter, are essentially captured.

The comrades who are deployed in government as ministers, MECs, parliamentarians and local councillors operate on the basis of broad ANC guidelines. From practical experience they know that we are not working in a vacuum. There are forces that are actively trying to sabotage our actions; and some are even trying to destroy the ANC from within.

Honest ANC members do not just complain that "the police are corrupt". Honourable citizens, let alone responsible ANC leaders, would never harbour information about the whereabouts of criminals because they believe that if the minister is given the information, he is "not even going to arrest them". Madikizela-Mandela's intelligence in these circles should be commended. But, besides the fact that this assertion is blatantly untrue and even libellous, she could have passed the information to intelligence structures, to the President or Deputy President.

And if the minister was not going to arrest them anyway, who are we going to hang when Winnie brings back the death penalty? What needs emphasis is that, in spite of Winnie, we are striving with commendable success to improve the rate of apprehending and convicting criminals, and the conditions which allow their escape are being changed.

There are problems in the area of housing, land, water supply, transport and roads, education, job-creation and many other sectors. But, if Winnie had chosen to listen to the President's State of the Nation address at the opening of Parliament; if she had read the mid-term report to the nation; if indeed she is in touch with

rural people, especially women.

She would know that every day, since the ANC took office, 1 000 people have gained access to clean water; that each week has brought another two clinics with access to health care for some 20 000 people; that 1 000 electricity connections are being made each day; 1 000 houses are brought into construction or completed under the government's subsidy programme every 21/2 days. She would have known about progress in trade and industry and finance.

Hers is a populist campaign of an individual who sees the trend in the nominations process in the branches, regions and provinces. It is the mindset of one who tends to believe that everyone is against her, and therefore resorts to strange behaviour to attract attention. Indeed, it is the political waywardness of a charlatan who is in her best element whenever she has identified an enemy to be fought within the ANC.

The ANC sought to play a part in assisting her in the Truth and Reconciliation process. It advised her along with other ANC leaders to apply for

amnesty, not to accept guilt for anything, but among other things to take responsibility for what cadres did in struggle and to avoid the possibility of civil claims. All this was spurned. Yet often she will suggest that leaders of the ANC have abandoned her.

The temptation is to call for disciplinary action. My view is that this would not be the right course of action. In this period of intense electioneering on the eve of conference, a person of her calibre is prone to overstep the mark. It should be left to the membership to serve the first lesson.

I agree with Madikizela-Mandela that the people must and will govern. And they will do so not manipulated by the theatrics of rhetoric without substance; not misled by public statements that serve the interests of those bent on destroying the ANC and derailing the revolution.

Mr Steve Tshwete is a member of the ANC national executive committee and national working committee, head of its organising department as well as leader of government business in the National Assembly and Minister of Sport and Recreation.

tion. Let the membership be the judge. They will be the judge, to quote that discussion document again, taking into account that a leader ... should be firm, and have the courage to explain and seek to convince others of the decisions taken by constitutional structures, even if such decisions are unpopular. She should not seek to gain cheap popularity by avoiding difficult issues, making false promises or merely pandering to populist sentiment.

and not the emotion — of her dismissal as deputy minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, the recent quarrel with the South African Police Service about bodyguards and so on, and you find an individual who does not respect rules and regulations. If you try to establish her contribution (as distinct from that of her emancipation) as head of the league and the story is the same. This is typical of populism: to fail when responsibilities are given to you

- By the end of 1997, 220 000 people will have been allocated land which they can at last call their own.
- In the same period, community water supply and sanitation will serve a further 1,7 million people.
- The nutrition and social development programme reached 1,3m people in 1996.
- Since 1994, the road-building programme has benefited 160 small and medium enterprises with R260m allocated to them, and R200m in public works programmes employing



UNDER FIRE: A file picture of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, whose recent call for a referendum on the death penalty and other controversial statements have won her the title of ANC leadership

GET WINNIE!

ANC comes out with its guns blazing as top official joins attack

ST 23/11/97

(11A)

CRAIG DOONAN and CYRIL MADLALA

THE ANC has declared open season on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. In a stinging attack yesterday, Kwazulu Natal deputy chairman S'bu Ndebele said it was time all ANC leaders made their views on Madikizela-Mandela public.

His call follows an unprecedented public assault on Madikizela-Mandela by Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, in which he called her a liar, "a wayward charlatan" and an "armchair populist", who was afraid to speak her mind at ANC meetings.

This also followed the publication of an interview in which Madikizela-Mandela accused the ANC of failing to address crime, land redistribution and housing.

This week a range of ANC leaders, including deputy presidential aide Frank Chikane and finance and fiscal committee chairman Murphy Morobe, will testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, breaking a nine-year silence on the human rights violations allegedly committed by Madikizela-Mandela and her Mandela United Football Club.

Katiza Cebekhulu, who claimed in a recent book to have seen Madikizela-Mandela stab Stompie Sepei, was due to fly in from London this morning to give evidence at the truth commission hearing.

The only person willing to defend her yesterday was United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, who was expelled from the ANC last year. "I fully agree with her when she says there is no difference between the NP government and the present government when it comes to handling her as a person.

Ndebele — who is deputy to Jacob Zuma, the man Madikizela-Mandela is challenging for the ANC deputy presidency — said: "Up to now there has been a tendency to uphold unity to keep quiet and talk in committees. The response by Steve Tshwete indicates the time for that has passed. We are going to speak out in defence of this organisation."

Ndebele warned delegates to the Durban meeting: "against personality cults, 'cliques and fashions' and 'secret and unofficial meetings'."

His attack is part of a concerted effort to isolate Madikizela-Mandela ahead of the party's December conference, with one ANC official telling the Sunday Times the leadership was even considering "passing a motion from the floor to expel her".

Until now, the ANC has tolerated Madikizela-Mandela's maverick statements because she has brought a sizeable constituency of militants in squatter camps and among the unemployed into its fold.

But her latest assault appears to have finally stung the leadership into action. They seem to have calculated that the cost of allowing her to continue to attack the organisation from within outweighs the cost of isolating her in public.

So far the strategy appears to have worked. This week a close friend of Madikizela-Mandela, Fatima Meer, who usually defends her, would give the Sunday Times no comment.

Senior ANC leaders are expected to tell the truth commission this week why they tried to have Madikizela-Mandela removed from the leadership after the Stompie Sepei controversy. The commission is expected to ask her to explain her role in the murders of Sepei and Sowetan doctor Abu-Baker Asvat as well as in 16 other gross human rights violations.

Also on standby to testify is Sydney Mufamadi, the Minister of Safety and Security.

Winnie now faces Katiza

CP 29/11/97 (11A)

Accuser flies in for the last duel

By POLITICAL STAFF

FUGITIVE witness Katiza Cebekulu and his patron, former British MP Emma Nicholson, are jetting into Johannesburg today.

Their arrival follows last-minute negotiations this weekend between Nicholson, the TRC and the Department of Home Affairs for the key witness to return.

The TRC has organised extremely tight security for the pair - both of whom are to testify at a TRC hearing which many believe will result in the rise or fall of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Key evidence is also expected from clergymen Peter Storey and Paul Verryn.

The TRC declined to say whether Madikizela-Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, would testify.

They also refused to say whether they had a copy of the statement made by Zinzi's friend, MK cadre Sizwe Sithole, hours before he died in police custody. Never made public, the statement is understood to contain damaging allegations against Madikizela-Mandela.

□ This week's hearing is likely to include sensational testimony, including revelations about several police informers in the Mandela United Football Club.

The TRC will inquire why police and the justice system did not fully probe into several of the cases.

□ The hearing may also hear claims about Madikizela-Mandela's close relationships with several key figures, including missing activist Lolo Sono.

□ This TRC saga is seen as a prelude to a showdown between the ANC Women's League president and the ANC leadership in the run-up to the party's 50th conference in Matieling next month.

If she survives the TRC hearings, it will signal a great triumph for her - she may even be on her way to contest the deputy presidency, and in later years even become president.

Madikizela-Mandela and several prominent ANC leaders and members who are at loggerheads with her over many issues are scheduled to appear before the TRC to shed light on the activities of the notorious football club.

She was the club's patron and many rivals in the ANC claim she used it as a personal militia to settle scores with anyone who crossed swords with her. The club has been implicated in several unresolved killings of young activists, as well as the murder of prominent Soweto medical practitioner Dr Abu Baker Asvat. Although two people



CRUCIAL WITNESS... Dumisa Ntsebenza, Emma Nicholson and Katiza Cebekulu during Ntsebenza's visit to the United Kingdom to investigate Cebekulu's claims against Winnie Cebekulu, who has been held up in Britain as a fugitive, is arriving in South Africa today to testify against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

were convicted for his killing in what was thought to be a purely criminal murder, former club member Cebekulu has claimed in a recent book that Madikizela-Mandela ordered the killing.

The ANC leadership are extremely concerned that this week's TRC hearing may raise her profile still further.

If she successfully defends herself, she will win a tremendous sympathy vote at the Matieling conference.

□ The ANC leadership are extremely concerned that this week's TRC hearing may raise her profile still further. She opened the first salvos in her bid for the deputy presidency when she accused the ANC of abandoning its election promises, saying the housing ministry had failed to deliver and insinuating that Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi was not keen to tackle crime.

Her comments have ANC leaders up in arms, with sources saying she is "irresponsible", playing "cheap shots" and displaying a complete lack of understanding about the difficulties the ANC has faced in tackling decades of apartheid governance while keeping the country stable.

□ However, the party is loathe to take disciplinary steps against her for fear of her winning more sympathy.

They would also not wish to see her move outside the ANC, as she might team up with Bantu Holomisa.

Next month's conference could also face the same sort of problems which occurred in Gauteng when the party leadership tried to thwart Mathole Motshega from becoming provincial chairman.

Hopes that she might be persuaded to accept another position in the ANC, allowing national chairman Jacob

Zuma to emerge as a consensus candidate, have been dashed. Sources in the ANC say in any event that was tried when she was made deputy minister of Arts Culture, Science and Technology - and the strategy failed.

Many ANC leaders have in the past refused to speak out on their knowledge or suspicions regarding the club's activities and the role Madikizela-Mandela played - either out of respect for President Nelson Mandela while she was married to him, or concerns for party unity.

Now, it seems, the only option left for the party is to fight her to the finish - and tomorrow's hearings could provide the perfect setting.

□ Among the prominent ANC leaders expected to testify are: businessman Nhatato Motlana and Cyril Ramaphosa, politicians Sliester Bernard Neube MP and Albertina Sisulu MP, Frank Chikane, who is adviser to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Mufamadi and Fiscal and Finance Committee chairman Murphy Morobe.

The TRC will probe, among other things, the deaths of Asvat, Stompie Seipei, Sileo Dloomo and Finkia Masomi, and the disappearance of Lolo Sono and Siboniso Tshabalala, who are presumed dead.

□ Meanwhile, the PAC has come out in support of Madikizela-Mandela, accusing the ANC of being "undemocratic" and "hounding" her for making her views known.

PAC Secretary General Ngila Mike Muendane said she was the latest in a long line of ANC politicians who have fallen foul of leadership - and that unless votes were raised, "tomorrow the victim will be Peter Mokaba". - See Page 19

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Makwetu goes all the way in bid for former glory

Court move after expulsion

(11A) ARL 29/11/97

ANDREA WEISS

Former Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu is going to the Cape High Court to get back his seat in Parliament and PAC membership.

Mr Makwetu has been living in the Eastern Cape since his expulsion from the PAC which also led to him losing his seat as a member of Parliament earlier this year.

He has been granted legal aid to obtain a transcript of disciplinary proceedings against him, together with the reasons for the decisions taken by the PAC to eject him.

The Legal Aid Board says that further legal aid would depend upon a merit report on the prospects of success in any further action Mr Makwetu proposes to bring for his reinstatement as a member of the PAC and as an MP.

It said that Mr Makwetu had qualified for legal aid in terms of a means test, but this information was treated as confidential.

His lawyer Alex Abercrombie confirmed that an application had been made to the High Court but the matter was only likely to be heard in January.

By agreement the PAC had undertaken to supply documents relating to his disciplinary hearing to Mr Makwetu's lawyers by early next month.

Respondents in the matter include the PAC, secretary-general Michael Muendane, who has replaced Mr Makwetu in Parliament, Speaker Frene Ginwala, and the chairman of the PAC's disciplinary committee.

Mr Makwetu was expelled from the party in May this year for alleged misconduct and bringing the party into disrepute.

Among the accusations made against Mr Makwetu were that he fostered tribalism and subverted the leadership of his successor, Stanley Mogoba, who was elected



Clarence Makwetu: accused of bringing the PAC into disrepute

as leader in Thohoyandou a year ago.

The disciplinary action followed a PAC rally in Graaff-Reinet earlier this year where Mr Makwetu's supporters said they still regarded him as president of the organisation.

Mr Abercrombie said that Mr Makwetu's position was that he had been unlawfully expelled from the PAC in terms of the facts of the case, and the disciplinary committee's finding was consequently incorrect.

He said the PAC had been asked to supply the documents surrounding the disciplinary hearing before

they would proceed with the court action.

Mr Makwetu was one of the original leaders of the PAC at its formation in 1958/59 and was imprisoned several times during his political career, including a period on Robben Island.

■ Sapa reports that the hearing has been postponed until next year.

This was agreed at a Cape High Court hearing yesterday at which the PAC's legal representatives agreed to provide Mr Makwetu with records of the PAC disciplinary tribunal during which he was expelled.

Major snub for Winnie's

political ambitions

LUCAS LEDWABA and
CRAIG DOONAN

EMBATTLED Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's bid to become deputy president of the ANC received a major blow yesterday when the powerful Eastern Cape region declined to nominate her for the position.

But she put on a brave face and stepped into the limelight once again yesterday to open officially her old Orlando West home as a museum.

"I am not quarrelling with the press today. I have just told you we must all be happy. Let me offer you people some drinks," said Madikizela-Mandela when journalists asked her about her appearance this week at a gruelling Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing.

She apologised for being more than two hours late and said Peter Mokaba, the Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, who was to have attended the function had been sent urgently to Pietersburg where a farmer had been killed.

She said proceeds from the museum would go towards building a heroes' acre on a hill next to the house.

Asked if President Nelson Mandela had been invited to the ceremony, she said: "It's his home, he does not need an invitation."

"Even if he had been invited, I don't think he would have made it, he's got many commitments."

The Eastern Cape yesterday nominated Jacob Zuma for the position of the organisation's deputy presidency, a major setback to Madikizela-Mandela's hopes of clinching the post.

The Eastern Cape's 13 regions did not nominate her for any of the ANC's top six positions.

Eastern Cape ANC spokesman Mcebisi Bata said a provincial executive meeting yesterday had nominated Thabo Mbeki as president, Kgalema Montlana as secretary general, with Mavivi Manzini as his deputy, Steve Tshwete as chairman and Mendi Msi-

mang as treasurer.

Bata said while not all regions had been unanimous on their top six nominees, none had nominated Madikizela-Mandela for any position.

The new leadership is due to be elected at the ANC's 50th national conference in Mafikeng in December.

He said Madikizela-Mandela, who has been deployed to the Eastern Cape by the ANC and who is expected to attend all the executive meetings, had not been present at the nomination hearing.

She spent this week at a special hearing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Johannesburg into the activities of her Mandela United Football Club in the 80s.

Zuma leads deputy president race

By XOLISA VAPI
Political Staff

With only 15 days to go before the party's 50th national conference at Mafikeng, ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela finds herself in a deep trough of isolation amid her bid to become deputy president of the ANC.

Her bid for the deputy presidency has apparently faltered, with only the ANCWL nominating her for the position.

The first blow of the weekend came from the Eastern Cape, the ANC's major stronghold, where the ANC's provincial general council opted to nominate KwaZulu Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma as deputy president.

It was earlier rumoured that some regions in the province had supported Madikizela-Mandela's nomination, but Eastern Cape ANC spokesman Mcebisi Bata yesterday confirmed that none of the regions or branches had even proposed nominating Madikizela-Mandela for any of the party's top six positions.

Bata said there was nothing sinister about the nomination list and that it was "distasteful to hear that we are snubbing her". He was referring to a Sunday newspaper report that the province had "spurned

E Cape denies nomination is a snub to Winnie

Madikizela-Mandela.

"We are just nominating a leadership which should take us into the next millennium," he said.

The second setback for Madikizela-Mandela came from the Northern Cape, where the ANC also pronounced its confidence in Zuma by nominating him for the deputy presidency.

The jury is still out in Mpumalanga, which had originally nominated Mathews Phosa for deputy president, but it seems it will also throw its weight behind Zuma at the provincial general council meeting on Saturday.

Provincial secretary 'Solly Zwane said yesterday that officials were likely to be influenced by the positions of the other provinces.

"Obviously, we will have to look at the trends and are being lobbied by other provinces, while we are also lobbying them in return," he said.

It now seems inevitable that deputy president Thabo Mbeki will take over from ANC president Nelson Mandela and that Zuma will become deputy president.

National Union of Mine-workers general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe is poised to succeed Cyril Ramaphosa as

ANC NOMINATIONS

9 PROVINCES

NORTHERN CAPE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Mathews Phosa

NORTHERN PROVINCE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Patrick "Terror" Lekota

FREE STATE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Patrick "Terror" Lekota

KWAZULU NATAL

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Steve Tshwete

EASTERN CAPE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Steve Tshwete

NORTH WEST

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Patrick "Terror" Lekota

MPUMALANGA

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Mathews Phosa (subject to review after he withdrew)
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Jacob Zuma (subject to review)

GAUTENG

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Patrick "Terror" Lekota

WESTERN CAPE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Steve Tshwete

ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Steve Tshwete

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy president: Jacob Zuma
Secretary-general: Kgalema Motlanthe
National chairman: Steve Tshwete



Thabo Mbeki



Jacob Zuma



Winnie Madikizela-Mandela



Kgalema Motlanthe



Steve Tshwete

COMPILED BY XOLISA VAPI, GRAPHIC: HIGNASA DIAR

secretary-general of the ANC, a position which has been occupied in an acting capacity by Cheryl Caröus since Ramaphosa's departure.

Mbeki and Motlanthe are the only candidates who have been nominated unanimously for their respective positions by all the provinces and the women's league.

The national chairman is likely to be Sport and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete, although National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick "Terror" Lekota is a strong candidate.

Originally, conference delegates could nominate candi-

dates from the floor with 10% support, but last week the ANC announced a series of amendments to its constitution. This included fixing at 25% the amount of support needed to nominate a candidate for any position.

A source in the women's league expressed doubt yesterday that Madikizela-Mandela would succeed in her bid, citing divisions within the league over her nomination. "Though her nomination by the league looked unanimous, it did not mean there was no opposition. There was no vocalised opposition, for fear of being politically ostracised," the source said.

Educators plan national schools body

By Don Chynoweth

DURBAN — A new national organization of school governors has been formed by next year to counter existing organizations which represented a minority of "privileged" schools, National University Education Board director Donald Kaulson, said yesterday.

The decision was taken at a two-day workshop in Durban attended by representatives of the SA Schools Union (Cosatsi), the Democratic Teachers Union (Saddu), the Congress of SA Students (Cosas), party officials and researchers.

Kaulson was elected to the steering committee, which would lead the formation of the organization.

The organization would co-ordinate the efforts of governing bodies, teachers' organizations with the government, employers with teachers, eminent to forming a culture of learning and teaching and providing quality education in public schools.

In an initial reference to the role of schools, SA Schools Governance Bodies — formed at the time of model C schools — Kaulson said these organizations will support the government and will represent a minority of the more "privileged" schools.

A new organization was therefore essential, Kaulson said.

Cosatu years from 'Mbeki cabal' candidates

Names Gravitzky (114)

ANC deputy secretary-general position instead of ANC NP Mr. M. M. Mboke's cabinet, who has been pointed by other ANC structures.

Cosatu would support the nomination of Pravin Gordhan and North West premier Ngwenya for the treasurer position and Patrick L. Avonzi of Provinces chairman of the place of speaker.

A union source said the speaker was elected within a number of responses containing popular support. He said people were looking for candidates who were not part of the "Mbeki cabal".

Manfred Chabaka reports that Health Minister M. M. Mboke was yesterday chosen as the Zuma for Women's League chairwoman, apparently

DP's defeat of NP has impressed observers

Kevin O'Connell

ANOTHER Democratic Party (DP) victory over the National Party (NP) in the white ward last week showed the DP was gaining support and was becoming the new party of choice for white voters, observers said.

While the DP stole the former NP seat in Roopepoort, the NP won the latter NP seat in the white ward last week. The NP's victory was an indication that the NP was holding on to its traditional support base and that voters were increasingly favouring the DP as a more effective opposition to the ANC.

The UDM's showing in its first by-election showed it had the ability to attract votes and its real test would come when it challenged seats in wards which DP has predominantly white.

DP federal executive leader Douglas Gibson said the victory in a ward in which the NP's support shrunk from 60% in the previous election to 30% showed the party had a chance of becoming the official opposition in the 1989 general election.

UDM spokesman Izak Rieff said the party's aim in taking part in the by-election was to "register a testing coup on machinery on the ground".

It was announced that the party had gained some support and further by-elections would be contested, Rieff said.

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Gold

Continued from Page 1

ness would refer economic growth and hurt SA's balance of trade.

Industry was likely to shed more jobs and other associated services industries. Nedcor chief economist Dennis Dykes said almost half SA's production could be threatened if the rand failed to fall below \$80 and the suspended period. Another source said the effect of the lower gold prices would be reduced by price hedging.

Bauer reports Reserve Bank governor Chris Steels said on Friday the Rand's effect on the balance of payments, because of the falling importance of gold exports. This is because the gold price would also be limited on a given that gold contributed about 5% of GDP. However, a lower gold price would contribute to a strong decline in exports over the next year.

It was unrealistic to expect the gold price to go screaming up

Kidney patient

Continued from Page 1

had brought into sharp focus the dilemma in which a health society found itself — particularly one whose aim was to distribute scarce resources on the one hand and satisfying the demands of the constitution on the other.

He said the case had put him and his colleagues in the very painful situation of

handing a blow to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's bid for ANC deputy presidency. League national secretary Bethelile Dlamini, believed to be an ally of Madikizela-Mandela, said the decision was reached through the votes at the league's KwaZulu-Natal conference.

Madikizela-Mandela said to be a deputy Zuma placed at the conference on whom she had placed her own stamp.

She said she was disappointed in the support she received for the deputy presidency. An ANC source said there was a strong relationship with the bid a "good personal relationship" with the deputy.

The outcome of the entire region, the support of cutting Madikizela-Mandela's support was bound to gain momentum.

Kidney patient

Continued from Page 1

There were thousands who needed dialysis treatments but only 60 machines were available.

When looking at the issue broadly Soothermeyer's death highlighted the need to place emphasis on primary health care and to prevent diseases so that people did not reach the stage where they needed expensive and unaffordable medical care.

Natal NP Soothermeyer Madikizela-Mandela said the Constitutional Court gave Soothermeyer the death sentence at a time

next year, so we have to look at least half off the current the expected exports to a low \$30n-billion.

Sanlam Asset Management economist Jonathan Stewart said SA's export position did not look good for 1990, but that the pressure on commodities specifically "gold, platinum and gold" was still the most serious.

Sanlam research suggested a sustained drop of \$10 in the gold price would lead to losses of \$700m in export GDP over the year or about 0.1% of current account to finance the wider current account deficit.

By the middle of next year, economists expect more clarity on the attitudes of central banks to holding gold reserves. There was general agreement the gold price could move up after a low.

Central banks become the world economy, real demand for the world economy, real demand for in production of the yellow metal.

Women's league turns on Winnie

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC Women's League intends dropping its president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, from its list of nominations for the ANC's top six leadership positions as it wishes to avert her being humiliated.

THE ANC Women's League (ANCWL) is poised to retract its nomination of its president Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela for the deputy presidency of the ANC.

The ANCWL executive is to meet later this week to reconsider its list of nominations for the ANC's six top positions.

In September, it firmly supported Madikizela-Mandela, but said yesterday that the list had been intended only as a "guide".

Senior ANCWL sources said the league's executive was "highly unlikely" to continue backing her.

A senior member said the league would take the step to "avoid humiliating her".

Madikizela-Mandela is standing for the deputy presidency against KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader Mf Jacob Zuma, who is the ANC leadership's preferred candidate.

At the weekend, the ANCWL in KwaZulu-

Natal dropped Madikizela-Mandela in favour of Zuma.

The new leadership is to be elected at the ANC's national conference in Matielang this month.

If the ANCWL reverses its decision, Madikizela-Mandela will attend the conference without the support of a single ANC structure.

For her name to be included on the ballot paper, she would need a quarter of the delegates to raise their hands in her support.

A statement, issued by ANCWL executive member Ms Mavivi Makhayaka-Manzini on behalf of the league's national working committee yesterday, said the ANCWL would "evaluate its nomination list" at its NEC meeting at the weekend.

It would also assess the options available to Madikizela-Mandela.

The statement sharply criticised Madikizela-Mandela for a recent interview in which

CT 2/12/97 (11A)

she lambasted the ANC for its record in government.

"We distance ourselves from the interview and its contents," Makhayaka-Manzini said.

She said the ANCWL had had an emergency meeting with Madikizela-Mandela.

The league's president had confirmed that the interview had been given "without any mandate (from) or consultation with the ANCWL".

Makhayaka-Manzini said the league had done all it could to garner support among the ANC's provincial structures for Madikizela-Mandela. The provincial structures would account for at least 90% of the voting delegates to the conference. However, none had responded positively.

"One of the most viable options that can allow Madikizela-Mandela a chance to contest the position (lies) in the hands of the delegates," Makhayaka-Manzini said.

Anyone could nominate her from the floor — but the signatures of at least 25% of the total ANC delegation must be secured and these supporters should be able to raise their

P.T.O.



HIGH DRAMA: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela at yesterday's hearing.

PICTURE: THE STAR

'Winnie has no hope of being voted next deputy president'

□ From Page 1

ET 2/12/97

hands when required."

However, it is unlikely that the provincial delegates will take this chance.

Zuma warned at the KwaZulu-Natal ANC's provincial general council meeting last week that provincial delegates were obliged to vote according to their provinces' list of preferred candidates.

"When the province has made a collective decision on an issue, a member should not start raising the same issue at the national conference, but should maintain the decision," Zuma said.

A senior ANCWL source, who did not want to be named, said that even if a quarter of the delegates risked supporting Madikizela-Mandela, it would be "wishful

thinking to imagine she could defeat Zuma.

"A majority of members who have studied the political trends are unlikely to insist that Madikizela-Mandela stand for the deputy presidency," the source said.

"At its meeting this time the (ANCWL) national executive committee meeting would be reasonable and realistic about its expectations and would definitely choose to save Madikizela-Mandela from further humiliation."

The ANCWL's secretary-general, Ms Bathabile Dlamini, said it was expected there would be "serious discussions" about revising the list of nominations:

"We shouldn't be speculating about the status of the list at present because that would be part of the agenda," she said.

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Winnie blamed for rift with ANC leaders

(11A)

Madikizela-Mandela escapes disciplinary action, committee decides she damaged her own image

Star 3/12/97

By XOLISA VAPI
Political Staff

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela had herself to blame for feeling alienated from the ANC ahead of the party's national conference at Mafikeng, ANC acting secretary-general Cheryl Carolus said yesterday.

Announcing the decision of the ANC's national working committee, which met on Monday to discuss Madikizela-Mandela's interview which appeared in The Star recently, Carolus said it was not an ANC structure which had opened the debate against the party's leadership, but Madikizela-Mandela herself.

"She decided to launch an attack before the conference, and she has herself to blame," Carolus said.

The NWC will not take disciplinary action against Madikizela-Mandela because her utterances had not damaged the image or the integrity of the party, but had instead impacted

on her own image in the ANC, it was decided.

"The NWC agreed to pursue this matter with Madikizela-Mandela at its earliest convenience," she said.

The NWC meeting was attended by President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma, who is standing

**ANCWL
president
cowardly,
says Carolus**

for the deputy presidency.

Carolus castigated Madikizela-Mandela's for being "cowardly" and for failing to use ANC structures to channel her criticism of the ANC's performance in government.

Madikizela-Mandela's prospects of becoming deputy presi-

dent of the ANC are dwindling, with eight provinces, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League in KwaZulu Natal firmly behind Zuma.

The ANCWL, of which Madikizela-Mandela is president, is meeting this weekend to "revisit" its nomination of her. Already there are indications that Madikizela-Mandela's name might be dropped amid the overwhelming support for Zuma and damaging allegations made about her at the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

ANCWL executive member Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini believes that despite the decision of the ANCWL in KwaZulu Natal to nominate Zuma, Madikizela-Mandela is still in the race because she could be nominated from the floor with 25% support of the conference's delegates.

An ANCWL source yesterday welcomed the NWC decision not to discipline Madikizela-Mandela, but expressed a wish for her to withdraw from the race.

ANC will not discipline Winnie for 'cowardly, improper attack'

by Jacob Dlamini and Pule Molebeli

THE African National Congress (ANC) would not take disciplinary action against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela for "cowardly and improper" attack on the ANC's national working committee yesterday.

However, Madikizela-Mandela would be asked to apologise to the ANC and to drop its nomination of her as ANC deputy president, the secretary-general said.

She described Madikizela-Mandela's intervention, in which she accused the ANC of

trampling on its election promises and breaching its principles as improper. Madikizela-Mandela also accused the ANC of "not raising her concerns within the organisation, Merikizela-Mandela sits on both the ANC working committee, committee and the

Her standing within the ANC women's league, it has been said, should also drop its nomination of her as ANC deputy president. This had been communicated to the source yesterday.

The source said there was nothing un-

toward in dropping her nomination, as the last national executive committee of the league only set out to try her name before the working committee. She also said that she had met Merikizela-Mandela before the conference.

The source said support had not been forthcoming for her nomination and that she had not received 100% backing from all of the members.

Madikizela-Mandela apparently sought to influence the decision of the national executive committee, consisting of the league's national leaders, which advised her not to make them angry, said the source.

Her general lack of discipline, particu-

ph 2/12/87

larity in dropping her nomination, as the last national executive committee of the league only set out to try her name before the working committee. She also said that she had met Merikizela-Mandela before the conference.

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(1A)

ling attributed by President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC national chairman Jacob Zuma on Tuesday.

Carobus said the row sparked by Madikizela-Mandela's attack had been a "storm" and that she had "not been a member of the ANC and had raised concerns about the ANC's leadership".

The decision had also been influenced by the ANC leadership's belief that her resignation would damage the organisation's image, Carobus said.

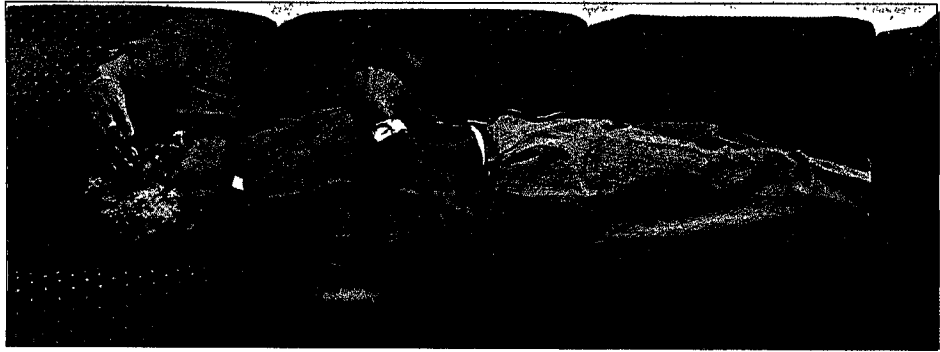
Heard to attack Khaya Shabangu.

She denied that the ANC leadership had been instructed to attack Khaya Shabangu and to isolate Madikizela-Mandela. She said the national working committee's decision was a purely internal party matter and to do so was not in line with the ANC's principles.

Carobus also mentioned the ANC would be asked to apologise to the ANC and to drop its nomination of her as ANC deputy president. This had been communicated to the source yesterday.

The source said there was nothing un-

conclusive — but they were damning all the same



Resting his weary head: Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Desmond Tutu, relaxes during a lunch break. PHOTOGRAPH: ADRI BRADLOW/AP

Winnie's position in jeopardy

MTG 5-11/12 97
11A

Wally Mbehe

The African National Congress Women's League is headed for a major showdown this weekend, that could split the organisation, over the nomination of their president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, for the ANC deputy presidency.

It appears that a statement issued to the media claiming that the ANC national working committee's, and the KwaZulu-Natal region of the league's, withdrawal of its nomination of Madikizela-Mandela this week did not enjoy the support of all the league's structures.

Senior officials in the league told the *Mail & Guardian* there would be a blistering confrontation at its national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg this weekend, which could see the organisation splitting into two camps.

Madikizela-Mandela is understood to have been shocked to hear of the decision that her nomination was no longer supported by the organisation she heads.

She is expected to open the league's meeting with a state-of-the-nation address, which may issue a challenge to her detractors. But, sources in the league say her snubbing had never been discussed at any of their meetings and no special meeting had been called to discuss removing her name from the ANC's nomination list.

The pressure on Madikizela-Mandela was compounded by an ANC national working committee announcement this week that she will be summoned to appear before the party's senior leaders to explain her public criticism of the ANC's performance in government.

The ANC's acting general secretary Cheryl Carus called Madikizela-Mandela a "coward", and expressed concern at a leading member of the party publicly challenging "agreed policy positions of the movement without raising them within the ANC structures".

On Wednesday, following the ANC's attack on Madikizela-Mandela, several ANC national executive committee members, including Steve Tshwete, Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Nhlatla and Mathews Phosa among others, descended on the truth commission's hearing in Mayfair.

The party's chief representative, Ronnie Mamoera, had been dispatched to the hearings to answer media questions if the ANC's interests were threatened by Madikizela-Mandela's testimony.

However, many senior members of the league said this week that they unequivocally supported their leader and predicted she would emerge as their only candidate for ANC deputy president at the end of their meeting on Sunday.



Tongue-tied: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS FARRIS/AP

But, some are hoping she might voluntarily withdraw herself from the race for deputy president. Others have suggested that a motion of no confidence will be passed at the meeting if she does not step down.

Highly placed women's league insiders have warned of a possible split if she is forced out. They say the statement that Madikizela-Mandela is out of the running for the deputy presidency stemmed from the league's national office and not from its meetings.

They add that many senior members of the league heard of her removal from the nominations list from radio and newspaper reports. The statement, issued by the league's executive member, Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini, does not appear to have been canvassed widely among other senior members.

"No structures of the women's league have taken, let alone discussed that resolution," said an official, who expressed surprise that Madikizela-Mandela was not informed of the decision.

"Following the 'controversial statement' purporting to be coming from the league's national working committee we, as senior officials, met and discussed how to respond.

"We agreed that the matter will be discussed by the national executive committee over the weekend. This matter is already dividing us and it is going to cause big problems at the meeting if it is not handled properly."

Another women's league source said some executive members may resign in solidarity with Madikizela-Mandela and refuse to endorse a new nomination list ("Nkosazana Zuma is forced down our throats").

"They are seeking ways to isolate Madikizela-Mandela and make her an outcast," the angry woman said.

State ignored driver's evidence for nine years

MTG 5-11/12 97
Kurt Shillinger and Peta Thornycroft

The state has had sufficient evidence for nine years to charge Winnie Madikizela-Mandela with kidnapping Sowe to youth Lolo Sono.

Michael Seakamela, the former driver who took the badly beaten boy in the company of Madikizela-Mandela to his parent's home, made a statement about the alleged kidnapping shortly after Sono disappeared in 1988.

Seakamela confirmed the statement to the police when the case was re-examined in 1995 and said he was prepared to give evidence in any case involving the disappearance of Sono. According to the *Boston Globe*, Seakamela, a potentially devastating witness, went into hiding after allegedly being intimidated by Madikizela-Mandela on Saturday, following an interview he had had at his house with a truth commission investigator.

Seakamela's 1988 statement, contained in docket number 238/11/88 at Meadowlands police station, is now missing.

Senior Superintendent Fred Deemake took the original statement from Seakamela, and, in 1995 when the case was re-opened, Senior Superintendent Hank Heeling signed the docket out of Meadowlands police station when a range of crimes associated with the Mandela United Football Club were re-visited by police investigators.

According to the *Boston Globe*, Heeling made a note in his diary, after examining the docket, that there was a *prima facie* case for bringing charges against Madikizela-Mandela in connection with the disappearance of Sono.

In 1985, after completing a re-investigation into the murder of the Sowetan doctor, Dr Abu Baker Asvat, the acting Witwatersrand attorney general Kevin Attwell wrote to the police saying he could find insufficient new evidence to justify reopening the case.

Attwell does not remember seeing the Sono docket in 1995, nor does he remember the name Lolo Sono. It may be that the man in charge of the docket at the time, Superintendent HT Moodley, never showed it to him.

In the last few days Attwell has launched an extensive search for the docket, but has found no record that it ever passed through the attorney general's office.

The police say the attorney general's office takes the decision whether or not to prosecute, and that the attorney general declined.

However, lawyers say, there would have been nothing to stop the police laying a charge themselves, as they knew a young man had disappeared and they had two witnesses, Seakamela and Lolo Sono's father, Nichodemus

Sono, who had signed statements which corroborated each other.

In 1991, when Madikizela-Mandela was being charged with kidnapping murdered youth Stompe Selpe, the then attorney general Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau decided not to act on the Sono matter for political reasons.

He told the *Boston Globe*: "A second prosecution may have looked like deliberate harassment."

Von Lieres told the *Mail & Guardian* this week: "Politics may have played a role as far as the police were concerned. I did not think politicians were so keen to see a proper investigation."

The matter was discussed in the normal course of events with then minister of justice Kobi Coetsee, according to Von Lieres, but he says there was no pressure not to prosecute.

Despite Madikizela-Mandela's dismissal on Thursday of Seakamela's statement, implying that it had been extracted under torture, Seakamela had willingly repeated what he said in his statement to Dempsey to the *Boston Globe* on November 23.

Seakamela recalled that he drove Madikizela-Mandela and several football club members to the Sono home. They collected Lolo Sono and, after he was accused of being a police spy, he was beaten during the ride to Madikizela-Mandela's house and then inside her garage. Later that evening, according to Seakamela, they returned to Lolo Sono's house.

In Nichodemus Sono's statement in the missing police docket, and in his testimony to the truth commission, he recalls the last time he saw his son, silencing and badly beaten in the powder-blue minibuss. Madikizela-Mandela refused to release the boy, and his mother, Caroline Sono, brought him a jersey.

Seakamela said he saw Lolo Sono for the last time when he drove them all back to Madikizela-Mandela's house. When he went to work that morning there was no trace of the youth.

Nichodemus Sono said he and Seakamela had refused to be witnesses in the 1991 trial of Madikizela-Mandela "because we had a feeling we were being watched". But he said he would give evidence in any trial concerning the disappearance of his son now.

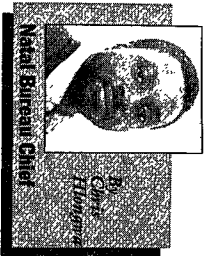
So too will Seakamela if he can be persuaded to come out of hiding. Madikizela-Mandela's lawyers have denied that their client saw Seakamela last weekend.

National Police Commissioner George Fivus said this week two corroborating statements from credible eyewitnesses were sufficient material for a prosecution.

Minister faces the IFP axe

Mzimela's in the soup for supporting an IFP/ANC merger

ANW 7/12/94 (110)



Natal Briefcase Chief

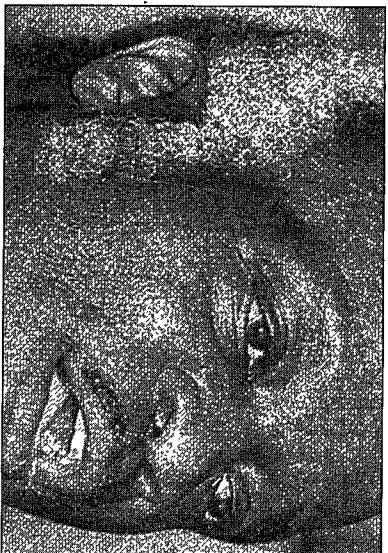
THE KNIVES ARE OUT for one of the highest-ranking men in the Inkhata Freedom Party: Correctional Services Minister Dr. Sipo Mzimela, over his dramatic backing for a merger with the IFP's powerful rival, the African National Congress.

There are strong indications that he could be the latest high-profile leader on his way out of the IFP.

It has been an eventful year for the party at war with itself, which began with the resignation of Dr Frank Mdlalose as Kwazulu-Natal Premier and IFP national chairman, along with others, and followed later by the spectacular defection to the ANC of stalwart Walter Felgate.

So incensed is the party hierarchy over Mzimela, who is the deputy national chairman of the party, that he could be forced out before the upcoming national council of the party in January.

His backing of the merger appears to have been the last straw. It is understood that the attack on Mzimela, splashed in a lengthy article in the IFP's *Ilango* newspaper, follows hard on the heels of severe criticism in the national council last weekend for his alleged soft approach to the ANC in the national



NO YES! MAN... IFP knives are out for Dr Sipo Mzimela.

government. Another minister who has come under fire is deputy Safety and Security Minister Joe Mathews - for allegedly causing the profile of the party to fall with his performance in discussion and policy issues in Parliament.

Mzimela was rapped over the knuckles by the IFP hierarchy last year and was said to have fallen from favour with IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelez.

And with the call this week for him to resign coming from home rather than his colleague in Parliament, Velaqhi Ndlovu, Mzimela's future in the IFP looks bleak.

Ndlovu said: "Mzimela should join the ANC himself rather than attempt to take the IFP with him." A party information officer has

confirmed that sentiments expressed by Ndlovu were "not uncommon in the party membership".

Asked what action could be taken against his comrade, whom he had not met since the row, Ndlovu said he would not pre-empt what the national council would decide about Mzimela's position.

"It will depend on what he says in the meeting," he told City Press.

There he would have to explain his full support for ANC deputy minister of environmental affairs and tourism Peter Mokaba's call for an ANC-IFP merger to be debated at the ANC national congress later this month.

Mzimela is accused of expressing support for an IFP/ANC merger in a letter to a Sunday newspaper, without seeking a mandate from

the party.

Mzimela's name has always cropped up among people likely to leave the party, which is cracking under the strain of opposing tender cases as it gears itself for the 1999 elections.

As reported in City Press in February, when Mdlalose resigned, Mzimela and Felgate were among the next leaders likely to go.

And again as reported in August among those still in the party, who could not be seen to last in the undercurrent IFP atmosphere.

But Mzimela, a strong personality, "is no yes man", according to well-informed sources, but painting him as an unprincipled person, IFP preparations appear to be under way to oust him.

The *Ilango* newspaper, in a virulent attack on Mzimela this week claimed he had changed his name "note no 'h', to please America" - where Mzimela had lived for many years - and described his articles in newspapers as "extraordinary".

It claimed he was now playing the role of imbonji (praise singer) to Mandela, while only a few years back he wrote a book *Marching to Slavery*, in which he called Mandela a communist and a dangerous opportunist.

The article is accompanied by a picture of the cover of the book.

In one year the party has seen the following stars of the party resigning or moving away from the party's centre stage: Dr Mdlalose, Dr Dennis Madlala, Dr Ziba Jiyane, Gauteng leader Musa Mveni and Buthelez's right-hand man, Felgate.

Mzimela's spokesman Bert Shabert said his boss would be drafting his response to the party outcry and would be ready tomorrow.

ANC women divided over Winnie's fate

POLITICAL STAFF

(110)
ARG 8/12/97
The national executive of the ANC Women's League has decided not to formally support Winnie Madikizela-Mandela for the post of ANC deputy president.

But some of her supporters still say they are considering nominating her from the floor of the organisation's national conference next week.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa announced today that a weekend meeting of the ANCWL executive had decided to abandon all formal attempts to nominate her to stand against KwaZulu Natal leader Jacob Zuma.

But her supporters say the decision has deeply divided the ANCWL.

Under the conference rules, only provincial formations can formally nominate candidates, although a candidate can be nominated from the floor of the conference if at least a quarter of all voting delegates support the nomination.

League stonewalls on Winnie as Mpumalanga backs Zuma for party post

Drew Fontes
This African National Congress (ANC) deputy president has stonewalled the party's bid to elect Winnie Mandela as its national executive committee member.

The ANC's national executive committee meeting at the weekend in Johannesburg has failed to elect Winnie Mandela as its national executive committee member. The ANC's national executive committee has stonewalled the party's bid to elect Winnie Mandela as its national executive committee member.

ANC sources said that the party's bid to elect Winnie Mandela as its national executive committee member has been stonewalled by the party's national executive committee.

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(I/A)
Zuma for party post

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50/8/1977

See page 2
Commentary page 3

Commission has not made a deal to spare Botha — Boraine

Business Day Reporter 00 8/12/74

TRUTH commission deputy-chairman Alex Boraine said yesterday he knew of no agreement between the not of which Botha would be spared a personal appearance at the commission.

Botha has been served a further subpoena to appear before the commission on December 13 to answer questions on the apartheid-era State Security to General. Attempts to lay charges against him for failing to testify last Friday floundered when it was discovered that the subpoena served on him had been technically flawed.

Reaching to reports that commission chairman Mr Desmond Tutu had agreed to allow Botha to provide written answers to questions, and that Botha would use "his influence to persuade former cabinet colleagues to give evidence", Boraine said the commission "did not make deals".

The commission had an established practice of following written questions with oral evidence to clear up any ambiguities.

As former National Party leader, defence minister and president, Botha was a "very important witness" in established procedures.

Meanwhile, Spies reports that lawyers for convicted murderer and former security policeman Gideon Nieuwoudt will apply for the annulment of his 1977 death sentence.

Other black opponents leader Steve Biko from those who were arrested and killed in 1977.

Mr Biko's death sentence is due to resume in Port Elizabeth today after the appeal was dismissed.

Namunond, who has applied for amnesty for a range of offences, has applied for amnesty for a range of offences. The commission's amnesty committee recently rejected his application for assassinating former Elizabeth activist Michael Biko in detention.

The same committee has also rejected his application for Biko's death. As a result, Nieuwoudt's appeal team has to apply for his amnesty application to be separated from cases of his one-time colleagues, and for a new amnesty panel.



The provincial premiers forum met in Johannesburg on Friday. Attending were, from left, Mame Dipo of North-KwaZulu-Natal, Tokyo Sexwale of Gauteng, Popo Molele of North West and Ivy Matsape-Casaburi of Free State.

Report names cabinet ministers

Deborah Fine

00 8/12/74

(119)

A NUMBER of senior African National Congress (ANC) members were named in the unreleased Skweyza report on human rights violations which allegedly took place in the party's detention camps outside SA during the armed struggle.

This was reported in an article published yesterday in the Johannesburg newspaper Rapport, which claimed to have obtained a copy of the report, commissioned by the ANC in 1982 after growing accusations by members that the murders had been the site of brutal, and tortures perpetrated against ANC cadres accused of being apartheid spies.

A commission of inquiry headed by senior advocate Lewis Skweyza completed a report in 1983, but the document was never made public.

More than 225 prisoners were murdered in the camps or reported missing, the article said.

The newspaper quoted the report as saying that those who suffered at the hands of the ANC were not spies, but ordinary members who fell out of favour.

Rapport claimed the document described how prisoners were beaten to death by wardens, or executed by firing squads.

The newspaper said the report mentioned a "cleansing campaign" which was allegedly approved by the ANC's then national executive committee which included current SA Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Environment and Tourism Minister Pella Jordaan, Transport Minister Mac Mahan, Defence Minister Joe Modise, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo, Deputy Intelligence Services Minister Joe Nhlabha and ANC KwaZulu-Natal leader Jacob Zuma.

Rapport claimed the report said the SA Communist Party had effectively controlled Umkhonto we Sizwe during the struggle.

Drew Forrest reports that truth commission deputy chairman Alex Boraine said yesterday that the amnesty committee could not grant indemnity for acts committed in foreign states.

"If the angolan government or a private individual in Angola takes Modise to court over his alleged human rights violations in ANC detention camps, the truth commission cannot protect him."

Madagascar annual to work

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'ANC leaders knew of torture'^(11A)

CHRIS BATEMAN

ANC cabinet ministers knew of gruesome torture and the execution of cadres in the notorious Quatro training camp in Angola, with one, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, being present when a "suspect" was shot dead from behind.

This was claimed in an Afrikaans weekend newspaper article containing what were described as "previously unpublished" sections of the controversial 1993 Skweyiya Report which probed human rights abuses in ANC "punishment camps".

The Skweyiya Commission was established by the ANC in 1992 after widespread reports of murder and torture in its camps.

It allegedly said Modise had witnessed the execution of a cadre.

Several top names included in the ANC's recently successful blanket amnesty application were also cited.

Approaches to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's chief investigator Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza indicated that the TRC did not have access to the full report when it granted the blanket amnesty, the newspaper claimed.

But a spokesperson for the TRC said Rapport had given it the impression it was "another commission report" when making inquiries for the article, but that Ntsebeza had seen the full Skweyiya report.

Among other claims was that criticism of the ANC was used to label cadres as enemy spies, friends of apartheid or "boere spies", which was followed by torture.

More than 225 prisoners were killed or went missing in the camps, while rumours abounded of "ethnic purifying" of the ANC, with non-Xhosa speakers allegedly taking the brunt of the onslaught.

The commission reportedly found that the ANC's national executive

council formed the political arm of the organisation, but had to obtain approval from the revolutionary council for all actions.

Among exco members of the time cited were: Mr Oliver Tambo (president), Mr Alfred Nzo (secretary-general), Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Chris Hani, Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Sizakele Sizzashe, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Jacob Zuma.

Among torture methods described were: jumping on the heads of suspects with boots to "see if they would burst"; throwing stones at the eyes of suspects standing against walls; dripping melted plastic on genitalia and open wounds; whipping to death with barbed wire, sjamboks and electric cable and burning the soles of feet with red-hot pieces of iron.

Spokesperson for the ANC Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday the report was "nothing new".

et 8/11/97

ANC chaos over fate of Winnie

(11A)

POLITICAL STAFF

ARG 9/12/97

A heated dispute has flared in the African National Congress over the political future of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela - only a week before the organisation's national conference.

In an extraordinary move yesterday, the ANC appeared to contradict news agency reports quoting official ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa as saying that Mrs Madikizela-Mandela would not be nominated by the ANC Women's League for the ANC vice-presidency.

The confusion over the issue, say Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's supporters, is symptomatic of deep divisions and "great sensitivity" in the ANCWL and the ANC generally over Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's plans to stand for the vice-presidency after her interrogation by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last week.

Under the conference rules candidates for the office must be nominated by either a provincial formation of the ANC, or by a nomination from the floor - which must be supported by at least a quarter of the 3 500 voting delegates.

Provincial formations have committed their support to KwaZulu Natal leader Jacob Zuma, who is supported by ANC leaders.

But in a bid to discourage Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's supporters from nominating her from the floor, ANC leaders have proposed a change to the conference rules that would require documented support from at least a third of all voting delegates.

Hospital in crisis

ARG 9/12/97

Queenstown - Unpaid bills have forced the Elliot municipality in the Eastern Cape to cut electricity to the town's 60-bed provincial hospital which has had to send seriously ill patients to other hospitals and discharge others, a spokesman said.

The hospital has a stand-by generator but the health department has not paid its diesel account and the local supplier is refusing to supply more diesel to the hospital.

A butchery, which also supplied milk, had cut off supplies to the hospital because bills had not been paid for months, said acting matron Enid Kakaza. - Sapa

Women's league taking no chances over Winnie

Pule Molebeledi

THE African National Congress Women's League has decided not to nominate candidates for the ANC's top six positions at the party conference in Mafikeng next week, apparently to avoid a split in its ranks.

This means that the league's earlier nominations list, which named its president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, as a candidate for the ANC deputy presidency, has not been officially ratified.

The decision not to nominate was taken at a weekend meeting of the league's national executive committee after suggestions by certain senior league members that Madikizela-Mandela's nomination would be withdrawn. The league is split between opponents and supporters of its controversial president.

However, there is a strong likelihood that Madikizela-Mandela will be nominated from the floor at the conference to contend for the position against the favoured candidate of the ANC's national leadership, KwaZulu-Natal leader Jacob Zuma.

A proposal that the proportion of voting delegates required to nominate from the floor be raised from its current 10% to 25% is likely to be adopted at the conference. Madikizela-Mandela's nomination would therefore re-

quire the support of 750 delegates — which many believe she would secure without difficulty.

The final vote is by secret ballot, raising the possibility that delegates may defy provincial mandates. Zuma has been nominated by all nine regions, but scraped home against strong support for Madikizela-Mandela in certain provinces, including North West and Northern Province.

Apparently the ANC constitution is silent on whether the nominations vote is by secret ballot. If it is by show of hands, delegates might be reluctant to show support for Madikizela-Mandela in front of the national leadership.

League spokesman Mavivi Myayakaya-Manzini refused to comment on the weekend meeting and had not issued a statement by the time Business Day went to press last night, despite promises to do so.

No statement was released after a special meeting of the national working committee yesterday.

Madikizela-Mandela sparked a strong counterblast from the ANC's Steve Tshwete after a recent interview in The Star, in which she attacked government for failure to deliver.

Although the league's working committee distanced itself from the contents of the interview, it said the issue should be dealt with by the ANC and not by the league alone.

Four Natal towns to promote development

DURBAN — Port Shepstone, Maritzburg, Newcastle and Utundi would become KwaZulu-Natal's four "competitive-edge towns" to promote small business development in the province, the National Small Business Council said yesterday.

The council said: "KwaZulu-Natal is the second province after the Eastern Cape to launch its competitive-edge towns. The rest of the provinces will announce their's early next year to bring the total number... to 30."

The towns and cities would be strategic goal centres for local economic development, council CEO Monde

Tabata said.

The project is also aimed at strengthening the role of the local business chambers and organisations in local economic development.

"Another facet of the strategy includes campaigns to encourage big business to subcontract to small local players and identify local economic opportunities," the council said.

Tabata said: "We are trying to establish local economic development partnerships so small business can now start to stimulate local economies and create work opportunities for surrounding communities." — Sapa.

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PHOSA MELTS OPPOSITION

Mpumalanga falls in with Zuma lobby

CT 9/12/97

(11A)

WATERVAL BOVEN: The Mpumalanga region of the ANC has submitted to an apparent directive from above to nominate Jacob Zuma for party deputy-president.

It took a lot of persuasion by Mr Mathews Phosa before his Mpumalanga ANC branch agreed to toe the line and support national and KwaZulu-Natal party chairperson, Mr Jacob Zuma, for the position of ANC deputy-president.

Some ANC youth members weren't convinced, and left the meeting in a huff.

The decision was made at a provincial general council meeting at the weekend.

The move to support Zuma, in line with an apparent wider ANC strategy to counter Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's challenge for the position, follows weeks of speculation over the status of Mpumalanga's initial nomination of Phosa, its premier.

Phosa unexpectedly withdrew from the race in October after President Nelson Mandela allegedly ordered him not to split the vote against Madikizela-Mandela.

Describing the meeting this weekend as "painful", Phosa said it took over an hour to convince delegates not to re-nominate him in protest against the perceived interference by national ANC structures.

Some delegates, including provincial ANC Youth League secretary-general Mr James Nkambu-



PARTY MAN: Mathews Phosa was allegedly told to step aside.

la, refused to accept the switch in nominations and left the meeting "to cool down".

Phosa said he had decided not to stand for nomination for any position after consultation with the ANC, but assured delegates that he would remain premier and pursue their interests.

Delegates fell in line with other provinces by nominating Mr Thabo Mbeki for the ANC presidency, unionist Mr Kgalema Motlanthe for secretary-general, Mr Patrick Lekota for national chairperson and Mr Mendi Msimang for treasurer-general.

The provincial council's most controversial policy recommendation, however, was a unanimous motion to lobby the national conference for land allocation powers to be removed from traditional leaders and given to rural transitional councils.

ANC provincial spokesperson Mr Vusi Sibiyi explained that delegates felt that traditional leaders were either inadvertently or consciously delaying land reform in poor rural areas.

He added that traditional leaders already participated in council structures.

He said they would therefore retain some influence over land allocation.

Other issues to be raised by the province at the national conference, to be held from December 16 to 19, include a motion for stronger support and recognition of countries, political parties and liberation movements which supported the ANC during its fight against apartheid.

Delegates also argued against accepting International Monetary Fund and World Bank funding for fear of possible economic or political manipulation. — Sapa

Proposed voting rule may sink Winnie

JOHANNESBURG: Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's political ambitions may be thwarted by a proposed new rule that would triple the number of supporters a would-be candidate needs to gain inclusion in the ballot paper.

Delegates are to be asked to pass the proposal by the ANC national executive committee (NEC) when the national conference opens in

Mafikeng next Tuesday.

If the new rule is passed, Madikizela-Mandela would need the support of at least 800 of the 2 700 delegates if she is to make it on to the nominations list for the deputy presidency.

ANC spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the constitutional amendments committee had recommended to the NEC that the

level of support for candidates nominated from the floor be raised from 10% to 25%. However, the NEC had recommended recently that it be raised to 30%, he said.

Nominations committee co-ordinator Mr Charles Ngakula said all constitutional amendments that had a bearing on the conference would be handled at the start. — Parliamentary Bureau

ANC cool on threat by Winnie to quit

ARG 10/12/97
Johannesburg - The ANC was not aware of any threats by Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to resign from the party, national spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said here.

"The ANC has no official notification of such intentions," he said yesterday in response to rumours that Ms Madikizela-Mandela had threatened to resign from the ANC and its women's league.

As far as the ANC was concerned Ms Madikizela-Mandela remained a member of its national executive committee, national working committee and women's league, Mr Mamoepa said.

However, he confirmed that ANC officials had on Monday met members of the league's national working committee, including Ms Madikizela-Mandela.

The meeting followed a ANCWL national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend, which according to news reports, reviewed Ms Madikizela-Mandela's nomination for deputy president.

Although the committee issued no statement after the meeting, Mr Mamoepa said among issues discussed at the ANCWL weekend meeting was Ms Madikizela-Mandela's controversial interview with The Star newspaper

(11A)
in which she attacked the Government for failure to deliver on promises.

"It is known that the ANC Women's League issued a statement distancing itself from the interview conducted by its president with The Star. This and other matters pertaining to the functioning of the league were discussed at its NEC meeting held over the weekend," Mr Mamoepa said.

Monday's meeting with ANC officials centred on preparations for the ANC national conference, Mr Mamoepa said, without elaborating.

News reports this week said the ANCWL had decided not to nominate candidates for the ANC's top six positions at the party's Mafikeng conference next week, apparently to avoid a split in its ranks.

Mr Mamoepa said that neither the ANC women's league nor youth league had the "constitutional right" to nominate candidates for the party's national executive committee.

There is a strong likelihood that in the absence of any formal nomination from the provinces, Ms Madikizela-Mandela will be nominated from the floor at next week's conference to contest the position against the party leadership's favoured candidate, Jacob Zuma. - Sapa

Setback for Winnie's ANC leadership bid

JOHANNESBURG: Fresh from her TRC grilling, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's bid for the ANC's (and potentially the country's) deputy presidency hit a potentially fatal hitch yesterday when her fellow-women would no longer endorse her.

After a weekend meeting of its national executive, the ANC Women's League formally announced yesterday it would not nominate its own candidates for election at the ANC's conference next week, contrary to Madikizela-Mandela's earlier claims. She is president of the league. (11A)

It now says it does not have the constitutional right to do so, and that only ANC provincial structures can forward names.

However, delegates may nominate from the conference floor if there is sufficient support. But all provinces back KwaZulu-Natal's Mr Jacob Zuma for the deputy presidency. Said the league: "We would like to reiterate our statement in September that our nominations were (a) guide to the branches who have the right to nominate."

— Own Correspondent

CT 10/12/97

Leader race not the only major issue

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg - The leadership race for the top six positions in the African National Congress (ANC) overshadowed crucial issues at a conference which will mark a turning point in the political life of the organisation and South Africa.

While the leadership race cannot be divorced from the issues at the ANC's 50th national conference, the debate which has preceded the conference has been about the composition of the leadership that will succeed the Nelson Mandela generation. Previous ANC conferences were about how apartheid could be defeated, but the gathering in Matieleng will be more about transformation of the ANC and South Africa. Election of the leadership is but one item on the conference's agenda.

Transformation has also underpinned the choice of candidates for the top six posts. Those nominated have been identified by the membership as strong enough to carry the transformation process forward under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki. The conference - the second since the ANC came to power in 1994 - will also be about Africanisation of the ANC's organisation. It will be about how to build people in general and Africans in particular, as the majority in this country and the power base of the ANC, can benefit from democracy.

The conference is also expected to come up with ways to create equality among the various communities.

Safety catch on as Winnie faces ANC

Risks high in conference battle

HIGH ROBERTSON
Political Editor

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the African National Congress leadership are pointing loaded pistols at one another as the ANC conference next week - but neither side seems eager to pull the trigger.

The reason: it is probably impossible for either to inflict damage on the other without at the same time causing huge injury to themselves.

At this stage the loaded pistols are being pointed politely. Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's weapon on the ANC, a threat which the leadership quickly and nervously reacted to yesterday.

The weapon held by the leadership is the tacit threat to discipline her or even expel her for her outspoken attack on the ANC before the Truth Commission hearings began.

Available data suggests Mrs Madikizela-Mandela would die a quick political death if she were to carry out her threat to resign, or if she were expelled.

But there is strong evidence to suggest the ANC itself would suffer a destructive internal upheaval if this were to happen.

One of the most detailed and authoritative national surveys pointing to her real political power was conducted by Ikasa last October.

It suggests that her support is far stronger inside the ANC than it is in the country at large - and that if she continues to have any political ambitions, her path to greater power should be through the ANC.

The survey, among 2,400 people, asked respondents to identify political leaders who had attracted them to the party. They supported in the 1994 election.

Only 38 people out of the total sample mentioned Mrs Madikizela-Mandela at all - and they were allowed to freely name any five people who had influenced their vote.

Ideas public opinion service manager Bob Mathees cautions that the survey was not a popularity poll, but adds: "The first thing the survey showed was the wide contrast between some leaders' support with the party rank and file versus that with ordinary citizens. This is not surprising, though. Party activists the world over are often not very representative of the wider public, if only due to the fact that they are activists."

A second thing the results show is that Mrs Madikizela-Mandela was not a significant component of the

ANC's electoral success in 1994.

Mr Mathees said the survey suggested that any attempt by her to go outside the ANC and launch an Independent bid for power would probably not be very successful.

One of the most recent indicators of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's popularity was a phone-in survey conducted after her TRC hearing by a leading black newspaper, in which 74.2% of respondents said she was fit to be deputy-president of the ANC.

But newspaper phone-in survey findings are often distorted by organised responses from special interest groups. Given the playing extent to which the newspaper phone-in poll results differed from those conducted scientifically in the country as a whole, it seems likely it was unduly influenced by Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's band of loyal and well-organised supporters in ANC structures.

Even so, it points to continuing support for her within the ANC in spite of the damning evidence against her at the TRC hearings.

If her supporters are able to nominate her from the floor for the ANC vice-presidency at next week's conference, they will demonstrate that the pistol she is pointing at the ANC leadership is indeed loaded. -Whether or not she wins the election.

AKG 11/12/97 255 (119)

ANC CONFERENCE

THESE ARE THE PEOPLE SEEKING ELECTION TO THE HIGHEST OFFICES IN THE ANC

PRESIDENT



DEPUTY PRESIDENT



NATIONAL CHAIRMAN



TREASURER



Thabo Mbeki ... the crown prince born at Idutywa, Transkei, on June 18 1942. He was Tshwete's right-hand man.

Jacob Zuma ... born in KwaZulu Natal in 1942, he joined the ANC and spent 10 years on Robben Island.

Virginia Madikizela-Mandela ... ANCWU president. She will have to take her chances from the conference floor.

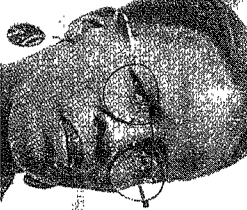
Patrick "Teror" Lekota ... rose to prominence in the Black Consciousness Movement at Turfloop.

Steve Tshwete ... ANC national organiser and sport and recreation minister. He spent 15 years in jail.

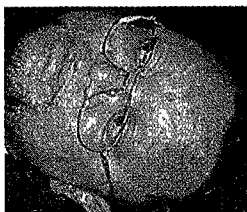
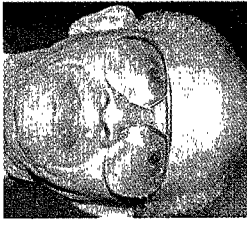
SECRETARY-GENERAL



DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL



TREASURER-GENERAL



Kaheema Madlanthe ... general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, unanimously supported.

Thelive Mithiso ... she chairs the Commission on Gender Equality and played an important role at Codessa.

Manvivi Nyakayuka-Manzini ... parliamentary adviser to Mbeki and executive member of the ANCWU.

Mendi Msimang ... he recently returned from London, where he was high commissioner.

North West Premier Poppo Molefe ... graduate of the 1976 uprising, prominent in the United Democratic Front.

CONFERENCE HISTORY

ANC conferences throughout the years have often been seminal events in which major policy decisions have been adopted or reversed and in which prominent personalities have come to the fore. This is a breakdown of some highlights of past conferences.

1912

At this, the ANC's first conference, in Bloemfontein, the organisation was formed as the South African National Native Congress. Then hereditary chiefs and representatives of peoples and church organisations gathered with the aim of bringing all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms.

1923

The conference approved African National Congress as the new name for the organisation.

1943

At this conference, also held in Bloemfontein, a resolution was passed to establish the ANC Youth League with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu playing pioneering roles.

1953

The conference urged ANC structures to embark on an immediate boycott campaign directed at certain businesses and the government to compel them to pay living wages to African workers. It also asked the National Executive Committee (NEC) to prepare for a congress of the People of South Africa and to draft a Freedom Charter, subsequently adopted at Kliptown, Soweto, in 1955.

1954

At the 43rd conference in Durban, the ANC moved closer to the emerging African trade unions to intensify the fight against apartheid which was then gathering steam as the official policy of the National Party government.

Delegates told they are free to nominate 'outsiders'

The ANC's nominations committee yesterday moved to allay fears of intimidation of any delegates who decide to nominate their own candidates from the floor. The assurance came amid anxiety among some delegates who feel that they might put themselves at loggerheads with the leadership if they nominated ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela whose name did not appear in final nominations lists released yesterday.

The candidates who have been nominated unopposed are: Thabo Mbeki for president, Jacob Zuma for deputy president and Kaheema Madlanthe for secretary-general.

Their nominations will not be put to the vote unless a delegate decides to nominate an opponent from the floor at the conference.

Patrick "Teror" Lekota and Steve Tshwete have both been nominated for the position of national chairman, while Mendi V. ... and Poppo

High noon at Mafikeng

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS
50TH ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE
16-20 DECEMBER 1997

TUESDAY

1995 The 44th conference in Bloemfontein was cut short when the Bloemfontein city council prevented delegates from convening on December 16, then Diragano's Day. It was also the last ANC conference inside the country until the one in Durban in 1991.

1966 At this conference at Moropon, Janzania, the ANC adopted the armed struggle and set out to mobilise underground structures within the country and launch a campaign for international solidarity. Although membership of the NEC was still open only to Africans, the conference established a revolutionary council to which non-Africans could be elected. Oliver Tambo was elected president of the ANC.

1985 The Kibwe Conference in 1985 marked the opening of the ANC membership to non-Africans, including the NEC. The ANC also endorsed a "people's war" which entailed a shift away from guerrilla attacks outside and the deployment of a large number of cadres into the townships and the uprisings of the 1980s.

1991 The ANC's exiled faction returned to South Africa in 1990 and the organisation held its first legal gathering inside the country. The ANC received a mandate from the conference to engage the National Party government in negotiations. Mandela was elected president and Other Rambo national chairman, a new post.

1994 This conference, under the theme "From Resistance to Reconstruction", was the first national conference held at a time when the ANC was not in opposition to the government of the day. ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu quit formal politics, clearing the way for Thabo Mbeki, who was made deputy president.

1997 The ANC's 50th national conference will be held at Madibano from December 16-20 under the theme "Building on the foundations for a better life" forwarded to the 21st Century.



When song ... President Mandela to step down.

Mandela's departure marks the end of an era

When he steps down as president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela's departure will mark the end of an era in the party and in South African politics. Mandela's parting will mark the end of a generation of ANC leaders who not only bore the brunt of apartheid, but assisted in shaping the struggle for liberation.

Mandela's retirement also marks the end of an era of stalwarts such as Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Anton Lembede, Govan Mbeki and Wilton Mkandawire. This is the generation which is credited with radicalising the ANC.

Mandela's generation was preceded by the one that founded the party. The Sharpeville massacre in 1960 proved the turning point for the Mandela generation that decided to embark on armed struggle. Unlike those who were formed with Mandela as commander-in-chief.

After Mandela and other Rivonia trialists were sentenced, Tambo took charge. It was during this time that the ANC-in-exile consolidated itself as a liberation movement.

This era, which has in so many ways helped shape the character of the ANC and struggle for the liberation of the majority, comes to an end on December 16 when new leaders, led by Thabo Mbeki, will be elected.

Although a member of the post-Mandela generation, Thabo Mbeki's political life was in many ways shaped by the Mandela era. Mbeki's formation years in the ANC were characterised by a close association with Tambo. After serving as Tambo's secretary, he became head of the ANC department of information and publicity, represented the ANC in several African countries and, after the death of Johnny

Makhanthini, took over international affairs. When Mbeki ascends the ANC throne, it will mark the dawn of a second revolution.

While reconciliation was the theme of Mandela's presidency, the emphasis during the Mbeki era will, while not discounting reconciliation, be on transformation.

Mbeki will shift emphasis, paying more attention to the aspirations of African communities, providing for the needs of the people. There will be more emphasis on affirmative action and black economic empowerment.

proposed amendment to describe that the chairman of the ANC in the nine provinces should automatically become premier is intended to minimise tensions between the provinces and their ANC colleagues in the provincial executive councils (PEC).

If the conference approves the amendment, there will be some co-ordination of the activities of the two centres of power. However, this may also mean that Northern Province Premier Ngwenyama, Eastern Cape Premier Mxolisi, Western Cape Premier Iyengwe, and Free State Premier Masepe-Casaburri, who are not chairmen of the ANC

provincial structures, might lose their jobs if not elected as chairmen at the 1999 provincial elections.

Nevertheless, the two premiers may bounce back if conference delegates approve a motion that states that directly elected members of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) may still be eligible for premiership. Already, Ramaphosa and Masepe-Casaburri have been put forward for membership of the NEC.

Ramaphosa has been nominated by his province, Gauteng and Free State. Sisulu treated that the process of electing a premier was flawed and vulnerable to manipulation by the leadership.

The Gauteng ANC decided that a new chairman would automatically become premier when Tokyo Nxasane steps down early next year while the ANC national leadership in the Free State replaced Lembede by bringing in Masepe-Casaburri.

The crucial 1997 ANC conference will choose the nation's leaders and plot the future of us all in the post-Mandela era, one of continuing transformation and consolidation

The leadership race for the top six positions in the ANC has overshadowed crucial issues at the conference which will mark a turning point in the political lives of both the party and South Africa.

While the race cannot be divorced from the issues at the ANC's 50th national conference, the debate that has preceded the conference has been about the composition of the men and women who will succeed the Mandela generation.

Like the Kibwe and the Moropon conferences, this gathering - constitutionally the ANC's highest decision-making body - is crucially important.

While recent ANC conferences were about how apartheid could be defeated, the gathering in Madibano will be more about transformation of the ANC and South Africa. Election of the leadership would be but one item on the conference's agenda.

Transformation has also undiminished the choice of candidates for the ANC's top six posts. Those who have been nominated are the people who members as strong enough to carry the transformation process forward under Mbeki.

The conference - the second since the ANC came into power in 1994 - will also be about Africanisation of the ANC. It will be about how black people in general and Africans in particular, as the majority in this country and the power base of the ANC, can benefit from democracy.

The conference is also expected to come up with ways of how equality can be created among various communities which have historically merged into a single nation state.

Wally Serote, a senior ANC MP in a discussion paper on culture published recently, noted: "While Africans shared the resistance against colonialism with other ethnic groups, the coloureds, Indians and a small number of whites... their (Africans) being indigenous to South Africa, their being the most oppressed, dictates them a special positioning within the liberation struggle."

A recent ANC survey on ethnic representation showed that, contrary to popular belief, Africans dominate in party structures. About 73% of MPs are African and about 69% of

leading positions in various government structures are held by them.

The ANC is also expected to adopt a strong position on the implementation of affirmative action, in both the public and the private sector. Mpanzanga Premier Matthews Phosa asks: "We have been calling on the private sector to implement affirmative action, but have we in our departments held by example? If not, what is the problem and how can it be overcome?"

A recent report to the ANC caucus in the National Assembly said affirmative action, if appropriately implemented, could constitute a vital aspect of nation building. If not properly implemented, it could be highly divisive and undermine the nation building.

The conference is expected to produce a strategy on affirmative action.

The growing gap between the ANC and the Government will have to be addressed. Officials have warned that, with accountability has waned, the organisation's membership kept in the dark about the happenings within Government.

The conference is also expected to produce strategies on

- Secretary-General's Report
 - Constitution Commission convenes to discuss aspects relating to elections
 - Presentation and adoption of Rules of Procedure and Code of Conduct
- WEDNESDAY**
- Presentation and discussion of Constitution
 - Commission report and Mandation of nominations
 - Treasurer-General's Report: presentation and discussion
 - Presentation of Strategy and Tactics as a basis for work
 - Election of top six committees
- THURSDAY**
- Announcement of new office-bearers
- FRIDAY**
- Resolutions and elections while proceedings continue
- SATURDAY**
- Conference declaration presented, discussed and adopted
 - Announcement of new NEC
 - Address by incoming president
 - Rally at local stadium to be addressed by outgoing and incoming ANC presidents

Chairmen 'should also be premiers'

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Winnie (11A) dropped out of ANC poll race

Sowetan 11/12/97

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

MRS Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is out of the race for the deputy presidency of the African National Congress. Her name does not feature in a list of six nominees released by the ANC's nominations committee yesterday.

One member of the nominations committee, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) Mr Sam Shilowa, insisted that there was nothing untoward in Madikizela-Mandela's name not appearing on the list because nominations were received from ANC provincial structures.

Madikizela-Mandela was initially nominated by the ANC Women's League and Shilowa explained that the Women's League, as well as the ANC Youth League, did not have nominating powers.

"I cannot say her nomination was unconstitutional, but the ANC constitution is clear, only ANC provinces nominate," Shilowa told *Sowetan*.

He added that the ANCWL did not even forward Madikizela-Mandela's name to the nominations committee because "they understand the constitution. So the matter didn't even arise".

Shilowa explained that the only role the ANCWL and ANCYL had was to influence the nominations process by selling their preferred candidates to ANC branches.

National chairman Mr Jacob Zuma is the only candidate officially nominated for the deputy presidency position.

Zuma's nomination follows intense lobbying which started as early as last year after President Nelson Mandela announced he intended retiring at the ANC's 50th national conference which starts in Mafikeng next Tuesday.

Only candidate

As expected, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is the only candidate for Mandela's position.

Madikizela-Mandela appeared to pose a threat to Zuma two months ago after Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa found himself out of the race. But while many argued that Zuma would have it tough against Madikizela-Mandela, her star waned recently since she criticised the ANC during Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings against her.

The only threat that might arise against Zuma will be a nomination from the floor from the 3 064 electing participants. If proposed constitutional amendments go through, Zuma's opponent will have to get 30 percent support.

Winnie not on ANC nominations list

Jacob Dlamini

THE African National Congress (ANC) released a list of nine nominees yesterday for its top six executive positions, but ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was not among those nominated.

The list contains six of the "consensus" candidates reportedly preferred by the national leadership, while only three of the top positions have more than one nominee.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki will stand unopposed for president, Jacob Zuma has been nominated for deputy president and National Union of Mine-workers general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe will stand for secretary-general. Sports Minister Steve Tshwete and National Council of Provinces chairman Terror Lekota have been nominated for national

chairmanship of the party; SA high commissioner to London Mendi Msimang and North West premier Popo Molefe will contest the position of treasurer; while gender commission head Thenjwe Mfintso and MP Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzizi will fight it out for deputy secretary-general.

SA Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Charles Ngakula, the ANC's nominations committee co-ordinator, said the list was based on nominations submitted by the provinces.

The list severely hampers Madikizela-Mandela's ambitions of challenging Zuma for the deputy presidency. Her only chance now rests with being nominated from the floor by one of the 3 064 delegates expected at the ANC conference in Mafikeng next week.

Even then, the person nominating her would have to secure the support of 25% of the delegates, who would have

to display their support for her either in writing or by a show of hands.

Ngakula said the SACP and the Congress of SA Trade Unions did not, as ANC alliance partners, have the right to nominate people, but individuals who were ANC members could nominate through their branches.

The ANC Youth League and the women's league — which had initially nominated Madikizela-Mandela before dropping its nomination — also did not have the right to nominate people for the top positions. However, they could draw up lists which would be used to influence branch members.

Ngakula said provinces had submitted nominations for the 60 positions elected directly onto the ANC's national executive committee. These would be made public later this week.

Picture: Page 3

11A

12/12/97



those cases where the transfer of State assets has not been accompanied by changes in corporate governance, economic efficiency has failed to improve.

As for Britain, which pioneered privatisation in Europe, the experience has been mixed. At first sight, the share ownership tally

looks impressive. From between 2.5m-3m shareholders in Britain in 1980, the number of share owners rose, mainly due to privatisation, to a peak in 1991 of 11m, after which it fell back to just over 9m.

Yet most of these people held shares obtained exclusively through the privatisation process. Many held shares in no more than one company. Only 200 000 of those who embarked on share ownership through privatisation went on to buy shares in non-privatised companies.

The Tory attempt to find an individualistic route to giving people a stake in the country's economic prosperity failed. And it was bound to fail because most people in Britain do not have enough wealth to be able to own a properly diversified portfolio of shares. A majority hold their money as deposits because their motive is, of necessity, precautionary rather than wealth-maximising.

But the failure of this exercise in promoting popular capitalism was not total, because of the advantages gained by employees. Nearly 1m people have now become owners as well as earners at the company where they work, which is a meaningful and worthwhile stake.

As for the wider economic issues, privatisation worked best in the UK where it was accompanied by liberalisation. British Gas, which was privatised with its monopoly and management intact, soon ran into serious difficulties which left both shareholders and customers deeply dissatisfied. In contrast, increased competition has helped deliver improved service in telecoms and electricity. Overall, a vast increase in economic efficiency in the privatised utilities has contributed to a reduced cost burden on the rest of British industry and increased competitiveness.

The message for SA is that there is little point giving people claims on ownership which will immediately be sloughed off into institutional hands. The more practical way of giving the great mass of people a meaningful ownership stake in the economy is through collective investment in pension funds, with maximum transparency.

The interesting question is whether the

Anglo-Saxon approach to occupational pensions funding could be adapted to facilitate the extension of property ownership in the black community. At this stage of development, housing is bound to confer a more important stake for blacks than equity. The Singapore provident fund, which allows citizens to borrow against their pension entitlement for education and housing, is a model which may have elements adaptable to private sector pensions schemes.

The objectives of privatisation, meanwhile, should be to target pensions funds, employees and foreign investors as the principal owners. Government has been fairly criticised for its half-hearted approach to disposals. Yet much of what it has done so far makes sense, notably the sale of shares in Telkom to Telekom Malaysia and SBC, the US regional telecommunications group. This rightly prioritises the importation of foreign capital, technology and expertise.

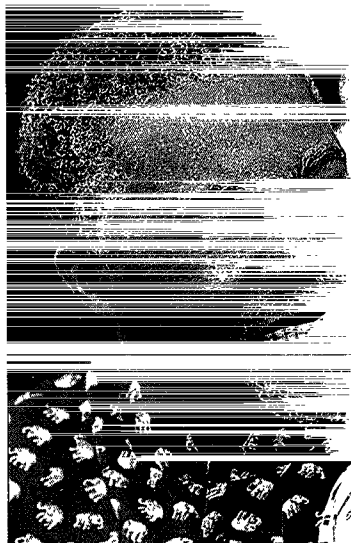
Pension fund stakeholding will, in the long run, provide a better route to black empowerment than many of the corporate manoeuvres seen in the capital markets over the past two years. There may be useful political symbolism in transferring control of companies such as JCI into black hands, but the risk is that the natural desire for redistribution will cause black entrepreneurship to adopt a transactional business culture biased towards the older sectors of the economy. Yet it is there that jobs are being destroyed.

Indeed, large quoted companies all across the world are net job destroyers, while employment creation is concentrated among small and medium-sized businesses. Black entrepreneurial dynamism needs to find more outlets in the innovative parts of the economy, if black business is to escape hostility from the majority of citizens.

In the final analysis no set of prescriptions to legitimise the workings of capitalism can do much if the level of trust in society is low. That is perhaps the biggest challenge for government in seeking to recreate a civil society in SA. In countries that have confronted similar challenges in eastern Europe, the most successful so far have adopted pro-market, business-friendly policies. A little more trust between government and business in SA would help.

The experience of the Asian tigers confirms that trade and investment are positive-sum games and that capitalism can be made to deliver economic benefits for the mass of the people. The problem is to make it confer a sense of well-being and security, too. Stakeholding, tailored to the culture and conditions of the country concerned, is a workable solution.

John Plender



ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Passing the hopefully not

Delegates at ANC conference will Winnie, and hand over the reins to

At the 1949 ANC conference in Bloemfontein, where the militant Programme of Action that pitted the organisation against the National Party government was adopted, a significant leadership fight unfolded.

The drafters of the programme — Nelson Mandela and other Youth League leaders such as Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo — wanted to oust then-president Dr A B Xuma, an opponent of the youthful radicals.

As Mandela writes in *Long Walk to Freedom* the only candidate ready to stand against Xuma was J S Moroka, also a doctor and a member of the Trotskyite All-African Convention. He was not an ANC member. When he agreed to stand, the Youth League signed him up on the spot.

This week the ANC holds its 50th national conference in Mafikeng and Mandela hands over the ANC reins to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Unlike the 1949 conference, the dele-



Arnold Prins

(11A)

baton, but the buck

confront questions of Gear,
a new generation of leaders

FM 12/12/197

gates will know even before they arrive on Tuesday who will lead the organisation. With one possible exception.

This week the one candidate senior ANC leaders have tried to bar at all costs from a leadership position — Winnie Madikizela-Mandela — emerged strongly again.

She has widespread support in at least four regions: the North-West, Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Northern Province. Madikizela-Mandela has upset senior leaders to such an extent — Sports Minister Steve Tshwete called her a charlatan, and ANC acting secretary-general Cheryl Carolus said she was cowardly — that many have vowed never to work with her again.

She remains isolated. The ANC Women's League, of which she is president, will no longer nominate her for deputy president. The ANC leadership has taken the unprecedented step of saying the youth and women's leagues will not be allowed to nominate candidates.

However, there is still palpable fear within the ANC that she may cause an upset.

"The delegations from these provinces are made up of squatter settlement and other grass-roots types. They will nominate her from the floor and we might find ourselves with egg on our faces," says an ANC Youth League leader.

For the rest of the positions, backroom politicking has ensured that delegates will know exactly who to vote for when they arrive at the conference.

The battle to succeed Mandela started in 1993, when the Youth League nominated Mbeki for deputy president, diminishing the chances of the other favoured candidate, then-secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa's former position, which has been filled in an acting capacity by Carolus, will go to his old National Union of Mineworkers colleague, Kgalema Motlanthe.

Unless the leadership's plans go horribly wrong and Madikizela-Mandela is nominated and elected by the rank-and-file, Jacob Zuma will ascend to the deputy presidency.

The conference will mark the ascent of a new generation of leadership in the ANC, most of whom joined after the 1976 uprising.

The departure of Mandela heralds the beginning of the exit of the stalwarts of the Fifties and Sixties. By the 2004 election, most will be out of active politics and the ANC will be run by younger leaders.

The conference will be the scene of fierce competition for the 25-member National Working Committee and the 88-member National Executive Committee (NEC). The ANC Youth League has staked its claim by proposing about 20 names, all in their thirties, for the NEC.

The new leaders will take the ANC into the next millennium. A constitutional amendment that their term be increased from three to five years has been proposed, and is likely to be passed.

The ANC goes into this conference with a wealth of experience in government and with the realities of that responsibility starkly illustrated by its three-year record. The conference will have to give direction not only to the organisation, but to the character of its leadership in government.

And so beyond leadership battles, with his team consolidated, what mandate is the ANC going to give Mbeki for the next five years?

One indicator is a document being discussed by provincial bodies that will be adopted at the conference.

It focuses on the most divisive issue in the organisation — economic transforma-

tion — and the macro-economic Growth, Employment & Redistribution (Gear) strategy. As NEC member and SA Communist Party (SACP) leader Jeremy Cronin says, this debate is about the battle for the soul of the ANC.

The discussion on economic transformation, to be led by Labour Minister Tito Mboweni in his capacity as ANC Policy Unit head, should be the most vigorous of the conference. If the document itself is anything to go by, there may be a significant setback for Gear. It calls on delegates to support the policy, but says it may be "adjusted."

The document also focuses on social transformation, peace and stability, infrastructure, governance, international relations and local government.

Conference delegates, working in smaller groups, will develop policy on all these issues. A further eight documents will be discussed by the full plenary. The concluding policy documents will define the character of the ANC for the next five years.

The debate on economic transformation has already spilled over into the public domain, with the ANC's alliance partners openly criticising Gear. Within the ANC itself the debate is fierce, with Environmental Affairs & Tourism Minister Peter Mokaba circulating documents situating the organisation firmly within a capitalist framework.

"The question for the ANC is, therefore, what type of market or capitalist economy we should build and not whether we should choose capitalism or socialism. The ANC's revolutionary programme, the Freedom Charter, has never been a socialist programme," he wrote recently.

In this vein, the paper prepared by the ANC's policy unit goes out of its way to defend Gear, signalling that as much as the ANC is prepared to accommodate its alliance partners, it stands by the strategy. However, the document is at pains to show that the Reconstruction & Development Programme (RDP) is still a major plank in ANC policy.

The macro-economic policy is "designed to build the economy in the manner envisaged in the RDP, and generate the levels of sustainable growth and job creation which is the key to transformation."

But the document offers a compromise on Gear. In a draft resolution it says: "The conference endorses the basic objective of macro-economic stability and that Gear provides the basis for achieving such stability. Like other policies it will be monitored and adjusted as required by analysis through the policy processes adopted in this conference and in the Alliance summit."

'No campaign against Winnie'

CT 12/12/97 (11A)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki says the ANC has not waged any campaign against Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and there is no "great fright" about her in the organisation.

Addressing a press briefing here, Mbeki also rejected allegations that the ANC had interfered and influenced nominations from provincial structures.

He said the ANC had not mounted a campaign against Madikizela-Mandela and delegates to the conference would be entitled to nominate her from the floor.

"Don't be fixated with Winnie. There's no problem with Winnie. There's no great fright about Winnie Mandela in the ANC," Mbeki said.

Mbeki's statement came a day after the nominations committee released its initial nominations list for the "top six" leadership positions of the ANC in which Madikizela-Mandela's name did not appear.

"Any notion that the ANC has waged a campaign to marginalise anyone in the ANC is not true and we are not going to start any campaign that never existed before. There is no notion whatsoever of fighting against any member of the ANC."

However, Mbeki said "leaders of the ANC are not elected at a mass rally at Orlando Stadium, they are elected by the member-

ship of the ANC, like all other parties."

After she failed to secure a nomination from the nine provinces, Madikizela-Mandela's

chances for the deputy presidency now rest on a nomination from the conference floor, which has to be seconded by at least 10% of voting delegates.

Mbeki dismissed "as mainly a media view", a belief that a proposed amendment that would raise this percentage from 10 to 25, was an attempt to make it harder for Madikizela-Mandela to be nominated.

On Wednesday the ANC also shrugged off what it described as "media queries" about an alleged threat by Madikizela-Mandela to resign from the ANC and the ANC Women's League.

Mbeki also dismissed allegations that President Nelson Mandela had interfered with the nomination process by asking Mpumalanga Premier Mr Mathews Phosa to withdraw for the race for the deputy presidency.

"What's the problem if the president speaks to the provincial chairman of the ANC? The notion of the activity of interference is a strange one! The president is perfectly entitled to talk to anyone about anything that has to do with the ANC.

"Phosa told me as early as February that he would not be available for any of the national posts," Mbeki said.

... AS MANDELA
LEAVES THE
STAGE

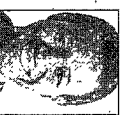
— Page 8

ANC searches for its new soul

The party's big bash in Mafikeng next week will plot the course for life after Mandela.

And it will determine the political status of his controversial ex-wife

(11A) Star 13/12/97



After three-and-a-half years of rule, the ANC will indulge in some novel-gazing next week. On this page, William Mervin Gumede looks at what's likely to crop up

(Year) - pushed through by the ANC over opposition from its tripartite alliance partners, Cossu and the SACP - has failed to deliver the jobs it envisaged.

The ANC's left wing, comprising chiefly the communists and trade unionists, is coming to the conference armed to attack Great. They argue that the policy satisfies local big business and international financial markets to the detriment of the ANC's core constituency, the black masses.

Popo Molefe, Premier of North West Province, says the pace of delivery has been too slow and that the list of promises made before the 1994 election was too long.

At this conference, the ANC will also put together a blueprint to fight the 1999 election. Molefe says the next election will be far more driven by issues and delivery than the 1994 election.

How to manage issues of ethnicity and race in a post-apartheid South Africa, while at the same time dealing with glaring economic and social inequalities in a country where class and race seem to be in the same as in 1981.

The Government's centrepiece economic strategy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy

debate.

conference says affirmative action, if implemented properly, could contribute positively to nation-building. If not, it could be highly divisive.

Madikizela-Mandela goes to the conference criticising the Government for affirmative action policies based on nepotism rather than merit, for failing to implement a consultancy-based parliamentary system, for failing to heed trade union criticism of its economic policy, and for failing to deliver the houses the party promised.

Madikizela-Mandela has also asked why the Government is not doing more to stem the influx of illegal immigrants, will aware of the rising tide of xenophobia among many poor South Africans. She has also called for a referendum on the death penalty.

Madikizela-Mandela has not been nominated by any structure of the party. The ANC this week released a list of nine nominees for its top six executive positions

but Madikizela-Mandela was not among those nominated.

On the final nominations, Meki Jacob Zuma has been nominated for deputy president and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary. Kgatema Motlame will stand, also unopposed, for the post of ANC secretary-general.

Sports Minister Steve Tshwete and National Council of Provinces chairman Terror Lekota have been nominated for the chairmanship of the party. SA high commissioner to Britain, Manti Msimang, and North West Premier Popo Molefe will contest the position of treasurer, while Gender Commissioner head Thegnwe Mhutu and MP Mavri Mvabazakhe-Manzini will fight it out for deputy secretary-general.

Madikizela-Mandela's only chance now rests with being nominated from the floor by delegates.

Madikizela-Mandela's attempt to become deputy president of the ANC suffered a further setback this week when the party announced plans to alter the nomination process. The supporters of the beleaguered ANC leadership have insisted that Meki Jacob Zuma should be placed back on the ballot by nominating her with a show of hands from the con-

ference floor, as provided for in the ANC's constitution.

In a move apparently designed to undermine her chances, however, Meki said this week that the percentages required for new nominations could be increased from the present 10% to 25 or even 50%.

Although her supporters insist they will be able to muster sufficient support, whatever the number of hands required, delegates might be reluctant to show their support publicly for Madikizela-Mandela.

There has been an increasing rift between President Mandela's former wife and the ANC National leadership, which is aiming to isolate her. She was also the target of damaging allegations at last week's Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, where she contemptuously denied allegations of human rights abuses against her.

The latest setback to her political ambitions coincided with reports suggesting that Madikizela-Mandela had threatened to resign from both the ANC and its women's league. The ANC leadership have insisted that under its constitutional rules, the women's league, of which President Mandela's ex-wife is president, has no right to nominate her.

ry and deputy Mafikeng already occupies space in the pages of South Africa's equestered history. Tswana pastorals herded their cattle there, Boer and Brit have fought there, and homeland dictator Lucas Mangope declared it the seat of his "Independent nation".

As the African National Congress gathers here from Tuesday for what is to be one of the most important national conferences in its 75-year existence, Mafikeng could be remembered as the place the ANC decided on its course for the 21st century. The conference will help to mould the shape of South Africa after Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's successor has already been decided. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has begun running the day-to-day affairs of the country while President Mandela has treated his job as more ceremonial than executive. Barring a major upset, Mbeki will take over the reins from Mandela as party president.

What the pecking order below Mbeki will be is not so certain. The party managers would like to have the underestimates KwaZulu Natal leader and national chairman of the party, Jacob Zuma, as deputy president. However, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has her eyes on this powerful post, a heartbeats away from the presidency.

A total of 3 064 delegates from 19 provinces of the nine provincial structures of the ANC will vote for the leaders who will take the party and South Africa into the next millennium.

The conference will also give the ANC, for the first time, the opportunity to look back at its three-and-a-half years in government: what it did right and where it went wrong.

At the conference, the ANC is likely to face mounting criticism from its rank and file that it has not delivered on its election promises and, with an election only 18 months away, the reconstruction and development programmes and socio-economic development are expected to be the most hotly debated issues at the conference.

The ANC's promise of a million houses in five years - which it has so far failed to fulfil - is also coming under close scrutiny.

One out of every three South African adults is unemployed. According to the Central Statistical Service, the economy has been shedding jobs instead of creating them. The Reserve Bank says the current job count is the same as in 1981.

The Government's centrepiece economic strategy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy

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Broad range of issues on agenda

The ANC has a basket of policies which will be put for discussion, many of which could eventually find themselves expressed in concrete realities through legislation passed by Parliament.

Building the ANC

Changing international realities, the rise of a black middle class, and racial divisions in the country are forcing the ANC to walk a tightrope between all these pressures and the interests of its base constituency, the rural and urban black poor. "The ANC is a broad movement, at the heart of a complex series of alliances and mass democratic formations," argues a discussion paper to be presented at the conference.

It says these challenges bestow a "special character" and thus exclude the possibility of the ANC becoming a centre-left political party in the mould of those of western Europe. A resolution prepared for the conference says the ANC should fight the 1986 election as a broad church of ideologies united by non-racism, non-sexism and democracy.

Women's gender equality

There is heated debate within the ANC on how to achieve gender equality in the ANC as well as in South African society. In this country where the vast majority of women have been exploited on the basis that they are black, women and also workers, the ANC's national conference must come up with policies and programmes to make gender equality a reality. The ANC's quest for equality will have to be reflected in the ANC's leadership itself.

Nation-building

Managing ethnicity and race in a democratic South Africa, while at the same time dealing with glaring economic and social inequalities, is defined as "the national question".

A document compiled by ANC backroom political mind Joel Ntshenzile sets the tone for the conference: "We need to determine how, in practical terms, to put in place a programme aimed at speeding up the deracialisation of South African society. This should be backed up by concrete targets to measure progress." Environment Minister Pello Jordan says the ANC must pursue a consistent policy of deracialising South African society.

Foreign policy, and peace and stability

The conference aims to streamline the ANC's foreign policy, which has come in for much flak. The foreign policy debate takes note of the rising xenophobia among South Africans against poor immigrants from north of the Limpopo.

According to the document, "Poverty and underdevelopment will increase the problems of illegal entry into the country, drug trafficking and many other related ills. It is important to ensure SA is deeply involved in the revival, economic growth and development of southern Africa and the continent. For us to be involved in the resolution of problems such as those in the Democratic Republic of Congo is part of contributing to the creation of a peaceful and democratic continent." The ANC will clarify its relations with those

countries which supported it during the liberation struggle, such as Libya and Cuba, and pledge its support for those allies still struggling for independence.

Economic policy, transformation

The Reconstruction and Development Programme has effectively been shelved for the more market-friendly Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (Gear) as the Government's economic policy. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was instrumental in the ANC adopting Gear.

The ANC is under intense pressure from local business, international money markets, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the West to pursue broadly free-market policies. For this, the ANC is under severe attack by its alliance partners, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the SA Communist Party, which regard Gear as "neo-liberal" and "harmful".

At the conference, Mbeki, whose reputation depends on the successful implementation of the strategy, will try to persuade Congress, the SACP and the ANC's Left why they should accept Gear. The ANC is considering the creation of a national empowerment strategy to speed up black participation in the national economy.

Leadership

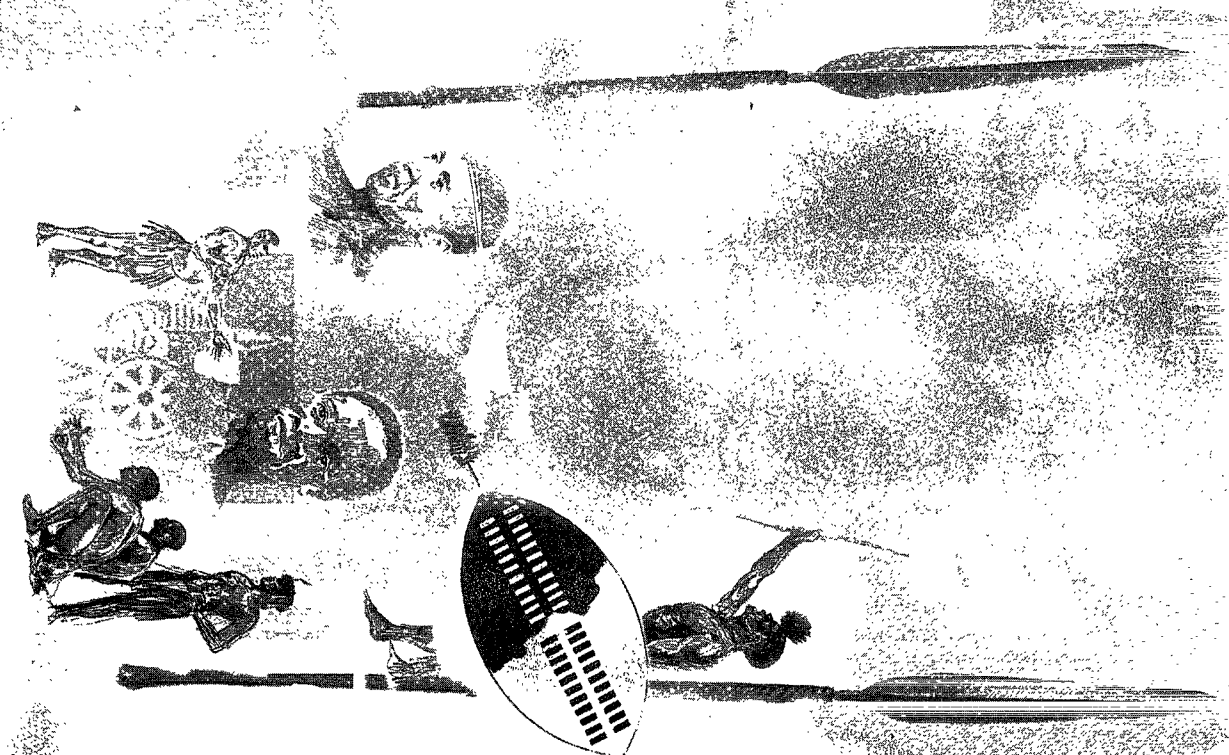
If the messy leadership succession battles are anything to go by, the national election is going to be tough. The ANC accepts that in the process of identifying and electing leaders, it is natural and necessary that there should be competition among leaders and lobbying by their supporters.

"Our challenge is to ensure healthy and comradely competition, so that we emerge from this process united, with a leadership suited to the current phase." The ANC leadership will have to sell to its members that their sidelining of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela is justified. The role of government at all levels will be debated.

Organisational discipline

Questions are being raised about whether the party has become elitist and lacks a culture of debate and a climate for free debate and outside the party. Examples are the manner in which Odeal was put together without consulting the party faithful.

Christianism has also been levelled at the national executive committee and the party's high-handed intervention in leadership problems, such as in KwaZulu Natal, Northern Province, Free State, and in the ANC Women's League, as well as in the approval of the leadership to border disputes. Another area of concern is the extent to which individuals who disagree with the dominant view in the movement are seen to be marginalised or victimised.



Many different points of view will be argued about with passion

At this conference, the fiery Deputy Environment Minister, Peter Mokaba, will renew his attack on the communists in the Tripartite alliance. Mokaba wants communists to be purged from the ANC. In a document authored by Mokaba to be discussed at the conference, he asks the ANC to be a party championing the cause of black capitalists and to reject socialism.

Mokaba says members of the South African Communist Party who sit on the ANC executive should resign their posts in one of the organisations. He says the so-called "two-cap" situation, whereby ANC and SACP members can be on the executives of both organisations, should be scrapped.

SACP leaders Blade Nzimande and Jeremy Cronin, leading thinkers of the Left, will defend the communists from attacks by Mokaba and those who share his views. Cronin says that if Mokaba's position wins the day, the ANC and the National Party will combine in the future agree on economic policy and a new coalition might emerge between the two parties.

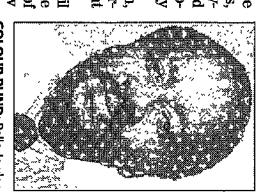
Pello Jordan, the Environment Minister, will take on the Africanists by arguing for the deracialisation of South Africa. He argues that the ANC should pressure the new black middle class, such as former ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Transport chief Saki Mazonza, into accepting a socially responsible business ethic.

"This will entail job creation, skills development, empowerment of women and involvement in anti-poverty programmes."

Dhooch Godongwana, until recently general-secretary of the powerful National Union of Metalworkers of SA and now Eastern Cape MEC for Economic Affairs, is one of the heroes of the Left and is passionately opposed to the Government's Gear policy.

Naked Pantom ANC deputy whip, is articulate and a gifted speaker. She will try to put the cause of women on the agenda. At the ANC conference in 1991, women members of the organisation protested at the lack of women representation in the leadership of the ANC. Nkosazana Zama, the Health Minister, who was recently elected KwaZulu Natal leader of the ANC Women's League, is also likely to be vocal at the conference.

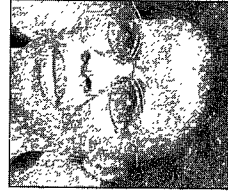
Mphahlela Premier Matthews Phosa, although sidelined by the ANC hierarchy for the deputy presidency, is likely to call on the ANC to go back to its grassroots. "Our leadership must stay engaged with its grassroots. It does not escape the masses that some of us (leaders) were just seen addressing serious matters of the organisation just before the last national conference," Phosa said. This will also be the conference where the generation that cut its teeth during the United Democratic Front days will have the opportunity to return to the centre stage of South African politics. They include National Council of Provinces chairman Terror Lekota and North West Premier Poto Molele, among others.



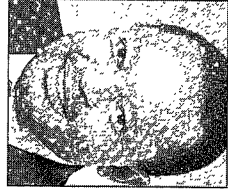
COLOUR BLIND Pello Jordan will push for deracialisation



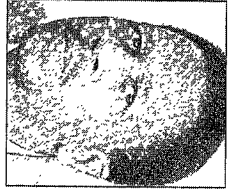
KGALEMA MOTLANTHE



THEMBWE MNTSO



PATRICK LEKOTA



MATHEWS PHOSA



POPO MOLEFE



PETER MOKABA



JOEL NETSHITENZHE

These people can play a major role

These are the movers and shakers who will be responsible for bringing the ANC into the 21st century.

- **Kgalema Motlanthe**, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary. He worked under Jacob Zuma in the ANC underground in the 80s. Motlanthe has the support of the trade unions, the communists and the ANC for the post of secretary-general. He has publicly condemned 'Gee' but is not seen as a leader who will challenge Mbeki over the issue.

- **Thembwe Mntso**, A former colleague of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. She joined the SACP in 1986 and is now a central committee member. She also sits on the Gender Commission. Intellectually and politically astute, she is among the most committed feminists in South African politics.
- **Patrick "Terror" Lekota**, Started his career in the Black Consciousness Movement, but became an adherent of the Freedom Charter while a political prisoner at Robben Island. He is a former United

Democratic Front publicity secretary. In 1990 he was made the ANC convenor in KwaZulu Natal, where he cut his teeth as a UDF activist. Lekota was overlooked by the national leadership in favour of Jacob Zuma and Jeff Radebe for the party chairmanship and deputy chairmanship. Later, he served the ANC as intelligence chief at Shell House, but had to quit the post after failing to win the confidence of intelligence operatives. He was ousted as ANC Free State chairman and subsequently as premier.

- **Mathews Phosa**, The popular and competent premier of Mpumalanga has a reputation for being outspoken and tough on corruption. He was nominated by several provinces for the deputy presidency of the ANC, but was allegedly centred by the party leadership, including President Nelson Mandela, to make way for the uncharismatic party-man Jacob Zuma.
- **Popo Molefe**, Premier of North West Province. Like Lekota, cut his teeth in the Black Consciousness movement. He under-

went a political odyssey and converted to non-racialism. He was general secretary of the UDF. Molefe was one of the architects of the ANC's 1994 election campaign.

- **Peter Mokaba**: Former president of the ANC Youth League. He made the chant "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" famous. Mokaba has proved to be a competent deputy minister of environmental affairs. Ever controversial, he has urged the ANC to become a Black party of free-market capitalism and to purge communists from the ANC. He has infuriated the trade

unionists and communists, who have vowed to spike his ambitions.

- **Joel Netshitenzhe**: He is the head of the ANC political desk and is also the communications director in President Nelson Mandela's office. He is being tipped for high office in the ANC and the Government. Senior party leaders had initially tried to persuade him to stand for deputy president but he has declined. Netshitenzhe is being tipped as a possible candidate to succeed Thabo Mbeki as president.

Next year you will get a chance to air their opinions at conference

OWN CORRESPONDENT

The battle lines over issues likely to attract heated debate at this year's African National Congress conference are already drawn.

Fery Deputy Minister of the Environment, Peter Mokabe will renew his attack on communists in the tripartite alliance.

In a document to be discussed at the conference and written by Mr Mokabe, he says the ANC should champion the cause of black capitalists and reject socialism. He says members of the South African Communist Party who sit on the ANC executive should resign their posts in one of the organisations.

Environment Minister Pello Jordaan will take on the Africanists by arguing for the decentralisation of politics. He argues that the ANC should put pressure on members of the new black middle class, like former ANC

leader Cyril Ramaphosa, into accepting a socially responsible business ethic.

Enoch Godongwana, Eastern Cape MEC for economic affairs, is passionately opposed to the Government's Gear policy.

Naledi Pandor, the ANC's deputy whip, is an articulate and gifted speaker. She will try to put the cause of women on the agenda. Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, recently elected KwaZulu Natal leader of the ANC's Women's League, will also be a vocal campaigner at the conference.

Mathews Phosa, Mpumalanga premier, will call on the ANC to go back to its grass roots.

New-look ANC after dust settles on Mafikeng

WILLIAM MERVIN GUINDE

Dry and dusty Mafikeng already occupies space in the pages of South Africa's chequered history. Tswana pastoralists herded their cattle there, Boer and Brit have fought there and dictator Lucas Mangope declared it the seat of his "independent nation".

As the African National Congress gathers there from Tuesday for what is to be one of the most important national conferences in its 75-year existence, Mafikeng could be remembered as the place where the ANC decided on its course for the 21st century. The conference will help mould a South Africa after President Mandela.

Mr Mandela's successor has already been decided. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has been running the day-to-day affairs of the country. While Mr Mandela has treated his job as more ceremonial than executive, he is carrying a major upset. Mr Mbeki will take over the reins as party president.



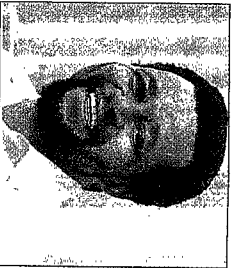
Patrick Lekota: ousted as premier



Peter Mokabe: infuriated communists



Mathews Phosa: tough on corruption



Joel Mesthizantze: politics chief

Who's who: the party's movers and shakers ...

Kgalema Mofhegane

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary. He worked under Jacob Zuma in the ANC underground in the 80s. He has the support of the trade unions, the communists and the ANC for the post. He has publicly condemned Gear, but is not seen as a leader who will challenge Mbeki over the issue.

Theanine Mthembu

A former colleague of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. She joined the SACP in 1986 and is now a central committee member. She also sits in the Gender Commission. Intellectually and politically astute, she is among the most committed feminists in South African politics.

Patrick "Terror" Lekota

Started his career in the Black Consciousness movement, but became an adherent to the Freedom Charter while a political prisoner at Robben Island. He is a former United Democratic Front publicity secretary. In 1990 he was made the ANC convener in KwaZulu

Natal, where he cut his teeth as a UDF activist. Lekota was overlooked by the national leadership in favour of Jacob Zuma and Jeff Radebe for the party chairmanship and deputy chairmanship. Later, he served the ANC as intelligence chief at Shell House, but had to quit the post after failing to win the confidence of intelligence operatives. He was ousted as ANC Free State chairman and subsequently as premier.

Mathews Phosa

The popular and competent premier of Mpumalanga has a reputation for being outspoken and tough on corruption. He was nominated by several provinces for the deputy presidency of the ANC, but was ultimately opposed by the party leadership, including president Mandela, to make way for the uncharismatic partyman Jacob Zuma.

Popo Molele

Premier of the North West province. He, like Lekota, cut his teeth in Black Consciousness. He underwent a political odyssey and converted to non-racism. He was general

secretary of the UDF. He and former UDF activist, now transport director-general Kheiso Gordhan, were the architects of the ANC's 1994 election campaign.

Peter Mokabe

Former president of the ANC youth league. He made the claim, "All the boys, all the farmers" demands. He has proved to be a competent Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs. Ever controversial, he has urged the ANC to become a black party of free-market capitalism and for the purging of communists from the ANC. He has infuriated the trade unions and communists, who have vowed to spite his ambitions.

Joel Mesthizantze

He is the head of the ANC political desk and is also the communications director in president Nelson Mandela's office. He is being tipped for high office in the ANC and Government. Senior party leaders had initially tried to persuade him to stand for deputy president but he has declined. He is being tipped as a possible candidate to succeed Thabo Mbeki.

When the pecking order below Mr Mbeki will be is not so certain. The party managers would like to have Jacob Zuma, the charismatic KwaZulu Natal leader and national chairman of the party, as deputy president. However, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela has her eyes on this position, which is just a heart-beat away from the presidency.

Delegates will vote for the leaders to take the party and SA into the next millennium

Exactly 3 064 delegates from 36 branches of the ANC provincial structures will vote for the leaders to take the party and South Africa into the next millennium.

The conference will also, for the first time, give the ANC the opportunity to look back at its three-and-a-half years in government.

The party is likely to face mounting criticism from its rank-and-file for its failure to deliver on election

promises and, with another election only 18 months away, the reconstruction and development programme and socio-economic development are expected to be the most hotly debated issues at the conference.

The ANC's promise of one million houses in five years - which it has so far failed to fulfil - is also coming under scrutiny.

One out of every three South Africans is unemployed. According to statistics from the Central Statistics Office, the economy has been shedding jobs instead of creating them. The Reserve Bank says the current job count is the same as in 1981.

The Government's centrepiece economic strategy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (Gear), pushed through by the ANC over opposition from its tripartite alliance partners, Cosatu and

the SACP, has failed to deliver the jobs it promised.

The ANC's left wing, comprising chiefly the communists and Trade Unionists, is coming to the conference armed to attack Gear. They argue the policy satisfies local big business and international financial markets to the detriment of the ANC's core constituency, the poor black masses.

Popo Molele, premier of North West Province, has said the pace of delivery has been too slow and that the list of promises made before the 1994 elections was too long.

At this conference a blueprint to fight also put together a blueprint to fight the 1999 elections. The next election will be far more driven by issues and delivery than the last elections, says Mr Molele.

How to manage issues of ethnicity and race, while also dealing with glaring economic and social inequalities in a country where class and race seem to be in conflict - what is broadly understood as the "national question" - will provoke heated debate.

How to increase the participation of blacks in the economy will also be high on the agenda. While the political machine is now run by the black majority, there has been slower change in business.

Affirmative action will also be discussed. A report drawn up for the committee says affirmative action, if implemented properly, could contribute positively to nation building. If not, it could be highly divisive.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela

goes to the conference criticising the Government for affirmative action policies based on nepotism rather than merit, for failing to implement a constituency-based parliamentary system, for failing to head trade union criticism of its economic policy and for not delivering promised houses.

Mandela has not been nominated by any structure

The ANC released a list of 23 nominees this week for its top six executive positions - but Mrs Madikizela-Mandela was not on it.

The final nominations, Mr Mbeki will stand unopposed for president. Mr Zuma has been nominated for deputy president and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Kgalema Mofhegane will stand, also unopposed, for the post of ANC secretary-general. Sports Minister Steve Tshwete and National Council of

Provinces chairman Teyateyaneni Lekota have been nominated for the chairmanship of the party. SA high commissioner to London Mandi Msimang and North West premier Popo Molele will contest the position of treasurer, while gender commissioner head Thenjwe Mthintso and MP Mavavi Mvakeyaka-Manzini will fight it out for deputy secretary-general.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's only chance now rests with being nominated from the conference floor.

Her attempt to become party deputy president suffered a further setback this week when the ANC announced plans to alter the nomination process.

In a move apparently designed to undermine her chances, Mr Mbeki said this week that the percentage required for new nominations could be increased from the present 10% to 25% or even 30%.

Although her backers insist they will be able to muster sufficient support, delegates might be reluctant to show their support publicly.

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SOUTH CONFERENCE IN WORLD SPOTLIGHT

Mandela prepares to hand over ANC reins

(11A) CT:15/12/97

MAFIKENG: Once again this unlikely town makes its way into the history books. This time it is the place where the world's favourite leader will bow out to the heir-apparent to South Africa's presidency, Thabo Mbeki. Political writer **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

THE dusty, dry town of Mafikeng will be bustling at the seams this week as more than 3 000 ANC delegates and over 400 international journalists trek northward to witness ANC leader President Nelson Mandela hand over the reins of the party to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

But far from being a dry affair, the ANC's 50th national conference is likely to lay the foundations of the party's move away from being a liberation movement.

The changing of the guard within the ruling party signals for many the end of the period of reconciliation. Although there have been rumours of a changed South Africa once Mbeki becomes ANC leader and heir-apparent to the country's presidency, there has been little overt concern.

The ANC has been at pains to ensure that there is little chance of radical change in the party's policy. Both Mandela and Mbeki have said at different times that the change of leadership did not mean reconciliation would be interrupted.

Mandela said yesterday Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma, not favourite for deputy leadership of the ANC, were more the architects of reconciliation than he was.

Although the leadership of the party will be the focus of much attention this week, other prickly issues will be laid on the table.

The ANC's economic policy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy, is a debate the country's trade union, business and provincial leaders will watch with interest.

Also on the agenda is security, peace and stability, foreign policy, the state and its role in governance, social delivery and transformation.

The ANC will also see the conference to prepare itself for the 1999 elections.

On an administrative level, organisers have gone to great lengths to ensure the conference will not be marred by bad planning or behaviour on the part of delegates. After the last conference, held in

Bloemfontein in 1994, Mandela apologised for the behaviour of some delegates. He never confirmed it, but there was much talk about incidents of sexual harassment and damage to property. To avoid a repeat, the ANC has put its national disciplinary committee on standby for the conference.

It is not the first time that Mafikeng will take its place in history books. A prominent spot during the Anglo-Boer war and birthplace of the Boy Scout movement, it also made headlines in 1994 when 5 000 Afrikaner right-wingers descended on the town during riots when it was still in the homeland of Bophuthatswana.

This week it will become the place

where the world's favourite leader bows out to Mbeki.

MORE REPORTS
— PAGES 8 & 11

Donwald Pressly reports from Johannesburg that Mandela has enthusiastically praised Zuma, KwaZulu-Natal ANC leader, ahead of his potentially bruising contest with Ms Winnie Madizela-Khahle for the party's deputy leadership.

ANC insiders are now predicting that the fiery ex-wife of the president will not be nominated from the floor for the post, clearing the way for Zuma to be elected.

But even if she is not nominated or declines nomination, Madizela-Khahle will automatically serve on the ANC national executive committee as chairperson of the ANC Women's League.

She is likely also to poll strongly in the election of 60 positions on the executive, with some predicting she will top the list.

Her conviction for the kidnapping of 14-year-old Stormie Seppele did not dent her popularity at the last ANC national conference when she came in as the fifth most popular candidate for the NEC.

Describing Zuma in glowing terms, the 79-year-old Mandela said he was a person "full of self-respect, patient, calm and absolutely highly talented".

Asked in an hour-long interview on SABC TV yesterday if he had played any part in discussions about his ex-wife's political future, Mandela said he had recused himself from the debate.



INCOMING: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who will take over the reins of the ANC from President Mandela. **PICTURES: BENNY GOOL**

11

delia, who will step down as president of the African National Congress during its week.



Under Party 'in and out of the red' as donations dry up

Wyndham Hartley

Communist Party and the
 cess of SA Trade Unions
 "fine-tuning", she said.
 three organisations had not
 ed properly to the chal-
 presented by the ANC
 in government. The allies
 also failed to develop joint
 immes.
 ere had been problems of
 line, too, with members
 g ANC policy. This had
 made worse by a lack of co-
 ordination between the dif-
 ferents of the organisation.
 rotus said: "The result of
 that parts of the organ-
 have often been out of
 with each other.
 ranch activists have not
 ble to comprehend deci-
 sional level, while national
 s have on occasions been
 by surprise at actions of
 cees or branches."
 ere was a need to acknowl-
 that this had created ten-
 sion and affected the ANC's
 stance, she said.

MAFIKENG — The finances of the African National Congress are "in and out of the red" as a result of foreign donations drying up, huge staff costs and a failure by the provincial branches of the organisation to become self-sufficient, ANC treasurer-general Arnold Stoffie will report to the national conference today.
 Stoffie's report says the party's overdraft at the end of 1994 at the time of his election was cleared early in 1995, but the organisation was back in the red by mid-year.
 Part of the strategy to get the ANC's fi-

ances back on a sound footing involved the sale of the ANC's Johannesburg Shell House headquarters and the relocation to an alternative home.
 A number of deals on Shell House have been reversed at the last minute.

One of the reasons for the party's financial decline was that during the struggle against apartheid the ANC had depended on donations from friendly countries and institutions.

After winning the election in 1994, the perception arose that the ANC then had access to the resources of the state and that erstwhile donors had become reluctant or

unable to continue. The party had to rely on the initiatives of President Nelson Mandela and some officials for funds.

The ANC cost R5m a month to run. Salaries accounted for a large proportion of the costs, he said.

Even the staff rationalisation of 1994 did not seem effective in cutting costs because the salary bill continued to grow.

Stoffie also criticises a lack of discipline in the party, which has seen members destroy, abandon and "take" cars belonging to the ANC. He said the car fleet would be scaled down when an audit of the organisation's assets had been completed.



African National Congress delegates in Mafikeng yesterday.
 President Nelson Mandela told them the revolution was not over: whites were hanging on to privilege, the media was conspiring to undermine government and some party leaders were intent on lining their pockets.
 Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

Arms industry is on ANC conference agenda

Wyndham Hartley

MAFIKENG — The future of the arms industry and the possibility of SA selling arms to all buyers regardless of human-rights records will be on the agenda of the African National Congress's (ANC) national conference tomorrow.
 The conference commission on international affairs has been asked to discuss the sale of arms. A draft resolution before the commission goes so far as to suggest that the need for an arms industry should be debated.
 There are, however, a number of ministries which feel that any trans-

parency in arms trade should be abandoned and arms sold to all buyers.
 The point of departure for the commission is the argument that the sale of arms is a fundamental contradiction within the ANC.
 According to the commission, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, established by the cabinet to oversee the sale of arms, is the best in the world. While there are those who believe arms should be sold to all who want to buy, government had called for restraint, the commission said.
 The conference will also be asked to adopt, through recommendations of

the commission, resolutions dealing with five trouble spots around the globe, Nigeria, Palestine, Western Sahara, East Timor and Cuba each have a resolution on the agenda.
 The conference will be asked to immediately call on Nigerian strongman Sani Abacha to release political detainees and create conditions for free political activity. The government should be called on to exert whatever influence it could to achieve these aims, the first resolution said.
 A tough draft resolution on Palestine asks the conference to recognise that the government of Israeli premier

Benjamin Netanyahu is primarily responsible for the almost effective collapse of the peace process and call for the conditions agreed in the Oslo and Hebron accords to be implemented. Israel is also called on to halt the expropriation of ancestral Palestinian land.
 West Sahara and Morocco should be congratulated on the progress being made on self-determination for the West Saharans while the conference should support initiatives taken by President Nelson Mandela to achieve a negotiated settlement to the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, according to the final two resolutions.

Hot, upbeat Mafikeng opens its arms

(11A)

Media

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL WRITER

MAFIKENG: This steamy, hot city opened its arms to a huge delegation of politicians, friends, unionists, teachers, champions of black economic empowerment and diplomats who attended the opening of the ANC's 50th national congress yesterday.

The ANC will be in the city, next four days, charting its path to the 1999 election, after which it will not have the influential, charismatic President, Mr. Nelson Mandela, at the helm of government. This contention will see Mandela relinquish his position as ANC president.

Mafikeng locals were upbeat about their city yesterday. They believed the success of the conference would create more opportunities for the province.

At 7am yesterday, the once sleepy capital swung into action and the newly-built convention centre was crammed with media,

'This conference will open more opportunities for the province.'
Premier Popo Molefe

delegates and guests who queued for accreditation. Clad in the ANC's colours, the enthusiastic delegates mingled with strangers. A few metres away, at the University of the North West, the atmosphere was electric and ANC memorabilia were on display.

Books on labour relations, Fidel Castro, the ANC's history, Joe Slovo and the NP were quickly snapped up by delegates and guests.

It was a day when ministers and MPs ditched their bodyguards to mingle with the people who voted them into office.

"Today we are all equal," one delegate remarked.

Emerging black business people were excited about the conference and its impact on the province. "Our city is full of life and is unusually busy," Ms Palasa Ekane, co-partner of the staff catering at the university said. "At last, our city has been put on the map and I spoke to a few foreign ladies who

were impressed by our city. The conference will enable us to make money and we are happy that the ANC chose our city."

An excited North West Premier Mr Popo Molefe commended his province for its superb organisation. "So far, things have been running smoothly and the management committee of the conference is pleased," he said.

"We have demonstrated our capacity to host major events and this conference will open more opportunities for the province. We have dedicated and hardworking people here and their selfless commitment to the organisation has been remarkable," he added.

The conference has created jobs for 300 locals who work two shifts to cater for the more than 50 000 people expected to attend the conference by Saturday. About 500 police officers will be on duty for the duration of the conference.

Meanwhile, a single mammoth order of 72 burgers bit off more than a Mafikeng restaurant could chew.

The Eagle Trails Spout here was unable to supply diners with burg-

ers on Monday night as two-for-one special cleared the entire town of burg spouts.

Aimed at the local folk, to attract them on quiet Monday evenings, store owner Mr Eugene Rorlich thought the special was the best kept secret in town — that, however, was until some of the 300 diners learnt of it, stomaching no less than 360 burgers.

The spout's staff managed to salvage enough burgers after two trips to town, but, after the third trip bakery and cake owners turned them away as there was nothing left.

"We were all prepared for the influx of visitors to our town and even ordered extra supplies for the week ... but who would have expected they would find out about the special? And because half the burgers had to be given away for free or change, the profit turn-over was poor."

However, staff are now prepared for any surprise.

"The restaurant is ready for whoever walks through that door ... we could get a thousand diners and we would cope, Rorlich said. — Own Correspondent

17/10/97

MAFIKENG: The South African media was using the new democratic order as an instrument to "protect the legacy of racism" and stubbornly refusing to inform the public responsibly, President Nelson Mandela charged yesterday at the African National Congress national congress.

In the most strongly worded and broadest swipe at the local "mass media" yet, Mandela said it had been most vigorous in disseminating "such information as it believes serves to discredit and weaken our movement."

Linking the mass media to the National Party, Mandela said it had become "perfectly clear" that the bulk of the mass media in the country had set itself up as a force opposed to the ANC.

The media was exploiting the dominant position it had achieved as a result of the apartheid system to campaign against both real change and the real targets of our change — "as represented by our

He said the congress would have to consider what additional measures it would have to take to improve "our communications with our population at large."

Mandela also accused "instruments of the media within ANC" of having to consider what additional measures it would have to take to improve "our communications with our population at large."

This had happened, he said, with the active involvement of bona fide delegates to the current Mafikeng congress.

"We make no apologies for demanding that the media has a responsibility to society to inform."

From the media and we expect none.

However, he added to applause that acts as a "lapdog" rather than a "watchdog," Mandela said.

What we are calling for is a media denunciation, which claims that will be received with a trade of information "timorous access to reliable through these comments

limited the expansion of the form of democracy by denying primary citizens the ability to participate meaningfully in governance.

This behaviour by the media "punish us," Mandela said.

"For which the world must bid to suppress the freedom of the media's failings, this represented a used these rights and criticised the world must applaud" — which the speech and the press — "which the represents freedom of thought, press freedom, Mandela said.

"When it speaks against us, this transformation as an attack on denounce all efforts to ensure its media did not hesitate to position, which was continuation of the apartheid legacy, the to protect its own privileged Mandela charged.

Information and communication, ensures that the majority had no choice but to rely on them for their non-representativeness to range of decades of repression and journalists were taking advanced movement, led by the ANC, the

'opposing change'

ANC plagued by theft, fraud, debt, corruption

MAMFENG: The cash-strapped ANC's fundraising efforts have to go hand-in-hand with cost-saving, says its treasurer-general. Political Editor **ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports.

DAMNING picture of an ANC plagued by chronic recurring debt, corruption, theft, fraud and financial mismanagement is painted by the controversial report of the ruling party's treasurer-general.

The document, which is to be presented and debated at a closed session of the ANC's 50th national conference here today, discloses for the first time that the annual cost of running the country's majority party is almost R100 million.

In the report, outgoing treasurer-general and Eastern Cape Premier Mr Arnold Stofle frankly acknowledges that part of the reason for the financial woes facing the organisation is that he is "not literate in financial matters".

However, Stofle announces in the report that, as part of a drive to end the roller-coaster ride that sees the organisation going repeatedly "in and out of the red", the ruling party is poised to launch ANC Club, which will "greatly benefit the ANC financially".

The club, targeted at both ANC members and the public at large, will entice subscribers to benefits like discount at retail stores, finan-

cial policies, legal services and so on".

Legislation on the handling of political parties is expected to angment significantly the R3m a month the ANC spends on running the organisation nationally, but the report cautions that the new source of legislated funding should not allow the party, which has lost many of its traditional overseas funders, to become unprofitable.

Stofle says fundraising efforts have to go hand-in-hand with cost-saving efforts: "... the organisation cannot tolerate unauthorised or reckless ordering of contracts without proper procedures".

He also warns that "the name of the ANC continues to be used by fraudsters who claim to speak in order to collect on our behalf".

Stofle goes on to outline a number of reasons for the weak financial management and short-ages of funds confronting the ANC.

"Some chance-takers located some of our resources, taking advantage of weaknesses in our

systems."

There had been problems in transferring the properties registered both at home and abroad in individuals' names into the ANC's name because registration papers were lost or individuals in some cases had died.

The inventory of ANC vehicles was unreliable or unavailable. Lack of discipline, lack of responsibility towards the organisation have led some so-called 'carders' to ruin, abandon or even 'take' vehicles.

The drastic ANC staff rationalisation programme after the 1994 elections "did not seem effective" as the ANC salary bill "tended to grow" after 1995.

Although the ANC had adopted a (financial) manual of procedures in 1993, "it was often ignored by ANC departments".

A number of fundraising initiatives "had failed to yield dividends". However, the ANC would embark next year on a debt order campaign to collect money from "our friends, supporters, sympathisers, friends and families".

Stofle concludes by stating: "We have solidified our position against many odds. We are not completely out of the jungle yet."



JUST GOOD FRIENDS: It was Thabo Mbeki who reportedly insisted on Winnie Madikizela-Mandela being part of the first democratic cabinet. She then became the first to be sacked. Now she has designs on Mbeki's job. They embrace at the ANC's 50th conference. **PICTURE: BENUW 600L.**

'Discipline central to humane community'

KARIN SCHIMKE
POLITICAL WRITER

CT 13/12/97
MAFIKENG: Discipline — what some might see as a quaint and outdated notion — is being brought back into vogue by the African National Congress.

Documents being circulated at the party's 50th national congress contain several references to the need for discipline and discussions around the issue were held behind closed doors yesterday afternoon.

And, if proposed amendments to the ANC's constitution are adopted, the code of conduct will be beefed up considerably.

The tougher attitude may be traced back to the last national congress in Bloemfontein in 1994 when general bad behaviour, drinking, sexual harassment and damage to property — including smearing human faces on university hostel walls — led ANC leader President Nelson Mandela to make a heartfelt public apology.

But events since — related to the utterances of party leaders — may also have given rise to this new attitude. In the existing constitution, under the heading of discipline, no direct reference is made to behaviour which can be seen as a threat to the party's unity.

The proposed amendments, however, suggest that a member of the party can be disciplined for:

- Behaving in a way that could provoke serious divisions or a breakdown of unity.
- Undermining the respect for or impeding the functioning of the structures of the organisation.
- Taking part in "organised factional activity that goes beyond the recognised norms of free debate inside the organisation and threatens its unity".

The clauses appear to refer to Mr Bantu Holomisa, expelled from the party for accusing some members of succumbing to bribery, and Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who, in a recent interview chastised the ANC for losing touch with the country's poor and for not considering holding a referendum on the sticky issue of the death penalty.

"Another proposed amendment to the constitution states that disciplinary action can be taken against any ANC member who sows racism, sexism, "tribal chauvinism", religious and political intolerance, regionalism or discrimination.

Mandela said yesterday: "It is possible that as a revolutionary movement and over the last three years; we have not fully understood the decisive importance of the moral renewal of our country to the success of our objective of creating a people-centred, humane and caring society."

Unity and territorial integrity of country maintained

MAFFIKENG: The following are extracts from the speech given here yesterday by President Nelson Mandela at the 50th national conference of the African National Congress.

THERE had been no open and serious counter-revolutionary offensive since the 1994 all-race election which threatened the survival of South Africa's democracy, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"Neither have any serious mistakes been made by the democratic government itself (African National Congress), which would create the conditions for the rejection of the new order by the masses of our people," Mandela said at the party's 50th national conference.

He said in his report as president of the ANC there had been no breakdown in the system of government, adding that despite limitations and occasional mistakes, they had ensured that all state organs including the national, provincial and local legislatures, as well as the judiciary, continued to function.

"Similarly, we have succeeded to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of the country, having guarded against any serious tendency towards balkanisation, such as would be reflected by an intense conflict around the question of provincial boundaries."

He said these important successes did not mean the obligation to defend, advance and deepen democracy had disappeared and that anti-democratic forces no longer existed in South Africa.

The process of social transformation had just begun, and had to be continued. He said these important successes did not mean the obligation to defend, advance and deepen democracy had disappeared and that anti-democratic forces no longer existed in South Africa.

On opposition parties...

The National Party, Democratic Party and the United Democratic Movement were dismissed by President Nelson Mandela yesterday as "a miserable platoon" of opponents to his ruling African National Congress.

The Freedom Front, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation were less scathed in an angry manner state of the nation and party address by the outgoing ANC president.

Management System it had created as a comprehensive and last ditch to protect the apartheid system. He said defenders of apartheid privilege continued to sustain a conviction that an opportunity would emerge in the future when they could activate the counter-insurgency machinery.

This would be aimed at imposing an agenda on the South African society which would limit the possibilities of democratic order to such an extent that it would not be able to create a society of equality.

Mandela said during the period under review, the counter-revolution had also sought to regroup to create the possibility of acting decisively to compromise the democratic system at whatever moment it considered opportune.

He said the experience of democracy over the last three years also pointed that there were still problems which needed to be addressed adequately.

"One of these is the translation into practice of the concept expressed in the Freedom Charter in the words, the people shall govern" and more recently, in the concept of a people-driven process of change."

The difficulty around this issue had sometimes been explained as the contradiction between representative and participatory democracy. Attention also had to be paid to the importance of non-governmental, community-based and grassroots-based organisations in ensuring popular participation in governance. — Sapa

"More vigorously than the DP, it has sought to convince some NP supporters that the UDM offers a more credible non-racial political home than the NP.

"Irrefutably, it will draw into its ranks some of the most backward and corrupt elements in our society who have no interest whatsoever in promoting the interests of the people."



FINAL CURTAIN: President Mandela stands during the singing of the national anthem at the opening of the ANC's 50th national conference, his last as leader of the party.

On SAs

On the IFP ...

THE African National Congress courtship of the Inkatha Freedom Party continued at the opening of the ANC conference yesterday when an IFP representative was the only person President Nelson Mandela welcomed by name.

In off-the-cuff remarks before delivering his presidential report, Mandela said there were good men and women in all political organisations.

One of them was the IFP representative, Arts Minister Mr Lionel Mtshali.

"I would like you, Lionel, to convey our best wishes to your leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi," Mandela said.

The 3 700 delegates applauded and whistled.

Mtshali, the first IFP representative ever to attend an ANC conference, was sent after Buthelezi himself decided not to accept a personal invitation from ANC deputy president Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The IFP was the only political party that did not come under attack in Mandela's marathon report to the conference.

Mandela was again applauded



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

when he said the ANC and Inkatha should not allow issues they disagreed on to stand in the way of co-operation "to achieve the genuine emancipation of our people".

He said the ANC served in the national and KwaZulu-Natal governments with the IFP, and that these governments were working well without any serious tensions, regardless of differences on various questions.

"Further, our two organisations are involved in a joint effort to consolidate peace in the country and to encourage a culture of tolerance and non-violent political competition among our respective members and supporters."

More fundamentally, the two organisations had a responsibility to co-operate to ensure that the objectives of reconstruction and development were achieved.

"We also need to recall that many members of the IFP grew up in the ANC and many of the people the IFP leads were educated in the politics of the ANC. Furthermore, we share the same constituency, especially the rural and urban poor." — Sapa

On use of capital ...

WHILE capital might be owned privately, there had to be an institutionalised system of social accountability for the owners of this capital, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In his 53-page address, Mandela a determined effort would have to be made by the public and private sectors to realise this objective.

The ANC would have to engage the private sector to "take on this matter, informed by the understanding that the perpetuation of apartheid patterns of economic ownership and control constitutes a recipe for an enormous social and political explosion". — Sapa

policy was the deracialisation of the economy, to ensure that its ownership and management increasingly reflected the racial composition of society, he said.

out the years as ruling party, the NP had consistently pursued the ANC's destruction. Since the ANC's ascent to power, the NP had not abandoned this objective.

"It's only problem is that it lacks the power it once had, to pursue this aim," Mandela said.

The NP was involved in a desperate search to find ways to destroy its historic enemy, to discharge its responsibility of defending white privilege.

The NP had put up the most determined opposition to all the legislative and other initiatives his government had taken to effect the country's non-racial transformation, Mandela said.

This included reliance on instruments of last resort, such as obstructing the passage of transformation legislation by appealing to the Constitutional Court.

Its determination to abide by its old strategic position was also reflected in the manner it had treated the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Mandela said.

He criticised the NP for resorting to "swart gewor tactics, saying the party continued to rely on the use of fear. This was particularly the case in the Western Cape, where NP leaders daily propagated the false notion that ANC policies were aimed at promoting the interests of Africans against those of white and coloured people.

On the DP, Mandela said the party had sought to present itself as

white minority it was the most reliable and best defender of white privilege.

When this competition became counter-productive to the objectives of white privilege, the two parties showed no hesitation in combining efforts, "as they are about to do as the government of the Western Cape", Mandela said.

For its part, the Freedom Front had remained imprisoned in a narrow nationalist pursuit of Afrikaner self-determination, Mandela said.

The Freedom Front had recognised the fact that it could only advance its cause by reaching agreement with the ANC.

"We have continued and will maintain our dialogue with the Freedom Front to address the legitimate cultural, language and other concerns of those among the Afrikaner people who have these concerns."

However, it was the United Democratic Movement for which Mandela levelled some of his harshest criticism. The party was formed by former ANC leader Mr Bantu Holomisa and former NP leader Mr Roel Meyer.

"The latest political group to join the liberating platform of opponents to our movement is the UDM of Bantu Holomisa and Roel Meyer, former defectors as fan-favorites of the apartheid system and its security forces.

On election ...

THE 1999 elections will present South Africa with an opportunity to continue the struggle for genuine national and social emancipation, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Presenting the president's report at the ANC's 50th national congress, Mandela said: "Clearly we will present a harder contest than the one we engaged in 1994."

The outgoing ANC leader warned that the majority of opposition political parties would seek to combine their efforts to reduce the support his organisation had obtained in the 1994 elections.

"They will seek this result in order to create the situation in which not only are we weakened and they strengthened, but also in which we are unable to govern effectively without their consent," he said.

Mandela said that for the ANC and its allies the 1999 elections were a call to action to defend and expand the frontiers of democracy and to renew the people's mandate for social transformation.

"This must ring alarm bells among us because this means that the objective that will be pursued by forces opposed to the radical non-racial and non-sexist renewal of our society will be to deny us the popular mandate to carry out such a programme," he said. — Sapa

deba said their presence was no accident.

Efforts would also be made to infiltrate UDM agents into the ANC to "destroy us from within and to gather information which will be used to try to discredit the movement," Mandela said.

On the PAC and Azapo, Mandela said the challenge to both parties was to abandon the illusion that, as organisations, they could be significant factors in the continuing struggle for the genuine liberation of the people.

"The decision finally to play a constructive role in this struggle rests with the members of these organisations."

Mandela also lambasted the so-called prophets of doom who had re-emerged in South Africa.

"In 1994 they predicted that the transition to democracy would be attended by a lot of bloodshed. Disappointed in their expectations by what actually happened, they nevertheless never abandoned their resolve to spread despair."

Mandela said they would adhere to the openly racist position that a South Africa led by the ANC and no longer under minority rule would, inevitably, sink into failure and disaster.

The only major opposition party to receive any praise was the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose representative to the conference, Mr Loneli Mshali, was singled out by Mandela for a special welcome in his introductory remarks. — Sapa

rebirth ...

THE final chapter of South Africa's colonial history has created a conducive climate for the realisation of an "African renaissance", President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"The recognition of the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism by the masses throughout the continent, including the majority of the middle strata, has created conditions which will lead to the transformation of the idea from a dream by visionaries, to a practical programme of action for revolutionaries," Mandela told delegates at the 50th national conference of the African National Congress in Mafikeng.

The outgoing ANC leader said, included in the principal aims of an African renaissance, was the establishment of democratic political systems to ensure that "the people shall govern".

Such a popular movement would have to take into account that it would be engaged in a struggle with reactionary forces both within and without the continent.

"From all this, it is clear that the achievement of the historically vital African renaissance requires that the peoples of our continent should adopt a realistic programme of action that will actually move Africa towards its real rebirth."

The president also said relations with other African people had developed well in the last three years. — Sapa

On careerists ...

THE African National Congress had to take all necessary measures to purge its ranks of careerists, outgoing party president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Many who had joined the ANC saw their membership as a means to attain positions of power and access to resources for their own gratification, Mandela said.

"During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indifference leading to the undermining of our organisational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralisation of some of the best cadres of our organisation."

Mandela said the movement had also seen the emergence of elitism among some members, who had notions of entitlement to leadership positions.

New members needed to be educated to prepare them to be proper members of a

"movement for national liberation".

The experience of the past three years showed that the ANC needed to attend to "the question of better deployment of especially our most experienced cadres".

He felt the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party and the Congress of the South African Workers was not working as well as it should, and as yet no satisfactory system of interaction between them had evolved.

The nature of the ANC's relationship with the SACP in particular needed to be addressed. However, the SACP had proved itself to be the ANC's steadfast ally in the struggle to end white minority domination and create a genuinely non-racial society, Mandela said.

Mandela's attack on careerism and corruption within ANC ranks received thunderous applause from delegates. Spontaneous chants of "ANC, ANC, ANC" interrupted the address, prompting a broad smile from the outgoing leader. — Sapa

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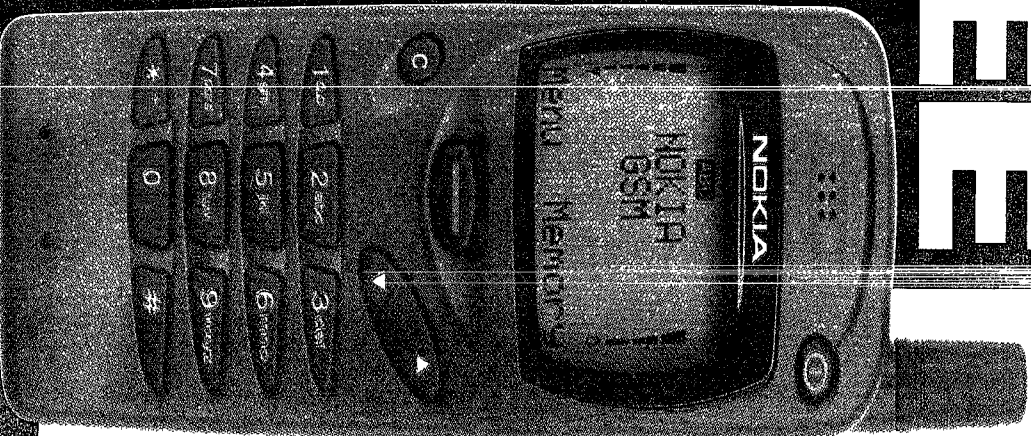
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Mandela's iron-f

MAFIKENG: "The honeymoon's over," a DP spokesperson commented after the president's blistering five-hour opening address to the ANC's congress here yesterday in which he criticised all the opposition parties except the IFP. Political Writer **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

NELSON Mandela yesterday bowed out as ANC president with a blistering salvo which left few of the party's rivals or critics unscathed.

In an uncharacteristic iron-fisted final speech to the ANC's tri-annual congress, Mandela laid into the media, non-governmental organisations, opposition parties — and even "careerists and opportunists" within the ANC.

In a five-hour speech, the president:

- Described most of the mass media as having "set itself up as a force opposed to the ANC".

- Slammed Mr Bantu Holomisa and Mr Roelf Meyer's United Democratic Movement as "former bedfellows and functionaries of the apartheid system and its security forces".

- Significantly embraced the IFP by singling out observer Mr Lionel Mtshali (Minister of Science, Art, Culture and Technology) for praise, asking him to convey his "good wishes to your and my leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi".

- Disputed the "propaganda" that there had been a rapid escalation in murder and robbery in white areas in Johannesburg and Cape Town since 1994 as "false".

- Claimed motives for the murder of white farmers had been "studiously and systematically suppressed for political reasons", saying just three of 14 Free State killings between January 1 and November 24 this year had been politically motivated.

- Laid into a "counter-revolutionary network" undermining democracy.

Mandela criticised the NP, particularly in the Western Cape, for its "fear-based" racist policies.

Reacting to the lashing dealt to various organisations and parties, a DP spokesperson commented: "The honeymoon is over."

The president's farewell speech to over 3 000 delegates in the Great Hall of Mafikeng University, was made in sweltering heat, and he frequently had to wipe the perspiration from his brow.

He told the congress the National Party was struggling to hold on to its support base among whites, coloureds and Indians, and was using fear as an instrument to "insulate these sections of our population" from our influence. The NP had continued to frighten national minorities against the ANC by threatening them with both a *swart gevaar* and a *rooi gevaar*.

Using fear as a political instrument was practised mostly in the Western Cape where daily "this leadership propagates the entirely false notion that our policies are aimed at promoting the interests of the Africans against those of both the whites and the coloureds," Mandela said.

The Western Cape had argued that the national government was denying it its legitimate share of national revenues "deliberately to worsen the standard of living of both the coloureds and the whites".

With the Western Cape's recent decision to exclude the ANC from their government of provincial unity, the NP had taken its deeply held positions "to their logical conclusion".

The DP, as a representative of the same white interests, had elected to join forces with the NP in the Western Cape.

This happened at precisely the moment when the DP was striving at a national level and in the aftermath of its municipal by-election victories against the NP, to "present itself as an opponent" of the NP.

Mandela said the DP and NP had no policy differences but were engaged in a "desperate struggle" to compete with one another in a race which they believed would be won by the party that convinced the white minority that it was the best defender of white privilege.

Where this competition became counter-productive to the objective of maintaining white privilege, they had shown no hesitation in combining efforts — as had happened in the Western Cape.

In reaction, the NP said paranoia had characterised much of Mandela's speech.

NP director Mr Renier Schoeman said to

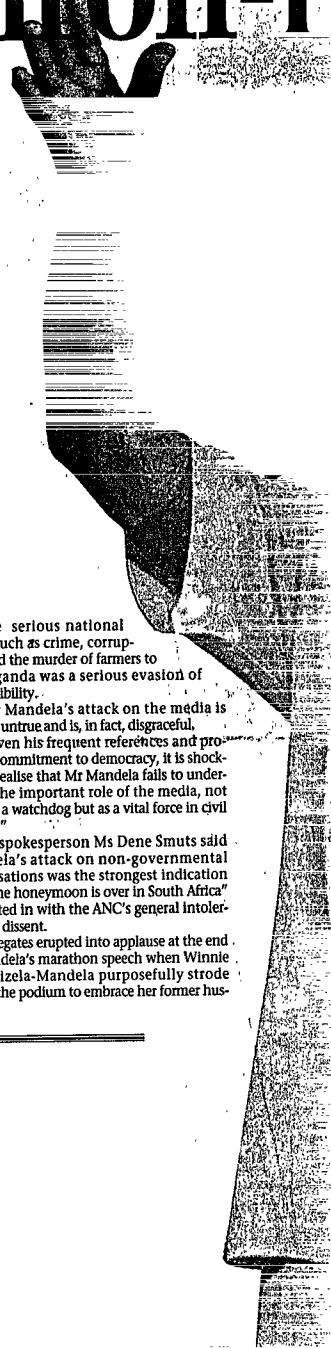
ascribe serious national issues such as crime, corruption and the murder of farmers to propaganda was a serious evasion of responsibility.

"Mr Mandela's attack on the media is equally untrue and is, in fact, disgraceful.

"Given his frequent references and professed commitment to democracy, it is shocking to realise that Mr Mandela fails to understand the important role of the media, not only as a watchdog but as a vital force in civil society."

DP spokesperson Ms Dene Smuts said Mandela's attack on non-governmental organisations was the strongest indication "that the honeymoon is over in South Africa" and fitted in with the ANC's general intolerance of dissent.

Delegates erupted into applause at the end of Mandela's marathon speech when Winnie Madikizela-Mandela purposefully strode across the podium to embrace her former husband.



Iron-fisted farewell

CT 17/12/97

(11A)

(11A)

Pros and cons of liberation

ANDRE KOOPMAN
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

THE ANC could count as its strengths that it had properly constituted organisational structures and that the vast majority of them were still functioning, said acting secretary-general Ms Cheryl Carolus in her report to the party's congress yesterday.

Reflecting on the ANC's strengths Carolus said they continued to pursue a political and social objective whose moral and material validity could not be faulted.

The ANC continued to be a broad mass-based movement.

However, she admitted that the organisation fell short in the areas of discipline and communication.

She said that the ANC faced poor discipline because members had not been properly developed.

Carolus also admitted that communication between the various ANC levels had been particularly weak, and parts had often been out of step.

She said there had also been a problem with relations between public representatives and constitutional structures. "This problem has emerged most acutely at a local government level where proper accountability and consultation has in some instances been forced aside by personal differences and bitter power struggles".

The ANC Western Cape received bad grades in Carolus' report. She noted problems with attendance at meetings, and the region was apparently in need of cash.

Her report also said that the national executive committee's provincial committee was not functioning properly. The attendance of NEC members to provincial tasks has nevertheless been fair.

In her report Carolus also spoke about the involvement of former apartheid agents in organised crime.

INSIDE

TREASURER'S GRIM PICTURE

MAFIKENG OPENS ITS ARMS — PAGE 3

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH — PAGE 11

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THE LONG GOODBYE: President Nelson Mandela greets the crowds at the ANC's 50th congress yesterday. He took his leave as president of the ANC in an almost record-breaking speech that spanned five hours including breaks.

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Winnie bows out of race

Sowetan 18/12/97

(11A)

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

She declines nomination from the floor after exchange with Mbeki

MRS Winnie Madikizela-Mandela will not leave the African National Congress despite turning down a nomination for the ANC's deputy presidency after an argument with new party president Mr Thabo Mbeki yesterday.

Speaking to the media after the drama at the 50th conference of the ANC in Mafikeng, Deputy Minister for Environment Affairs Mr Peter Mokaba said Madikizela-Mandela remained a disciplined member of the ANC and would not do a "Holomisa".

"She will remain, she is an old iron soldier and she stood down to retain unity within the organisation that she loves."

Mokaba spoke after Madikizela-Mandela declined to speak to the media after the day's events, which saw tension rising among about 4 000 delegates, and then a collective sigh of relief when she declined the nomination.

Earlier, delegates burst into spontaneous applause, then sang when Madikizela-Mandela declined the nomination.

The turn of events, which gave Mr Jacob Zuma a smooth ride to the deputy presidency, started when a delegate from North West, Ms Yvonne Makume, nominated Madikizela-Mandela from the floor.

About 15 to 20 people seconded her nomination but when Madikizela-Mandela was asked if she accepted the nomination, she asked for a moment to consult "structures".

If she had accepted the nomination she would have needed at least 744 votes to stand for election.

Mbeki said this was unnecessary as the nomination was made by "individual delegates and not structures".

After a brief moment, Madikizela-Mandela spoke for the first time since the conference started on Tuesday. She told the delegates that she had wanted to consult with the structures before accepting or rejecting the nomination "so that I don't appear divisive and advise the structures on what I wanted to do".

To that, Mbeki responded: "No, Comrade Winnie. When I was asked (to allow you to consult), I said you have been nominated by one comrade, and not structures. So there are no structures with whom to consult. I said no."

Declined nomination

After Mbeki's pronouncement, Madikizela-Mandela was asked whether she accepted the nomination.

To this she said: "Comrade Thabo, I think I understand what's happening here. To those comrades who nominated me, I apologise. I have to decline."

At that tense moment, cheers and whistles started as delegates broke into song and dance.

Smiling, Madikizela-Mandela left the podium, amid hugs and kisses from other members of the national executive committee.

At lunch break, Madikizela-Mandela was escorted to her car by

Mokaba and Makume.

She declined to speak to the media.

But Mokaba, who described himself as her closest confidante, said she had declined the nomination to avoid disunity within the organisation she loved.

"She was not forced to decline, she is a disciplined member of the organisation and she will still remain a member of the NEC," he said.

Madikizela-Mandela's decision not to stand cleared the way for Zuma.

Earlier, Mbeki had been nominated ANC president unopposed to cheers from the delegates and kisses and hugs from NEC members.

Apart from the top two positions, the new secretary general, Kgalema Mothantisi, and treasurer general Dr Mendi Msimang were unchallenged.

Msimang - who has just returned after serving three years as South Africa's High Commissioner to London - got the post after North West Premier Popo Molefe withdrew from the race.

By late yesterday, delegates had started voting for the two other positions - those of national chairman and deputy secretary general.

The contenders are Sports Minister Mr Steve Tshwete and National Council of Provinces chairman Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

Gender Commission chairman Ms Thenjiwe Mntso and Ms Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini are contesting the general secretary post.

Mbeki to lead SA into new era

(11A) (SABA) 27/10/1997

MAFRENK: Thabo Mbeki, who became ANC leader yesterday, is expected to focus on transformation above reconciliation, and says he will improve service delivery by making the state machinery more efficient.

MTHABO Mbeki succeeded President Nelson Mandela as leader of the African National Congress yesterday, taking South Africa on its first step into a new era. Mbeki's appointment, on Friday, a day before the triennial conference ends. Mbeki said Mandela's broadside at a range of political parties and the media was not a call to arms. He said his report was an assessment of the ANC's term of office from 1994 to 1997.

Mbeki said he saw the need to bring a new accent as leader, emphasising the need to transform the country over the next five years. He said the need to reconcile nervous whites with the black majority was not only of black people but of white people, the old a news conference after his election. "Democracy will be no change in the policy of a government, as deputy president, has been clear for some time."

"Thabo Mbeki is already de facto president of the country. I am pushing everything to him," Mandela said at the weekend. "He is a man of exceptional qualities —

PEOPLE like to identify Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as an independent and original thinker, but one who remains close to the more visible leadership of the African National Congress. The movement has been built up over a lifetime of involvement. "I was born into the struggle," he says. He was born in Buthezi, Transkei, in June 1942. His father, M. G. Coetzee, was a mining engineer. There were many books in his home, which Thabo read at an early age. Govan Mbeki was a leading figure in the Eastern Cape ANC.

politics, he played a prominent role in building the youth and student sections of the ANC in exile. Following his studies, he worked at the ANC's London office. He met Oliver Tambo and Mr. Yusuf Dadoo, before returning to South Africa in 1970 for military training. Later that year he arrived in Lusaka where he was soon appointed assistant secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

Mbeki's political views were discussed with the Botswana government about 1972, when he embarked on a year-long study tour in Botswana and Swaziland. Appointed to the ANC's national executive

'Born into the struggle' Govt to reach out to communities

pressure. Afrikaners their language and culture. Mbeki and IFP leader M. G. Coetzee, who will lead the ANC, said he also planned discussions with businessmen to



HANDING OVER: President Nelson Mandela shares Thabo Mbeki's election as president of the ANC with him at the organisation's conference yesterday.

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poll. Mbeki is expected to bring a new accent as leader, emphasising the need for a more radical approach to reconciling whites with impatient blacks.

"A non-racial society is in the interests not only of black people but of white people," he told a news conference after his election. "Democracy does not threaten whites."

He said ANC plans to press on the fight against apartheid, but with Africa's poor job creation record, stressed his commitment to letting the private sector play the lead role. "This is where the jobs will come from."

As he and Mandela pondered their future, Mbeki said he would not be the first to see sea change in the policy of a government. "I am pushing every-thing to Zuma," Mandela said at the week-end.

"He is a man of exceptional qualities —

to 1977. Asked how the ANC planned to improve service delivery, Mbeki said part of the solution was to ensure that state machinery was transformed to function more efficiently.

Mbeki said he saw the necessity to stick to a rigorous deficit as a short-term one, to meet basic needs.

Meanwhile Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night dismissed speculation about a merger between his party and the ANC.

At a news conference in Durban, Buthelezi said: "I want to dispel all these fantastic rumours that too many issues remained unresolved between the ANC and the IFP for a merger to be considered."

Mbeki agreed that the ANC was not involved in talks with the IFP about a possible merger, but when asked if Buthelezi could become deputy president, he said this was "possible" — SpA-leader

politically, he played a prominent role in building the youth and student sections of the ANC in exile.

Following his studies, he worked at the ANC's London office, then at the ANC's Cape Town office in 1970 for military training. Later that year he returned to Lusaka, where he was soon appointed assistant secretary of the Revolutionary Council.

In 1973-74 he held discussions with the Botswana government about opening an ANC office there. In 1975 he was acting ANC representative in Swaziland. Appointed to the ANC's national executive committee in 1975, he worked with the ANC

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Born into the struggle'

PEOPLE like to identify Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as an independent and original thinker, but one who remains close to the more visible leadership. His profile as a policy shaper and mediator in the movement has been built up over a lifetime of involvement. "I was born into the struggle in June 1922. My parents were teachers and activists. His father, Mr Govan Mbeki, is a university graduate and one of the more famous books in his home, which Thabo read in the Eastern Cape. Govan Mbeki was a leading figure in the anti-apartheid struggle."

Believing that sooner or later they would be arrested, Mbeki's parents decided that family and friends should also be responsible for providing for their children. Mbeki's early years were spent away from home. He joined the Youth League at the age of 14 and quickly became active in student politics. After his schooling at Lovedale was interrupted by a strike in 1959, he completed his studies at home. He then moved to Johannesburg where he came under the guidance of Mr Mphahlele and Mr M. J. L. Botha. He joined the British A.P.A. (African Students' Association) (ASA), secretary of the African Students' Association (ASA). He went on to study economics by correspondence at London University. The ASA collapsed after the arrest of many members and at a time when political groups were under attack from the state. Mbeki's father was arrested at Rivonia and sentenced to life.

He left the country in 1962, under orders from the ANC. From Tanzania he moved to Jimmatia at Sussex University in 1966. Remaining active in student

He played a major role in turning world media against apartheid.



HANDING OVER: President Nelson Mandela shares Thabo Mbeki's election as president of the ANC with him at the organisation's conference yesterday.

Govt to reach out to communities

ANTHONY JOHNSON
ASSISTANT EDITOR

MAHRENG: ANC president Mr Thabo Mbeki and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will embark next year on a nationwide outreach programme to other communities to express their fears and aspirations to the government.

"This will be done in a face-to-face manner so that both sides grasp the problems facing the state," said ANC leader said in his first interview since assuming his post.

"Chief Buthelezi and I have agreed that there should be an open dialogue, particularly with the African community, which will run a detailed account of Thabo Mbeki's vision for the new SA and how he will tackle the multiple challenges facing him in his new position.



OUTREACH: Mangosuthu Buthelezi

reassure Afrikaners their language and culture were not endangered was a celebration on Heritage Day, September 24, of the contribution of Afrikaners to the nation.

Mbeki said he also planned to discuss with business to ensure they met their responsibilities to transformation.

"We need intensive discussions rather than legislation. This is not a go-go-hell sort of attitude," he said. The most critical issues were the transformation of the public service and the state machinery, the elimination of the culture of corruption which allowed crime to flourish, and the investigation of the economy for apartheid.

"Tomorrow's Cape Times will run a detailed account of Thabo Mbeki's vision for the new SA and how he will tackle the multiple challenges facing him in his new position.

Among the initiatives the government was considering to



Handing over: outgoing ANC president Nelson Mandela with successor Thabo Mbeki at the conference in Mafikeng

ANC is telling whites it is time to pay their dues

Mandela has set SA on hard road

PATRICK BULGER
POLITICAL STAFF

President Mandela's speech to the African National Congress conference put neatly, if bitingly, what many in the ANC have long wanted to say but have not – for fear of rocking the reconciliation boat. Simply put, it is this: white South Africans have reaped all the benefits of the policy of reconciliation but in turn have offered little and sacrificed even less.

Not that Mandela was railing against whites as such. Rather he was taking issue with those whites who continue to occupy prominent positions in society, in the media, in business and in politics and whose attitudes and actions suggest that they have not reconciled themselves to fundamental change. Instead, they have reaped the benefits of change – the cricket and rugby tours, the feeling of togetherness suggested by such icons as the national flag and anthem – without any visible sacrifice and without any real commitment to ridding South Africa of entrenched privilege and inequality.

Because of this, there exists a gulf of misunderstanding between even the most moderate ANC branch member and whites of an enlightened or even liberal stripe. The basis of the misunderstanding is the white perception that blacks somehow should be satisfied with less, that this is somehow in the natural, God-given order of things. That, in spite of democracy and the constitution, there is a pre-ordained hierarchy of humanity. The ANC, the conventional white argument would go, is welcome to bring about a better life for all South Africans but not at the cost of white privilege. And, indeed, anybody with a pair of eyes can see that such privilege exists and will continue to exist for the foreseeable future. Further, they may be able to surmise that if the levels of inequality continue to exist, South Africa's future will always be a perilous an uncertain one.

And this is where Deputy President Thabo Mbeki comes in, looking ahead as he

is to the next 18 months, when there will be an election, and beyond to the five-year term of a government he will almost certainly lead, barring a calamity.

If one had closed one's eyes for a minute, one could have been forgiven for thinking that it was Mr Mbeki, and not Mr Mandela, who was speaking. This is so because Mr Mandela struck many of the themes that are likely to be prominent in the Mbeki era: namely, impatience with the slowness of change, frustration with a business sector that puts profit alone before the interests of the economy as a whole and anger at a media that, in Mr Mbeki's eyes at least, consistently opposes the ANC as a matter of principle and under the guise of press freedom.

Indeed, ANC leaders did not try and hide the fact that the Mandela speech, while it was the president's creation, was in large part a product of the "collective leadership". Within this context, Mr Mbeki's input would have been substantial, if not decisive.

A key thrust of the speech was the message that "the process of fundamental social transformation has not yet impacted seriously on the apartheid paradigm which affects all aspects of our lives" and that there is a "determined effort to define the process of national reconciliation, which our movement has sought to encourage in the national interest, in a manner that would result in the protection of the positions of those who were privileged by the apartheid system".

Mr Mandela continued: "Accordingly, during the last three years, the opponents of fundamental change have sought to separate the goal of national reconciliation from the critical objective of social transformation."

So national reconciliation was defined as "such measures as would compensate the white minority for the loss of its monopoly of political power by guaranteeing its privileged positions in the socio-economic sphere".

So where Mr Mandela left off – and this was essentially his last speech as president of the ANC – Mr Mbeki takes up, the themes

of his presidency starkly sketched for him by Mr Mandela and the ANC collective.

Much of what Mr Mandela said cannot be disputed. Business remains a largely untransformed bastion of white privilege. African living standards remain inferior to those of the great majority of whites. And the media, through a lack of expertise and a refusal to see another point of view, remains highly suspicious of the ANC agenda.

What cannot be disputed is that Mr Mandela's speech has set South Africa off on a new political path that may entail far more bitterness and upheaval than has been the case during the last three years under the Mandela government.

This is not likely to deter the revolutionaries. Criticism of the speech has centred on two aspects. The first is that it was "paranoid" in tone, seeing enemies to the left, right and centre. The second is that it projected a view of society that holds that the ANC's project of transformation is the only show in town: all else is counter-revolution and reactionary. Either one is with the ANC, or against it: there is no middle ground.

What this approach suggests is that the ANC continues to regard itself as the repository of history, the carrier of all change, a movement that alone has a date with destiny. All opposition is unpatriotic.

Much of what Mr Mandela told the delegates is indisputably true, as solid an assessment of South Africa in 1997 as one is likely to find. It will find an echo with many, if not most black South Africans. But the pervading tone of intolerance to criticism suggests that the honeymoon between the ANC's leaders and the status quo is over.

The real question is what form of relationship will now take its place. Not only time and Mr Mbeki can answer that question – white South Africa will also have to ask itself what relationship it wants with the process of change.

And what sacrifice, if any, it is prepared to make to realise that change and remain a meaningful part of it.

11A
AKG 18/12/1997

Winnie takes headlong plunge to humiliation

ANC delegates spurn her challenge

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Mafikeng - Top African National Congress leaders pleaded with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela not to go ahead with her abortive bid to become ANC deputy president, urging her to spare herself humiliation.

But she disregarded the pleas, her final act in a series of political miscalculations that led to her ignominious withdrawal from the race when it became obvious few delegates to the ANC conference would rally to the quixotic cause of the Women's League president.

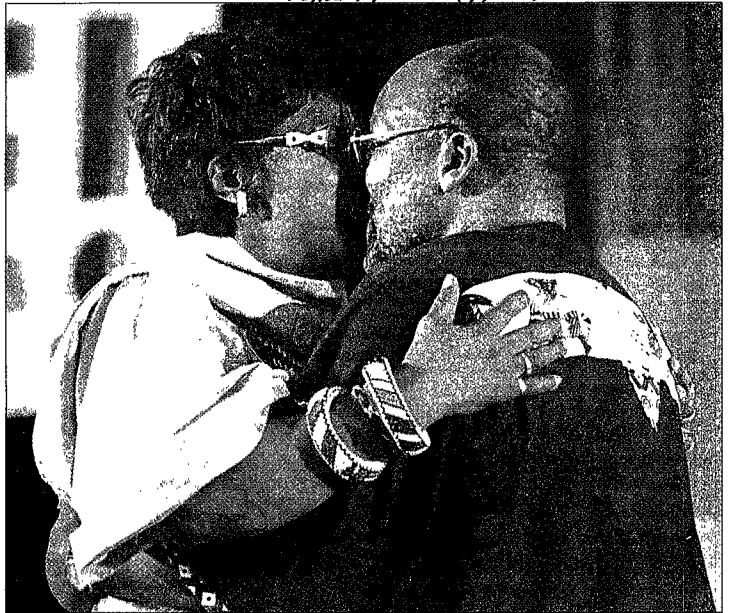
Sources at the conference underlined the significance of the reluctance of any leading ANC player to back her. Her behaviour in the runup to the election, by the very nature of her belated entry into the race, alienated many who might have supported her under different circumstances.

Senior insiders also pointed to the changed face of the conference itself, with delegates including a significant number of representatives of a new generation in the movement. They pointed out that many of the delegates regarded Mrs Madikizela-Mandela as "yesterday's issue" and one the movement will not want to concern itself with as it gears for a new millennium.

At a conference characterised by a sense of unity within the movement, there was relief that Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's last-minute withdrawal pulled the ANC back from a deeply divisive event.

All this serves to explain why the sympathy and enthusiasm shown towards her, with mobbing and singing of her praises, did not translate into votes from the conference floor.

Cheryl Carolus, outgoing act-



THE STAR

Congratulations: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela embraces Jacob Zuma after his election as ANC deputy president

ing secretary-general, said the conference was "very respectful" of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela. "She's one of the people who people sing about." Not voting for someone did not imply a lack of respect, Ms Carolus said.

But sources indicated the dice were loaded against Mrs Madikizela-Mandela because of the divisiveness she came to represent.

Her core mistake was her belated entry to the race, after branches and provinces had long begun deep discussions about nominations. Some indicated that her performance at the TRC counted against her.

Most damaging were her comments in a newspaper interview berating the ANC, and in particular the controversy sparked by reports of her backing a return to capital punishment.

While Mrs Madikizela-Mandela had to endure the humiliation of her failed candidacy for the deputy presidency, and the spontaneous chorus of relief among delegates when she backed out, some argued that there could be a significant sympathy vote for her now she has accepted her nomination to the National Executive Committee.

The results of the NEC elec-

tions will be announced on Saturday.

There is also clear evidence of continuing support for her.

Close friend Peter Mokaba, who led an emotional Mrs Madikizela-Mandela from the conference hall to her waiting car, characterised the way events turned out as "a moment of unity at the conference".

In all, perhaps the most significant signal on the Winnie episode was that of party discipline and unity, that the most important event was one that did not happen: a rebellion of delegates against the anointed choice of Jacob Zuma.

Winnie's bid for high office defeated

Stephen Laufer

MAFIKENG — In what several senior African National Congress members called "a humiliating defeat", Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's hopes of achieving high office within the organisation reached a preliminary dead end yesterday as she failed to muster enough votes for nomination as a candidate for deputy president.

With just 127 of the 3 046 delegates supporting her attempt to become ANC deputy president, Madikizela-Mandela not only failed to gain the 25% required to get on the ballot after a constitutional change earlier in the day, she also missed the earlier 10% requirement by more than half. For nomination, she would have required 766 votes.

Looking into the hall as her supporters were counted, Madikizela-Mandela asked the returning officers for time to consult party structures. However, the ANC's newly elected president, Thabo Mbeki, who was chairing the nominations session, ruled that a break would not be in keeping with long-standing procedure and was out of order, and she was forced to concede defeat.

Addressing the conference, she said: "Comrade Thabo, I think I understand what is happening here. To those comrades who nominated my name, I apologise for having to decline."

The announcement drew a roar from the delegates which appeared to signal relief mixed with sympathy for Madikizela-Mandela.

Delegates said later they expected her to do well in the vote for the party's much less influential national executive, of which she was an ex-officio member through her presidency of the ANC Women's League.

One ANC MP said after the vote that senior league members had spent Tuesday evening making strenuous ef-



Winnie Madikizela-Mandela congratulates newly elected ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma.

Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

orts to persuade Madikizela-Mandela not to stand, but she had allowed her name to go forward.

A senior ANC leader said the organisation loved its people, but Madikizela-Mandela had mistaken ululations for political support.

Questioned on what appeared to be an irregular voting procedure — seconds were being counted while representatives of the Electoral Institute

of SA attempted to elicit a response from Madikizela-Mandela as to whether she accepted the nomination — departing secretary-general Cheryl Carolus said the constitution was fuzzy on the order in which things should be done. She refused to confirm the number of seconds, but a tape-recording of the proceedings showed

Continued on Page 2

Winnie

Continued from Page 1

the count had taken place.

Mbeki was elected unopposed as the ANC's president to succeed Nelson Mandela. With Madikizela-Mandela's withdrawal, the way was open for KwaZulu-Natal ANC chairman Jacob Zuma's election unopposed to the party's deputy presidency.

Also unopposed were the new secretary-general, Kgalema Motlanthe,

until now general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mendi Msimang as ANC treasurer-general. The latter had been SA high commissioner in London.

Last night conference delegates were to vote on two contested leadership positions. Thenjwe Mthintso and Mavivi Mayakayak-Manzini were contesting the deputy secretary-general's slot, and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete and National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick Lekota were candidates for party chairman. Results are expected today.

Buthelezi dismisses IFP-ANC merger idea as 'unrealistic'

Business Day Reporter

DURBAN — Inkatha Buthelezi Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday dismissed as "unrealistic" a merger with the African National Congress (ANC) in the absence of a common political platform. Differences remained unresolved.

Buthelezi hinted that IFP national deputy chairman Shipo Zwaneza would be in Durban next month following the tensions which erupted over his decision to publicly back the idea of a merger.

"I don't think any party will tolerate a merger unless it is doing what he is doing," Buthelezi said. He would take the proposal of a merger seriously only if the ANC passed a resolution supporting the idea at the Maritzburg Observatory, he saw the proposal as "people trying to kill".

Buthelezi downplayed Mandela's support for a merger, saying he expressed the idea in an SABC-TV interview on Sunday. Buthelezi said the peace initiative in KwaZulu-Natal was at square one, with no progress reported in the past few months on



efforts to resolve differences. IFP members were still being killed, but leaders of the two to avoid infighting.

Buthelezi said that unlike the ANC, the IFP believed in federalism and was sympathetic towards traditional leaders. He said traditional leaders were showing interest in the traditional leaders qualified to serve on local government regional councils.

BACKSTAGE

executive committee members sitting on the platform. The opposition's departing president was visibly unaware of the inevitability of an embrace which had the crowd cheering. As Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus got her

06/12/97 (11A)

Buthelezi said that although the ANC and IFP supported free enterprise, they wanted participation to happen at a later stage, but the ANC-led government was unable to do so because it was being black-mailed by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU). COSATU's deputy president Jacob Zuma to the party deputy presidency would be the peace initiative, Buthelezi said. He said Zuma had arranged for Walter Peltz to take IFP documents, before delivering them to the ANC.

Buthelezi also expressed doubt that the ANC would elect him the deputy presidency of the ANC. "Can you imagine the country having two Zulus (he said Zuma) as deputy president?" Buthelezi commented.

IFP coalition government being formed after the 1999 elections. There would have to be negotiations on the issue, and it would be primarily responsible to rule out the possibility. Newly elected ANC president Thabo Mbeki said yesterday that the IFP was not discussing a possible merger with the IFP.



Ongoing ANC president Nelson Mandela congratulates new party chief Thabo Mbeki, flanked by Jacob Dlamini, Wymdham Hantley and Stephen Lander.

Photographers miss magic moment as Mandela and Winnie embrace

Whitac: Half excited teenagers, half crowd-blessing politician, the president's departing was doubtlessly unaware of the inevitability of an embrace which had the crowd cheering. As Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus got her

IFP ANC took leave of the most important moment in South African history with son, dance and poetry at a party party on the opening night of the conference. But the times there are a moment of joy, and the moment any best of this nature would have been an invitation to del-

cheate long and hard, the confederates — clearly tired by the efforts of governing the country — President Thabo Mbeki said that Mandela stood as a sign of the peace between the two nations. He was the president of the ANC, and the president of the IFP. He was the president of the ANC, and the president of the IFP.

faded protagonists of apartheid with dignity, understanding and respect. To others, Mandela was presented with a sculpture.

POOR Kader Asmal, the water affairs minister. On Monday he was seen from the back of the group of journalists and said: "You won't hear people asking Mandela for money, but they do." They said so for water.

SHE HAS BADLY EMBARRASSED HERSELF

Winnie withdraws, leaving race to Zuma

MAKENG: With Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma safely at the helm, Nelson Mandela just smiled when asked to comment. **ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS BATEMAN** report.

In a day of high political drama, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela suffered a public humiliation despite aborting her challenge for the ANC's deputy presidency at the 11th hour.

It has left the way open for former ANC national chairperson Mr Jacob Zuma to claim the prized position unopposed — effectively amounting him as the heir-apparent to Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mbeki, as expected, was elected as Mr Nelson Mandela's successor in a loud ovation and cheers from the 2,979 voting delegates attending the conference.

The biggest cheer of the day was reserved for the powerful general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Kgama Mthembu, who was carried shoulder high by ecstatic supporters when he was elected unopposed to the key post of secretary-general.

South Africa's outgoing High Commissioner in London, Mr Mend Kismang, was elected treasurer-general. In tight contests for the two remaining top six executive positions delegates tipped Sport Minister Mr Steve Tshwete to beat National Council of Provinces chairperson Mr Patrick Leoto for the job of ANC national chairperson, and Gender Commission head Ms Thentive Mhltso could narrowly pip MP Ms Mavivi Mphahlela-Matanzini for the post of deputy secretary-general.

Madikizela-Mandela's humiliation came when a procedural error allowed her to see that less than five percent of the delegates were prepared to back her through a show of hands. The ANC's amended constitution required Madikizela-Mandela to gain at least 25% support from the conference floor for her nomination to be accepted.

An ANC member stung on the podium last night that Madikizela-Mandela, when asked by Ms Dren Ntsheni of the Electoral Inst-

tute of SA if she would accept nomination, whispered: "Oh, I'll want to see what support I'll get".

As an anxious buzz washed across the conference floor, her long-time ally, former ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokebe urged: "Don't even go for a show of hands".

In the ensuing confusion, Madikizela-Mandela appeared to play for time by asking if she could consult her "structures" — a move which Mbeki firmly quashed to loud applause from the floor.

The audience reaction served as the writing on the wall for Madikizela-Mandela's leadership ambitions — she withdrew her nomination. The conference exploded with apparent relief as screams, shouts and clapping filled the cavernous University of the North West's Great Hall.

Earlier Ms Madikizela-Mandela had made a desperate bid to win the support of delegates by making what was effectively a campaign speech during a closed plenary session of the conference. Delegates said she had tried to extricate herself from the recent damaging public row she had had with the ANC leadership by "re-textualising" her attack on the ANC, its policies and delivery record.

She claimed she had been misquoted about her support for a referendum on the death penalty, had never said the ANC would fail to deliver and that the ANC housing policy she had criticised could work.

However, her explanations failed to convince delegates, many of whom had been warned at early-morning provincial caucuses of dire consequences if they did not vote for Zuma for the post of deputy

or 18/11/97 (11A)

"She tied her back too much — people had made up their minds not to back her by the time she had issued her last-minute plea," said one senior ANC member.

Asked by the Cape Times if he was happy with the ANC's new executive team, President Nelson Mandela grinned broadly and engaged in small-talk.

Tshwete described Madikizela-Mandela's tactical withdrawal as "commendable". Mpumalanga Premier and one-time candidate for the deputy presidency, Mr Matthews Phiso, said: "Winnie did not have a chance — she has badly embarrassed herself." He said only 16 of his province's 300 delegates had voted for her.

Northern Cape Premier Mr Mamie Ditofo said not a single delegate from his province had supported Madikizela-Mandela. "We arrived with an agreed position so no delegate could get out of hand. Even this morning we caucused to make sure we had not changed our minds."

However, party insiders were confident that the vanquished Women's League president would bounce back in the elections for one of the 60 positions on the ANC's powerful national executive committee. The elections start this evening.

Many tipped Madikizela-Mandela to end in the top five, some suggesting she might secure more votes than any of the other candidates in the secret ballot.

Other candidates tipped to do well include Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma, Finance Minister Mr Trevor Marnuel, Environment Minister Dr Pallo Jordan, Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi, SACP chief Mr Charles Ngqasula and Transport Minister Mr Mac Mahai. By early last night 200 names had been put up for the 60 open NEC places.



NO GRUDGE: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela hugs the new ANC deputy president, Jacob Zuma after withdrawing from the race for the position.

Confusion over voting procedure — Carolus

ANDRE KOOPMAN
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

MAFIKENG: Former acting secretary-general of the ANC Ms Cheryl Carolus yesterday fudged the details about Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's aborted and confusing nomination for deputy president of the ANC.

Facing a barrage of questions about suggestions that a vote seemed to have taken place before Madikizela-Mandela withdrew her nomination, Carolus told a press briefing that this "might be relevant for people who want to speculate on the matter".

"For us the important factor is that she withdrew."

Carolus had earlier said that

Madikizela-Mandela's nomination "did not stand".

Facing repeated questions about whether a vote had been taken when a seconder for Madikizela-Mandela's nomination was called for, Carolus said there wasn't "absolute certainty in the constitution" about the procedure.

The matter could not go to the vote if there was no seconder.

"There is no clear legal or constitutional description of what happens," she said.

Challenged about reports from several delegates that a vote had been taken, Carolus said that voting did not "come into question because Ms Madikizela Mandela declined".

"As far as we are aware there



'NO CLARITY': Cheryl Carolus

was no actual count," she said.

Delegates said Madikizela-Mandela had obtained only 126 of the 745 votes she needed to comply with the constitutional provision that a member get 25% of the vote to qualify for a nomination from the floor.

The report of the former ANC leader President Nelson Mandela and the report of the secretary-general prepared by Carolus were both adopted yesterday, she said.

Palty show of hands and bid for power over

CHRIS BATEMAN
POLITICAL WRITER

(11A)

27 18/12/97

MAHEKENG: You could have heard a pin drop in the pregnant moments after an independent election official asked 2 979 ANC delegates if there were any nominations besides Mr Jacob Zuma for the deputy presidency.

Then the Great Hall buzzed in anticipation of the moment everyone had been waiting for.

Would anyone have the guts to come up and nominate Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela? Someone did.

The provincial secretary of the ANC Women's League for North West Province, Ms Yvonne Makama, took the long walk to the microphone on the podium of the hall of the North West University here.

Independent election official Ms Dren Nupuyi then asked for a show of hands from the floor in support of Madikizela-Mandela.

A palty display of hands spoke eloquently of the preparation party regions had made for Madikizela-Mandela's charge for real power.

Wearing a blue silk kufian and sitting on the edge of the podium, Madikizela-Mandela appeared to nod her head when Nupen asked if she accepted her nomination.

However, she then got up and whispered to Nupen, who promptly consulted with Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Madikizela-Mandela returned to her seat — and then went to the microphone to address the conference.

She said she had "wanted to consult with my structures, so it didn't appear divisive — I wanted to advise those that nominated me what my position is".

As another buzz spread around the conference hall, Mbeki then firmly said there would be no adjournment for any consultation.

The ANC constitution was clear. Madikizela-Mandela needed 25% of delegates to support her nomination from the floor before her nomination became official.

"There are no structures as far as I can see," Mbeki added.

Nupen repeated her invitation to Madikizela-Mandela to accept or decline her nomination.

Madikizela-Mandela took the mike once more.

"I apologise to those who nominated me for having to decline," she said as the floor emptied with screams, clapping and shouts.

When Nupen then duly declared Zuma as elected ANC deputy president, cheers broke out.

Madikizela-Mandela stood in line to embrace her victorious opponent — eventually succeeding in a cheek-to-cheek embrace.

Her bid for real power was over.

Speech racist, paranoid

ET 18/12/97

NP
~~(SOWETA)~~ (11A)

JOHANNESBURG: President Nelson Mandela's stinging criticism of South Africa's white minority drew accusations of racism and paranoia yesterday from the politicians he had lambasted.

Mandela, 79, bidding farewell as leader of the African National Congress on Tuesday, said the country's young democracy had yet to unite all races, because whites still clung to privileges gained under apartheid.

The white-led National Party, which introduced apartheid in 1948 and dismantled it over 40 years later, said the speech had an "underlying racist tone" that did Mandela and the country a grave disservice.

"The abrasive and divisive language, the very unconvincing and somewhat paranoid conspiracy

theories ... make depressing reading," said a statement from the NP.

Mandela, who yesterday was replaced as ANC leader by his deputy, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said in the speech that some whites thought national reconciliation meant compensating them for the loss of political power by guaranteeing their wealth.

Mr Tony Leon, leader of the Democratic Party, called the speech "undoubtedly the low-water mark of his presidency.

"It was intellectually dishonest and unsophisticated in its analysis of the political and economic situation facing South Africa."

The Afrikaans-language Beeld newspaper said in an editorial it was a shame that Mandela had not spread the blame to include his own party.



LOW-WATER MARK: Tony Leon

"His own party was not always as enthusiastic about national reconciliation," it said.

The Sowetan, the country's largest circulation daily, echoed

Mandela's sentiments and said the challenge of reconciliation rested more heavily on the NP and the white Afrikaner-based Freedom Front, than it did on the ANC.

"The greater challenge resides with the conservative end of our political spectrum, more than it does with the ANC," said an editorial in the paper, which has a largely black readership.

Political observers said the tone of the farewell address — which ministers said represented the collective view of the ANC leadership — was surprising in its bitterness.

Tourism Minister Dr Pallo Jordan said after the speech that Mandela's frank, robust and unequivocal speech aimed to outline challenges ahead rather than offer "apple pie and motherhood, sweetness and light". — Reuter

Leaders of the IFP turn on each other

M+G 19-23/12/97 (11b)

Wonder Hlongwa

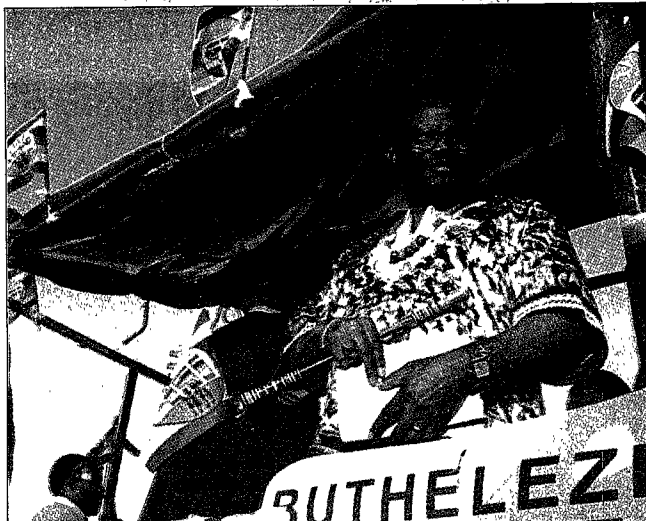
President Nelson Mandela's support for a merger between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week spurred IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi into an unprecedented attack on Sipo Mzimela, his senior Cabinet and party colleague.

Buthelezi hinted that Mzimela, who is correctional services minister and IFP deputy chair, could be on his way out of the party. Mzimela earlier wrote in a Sunday newspaper that he supported the parties merging.

Buthelezi told the *Mail & Guardian*: "Dr Mzimela embarrassed the party by shooting his mouth [off]. We tried to reason with him, that in fact it was out of order for him as a very senior member of the national council to talk publicly about the matter."

Buthelezi later told a press conference: "At one stage [Mzimela] said to me the ground is fertile because the ANC is failing to deliver, but again he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Mercury* to say the ANC was delivering."

He did not spell out Mzimela's future, save to say: "I don't think any party will tolerate a member doing what he is doing."



Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Unprecedented attack on Sipo Mzimela, the IFP's deputy chair.
PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

And in another clear sign of division among the top ranks of the party, Buthelezi said Mzimela had accused other IFP ministers — Deputy Minister of Safety and Security Joe Matthews and Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Lionel Mtshali — of ganging up on him.

A senior party member told the *M&G* this week that the national co-ordinating committee of the IFP, of which Mzimela is deputy chair, has distanced itself from Mzimela, making it clear they were not impressed by "his attempts to ingratiate himself with the ANC leadership".

He said: "The unhappiness about Dr Mzimela predates this latest issue. This flurry of

letters that we have seen in the press, which have been quite unprecedented for any IFP leader to do — just to take up a position without consulting the leadership — is symptomatic of the estrangement between Mzimela and other senior leaders."

He said Mzimela appeared to have lost Buthelezi's confidence, and that this signified a parting of ways.

Mzimela defected from the ANC to the IFP in the mid-Eighties to become that party's representative in the United States. On his return, Buthelezi offered him the public works ministry in the former KwaZulu government.

Mzimela was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

Quiet man takes the reins as ANC's chief organiser

Centre-stage for new secretary-general

INSIDE STORY

The ANC's new secretary-general comes across more like a church deacon than the head of the country's biggest political party, writes Group Parliamentary Editor Zubelda Jaffer from Matieleng

He is soft-spoken and polite, more like a church deacon than the organisational head of the largest political party in the country. Kgalema Motlanthe, a father of three, elected unopposed as secretary-general of the ANC, is not in the mould of his predecessor, the flamboyant Cheryl Caruthers.

There is some comparison between him and Cyril Ramaphosa, who preceded Cheryl Caruthers in her position. They both hail from the bosom of the National Union of Mineworkers, both firm labour unionists. But while Ramaphosa, now the consummate businessperson, has for long been a high profile public person, Motlanthe prefers a life outside the limelight.

He would prefer a quiet life where he could travel without being recognised. But he knows that his life of quiet but steady activism has finally pushed him into the political centre-stage. It is he who will primarily be responsible for trying to reverse the organisational weaknesses of the ANC as it prepares for the run-up to the 1999 general election.

Firmly part of the trade union movement since 1987 after he served 19 years on Robben Island, Motlanthe brings into the top echelons of the organisation a strong commitment to job creation. Investments that would produce jobs are a high priority for him.

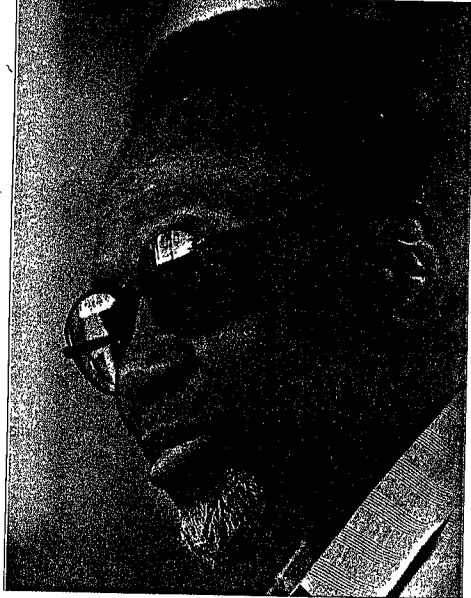
"We now primarily attract investments on to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange," he said. "This does not create jobs." Helping people to work through public works programmes where they live would be very important. "We have many homeless people in the cities who often have homes in the rural areas but are in fact job seekers," he said.

While in full support of the much-talked-of jobs summit proposed by Government, he said it had been postponed because there was no clear agenda and nobody knew what such a summit could achieve. "We need to engage organised business and get a commitment from them. Our companies can only become truly competitive if they become rooted in South Africa and African realities."

He links his dedication to job creation to his vision and commitment to the idea of an African renaissance promoted by the country's deputy president Thabo Mbeki, newly elected president of the ANC. "South African business needs to be persuaded that they must look to Africa as an untapped market," he said. A special commission constituted at the conference this week was charged with the responsibility of forging party-to-party relations in Africa and in the rest of the world. "We will offer the new possibilities to our youth," he said. "African markets open up new vistas of opportunity."

During his first day as secretary-general,

ARL 19/2/97 (11A)



Kgalema Motlanthe: the ANC's new secretary general. Like Cyril Ramaphosa, he has his roots in unionism

Motlanthe, dressed in an uncreased light-blue cotton shirt, dark blue jeans and slip-on black shoes with black socks, spent the morning listening to members discussing ways in which to strengthen the organisation.

He is clearly an organisational man, reluctant to commit himself to explicit actions before receiving mandates from conference. "I have my own ideas about what to do but these would be an individual's ideas," he said. "Without pretending that I would have all the answers, my task is to build on

the foundations laid by Cheryl and Cyril and address the problems identified here."

A handsome man, high forehead with receding hairline and a small greying beard creating an overall air of distinction, he is likely to bring an added calmness to the ANC team. He is indeed a quiet man, committed to his family and his community, embodying the synergy within the tripartite alliance.

Representing the trade unionist lobby, his appointment, marks a firm signal that the ANC membership and leadership remain committed to the upliftment of the poor and most disadvantaged sections of the South African community. A child of Sowe-

to, exposed to the black consciousness movement in early adulthood, his involvement with the ANC represents a constant thread throughout his adult life.

Now nearing his 50th year - he is 48 years old - he takes his place among the top echelons of the movement and has been inspired by the week of "hugging and kissing".

"Conference has been electrifying and inspiring," he said. He had not expected this because of having to take leave of President Mandela.

"Moments of parting are never easy, but his words were very touching and inspiring," he said. "They represented a call to duty for the delegates."

"And it is this call that Motlanthe has heeded and will have to give effect to in practice. He follows in the footsteps of a man and a woman who have both left an indelible mark on the organisation and the country."

The next 18 months will show whether he will rise to the heights of Cheryl Caruthers and Cyril Ramaphosa and help in the project of moving the country forward a few more steps towards greater enlightenment as they have done. His politeness and firm gentleness alone should stand him in good stead.

"We need to engage organised business and get a commitment from them"



CHRISTINE NESBITT

Comrades in arms: Patrick 'Terror' Lekota gets a hug from Popo Molefe at the African National Congress conference while Derek Hanekom looks on

Lekota bounces back from the wilderness

Election win stuns ANC leaders

19/12/1978 ARG 19/11/98 (11A)

POLITICAL STAFF AND SAPA

Mafikeng - Patrick "Terror" Lekota's stunning victory over favoured candidate Steve Tshwete for the African National Congress chairmanship has plucked him back from the political wilderness after his ousting as Free State premier late last year.

As the ANC's crucial 50th national conference drew to a close yesterday, the current National Council of Provinces chairman cruised home by 1 775 votes to 689.

Mr Lekota was nominated by six provinces and was also the Congress of South African Trade Unions and South African Communist Party choice.

The election of Mr Lekota, who was boot-ed out of the Free State after serious differences between himself and his colleagues in the provincial government there, is seen by some as a slap in the face from conference delegates for the ANC leadership, which apparently preferred Mr Tshwete for the position.

Mr Tshwete, who enjoys a reputation as the ANC's "Mr Fix-It", was the person who not only delivered a stinging rebuke to ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, but was also dispatched by the ANC leadership, together with Labour Minister Tito Mboweni, to help resolve the party's internal problems in the Free State. In his report to the ANC, he was unflattering to Mr Lekota, who he accused of being stubborn and troublesome.

But Mr Lekota steadfastly refused to crow and was magnanimous in victory yesterday. "He (Mr Tshwete) never harbours a personal grudge - that he is against an individual. He may be angry and sometimes untaught on an issue you are debating, but that would only be on that (issue).

"I reject with absolute contempt the suggestion that there was some revenge here," he said.

If any of the delegates who had voted for him had done so on the basis of revenge on Mr Tshwete, "I would have been happier, if they had kept their vote."

Commenting on his victory, Mr Lekota told journalists: "I believe that our generation is ready to take responsibility."

He acknowledged that the ANC "has its problems, but we are forging a team with the capacity to deal with the problems".

A key function assigned to the national chairman is to implement policy decisions taken at the conference.

Mr Lekota said new ANC president Thabo Mbeki and deputy president Jacob Zuma would be heavily involved in government work and international affairs, requiring him to take on a load heavier than that of his predecessor. However, he would not relinquish his job as NCOF chairman.

The contest between Mr Lekota and Mr Tshwete, although fought in a gentlemanly fashion, found a more robust expression between supporters. Conference organisers said fighting had broken out between their supporters on Wednesday night.

Mr Lekota is the only former leader of the now-defunct United Democratic Front to gain election.

In another contest, Gender Commission head Thenjiwe Mthintso beat Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini, who is also believed to have enjoyed ANC leadership support, for the position of deputy secretary-general.

Ms Myakayaka-Manzini is ANC leader Thabo Mbeki's parliamentary adviser.

Names of nominees for the party's national executive committee were also announced yesterday, among them Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's. Also nominated from the floor was the Rev Frank Chikane.

Among those who declined nominations for NEC membership was Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, who had run for deputy president against Mr Zuma and Mrs Madikizela-Mandela until his controversial withdrawal from the race.

Soon after the withdrawal, Mr Phosa had announced his decision not to stand for any executive position within the party.

President Mandela is believed to have pressured Mr Phosa to withdraw so as to beef up support for Mr Zuma, and in the process weaken that of Mrs Madikizela-Mandela.

The ANC will today conduct elections for the 60 NEC seats. Delegates will spend the rest of the day working out resolutions.

An announcement of the new NEC members will be made before Saturday's post-conference rally, at which Mr Mbeki is expected to speak.

132 nominated for 60 posts

(11A) CT 19712197

MAFIKENG: Director-general in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office Dr Frank Chikane was nominated for one of 60 directly elected seats to the ANC's leadership body, the national executive committee.

He is among 132 nominees who will contest the NEC elections.

Voting began last night and results are likely to be announced on Saturday morning.

Chikane, who did not appear on the provincial nomination list, was nominated from the floor by the ANC's Gauteng province and mustered the requisite 25% support with ease for his nomination to succeed.

Deputy Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Ms Susan Shabangu was also nominated from the floor by delegates attending the ANC's 50th national conference here. However, former Free State MEC Mr Ace Maga-

shule, who after last year's leadership crisis in the province was redeployed to the national Parliament, failed to secure the necessary support for nomination.

Those who appeared on the provincial nomination list but who declined to stand included Cosatu president Mr John Gomomo.

Gomomo, who was elected in 1994 to the NEC, later resigned from the body, as did fellow trade unionist Mr Sam Shilowa. But Shilowa accepted nomination for the new NEC yesterday.

Mpumalanga Premier Mr Mathews Phosa, who backed out of the race for deputy presidency of the ANC after being asked to do so by the leadership, declined nomination. As ANC Mpumalanga provincial chairman he has ex officio membership of the body.

Among those who accepted nomi-

nation was former ANC secretary-general turned businessman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. His acceptance was greeted by wild applause, as was Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma's when her name was read out.

As expected, no ANC cabinet ministers failed to make the nominations list.

Delegates erupted into wild applause when former ANC president Nelson Mandela was nominated by the Northern Province for an NEC position, but he politely declined to stand, in line with his stated intention to revert to being an ordinary member.

Sixty officials from the Electoral Institute of South Africa will be overseeing the elections. Each delegate has up to 60 votes and the count would be computerised, conference organisers said. — Sapa

Lekota win leaves Tshwete glum

(11A) CT 19/11/87

POLITICAL STAFF

MAHINKO, former Free State premier **Mr Patrick (Terror) Lekota**, heading a new generation of ANC leaders, yesterday thrashed his veteran opponent **Sport and Recreation Minister Mr Steve Tshwete**, in the race for the ANC's national chairmanship.

In another keenly fought election contest, the champion of the Commission on Gender Equality, **Ms Themiwe Mtshiso**, who is also a leading member of the South African Communist Party, beat ANC MP **Ms Masivi Mqakeyaka-Manzini** for the post of deputy secretary-general by 1,390 votes to 1,170. **Mqakeyaka-Manzini's** ANC president **Thabo Mbeki's** parliamentary adviser.

The margin of Lekota's victory, 1,775 votes to 859, came as an upset to those who regarded Tshwete as the favoured candidate by virtue of his close ties with Mbeki and his generation.

But others saw Lekota's win as a sharp hitting factor. **Mr Tshwete** who decided to oust him from his post as Free State premier and "redeploy" him to Cape Town as chairman of the National Council of Provinces.

Lekota, however, "reflected with contempt" suggestions that his victory amounted to "sweet revenge against the hatchet man of the ANC" (Tshwete) who was given the task of firing Lekota from the Free State premiership.

Lekota was clearly the crowd's favourite. When he arrived at the conference yesterday morning he was carried shoulder-high by supporters. After lunch when the vote counting had been completed, Tshwete cut a glum figure.

The Lekota-Tshwete contest has been one of the fiercest at the ANC conference: on Wednesday night scuffles broke out between supporters of the



two contenders at polling booths. ANC insiders were predicting a "neck and neck" contest, but the Lekota faction managed to garner the bulk of six provinces' delegates in strong overnight lobbying. Tshwete picked up support in **KwaZulu-Natal**, the **Eastern Cape** and the **Western Cape**, while Lekota swept up voters from the other six provinces.

One senior ANC official said Lekota's victory was "something of a rehabilitation" after the Free State debacle, but said it also demonstrated the delegates' eagerness to balance youth with experience.

Lekota is the only former leader of the now-defunct United Democratic Front to gain election. He was born in the Free State on August 13, 1948. In 1974 he was sentenced to six years on Robben Island, where Tshwete was also serving a sentence. Commenting on his victory,

Lekota said: "I believe that our generation is ready to take responsibility".

He acknowledged that the ANC "had its problems, but we are forging a team with the capacity to deal with the problems". He said it was too early to say how he would approach his new task, which gives him a great deal of power to influence the day-to-day operations of the ruling party.

A key function assigned to the national chairman is to implement policy decisions taken at conference. He said Mbeki and ANC deputy president **Mr Jacob Zuma** would be heavily involved in government work and international affairs which would require him to take on a load heavier than that of his predecessor.

However, he would not relinquish his job as chairman of the National Council of Provinces.



SEE PAGE 6

Editor Byland
fisher reflects
on the ANC
conference

—PAGE 11

Private sector under scrutiny

—PAGE 7

Mbeki steps in with quiet confidence

—PAGE 7

All the president's men

In choosing new leaders, ANC membership shows it is still firmly behind the cabinet

CYRIL MADLALA and
CRAIG DOONAN

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's departure marked a historic moment for the ANC, but it was the party's classic balancing act that will go down as the distinguishing mark of its 50th national conference held in Matieling this week.

On Tuesday delegates rose as one to appoint Thabo Mbeki as their new president. Early on Saturday, with a massive cheer, they united to endorse Cyril Ramaphosa as the most popular additional executive committee, thus embracing the two crown princes who could not both be king.

For Ramaphosa, who remained an executive committee member after stepping down as secretary general last year, it was a triumphant return to the political stage.

As it was for Patrick Lekota, the former Free State premier, who mercilessly crushed the Minister of Sport, Steve Tshwete, to become the ANC's national chairman.

It was also clear that ANC members have not lost faith in the government's programme of action and are still fully behind the cabinet. Only Public Enterprises Minister Stefaan Sigcau did not make the top 15 positions, while among the top 15 positions, only Ramaphosa,

NEW ANC EXECUTIVE

1. President: Thabo Mbeki
2. Deputy President: Jacob Zuma
3. Secretary General: Kgalema Motlanthe
4. Deputy Secretary General: Thenjwe Mthintso
5. Treasurer: Mendi Makhanya
6. Chairman: Patrick Lekota

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

POSITION	NAME	PREVIOUS POSITION	POSITION VOTES
1.	Cyril Ramaphosa	(1)	2890
2.	Kader Asmal	(16)	2324
3.	Palle Jiyane	(2)	2304
4.	Mac Maharaj	(4)	2260
5.	Jay Madiso	(4)	2243
6.	Tito Mboweni	(14)	2242
7.	Winnie Mandela	(67)	2240
8.	Dullah Omar	(10)	2166
9.	Mthimhli Vally Mosea	(8)	2162
10.	Ronnie Kasriri	(11)	2150
11.	Sydney Mtsheni	(6)	2113
12.	Mosazane Zuma	(18)	2103
13.	Derek Hanekom	(27)	2089
14.	Jeff Radebe	(16)	2077
15.	Winnie Madikizela-Mandela	(5)	2059
16.	Blade Nzimande	(29)	2058
17.	Gerda van Rooy	(1)	2030
18.	Frank Chikane	(1)	2003
19.	Peter Mokaba	(9)	1995
20.	Steve Tshwete	(7)	1977
21.	Mhazana Sam Shilowe	(46)	1971
22.	Joe Modise	(25)	1920
23.	Popo Molefe	(3)	1911
24.	Zola Skweyiya	(24)	1894
25.	Alec Erwin	(49)	1881
26.	Frene Ginella	(30)	1848
27.	Sibusiso Hengeni	(28)	1838
28.	Penuel Maduna	(39)	1821
29.	Gony Ndlovu	(51)	1816
30.	Jim Marcus	(21)	1799
31.	Joseph Goniwe	(37)	1788
32.	Charles Nqakula	(34)	1775
33.	John Nkomo	(40)	1771
34.	Ntshonke	(4)	1768



OUT OF THE RACE: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela after withdrawing from the election of deputy president

CRAIG DOONAN
ST 21/12/97 (11A)

Winnie holds her head up as visible support crumbles

WHEN Nelson Mandela stood at the podium to deliver his historic opening speech at the ANC's conference this week, his former wife was sitting at the opposite end of the stage, the last in a row of the party's leaders.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela remained there for most of the week, clearly an outsider, but her presence permeated the event.

toral Institute of South Africa, asked Madikizela-Mandela if she accepted the nomination. Sensing defeat, or in a calculated move, she replied: "Comrade Thabo, I think I understand what is happening here. To those comrades who nominated my name, I apologise and decline."

A roar erupted from the floor as she took her seat. Her bubble had burst. Or had it? It was later established that 120 to 130 delegates had raised

that Zuma had unanimously been nominated by the provinces as deputy president, it was up to delegates to nor-

Ronnie Kasrils, and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela were not ministers.

The government's growth, employment and redistribution programme was given the thumbs up, with Finance Minister Trevor Manuel coming in seventh, one position behind Labour Minister Tito Mboweni. Minister Housing Minister Sankile Mbhebeni-Mahanyale was shown the red card and demoted from 33rd place to 42nd. Peter Mokaba, the deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, who had pushed a strong Africanised agenda ahead of the conference, dropped 16 positions to 19th place. Instead, delegates endorsed a non-racial slate, with only three blacks among the top 10.

Madikizela-Mandela was ousted as the ANC's top woman, with Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma beating her by three places to come in 12th. Madikizela-Mandela lost 10 places.

Youth league candidates Lulu Johe-son, Rapu Molekane and Thabang Makwela failed to make the committee.

New additions to the committee included Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, deputy Arts Minister Brigitte Mabandla, Northern Cape Premier Mamie Dipico, Northern Province Premier Ngqako Ramathodi and Free State Premier Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri.

The outgoing Gauteng Premier, Tokyo Sexwale, said to be disillusioned at being sidelined as a presidential candidate, declined to stand for election.

But the conference was not just about elections.

It was the first proper opportunity for the ANC to assess its performance as a governing party. The 1994 conference came too soon after the country's first democratic elections.

On Tuesday, Mandela split out what the party had to achieve in five days of deliberations:

- A united movement;
- A clear understanding of objectives and policies for the entire leadership;
- A clear programme of action which all members would implement; and
- All required commitment by the leadership to ensure the implementation of that programme; and

... The election of a national leader-ship that enjoyed members' confidence and support, was genuinely capable of leading the ANC and the country

36. Shussiso Ndlebe e	(43)	706
37. Mafiso Dipico	(41)	683
38. Ngoko Ramathodi	(38)	652
39. Aziz Pahad	(35)	659
40. Max Sisulu	(32)	603
41. Joe Mafiso	(27)	169
42. Sankile Mbhebeni-Mahanyale	(33)	585
43. Mafiso Mafiso	(35)	571
44. Alfred Nzo	(23)	1489
45. Essop Pahad	(24)	1493
46. Limpio Hani	(38)	1354
47. Baloké Kristofel-Mfenge	(43)	1349
48. Dumisane Makhaya	(31)	1307
49. Ephah Gonyiwe	(31)	1232
50. Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri	(31)	1232
51. Antso Masongo	(31)	1217
52. Zandi Mkhize	(31)	1153
53. Smanqiso Mkhatahwa	(31)	1198
54. Phumzila Mlambo-Ngcuka	(31)	1131
55. Essop Pahad	(31)	1110
56. Phillip Dexter	(31)	1105
57. Jabu Moleketi	(31)	1063
58. Lindwe Sisulu	(31)	1061
59. Collins Chabane	(31)	1009
60. Thoko Msane-Digiza	(31)	1009

GRAPHIC: ROMA BERSCH

through the challenging period ahead, and excluded from its ranks careerists and opportunists.

The challenge was clear, Mandela said: "History will never repeat for us this moment of time, an opportunity when so many of us are granted the privilege to participate in the creation of a new world."

It is against these objectives set by the ANC that the success of the 50th national conference should be judged.

While Mandela's surrender of power to Mbeki was a historic moment in the ANC's history, it was always going to be the choice of leaders to work with the new president of the party that would determine if the membership was ready to infuse new blood at the helm.

Although Lekota later denied this emphatically, most delegates were clear: his win was their sweet revenge against a national leadership that had not featured him in its plans for the top six in the ANC.

The party presented a united face after his victory, with hugs from all sides, but that does not necessarily guarantee a smooth blending of his leadership style with that of his senior colleagues.

The party's constitution was amended at the conference to extend the leadership term from three to five years.

This means Lekota will have more than enough time to consolidate his grip on power — provided he does not try to assert this authority too forcefully right from the start.

as a concerted effort from within the ANC's ranks to sideline her.

As Mandela concluded his five-hour speech in the Great Hall at the University of the North West, he lashed out at those in the movement who had created division and conflict, encouraged indiscipline and helped demoralise some of the membership. Some interpreted this as a direct reference to Madikizela-Mandela.

When Mandela had finished, his national executive committee lined up to shake his hand during an emotional farewell cheer from the 3 500 delegates. Madikizela-Mandela was not about to be left out. The invitation reached fever pitch as she stepped up to him, hugged him and kissed him.

Delegates recounted "that kiss" as they left, only too aware that between Jacob Zuma or Madikizela-

near riot in the Free State caucus when delegates demanded to be allowed to vote for Madikizela-Mandela instead of Zuma, the leadership's preference. People spoke of her groups that had told them she enjoyed the support of nearly half the delegates.

The next day, Madikizela-Mandela pulled up to be greeted by about 20 supporters. Surrounded by bodyguards, she swept inside, oozing confidence. Delegates said that during the closed session that followed, she heaped praise on Mandela, and urged that the Mandela name remain a prominent part of the ANC's future. She also tried to explain her recent criticism of the party in the press.

Later, after Mbeki's unopposed nomination to succeed Mandela, and the announcement

Makume of North West Province bravely announced her choice. Madikizela-Mandela had been nominated.

In an apparent moment of confusion, the electoral officer called for her to be seconded, instead of asking her whether she accepted the nomination.

Madikizela-Mandela took the podium: "Comrades, I had wanted to consult with the structure so that I do not appear to be divisive to my organisation," Mbeki, chairing proceedings, was quick to respond: "No, comrade Willem, this electoral process is being run by the electoral college. That's where the decision should come from about this." He said she had been nominated by an individual, not a structure. While the paltry show of hands was being counted, Dren Nupen, director of the Elec-

OPPOSITION PARTIES

The reality of the last three years is that the white parties have essentially decided against the prospect of a national agenda. Rather, the parties chosen to organise a reactionary, dangerous and opportunistic position which argues that normal and stable democracy had been achieved; the apartheid system is a thing of the past; their legitimate responsibility is to oppose us as the majority party.

Thus to represent themselves as elements of a shadow government both for our past and our present; and, consequently, that they have a democratic obligation merely to discredit the ruling party, so that they may gain power after the next elections.

Accordingly, the NP and the DP are engaged in a desperate struggle to outcompete each other in a race which they believe will be won by whoever convinces the white minority that they are the most reliable and best defenders of white privilege.

... The latest political grouping to join the miserable platoon of opponents of our movement is the United Democratic Movement of Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer, former bedfellows

as functionaries of the apartheid system and its security forces.

... The challenge continues to confront both Azapo and the PAC to abandon the illusion that, as organisations, they can be significant factors in the continuing struggle for the genuine liberation of the people.

THE ANC

Many among our members see their membership of the ANC as a means to advance their personal ambitions to attain positions of power and access to resources for their own individual gratification.

Accordingly, they work to manipulate the movement to create conditions for their success.

During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indiscipline leading to the undermining of our organisational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralisation of some of the best cadres of our organisation.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Pretending to represent an independent and popular view ...

Madiba blows his top at Mafikeng

The opposition, the media and ANC careerists get a tongue-lashing

these NGOs also work to corrode the influence of the movement. They lack (an) issue-driven mass base. That is the defining feature of any real NGO and they are therefore unable to raise funds from the people themselves.

This has also created the possibility for some of these NGOs to act as instruments of foreign governments and institutions that intend them to promote the interests of these external forces.

THE MEDIA

During the last three years, the matter has become perfectly clear that the bulk of the mass media in our country has set itself up as a force opposed to the ANC.

(It) exploits the dominant positions it achieved as a result of the apartheid system to campaign against both real change and the real agents of change, as represented by the ANC.

It also takes advantage of the fact that, thanks to decades of repression and prohibition of a mass media genuinely representative of the voice of the majority of the people in South Africa, this majority has no choice but to rely for information and communication on a media representing the privileged minority.

Madiba passes on the baton – to his trusted teammates

By CHIARA CARTER
and SEKOLA SELLO

ALBERTSON Mandela showed out as president of the ANC to a standing ovation, he signalled his intention to devote much of his energy to working with children. Mandela said he would also do what he could to help transformation and contribute to the ANC.

His address covered the history of the ANC and his own experiences in the organisation.

Handing over the reins to newly-elected ANC president Thabo Mbeki, Mandela said he looked forward to spending more time with his grandchildren, continuing debates with his fellow veterans and relaxing at his home in Qunu, Transkei.

"Our generation traversed a century that was characterised by conflict, bloodshed, hatred and intolerance; a century which tried but could not fully resolve the problems of disparity between the rich and the poor, between developing and developed countries," Mandela said.

"I look forward to the period when I will be able to wake up with the sun; to walk the hills and valleys of Qunu in peace and tranquility. And I am confident that this will be the case, because as I do so and see the smiles on the faces of children which reflect the sunshine in their hearts, I will know, Comrade Thabo and your team, that you are on the right track; you are succeeding."

Delegates agreed on the need for more rapid affirmative action and that black economic empowerment should not just amount to creating a black middle class.

Other resolutions included: the provincial prioritisation of crime, redrafting the Police Act and the possibility of transfers from other security and intelligence services to the SAPS.

Resolutions on local government were passed, including one on reducing the number of municipalities and councillors, the political neutrality of traditional leaders who were to be given leading roles in their communities, and that the communal land tenure system should be reformed to give occupiers and users land rights.

At the end of the conference, the government received a massive vote of confidence, with delegates endorsing a range of key policies and re-electing all but one of the ANC cabinet ministers as additional National Executive Committee members.

Mbeki, at the close, said five priorities were:

- Changing the machinery of state;
- High and sustained economic growth, so that there was visible improvement in the standard of living, especially of the poor;
- Directing government spending towards social needs;
- Fighting crime and the abuse of women and children and;
- Fighting corruption.

Carving a new path, through the heat

CP 21/12/97
(11A)

A new era begins as a new cadre of fifty-somethings look over from the older generation at this week's historic 50th conference of the ANC in Mafikeng.

leaders" who could handle the complex issues of social development.

This cadre turned out to be a mixed bag: with the consensus candidates Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Kgalema Motlanthe — joined by the two candidates strongly backed by a mixture of alliance partners and former MDM groups — Patrick Terror Lekota and Thenthiwe Mthintso.

The much-vaulted bid for the deputy presidency by Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela turned out a damp squib: it was over before most delegates realised it was happening.

The popularity of Madikizela-Mandela did not translate into a challenge to Zuma.

As late as the previous night, her supporters advised her to withdraw, but she waited until midnight, first seeking an adjournment; then declining to stand.

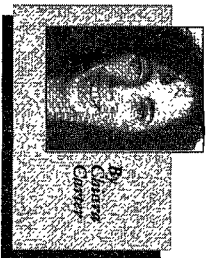
The real battle was of a different kind: Former Free state premier Lekota's victory revealed that the MDM tradition was not over. After last minute canvassing, Lekota triumphed the man favoured by the Youth League and party leadership, Sports Minister Steve Tshwete.

The victory of Gender Commission head Phisoje Mhntso against Mbeki's advisor, Maivivi Makakgaya-Manzini, was close — another sign that the left were mobilising.

The expected slowdown on economic policy, social change and the like did not happen — not least because the basis for consensus had been laid at an earlier ANC policy conference.

The sharp divisions over policy did not break above ground, and the reported rift between rank and file and leadership was not evidenced either in debate or in the elections. All but one of the cabinet were voted onto the NEC in an overwhelming note of confidence in the ANC leadership.

This will be helped by moves to re-organise the ANC with three full-time members from the top six, plans to tighten policy formulation and deployment of ANC cadres and the news that the organisation is R50 million in the black.



Dr. Gwanya Chetty

THE MARCH of generations carved a path through the heat and dust of Mafikeng this week.

The fifth conference of the ANC was not only steeped in history, it will also be remembered as a turning point when the older generation, "handed over the baton" to the "fifty-somethings", when the internal strand of the ANC was revived, and when the ANC grappled with the nettle of bringing meaningful change in a society structured by a colonial and apartheid past.

The gathering of more than 3 000 delegates spanned the breadth of the ANC: veterans, former exiles, MDM stalwarts, communists, unionists as well as the ANC's new recruits.

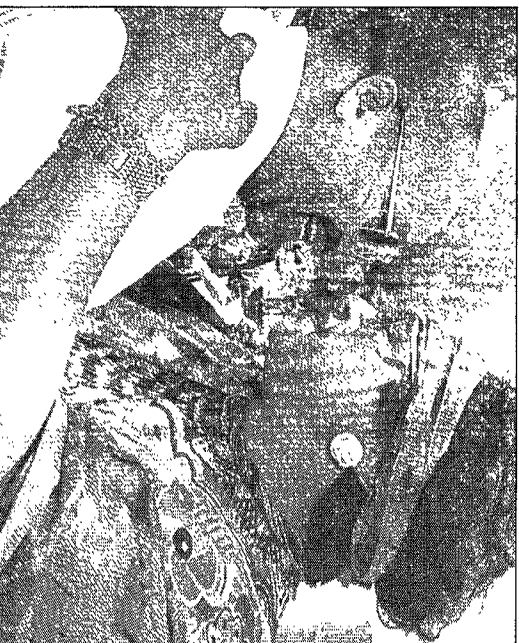
From the outset, it was a liberation movement conference, with songs of resistance and talk of a revolution yet to be completed.

Given that the next ANC conference will be held in three years time, the 2000 gathering might be the last of its kind — the 2000 gathering will probably be that of a modern African political party.

The tone was set by outgoing ANC president Nelson Mandela who used his 52-page presidential address to make a call to the ANC troops and to sharply criticise the enemies of change.

His address startled observers who anticipated a shorter, statesman-like speech. Instead it was directed towards domestic consumption. Much of what Mandela said was not only true, it was also not new.

Targets for the outgoing president's scathing critique included white business, the media, opposition parties (with the



RECONCILIATORY EMBRACE... Newly-elected Deputy President of the ANC Jacob Zuma embraces Winnie Madikizela-Mandela on her arrival on the third day of the conference.

exception of the IFP), the moral decay in society, careerism and corruption in ANC ranks, and, somewhat oddly, a lengthy attack on foreign-funded, non-community based NGOs.

Critically, Mandela spoke about the need for the ANC to win support from the white community for the view that sacrifice for transformation was in everybody's interests.

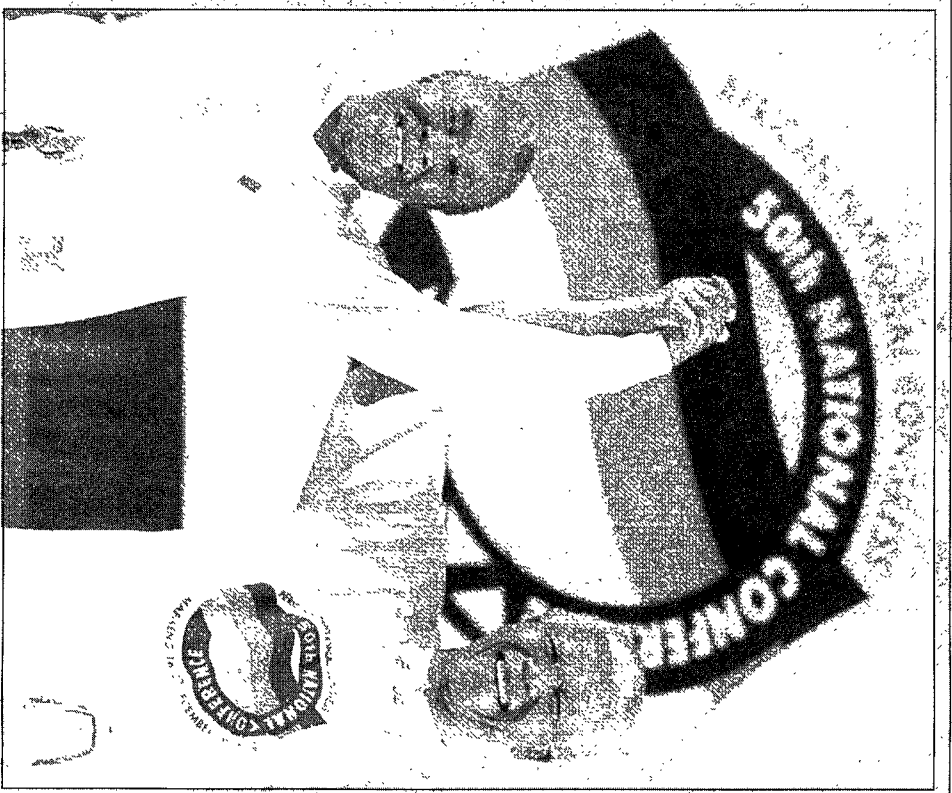
He touched on some of the problems experienced in the alliance, saying that trade unions, community organisations would by definition focus on the promotion of the interests of the privileged, relative to the

unemployed and non-unionised. As long as questions remained about the nature of socialism and the path to achieve this, there would be problems in defining the relationship between the SACP, Cosatu and the ANC. But the need for transformation meant the alliance was still needed.

Tackling the problems the ANC government had experienced, Mandela said the key issue was the creation of a people-centred state.

Many of the problems came from having to rely on old apartheid state machinery.

Mandela ended by calling on delegates to elect a "cadre of



ACCESSION TO POWER... President Mandela raises the hand of the new ANC president, Thabo Mbeki, after he was elected unopposed on the second day of the conference.

Election Results

Pos

Name

C. Rama Chosa

Votes

2390

Mbeki puts social needs

Struggle veterans

3	P. Jordan	2304
4	M. Makhaya	2280
5	J. Madofo	2243
6	J. Mavweni	2242
7	T. Mamele	2240
8	D. Ornar	2166
9	M. Mooka	2162
10	R. Kasriri	2150
11	S. Williams	2113
12	N. Zuma	2103
13	D. Henskom	2089
14	J. Parakele	2077
15	W. Madikizela-Mandela	2059
16	G. Nzimande	2058
17	G. Fraser-Mokhele	2038
18	F. Chikane	2003
19	P. Mookaba	1977
20	S. Tshwete	1971
21	S. Shikwa	1921
22	J. Molele	1920
23	Z. Sinywaya	1894
24	A. Travn	1861
25	F. Gwinala	1861
26	P. Mdingu	1833
27	S. Bhengu	1821
28	T. Yengeni	1821
29	G. Marcus	1816
30	J. Cronin	1799
31	J. Neakula	1784
32	J. Mashindzhe	1775
33	B. Ntshindzhe	1741
34	S. Masecozma	1738
35	S. Masebele	1706
36	M. Dipolo	1663
37	N. Ramatsoedi	1662
38	A. Parand	1659
39	M. Salsulu	1603
40	J. Ntshahla	1601
41	S. Mhembu-Mhanyele	1585
42	M. Mkhayeka-Manzini	1511
43	A. Nzo	1489
44	E. Parand	1402
45	L. Hani	1384
46	B. Gqosetsele-Mhabe	1369
47	D. Makraye	1307
48	G. Godongwana	1232
49	I. Matesape-Kassaburi	1232
50	A. Masindo	1217
51	S. Mkhlaswa	1198
52	Z. Mkhize	1153
53	P. Mlambo-Ngcuka	1132
54	J. Durate	1110
55	P. Deker	1105
56		

BY SEKOLA SELLO AND CHIARA CARTER

NEWLY ELECTED African National Congress President Thabo Mbeki yesterday promised a speedier delivery of many of the country's social needs. Included were improvements in healthcare facilities, reduction of unemployment and elimination of poverty.

Speaking at a media briefing in Matieling before the conclusion of the party's fifteenth national conference, Mbeki said government policies were now in place and a move was needed to implement these policies.

He said national reconciliation would continue, along with moves to bring about fundamental change. Mbeki said attempts to bring all South Africans "on board" had not been a Mandela project "but ANC policy."

South Africa was still defined by the racial divisions of the past which meant government still faced the challenge of 94 - building a national consensus.

"From 1994, change and the creation of a non-racial society have been primary elements of ANC policy," Mbeki said.

"Three and a half years on we have a better capacity to bring about change," Mbeki said.

He identified the "creation of a machinery of state that could impact positively on the process of change."

The government had to reduce levels of poverty and make a "visible improvement on conditions of life, especially to the desperately poor."

Racial and gender disparities also had to be addressed. Another area for focus was the improvement of levels of expertise in the civil service, shifting civil servant orientation from being "enemies of the people" to one of giving service to people.

As government moved to ensure a more efficient public sector it faced the problem of former homeland areas where there were too many civil servants but mass unemployment.

The country needed sustainable economic growth. This meant new investment, job creation, skilled workers, higher levels of productivity and a decrease in unemployment levels.

He questioned statistics which indicated that the economy was shedding jobs, saying that when the opposite was indicated, "However the rate of job creation is not what we want it to be."

Instead it needed to spend money on infra-structures such as schools, water and the like.

Restructuring of state assets should include job creation and incentives for investment. Mbeki mooted the possibility of big corporations helping to set up small and medium level labour incentive enterprises.

Another major challenge was transforming the police in its motivation and composition. Mbeki said corruption was a "deep seated" rot in South African society and this had to be challenged. He said corruption corroded society's moral fibre through tax evasion, child abuse and theft.

Mbeki said that he was not at all sure the government was on top of the "counter-revolutionary threat" He cited the theft of equipment from the National Intelligence Agency office and of weapons from the SANDF.

Also a threat was the number of guns in private hands, many of which could be converted to automatic weapons.

He further expressed alarm at the agendas of some intelligence companies - set up by former security officers.

He said that there were people who would welcome a situation where the government crumbled in the face of crime.

We're making changes - Dhlomo

BY JIMMY SREPE

BLACK media proprietors, such as City Press Limited and New Africa Investment Limited, have done much to distort the media industry in the country. In the view of the majority of the population, said Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairperson of Dyanos Investment Limited, the owners of City Press.

Dhlomo's comments follow a stinging attack on black editors as "token appointments" and said black media owners do not wield power within the industry, despite having a major controlling share.

Investment and Nail had brought about tremendous changes within the industry, which were facilitated by their having bought newspapers already run by black editors and journalists.

In a television interview, Mandela said that although black media owners, such as former ANC secretary general Cyril Rhamphosa and Nail director Dr Nkhato Moflana, have a controlling share "there are many areas where the power is not with them."

Dhlomo said owners of City Press Ltd have wide decision-making

machinery of state that could impact positively on the process of change.

The government had to reduce levels of poverty and make a "visible improvement on conditions of life, especially to the desperately poor."

Racial and gender disparities also had to be addressed. Another area for focus was the improvement of levels of expertise in the civil service, shifting civil servant orientation from being "enemies of the people" to one of giving service to people.

As government moved to ensure a more efficient public sector it faced the problem of former homeland areas where there were too many civil servants but mass unemployment.

The country needed sustainable economic growth. This meant new investment, job creation, skilled workers, higher levels of productivity and a decrease in unemployment levels.

He questioned statistics which indicated that the economy was shedding jobs, saying that when the opposite was indicated, "However the rate of job creation is not what we want it to be."

Both government and the private sector had a role to play but Mbeki said that not employment more civil servants.



BLACK MEDIA OWNER ... Dyanos Investment Chairman, Dr Oscar Dhlomo

powers within the publication.

He said City Press and the *Sowetan* have an advantage as they are not battling with an entrenched white culture in their publications.

"The culture in our publications is already black and is understanding of the environment in which we operate," he said.

Instead it needed to spend money on infra-structures such as schools, water and the like.

Restructuring of state assets should include job creation and incentives for investment. Mbeki mooted the possibility of big corporations helping to set up small and medium level labour incentive enterprises.

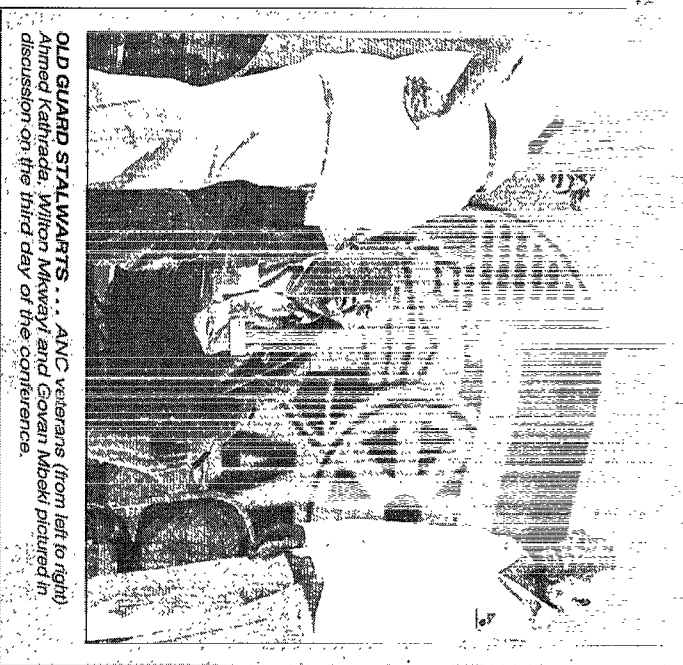
Another major challenge was transforming the police in its motivation and composition. Mbeki said corruption was a "deep seated" rot in South African society and this had to be challenged. He said corruption corroded society's moral fibre through tax evasion, child abuse and theft.

Mbeki said that he was not at all sure the government was on top of the "counter-revolutionary threat" He cited the theft of equipment from the National Intelligence Agency office and of weapons from the SANDF.

Also a threat was the number of guns in private hands, many of which could be converted to automatic weapons.

He further expressed alarm at the agendas of some intelligence companies - set up by former security officers.

He said that there were people who would welcome a situation where the government crumbled in the face of crime.



OLD GUARD STALWARTS ... ANC veterans (from left to right) Ahmed Katrinaada, Wilson Mkhayeli and Govan Mbeki pictured in discussion on the third day of the conference.

Dhlomo

said. "We still continue to have a reliance on the predominant view, both in newspapers and the electronic media - that of white privilege and opinion which is anti-government in most instances. Slluma said a meeting of media proprietors, editors and representatives on the civil society concept that is still in the offing.

"It is not cost-effective to have the president and editors and media owners trading accusations publicly without discussing them."

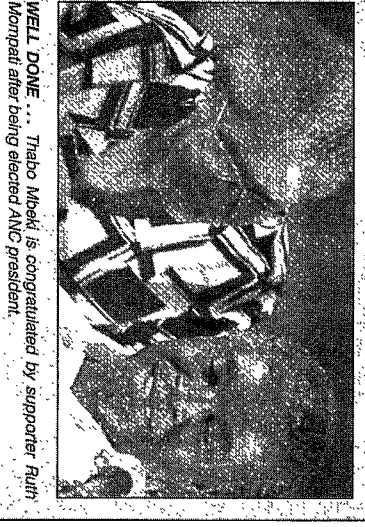
Williams, who is also chairman of the SA National Editor's Forum, said there was no doubt that large sections of the media were in need of fundamental transformation.

Williams said Mandela had to explain how he defined tokenism. "There are obvious limitations to our ability to radically change things. But if (justice Minister) Dullah Omar and other ministers can show me a perfectly transformed government department after three years, I would love to see it," he said.

"Transformation is not an easy process and getting newspaper staff to reflect the demographics of their readership would take some time.

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WELL DONE ... Thabo Mbeki is congratulated by supporters after being elected ANC president.

Few changes on agenda after Mafikeng

Myndham Hartley

MAFIKENG — The broad thrust of government's economic policy is set to remain unchanged in the wake of last week's African National Congress (ANC) conference.

However, resolutions passed by the conference calling for changes in land affairs policy and the role of traditional leaders may test the hard won co-operation between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Health, education, labour and constitutional development policy was strongly endorsed. Outgoing ANC president Nelson Mandela,

while earlier apparently laying the platform for a more strident and vigorous pursuit of transformation in the Mbeki era, softened this position with a fatherly lecture to his successor on remaining faithful to the leadership traditions of the ANC.

In a departure from the prepared text of his speech, Mandela, in an intervention which observers believed was aimed at Mbeki, warned that there could be no place for the settling of scores or the marginalisation of opponents within the movement.

The predicted clashes in the economic policy commission did not materialise and the growth

education, and redistribution strategy (Gear) was endorsed in a scant 15 votes by the full plenary session of the conference.

Officials of the ANC's alliance partners, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the SA Communist Party, said there was never an intention to contest Gear at the conference. According to the ANC's economic policy was accepted and it was in the "detail of micro-economic policy" that the debate would continue. Labour Minister Tito Mboweni said there was no blood on the floor in the commission and that he was surprised and encouraged by the level of agreement on Gear.

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He said the country should brace itself for an "intense" debate on job creation and suggested that the anomaly of jobless growth would be lifted on the agenda for government reports later. The move from demand to supply-side economics would be further strengthened with incentives.

The insistence of the conference that traditional leaders should transform themselves into legitimate and democratic institutions and the demand for Land Minister Derek Hanekom to reform communal land tenure in rural areas may raise the heat between the ANC and the IFP at a time when the peace negotiations are

progressing so well that there is talk of a merger between the two parties.

The conference also passed controversial resolutions calling for the legalisation of prostitution, and equality for gay and lesbian couples, including recognition of their unions as equivalent to heterosexual marriages. These proposals are likely to spark an outcry from some religious leaders.

Agreement that metropolitan government should be returned to central or "mega" city status is also likely to cause heated debate.

See Page 5

conference

SACP, COSATU WIN KEY POSITIONS ON NEC

Resounding victory for the ANC left

(11A) CT 22/12/97

MAFIKENG: Led by Cyril Ramaphosa and Patrick Lekota, the left has scored victories that provide what analysts believe will be a brake on the ANC's drift to the right, reports **JOVIAL RANTAO** of our Parliamentary Bureau.

THE ANC's 50th national conference was not only the backdrop for a historic change of leadership — it was also a resounding victory for the left within the ANC. Leading members of the South African Communist Party and Cosatu gained key places in the organisation's national executive committee (NEC).

Led by former trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and former Free State premier Mr Patrick Lekota, the left scored an important victory that analysts believe will provide the required balance and stop the ANC from moving to the right.

Ramaphosa, who was replaced by another trade unionist, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, as secretary-general of the ANC, has, with 2 390 votes, emerged as a strong contender for a top post in the government.

Already there's talk that if the ANC wins the KwaZulu-Natal province from the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1999, Ramaphosa might be in line to become the deputy president of the country, with ANC deputy president Mr Jacob Zuma becoming the premier of KwaZulu-Natal.

The development comes amid keenness within the ANC for IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to be offered the second deputy president post vacated by former National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

From day one of the conference it was clear that Ramaphosa was the most popular official after the ANC's top six leaders,

led by Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The SACP-Cosatu lobby, which in 1994 ensured that Ms Cheryl Carolus defeated Mr Thoko Msane-Didiza for the post of deputy secretary-general, fought hard to ensure that "another trusted communist" Mr Thenjiwe Mtintso squeezed ahead of Ms Mavivi Myakayaka-Manzini for the same post.

The lobby believed that Mtintso and former United Democratic Front leader and newly elected ANC national chairman Lekota would provide the necessary balance in a leadership filled with people who, many believe, think like Mbeki.

The fact that Myakayaka-Manzini and Sports Minister Mr Steve Tshwete, handsomely defeated by Lekota for the post of national chairman, think like Mbeki, worked against them.

The left secured at least nine of the first 10 posts on the NEC, led by Mr Kader Asmal (second after Ramaphosa), Dr Pallo Jordan, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Tito Mboweni, Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Sydney Mufamadi.

Other left-wingers who won important victories at this conference and made it to the NEC include Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who many believe was rewarded for her excellent work in government, Public Works Minister Mr Jeff Radebe, SACP national chairman Dr Blade Nzimande, Cosatu general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa, Trade and Industry Minister Mr Alec Erwin,



A WINNER: Telecommunications Minister Jay Naidoo, his place on the NEC secure, in a triumphant mood in Mafikeng on Saturday. **PICTURE: AP**

Mr Jeremy Cronin, Mr Charles Nqakula, Mr Essop Pahad, Mr Phillip Dexter, Mr Jabu Moleketi and Mr Enoch Godongwana, a former general-secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa who was recently appointed MEC for Economic Affairs in the Eastern Cape.

While managing to win as many seats as possible on the NEC, the women's lobby in the ANC and the alliance could not achieve the desired 30% (20 seats) on the NEC. They could only manage 16 seats. The highest-placed woman on the NEC is

Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma with 2 103 votes, followed by Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi.

The youth block and former uMkhonto weSizwe block fared disastrously at the conference. In fact, the ANC Youth League has to rely for influence at leadership level on their president Mr Malusi Gigaba and secretary-general Ms Febe Potgieter, who sit on the NEC as ex-officio members.

Among ANCYL nominees who did not make it to the NEC is Mr Thabang Makwetla, chair-

man of the ANC's caucus in the National Assembly and Mr Rapu Molekane, a former secretary-general of the league and chairman of safety and security committee in Parliament.

The populist lobby also failed to impress, with Madikizela-Mandela dropping 10 places from the position she secured in Bloemfontein, Mr Peter Mokaba dropping from third position to 19th and Mr Tony Yengeni further down at 29th.

Like a sore thumb, Public Enterprises Minister Ms Stella Sigcau sticks out as the only cabinet

minister who did not make it on to the NEC. Foreign Affairs Minister and former secretary-general of the ANC Mr Alfred Nzo nearly missed the boat and had to be nominated from the floor.

The most prominent names of those who did not make it onto the NEC include Mr Pravin Ghordan, Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim, Ms Janet Löve, Mr Mtuleki George, Ms Thandi Modise, Ms Susan Shabangu (Deputy Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs) and Mr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (Deputy Minister of Justice).

Against all odds, the ANC emerged from Mafikeng The ANC triumphs

The African National Congress emerged from its 50th national congress in Mafikeng last week invigorated and more united than it has been since taking the reins of government in 1994.

This was all the more extraordinary as only days before the movement had limped into the conference.

Even though there are no real challengers for power among the political opposition, the ANC, on December 16, was an organisation at once divided within itself and not having yet managed to cross the Rubicon from a liberation movement struggling against apartheid to a ruling party presiding over a modern and sophisticated state.

But the 3 000 delegates attending the conference seized the moment, emerging solidly united as a force ahead of the 1999 general elections.

President Nelson Mandela's departure from the party's helm was managed with aplomb and fears of possible leadership strife were allayed.

The morale among many grassroots structures coming into the conference was low as they felt marginalised by the leadership. The party had experienced a series of bruising leadership struggles, with a number of top leaders having exited the party. The leadership was also on the rack for not sharing information with the general membership.

The manner in which it had adopted the growth, economic and redistribution (Gear) strategy as the party's official economic policy, and the opposition to it from leading

members of the tripartite alliance, was likely to lead to fractious debate and reclamation.

The branches were in a weak state, characterised by inexperienced cadreship, a lack of understanding of the challenges of the new situation, inactive membership, lack of political programmes, poor communication and administration and ongoing internal conflicts.

This state of affairs, according to the report of acting secretary general Cheryl Carolus, had resulted in an absence of mass recruitment.

Mafikeng was to be a stern test of the leadership.

The conference also had to grapple with an uneasiness in relations between the ANC and the South African Communist Party, which in recent months had begun to emerge, into the public eye.

This discomfort was recognised by Mandela himself, who, in his chief address to the conference, remarked on the tension between the two organisations and within the democratic movement as a whole.

"With regard to this relationship [with the SACP], we must accept that new answers have to be found to the new questions that life has posed and will continue to pose. There is no need to take flight when differences emerge, especially as we must be aware that complex as the questions are, so will be the answers."

After five days of robust debates on issues stretching from economic transformation, governance, the character of the ANC, peace and stability as well as social transforma-



Pello Jordan: Returned to the limelight

tion to service delivery, the miracles was achieved: delegates emerged from the conference speaking in one voice.

Perhaps the most significant triumph was the leadership's ability to downplay all criticism on Gear. After vigorous debates, the delegates were persuaded to adopt it as the party's economic strategy, although Mandela hinted that in order to accommodate the alliance

alive and kicking, report Wally at Mafikeng

partners the ANC may in future amend some aspects.

The watershed nature of this conference places it among the ANC's other defining historic conferences — the 1983 conference that adopted the Programme of Action in Bloemfontein, the 1989 Morogoro conference, and Kabwe in 1985.

The ANC has repeatedly shown itself able to adapt to changing historical circumstances, and 1997, in which it evolved into a party of government, was no exception.

"The conference demonstrated the maturity of the ANC's membership who were not sidetracked and distracted from their course by demagoguery and posturing by anybody," said Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Pello Jordan, who returned to the limelight with a third place finish in the national executive committee (NEC) elections.

"Delegates were sober-minded, and in that respect they confounded the predictions and analysis of all the pundits who were talking about the delegations being so youthful," said Jordan.

As far as government policy is concerned, according to Jordan, its endorsement was not without reservations.

"But I think the conference was an occasion for people to discuss the government's policy, and to understand it better. The fact that Cabinet ministers faced so well was an affir-

mentor of policy," said Jordan.

Of all the four ANC conferences he has attended, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry Kader Asmal, said the Mafikeng conference was the most "lively and stimulating and firing. It means the ANC has identified how the need for discussion should not so much be regulated, but organised."

"Of course, the retirement of President Mandela was the most significant thing. The conference demonstrated the continually reformed in the life and times of Mandela and the need for transformation," added Asmal, who came second in elections for a new NEC after Cyril Ramaphosa.

"The president's injunction at the end — that we must never forget who we represent and where we came from — was important. The building of cadre policy, what kind of members we want to have, what sort of role they play and the need for discussion must include all members."

This injunction by Mandela was inspired by the realisation of how branches used to be important structures of mass mobilisation and the building blocks of the ANC in the past.

The conference resolved that there is a need for a co-ordinated programme to ensure that they are strengthened and become effective. That is the challenge that still awaits the ANC in the new year.

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The 3 000 delegates seized the moment, emerging solidly united as a force ahead of the 1999 general elections

White opposition parties must

William Makgoba
Comment

Eighty-five years of struggle, pain and experience have woven a solid movement whose traditions, values and culture are unparalleled and rooted within the grassroots.

The African National Congress as both a liberation movement and political party has refined its own complexity with African simplicity to produce a transformation machinery whose vision resonates with the hopeful, the ambitious, the aspirant, the downtrodden and those of citizens who continue to search for solutions to the complex socio-political challenges of our nation.

Sitting in the audience at the ANC's 50th national conference, one could not help but marvel at the discipline, internal stability and the mounting strength of this organisation.

Three features characterised the delegates of this conference: hard work, discipline and selfless dedication to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of every South African.

Like most people, one had been fed the usual prediction of the media; that is, that the organisation was facing internal strife with potential splits on the cards, and the leadership was out of touch with its constituency. At the end of the conference, one could conclude that only

the media is out of sync with society.

One significant highlight of the conference was the election of a 69-member national executive committee (NEC). A total of 3 061 voting delegates participated in this election. If you saw a white person at the conference they were more often a member of the press than a voting delegate. If you saw an Indian or a coloured, they were more likely a member of the Cabinet or the outgoing NEC.

The point here is this: more than 99% of the voting delegates were white. There were hardly any coloureds, Indians or white voting delegates. The electoral process was conducted by an independent organisation, the Electoral Institute of South Africa.

The results were as follows: 72% of the NEC members are Africans and 28% are non-African. Within the first 10 of those that received the highest vote, 70% are non-Africans.

How does an electorate of exclusively African delegates produce an NEC which is so textbook representative of the nation's demography in an environment that is still so racially charged and power relationships so unequal? How does Kader Asmal get to be elected the second most popular member after Cyril Ramaphosa by this law within the largely African delegate?

There are two complementary answers. Firstly, within the ANC non-racism is no longer a vote-catching sto-

gan, but a reality. The ANC practices what it preaches. Secondly, the African majority is so confident of its power it can afford to be generous to the minorities in order to entrench diversity within its leadership and thus fulfil the criteria of multi-cultural and multi-perspective democracy.

Fewer concrete examples of commitment to non-racism and diversity were needed, it is the election of the NEC. If the ruling party can continue to lead by such example, then there is hope for all of us.

If I were a member or a leader of the opposition in South Africa, I would be dead frightened by the strength and stability of the ANC. I would spend my time at the drawing board asking not only soul-searching, but fundamental questions about the nature and direction of democracy in our country.

I would spend more time in Soweto, the villages and with the grassroots to really understand this beast, called the African electorate. By living and engaging in the politics of the privileged, the tribe, the work, the province and racism, opposition parties pose a threat to democracy and stability.

No matter how one looks at the issues, one comes to the sobering conclusion that unless the African is placed at the centre of the transformation and national agenda, our country will not be stable, productive and competitive. In health, edu-



Popular member Kader Asmal is congratulated by the Palestinian

cation, industry, economics and politics we have to address the condition for the African in a systematic, but uncompromising fashion.

The truth and reality in South Africa today and into the future is no longer European or white, but African and more often black. The

sooner the opposition parties get this message, the better. The day of white politics, white privilege, white constituency and white truth are over and will never return.

Unfortunately, the opposition parties in South Africa spent an inordinate amount of time, energy and

alive and kicking, report Wally Mbhele, Sechaba ka'Nkosi and Marion Edmunds

at Mafikeng

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partners the ANC may in future amend some aspects.

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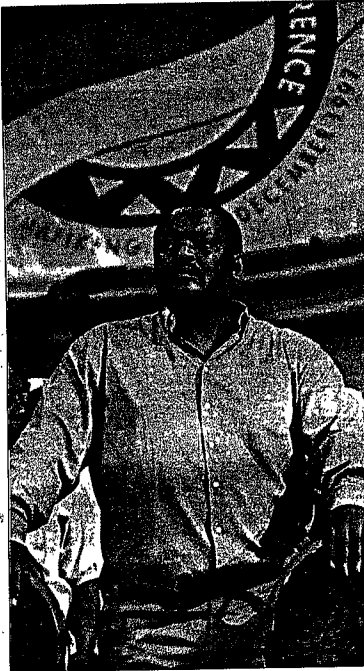
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This injunction by Mandela was inspired by the realisation of how branches used to be important structures of mass mobilisation and the building blocks of the ANC in the past.

The conference resolved that there is a need for a co-ordinated programme to ensure that they are strengthened and become effective. That is the challenge that still awaits the ANC in the new year.



ANC national chair Patrick 'Terror' Lekota made Steve Tshwete eat humble pie. PHOTOGRAPH: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

Africanist threat is buried

MHG 24/12/97 8/1/98

The powerful showing of former Mass Democratic Movement activists at last week's elections for the African National Congress executive demonstrated just how keen the movement's rank-and-file members were to ensure a balance of forces in their leadership.

"The 'populists' — who dominated the top 10 rankings in Bloemfontein three years ago — suffered a severe setback. Delegates opted instead for Cabinet's technocrats, those with a proven track record in government.

But the big news was the stunning comeback of the former ADM with Cyril Ramaphosa topping the national executive committee (NEC) list, days after Patrick 'Terror' Lekota — also an ex-MDM activist — had made Minister of Sport and Recreation Steve Tshwete eat humble pie to become ANC national chair.

Close on Ramaphosa's heels were Cabinet ministers Jay Naidoo, Trevor Manuel, Dullah Omar and Mohammed Valli Moosa. The four were key activists in the MDM. Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Pato Jordan, a former exile who is nevertheless seen as a dissident from mainstream exile thinking and who was almost driven into the political wilderness last year, scored third-highest.

Jordan's interpretation is that it laid the Africanist bogey to rest: "If you look at the thrust and the vision in terms of an Africanist thrust, if there was any Africanist thrust, it has been completely buried... The first 10 positions do not reflect that in the least, so you have a reaffirmation of the ANC's non-racial character."

Philip Dexter, a South African Communist Party member elected to the NEC, said he thought delegates went for a strong balance. "They want people from the executive who can get on with delivery and governance... Apart from gender, if you look at the cross-section of age, race, political background and experience, you have a dynamic mix of people."

Speaking off the record, a leading ANC member said: "The kind of people who thought they would get away with delivery and governance... Prior to the conference, the old NEC, particularly leaders from the government, were panicking, saying 80% of the conference delegates had never come to the conference before."

"They were behaving as if they were an uneducated, illiterate mass, but the way in which the delegates outperformed their leadership was startling. It will be interesting to see how this manifests itself in the new NEC."

Human Sciences Research Council analyst Vincent Maghath singled out the showing of Cyril Ramaphosa as significant. "I thought that having left active politics, he would not have fared as well as he did. It raises significant questions about what his future should be."

Another ANC official thought that partly because so many leadership issues were discussed in advance, a fair amount of consensus was reached beforehand. "The fact that so many people of Cabinet were returned to the NEC is a demonstration of confidence in the Cabinet."

'Africanise' or face extinction



Popular member Kader Asmal is congratulated by the Palestinian ambassador. PHOTO: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS

cation, industry, economics and politics we have to address the condition for the African in a systematic, but uncompromising fashion. The truth and reality in South Africa today and into the future is no longer European or white, but African and more often black. The

resources on "dirty tricks" tactics, rather than formulating attractive alternative policies that can capture the imagination of the people. To this day the opposition has offered no vision, definition, policies or programmes on social transformation. They approach politics from

resources on "dirty tricks" tactics, rather than formulating attractive alternative policies that can capture the imagination of the people. To this day the opposition has offered no vision, definition, policies or programmes on social transformation. They approach politics from

a legalistic rather than a sociological viewpoint. Hence their eagerness for prosecutions rather than policies.

Is this opposition a witch-hunt or obstruction politics? We the people want — and need — to know what the policies of the opposition are in order to exercise our democratic choices. We are still waiting.

Finally, this conference was also about change in leadership. A generation was handing over the baton of liberation. This transition went smoothly without any blood-letting. What was remarkable was how this large organisation could change almost its entire leadership without reorientations.

Let us remember what happened two years ago, when one white-dominated university tried to change a single position in its leadership. There was blood everywhere.

I want to suggest it is time that opposition parties begin wholeheartedly and psychologically to associate themselves with the aspirations, anxieties and ambitions of the African majority. To avoid their imminent social and political extinction they must Africanise rapidly at the deepest levels of their consciousness.

M William Makgoba is a professor of molecular immunology at the University of the Witwatersrand/ South African Institute for Medical Research

BLACK POLITICS

1998 - 1999

THE BLACK OPPOSITION

GOODBYE TO STRUGGLE

As race politics wane some parties may become casualties



Stanley Mogoba . . . comes fourth in popularity ratings

(11A) 17/7/98

Azania People's Organisation (Azapo) president Mosibudi Mangena says his party is confident of a 40% share of the vote in next year's election. Pan Africanist Congress leader Ngila Muendane says he is sure of 50%, or more. The new Socialist Party of Azania — an Azapo offshoot — hopes for much the same. What courage.

If anything, such optimism displays the level to which these organisations have become marginalised from mainstream political thinking and reality in SA. And as the country slowly moves out of its racial straitjacket, their insistence on being identified primarily on racial terms may prove to be their downfall. For instead of giving them a *raison d'être*, next year's election may illustrate to them that it is time to jettison the baggage.

Polls and analysts indicate that they will perform poorly next year, and those who do will not raise their margins significantly to have an impact.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, which has a

huge rural base and is strongly Africanist in perspective, may face the same fate as stronger, more overtly nonracial parties like the ANC and United Democratic Movement eat into its constituency.

Political analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer says Azapo, which was formed in 1978 on the wave of the then-popular Black Consciousness Movement of Steve Biko, is insignificant on its own. It will not poll more than 1%, he says.

The PAC, which as its name suggests has strong Pan Africanist traditions and has been so vociferous in its Africanist stance as to be labelled racist at times, has recorded a high sympathy level in the black community. A survey conducted by Schlemmer late last year showed that 23% of blacks polled had sympathy for it, and yet only 3% said they would vote for it. The PAC polled 1% in the 1994 elections.

Schlemmer believes that the local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal showed that the IFP's support had sagged, and he expects the party to get between 7% and 10% in 1999. It polled 10% in 1994. A Markinor survey put its popularity at only 5% in May this year.

"I expect the PAC to increase its support. They have not done much to counter perceptions that they are weak, though, and people will like them in absentia. It will get about 6% of the vote," says Schlemmer.

Though an improvement on their 1994 showing, this would still be a low poll for the party, and it would not increase its influence much.

A Markinor survey conducted two months ago said the IFP, which goes into its annual national conference in Ulundi this weekend to hammer out an election strategy, has not attracted any new support over the six months to May. This may be the reason behind its unveiling of a new logo and image last month.

IFP MP Velaphi Ndlouvu says surveys indicating a loss for his party are way out of kilter. Researchers, he says, do not reach the areas where the IFP is most popular.

He says the party has played a significant role as an opposition and

it has gained new members by showing that "it does not oppose merely for the sake of opposition" like other parties.

"For example we were vehemently opposed to the termination of Pregnancy Bill because we believe it is wrong. But we are not in the opposition benches to oppose good things. That is why we have attracted many new supporters," he says.

He may be shouting against the wind. The Markinor researchers said the IFP, together with the Freedom Front and the Conservative Party, did not seem to "have the capacity to adapt to the new style of politics in the post 1994 era".

Ndlouvu says the IFP decided to contest

PROVINCES




ADMINISTRATION SHUFFLING IN SHACKLES

The crescendo of voices in the African National Congress calling for provincial powers to be scrapped or curbed substantially is reaching fever pitch.

One reason is the rampant corruption that has gripped SA's provinces since their inception in 1994. Another is the realisation that provinces are largely an unnecessary administrative hurdle hampering the provision of services.

Last week's revelations of corruption by Mpumalanga legislature deputy speaker Cynthia Maropeng and the conduct of former Gauteng Safety & Security MEC Jessie Duarte underline the problem.

In Maropeng's case, the Ngobeni Commission of Inquiry found that she had deposited R736 000 of government money into her personal bank account over four years. Maropeng and about four others had evidently milked government through cheque fraud and the creation of fictitious consultants. Premier Mathews Phosa described it as "corruption of the worst kind".

STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE	
	Formed: 1959 Share of vote in 1994: 1% Estimated current support: 3% Ideology: African Nationalist President: Stanley Mogoba
	Formed: 1974 Share of vote in 1994: 10% Estimated current support: 5% Ideology: Africanist/Free Market President: Mangosuthu Buthelezi
	Formed: 1978 Share of vote in 1994: Did not participate Estimated current support: 1% Ideology: Black Consciousness President: Mosibudi Mangena

ROMANCE

(IIA)

the 1994 elections only six days before election day and that hurt its chances. But this time round the story will be different.

Schlemmer believes however that if the ANC is weakened significantly in next year's election the IFP may throw in its lot with another party to increase leverage. These parties may include the NP. Ndlovu says talk of alliances is premature because the party has not even discussed them.

Mangena says Azapo will remain relevant to blacks because the ANC has failed the rural poor. He says the ANC government has been to the benefit of an educated black elite which now enjoys access to jobs, houses and other benefits.

The poor majority, however, suffers from homelessness, rising unemployment, crime and other ills.

"Our main problem therefore is only money. We will not be able to campaign effectively because we do not have the funds to do so. But the support is there," Mangena says.

The party, and its ideology, was at its zenith in the Seventies. Most of its adherents left the country to join the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in the late Seventies, and it has been on the decline since. Last year its Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal chapters split, and the miniscule Socialist Party of Azania was formed.

The Markinor survey found little to be cheerful about for Azapo. In November last year 1% of respondents said they would vote for it. In May 1998 even fewer gave the party the nod. Azapo, the PAC and the IFP come to the election with decades of history. Azapo and the PAC carry the romantic remnants of exile and a liberation struggle.

Yet Bantu Holomisa was found to be the third most popular leader in SA, ahead of Mogoba (fourth) and Buthelezi (sixth).

There is a lot of optimism in these parties' camps, but next year's election may jolt them into realising that it is time to say goodbye to all that. Justice Malala



Mangosuthu Buthelezi... biding his time for an alliance?

Arnold Pheko

Duarte drove an official vehicle without a driver's licence, crashed a government vehicle and did not report the accident. She used government money to pay for a personal friend to accompany her to Portugal and hired unqualified personnel.

But Gauteng premier Mathole Motsheka said "the commission did not find any corruption" on Duarte's part. Only after he was pressed by the opposition did he agree to refer the matter to the Attorney-General.

Last week's Mpumalanga fiasco comes as no surprise. The province,

much like the Eastern Cape, has been a hotbed of financial scandals. Bogus consultant Eugene Nyathi and his cronies received more than R1m from the province, hundreds of thousands of rand were lost to fraud at the Mpumalanga Development Corp, and the costs of last year's Motheo housing scandal involving the provincial tender board are still being counted. The situation in other provinces has been no better (see graphic).

It is thus illuminating that the latest influential voice in the ANC to call for the scrapping of provincial powers is

Jacques Modipane, Mpumalanga Finance MEC.

"It would work well if we could cut out the provincial tier, distribute the money to municipalities and equip them with better-qualified people and development would speed up," he said.

Provincial Affairs & Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa told the National Council of Provinces recently to consider reforming the nine provinces (*Current Affairs* June 19) "Why is it, for example, that there should be

provincial departments of social welfare when all they do is implement national policy?"

The Presidential Review Commission has asked national government to take over the affairs of the Northern Province and Eastern Cape as they lack qualified and experienced personnel.

The calls within the ANC are not new. When it was unbanned in 1990, the party called for a strong central government supported by well-run local authorities. The creation of provincial governments was a result of compromises made in talks with federalist organisations like the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Curbing or increasing provincial powers would require constitutional changes. Moosa has said the key tenets of the Constitution will not be touched.

Certainly there are problems in the provinces. Financial control is lax, and many of the departments are mere replicas of national agencies. The ANC seems to be increasingly unhappy with the rate of service provision and the provinces may get the axe.

As the voices increase and the ANC aims for a two-thirds majority next year, it may be the extent of the cut rather than its possibility that will be at issue. Justice Malala

DIGGING UP THE DIRT

PROVINCE	COMMISSION	FINDINGS
GAUTENG	The Moerane Commission into corruption in the Safety & Security Department.	Former MEC Jessie Duarte initially cleared of corruption charges, but report raised questions about her conduct. Report to be sent to AG.
MPUMALANGA	The Ndobeni Commission into corruption in the Office of the Deputy Speaker, Orange Farm, Matopos.	Major financial irregularities uncovered. Site was sacked and ANC membership suspended.
NORTHERN PROVINCE	The Semanya Commission into financial irregularities in government.	Recommended that the province take action against official who compromised financial controls.
FREE STATE	An inquiry into nepotism in the Anglo-Egyptian Railway Unit.	Provincial executives' R6m fine imposed.
KWAZULU-NATAL	The Mthinyane Commission into fraud corruption in 12 KwaZulu-Natal hospitals.	Uncovered corruption, saving R10.3m.
EASTERN CAPE	The Browne Commission into the financial irregularities of public servants between April 1993 and September 1994.	South African Railways' R100m audit.

PAC demands the release of prisoners

Sowetan 6/4/98 (11A)

By Russel Molefe

SEVERAL hundreds of flag-carrying Pan Africanist Congress adherents, led by the party's president Dr Stanley Mogoba, marched to Orlando Police Station in Soweto yesterday to demand the release of political prisoners.

But the crowd was stopped a few metres from the station by the party's marshals because the permit for the march stipulated that only the leadership of the party would be allowed within a certain radius of the station.

It was Mogoba, deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko, general secretary Mr Ngila Muendane, veterans and members of the national executive committee who proceeded to hand over a memorandum to a Superintendent Swarts with instructions that it be passed to the highest level of government.

In the memorandum, the PAC called for the release without delay of its supporters languishing in jails in "inhumane conditions". The freedom fighters were being incarcerated with hardened criminals and constantly abused by prison warders, the PAC said.

The crowd later increased to several thousands when Mogoba and his entourage went to Orlando Communal Hall to celebrate the party's 39th birthday. The celebration was also attended by former general secretary Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and several veterans who were present at the same venue when

the PAC was formed 39 years ago.

Noticeable absentee was outspoken PAC Member of Parliament and chief whip Ms Patricia de Lille and stalwart Mr Gora Ebrahim. Former president Mr Clarence Makwetu was also absent because he has been indefinitely suspended.

Mogoba told the cheering crowd that South Africa would not be the same again after next year's general elections.

"We will reclaim the 10 percent that we should have got in the last elections. I assure you the history of our country will change," he said.

He promised that the PAC would deliver five things quickly. These are unity; non-racialism; morality; sound economic policy and redistribution of land.

Mogoba said his party was committed to building the nation on the basis of everyone being attached to this land.

"Many people believe we are the greatest racists on earth. Those who say that know very well that it is a distortion."

He said an economic policy where decisions are "from the bottom going upwards" will serve the poorest of the poor in the country.

"This will be the only way to make this country safe. Today we are afraid of the poor and we put high fences around our homes."

He warned that this country was on a road to nowhere if the people did not recognise the importance of morality.

Jail party turns violent

A MAN died and two others were seriously injured when a party at Leeuwkop Prison grounds, north of Johannesburg, turned violent on Saturday night.

who was shot six times.

A bystander, Godfrey Haywood, was also seriously wounded when he was hit in the chest by a stray bullet. Leaman's brother

Pan-Africanism anew?

Sowetan 7/14/98

(11A)

THE ARTICULATION of an "African renaissance" by South Africa's foreign policy elite - led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki - supports the revival of a pan-African vision.

This vision has been dormant since the first wave of decolonisation, lasting from the late 1950s to the founding of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963.

It marked the limits of the original quest, inspired by Kwame Nkrumah, for a "political kingdom" encompassing the whole continent.

Now, Pretoria's espousal of an African renaissance holds out prospects of reopening this quest. This follows on the heels of South Africa's transition, which has unseated the last white minority regime in the region.

Pretoria's pronouncements on an African renaissance have come amid an unfolding discourse on Africa's future, pitting "Afro-optimists" against "Afro-pessimists".

This discourse tends to reflect conflicting readings of recent upheavals in several parts of the continent, highlighted by the Great Lakes crisis and the toppling of Mobutu Sese-Seko in Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Thus the articulation of an African renaissance could help to trigger a pan-African revival, linked to the unfolding of a new post-Cold War inter-African order.

Placed in historical perspective, the promised revival also suggests an alternative framework for interpreting phases of African integration at national, subregional and continental levels.

The initial "African independence decade" of the 1960s - resulting in Southern Africa's democratic transitions, and culminating in South Africa's "small miracle" - can be interpreted as efforts at melding colonially defined multi-ethnic, multicultural or multiracial territorial units into variations on the theme of what might be termed the "pan-African nation-state".

However, "national pan-Africanism" has for some time been accompanied by another phase transcending the nation-state: movements toward regional integration, leading to subregional pan-African transnational state systems in the context of the OAU's goal of an eventual African Economic Community.

South Africa's articulation of an African renaissance is interpreted by some as an expression of its own post-apartheid version of a pan-African nation-building project, linked to aspirations for effecting a broader transformation in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole.

Yet South Africa's capacity to generate such momentum is contingent on, and linked to, the outcome of its own internal renewal, which suggests a series of scenarios reflecting divergent internal and subregional development paths.

Domestic scenarios revolve around the fate of the African National Congress led tripartite alliance and its success or failure in remobilising its constituencies in partnership with the state and the private sector.

South Africa's transition, in effect, was a

Francis A Komegay and Chris Landsberg discuss

the possibilities of a new African order in the aftermath of democratic struggles in sub-Saharan Africa ...



Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

double-edged sword - while saving the country from further destabilisation, it resulted in a demobilised and, in some cases, an alienated ANC constituency.

This suggests three possibilities:

- A mobilisation scenario, assuming a high level of cohesion and consensus within the tripartite alliance, resulting in a coalition of social forces that transforms South African society through a public works-driven partnership of public and private sectors and of civil society;

- A worst-case from paralysis to crack-up scenario, assuming growing turmoil and even violent instability within the alliance, which inhibits consensus and joint action on socio-economic, political and cultural issues; and

- The muddling-through scenario, which allows over time for substantial progress on the socio-economic, political and cultural fronts, despite or even because of elements of dissent within the ranks of the ANC and its alliance partners.

Each of these scenarios spills over into broader Southern African possibilities.

Depending on internal dynamics of South Africa's continuing transition and the commitment of its leadership to an outward renaissance strategy, at least three external scenarios suggest themselves:

- The pan-Africanisation of South Africa's renewal is based on the consolidation of the peace processes in Angola, the two Congos and the Great Lakes, centring on the establishment of an OAU Great Lakes Commission.

This body would oversee deployment of a Great Lakes Stabilisation Task Force, delegated to Pretoria; mobilise an international recovery, reconstruction and development programme (RDP) focused on Congo-Kinshasa; and begin open-ended negotiations on Julius Nyerere's

proposed United States of Central Africa.

Pretoria would create a policy planning apparatus tasked with formulating a coherent strategy for pursuing Africa's renewal, including the possible integration of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa.

Benefits from the geo-economic politics of oil and water resources and the regionalisation of South Africa's military and defence industrial capacity, coupled with a regional RDP initiative, also contribute to this pan-African renaissance scenario.

- Pan-Africanisation frustration is driven by escalating tensions between South Africa and an increasingly unstable Zimbabwe, coupled with an increasingly isolated Zambia.

A proposal by Pretoria for the establishment of the Councils of Elders in subregions throughout the continent gets off to a hesitant start in Southern Africa.

Meanwhile, the threatened disintegration of Zimbabwe amid growing internal contradictions stemming from regional, inter and intra-ethnic rivalries within the ruling party begins to create serious problems for South Africa and SADC.

Zambia, on the other hand, faces suspension from SADC unless it negotiates with a newly formed government-in-exile sponsored by Angola and Zimbabwe, which harbour different Zambian exiled factions.

- The Balkanisation of SADC could also evolve out of the frustration of pan-Africanisation. In this scenario the expansion of SADC, rather than its deepening, begins to work against large-scale regional integration, and the fault lines are reflected in the SADC parliamentary forum as rival interstate caucuses emerge.

The SADC trade protocol is a casualty, and South Africa falls back on the Southern African Customs Union.

However, this Balkanisation may also be beneficial in that smaller country clusters within SADC become more amenable to integration into a broader economic community.

Another encouraging development is increased networking between business communities in various SADC states, that seems likely to flourish irrespective of the scenario that unfolds.

Ultimately, South Africa's political development is as crucial to Africa's prospects for renewal as Pretoria's foreign policy choices.

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Rasool to lead the ANC

Former Cape MEC for Health virtually assured of position after Franklin Sonn bows out
(IHA)
ST(CM) 1/14/98

HENRY LUDSKI



Ebrahim Rasool

SOUTH Africa's ambassador to the United States, Franklin Sonn, has bowed out of the Western Cape ANC leadership race in a near-week's crucial provincial election.

This, coupled with unanimous support at branch level for Ebrahim Rasool, virtually assures the 36-year-old former MEC of the job of leading the ANC into battle against the National Party in next year's general elections.

Rasool, who has come up through the ranks of the ANC's grassroots structures and the United Democratic Front, will take over the leadership mantle from Justice Minister Dullah Omar who quit in February to become deputy minister of the job of overhauling the justice system.

Sonn told Cape Metro this week that he may pursue business interests on his return to the United States, the home of his four-year ambassadorial stint in Washington.

Sonn, back home this week to be at the bedside of his elderly and seriously ill father Pat Sonn, said he had written to Rasool to "assure" him that he would not be challenging him.

He had received numerous offers of employment in the private sector and had indicated his intention to build the economy and promote black empowerment in the state.

Sonn, who enjoys strong support in the Western Cape, was seen by many within ANC circles as being the best man for the job of drawing colour and support away from the NP to the ANC's only hope of electoral success.

Tony Yeungai, chairman of

of the south-east metro region, agreed that Rasool was the best person to lead the party in the 1998 elections. He said that Rasool's vital ANC structure in the Western Cape with 45 branches stretching from Stellenbosch to Mitchells Plain and Knysna, would be a major asset in the process of drawing support away from the NP to the ANC.

A Cape Metro survey of ANC regions stretching from Plettenberg Bay to the east coast shows almost complete unanimity in nominations to the

Noma-India Mfeketo is seen as a clear favourite to hold on to her post of deputy provincial secretary for the Western Cape. She is expected for the job of general secretary between James Ngqula and Mcebisi Skwatsha, who is odds-on favourite. Maribus Framman should retain his post of treasurer.

The key focus of the ANC campaign will be to win over two days at the Bellville Teacher Training College, which will be on formulating a strategy for going all out to wrestle the region away from the NP for an

assault on the NP in a very serious way," said ANC provincial executive member Cameron Dugmore. He is hoping to exploit the cracks in the NP produced by the departure of leader F W de Klerk and the scandal surrounding ex-Education MEC Martin Olickers. "The ANC's only hope of electoral success will be the issue of a successor to premier Hennis Kriel, indications are that he may step down in favour of a coloured MEC Peter Marais.

Parliament's joint standing committee on defence, was expected to be a strong candidate. However, strong grassroots support for Rasool, and Yengeni's heavy load in reforming the defence force, is expected to be a major factor.

What has counted in Rasool's favour has been the way in which he has distinguished himself in the health sector in the face of a tight budget cut. He has also distinguished himself in administrative background.

As ANC Western Cape treasurer, he has also systematically worked towards wiping out the considerable debt which the province inherited from past elections.

Speaking about leadership requirements at a recent provincial executive meeting, Dugmore said that he had called for a person capable of building ANC unity and bringing broad support to the ANC among all population groups. He said that he had spoken in favour of a coloured MEC Peter Marais, secretary

Another hospital is set to close down

TOM HOOD

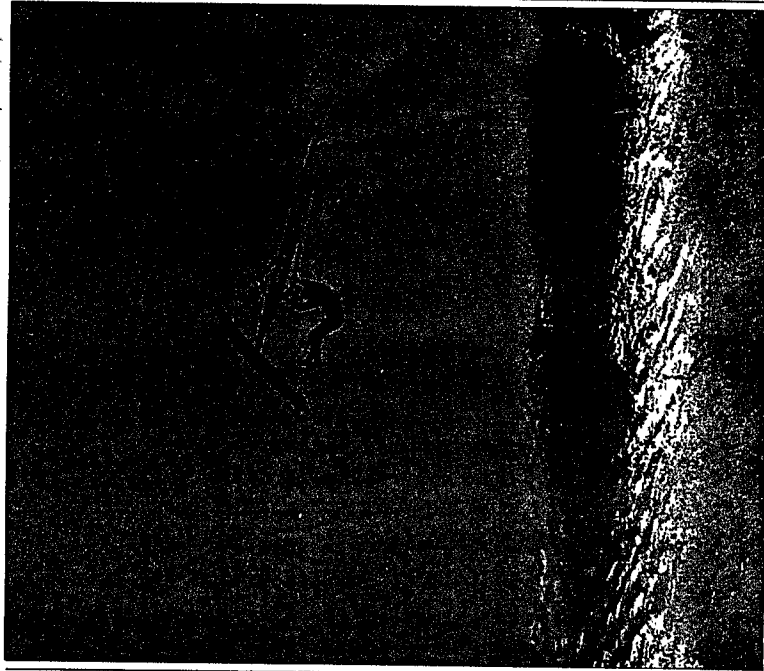
YET another Cape Town hospital is being closed down in the name of cost-cutting. The site has been sold to developers for almost R8-million, but the city council has agreed to demolish the 56-year-old hospital and build a R50-million seven-storey block of flats facing Derwent Road.

The planning department of the Cape Institute of Architects and the City Bowl Ratepayers' and Residents' Association say the project violates the zoning and restriction for the area.

When the planning committee meets on Wednesday, it will be urged to refuse the application to demolish the hospital buildings and put up the apartment block.

Veteran architect Dennis Fabian is returning to the Cape on Tuesday to argue that the developers' case against this recommendation.

The developers, Investec Bank and an investor group, say the hospital have insisted on full time



Sanco denies split in its ranks

By Joshua Raboroko

The South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) - previously known in the townships for its protest actions against the old regime - is today under the firm various critics.

Crises question Sanco's political vision for a post-apartheid South Africa and its lack of political direction in the new terrain of struggle.

The civic movement has been accused of failing to fight the policies of the present government because of its close ties with the African National Congress (ANC) as well as being incapable of administering its funds.

In an interview with *Sovereign*, Sanco president Mungisi Hongwane spoke about the present status of the movement in the wake of these accusations.

Detractor's claims

"Our detractors claim Sanco cannot achieve its stated goals, and therefore should dissolve and a new movement take its place," said Hongwane.

But, he said, the same argument could be used against the South African Communist Party, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) or even the ANC - none of them have achieved all their goals yet.

"And civil society operates differently in a democracy than under an authoritarian apartheid state," he said. "Although both forms of civil society struggle for a better life, the context is very different."

He said in a democracy, people's voices were heard and their grievances attended to, whereas during apartheid civil society was revolutionary and wanted to overthrow the regime that was in power.

After the 1994 elections, Hongwane said, Sanco re-assessed its role: "Sanco does not define its role by how many times it disagrees with the Government."

"Sanco cannot and must not exploit the suffering of its constituency for political posturing and glory seeking without any real commitment to alleviate the suffering of the poor."

"We cannot cry foul every time on petty issues just to satisfy self-appointed critics and self-appointed defenders of the poor."

"To be revolutionary or radical does not mean we have to be the angriest of lunatics. It means we have to go to the root of the problem and concern ourselves with content rather than sound."

"Sanco will support the Government whenever its programmes are in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and we will not be embarrassed to show such support."

But Hongwane stressed that it did not mean Sanco would not urge the government to pursue certain measures and policies.

"It will not discard its tactics of protest and mass action which it used in the '80s to effectively combat apartheid. Why should Sanco abandon its tactics?"

"We do not expect Cosatu to abandon the tactic of striking just because a democratic government has been elected."

He added: "When we gave the ANC support at our last national conference (in April 1997), it was not unconditional support. Our support for the ANC is dependent on the ANC supporting the RDP and implementing it."

But, he said, "in pressuring the Government, we will not be exploited by the right-wing and those intent on toppling the Government."

"Counter-revolutionary forces must not find political space to undermine our hard-earned gains. We fought hard for our freedom and still have faith in the democratic forces that fought alongside us."

Hongwane also said that while Sanco remained an independent organisation, it did not remove the need for strategic alliances with those involved in the transformation of South Africa.

Common denominator

"The common denominator among progressive formations is premised on advancing the cause of the poor while harnessing a smooth transformation of society," he said.

"Notwithstanding this, we realise that the conceptualisation of our historic mission does not conclusively close ideological gaps amongst and within the tripartite alliance."

On criticism about Sanco's administration, Hongwane said: "It is increasingly interesting (and somewhat quite humorous) to observe



Sanco president Mungisi Hongwane ... "the poor can play a vital role in the transformation of South Africa".

statements about Sanco's financial and management capacity."

"Let me set the record straight: Sanco has an audited statement. The only people making a noise about alleged corruption are those who were kicked out of Sanco."

Hongwane also defended Sanco's decision to set up an investment arm to generate funding for the organisation's projects and programmes. "We make no apologies for attempting to be self-sufficient."

Because of Sanco's mass character there was not a queue of funders waiting to invest in it. Generating own funds would also free it from any political control from funding agencies.

"We don't believe our investment arm would exercise control to such an extent that it could dictate the policy of the organisation," he said. "On the con-

trary, the organisation will dictate the business arm's investment policy."

"Moreover, Sanco cannot and will never be a profit-making organisation. For Sanco to continue its historical role, it will always remain a socio-political civic movement."

No easy path

"And this role is to ensure that the poor are involved in the development of the country to ensure that people-driven and people-centred development takes place."

The movement does not expect an easy path to transformation. "The unfolding political history in our country presents numerous challenges to all South Africans," said Hongwane.

"It will take much longer before the fruits of our labour can be enjoyed." Yet he remains confident about the

future, and dismissed rumours of a split in Sanco. He said only two executive members, who have since left the organisation, betrayed there was division within Sanco.

Sanco recognises the role it is historically bound to play in the people's transformation of this country. We are creating a popular movement for transformation," he said.

"We have faith in the poor to reason and rationalise, and therefore they can play a vital role in the transformation of this country. We do not believe experts must speak on behalf of the poor."

"Sanco is a poor organisation, we make up the poor of this country. If you do not like our method of organising and who we elect to office and who we will support in the next elections ... then you do not like the poor."

(Tip) *Sovereign* 20/4/98



ANC debt write-off under fire

Bus firm quizzed as party gets out of the red

(11A)
 24/4/98

Decisions by Golden Arrow Bus Services and other companies to write off African National Congress debts have been described as "improper".

At last weekend's ANC regional congress, delegates were told that "generous companies" had written off party debts.

An amount of R106 000 owed to Nashua had been "successfully negotiated", the congress heard.

Hennie Bester of the Democratic Party, who is the Western Cape Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism, said any company that wrote off a political party's debt was effectively giving it a donation.

But if such a company as Golden Arrow, which was substantially subsidised by the state, did so, the motive had to be questioned.

"I believe it is improper for a debt owed by South Africa's ruling party to be written off.

"Any such step might be misconstrued as having been done in the hope of providing support for some commercial venture either at present or in the future."

**SHARPE
 SMACS**



TRANSPORT REPORTER

The debt disclosures were made by Ethralim Rasool, new leader of the ANC in the Western Cape and former treasurer.

He said almost a fifth of the party's debt, accumulated since the 1994 elections, had been settled without payment, thanks to "generous companies".

The ANC has declined to say how much it owed Golden Arrow, but the company says it was "a few hundred rands".

General manager Hannes Grebe said the ANC ran up the debt during buses in 1995 and repaid it over a period of time. "The outstanding amount of a few hundred rands was written off in November 1996."

Referring to subsidies, Mr Grebe

pointed out that bus companies were not subsidised - passengers were.

The subsidies had been introduced to help passengers who were forced by the previous government to live far away from work opportunities, he said.

The difference between the cost of providing the service and the price paid by clip-board passengers was recovered from the Department of Transport.

He said that to claim Golden Arrow was substantially subsidised by the state was a "a regrettable oversimplification".

Mr Rasool told the congress the Western Cape ANC had incurred the debts totalling R588 000 during and after the elections, and 14 months ago its telephone phones were cut because it could not pay the bill.

He said R250 487 had been paid off over 14 months, including R80 000 paid "as a result of legal steps being initiated against the ANC".

Debts totalling R100 000 were settled "without payment" and R252 513 was raised by a banquet this year.

Mr Rasool said the party had moved into the black thanks to creditors writing off money owed.

According to the provincial secretary's report to the congress, creditors included Nashua, which sent a letter of demand for R106 000 for leased equipment, including copiers. This matter had been "successfully negotiated".

Nashua declined comment when the Cape Argus asked it to elaborate on the negotiation.

Mr Rasool said the province had set itself a provisional target of R35-million to fight the election.

The provincial branch was still dependent on grants from the ANC national office, even though the proportion of grants to own income had shifted from about 70% to 50%.

ANC spokesman Cameron Dugmore said the party clearly did not have enough money at present to fight the election but it did have enough to run itself.

"We don't have creditors hounding us and there is no prospect of the ANC's phones being cut," Mr Dugmore said.

Youth League losing the youth

(11A) MtG 13-19/3/98

Mukoni T Ratshtanga

The African National Congress Youth League goes to its 20th national conference in Johannesburg next week amid fears that it is losing the battle for the hearts and minds of the youth.

Central to the criticisms levelled against the league is that it is only vocal on leadership matters within the ANC and does far too little to advance vital causes affecting the youth.

Critics from other ANC-aligned youth organisations say the league has "done little to influence the unfolding policy formulation process except the National Youth Policy, itself poorly mobilised."

A South African Students Congress leader, who did not want to be named, said this week "a lot of legislation affecting the youth has been passed by Parliament. We have not seen the league take a strong stand to influence direction.

"What we see rather is the youth league commenting on what the ANC has said, but not being proactive — giving vibrant and original policy options to shape transformation. For example, they did not even feature in the Gear (growth, employment and redistribution strategy) debate, which no doubt affects the youth."

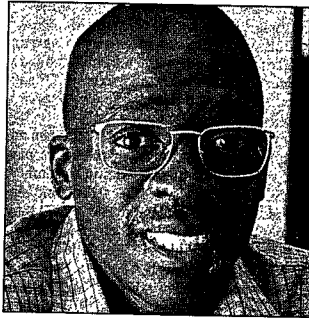
But youth league president Malusi Gigaba this week hit back at critics, saying they do not understand the organisation's position. "We are an organ of the ANC. We have used our internal channels within the ANC to raise problems. We can demand an urgent meeting with the state president or the president of the ANC to seek explanations," he said.

"We are not responsible for all the things that go out to the public. Some of these things [leadership battles] have been leaks for sensational purposes."

But Gigaba agrees some criticisms are valid. "There are occasions when we should have gone out public and stated our positions so that when we engage other sectors our membership knows of the position."

He reminded critics that the youth league's membership had grown by 120 000 in the past two years. "Some organisations have died while the league is still alive," he said.

"Most of the people who joined the league in this period are in their teens. These are people you can't organise around a march. So you have to look at other ways. The problem is that comrades have tended to want to organise people around old tactics."



Malusi Gigaba: He agrees some criticisms of the youth league are valid

Gigaba cited as achievements the establishment of the national and provincial youth commissions, national and provincial youth Bills and the establishment of the South African Youth Council.

"The league does not have direction over those structures. You don't just claim victory and then become unable to use that victory. Ever since the council was established, I know of no single position that has come from the league to build the structure," said a senior member.

The league's critics maintain that nothing has been done to reverse the prevailing culture of "apathy" among the youth.

"The league has just told us that the youth has changed. But it is supposed to take a lead in the cultural re-orientation of the youth," said a member. The 1 700 conference delegates will have to tailor a programme of action to remedy the situation.

According to one of the papers tabled for discussion at the conference, the league must broaden its constituency "to reflect a truly non-racial character".

Other aspects of the programme include youth development projects, a campaign for the rights of women and children, youth employment programmes and lobbying on policy matters affecting the youth.

Gigaba's presidency is being challenged by Mpumalanga MEC for Sport and Recreation Lassy Chitwayo.

He said this week: "My availability will depend on provinces. Ideally, I would like to focus on what I'm doing in the province."

ANCYL power struggle hots up

*(11A)
CP 15/3/98
Gigaba needs votes of two more provinces*

By JIMMY SEEPPE and SEKOLA SELLO

ANC Youth League president Mahusi Gigaba could be on his way out unless he can convince two provinces which have still not given their preferred nominations to vote for him.

Delegates to the Youth League conference, to be held from Friday at the World Trade Centre in Kempson Park, will be faced with a choice between the ANC Youth League in the Western and Northern Cape and the Mpumalanga MEC for Arts, Culture, Sports and Recreation, Lesay Chihwayo.

The contest comes against claims that the South African Communist Party is plotting to launch a youth wing - the Young Communist League - and is now said to be contemplating "hijacking" the ANC Youth League.

Gigaba is said to have antagonised certain influential personalities in the close relationship with powerful SACP leaders like Blade Nzimande.

There is uncertainty over whether Gigaba, a former member of the SACP, is still a member. He is said to enjoy the support of three provinces: KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and the Free State.

Chihwayo already has the support of the Western and Northern Cape and the Northern Cape.

The Western and Northern Cape are expected to finalise their preferred candidates before Wednesday. The campaign for the new incumbent is expected to be very hotly contested in which he will be widely left on his own by the ANC leadership, which has in the past been accused of manipulating it.

During the past few weeks, Gigaba has come under severe criticism for a document in which he attempted to compile in which he sketched a scenario of the league dumping the ANC and aligning itself with another political movement.

In the document - which Gigaba refused to discuss - he stated his intention to discuss which did not necessarily reflect the views of the movement - warned that the youth movement may lose its political vi-

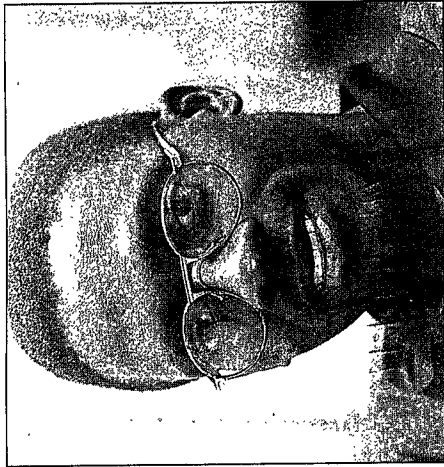
vision and be forced by social forces to "become apolitical and just concentrate on the social interests of the youth".

He said in the event that this happened, the Youth League conference is expected to be attended by ANC president Thabo Mbeki, who is to deliver the keynote address, and veterans of the movement who are now cabinet members.

The Youth League conference is expected to elect the deputy president of the movement, a seat which is being contested by Andrew Dipela, currently occupying the same position, and Joe Maswanganyi, a chairman of the organisation in the Northern Province.

The contest for the position of secretary general will be between Thamba Kinana, the current deputy secretary general, and Pkile Mkhulu, a member of the National Executive Committee.

The position of deputy secretary general is expected to be contested by two members of the executive, Nondamelo Mayosi and Mbalula, while the treasurer position is unlikely to be contested.



ON THE WAY OUT? ... ANC Youth League president Mahusi Gigaba is said to have alienated influential members of the organisation due to his close friendships with powerful SACP leaders like Blade Nzimande.

Konigkramer denies police spy allegations, threatens to sue

Farouk Chottia (116) 00 23/3/98

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party treasurer-general Arthur Konigkramer has denied allegations that he was an apartheid police spy and that his speech on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said yesterday that he would sue Independent Newspapers, after the Sunday Tribune published the allegations.

The African National Congress (ANC) called for a criminal investigation into the charges.

The Sunday Tribune reported that it had obtained affidavits from a former ANC security officer (MD) reports drafted after the ANC took power. Konigkramer's name was claimed to be on a list of "handlers" was a former security

branch officer who had been unsuccessfully prosecuted with former defence minister Magnus Malan in connection with the Kwa-Makhutha massacre.

The MI reports said the security branch also expressed concern that Konigkramer was a "double agent" who was reporting either to a foreign intelligence agency or the National Intelligence Service on the security branch's relationship with Buthelezi, the Tribune report said.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal spokesman Dumnisani Mahlaye said the SA Police Service should investigate the claims with a view to bringing a prosecution against Konigkramer. It was a criminal offence to spy for a foreign agency, he said.

Konigkramer told the Tribune that the claims were "complete trash".

Mahlaye said the IFP should immediately suspend Konigkramer. If the claims were found to be true, he should be expelled.

The ANC had taken such action against former provincial executive member and MP Sifiso Nka-

hnde, who was now facing murder charges.

Mahlaye said there was a faction within the IFP determined to undermine Buthelezi's leadership, and claims that Konigkramer spied on his party leader were in line with the "modus operandi of all apartheid agent provocateurs who infiltrated black organisations". The spy allegations come against the backdrop of Konigkramer last week accusing ANC leaders in the legislature of "coniving" with bank robbers, and making dockets "disappear". The bodyguards of ANC leaders were involved in criminal activity, he claimed.

ANC KwaZulu-Natal deputy chairman Sifiso Ndebele hit back during a heated debate in the legislature, claiming that Konigkramer was part of a "third force". Konigkramer rejected Ndebele's allegations, while IFP MP and agriculture MEC Narend Singh tabled a motion calling for the legislature to consider at its next session the appointment of a committee to look into whether Ndebele had breached parliamentary privilege.

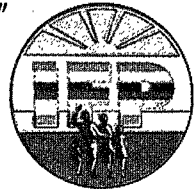
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INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko



PRESS STATEMENT BY Dr BS NGUBANE, MPP NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY 23 MARCH 1998

The whole of South Africa should be shocked by the report in this week's *Sunday Tribune* alleging that IFP KwaZulu Natal MPP, Arthur Konigkramer, was a paid source for the old South African Police Security Branch and was spying on IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi on behalf of domestic and foreign intelligence for decades. I urge the South African public and the responsible media to consider the facts.

In the past months, almost single-handedly, Mr Konigkramer has been very effective in exposing the blood trail which has revealed the operations of ANC hit squads in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands, even after the 1994 democratic elections. Hundreds of IFP leaders and office bearers have been assassinated by the violence orchestrated by ANC hit squads working in liaison with the ANC leadership. Konigkramer has also exposed the criminal activities of the ANC's private army MK, linking them to bank robberies and unsolved murders in the Province. He promoted a debate of these matters in the provincial legislature of KwaZulu Natal and put forward the proposal that further investigation be conducted by a commission of inquiry to finally lift the veil on the horrors of the silent war waged against the IFP and of criminal activities taking place in the ANC's fold.

Within hours of this debate in the provincial legislature, the *Sunday Tribune* published a phantasmagoric story reportedly based on a four-paragraph plain paper unsigned note which no serious analyst would ascribe to any organ of the State or even describe as a "report". Within hours of this story, the ANC KwaZulu Natal leadership issued a statement which not only mirrors the *Sunday Tribune* story but also tries to isolate Mr Konigkramer from the IFP caucus and alienate him from me. In order to silence the echoing denunciations of this courageous voice of truth, the ANC states that Mr Konigkramer is trying to undermine the IFP leadership and acts as the *de facto* Premier of the Province.

The ANC cannot escape its responsibility for the killing of IFP people by pushing, through irresponsible press, the naive diversion of a Konigkramer-agent provocateur on a twenty years secret mission to "souring {the} relationship between the ANC and the IFP" and undermine the IFP leadership. Improvements in the relationship between the two parties demand truth and that the ANC acknowledges its direct responsibility in the carnage. For instance, the ANC cannot distance itself from Sifiso Nkabinde's actions by describing him as "an apartheid spy infiltrated in" the ANC. It has been revealed in the provincial legislature that President Nelson Mandela knew of Nkabinde's alleged criminal activities for more than two years prior to his expulsion from the ANC.

The accusations against Konigkramer are preposterous and outrageous, especially because they have no corroboration or basis. Given their seriousness, the IFP cannot exclude the negligence of the *Sunday Tribune* and it will stand behind Mr Konigkramer in taking legal action against this campaign of defamation and character assassination. The IFP will also promote debates in the national and provincial legislatures to expose the ANC responsibility for violence and any plot and conspiracy which intends to undermine the credibility of political leaders by means of dirty tricks and the unity of our or any other Party. To this end I am considering appointing commissions of inquiry. We will also need to consider action against the abuse of parliamentary privilege so that the ANC may begin behaving in the KwaZulu Natal legislature on the basis of the same standards it has set forth for others in Cape Town.

The IFP reiterates its confidence in Mr Konigkramer and hopes that he will not be intimidated by this defamation and will continue his valorous work on behalf of the truth.

(110) ARG 27/3/98

MK threat to sabotage ANC conference averted

By JIMMY SEEPE

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's statesmanship and diplomacy saved the ANC National Conference in Mafikeng from being thrown into chaos by former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who wanted to disrupt its proceedings.

This was divulged to City Press this week by the over-all police commander of security operations at the conference.

Senior Superintendent Hilda Schade, who oversaw a joint police and ANC security operation at the conference, said the threat by former MK members was considered the most serious among other warnings received during the conference.

Her security personnel had received a tip-off about the planned activities of the disgruntled members who came to the conference to raise their grievances.

Although the action of the former liberation soldiers was considered serious, it had a minimal effect since they had prepared an elaborate plan to deal with any threat, said Schade.

According to her, Mandela's intervention saved the day when he promised to meet with the disgruntled former guerrillas this month.

□ There are growing fears that the group could be part of former MK members sacked from the South African Na-

CP 4/1/98 (11A)
tional Defence Force or those experiencing problems with court martials.

A detailed petition listing grievances was drawn up by the former MK members, said to have been in civilian clothing.

Schade regarded the action by the MK members as the only serious threat security staff could have experienced.

Other threats of disruptions, according to her, came from North West teachers and former Bophuthatswana soldiers integrated into the SANDF but their planned actions did not materialise.

The teachers were said to be temporary teachers facing retrenchment.

Schade said there had also been a rumour that right-wing elements in Ventersdorp planned to block certain major routes leading to Mafikeng.

It appears that their action did not materialise as the group was divided about their plans.

Schade commended her unit for the manner in which it handled the security arrangements at the conference.

□ Meanwhile, the newly elected ANC National Executive Committee is expected to meet later this month to elect the organisation's National Working Committee.

The date is expected to be announced to the NEC after the party's top six meet for the first time since being elected.



SAVED THE DAY... Nelson Mandela's intervention stopped angry former MK cadres from disrupting the ANC's national conference.

Lekota keeps his options

ANC chairman says he would have liked to finish his term

RAY HARTLEY

NATIONAL Council of Provinces chairman Patrick Lekota has not ruled out returning to the position of Free State premier, from which he was "redeployed" by the ANC leadership last year following a factional dispute.

Lekota said his position was being reconsidered by the ANC's national executive committee ahead of the 1999 election.

Lekota exacted revenge for his redeployment in December, when he defeated the ANC leadership's first choice for the position of party chairman, Steve Tshwete, in an election at the party's Mmabatho conference.

He said of his future this week: "Nothing is precluded. One should never say: 'I am a national leader and I cannot go down there and serve'."

As an individual I would have liked to finish my term (of office as premier) there, but one must always temper one's ambitions and subject them to the collective agenda of the movement.

Regarding the performance of the provincial government under the new premier Ivy Masepe-Cass-

abur, Lekota said: "Quite often I meet people in the province, black and white, and they say: 'Nothing is happening now'."

People say these things, I cannot sit in judgement of my success or failure, every leader placed in a position like that has their own style of work."

Lekota said that while he was premier he had made an effort to get the people of the Free State to "own the process" of governing.

"I thought we were beginning to do that, and when I left the province, I was saddened by the fact that, to get people into that mode, you really need time."

People and their suddenly, the process was stopped."

Speaking for the first time on the decision for the redeployment, Lekota said: "If the leadership had more information they would probably have taken a different route. I think they acted more out of a lack of information than *male fides*."

Lekota was at pains to deny reports of rivalry between himself and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. "It has been suggested that (he) was not comfortable with me in the ANC leadership. Anybody who has some understanding of the ANC will not support that view."

He saw his role in the ANC top leadership being "to help build a

(11A) (11A)

closer relationship between the leadership and the membership."

In addition to this, he would strive to improve the alliance between the ANC, the SACP and Congress to help give voice to what he called "the views of the ANC's allies on governance issues."

On suggestions that he had led a left revival at the ANC conference, Lekota said: "I have tried to figure out who this left is and who the right is. I have not been very successful."

However, the ANC was "a left formation, which is why it is leading the process of transformation."

At the same time, he added: "There hasn't emerged a suggestion that we should abandon the free market. It's more a question of prioritising spending."

Pressed on what he saw as spending priorities, Lekota would only say: "It doesn't matter what my view may be. Have to be loyal to the decision that conference has taken on the matter."

Lekota said he hoped to bring non-governmental organisations into a more active role in legislation in Parliament to counter the impression that the institution was distant from the people.

"The masses of the people have not yet come to see that, for democracy to work, they must be active participants," he said.

ST 18/1/98



LOYAL CADRE: Patrick Lekota is not stepping out of the collective

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ANALYSIS

Roasting of SACP may be intended to contain its feisty leaders

Was there more to the berating received by the SA Communist Party from President Nelson Mandela and African National Congress president Thabo Mbeki at its recent congress? asks Vuyo Mvoko

(11A) 00 8/7/98



Picture: THEVOR SAMSON

ONE weekend in 1994, the SA Communist Party (SACP) brought together left-wing groups and trade unions at a "socialist conference" designed to explore the possibilities of a common agenda.

Two days later the self-professed heroes of the working class emerged united in disagreement, with SACP delegates blaming book socialists and those who represented their packages for the dismal failure of the purportedly novel ideas.

The Workers' List Party, the International Socialist of SA and the rest of a horde of tiny groupings, some very obscure were adamant the SACP and Cosatu were merely defending their comrades in government who were now embroiled in capitalist structures. The fact was that ANC ministers' lifestyles had changed, and so had their world view, delegates said.

The groupings insisted the reconstruction and development programme (RDP) would never be achieved under capitalism. Four years later, the SACP is at the forefront among its constituency workers, peasants, business and the bourgeoisie, each battling for the control of the movement's soul.

While every member of the SACP could well be an ANC member, the reverse, obviously, cannot be true. It was not nice to be told, in no uncertain terms by Mandela: "If you cannot get your way, you go and shout like opposition parties. Prepare to face the full implications of that line."

Cosatu is as frustrated by the government on the issues raised by the SACP as the party itself. However, Cosatu has a desirable membership of 1.8-million people. This could perhaps explain in part why Mbeki was not as harsh with them a few weeks ago as he was with the SACP.

Mandela and Mbeki, in their prosecutorial speeches last week, indicated they viewed the latest SACP stance as a new phenomenon totally unheard of in the history of the alliance.

What remains unclear is whether the events at the congress could be seen as a move to contain the affable but brave duo now at the helm of the SACP, general secretary Blade Nzimande and Cronin, two of the most radical-thinking but pragmatic intellectuals in the alliance.

Die-hard Marxist-Leninist theorists, they are not well liked in the uppermost echelons of the ANC where, largely, most if not all of the crucial decisions of the alliance are taken. Was it just coincidence that both lost their places in the national working committee of the ANC in March last year? There is a wide view that it was not.

Delegates at last week's SA Communist Party congress.

Mandela suggested last week that the SACP had to raise its problems within alliance structures. However, something must be wrong if the SACP insists that the growth, employment and redistribution strategy (Gear) was never adopted, even by the ANC, and Mandela insists it is the fundamental policy of the ANC and we will not change it."

It is worth remembering that Mandela read Anglican bishops the riot act when he felt offended by their archbishop, Nonongoluh Ndungane. He did the same with journalists. Some of the issues raised by the SACP, far from being anachronistic socialist dem-

agogy, are not necessarily about "isms" but about governance issues that can be controversial. However, Mandela and Mbeki are used to getting their own way, and this occasion was no exception.

Cronin, who has actively participated in and faced criticism from both inside and outside the alliance, will not forget the day he stood before the 450 or so delegates attending the SACP's 10th congress, visibly shaken, following the cracking of Mbeki's whip. Mbeki had chosen, for his blistering attack, an abundance of passages from the SACP's own discussion documents. He had prefaced his attack by saying "the

congress was not a mass rally. "This should give us an opportunity to conduct our deliberations with the necessary and obligatory depth and not be satisfied merely to repeat slogans or to proclaim a catchism of revolutionary sounding phrases."

The view that the government had abandoned the KDF was "right-wing", the ANC president had said, and any honest person should be aware of that. Mbeki said what had been interpreted as a replacement of the KDF objectives into reality, by a government refusing to fall victim to a subjective and populist approach to the economy.

He accused members of the congress movement of beginning to spread lies about one another in an attempt to pose as sole, genuine representatives of the people. An "insulting" inference had been made that the ANC no longer represented the interests of the masses, Mbeki said, obviously taking offence that the SACP had made an extraordinary suggestion that his African Renaissance had been criticised for lacking a scientific analysis of challenges, and a class-conscious approach, putting the government in danger of becoming "leftist" and unwelcome agents of an "imperialist" and specifically US-led, recon-figuration of our continent."

He said not only was the SACP committed to the alliance, led by the ANC, but the party was determined to do everything in its power to ensure an overwhelming ANC victory in next year's election. Ntshane said pointedly "This commitment is not due to some sentimentalism on the part of our membership, or because we do not believe that the SACP could survive without the alliance."

It is well documented that in Africa after independence, leaders made themselves comfortable in luxurious cars and colossal houses that were once the sole privilege of their oppressors, spewed forth views that their followers never imagined they could ever articulate, and killed or overthrew each other.

Bereft of ideas after taking over from where the colonial masters left off, amid an ever-widening gap between haves and have-nots, they ran to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The "Tornet" oppressors in the meantime, set and enjoyed the fruits of African labour, some of them in exile in the so-called first world. The battle is for the soul of the ANC, and by extension of the government, to satisfy the needs of a people who are not prepared to sacrifice their legitimate right to progress. Sateky and Security Minister Sydney Mtshali pointed out at the weekend that this government's most progressive ideas came from the alliance, and each aspiration was urgent. Mandela and Mbeki, Nzimande and Cronin, all seem to have their hands firmly on the wheel, what the alliance must realise above all is that the real threat comes from death with, because the reality of its constituents' catalyst "acid" for fear.

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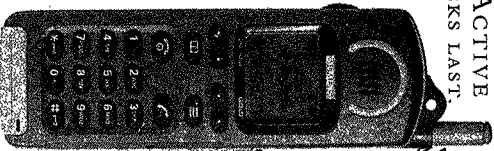
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Azapo confidently celebrates entry to political mainstream

The 14th annual congress of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which ended in Pretoria at the weekend, was a festive affair celebrating the approaching end of the organisation's marginalisation in post-1994 politics.

Mosibudi Mangena, beaming after his re-election as Azapo president, was introduced to the media as the next president of SA by his charismatic deputy, Pandelani Ndlovu, who did not flinch as he recited the accolade.

The claim was met with thunderous applause from Azapo's 1 000 delegates. One emphoric delegate shouted: "President Nelson! Mandela our hero, Mangena in!"

The acceptance of this as a possibility illustrated the confidence of Azapo, which will be participating for the first time in the country's electoral process.

The irony of the matter is that Azapo, despite its weak state, lack of resources and having not been tested in 1994 elections, does believe it will take over the government next year.

In his main address to the congress, Mangena dedicated his entire speech to lambasting the African National Congress (ANC) government. This indicated that Azapo's election manifesto, to be unveiled in the next few days, will largely centre on the failure to deliver on its 1994 pre-election promises to the black majority.

In fact, Mangena said, four years later black people were not developed by a sombre blanket of despondency and demoralisation.

"Yes, we have a new flag, even if most of us have no clue what it stands for; yes, we can sing 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' officially, even if we have to drag the discomfited Die Stem at the end; yes, we have black cabinet ministers and parliamentarians, even if we can no longer identify with them as we did during the tough days of the struggle," Mangena said.

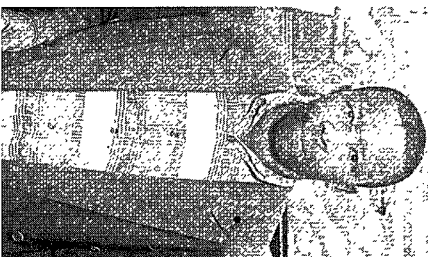
However, while SA celebrated attaining the vote for all and clung to the flag and sang the anthem, the condition of the black majority was deteriorating all the time, he said.

"It is with a heavy heart that we have to admit that the content of freedom under the present government is emptier than the bitter pretences of oppression," he said.

He criticised government for building "pondokites" or "toilets" for people, structures "worse than the matchbox houses provided by the racist regime".

"Does it really mean that, even in its rabid racist madness, the settler regime had better regard for blacks than this black-dominated government?" he asked. Detailing what he termed the

The Azanian People's Organisation has set its sights high in its first foray into democratic elections in SA, writes **Pule Molebeledi** (119) 808/7198



TIKOAME

"rethinking" budgets in education, welfare, health, crime and the public services, Mangena said: "What is this government capable of doing?"

Despite an eloquent speech, Mangena and Azapo face an enormous task if they are to do well in the elections.

The organisation will need more than rhetoric to convince potential supporters to vote for it.

Observers who are close to the organisation say Azapo does not have the capacity to cause an upset. Instead, they advise it to learn from the experiences of the PAC's 1994 election flaws.

Azapo's national organiser, Strlele Tlokoame, claimed last week that the organisation was growing and would perform well in the elections. He boldly predicted that Azapo would take the Northern Province, do well in North West and land a big punch in Gauteng.

Despite such pronouncements, an observer points out that Azapo is very weak now as it lacks strong branches and regions.

"At the moment, the organisation does not have structures on the ground that are viable. This is probably its strongest weakness because it would have to rely on people for money to fight the elections," the observer says.

There were few foreign observers attending the congress, the most notable being the All African People's Revolutionary

Tlokoame had alluded to the organisation's lack of resources, but quickly pointed out that Azapo did not rely on money only as it was a modest organisation doing things with modesty.

He said the organisation would rely on foreign governments but possibly on its human resources, in the form of its youth formations — such as Azasem, Azaseco and Azayco — which were strongly represented at the congress.

Despite a lack of resources, Azapo's decision not to participate in the 1994 election cost it dearly as potential supporters sought political refuge in other parties, primarily the Fan Artisanist Congress (FAC) and the ANC.

The local government elections also saw a number of disillusioned supporters leaving Azapo in favour of other parties because of its decision not to participate in mainstream politics.

Mangena has urged members of the ANC and FAC who are at odds with development in their respective organisations.

Instead, the United Democratic Movement, led by ANC renegade Barthu Holomisa, has been picking up the crumbs particularly from the ANC — further dividing the little cake left for black opposition parties.

A split in the organisation also led to several of its prominent leaders, including former Vice-president Lydon Mabasa, quitting to form the Socialist Party of Azania. Observers warn that the split could confuse voters as both organisations had former black consciousness leader Steve Biko as their progenitor.

One observer said: "They speak the same language word for word." He said all they were doing was fragmenting a small support base.

The most logical step would be for them to reunite, but this would be complicated by the ego factor: who will agree to be absorbed?

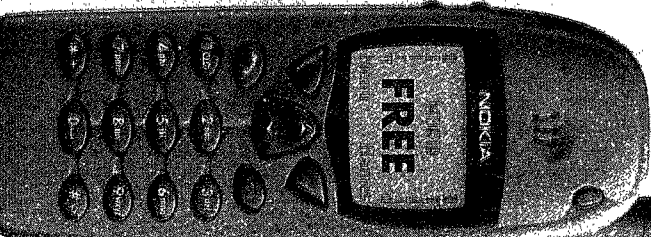
Azapo said it was open to alliances and coalitions with any party closest to its policies of black consciousness and socialism.

It remains to be seen whether Azapo is as ready as it proclaims it will suffer the same fate the PAC did in 1994.

The PAC is working hard to correct its deficiencies and, better organised, might draw some of Azapo's support base.

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Rise and fall of an IFP prize fighter

Sipho Mzimela goes off on his own bat - and finds himself left out in the cold

(11A) RAK 1/8/98

OWN CORRESPONDENT
DURBAN

In July 1995, Sipho Mzimela's political career was at its pinnacle.

Appointed a year earlier as Correctional Services Minister in President Mandela's Cabinet, Dr Mzimela was on a furlough weekend that July, to be elected as deputy national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party at its annual general conference in Umtata.

His election as deputy chairman was not the result of the normal jockeying for positions over top posts that takes place in parties - the position was created especially for him in recognition of his handling the political brewing with the ANC, and he was elected unopposed.

At that particular IFP conference Dr Mzimela was on a career political high. It was Dr Mzimela - in his role as a priest of the Anglican Church - who opened the conference with a stinging, vitriolic body-slam of a sermon in which he berated the ANC (the liberation movement in which he had cut his political teeth) over its "communist" plans to destroy the South Africa he and his IFP colleagues held so dear.

It was also Dr Mzimela - this time in his new role as IFP deputy national chairman - who closed the party's conference that year, again with a series of verbal uppercuts and body-blows that must have rocked the ANC's leadership.

In his ministerial role (one of three IFP appointments to Mr Mandela's Cabinet, including Mangosuthu Buthezi and Ben Ngubane), Dr Mzimela was also in the frontline of clashes with the ANC, fighting a series of pitched battles with correctional services portfolio committee chairman Carl Niehaus. At the end of the day, the pugilistic Dr Mzimela emerged in one piece. Mr Niehaus accepted a diplomatic posting that took him to the Netherlands, thousands of kilometers away from the man who insistently say had traumatised him, physically and emotionally.

He also took on the Coast-affiliated Police and Prisons (Civil Rights Union (Popru)) in KwaZulu Natal, where its members were flexing newly found political muscle, and

threatened its members that their demands for fast-tracked black advancement would result in their landing up in the street.

Dr Mzimela's hostile stance on the ANC was nothing new. It did, however, contradict his early association with the ANC.

Born into an ANC-supporting family in Durban, Dr Mzimela went into exile in 1961.

He worked for the ANC in a number of African states before spending some time in Czechoslovakia, and from 1964 to 1974 lived in then West Germany, where he studied business and became involved in the church, eventually being ordained as an Anglican priest in 1976. He also served as deputy ANC representative at the United Nations and in the US, where he completed a PhD in ethics.

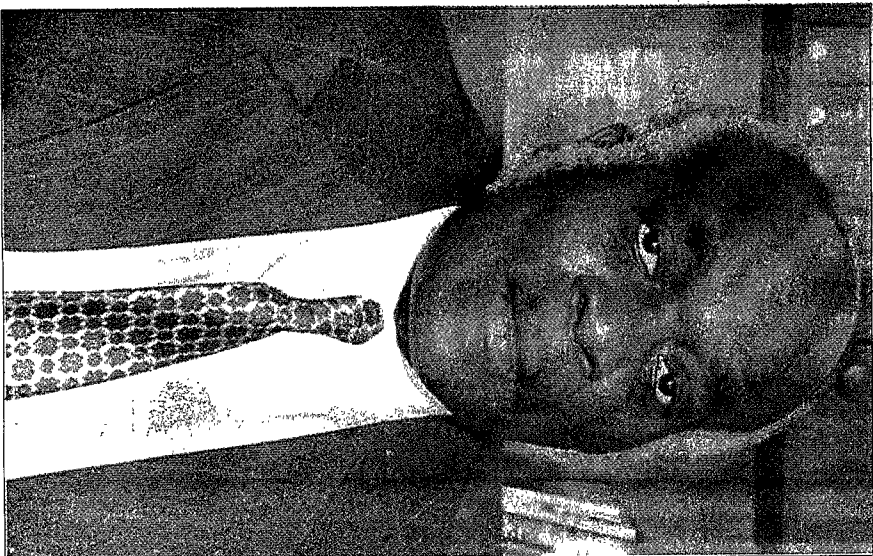
But it was after his 1964 move to Kenya, where he taught at a theological college, that Dr Mzimela's relationship with the ANC turned sour over its official alliance with the SA Communist Party. He resigned from the ANC and returned to the US, where he was eventually appointed as the IFP's representative.

It was at this stage that he became deeply involved in anti-sanctions campaigns and wrote a hard-hitting book on the ANC entitled *Marching to Slavery: South Africa's Descent to Communism*. In which he said an ANC government would mean "the end of civilisation to all of black Africa". So now, almost three years to a day after Dr Mzimela reached his career peak within the IFP, the question has to be asked: what led to his political demise?

In October 1997, Dr Mzimela told the Parliamentary Press Gallery Association that the differences between the ANC and the IFP were "quite well" in government and that the differences between the two parties were "not that wide".

By this stage, Dr Mzimela had come under fire from his party colleagues on more than one occasion for being "too close" to Mr Mandela and for "spending too much time" in the president's office.

He was also taking flak for not regularly attending meetings in Umtata of the IFP's top structures, its National Council, and was one of the national



OUT OF BOUNDS: Sipho Mzimela's stance on merger splayed the end

ministers who drew Chief Buthezi's ire for not campaigning hard enough for the party in the KwaZulu Natal local government elections in June 1996. Then, last November, Dr Mzimela came out publicly in defence of Mr Mandela's Government, this time in writing. In a newspaper article, Dr Mzimela

FACTFILE

- 1936: Born in Durban.
- 1961: Exile as ANC member. Based in West Germany.
- African studies and Czechoslovakia.
- 1976-1984: Ordained as priest and appointed as ANC deputy representative of UN and USA.
- 1984: Resigns from ANC.
- 1984: Moves to Kenya.
- 1986: Returns to USA.
- 1990: Appointed as Inkatha's US representative.
- 1994: Appointed Minister of Correctional Services.
- July 1995: Elected IFP deputy national chairman.
- November 1997: Enthusiastic debate around ANC-IFP merger by writing newspaper articles defending ANC Government and circling in favour of a merger before neither was discussed by IFP co-opting committee.
- December 1997: Fellow IFP MPs call for his censure.
- January 1998: Censured by IFP national council despite public apology.
- February 1998: Takes "Galileo Option" and qualifies apology.
- April 1998: Replaced as IFP deputy national chairman.
- May 1998: Fellow IFP MPs again call for his censure.
- July 1998: IFP annual general conference confirms censure and replacement as party deputy national chairman.
- July 1998: Resigns from committee.

Deputy Minister Peter Mokaba, which advanced a similar argument, caused an uproar, with IFP national MP Albert Mtshwaga demanding (again publicly) that Dr Mzimela be censured for his actions and words. Mr Mtshwaga said he was "shocked and dismayed that Dr Mzimela takes it upon himself to defend in defensible acts as the patriot rescuing the nationally and internationally crumbling image of the Mandela presidency".

By December, the IFP's national coordinating committee had decided that it would be meeting to discuss Dr Mzimela's future at its January 1998 meeting.

At the same time, Dr Mzimela had made it clear he would not be resigning either from the party or as its deputy national chairman, and went on to write a newspaper article hammering his critics in the IFP for running a "come-opinion party".

"I cannot and do not take credit for being the first to express the idea of a merger between the IFP and ANC. It is something that has been, and continues to be, widely and openly discussed both inside and outside SA," he said.

"My only contribution was that we should broaden and deepen the debate by focusing on the poor, or the powerless. For that I have been chastised, condemned and vilified by members of my own party."

The IFP's January council meeting saw a vote of no confidence being passed against Dr Mzimela, despite his unreserved apology for "unfair and unjustified defamatory attacks on colleagues".

But on another level, Dr Mzimela was unrepentant and continued to spread the gospel of the Zanu-PR style merger mooted by Mr Mokaba.

Mr Mzimela who replaced Ben Ngubane as Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister when Dr Ngubane was re-deployed to KwaZulu Natal.

Officially, the reason for Dr Mzimela's replacement was his poor health, but it was clear that it was politics and not illness which had hastened his removal.

On Freedom Day (April 27), an unrepentant Dr Mzimela responded with a call at a Johannesburg rally for blacks to vote as one in next year's general elections.

In response, IFP MP Kieran O'Malley asked the IFP disciplinary committee to investigate whether Dr Mzimela's comments conflicted with party policy as relations between Dr Mzimela and other IFP leaders continued to deteriorate.

After last month's IFP national conference - which Dr Mzimela did not attend - the earlier decision to suspend Dr Mzimela was upheld and he was unceremoniously sacked.

Dr Mzimela came under fire from Chief Buthezi, who said, "Mzimela's political conduct and his public pronouncement of a merger without consulting the party's constitutional structures could not be tolerated by any party in the world."

"He doesn't speak to anyone in Parliament. He doesn't greet me and he refuses to listen to IFP representatives in the portfolio committee on correctional services," Chief Buthezi said.

"His questions in Parliament are answered by members of the ANC." While motivating for a merger has seemingly ended Dr Mzimela's political career, events point towards a mutually beneficial relationship between the ANC and IFP since he publicly uttered what his colleagues were too afraid to even mutter.

The future relations between the IFP and the ANC are perhaps best summed up by Chief Buthezi's address to the conference - at which ANC president Thabo Mbeki was warmly received - in which he said: "I am not asking anyone to vote for the IFP or to follow me simply to end up on the opposition benches. It is absurd to think that the party of the people of good will (the IFP) should be in opposition to the government of the country."

'How IFP milked KZN millions'

(110) 1149 7-12/8/98

**Swappa Prabhakaran,
Mungo Soggot and
Wonder Hlongwa**

The Mail & Guardian is in possession of an extraordinary statement from a man on the witness protection programme who has implicated Inkatha Freedom Party officials in an elaborate scheme to milk millions from provincial coffers.

The businessman, Sateesh Isseri, has been on the programme since August 1997, after the auditor general was alerted to his claims. The police confirmed this week they have been investigating the information passed on by the auditor general, but charges have yet to be laid.

Isseri's statement details how senior civil servants in the KwaZulu-Natal government gave him unauthorised cheques worth more than R1-million and instructed him to dispense the money in cash to other officials.

According to the statement, Isseri struck a deal with the provincial government to supply medical equipment and soon afterwards started receiving the extra money, purportedly for his services.

Isseri, himself the subject of a criminal investigation, also recounts several conversations in which senior IFP members articulated their desire for the province to secede, and their need for "loyal businessmen". According to the document, a senior civil servant even drew a diagram to show how the party siphoned funds from the government via handpicked businesses.

South Africa's top commercial crime sleuth, Assistant Commissioner Louis Esterhuizen, said this week in reply to questions from Isseri that "certain information was referred to me by the auditor general during May 1997. These and other matters are being investigated by the commercial crime unit, Durban."

Esterhuizen refused to comment further and would not answer questions about the statement. The M&G has confirmed the statement was signed in the presence of a senior member of the Durban commercial crime unit.

That Isseri came into contact with allegedly fraudulent bureaucrats involved in high-level fraud has effectively been confirmed by the provincial government in papers filed with the Durban High Court last month.

Isseri launched a civil law suit against the government in February this year for R740 000, which he claims he was owed in terms of his original deal with the province.

The M&G reported last month on the provincial government's extraordinary defence in the case that the officials — including a PW Buthezezi, identified as a provincial expenditure chief — were involved in a fraudulent conspiracy with Isseri, which shielded the province from the civil claim. Although the government has filed its defence in court, Wesley Buthezezi, the provincial expenditure chief, and two alleged accomplices are still employed.

Buthezezi declined to comment on the case this week. Premier Ben Ngubane would not comment beyond saying he referred Isseri's fraud claims to Judge Willem Heals's corruption probe.

Despite the intriguing details of Isseri's civil case, police officers from the IFP and opposition parties, and senior civil servants expressed



King Goodwill Zwelithini: Isseri alleges he met the king at his palace in Nongoma. PHOTOGRAPHY RAJESH ANJITAL



Premier Ben Ngubane: Referred Isseri's fraud claims to Judge Willem Heals's corruption probe. PHOTOGRAPHY ELLEN ELMENDORF

doubt about Isseri's wider claims, warning he could have been involved in the scheme from the start.

Senior officials not affiliated to the IFP have suggested Isseri found himself trapped in an investigation and spun a more elaborate story, with a political slant, to get on to the witness protection programme. However, other sources close to the investigation said some of Isseri's claims appeared true, and the police had made good progress.

The Department of Justice, which runs the witness protection programme, cannot disclose information about anyone on the scheme. The M&G has independently confirmed Isseri is on the programme.

Isseri's 22-page statement contains much incidental detail, but attaches few dates to the events described. A cover sheet, signed off by a senior Durban policeman on August 15 1997, says Isseri received several death threats.

The statement opens in November 1996, when Isseri claims to have secured a deal to supply medical kits to the government after giving a presentation in Ulundi to senior provincial officials. He claims Buthezezi instructed him to submit two invoices for an advance payment, each for just less than R400 000.

Isseri says Buthezezi then took him to the Rib Inn, where he was introduced to Zenzile Mhlungu, a businessman. Mhlungu was minister of finance in the old KwaZulu homeland government and is currently the chief of Khuleni Springs Pairs, a security company previously linked to rogue elements in the former government's security services. He denied this week ever meeting Isseri.

Isseri writes he was invited to join the IFP, and they discussed the benefits of secession.

He then describes the intervention of Captain Els, from a special police unit concentrating on government corruption and fraud, who pulled him aside when he went to his bank to ensure the cheques owed him had been cleared. Els informed him he was dealing with "petty criminals" and,

according to the statement, had many encounters with him in an apparent attempt to trap the culprit.

Isseri describes how, shortly after his initial meeting with Els, Buthezezi informed him there was a "small gift" waiting for him in his post box.

"Later that afternoon I went to my post boxes and found three more cheques [which were made out to different companies]," Isseri claims he told Els, who seized the cheques — worth about R1.2-million.

The statement claims Buthezezi instructed him to bank the three cheques, and that "I'll ever needed to use any of these monies for my personal use, I must always end the figures with the digits R89.95cents".

Els arranged a meeting between him, the provincial paymaster general and a representative from the office of the attorney general. The M&G has confirmed the meeting took place. The policeman subsequently installed surveillance equipment in his office.

The statement describes how Buthezezi at one stage drove Isseri to the airport, where he was introduced to Professor Otty Nxumalo, the provincial director general.

"He [Nxumalo] asked me whether I had considered Mr Buthezezi and Mr Mhlungu's request of joining their political party. He said I would get all the state tenders relating to medical products and ambulance services," Isseri claims Nxumalo said he should contact him immediately if anyone asked him about the cheques.

Nxumalo had a different version this week when contacted by the M&G. He confirmed meeting Isseri at Durban airport, but said Isseri had told him he (Isseri) was being probed by police on phone cheque allegations, and had asked Nxumalo to intervene on his behalf. Nxumalo said Isseri had also asked him why he [Nxumalo] was not being investigated, as signatory to the cheques.

The statement then says Buthezezi arrived at Isseri's home the next day and instructed him to withdraw R500 000 and place R1 000 in each of 500 medical kits Isseri destined for

Ulundi. "He also informed me that if it was not delivered on time, then I will not hear from him in future but my family will."

The statement says Els arrived shortly after Buthezezi's departure, said he had captured the conversation on tape and excitedly started making phone calls. Els allegedly instructed Isseri to carry out Buthezezi's instructions.

But on the day of the drop-off Els said all the cheques had been stopped, "the deal was off and had just become a sensitive issue between the government and a political party. He informed me to be careful." Els has since left the police.

Isseri then describes a meeting with several people, including Nxumalo and Buthezezi, at the Royal Hotel in Durban. One of the officials — whom the M&G was unable to contact — said if the cheques were not honoured, he would pay in cash. "He then opened the brief case and I saw it was full of R200 notes."

The statement says Nxumalo walked in, sat down and drew a diagram showing money flowing from government to "businessmen" — and companies such as Khuleni Holdings — and finally to the IFP. Isseri was told arrangements were being made for him to become part of this cycle.

Over the next few days, the statement says, Isseri was alternately fed and intimidated. He was offered a "pile of money" at one meeting and told to keep silent.

Isseri's statement claims he and a coloured businessman, Len Anderson, were flown to a paramilitary camp on the pretext of a hunting trip at the Umfolozi game reserve. There he saw many army and police vehicles, as well as several Springbok patrol vans.

"Mr Mhlungu informed me that this was their training camp and that the hunting there was good." Isseri met several armed men, one of whom was a sharpshooter called "Membs". Anderson told the M&G this week he had never heard of Isseri.

had never been hunting and had never given funds to the IFP. He said Isseri's description of him as "coloured" meant nothing as it was so vague. He asked whether the statement gives a date of the meeting, which it does not.

On another occasion, Isseri claims he was taken to a "special meeting at the King's [Goodwill Zwelithini's] palace in Nongoma". Isseri gives a list of names of people he recognised at the party, politicians and businessmen, including Vivian Reddy.

At the party the king allegedly spoke to Isseri, saying: "if I [Isseri] had business sense like Mr Mhlungu, I would go a long way."

Reddy told the M&G this week he had never met Isseri and had never been to such a gathering.

Isseri's attorney, Louis Hitchcock, declined to comment this week, beyond confirming details of the civil case.

The province's MEC for Finance, Peter Miller, said he had not seen Isseri's statement but had heard it exists. "I have also heard second-hand of the name mentioned. It has come to my ears accompanied by an allegation that there is an involvement here that is too sensitive for me to know about."

He said his department had nothing to do with drafting the province's defence in Isseri's civil case.

The chair of the province's public accounts committee, Valentin Volker, said he has heard of Isseri's claims about fraud in the provincial government.

"There have been allegations made going on there is money laundering going on," Volker said, "but no substantial evidence has been produced if one person submits details. It is not enough. What needs corroborative information. That has not happened in this case."

The former deputy national auditor general, Bertie Loots, has confirmed the provincial auditor general brought the matter to him last year, that he was "very cautious" and had passed the case to the police.

Sopa in poll 'to raise profile'

(11A)

sowetan 4/6/99

DESPITE having the poorest showing at the polls by yesterday afternoon, the Socialist Party of Azania says it participated in the election to raise the party's profile.

Sopa national publicity secretary Ashraf Jooma said the party had decided that it would use the election to build its profile and to "put socialism back on the agenda".

Sopa spokesman Console Tleane said the party had done much better than expected. "We are a new party but all the polls demonstrate that citizens are agreeing with our programme," he said.

By yesterday afternoon the party had received 5 780 votes — 0,06 percent of

the national votes cast.

Tleane said the party had received strong support from areas in KwaZulu-Natal and Warmbaths.

The party broke away from the Azanian People's Organisation over a policy disagreement two years ago, taking with it some of its founding members from 1978.

While manning phones inside the election nerve centre, Jooma was asked if he would consider an alliance with Azapo which had raked in 17 436 votes. "We are open to possibilities," he said.

Sopa raised funds from like-minded parties overseas to contest the election on the national ballot and in three

provinces — Free State, Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. The balance of funds were from members' pockets, Jooma said.

He denied that the party was racist by espousing a black consciousness ethos. "Black people have to reassert their identity and become more positive about themselves," Jooma said.

He repeated complaints made by other minority parties. "The media have not been kind to us," Jooma said.

Meanwhile, votes for the Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party had increased to 6 624, while the Government by the People Green Party had 6 069 votes. — *Sapa*

16/09/11a

POLITICS

ANC wields 'greater control' over provincial cabinet promotions

Kevin O'Grady

THE incoming premiers of the seven provinces that are controlled by the African National Congress (ANC) will announce their cabinets later this week, after extensive consultation with national and provincial ANC leaders, sources say.

This is the first time that ANC leaders will have a direct say in who the premiers appoint as MECs, an indication of the party's plans to exert greater national control over provinces.

The seven premiers-designate will be formally elected in their legislatures today, and will be inaugurated on Friday. Most have indicated they will name their cabinets on Friday, but some could delay their

announcements until early next week.

The ANC spokesman in the Free State legislature, Qondile Khedema, said it was likely that premier-designate Winkie Direko would name her cabinet after her election today.

Senior provincial government and ANC sources said the amount of control the party was exercising over the appointment of provincial cabinets was far greater than after the 1994 elections.

ANC caucus meetings were being held in all the provinces this week to discuss the cabinets, although the premiers-designate started consulting on the issue after their appointments were announced in April.

Sources said the increased involvement of the party in the appointment of MECs was

intended to allow the ANC to "take greater responsibility" for the performance of the provincial governments.

It was also designed to prevent the "horse trading" that previously characterised the appointment of provincial cabinets.

The terrain has changed since 1994. From flow on, the emphasis will be on delivery. The team you choose for your cabinet should no longer be based on who was in exile or who wasn't," a Northern Province government source said.

In the Free State, where divisions were emerging between the Provincial ANC leader Ace Magashule and Direko following speculation that Direko wanted to exclude Magashule's allies, sources said that agreement had

been reached on who should be appointed. "There have been ongoing talks between (Magashule), the provincial working committee and Direko to iron out problems and forge unity," one source said.

Speculation was rife in the North-West yesterday about who would be appointed. "He's keeping things very close to his chest," a North-West government source said of premier-designate Popo Molele.

"At the moment, the main influence is from the national ANC leadership," he said. "Speculation in the North-West was that Agriculture MEC Johannes Tselapedi, who unsuccessfully challenged Molele for the party chairmanship last year, would be one of the casualties — even though he is seen to have

performed well in his portfolio. In Mpumalanga, education MEC David Mabuza has not expected to be reappointed following last year's matric exam scandal. Public Works and Transport MEC Jackson Mthembu, who is currently facing internal ANC disciplinary action, was also likely to be axed, sources said.

Pease Seholao reports that the ANC in Gauteng next last night to finalise nominations for the positions of speaker and deputy speaker in the provincial legislature.

The Gauteng premier, the speaker and deputy speaker of the legislature, as well as permanent delegates to the National Council of Provinces would be elected at the first sitting of the legislature today.

promotions