

BLACK POLITICS

1991

AUGUST.

Star 11/8/91

Mandela cancels Mexican dinner

NEW YORK — Giving the appearance of "some agitation" and citing "a crisis at home", ANC president Nelson Mandela cancelled a dinner with Mexico's president on Tuesday night so that he could discuss the Inkatha funding scandal with ANC officials. (11A) (257)

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari extended the dinner invitation to Mr Mandela during a 30-minute meeting with the ANC leader on Tuesday.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie were due to fly to Brazil yesterday, the last stop on their tour of Latin America.

But some reports have suggested that he might cut short the trip and fly directly back to Johannesburg in order to deal with the funding row.

Earlier this week, Mr Mandela said the funding scandal was proof that the Government was fomenting violence among black groups and he urged a continuation of sanctions.

"When the international community says they are lifting sanctions to reward President de Klerk, they are rewarding Mr de Klerk for killing and murdering innocent blacks in South Africa in order to show that democracy in our country does not work," said Mr Mandela. — Star Bureau.

ANC dithers over plan to finance 'historic turning point'

US offers billions to SA

11A
~~2/27~~
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By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress is discussing a multibillion-dollar, internationally backed aid package for South Africa, described as big enough to finance "an historic turning point" in the country's development.

This was confirmed today by Congressman Stephen Solarz of Michigan, after a blistering argument over the

plan with Randall Robinson, executive director of Trans-Africa, at a hearing convened by the Africa subcommittee of the House of Representatives.

During their angry exchange, Mr Solarz accused Mr Robinson of holding up the plan, and he criticised the ANC for dragging its feet in responding to a formal proposal contained in a letter sent to the ANC more than a month ago.

"What is so difficult about saying yes to billions of dollars in aid, especially if it is going to be channeled to a post-apartheid govern-

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ment?" he asked.

In an interview afterwards, Mr Solarz revealed that the proposal had been under discussion in both houses of Congress for "several months" and that extensive consultations had already taken place between members of Congress, leaders of the ANC, and other interested groups.

"The objective is to initiate in the US Congress a multinational, multibillion-dollar aid package, which will be made available to South Africa after a new constitution has been agreed to, and after free elections

have brought a new government into power," he said.

He declined to name the targeted amount, but said: "It is large, very large, enough to make an historic difference to South Africa.

Mr Solarz, who has been one of Pretoria's strongest critics for more than a decade, stressed that no funds would be made available to the present regime.

He revealed that during an international conference in Cape Town this year he had discussed the matter informally and in general terms with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and

Chris Hani. All were enthusiastic and had given the plan their approval in principle.

But he expressed frustration and bewilderment at the failure of the ANC to respond so far to a formal letter, or to reach a consensus.

In an informal exchange after the meeting with the ANC's chief representative in the US, Lindiwe Mabuzza, Mr Solarz said: "I've never come across a situation before where an organisation would turn down the opportunity to make a truly historic decision and to accept billions in aid that could be a great turning point in the

history of a country."

Ms Mabuzza said the ANC "has not turned this down at all. It is simply that for such a major decision we need time to consider the implications. Don't you think we are entitled to that?" she asked.

Mr Solarz snapped back: "Yes, but it has been weeks, months. We go into recess in a few days and if we don't get this thing started it may be too late."

It is believed urgent consultations will shortly take place between members of Congress and the ANC.

● Cash for 3 universities
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'We can end apartheid on our own'

Star 11/8/91
By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau

11A

NEW YORK — African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, continuing the hard line he has followed throughout his six-country tour of the Caribbean and Latin America, including Cuba, said today the ANC was strong enough to end apartheid without help from the South African Government.

"We are powerful enough to bring peace with or without the Government," said Mr Mandela, reacting to the continuing scandal swirling about President de Klerk's head over the Government's secret funding of Inkatha and other organizations.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mexico City on the final leg of his overseas trip, said the ANC wanted to continue negotiations to end apartheid with the Government, but only "if the Government makes a complete disclosure of their crimes".

Mr Mandela's comments in

Mexico City were widely broadcast in the United States as he prepared to leave for Brazil, his final stop before returning to South Africa.

Describing President de Klerk's government as "a discredited regime", Mr Mandela said an interim government was the only way to ensure a peaceful transition from apartheid.

Dismiss

He said the demotion of two senior Cabinet Ministers, General Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, as a result of the revelations, "was not sufficient".

"He (President de Klerk) said nothing about what was revealed, except to say he will not do it again," said Mr Mandela.

"We therefore dismiss the statement."

Mr Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, called his Mexican visit "a great success" and said the Mexican government had agreed to give the ANC money but did not say how much.

ANC warns on negotiations

(11A)



Sowetan 1/8/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet and the ANC leadership met behind their respective closed doors yesterday for what the Government perceives as an autopsy on the Inkathagate scandal, and the ANC as a fob-off of the issue.

In a separate statement, the ANC-aligned Cosatu yesterday warned that the negotiation process was in jeopardy, following State President FW de Klerk's "refusal to admit wrongdoing on the part of his Government" in the Inkatha funding debacle.

Senior ANC sources have also indicated there was "gross dissatisfaction" among the leadership of the movement with De Klerk's response to the slush funds issue, and that a major showdown was looming.

Controversy

Government sources on the other hand believe that De Klerk had adequately dealt with the crisis and that the controversy had been laid to rest.

According to the ANC, its demands for a multiparty commission into secret Government funds and indemnity for people who came up with evidence relating to covert operations, as well as the prosecution of persons implicated by a commission, were brushed aside by De Klerk along

with the demand for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The sources said that by simply demoting Vlok and Malan, De Klerk was "only covering the Government's tracks".

"They (Vlok and Malan) have now gotten away with everything," the source said.

Cosatu said that the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance had put forward a package of measures which De Klerk had to implement in order to move the negotiation process back on track, but that the President had "failed to respond adequately".

During his speech on Tuesday night, De Klerk confirmed his "confidence" in Vlok and Malan. He said that with the reshuffle he had removed them from the controversy.

"I hope that this (demotion of Vlok and Malan) alleviates the attacks on the integrity of the security forces," De Klerk said.

A formal response to De Klerk's reaction to Inkthagate was to be decided at yesterday's ANC meeting, Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said earlier in the day.

All those who missed their copy of *Sowetan*...

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Top ANC man suspended (11A)

South 1/8 - 7/8/91.

By Henry Ludski

A TOP ANC official has been suspended for allegedly assaulting an ANC Women's League member.

The incident took place last week in the ANC's Athlone offices.

ANC Western Cape spokesperson Mr Trevor Manuel this week confirmed that Western Cape secretary, Mr Amos Lengisi, had been suspended pending an inquiry.

He said a two-person commission had been appointed to look into the "dispute" between Lengisi and fellow regional executive committee member Ms Mildred Lesea.

Lawyers Ms Bridgette Mabandla and Mr Zola Skweyiya, both members of the ANC's constitutional committee, are believed to be on the commission.

Women's League spokesperson Ms Hilda Ndude, who is also the ANC Western Cape vice-chairperson, has refused to comment.

Lengisi also serves on the ANC's national executive committee.

Lesea refused to comment.

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

South 1/8 - 7/8/91

THE Pretoria Minute — signed a year ago next Tuesday — had “failed lamentably” to live up to its expectations, key ANC negotiator Mr Mathew Phosa said this week.

“We had high hopes that all political prisoners would have been released by now, that all political exiles would have acquired their right to return home and that arbitrary detention without trial would be a thing of the past,” Phosa said in an exclusive interview.

He is one of the ANC members appointed at the Groote Schuur meeting to serve on a joint working group committee with the government.

A lawyer, Phosa was one of the first four ANC officials sent by the movement to prepare the ground for the historic talks between the ANC and the government held at Groote Schuur in Cape Town last May.

“Certainly, the accord failed dismally to live up to its expectations. We entertained hopes that talks about talks to remove obstacles to negotiations would have developed to maturity by now,” he said.

“We thought negotiations proper would start before the end of 1991. Instead, the whole process has ground to a halt.”

According to the Minute, all political prisoners were to have been released by April 30. “We have 164 political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, which we take for granted is part of

Pretoria accord has ‘failed dismally’

South Africa. These prisoners qualify to be defined as political prisoners,” he said.

There are also about 10 political prisoners in the Ciskei and about 900 more in the rest of South Africa.

“There is no reason whatsoever why De Klerk is refusing to open the prison gates and let the people go.”

Phosa criticised the government for “arbitrarily” releasing “first-offender” criminals under its special amnesty provision.

Fewer than 2 000 exiles had returned. “The government has deliberately dragged its feet. It had hoped to cause demoralisation among exiles so that ANC members would resort to mutiny outside the country.”

He said one of the detainees had been told by his captors: “Here is the Pretoria Minute; we are going to drag it out until there is mutiny”.

Phosa said the government was making it difficult for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to enter the country to help with the repatriation of exiles.

Phosa said “very few meetings” had been held after the Pretoria Minute.



Mathew Phosa
PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

“Before the ink was dry, a wave of violence was unleashed which took everybody by surprise. We tried to prevail upon the government until this led us to suspend the talks on April 9 for the government to do something or to be seen to be doing something to

end the violence.”

Phosa said at first the violence did not make sense, but now it was clear that from the beginning the government had been practising a double agenda.

“It is now clear that they unleashed this violence against the ANC to demoralise it and to scare its people. The government financed reactionary groupings like Inkatha, the Federation of Independent Democratic Associations (FIDA) and other accommodating bodies.

“The government has abused the little good faith the ANC has displayed towards it. However, we must move forward.

“If we are to enter into another agreement, there is a need for a structure with some governmental powers to implement further agreements — like an interim government. We need a neutral structure which will steer, oversee and supervise the transitional period.

“Because of the government’s dishonesty and duplicity, it has disqualified itself. We need support on this issue internationally,” Phosa said.

FM 2/8/91

~~TOP SECRET~~ (11A)

FM 2/8/91

~~TOP SECRET~~ (11A)

The 1,3m member federation is increasingly focusing on the role of unions in the administration of pension and provident funds. But Cosatu remained undecided as to how much control workers should have over such funds — one proposed resolution said they should be fully controlled by workers with management as observers.

A second slightly softened this by saying that workers should control half the funds in the short term, while they were trained through Cosatu to "develop the skills" needed to assume full control. The debate will go back to Cosatu's central executive committee for further discussion and resolution.

The conference adopted a recommendation for a co-ordinated investment policy to use the funds of "such schemes to benefit the working class and for social and industrial development." Cosatu has suggested in the past that such funds be used, as an example, to fund housing and related infrastructure as a way of creating jobs and stimulating the economy. ■

INKATHA

~~TOP SECRET~~ (11A)

Storm clouds FM 2/8/91

Dominated as it was by the funding scandal, the recent Inkatha Freedom Party conference at Ulundi managed, through some of its

resolutions, to give an indication of the way it is going.

Aside from outlining a strategy involving local government control, however, many resolutions were pedestrian. The IFP committed itself again to national negotiations and the peace process; again called for a multiparty conference; and reaffirmed its belief in a market-driven economy.

An important issue was that of alliance politics. The IFP and its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, emphasised that the party would not, at least for the time being, commit itself to forming an alliance with either the NP or a Patriotic Front proposed by the ANC and PAC.

One resolution rejected the concept of a patriotic front as regressive and appealing to the apartheid past. In his main address, Buthelezi stressed that the IFP and NP were not considering an alliance.

This could well have been influenced by revelations that government funds had been used to support the IFP — but Buthelezi did say his party would work with any other political group to develop constituency politics.

Another resolution, however, called for a top-level meeting with the ANC to try to end the violence. Significantly, though, the ANC was probably the only major group not invited to the IFP conference.

Even the CP's Tom Langley was there —

and the Soviet Union was represented for the first time in Ulundi by diplomat Vladimir Lebedev.

Buthelezi explained this by saying the ANC would not be invited to an IFP conference until relations between the organisations had been "normalised."

Local government

Perhaps the most interesting insight into the IFP's thinking, at least at regional level, came from national chairman Frank Mdlalose. In his report he outlined the IFP's strategy of gaining bottom-up control by first contesting local government elections, then provincial and finally a general election.

Mdlalose said the IFP in the greater Durban area was setting up the machinery to contest and win municipal elections and had divided Durban into convener areas with co-ordinating committees.

Earlier in the year, the IFP established a fund-raising front organisation, the Action Group for Democracy, in Durban as a spearhead for moving the IFP head office to Durban. Obviously, the first target is going to be City Hall.

One of the more unusual resolutions — following a tirade against journalists reporting on the Ulundi conference — expressed "disgust at the media double standards, which offers no criticism of assistance rendered to the ANC."

continue — D — P

FM 2/8/91

~~TOP SECRET~~ (11A)

It sounded remarkably similar to what ANC president Nelson Mandela has been saying about the media recently. ■

F M 2/8/91

11A

THE ANCFM2/8/91
Waiting in the wings

11A

The ANC's newly elected internal "cabinet," the National Working Committee, is a well-integrated ideological mix that retains less than half of the previous NWC members.

Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and Pallo Jordan — reflecting the voting patterns of the ANC's conference in Durban in July — gained the most votes from the 90-member National Executive Committee that selects the NWC. They are clearly accepted by the organisation as the best, brightest and most powerful men in the organisation after president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and their deputies, Walter Sisulu and Jacob Zuma.

Mbeki's popularity confounds earlier speculation that his influence might have been on the wane because he seldom addressed members at grassroots level. He may well have regained his crown prince mantle.

The new 20-strong NWC reflects the new political reality the ANC finds itself in. It has fewer Umkhonto we Sizwe and intelligence officials and more representing the

political and diplomatic side of the ANC. The committee will meet once a month.

Former Mass Democratic Movement leaders feature strongly, which gives the ANC leadership a better balance between former exiles and internal leaders. "Internals" include Patrick Lekota, former UDF publicity secretary and now in the ANC's publicity department; Popo Molefe, former UDF general secretary, now in charge of organising for the ANC; and Mohammed Valli Moosa, a leading communist and former acting UDF publicity secretary.

Two Cape activists and former UDF regional leaders, Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel, were also elected. Carolus is also a top communist and is one of two women on the NWC (the other is Barbara Masekela).

Twenty-five people were nominated for the 20-member committee. A secret ballot was overseen by three members of the ANC's Constitutional Department. Most portfolios still have to be assigned, though some will retain existing posts. Eight of the 20 are believed to be communists.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders Chris Hani and Joe Modise were re-elected; so were communist leader Joe Slovo and intelligence officials Joe Nhlanhla and Ronnie Kasrils. Steve Tshwete is also back, but with the new sports portfolio. New to the NWC are recently released MK cadre Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim; Joel Netshitenzhe, the edit-

or of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*; and Zola Skweyiya, the ANC's able but low-profile constitutional department head, who defeated Mac Maharaj to gain a seat.

The structure of the new NWC will be different. Previously, it had a small administrative head, a large external co-ordinating committee and a large political military council. Both these bodies now decline in importance, as the ANC restructures itself to look more like a government-in-waiting.

The departments that fall under the NWC report to Ramaphosa and his deputy, Zuma, which should produce a more efficient ANC.

Former secretary-general Alfred Nzo made it onto the NWC, as did John Nkademeng, head of the now-defunct SA Congress of Trade Unions, which merged with Cosatu last year. Nkademeng has been active in trying to halt township violence.

New member Sidney Mafumadi, who last week relinquished his union hat as Cosatu's deputy general secretary, also sits on the central committee of the Communist Party.

Still to be appointed is the powerful seven-member president's committee, which will act as a daily advisory body to ANC president Nelson Mandela. Members of the president's committee, selected by Mandela, may be co-opted and will not necessarily come from the ranks of elected ANC officials. Mandela is expected to make his choice before the end of August. ■

SACP CELEBRATES

POLITICAL STAFF

EXACTLY 70 years ago this week, just four years after the bloody toppling of the last Tsar, one of South Africa's most controversial political groups emerged in fighting spirit from an historic convention at the Cape Town City Hall.

It was widely scorned as *bolshie*, and so it was.

The fledgling South African Communist Party embraced all 21 points of the Third International in Moscow and declared a "revolutionary policy to break down the capitalist state and substitute a peasants' and workers' republic".

This pithy brief made the SACP South Africa's most hated, and hounded, party. In the decades that followed, communists were harried by successive administrations, but proved remarkably doughy.

It is probably inconceivable to most readers today that the SACP was once actually represented in Parliament, that it had an office on the third floor of Lloyds' Building at 58 Burg Street, Cape Town, and that it was a party among

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70 years on... the party is alive, kicking

brought the Reds into conflict with the South African establishment.

Not that the party was without internal strife: in 1927 Moscow's dictates generated friction, a dispute ensued and a number of key figures were expelled. Some returned later. Sectarianism and dogmatism were afflictions of the 1930s and later.

But the far greater threat to the party was from the outside.

The SACP is proud of its record of commitment, in South Africa, to non-racialism, but it was this rather than the chilling visage of Stalinism or the alarming, if distant, prospect of Marxist economic policy, that made communism the *bete noire* of Union politics.

It is adequately reflected in a pamphlet written in 1943 by Eric Louw, later Foreign Minister, on *The Communist Danger*.

He records with barely

cally announced in Parliament by Sam Kahn.

On June 22 1950 the secretary of the Johannesburg branch announced: "All the party offices have been closed - Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth - the equipment sold, debts paid, and we are going out with a clean slate."

But this was a classic case of the end of the beginning, rather than the beginning of the end.

Minister of Justice Mr CR Swart provided for himself, and his successors, the authority to compile a list of "named" former members and supporters of the Communist Party, through which certain restrictions could be imposed.

Within a year the list was 600 names long.

Named people were forced to resign from certain organisations and were banned from attend-



SACP stalwarts: From left JB Marks, Ray Alexander and Bram Fischer.

ing certain gatherings.

In May 1951 Sam Kahn and Fred Carneson, a communist Provincial Councillor, were told they had been found by a Select Committee to be communists and their membership of Parliament and the Provincial Council was terminated.



Also in May 1951, the well-known socialist newspaper *The Guardian* was banned. A week later, the same staff brought out a new paper called *Clarion*. Over the next 12 years the newspaper was repeatedly banned, but re-

emerged every time - first as *People's World*, then *Advance*, then *New Age* and finally, until 1963, as *Spark*.

Kahn's removal from Parliament was not the end of the communist presence there.

In the 1952 election, Brian Bunting, son of founder Sidney Bunting, polled 4 123 black votes to take Kahn's seat as the black people's representative for the Western Cape.

A year later he was also "named" and ejected.

A year after that, in 1954, the seat was up for grabs again.

It stepped Rachael Alexandrovich - Latvian born trade unionist Ray Alexander, now back in Cape Town after 25 years in exile.

She emerged as a sur-

prise candidate for the 1954 election, beating candidates from the Liberal Party and the South African Christian Coalition. A legal technicality prevented the Government from stopping her standing as a candidate.

She was duly elected on April 27, but within 20 minutes of the announcement, was twice refused entry to Parliament by special branch detectives.

In her first attempt she got as far as the steps of Parliament before being grabbed by the arm and led outside the gates. The next time she did not get beyond the gates.

That evening, the Speaker announced she was not "competent" to be an MP and that the seat was again vacant.

Alexander had been a Member of Parliament for

four hours and 15 minutes. Possibly a record, and certainly a potent symbol of Nationalist hegemony.

The dark years of South African communism loomed. The party submerged remaining, for the most part, a murky underground operation.

In 1964 - a year after the present leader Mr Joe Slovo went into exile - the then leader of the underground Communist Party, Johannesburg advocate Mr Bram Fischer QC, was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in jail.



In the 1980s, Slovo was credited with the operational strategy of the ANC's armed campaign and was labeled "public enemy No 1" by the authorities.

Today, the SACP is very much alive and, contrary to the trend elsewhere in the world, is probably more popular than it has ever been.

THURSDAY 5 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	RED DEVILS	VS	TOTMANPOOL
12H55	STREPTOCOCKS	VS	THE CLONE R
13H10	NASHUA	VS	THE PRETENDI

FRIDAY 6 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	NAMIBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	JAGGER
12H55	BAY WARRIORS	VS	MAINTENANCE
13H10	MEDICS	VS	JAMAICA HOU

MONDAY 16 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	JAMAICA HOUSE COMMITTEE	VS	THE PRETENDE
12H55	NAMIBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	LINCOLN
13H10	MEDICS	VS	MAINTENANCE

TUESDAY 17 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	GRADS	VS	TOTMANPOOL
12H55	RED DEVILS	VS	STREPTOCOCKS
13H10	NEWTON HEATH	VS	JAGGER

WEDNESDAY 18 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	JAMAICA HOUSE COMMITTEE	VS	BAY WARRIORS
12H55	LINCOLN	VS	B 52'S
13H10	SPORTS ACTION	VS	ZOOLOGY

THURSDAY 19 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	NEWTON HEATH	VS	THE CLONE R
12H55	MANCHESTER-BOTANY	VS	THERMODYNAM
13H10	REBELS	VS	RED DEVILS

FRIDAY 20 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	PORTUGAL	VS	BAY WARRIOR
12H55	MAINTENANCE	VS	STREPTOCOCK
13H10	ATHLETES IN ACTION	VS	DUKES

MONDAY 23 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	JAMAICA HOUSE COMMITTEE	VS	GRADS
12H55	BAY WARRIORS	VS	ATHLETES IN
13H10	NEWTON HEATH	VS	THERMODYNAM

TUESDAY 24 SEPTEMBER 1991.

12H40	PORTUGAL	VS	TOTMANPOOL
12H55	THE PRETENDERS	VS	LINCOLN
13H10	NAMIBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	B 52'S

rica's emergent democracy was overwhelmed by the National Party.



The small, tightly knit organisation that emerged on July 30 1921 was a coalescence of the International Socialist League, the Cape Communist Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Durban Marxian Club and the Jewish Socialist Society. Its first chairman was CB Tyler, with William Andrews and Sidney Bunting as secretary and treasurer. (Interestingly, in 1922, Andrews was elected a member of the International and stayed in Moscow for the next two years.)

Headquartered in Johannesburg (41A Fox Street ultimately) the party had branches in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth, drawing support from a motley collection of mostly white workers at first - tramwaymen, miners and seamstresses among them, and many Afrikaners - and then, in the mid-1920s, black workers.

The natural shift in orientation from the struggle for socialism to the struggle for democracy and enfranchisement of blacks saw the birth of the alliance with the African National Congress and, inevitably,

meetings of the Communist Party, white, black and brown persons sit together. At socials they drink tea together and at dances, the black native whirls with his arms around the waist of a white girl, and what follows?"

It became clear the central charge against communism was that it undermined traditional race attitudes.

In a speech to Parliament in 1948, Dr Nico Diedrichs said the "doctrine of liberalism that stands for equal rights for all civilised human beings is almost the same as the ideal of communism".

Having defined the threat in South African, racial terms, it was just a matter of time before the young NP Government reached for the Statute Book to get the source of the threat by the throat: the Suppression of Communism Bill was brought before Parliament in 1950.

Historian Eric Walker records that it was "rushed through in a mere 30 hours by ruthless use of the guillotine and became law on the last day of the session".

In fact, there was at this time an official communist MP, Mr Sam Kahn, elected in the 1948 poll by blacks in the Cape as their representative.

The NP's Draconian Act, however, altered the scene drastically. Just days before it became law, the Communist Party dissolved itself by resolution. This was dramati-

SEPTEMBER 1991.

LOGY	VS	JAMAICA HOUSE COMMITTEE
CLONE RANGERS	VS	MAINTENANCE
HUA	VS	SPORTS ACTION

SEPTEMBER 1991.

ELS	VS	THERMODYNAMIX
TON HEATH	VS	RED DEVILS
LETES IN ACTION	VS	MANCHESTER-BOTANY

SEPTEMBER 1991.

GER	VS	DUKES
EPTOCOCKS	VS	ZOOLOGY
ICS	VS	THE PRETENDERS

SEPTEMBER 1991.

PORTUGAL	VS	THE PRETENDERS
LINCOLN	VS	DUKES
ICS	VS	TOTMANPOOL

SEPTEMBER 1991.

IBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	THE CLONE RANGERS
HUA	VS	REBELS
MANCHESTER-BOTANY	VS	ZOOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 1991.

PORTUGAL	VS	STREPTOCOCKS
LINCOLN	VS	JAGGER
ELS	VS	B 52'S

SEPTEMBER 1991.

IBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	THERMODYNAMIX
TON HEATH	VS	PORTUGAL
ICS	VS	BAY WARRIORS

SEPTEMBER 1991.

LETES IN ACTION	VS	JAGGER
MANCHESTER-BOTANY	VS	DUKES
HUA	VS	STREPTOCOCKS

SEPTEMBER 1991.

JAMAICA HOUSE COMMITTEE	VS	TOTMANPOOL
IBIAN EXCELLENCE	VS	ZOOLOGY
THERMODYNAMIX	VS	GRADS

Ex-spy: Boss link to Inkatha

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Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South African intelligence services gave direct support to Inkatha and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from the early 1970s, according to today's Weekly Mail.

The report is based on an interview with Mr Martin Dolincheck, a former senior officer in the former Bureau of State Security (Boss), who defected to the ANC in 1986.

It says Boss "set up an office in Empangeni, not far from Ulundi, in 1974 with the object of providing direct security and surveillance services to Inkatha".

The services meddled in Zulu politics with sophisticated projects "designed to cultivate conservative black leaders capable of countering the ANC".

Mr Dolincheck said the Boss

Tutu won't call for end to sanctions

See PAGE 4

office maintained direct contact with Chief Buthelezi's office through a telex line.

"The government (of Prime Minister John Vorster) at the time realised that Chief Buthelezi needed credibility among the black populace," Mr Dolincheck said.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said last night that the newspaper would publish proof

today of collusion between Inkatha and the security forces.

This was "a list of 23 incidents which provide evidence of security force-Inkatha collusion".

The Weekly Mail would also name another political organisation which had been funded secretly by the government. This group was not mentioned when President F W de Klerk made public a list of four organisations that had received covert state money.

Mr Dolincheck's allegations were carried in London's Independent newspaper yesterday.

The former officer served in Boss until his capture during the unsuccessful coup attempt in the Seychelles. He was imprisoned on the island for six months.

Inkatha officials could not be reached for comment last night.

Inkatha scandal: Kaunda lauds

FW CT 2/8/91

LUSAKA. — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has applauded President F W de Klerk for his impartial and effective handling of the slush fund scandal that plunged Pretoria into a political crisis.

In a special message published in the Zambian press yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he was heartened by Mr De Klerk's response to the scandal and the ANC's favourable reaction to the crisis.

He stressed that "these measures you have taken to reorganise your cabinet are certainly a step in the right direction".

Dr Kaunda said Mr De Klerk had taken courageous steps in his determination to march forward with the rest of the nation.

"There is added joy in our minds, hearts and souls which comes as a result of the reported favourable reaction of the ANC, one of the main actors in South Africa's political theatre," he said.

The Zambian leader also sent a similar message to acting ANC president Mr Walter Sisulu, praising him for what he called "good reaction".

However, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has criticised Mr De Klerk's action as "insufficient". — Sapa

Medical aid tariffs to rise

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Most medical aid members face sharp tariff increases, many in the region of 30%, in the next two months.

Some medical schemes have already increased their tariffs by 25% to 30%, and many others are set to follow suit soon.

This means the subscription of an average family of three would increase from R450 a month to about R600 a month.

Medscheme chairman Mr Keith Hollis confirmed that many schemes were looking at increasing rates by 25% to 30%.

Last year rates were increased by an average of 20%. Increases are usually announced towards the end of the year. This year's increases are likely to be

implemented within the next two months, however, because of the introduction of VAT. Medical schemes want to avoid two increases.

Mr Hollis said about 8% to 10% of the increases would be to cover VAT on medical services. Further increases, which would vary from scheme to scheme, would be an attempt to recoup losses from increased utilisation by members this year.

Many schemes had to pay out much more than they had budgeted for, he said.

Affiliated Medical Association executive director Mr Timothy Gelman said most medical schemes had suffered a "very tough" year.

Of the 140 medical schemes results reported to the Medical Schemes Registrar, 67 had incurred a loss, while four had gone insolvent.

THERE is no doubt genuine misunderstanding about the mechanics of setting up a democratically elected and mandated Constituent Assembly.

Both the PAC and ANC agree that proportional representation should be the process used in voting for delegates to this assembly.

This electoral process would ensure the widest possible representation of a cross section of our population. Fears therefore of the spectre of first past the post, where large minorities (political or for whatever reason they consider themselves minorities) will not be represented in the process of constitution making, are unfounded.

Voters will vote not in racially demarcated constituencies. They will vote, nationally, for the party of their choice with say a cut-off point of 4%, which would ensure representation for small groupings.

Of course many would agree that this proposal is democratic — but what are the democratic credentials of the PAC?

Equal suffrage

In November of 1989, PAC representative Gora Ebrahim together with the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and United Nations officials, worked into the early hours of the New York morning on a draft document that eventually saw the light as the UN General Assembly *Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa*. The following principles were enunciated:

(a) South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic state;

(b) All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed;

(c) All its people shall have the right to participate in the government and administration of the country on the basis of universal, equal suffrage, under a non-racial voters roll, and by secret ballot, in a



PAC Viewpoint
by BARNEY
DESAI

11A CT 2/8/91

PAC's ideals for democratic SA of the future

united and non-fragmented South Africa;

(d) All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism;

(e) All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedom and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights;

(f) South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law;

(g) South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary;

(h) There shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans; and

(i) A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

Human rights

The document which was adopted by consensus of the General Assembly declared: "We believe that acceptance of these fundamental principles could constitute the basis for an internationally acceptable solu-

tion that will enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the world community of nations."

The PAC co-authored the declaration. It did not do so for opportunistic reasons but because the fundamental principles which gave birth to our party 31 years ago were self-determination, non-racialism, the return of the land to the dispossessed and the creation of an African democracy with guarantees, not for minorities, but rather for human rights.

It went further than just pronouncing peaceful intentions towards our neighbours, but positively embraced Pan Africanism and continental government. Thirty-one years ago it boldly asserted that it was neither East nor West but emphatically anti-imperialist.

The PAC will enter the Constituent Assembly on the basis that the consensus declaration of the United Nations represents bedrock policies of our party.

We believe that a democratically mandated Constituent Assembly is the ideal and most desirable way to establish legitimate government in our country.

ANC boss reassures business

CT 2/8/91

11A

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Businessmen need not pack their bags and leave South Africa in fear of future ANC policies, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the SA-Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) yesterday.



"DON'T LEAVE" ...
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

In one of the most conciliatory speeches on economic policy delivered by an ANC leader, Mr Ramaphosa said that economic success in South Africa depended on the commitment of the business community.

He said the ANC's economic philosophy would be finalised before the end of the year and the business community would be pleased with the results.

Mr Ramaphosa ruled out blanket nationalisation and punitive measures against big business as a means

of redistributing wealth. But he added that some nationalisation of private companies was inevitable as the ANC "would still need to respond to the needs of the people to restore peace and harmony in South Africa".

He said the ANC's economic policy would be the "fairest, the most just and the most equitable" system available to South Africa, geared to continuing the economy's position as the most successful in the region.

The ANC and its allies had learnt from the mistakes of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and other African countries,

and the resulting economic framework would be unique to South Africa.

He criticised the "economic treachery" of Anglo American and other companies which were exporting capital, saying the South African economy needed all its assets if it were to succeed.

NEC: interim govt vital after scandal

Star 2/8/91

2/8/91

2/8/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

(11A)

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday reiterated its demand for an interim government in the light of the Government's funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and said it would review its bilateral contacts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at the national level.

At a press conference in Johannesburg after the NEC's meeting ended late on Wednesday, ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said that while the Government had acknowledged the need for change through negotiations, it had also tried to subvert the process.

"At the heart of the crisis is the credibility of the De Klerk Government," Mr Ramaphosa said.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

Mr Ramaphosa said President de Klerk's handling of the

scandal had "raised the issue of an interim government of national unity to the top of the agenda". The ANC was committed to reaching that goal through the path of a patriotic-front conference which would lead to an all-party conference.

The ANC leader said the IFP's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence, "coupled with the woefully inadequate responses of its leadership", had seriously brought into question its legitimacy as an independent political force.

The ANC-led tripartite alliance was therefore conducting "an immediate review" of its bilateral contacts with the IFP at the national level.

Responding to the Government's insistence that the ANC received funds from abroad, the NEC said financial assistance given to the ANC was a matter of public record.

In another development, ANC president Nelson Mandela and his delegation, on a visit to South America, said the funds scandal had "greatly imperilled the peace process", warning that Mr de Klerk's failure to take "bold corrective action" had seriously damaged the integrity of negotiations.

We back press freedom, ~~Star 2/8/91~~ (11A) reject intimidation - ANC

The ANC yesterday re-affirmed its commitment to media freedom during a seven-hour meeting with black editors, senior journalists, and television and radio producers.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the two parties said the talks had dealt with, among other things, the intimidation of black journalists by political activists.

"The ANC stressed that, in keeping with its policy of tolerance of differences of opinion, it condemned intimidation of journalists and/or

members of the community.

"Both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the meeting and have agreed to meet more often to discuss matters of mutual concern."

The statement said the meeting was the first that several black editors had planned with major political organisations in the country.

Among participants at yesterday's meeting was ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu.

Future talks are envisaged with the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha. — Sapa.

Interim govt high on the agenda

ANC says it is ready for all-party talks

B/day 2/8/91

11A

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are close to agreement on a multiparty conference that could usher in a form of interim government and agreement on ground rules for full-scale negotiations.

The ANC yesterday slammed government for its involvement in secret funding and alleged involvement in violence, and said an interim government had now become a matter of urgency.

Government and ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a "significant degree of consensus" on convening a multiparty conference had been reached in informal talks between government and ANC representatives over the past two months. The talks concentrated on the mechanics of convening such a conference.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), which met into the early hours of yesterday morning, reflected the consensus when it swept aside obstacles to preliminary talks.

The NEC said it was now prepared to speed up the process and to take the ANC into a neutrally convened conference leading to an interim government of national unity.

The declaration was part of the ANC's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal.

In addition to castigating government, the NEC took a hard line on Inkatha and said it was reviewing its relations with the organisation at all levels.

It said participation in a multiparty conference was conditional on feedback from allies and regions.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said at a news conference that he expected the process of consultation to be completed soon.

"We are more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the resolution of SA's problems. We still want obstacles removed but the best possible way is the removal of the government itself."

SACP secretary general Joe Slovo said there were no real obstacles to ANC participation in a multiparty conference.

"We will be faced with obstacles until the end of time. Subject to consultation with our allies, we are clearly prepared to move towards an all-party conference and that all-party conference must discuss the creation of an interim government."

The ANC's willingness to enter multiparty talks comes after a statement by President F W de Klerk who said at his international news conference earlier this week: "I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure in a constitutionally accountable manner that the government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in a negotiating process."

The ANC NEC in turn said government's funding scandals had pushed the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda. The NEC said the ANC was aiming to speed up the process leading to an interim government through a patriotic front. A

□ To Page 2

ANC B/day 2/8/91

conference involving ANC, PAC, Azapo, trade union and other groups this month will attempt to agree on a patriotic front.

"In view of the present crisis we are prepared to engage in consultations with ANC regions and branches, our allies and other democratic formations in order to speed up these processes so that an interim government can come into being," the NEC statement said.

Among the characteristics of an interim government envisaged by ANC spokesmen yesterday were: a presidency of more than one person; a role for the NP; command by the interim authority of "some of the key sectors of the state"; and an element of power sharing.

Ramaphosa did not exclude any parties or groups from the conference and said the

current church-backed peace process could convene the talks.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the question of who would convene and chair the conference could be determined in preliminary and informal talks between "the more obvious prospective participants".

The ANC also called on government to establish a multiparty commission to investigate government involvement in violence and secret funding, to disband counterinsurgency units, to prosecute security personnel identified by commissions as having been responsible for violence against members of the public and to pay reparations to victims of violence.

● Picture: Page 3

11A □ From Page 1

Govt 'delaying peace'

Savelan 2/8/91
THE ANC yesterday said the Government was a stumbling block to peace and democracy in South Africa and had to be removed.

Mr Pallo Jordan said the Government's inability to come clean on the Inkatha funding issue and other covert destabilising actions "completely rules out its

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

suitability to serve as both referee and player".

"De Klerk's insistence that his Government continue to govern while his party engages in 'multi-party' talks is an attempt to separate the inseparable," Jordan said.

~~2/8/91~~ (11A)
The implication is that the NP would put forward its policies at the negotiating forum while governing the country according to the same policies.

However, in his speech on Tuesday De Klerk emphasised the urgency of an interim authority during the transition period.

"The Government has no desire to be player and referee. It wishes and has to be impartial.

"I have said on more than one occasion that there is a need for transitional measures to overcome this problem," he said.

SACP BALL: *The Communist Party celebrated its 70th anniversary last weekend. MARK GEVISSER was there*

YES, the scandal has broken. *The Weekly Mail* is secretly funding the South African Communist Party. The editor pressed four crisp red R50 notes into my hand and dispatched me to the most important event on this year's social(ist) calendar.

Imagine *Twin Peaks* time-warped back to the 1940s and directed by Fellini. Imagine paying R200 to eat Lenasia's best biryani and listen to Jewish jokes.

Imagine hearing about Walter Sisulu's opinion of Chinese food. Imagine doing the lambada beneath the towering organ of the Johannesburg city hall. Imagine waltzing with Joe Slovo. Imagine All The People ...

If you went to the South African Communist Party's 70th Anniversary Ball at the Johannesburg City Hall you would have had to imagine them.

John Gomomo, newly-elected president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, assured us that "the people" were 100 percent behind the "party", but they certainly weren't at it. And at R200 a couple and R20 a bottle of wine, who can blame them?

Not counting Walter, Cyril and John (who were, anyway, at the leader's table, way off in the distance under the organ across the dance-floor and appropriately miles away from the rank-and-file), there couldn't have been more than a dozen African faces among the 500-odd revellers.

And the irony was not lost on Gomomo as he addressed the white old-faithfuls and Indian aristocrats who braved the icy chill to make sure the SACP officials got their salaries this month. "It might be quite hard for some of you to believe," said Gomomo of Inkathagate, "but we workers have known about it for years."

Strangely, those African National Congress executive members who attended are not active members of the SACP, and some of them have even said that they never have been: Cyril Ramaphosa, Walter Sisulu, Aziz Pahad, Alfred Nzo. And very few hardened party-animals pitched. No Chris Hani. No Joe Modise. No Mac Maharaj. No Jeremy Cronin. Everyone expected the Red Pimpernel to make a surprise entrance — but not even he swung in from the chandeliers at midnight (even though Jay Naidoo did slip in after his night-shift at the Cosatu conference for a quick drink). Since the SACP and ANC leadership was given free tickets, one can only assume that their stayaway was ideologically rather than economically motivated.

So who was there? The belle of the ball was undoubtedly a woman in a one-shouldered apricot taffetta ballgown, who seemed not to have changed a bit since she went into hiding when the SACP was banned in 1950 — and was considering the event to be her second Coming Out

So where's the Party?



Pressing flesh ... Joe Slovo, one of the few top SACP officials to attend the party's 70th anniversary banquet, takes the floor with a friend

Photograph: GUY ADAMS

into new South African society.

With her hair in a bob and her heels clicking amid the saris, she tangoed. She waltzed. She samba'd. She rhumba'd. One couldn't quite imagine her doing a toyi-toyi, but she could certainly teach the younger comrades a thing or two about how to Party.

"I don't know who she is," says ex-political prisoner Indres Naidoo, who organised the

bash, "but everyone's talking about her."

Naidoo says he is "very, very pleased" with the ball. "It went off beautifully. Although we didn't raise as much as we expected, it was more than sufficient." R22 000 was raised, and Naidoo expects at least another R15 000 to come in.

ANC aunties from Laudium and Lenasia did the cooking, young Lens activists put on their

finest to do the waitering, and even the flowers were donated.

Naidoo explains the emptiness of the drafty hall by saying "that many of those who bought tickets weren't able to come".

Those who did were given star treatment by their leader: after briefly running through a potted response to the Inkatha scandal, Joe Slovo regaled his audience with jokes and anecdotes, peppered with Yiddishkeit, from the old days: how they used to hold weekly meetings outside "this very city hall"; how Natie Marcus (progenitor of Gill) and his brothers used to act as backstop and how they all used to rush off to the nearby surgery of a sympathetic Dr Joffe (or was it Dr Greenberg?) after they had been beaten up by neighbourhood fascist thugs.

Clearly having learnt a lesson or two from American politicians, who are much more experienced at hosting society balls than the SACP, Uncle Joe then circulated around the hall to do some flesh-pressing: every good comrade and guilty liberal who paid his or her R200 got a hearty handshake from the Boss.

While one reveller at my table complained rather loudly about the food — "They said there would be five courses, but one of the courses is yoghurt" — and many were irritated to find that hooch wasn't on the house, Naidoo says that "the party office phones were deluged with congratulatory calls on Monday, particularly about the food".

The biryani and tandoori was, by the way, delicious, even if one of the courses was yoghurt and the starters were chintzy little Avocado Ritzes.

Naidoo admits, however, that there were some complaints about the band. "The younger generation thought that there was too much of that *lang-arm* stuff."

But the band was clearly catering to the clientele: average age was 50. Perhaps it's wrong to judge a party by its parties, but — no offence intended to older communists, who really do seem to know how to have a good time — if the SACP's 70th anniversary celebrations are anything to go by, it is in desperate need of some young blood.

And the ball did suggest, once again, that there is a rather large gap between the middle-class intelligentsia who run the SACP and the masses who wave their little red flags at rallies and only read about society balls in the glamour-magazines.

As I left safely before the Pumpkin Hour (I didn't want any illusions to be shattered, so I didn't hang around to see which princesses would turn into cinder-sweepers), I wondered what would become of the dozens of uneaten Avocado Ritzes piled up, like a surreal caricature of bounty, on a table near the door. I only hoped they would be donated to a good cause.

New blood at the top

w/mant 2/8 - 8/8/91 (11A)

New blood was elected to the Congress of South African Trade Unions' leadership last week — the only worry is that some new office bearers may be too young. **By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions' new office-bearers' team will be far more effective and dynamic than its predecessor, federation sources believe. But there are some doubts about the youth and relative inexperience of two of the new leaders, Sam Shilowa and Godfrey Oliphant.

Three men were returned to office by Cosatu's national conference: Jay Naidoo as general secretary, Ronald Mofokeng as treasurer and Chris Dlamini as first vice-president.

Dlamini was narrowly defeated in the race for the presidency spot. Sources believe he may have been damaged by conflict in his union, the Food and Allied Workers' Union, centering on alleged undemocratic practices.

Insiders say the new president, National Union of Metalworkers leader John Gomomo, will be a distinct improvement on Elijah Barayi, whom

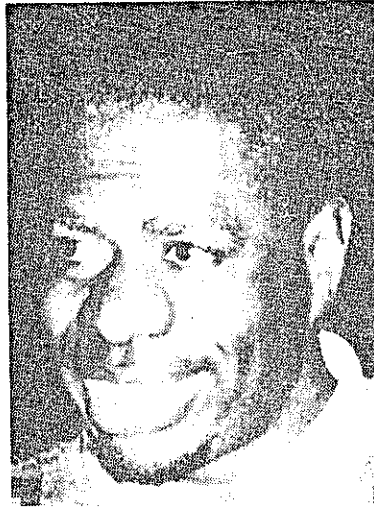


John Gomomo ... distinct improvement

one unionist described as "basically dead wood".

Elected Cosatu second vice-president at the 1989 congress, Gomomo is an African National Congress leader and a member of the South African Communist Party internal leadership group.

Although lacking the sophistication and fluency of men like Dlamini, his great strength is his organic connection to the shop-floor — he is an active shop



Sam Shilowa ... articulate and ambitious

steward at the VW plant in Uitenhage.

Unionists also believe Shilowa may be an improvement on Cosatu's outgoing assistant general secretary, Sydney Mufamadi, who stepped down after being elected to the ANC's national working committee. "Sydney's heart was not really in Cosatu," one said. "He's basically a politician."

Shilowa, a worker at a security firm, was recently elected president of the



Godfrey Oliphant ... youngest official

Transport and General Workers' Union — a job he will now have to relinquish. The ANC's Dobsonville information officer, he is also a regional leader of the SACP in the Transvaal.

Articulate, clever and said to be ambitious, Shilowa is a mere 33 years old. Some sources worry that he is not a tried and tested administrator.

At 32, new second vice-president Godfrey Oliphant is Cosatu's youngest office-bearer — and there are concerns in the federation about his youth.

A National Union of Mineworkers' shaft steward at De Beers' Finsch diamond mine, near Kimberley, he has honed his negotiating skills in national wage talks with De Beers and is described by a colleague as "articulate and energetic — definitely national leadership material".

An ANC regional leader in the Northern Cape, he was active in launching the Limeacre branch of the ANC — one of the first in the region. An NUM branch chairman, he has also served in Cosatu's Northern Cape and Free State regional executive, a post he will now relinquish.

CONGRESS BRIEFS

AMONG the resolutions passed at the Congress of South African Trade Unions' national congress was one to initiate a summit for "all progressive organisations" on the Aids epidemic.

A congress resolution notes Cosatu has not done enough to implement its 1989 Aids policy and that the spread of the disease could have "devastating effects on the future of our country".

Government had paid lip-service to the problem and apartheid structures such as single-sex hostels, which promoted the disease, remained in place.

The federation's central executive committee is to finalise an Aids policy for tabling at the summit.

● Affiliates would refuse to pay VAT on union dues and press for an interim five percent wage rise from employers to offset VAT's inflationary impact.

Delegates also agreed to "spearhead" a coalition of organisations to fight the imposition of VAT on union subscriptions, the "high" (12 percent) rate at which it will be introduced and its application to basic foods, medicines and medical services.

A Cosatu spokesman said that at a recent meeting, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had pledged to respond on the subscriptions issue within 48 hours of receiving written Cosatu representations. "Ten days have passed and we are still waiting," she said.

The congress deferred the question of broad Cosatu economic policy to a special conference, but did endorse negotiations with business and the state on an interim programme of restructuring.

Other "social" resolutions at the conference included calls for:

● A campaign to review all health, safety and environmental legislation and for changes in the Machinery and Occupational Safety Act, including tougher penalties for management.

● The creation of a Cosatu commission to probe public transport policy, including nationalisation.

● The upgrading of hostels and provision of alternative accommodation, through negotiation with hostel-dwellers, civics and unions.

● The equalisation of pensions.

Fresh impetus for women's programmes

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

THE appointment of a full-time women's co-ordinator for the Congress of South African Trade Unions is likely to give new impetus to women's programmes and women's leadership in the federation.

A Cosatu representative said the resolution for a full-time co-ordinator was passed unanimously. This was surprising in the light of expected opposition from the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union which earlier this year set its face against separate women's structures.

The co-ordinator will be responsible for ensuring the implementation of Cosatu resolutions on women and for liaising with existing gender forums and structures in Cosatu and its affiliates.

Research work will be an important component of the co-ordinator's work — she will study local and international approaches to dealing with gender inequality and organise debates.

She will research affirmative action, job grading, childcare and equal wages as well as monitoring affirmative action programmes.

Ongoing campaigns will be parental

rights, childcare rights, health, safety and environmental issues affecting women. Campaigns for safe transport for night workers will continue and so will the calls for appropriate education aimed at increasing the skills and confidence of women workers.

An important facet of the resolution on training was devoted to the specific training needs of women. Women should be paid "equal wages for skills of equal value". Women should also be trained in jobs usually reserved for men and career paths should be developed for traditional women's work.

Deft footwork: ANC says let's talk

THE African National Congress yesterday put the demand for an interim government at the top of the country's political agenda, unlocking the route to the All-Party Conference and constitutional negotiations for a new South Africa.

In a piece of fancy footwork, the ANC found a way of taking the negotiations forward on its own terms while keeping the pressure on President FW de Klerk.

Underlying the ANC's strong statement of dissatisfaction with the gov-

The ANC, while keeping the pressure on the government, has cleared the way for the All-Party Conference.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

ernment was a positive response to De Klerk's appeal to help get the conference started expeditiously.

A statement prepared by a full plenary session of the ANC's National Executive Committee said the only way forward was an interim government of national unity — which it de-

scribed as a "transitional authority, with a limited lifespan charged with the task of preparing the country for a democratic constitution and governing the country during this period".

Answering questions at a press conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said the ANC would be pushing ahead with the process of peaceful settlement through the All-Party Conference, where the details of the interim government would be negotiated.

Sisulu said that while the ANC would still call for the removal of the obstacles to negotiation — which

have blocked the start of substantive negotiations since February 2 last year — it had shifted its focus to the removal of the government itself.

"We have become more convinced than ever that the De Klerk government is the obstacle that stands between us and the installation of a democratic government," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

However, the ANC invited De Klerk and the government to join discussions with other political groups to speed up the processes. Ramaphosa said it would be preferable if the All-Party Conference were to be called by a neutral body such as the church-private sector initiative in getting the peace talks off the ground.

The NEC, whose meeting was called to deal with the "grave crisis" in the country, found few nice words to describe De Klerk's response to the Inkatha scandal.

It was cool about the demotion of ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, and reiterated its demands vis-à-vis the dismantling of counter-insurgency units and the establishment of a multi-party commission to investigate state-sponsored violence.

The ANC also said it was conducting an immediate review of bilateral contacts with Inkatha at the national level because of that organisation's involvement with the slush funds and its implication in the violence.

Reading out a statement prepared during the NEC meeting, head of the Department of Information and Publicity Pallo Jordan said the credibility of the De Klerk government was at the heart of the crisis.

"Its failure to make a clean breast and tell the country the truth, combined with its bland admission that it undermined the Namibian independence elections, after making a solemn undertaking not to do so, completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa."

The ANC, while displaying a tactical ability to drive home its advantage at the government's weakest point following the Inkatha scandal — its credibility to oversee the negotiating process — at the same time responded positively to the underlying theme of De Klerk's speech on Tuesday night.

De Klerk said the government had no desire to be player and referee at the same time. He committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the government was unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process.

w/mant 2/8-8/8/91

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The Call for a Patriotic Front

New Nation (Learning Nation) 2/8-8/8/91.
Why is a Patriotic Front necessary?

In February 1990, the de Klerk government announced a series of political reforms. The most important part of these reforms was the unbanning of political organisations such as the ANC, PAC, SACP and many others. The government also announced that it was prepared to negotiate a constitution for a new South Africa. This has led to a series of 'talks about talks' aimed at removing obstacles to real constitutional negotiations. But over the past fifteen to eighteen months it has become clear that the struggle against oppression and exploitation is far from over. Firstly, since February 1990 there has been an escalation of violent attacks against progressive organisations and communities in the townships. Different progressive organisations have pointed out that these violent attacks are aimed at **weakening organisations and demoralising people** so that the people are forced to accept undemocratic forms of government. Part of the government strategy of using violence has been to encourage divisions in the oppressed communities along so-called 'tribal' and organisational lines. Progressive organisations have also noted that members of different progressive organisations do not relate to each other in a comradely manner and this has led to violence.

Secondly, the government and its allies have shown that they have no commitment to democracy. It is clear that the demands for a constituent assembly, interim government and for a democratic constitution will have to be struggled for. **A united front of people's organisations is necessary to force the government to accede to majority rule.**

Attack on living standards

Thirdly, the government's opposition to majority rule is also linked to its attack on the living standards of workers and the people in general. The government's policies and support for the capitalist system has led to inflation, unemployment, deteriorating health conditions and a general decline in living standards. These economic policies have been made worse by privatisation, deregulation and other laws directed against workers and their communities, for example VAT.

Many progressive political, community and trade union organisations say that all these factors show that a serious struggle against apartheid and capitalism still has to be waged. That is why many progressive organisations

In April this year the ANC and the PAC met in Harare and agreed to invite other progressive organisations to a meeting to form a patriotic front. A patriotic front will be a structure that brings together organisations which agree on certain principles and aims in the struggle for a new South Africa. The meeting to launch the patriotic front has been set for August 1991. The call to form a patriotic front raises a number of issues about how progressive and democratic organisations can unite to advance the struggle against apartheid and capitalism.



support the idea of a Patriotic Front. But although there is agreement about the need for a Patriotic Front, many questions concerning the front still remain. These include:

- who will be allowed to join the front
- what issues will it take up
- how will it take up the issues
- how will the Patriotic Front be structured
- how will the organisations in the front relate to one another.

Who will be in the Patriotic Front?

In the history of the struggle in South Africa, there have been many attempts to form united fronts against the government. Before the unbanning of organisations, many organisations were united by the opposition to apartheid. Since the un-bannings, a lot of emphasis is being put on the way in which the new constitution will be drawn up. That is why, at their meeting in Harare, the ANC and PAC agreed that the Patriotic Front will include only those organisations that support the struggle for a constituent assembly. The organisations in the front will also have to be committed to defending the people against state violence and also to eliminating violence between organisations. The ANC has said that

Defence Committees in the townships must involve all people even if they belong to different organisations. The Patriotic Front will make this possible.

Since the government's attacks on the people also include attacks on living standards, the Patriotic Front organisations will also jointly take up campaigns to improve people's lives. An example of the kind of campaign that will be taken up by the front is the Cosatu campaign for "Bread, peace and freedom". Therefore the Patriotic Front will draw in organisations which are prepared to take up mass struggle for political freedom as well as for improvement of the people's daily living conditions.

The role of the working class

In the history of struggle in South Africa, especially in the 1980s, the formation of fronts against the government has always raised the question of the role of various classes in the front. Although all black people suffer under apartheid, workers and the middle classes (teachers, lawyers and business people) experience this oppression differently. Workers and their families are the most oppressed section of the community and also the most militant. In order for the Patriotic Front to reflect the interests of the

majority of the people, the interests of the working class must be emphasised. The working class and its organisations need to play a leading role both in formulating policies and campaigns for the front and also in the actual struggles that will be taken up by the front.

Although the working class will be a leading force in the Patriotic Front, other oppressed classes, such as the black middle classes, must be represented. The working class needs to show the middle class that a democratic socialist society will also protect the interests of the middle classes. **An alliance of the working class and the middle class is important in the struggle against the government and the capitalists.** The Patriotic Front must also facilitate this alliance.

The structure of the Patriotic Front

As with any organisation, the structure of the Patriotic Front must reflect its aims and its methods of struggle. One of the important principles which are supported by all organisations which have called for a constituent assembly is that the mass of the people must be involved in determining their future. This principle of mass involvement must also be reflected in the Patriotic Front. The front must therefore have committees involving the different organisations at national, regional and local level and also in the cities and rural areas. The commitment to build the Patriotic Front from a local to national level will ensure that the front is not only a front of leaders, but involves the masses. **This will also ensure that the front will defend the people at a local level and also struggle for improved living conditions in communities.**

Relations between organisations in the Patriotic Front

The importance of the Patriotic Front in advancing the struggle against the government is that it will promote comradely relations between activists from different political organisations. In the past, the government has used divisions and conflict between progressive organisations to prolong apartheid rule. By promoting political tolerance, the Patriotic Front will counter this government strategy. But this tolerance does not mean that the different organisations will not air their differences. The different organisations will continue to exist as different organisations and they will continue to take up their own campaigns outside the campaigns of the Patriotic Front.

ANC bombshell

Hani, Winnie out of

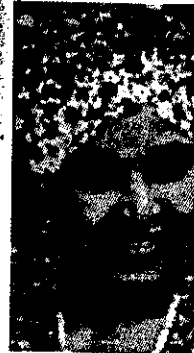
'shadow cabinet'



SPORTS MISSION . . . Top ANC official Mr Steve Tshwete arrived last night on a special mission to sort out sports unity problems in athletics and rugby. He was met by Democratic Party MP Mr Jannie Momberg and Pamela. Last night he conferred with athletics chiefs and today he will attend an important rugby unity meeting. **Report — Page 3.**

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

(11A) CT 3/8/91



WELFARE OUT . . .
Winnie Mandela



WELFARE IN . . .
Cheryl Carolus



SACP ROLE . . .
Chris Hanu

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IN a shock announcement last night, the ANC said Mrs Winnie Mandela and popular Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hanu would not be part of its shadow cabinet.

Mrs Mandela has been replaced as head of health and welfare by the Western Cape secretary of the South African Communist Party, Ms Cheryl Carolus.

And the South African Communist Party has asked permission for Mr Hanu to work full-time for the party.

Mr Mandela, a member of the ANC's national executive committee and the wife of its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was not elected to the ANC's national working committee on July 18 and her position as head of health and welfare has become increasingly contentious following her conviction on kidnapping charges.

Her popularity in the ANC has clearly declined recently and her removal from the health and welfare portfolio will be welcomed by many in the organisation.

The decision to drop Mrs Mandela does not come as a surprise but the departure of Mr Hanu from the shadow cabinet is unexpected, particularly after he topped the polls in the elections for the national executive and came second in the elections for the working committee.

ANC sources said last night that the request to relieve Mr Hanu of other responsibilities was in line with a policy for

the leadership of the organisation to concentrate on particular roles.

However, while Mr Hanu is almost certain to be removed from any direct ANC leadership positions, Mr Thabo Mbeki, at one time regarded as a potential rival to Mr Hanu, has consolidated his influence in the organisation.

Not only does Mr Mbeki retain his position as head of international affairs, but he has also been named as one of the organisation's key figures in the negotiation process.

The SACP request not to give Mr Hanu any specific responsibility in the ANC's national working committee is also rooted in reports that the party is finding it difficult to establish itself on the ground.

SACP full-time

Because of his popularity, particularly among the youth, Mr Hanu is seen as a key figure in reviving the fortunes of the Communist Party.

The SACP, under increasing pressure to clarify its role, appears to have chosen to avoid concentrating its efforts on an ANC working committee portfolio.

In its statement, the ANC said: "A request from the South African Communist Party that Mr Chris Hanu be relieved of his duties in the ANC to work full-time for the SACP was received and is under consideration."

"Therefore, pending the outcome of consultation and discussion on this matter, Mr Chris Hanu has not been allocated a specific portfolio in the National Working Committee."

The meeting decided that the ANC

would be divided into three main departments, namely political, policy and service departments.

The Political Departments comprise:

- The Negotiation Commission, convened by Mr Cyril Rampahosa and including Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa;

- The Organising Department, convened by Mr Steve Tshwete and comprising Mr John Nkadimeng, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Joel Netshitenzhe and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim;

- The Army, convened by Mr Joe Modise;

- Department of International Affairs, headed by Mr Thabo Mbeki;

- Department of Information, headed by Mr Pallo Jordan — Department of Security and Intelligence, headed by Mr Joe Nhlanhla and including Mr Terror Lekota.

The Policy Departments comprise:

- Economic Planning, convened by Mr Trevor Manuel;

- Constitutional Development, convened by Mr Zola Skweyiya;

- Health and Welfare and Human Resources, convened by Ms Cheryl Carolus.

The Service Departments comprise:

- The Legal Department, convened by Mr Zola Skweyiya;

- An Evaluation Commission, convened by the National Chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, and includes Mr Alfred Nzo and Ms Barbara Masekela.

It was further agreed that the day-to-day responsibility for the running of the affairs of the organisation would be the task of the deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma.

ANC aid ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Cr 3/8/91 decision 'in 3 months'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The ANC may only be in a position to take a decision on the proposed multi-billion-dollar internationally backed aid package for a post-apartheid South African government in about three months.

Mr Stanley Mabizela, of the organisation's international affairs department, said yesterday that the ANC had received documentation on the aid strategy, "at present under discussion in the United States Congress.

US Congressman Mr Stephen Solarz has criticised the ANC for "dragging its feet on the issue". He reportedly told an ANC official he had never in 17 years as a congressman come across a situation where an organisation would not jump at a chance to obtain billions of dollars for its country.

Mr Mabizela said the documentation had been seen by such ANC leaders as international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, but the recent flurry of political activity, including the ANC's national conference and the Inkatha funding crisis, meant that a decision had to be delayed.

"It's not that we are rejecting it or are against it," he said.

Mr Mabizela said a meeting of the organisation's National Executive Committee would have to approve the project.

However, the NEC met this week on President F W de Klerk's response to Inkathagate, and the ANC constitution demands only that it meet once every three months. Special meetings can, however, be called at short intervals.

□ SURPRISE MOVE FOR HANI
 □ RAMAPHOSA'S NEW ROLE

11A ARGUS 3/8/91

ANC shuffles its 'Cabinet'

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

Political Staff

IN a series of surprise moves, the African National Congress has shaken up its "shadow cabinet", apparently signalling new urgency in preparations for negotiations.

In other dramatic developments:

■ Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and key ANC national working committee member Mr Chris Hani has been earmarked for a "full-time" role in the South African Communist Party and

■ Mrs Winnie Mandela appears to have lost status.

The "reshuffle", coming only days after President De Klerk's far-reaching cabinet reorganisation, frees new ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa from the day-to-day duties of his position.

He will be in charge of preparations for constitutional negotiations and his deputy Mr Jacob Zuma will effectively administer the secretary-general's office.

The changes indicate that the ANC, while still refusing to convert itself into a political party, clearly aims to resemble a "government-in-waiting" in organisational terms.

In what ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus described as "an organisational tightening-up", the ANC announced the appointments of political chiefs for each of its departments.

Ms Marcus said the moves were because of the ANC constitution which required that each member of the National Working Committee have a portfolio and each department to have a political head.

No promotions

For this reason the shuffles did not necessarily imply promotions or demotions.

The request to second Mr Hani to the SACP, if acceded to by the ANC leadership, will mean he relinquishes his NWC and MK positions — but would retain a seat on the NEC. This move is still being considered by the ANC.

A statement from the ANC said while the matter was being discussed Mr Hani would not be allocated a specific position on the NWC.

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo said the party wanted Mr Hani to help beef up the its own organisation.

"This is in no way a signal of any change in the relationship between the ANC and the SACP. All of us have felt for some time that we have not been giving sufficient attention

■ Turn to page 2

ANC shuffles its 'Cabinet'

■ From page 1

ARG 3/8/91

to the organisation of the SACP on the ground. That's all."

Ms Marcus said: "There is absolutely no question of any disagreement or conflict between the ANC and Mr Hani. If anything, there would be a great reluctance to part with Chris."

The moves, which political observers are interpreting as an indication of the growing distinction between the ANC and its long-standing ally, is also viewed as a sign of the diminishing role of MK in the run-up to "real" negotiations.

Mr Hani, the darling of the township "young lions", personifies the militant appeal of the ANC.

The ANC moves appear, ironically, to mirror shifts announced by President De Klerk. Mr Hani's possible departure follows closely on the removal of Pretoria's arch-hawk Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, and Mr Ramaphosa seems to be moving towards a role similar to that of Education and Training Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — who is being pulled out of the cabinet to prepare the NP for negotiations.

The changes also mean that Mrs Winnie Mandela will be subordinate to newly-elected NWC member Ms Cheryl Carolus in the department of social welfare.

Left in place

The departmental revamp — to "streamline" the organisation's workings according to the ANC — leaves several key figures in place (Mr Thabo Mbeki at international relations, Dr Pallo Jordan at information, Dr Zola Skweyiya at constitutional development and legal affairs, and Mr Joe Nhlanhla at intelligence) but new appointments include Mr Trevor Manuel as convener of economic planning and Mr Steve Tswete at organisation.

The organisational "fine-tuning" was finalised at a meeting of the ANC NEC on Wednesday. The three key wings of the organisation were identified as the political, policy and service departments.

The appointment of Mr Ramaphosa to head the ANC's negotiating drive is a clear sign that the movement is preparing for an all-party conference. It was one of the signs this week that the serious talking was about to begin.

Another significant indicator of progress was that the ANC said it would try to speed up the process and plans a meeting to form a Patriotic Front with movements such as the PAC, Cosatu, Nactu and Wosa in Cape Town later this month at which agreement would be reached on the need for a constituent assembly.

However Mr Ramaphosa made it clear the ANC was not insisting the government and other parties accept the idea of a constituent assembly as a prerequisite for the multiparty conference.

In the wake of his statement that he was prepared to attend an all-party conference "tomorrow", President De Klerk has now set in motion a parliamentary committee to discuss proposals for future constitutional models.

The first meeting with representatives of all parliamentary parties except the Conservative Party will be held in Pretoria next Thursday. Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said "we would go tomorrow if the conference were called".

Proposals

"What I find extraordinary is that President De Klerk, who is also willing to start tomorrow, is not sending out invitations."

Pan Africanist Congress spokesman Mr Barney Desai said the movement was in favour of an all-party conference which had as its main function the convening of a constituent assembly.

The Patriotic Front congress would, however, have to be held first, where the concept of a constituent assembly would coalesce.

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Hani moves in dramatic ANC shuffle

Star 3/8/91

(1/A)

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

THE ANC last night announced an overhaul of positions within its "shadow Cabinet" in a move signalling new urgency in preparations for negotiations.

And in another dramatic development, the South African Communist Party asked the ANC to release Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and key ANC national working committee member Chris Hani, so that he could "devote himself full time" to SACP activities.

The ANC reshuffle frees new ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa from the day to day duties of his position. He will be in charge of preparations for constitutional negotiations, while his deputy Jacob Zuma, will effectively administer the secretary general's office.

With the development the ANC, while still refusing to convert itself into a political party, now clearly resembles a "government in waiting" in organisational terms.

In what ANC NEC member and media officer Gill Marcus described last night as an "organisational tightening up" the ANC announced the appointment of political chiefs of its departments.

Ms Marcus said the moves were the result of an ANC constitutional requirement that each member of the NWC must have a portfolio, and each department a political head.

For this reason, she said, the shuffle did not necessarily imply promotions or demotions.

The request to second Mr Hani to the SACP, if acceded to, will mean he relinquishes his NWC and MK positions — but retains his NEC seat.

The surprise move is being interpreted as an indication of the growing distinction between the ANC and the SACP, and a sign of the diminishing role of MK in the run up to negotiations.

Ironically, the ANC moves appear to mirror shifts announced by President de Klerk; Mr Hani's possible departure follows closely after the removal of Pretoria's arch hawk Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Mr Ramaphosa seems to be moving towards a role similar to that of Education and Training Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who is being pulled out of the Cabinet to prepare the NP for negotiations.

The changes also mean that Winnie Mandela will be subordinate to the newly elected NWC member Cheryl Carolus in the department of Social Welfare. The departmental revamp — to "streamline" the organisation's working according to the ANC — leaves several key figures in place.

Thabo Mbeki remains head of international relations, Dr Pallo Jordan of information, Dr Zola Skweyiya of constitutional development and legal affairs, and Joe Nhlanhla of intelligence, but new appointments include Trevor Manuel as convenor of economic planning and Steve Tshwete of organisation.

The organisational "fine tuning" was finalised at a meeting of the ANC NEC on Wednesday. The three key wings of the organisation were identified as the political, policy and service departments.

ANC women ^{11A} ^{S/Times 4/8/97} seek alliance

THE ANC Women's League in the PWV region has invited women's organisations across the political divide — including the NP, Inkatha and the CP — to a meeting on Saturday to discuss a national women's alliance and a charter of women's rights for a new constitution.

Women's League national executive member Mavivi Manzini said the workshop would be followed by a rally on Sunday to celebrate National Women's Day on August 9 to which all women's organisations had been invited.

She said the formation of an alliance was crucial to give women a single voice over issues that concerned them.

The meeting will be the first regional initiative to include all women's organisations in talks about an alliance.



GRACIOUS HOME ... Villa Rosa, the temporary residence of ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo

Neighbours object to ANC 'office'

By CAS St LEGER

A NEW neighbour of ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo says he will object to the Sandton town council about plans to adapt the property for office use.

An unidentified company has purchased Villa Rosa, at 21A Killarney Road in the plush Sandton suburb of Sandhurst, north

of Johannesburg, for R3,25-million.

The Tambos moved into the gracious 0,4ha property a few days ago.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would say only that Mr and Mrs Tambo would be staying in the Sandhurst home until the end of the year when their own house in Wattville, near Benoni, would be ready for occupation.

She said the ownership of the house had "nothing to do with the ANC", and she knew nothing of the

reported use of the property as an ANC guest house once the Tambos moved out.

The previous owner, Mr PJ Marais, could not be traced.

Offer

Next door to Mr Tambo, at No 21, lives Anglo American financial director Mike King.

"It's a beautiful house, with a wide gallery and four or five bedrooms, each with bathrooms en suite," said Mrs Nicky King this week.

"I want to make it plain

that I have no objection to the Tambos living next door on racial grounds — but today I learnt that the ANC has purchased the property behind us.

"They plan to knock down the intervening wall and turn the back property into an office.

"They just can't do that. People here have invested everything in their properties. We don't want the area downgraded, I intend to lodge an objection with the Sandton town council," Mrs King said.

A few months ago the Kings were offered R3-million for their home.



SMILES ALL ROUND . . . Nelson Mandela lifts the hand of the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Leonel Brizzola, at a meeting at the governor's palace

Fraud scandal rocks Mandela's Brazil tour

S/ Times 4/8/91
 A FRAUD scandal this week rocked the visit of Mr Nelson Mandela to Brazil.

By WIM VAN VOLSEM
 Rio de Janeiro

It involved alleged embezzlers who raised money for a visit to a Brazilian state which was not on the Mandela itinerary.

Trade union leaders in Espirito Santo, which the Mandelas are due to visit today, claim the state government was tricked into donating R129 600 to a fake anti-apartheid group called Amandla, which said it was responsible for "Mandela's visit to Espirito Santo".

Vague

The five men who run "Amandla" — a group unknown to Brazil's major black movements — have been exposed as being the men who were arrested in connection with fraudulently collecting funds and donations for a medical relief fund for Iraq which turned out to be a con.

Authorities in Espirito

Santo confirmed they had been approached by a group called Amandla in connection with "the visit by Mandela".

State Justice Secretary Renato Soares said he had met two men who sounded "somewhat vague" but claimed to represent 200 organisations throughout Brazil as well as one of the main trade unions and had apparent approval of the ANC executive in South Africa.

Political sources in the state claim money was paid out to the group, although this has been officially denied.

When Mr Mandela's official itinerary was published, Espirito Santo was not mentioned and local authorities were puzzled. It was then that the con-trick was uncovered.

Amandla had claimed in pamphlets it had the support of the ANC's Alfred

Nzo, Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo. Members of black activist groups, who did not want to be named, claimed in the *Journal do Brasil* that the men said to represent Amandla had been to SA several times.

It was the ANC itself which, on hearing about the sham, decided to suddenly add Espirito Santo to the itinerary, cutting short Mr Mandela's stay in Salvador da Bahia, the "black capital" of Brazil.

Puzzled

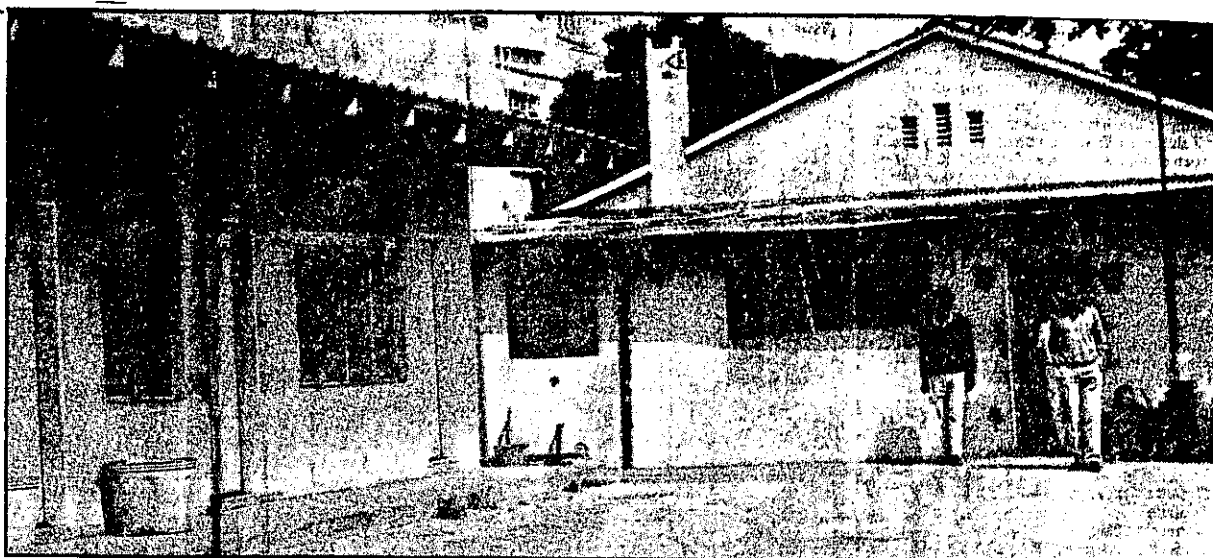
This was to "avoid further embarrassment", according to political sources in Espirito Santo's capital, Vitoria.

Espirito Santo is one of Brazil's smallest states and has no direct significance for Mr Mandela apart from having one of the only two black state governors in the country.

Many Brazilians were puzzled by the sudden addition of the state to the Mandela itinerary.



ANC spokesman Tom Sebina is returning home this month after three decades.



A rare glimpse at the former ANC head office in Lusaka, where the movement planned the liberation of South Africa from 1960.

Picture Africa

ANC's Sebina is on his way home!

11A
4/18/91

Tom Sebina is probably best known for his work as chief ANC spokesman in Zambia — a job that brought him into contact with all important international news media. He was interviewed in Lusaka on the eve of his return to South Africa after spending almost 30 years in exile.

TOM Sebina, 54, returns home this month enriched with an experience that has made him renowned worldwide — particularly his role in explaining the policies of the ANC and the issues concerning South Africa to the international media.

During his decade-long tenure as the ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Sebina acted with cheerful readiness in informing the world about the ANC.

His indulgence with international journalists gave him a reputation for being witty and charismatic with a knack for candid and eloquent answers to questions.

Sebina was born to

William and Rachel Lethalo in Sophiatown on November 13, 1937.

He was the fourth born son in a family of seven children.

Sebina explained that it was a politically conscious family.

"My father joined the ANC several years after it had been formed. Like father, like son."

Sebina went to a primary school in Sophiatown and completed his matric in Dube.

He joined the youth league while at school in the mid-1950s. Anger boiled in his veins when black people were moved from Sophiatown.

"The second part of the 1950s was particularly charged. The removal of blacks from the white cities sparked a countrywide campaign against apartheid."

Protests against the pass laws and bantu education spread across the country. About 156 ANC leaders were arrested and

charged with treason, but all were discharged after a four-year trial.

Then there was the Sharpeville massacre and the subsequent banning of the ANC in 1960.

"This forced the ANC underground with armed struggle as the only option left to us," Sebina remembers.

In February he left the country by crawling under a Bechuanaland (Botswana) border fence at night.

He underwent a years' military training in Tanzania under the Soviet Union army command and was then attached to the Tanzanian army for another year. He also spent some time in the Soviet Union.

His journalism career started in 1967 when he joined the ANC information department in Dar-Es-Salaam.

"That is the time when my interest in journalism developed."

It was under the influ-

ence of the late Ruth First, wife of SACP secretary general Joe Slovo, that Sebina actively developed his writing skills. Ruth was later assassinated in Mozambique, by a South African parcel bomb.

In 1970 he left for Czechoslovakia where he studied journalism for a year. He returned to Dar-Es-Salaam where he worked as a broadcaster with Radio Freedom until December 1972.

In 1973, Sebina became ANC representative in Dakar, Senegal, where he worked for nearly eight years before coming to Zambia in 1980.

"I was once again assigned to work in the ANC information department under Thabo Mbeki, who gave me the task of dealing with world and South African media."

Sebina criticises Pretoria for having banned many ANC leaders from being quoted by South

African newspapers, stressing: "I got into being a spokesman for the ANC not by design. The message could be related by anyone within the confine of their specialisations, but it was then attributed to me to send across to South Africa. "It was a critical time because sanctions against South African became sharper and heightened, needing critical analysis of events."

"Lest you misunderstand me, it wasn't a one man show, it was a collective responsibility in which all of us were charged with specific duties. Whatever success we achieved must largely be attributed to Oliver Tambo and Mbeki."

The task became more demanding when Pretoria declared the State of Emergency in 1985, because a constant flow of journalists from South Africa and the rest of the world probed the ANC for answers and reactions.

"It becomes imperative that at one stage or another one comes to know journalists. Some of them are very good and others bad. Some of them have become very good friends of mine," says Sebina with a smile.

"I enjoyed working with them immensely. Naturally, there were few disappointments, but these were overshadowed by the good ones."

"My most emotive experience was when Nelson Mandela was released in 1990. I had the daunting task of handling a large horde of journalists of all sorts who descended on Lusaka like an avalanche from heaven."

Sebina does not know what his next role will be but admits he will do anything he is given.

He wholeheartedly concedes that the ascendancy of President F.W. de Klerk has changed everything — and exhorted South Africans to give him encouragement, bringing sanity to a beautiful country."

"South Africa will live to be seen and admired as the economic giant and model for the African continent," Sebina says. He prepares to join a family he left three decades ago. — ANO

ANC slams FW on 'broken promises'

clprens 4/8/91

TWO recent police actions have cast doubt on State President FW de Klerk's undertaking to guarantee the protection of anyone who comes forward with evidence regarding State involvement in violence, the ANC charged yesterday.

The actions violate the spirit and the letter of De Klerk's promises at his media conference on

Tuesday, the ANC said.

The police actions are the investigations into the leakage of documents to the *Weekly Mail* on government slush funds; and a subpoena, in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, served on former SADF Major Nico Basson.

The subpoena requires Basson, of the organisation "Soldiers for Peace",

to provide police with the exact location of Felix Ndimene, who charged that the SADF had been directly involved in train massacres and other acts of violence.

"In our view all that needs to be done to locate Sgt Ndimene is for President De Klerk to keep his word and publicly guarantee his personal safety and indemnity from prosecution," the ANC said.

(1/1) (SAPA)
"In that instance Sgt Ndimene, and many others in his position, would have little reason not to come forward and state publicly before the world's media exactly what they know of such covert operations."

"This is the only means by which we can make a clean break with the past," the ANC said. — Sapa

ANC, UPF in Nebo row

CONFRONTATION is looming between Lebowa's Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, his United People's Front and the ANC branch in Phokwane, Nebo.

An organiser for UPF, Bricks Moahi, who is also a clerk at Nebo magistrate offices, is being accused by the ANC of recruiting pensioners, hawkers and civil servants by promising them bonuses, trading licences and scholarships.

Moahi denies the allegations.

"If any newspaper or the ANC propagates false information about my role in the UPF, I shall take the matter to court," he threatened.

He would not attend today's meeting called by the ANC at Phokwane to discuss the allegations.

Ramodike recently dismissed allegations that Pretoria funded his party to undermine the ANC. — CP Correspondent

Interim govt now, says ANC

THE slush fund scandal and President FW de Klerk's response to it had raised the call for an interim government to the top of the agenda, the ANC said this week. *clp/m 4/18/91*

The revelation of the government's funding scam "completely rules out its suitability to serve as both referee and player in South Africa", said a National Executive Committee (NEC) statement presented at a press conference in Johannesburg.

"In the light of the current scandals, and the manner in which he has chosen to address them, President de Klerk has raised the issue of an interim government to the top of the agenda," the NEC said.

Information chief Pallo Jordan said details about the structure and leadership of an interim government would be decided through negotiation at an all-party conference. *(11A) (200A)*

A plan of action around the demand would be formulated at the patriotic front conference scheduled for Cape Town later this month.

The NEC statement said the retention of Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan in the Cabinet underlined De Klerk's refusal to acknowledge crimes of apartheid and was a "serious underestimation of the depth of anger among our people ..."

- The statement reiterated the ANC's demands for:
- Establishment of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activity.
 - Visible and public dismantling of all SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency units.
 - Prosecution of all security personnel implicated in violence.
 - Payment of reparation, from government funds, to all victims of State-sponsored violence. — Sapa

By SEKOLA SELLO

ANC set to cut Inkatha ties

C/press 4/8/91.

11/19 ~~1/18~~

THE stormy relationship between the ANC and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, seems set to finally come to a bitter end.

The ANC this week announced at a press conference in Johannesburg that the organisation was reviewing bilateral contacts with Inkatha at local, regional and national level.

This seems to be a message that the ANC has reached the end of its tether in its relations with the largely Zulu organisation founded 16 years ago partly through the ANC's instigation.

The formation of Inkatha, led by Buthelezi since its inception, was approved by then ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

He saw in it a bulwark against Pretoria's attempts to balkanise the country by creating the independent homelands.

An independent KwaZulu, the theoretical home of the country's largest ethnic group, was considered the jewel in the crown of Pretoria's scheme which would give legitimacy to its bantustan policy.

For years KwaZulu resisted Pretoria's efforts to make the bantustan independent. As a result there was a time when it seemed Pretoria would oust Buthelezi.

A Pretoria-engineered opposition in KwaZulu, Umkhonto kaShaka, was launched and was headed by Chief Charles Hlangwa and Lloyd Ndaba, two long-standing opponents of Buthelezi.

At this stage relations between Buthelezi and the ANC were very warm - much to the chagrin of the Black Consciousness Movement which insisted the Zulu leader was no different from other homeland leaders, like Transkei's Kaizer Matanzima or Lucas Mangope in Bophuthatswana.

Inkatha adopted the ANC's col-

ours of black, green and gold. Buthelezi always reminded his audiences about his membership of the ANC Youth League and went on to say his participation in homeland politics was endorsed by former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli.

So good were relations between the two that in 1979 their leaders held a secret meeting in London to plan a strengthening of working relations. The meeting was later leaked to the press, allegedly by Inkatha.

A year later, the Durban township of KwaMashu was in flames and schoolchildren were boycotting classes.

Inkatha crushed the boycotts and relations between the two organisations started to cool.

The ANC accused Buthelezi of reneging on their agreement and since then relations have never been the same. Eventually, Buthelezi was even accusing the ANC of plotting to kill him.

The gulf widened when Buthelezi became Pretoria's ally in the campaign against sanctions, disinvestment and the international isolation of South Africa.

The Inkatha leader became stridently critical of the ANC's decision to opt for armed struggle.

To counter support for the country's largest trade union federation, the ANC-aligned Cosatu, Inkatha



BUTHELEZI ... switched loyalty

launched its own trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

With the formation of the United



MANDELA ... fed up with IFP

Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, which Buthelezi accused of being an ANC front, hostility between the UDF and Inkatha began expressing

itself in violent clashes.

Fighting between Inkatha and the UDF was initially confined to Natal but later spread to the Reef.

In the 18 months since the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and PAC, the country has experienced the worst violence in its turbulent history. The ANC has blamed Inkatha for being part of the violence.

As relations between the two worsened, the ANC publicly charged that Inkatha was a party with little support whose image was being inflated by Pretoria.

The accusations came at a time when Buthelezi was talking about a leadership comprising himself, Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk.

Uwusa has also been exposed as a union founded by Pretoria's security forces with negligible membership, contrary to claims made by Uwusa and Inkatha.

And finally, this week, the ANC announced it would review its relations with Inkatha following disclosures that Inkatha received funds from the government.

There is barely anything left in common between the two.

Bilateral working relations at local, regional and national level have been mainly confined to curbing fighting between members. Even this has not been successful.

It is known that ANC grassroots membership has been critical of the bilateral arrangement as it has not stopped Inkatha attacks.

For some time now it has been obvious that fragile relations between the two would soon come to an end.

The Inkatha funding scandal has now expedited the process and it will not come as a surprise when, and not if, the ANC announces the formal end of bilateral working relations.

And thus bring an end to the stormy 16-year relationship.

OF CAPE TOWN
LIBRARY

HANI IN SHOCK MOVE TO SACP

SCHOCK

SACP

By SEKOLA SELLO
and Sapa

In a dramatic move this week, the South African Communist Party asked the ANC to relieve Chris Hani of his duties as chief of staff and member of the "shadow cabinet".

The move has fuelled speculation that this paves Hani's way to assuming leadership of the SACP.

In a statement released on Friday, the ANC confirmed it was asked to relieve Hani of his duties in order for him to "work full time in building the South African Communist Party".

At the same time the ANC announced that secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa would head the team which will hold talks with the government on constitutional negotiations. This is an indication that in spite of the Inkatha funding scandal, all decks are being cleared for serious talks with Pretoria.

If the ANC accedes to the SACP request Hani will be appointed deputy to SACP general secretary Joe Slovo - making him second in command.

Slovo denied claims the ANC was "ditching" Hani because of his controversial image.

He said the request to move Hani had "nothing to do with the ANC. In fact, it came as a bolt from the blue".

It is widely believed the SACP, which is building a mass membership, is looking for a black leader.

Hani certainly fits the bill of leader. He has the charisma, experience and, above all, the popularity to help the SACP in its membership drive.

In a poll conducted at



Ramaphosa will head ANC's negotiating team

(IIR)

the ANC's congress in Durban recently, Hani won 98 percent support.

He is also very popular with the militant youth.

"We looked around our members and a number of names were suggested. But there is no doubt in our mind that Chris is the right man," Slovo said.

He said the move would not have an adverse effect on relations between the ANC and the SACP.

Hani would still retain ties in MK and his posi-

tion as a member of the ANC's NEC would remain unaffected.

In the changes announced by the ANC on Friday, Jacob Zuma would handle day-to-day ANC activities while Ramaphosa took charge of constitutional negotiations.

International Affairs will still be headed by Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan will remain chief of information.

Lawyer Zola Skweyiya was appointed convener

of Constitutional Development and the Legal Department.

Skweyiya, who has risen rapidly within the ANC, will be the only NEC member to head more than one department.

The list of officials assigned to the three new main departments - Political, Policy and Service - and their sub-departments, represent the main functionaries in the ANC. They will lead the negotiations team, organisational department, the

army, International Affairs, Information, Security and Intelligence, Policy, Economic Planning, Constitutional Development and the Legal Department.

The ANC has been quick to reject notions that the departments and their chiefs constitute a "shadow cabinet" or that it was an attempt to structure a "government-in-waiting".

The ANC said the new departments would initiate nationwide consultations and information sessions which in turn would produce the policy decisions and tactics to be implemented in political interface with the government and other parties.

Miss Soweto Eunice Mogale flanked by first princess Lungile Mtshali (right) and second princess Busi Nkosi. Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Queen Mogale takes title

By THEMBA KHUMALO

EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD Soweto matriculant Eunice Mogale became R6 000 richer on Friday when she beat 29 rivals to win the coveted Miss Soweto '91 beauty pageant.

She also won furniture worth R10 000.

Her first princess was Lungile Mtshali, 22, and second Busi Nkosi, 17.

Mtshali won furniture worth R6 000 and Nkosi R4 000.

An amazed Mogale said: "I nearly collapsed when I heard I was the queen. I walked on to the stage dumbfounded."

She said she planned to use the money to further her studies.

"I want to enrol for an arts degree course next year," said Mogale.

When her mother Joyce was told over the phone of her daughter's victory, she said she couldn't believe it. "I'm over the moon with my daughter and as soon as she comes in we will celebrate."

America is looking to Mr Fixit to point way

FOR SA

CONGRESSMAN Stephen Solarz, the razor-sharp New York Democrat, is re-emerging as Capitol Hill's most important voice on southern Africa.

Late last year he put together a compromise on US covert funding to Unita that may well have played a critical role in ending the Angolan civil war. For several months he has been moving centre stage to build a productive consensus on South Africa.

The time has come, he believes, to move US policy beyond the sterile debate over sanctions. In its place he proposes to construct a credible light at the end of South Africa's constitutional tunnel while at the same time offering further assistance to help South Africans get there.

The light, if he has his way, will be a pledge by the US and its industrialised allies to unwrap a long-term, multi-billion-dollar package of development assistance, trade benefits and investment incentives as soon as a new government is elected and proves itself committed to economic liberalisation

STimes
4/8/91

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT By Simon Barber in Washington

and growth of the private sector.

The interim encouragement will include the creation of a South African development bank and expanded assistance for black education on all levels, as well as the financing and construction of low-cost housing through private-sector trusts such as those run by the Urban Foundation's Dr Jan Steyn and Get Ahead's Dr Ntatho Motlana.

Broad outlines of the plan, elements of which — housing assistance included — are already part of the foreign aid bill working its way through Congress, are contained in a letter to President Bush that Mr Solarz has drafted for signature by colleagues, both Democrat and Republican.

Though the US administration is

familiar with — and supports — much of its contents, the letter is still in the draft stage and has yet to be sent. This is in large measure because the ANC has yet to signal its approval.

Congressional staff members deputed by House Africa Subcommittee chairman Mervyn Dymally are due in South Africa this weekend to brief the movement and seek its go-ahead.



Mr Solarz makes no bones about his impatience with the ANC on this score. He discussed the plan with ANC president Nelson Mandela at the Aspen Institute conference in Cape Town last April and Mr Mandela liked what he heard.

Subsequently, both Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hani have also given their private blessing. Yet, somehow, the organisation's formal approval has not been forthcoming.

"I think it is a sad commentary," Mr

Solarz said last week, "that in spite of the fact that this idea has been floating around for several months now ... that even at this late date, with the House about to go into recess for a whole month, it seems to be impossible ... to get the ANC to make a clear statement about what they believe is in their best interests."

This is not a new role for Mr Solarz. He created it for himself in the 70s and early 80s when he was chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee. He was the first legislator to make a serious stab at imposing sanctions on South Africa. He was also the originator of what is currently a \$30-million-a-year (R87-million) aid programme for "the victims of apartheid".

In American political terms, Africa is a subject for tribunes, not consuls. It offers plenty of ammunition with which to attack higher authority, but no real access to that authority. The seriously ambitious avoid the continent and its issues, and Mr Solarz

went off to deal with Asia, a region that matters.

Now he is back.

His reasons appear to be threefold. First, he genuinely does want to make a difference. Second, as his bitter exchange with TransAfrica's Mr Randall Robinson in the Africa subcommittee last week demonstrated, he sees a vacuum of leadership and ideas on South Africa. Third, and perhaps most important, he recognises that the collapse of apartheid offers a historic opportunity for both his party and himself.



The Democrats have become the party of isolation and racial divisiveness. As a result, American voters have refused to award them the presidency for any more than four of the past 23 years. Helping heal the political running sore that is South Africa could do something to restore the party's image while confirming Mr

Solarz as its pre-eminent statesman.

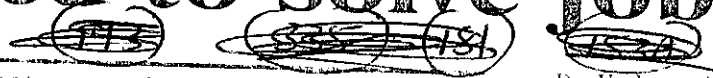
Having backed President Bush on Operation Desert Storm, Mr Solarz not only has enormous standing with Mr Bush himself, but is also where most of his party know they have to be if they are to be more successful in national politics. It was therefore perhaps a little rash of the ANC's US representative, Mrs Lindiwe Mabuza, to berate him publicly last week and then to storm off, declaring "that man is really getting on my nerves".

One gets the sense that even if the ANC does not officially sign on and its American lobbyists continue to be obstructive, the initiative will probably proceed anyway.

Last week, Mr Solarz told Mr Robinson he saw no reason to fall in lock-step behind the ANC. "I assume," he said acidly, "you also make your own judgments. Obviously, the views of the ANC are important and ought to be taken into consideration. But sometimes they're right and sometimes they're wrong."

Entrepreneurs needed to solve jobless

Star 26/8/91



SOUTH Africa can blame many of its chronic unemployment problems on its dismal failure to keep pace with world trends in the launch of more budding new entrepreneurs into the economic mainstream, according to new studies by the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC).

The studies show that in the US no fewer than 100 000 young Americans start businesses of their own every year — 10 000 of them straight from school.

A recent count found that a stunning third of all new businesses launched in the US were under the command of fledgling bosses under the age of 30.

The world average of entrepreneurs in total labour forces came out at between 10 and 12 percent. The South African average trailed at 5 percent.

SBDC managing director Dr Ben Vosloo argues that the generation of more entrepreneurs must be regarded as a top priority in the formulation of new economic policies.

The urgency of new thinking, he says, is underlined by the growing size of unemployment queues in South Africa, now

standing at between four and five million.

Job opportunities offered by the formal business sector are able to cope with only 125 of every 1 000 school-leavers pouring into the labour market.

That leaves 875 with no option but self-employment or the informal sector.

What worries Dr Vosloo is whether most of them have been prepared to cope with this reality. He says only radical changes in the entire education

New studies estimate unemployment in South Africa at nearly 5 million. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

system can provide solutions.

"It would be tragic if we had to admit that billions of rands of taxpayers' money is spent on educational products which cannot be used by society. It would be equally tragic if the education system were not capable of delivering the sort of school-leavers that society needs."

South Africa, he says, will start to put more muscle into economic growth only when the classrooms begin to equip pupils with the knowledge and skills that provide the foundation for such careers as artisans, production managers, data processors, bookkeepers, nurses, scientists, engineers and technicians.

Dr Vosloo, whose own programme at the SBDC has already ploughed more than R1 billion into loans to encourage new small businesses which have created a staggering 280 000 new job opportunities since it started 10 years ago, proposes a plan to tackle the problem. It includes:

● More effective and continuous communication between educationalists and the business world, to spell out in unambiguous language what society

outside schools and academia really expects from the education system.

- Moves to make classroom curricula more relevant to the needs of society.
- Insistence by taxpayers on more value for the money spent on education, to guard against wastage on a bloated education bureaucracy.
- Gearing the education curricula towards the stimulation of attitudes such as individualism,

a sense of independence, achievement, optimism and competitiveness.

- Focus on career information programmes tailored to alert young people to the opportunities of self-employment and business entrepreneurship as career choices.
- Better evaluation of the role of part-time study, work programmes and post-experience training.

"It is clear that education is the key to a better future," says Dr Vosloo. "A society which cultivates a strong entrepreneurial culture is bound to set off on a road to progress and economic growth." □

crisis

Hani set to take over from Slovo

St Times 4/8/91

11A

CHRIS HANI, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, is poised to take over leadership of the SA Communist Party from Joe Slovo.

The SACP needs him to bolster its limited support and achieve its aims of doubling membership in time for the party congress in December.

By EDYTH BULBRING and TERRY VAN DER WALT

Party sources indicated that the surprise request that Mr Hani be released from ANC duties to work full-time for the SACP followed growing unhappiness with Mr Slovo's concentration on ANC work at the expense of the SACP.

Mr Hani topped the ballot in the recent elections for the ANC National Executive Committee.

SACP officials said the party wanted to establish a strong and independent voice at the constitutional negotiations.

The SACP recognised the need to "Africanise" its image, said sources. The face of the SACP was at the moment Mr Slovo and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who were white and unable to recruit black members adequately.

Mr Hani said last night that there were individuals within the ANC who were "dissatisfied" with the decision to move him.

But he said his move would not affect his contribution to the ANC, as he was still on the NEC and would be able to work between it and the SACP on strategy and tactics.

"Some individuals have expressed their dissatisfaction, but some of us have to find time to work for the party if the future of socialism is to be guaranteed.

"A few weeks ago at a meeting of the leadership (SACP), the question of building a strong independent party acting closely with the ANC was discussed. They took a decision to approach the ANC to request that I be allowed to move on a fulltime basis."

Asked what effect his move would have on the

ANC, Mr Hani replied: "It is not going to mean a loss of my contribution to the ANC as I am still a member of the NEC and in that capacity will be able to make a contribution to the party and tactics for the ANC."

On the question of MK, Mr Hani said he was still the chief of staff, but this would have to be reviewed.

Luxury
In the trade

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Red faces in Brazil during Mandela visit

Star 5/18/91 11A

WASHINGTON — Behind the rhythmic exuberance of ANC president Nelson Mandela's welcome to Brazil last week there was a poignant spot of embarrassment.

It seems that President Collor de Melo of Brazil recognised an awkward anomaly in the fact that shortly before Mr Mandela's arrival, the Brazilian government had announced it would normalise relations with Pretoria by appointing a full ambassador there.

So, to ameliorate any confusion or misunderstanding, a presidential statement announced that the ambassador would be a black Brazilian. Everyone seemed relieved, the bunting went up, flags were draped and the drums rolled for the VIP visitor.

But there was an uncomfortable silence from the Foreign Ministry. Then, in response to inquiries from a mischievous newspaper, O Globo, the truth was squeezed out of a reluctant bureaucracy — Brazil, where about 60 percent of the population is black or of mixed race, does not have a single black or mixed-race ambassador.

What is more, after well over a century of independence from Portugal, Brazil has never elevated a Brazilian of colour to such a senior diplomatic post.

A weary Mr Mandela met Brazil's only black governor yesterday but cancelled some activities due to tiredness.

Mr Mandela (73) also gave an interview with a Brazilian newspaper in which he blasted the West for easing sanctions and criticised the Government for giving money to Inkatha.

"The suspension of sanctions and of other forms of pressure on the apartheid regime was ... tragically premature," he said.

— Washington Bureau, Sapa-Associated Press.

ANC to get lion's share of US funds

Star 5/8/91
By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

11A

WASHINGTON — Despite strong opposition from conservatives in Congress, the Bush administration is to go ahead with its plan to donate \$10 million (R28,7 million) to South African political parties, nearly half of it for the ANC.

A senior State Department official confirmed yesterday that the Agency for International Development will make grants to the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, community organisations and other groups representing "victims of apartheid" as part of a "transition to democracy" assistance project.

The ANC will receive \$4,5 million (R12,9 million) and \$2,5 million (R7,1 million) will go to the IFP. A further \$2 million (R5,74 million) will be handed to the South African Council of Churches for distribution to community organisations and \$1 million (R2,8 million) will be added to the budget of the US Information Service in South Africa to enable it to finance projects aimed at improving the negotiating expertise of black South Africans.

When the assistance was first suggested, Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the most conservative member of the Senate, objected to the comparatively low grant for Inkatha, and a resolution was passed in the House of Representatives prohibiting US assistance to po-

licitical groups "associated with the Communist Party".

The aim was to deny assistance to the ANC, but in testimony before the Africa subcommittee of the House last week, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen pointed out that the resolution was not passed by both houses of Congress and thus did not have any legal standing.

The original proposal, which would have given the ANC nearly \$3 (R8,5) for every \$1 (R2,87) to the IFP, was amended to address the concern of conservatives, and an amount was set aside for distribution by the SACC and for use by the USIS in South Africa.

The money is intended to be used to assist the various parties to set up the infrastructure necessary to function as effective political parties in a multi-party democracy.

Since further funds may become available in future, the disbursements and use of the grants will be carefully monitored.

Yesterday, the Washington Office on Africa urged the administration to deny the IFP any support in the light of the secret funding it had been receiving from the South African Government.

The WOA, an umbrella group representing churches and trade unions, alleged that the IFP was behind most of the violence in South Africa and it said the money intended for the IFP should be donated to other anti-apartheid organisations.

Star 5/18/91

Hani poised to take over as SACP chief

By Patrick Laurence (11A)

Chris Hani, populist leader of the ANC and chief of staff of its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, emerged at the weekend as the heir-apparent to the leadership of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Mr Hani is likely to succeed Joe Slovo as the SACP's general secretary at the party's national congress in December.

These developments were confirmed yesterday by SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin as possible consequences of an SACP request to the ANC to release Mr Hani to work for the party full time.

There were two provisos to Mr Cronin's confirmation: first,

that the ANC and Umkhonto acceded to the SACP request; and that the choice of Mr Hani as general secretary was ratified by the SACP congress.

The request was prompted by the need to have a visible black communist presence in the SACP leadership, Mr Cronin said. "There are plenty of African communists but they are nearly all involved in full-time positions in allied organisations," he explained.

Another reason is that Mr Slovo has become increasingly involved in his work on the ANC's high-powered national working committee.

The office of SACP general secretary is a demanding position, calling for day-to-day

"hands-on" administration. Mr Slovo cannot continue to fulfil major and growing responsibilities in the ANC and do justice to his position as SACP general secretary.

If, as expected, Mr Slovo steps down as SACP general secretary to concentrate on his tasks with the ANC, it will not mean severing ties with the party he has served for decades. He is a strong candidate to succeed Dan Tloome as SACP chairman.

If Mr Hani moves to a full-time position in the SACP, he will remain on the ANC's executive committee but will have to surrender his membership of the "inner executive" or national working committee.

ANC back huge aid plan

CT 5/8/91

Own Correspondent

(11A) (12)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has given the go-ahead to a multi-billion-dollar aid programme aimed at rebuilding a post-apartheid economy.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday that there had been talks "at the highest levels" with the US backers, and that the ANC was in favour of the programme.

US Congressman Stephen Solarz, who is putting together the aid package, complained last week that he had been unable to get ANC approval for the plan.

ANC head of international relations Mr Thabo Mbeki was quoted in the Sunday Times as saying a new SA Development Bank, spearheaded by the Rockefeller Foundation, had been established.

Umkhonto to meet as Hani bows out

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, meets this week to elect a new leadership and formulate its approach to constitutional talks.

Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani is expected to vacate his position to take up full-time work for the SA Communist Party,

ET 5/2/91
which has requested he be released from ANC duties.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday that Mr Hani would vacate his Umkhonto post if the ANC's national executive committee agreed to release him.

Mr Hani's move is part of a shuffling of positions within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in preparation for negoti-

ations. He will strengthen the SACP and "Africanise" its image, as part of the party's drive to develop a role independent of the ANC.

At the weekend, the ANC appointed a full-time negotiations team headed by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. He will be assisted by Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Mohammed Valli

Moosa.

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Mr Ramaphosa said negotiations "should enjoy top priority in all structures of the organisation".

He said consultation with members on negotiations had emerged as the most important task of ANC negotiators.

A MULTIPARTY conference as the next step towards arriving at a negotiated constitution for a future SA has been given a major boost by the ANC's decision to jettison obstacles and engage in talks it hopes will lead to an interim government.

Alongside its political rivals, the ANC has emerged strengthened from the Inkatha funding scandal: the credibility of its main black political rival, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, has been badly damaged, as has the NP government's claim to being an independent and trustworthy broker in the process.

ANC anger at the financial backing for Inkatha — which it extends to an admission that government connived in violence — could quite feasibly have manifested itself in the petulance and ultimatums that have coloured the movement's earlier responses to crises in the negotiating process.

Yet the ANC, sensing perhaps that government has emerged from Inkathagate on the defensive, has adopted the line that the only major obstacle to a new constitution was government itself.

And the ANC reasons that, if the only way to remove government is through engaging it in all-party talks in which an interim government will be high on the agenda, then the sooner negotiations start the sooner the NP will be out of power.

Formally the ANC is still committed to its demands that Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan be removed from the Cabinet. It is also refusing to take part in substantive negotiations until government moves firmly to act against violence.

But behind the public outbursts of politicians, a more subtle process leading the major political actors towards a multiparty conference is taking place. Government, initially reluctant to sacrifice power until a new constitution is in place, is now ready to admit to some form of "transitional arrangement".

President F W de Klerk now says his government is prepared to countenance a "transitional authority" and that such arrangements could be

Inkathagate — a shot in the arm for flagging talks

BIPAM
5/8/91

PATRICK BULGER



□ DE KLERK, BUTHELEZI ... their credibility has been damaged

the first item on the agenda of a multiparty conference.

Increasingly the security forces are emerging as the prime targets for some form of joint control involving government and its negotiating partners. This is based on the understanding that they have the capacity — and may develop the inclination — to overturn negotiations.

The church and business-convened

peace initiative, which has been meeting in committee for the past two months, is part of the behind-the-scenes process leading to negotiations. It has reached a large degree of consensus among the NP, the ANC and Inkatha on a code of conduct for security forces and a code of implementation to ensure that decisions are abided by.

While these arrangements will not

necessarily amount to a sharing of executive power of the security forces, they form the kernel of a process of broader accountability.

In other words, the codes would make the security forces more answerable to the broader public, and put them under scrutiny which would render their abuse by a single party increasingly difficult.

Furthermore government's intention to establish a standing judicial commission on violence could further broaden security force accountability to a more widely defined will. Although the ANC is insisting on a multiparty commission on violence, both it and government are on the same wavelength at least.

Moving forward to the multiparty conference itself may prove more difficult. The ANC and government have been reluctant to spell out details of who will chair such a conference and who will convene it.

ANC spokesmen, while stressing the need for an interim government, have stopped short of categorically calling for De Klerk's government to resign. This is more than just a recognition that government will turn down the request; it is rather an acceptance of what both government and the ANC are coming increasingly to recognise as a process.

Says SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo: "We see this as a process.

Although we regard the present government as one of the key obstacles, we are prepared to engage in discussions with that government among parties at an all-party conference in order to create an interim government."

Informal contacts between government and the ANC on the convening of a multiparty conference have been taking place for the past two months. But there is clearly still some way to go until the conference is convened.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has stressed the need for the multiparty conference to be part of the overall process of negotiations. He envisages that exploratory talks beforehand should clear up questions of who will attend, who will convene it and who will chair it.

Government and the ANC have reached a "large measure of consensus" on these issues, a government source said.

Viljoen, while berating the ANC for insisting on an interim government — partly because he sees this a precondition to talks — has left the door open.

He says: "The multiparty conference will have to address the need for transitional arrangements broadening the basis for influencing decision-making by existing governmental bodies during the period while negotiations are proceeding."

The ANC's Pallo Jordan insists this is not enough. The ANC, he says, does not accept that the NP should continue to hold ultimate power.

The ANC will now consult with its regions and allies to gain a firm mandate to enter into multiparty talks aimed at gaining an interim government.

Beneath the bluster of the politicians, the outlines of the mechanisms that will underpin negotiations for a future SA are beginning to emerge.

Both the ANC and government agree on the need for negotiations — gradually consensus on the mechanisms to arrive at those negotiations is emerging too.

Historians may well look back on the Inkathagate scandal as the tonic that boosted the ANC's confidence in negotiations.

ANC 'realism' welcomed

THE Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry has welcomed what it calls "the more realistic attitude towards the importance of the economy" shown by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last week. (11A)

The chamber was encouraged that Ramaphosa recognised the necessity of economic success in SA, which could be achieved only if companies committed themselves to the future of the country, JCCI CE Marius de Jager said in a statement.

"The chamber, though, is concerned about how the ANC fails to see that the use of boycotts, stayaways, and politically motivated strikes, is as much 'eco-

5/8/71
nomic treachery' as business planning to pull out of SA. Labour stability is one of the prerequisites for such a commitment, and it is incomprehensible to us that the ANC continues to use the instruments of the economy for political purposes and maintains its call for sanctions." (EP)

The JCCI looked forward to the publication of the ANC's economic policy and hoped it would address the issue of economic stability.

He said recent labour agreements had made it clear that one of the goals of the unions was to maintain employment, which was "irreconcilable with the maintenance of sanctions". — Sapa.

ANC gives the nod to US aid plan

6 (024) 518191
THE ANC has given the go-ahead to a multibillion-dollar aid programme aimed at rebuilding a post-apartheid economy.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday there had been talks "at the highest levels" with the US backers, and that the ANC was in favour of the programme.

US Congressman Stephen Solarz, who is putting together the aid package, complained last week that he had been unable to get ANC approval for the plan.

ANC head of international relations

11A
~~11A~~
Business Day Reporter

Thabo Mbeki was quoted in the Sunday Times yesterday as saying a new SA Development Bank, spearheaded by the Rockefeller Foundation, had been established. Business Day first reported on plans for the bank — separate from the Development Bank of Southern Africa — in April. It is intended to be a conduit for foreign aid to a democratic SA.

● Comment: Page 8

MK to elect new hierarchy

UMKHONTO we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, meets this week to elect a new leadership and formulate its approach to constitutional talks.

Chief of staff Chris Hani is expected to vacate his position to take up full-time work for the SA Communist Party, which has asked the ANC to release him from ANC duties.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday Hani would vacate his Umkhonto post if the ANC's national executive committee agreed to release him.

Hani's move is part of a shuffling of positions within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in the runup to negotiations. He will strengthen the SACP and "Africanise" its image as a precursor to the SACP taking its place separately from the ANC at the negotiating table.

At the weekend, the ANC appointed a

6/10am 5/8/91
PATRICK BULGER

full-time negotiating team headed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. He will be assisted by Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Slovo will continue as SACP secretary-general at least until the party's congress in December. The ANC was satisfied that his SACP position would not hamper his work on the ANC's negotiating team, Marcus said.

Last week the ANC's national executive indicated it was prepared to enter multi-party talks leading to an interim government of national unity.

Marcus said the ANC still expected government to remove obstacles to negotiations before talks could begin.

However, negotiations have been put

To Page 2

Hani 6/10am 5/8/91

firmly at the top of the ANC's agenda.

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Ramaphosa said negotiations "should enjoy top priority in all structures of the organisation".

He said consultation with members on negotiations had emerged as the most important task of ANC negotiators.

"To this end it has been decided that a negotiations task force should be set up at head office level and should operate as a

fully fledged department.

"Through the work of this department we intend to keep our membership and structures not only fully informed but fully involved in ... negotiations.

"We can expect that structures like the regional general councils will be the forum where reports will be made and mandates obtained ... This in my view is going to deepen democratic participation by our membership in this important activity of our organisation".

From Page 1

Chris Hani may go as ANC forms its 'shadow cabinet'

Domelen 5/8/91

H/A

THE ANC has announced its new national working committee, a "shadow cabinet", less than a week after President FW de Klerk reshuffled his Cabinet.

The ANC has received a request from the SACP to release Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Chris Hani from his duties so he can "devote himself fulltime" to SACP activities.

A meeting of the national executive committee of the ANC on Wednesday agreed that

the movement's new secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, be freed from the day-to-day running of the organisation to prepare and plan for constitutional negotiations.

His deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, will take over the running of the organisation's day-to-day affairs.

Ramaphosa moves opposite outgoing Minister of Education and Training Dr Stoffel van der Merwe who was moved by De Klerk into the position of chief planner for the National Party's participation in negotiations.

In what the ANC's Ms Gill Marcus described at the weekend as an "organisational tightening up", the movement announced the appointment of political chiefs of the various departments.

Marcus said the moves were the result of an ANC constitutional requirement that each member of the NWC must have a portfolio and each department a political head.

The changes in the ANC's NWC now places Mrs Winnie Mandela below Ms Cheryl Carolus in the department of health and social welfare.

Mr Terror Lekota joins Mr Joe Nhlanhla in security and intelligence while Mr Thabo Mbeki retains the international affairs portfolio and Mr Zola Skweyiya is head of constitutional development and legal affairs.

Mr Trevor Manuel is the convener of economic planning, Dr Pallo Jordan is head of information and Mr Steve Tshwete is head of organisation.

ain denied bail

New Hanover station BV Mitchell - who was a defendant at that stage - had them and others to surround and attack a house where they were said to be

er unidentified former are being sought in connection with the incident. Attorney-General of Natal had a senior advocate to assist the investi-

gating team.

The case against the two former special constables was on Friday postponed to August 16, pending a decision by the Attorney-General.

The two former special constables pleaded not guilty to the murders on December 3 1988.

They also allege that policeman, including Mitchell, had set fire to and then looted a store and a house nearby. - Sapa.

Mandela visit brings hope

11A (11A) (11A) Sowetan 5/8/91

SALVADOR - Nelson Mandela came to the heart of African Brazil on Saturday to a welcome by hundreds of the region's blacks who hoped the South African anti-apartheid leader's visit would call attention to what they called "camouflaged racism."

Mandela and his wife Winnie were greeted by pounding African drums and the twang of Brazil's berimbau, a bow-like string instrument adapted from an instrument used by African slaves brought to work on cocoa plantations.



Mandela (72), in the last, wearying days of a marathon Latin America tour, declined any comment on arriving in the tropical city of two million people in northeastern Brazil.

A scheduled news conference was cancelled.

But organisers of the visit said the presence of Mandela, who spent 27 years in a South African

prison, was a symbol of hope.

"This trip is very symbolic. Salvador is considered the most African-influenced city in the world outside the African continent itself," said Javier Alfaya, a city councilman who helped organise the Mandela visit.

"We hope it will help in the struggle against discrimination and violence," he said.

Salvador, the capital of Bahia state, is about 80 percent black and mestizo, or mixed-race, Alfaya said.

Though Salvador and Bahia are the colourful vibrant soul of black Bra-

zil, they are run by a white governor and mayor.

Only one of Brazil's 23 states has a black governor.

Eidiland Baptista, of the Sao Paulo-based Black Women's Cultural Centre, said she hoped Mandela's visit would push President Fernando Collor de Mello to address the situation of blacks in Brazil. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

US goes ahead with aid for ANC, Inkatha

11A

CT 6/8/91

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Bush administration has notified Congress that it has decided to give the Inkatha Freedom Party \$2,5 million (R7,5m), to help equip a new national headquarters in Durban and some 30 regional offices.

The ANC is to receive dollars \$4,5 million (R13,5m) for similar purposes. In both cases the contributions will be in kind — computers, fax machines, printing equipment and the like — rather than direct cash transfers.

The funds are being made available as part of the long-stalled \$10-million (R30m) Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last April, and disbursement should begin by mid-month.

The grant to Inkatha is more than double the amount proposed by the State Department last December.

Administration officials defended the decision on the grounds that the support would be entirely open and that, Inkathagate notwithstanding, the IFP remained “an important political force”.

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff member commented that it was now up to the IFP to “prove itself as a viable political force with a national rather than regional constituency”.

The grants are based on a “needs assessment” of the IFP and ANC prepared by Zille Shandler Associates, a Cape Town consultancy.

The firm strongly cautioned that neither organisation should be permitted to use the funds to expand their political support-base.

The SA Council of Churches has been allocated \$1 million (R3m)

The US Information Agency and the National Endowment for Democracy are each to receive \$1 million (R3m)

Nyanda set to replace Hani in MK



NEW ROLE ...
Chris Hani

Own Correspondents (11A) CT 6/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani has been relieved of many of his functions, and these are now being carried out by his probable successor, Mr Siphiwe Nyanda.

A former Operation Vula trialist, Mr Nyanda was also expected to oversee MK's merger with the SADF under a new constitution, ANC sources said yesterday.

The developments were precipitated by the SA Communist Party's request last week that the ANC release Mr Hani to take

over from Mr Joe Slovo as general secretary of the SACP.

SACP spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin said Mr Slovo did not feel he could devote enough time to the SACP in view of his growing commitments in the ANC.

Mr Slovo serves on the ANC's national working committee, and is a member of the negotiating team.

Mr Hani was a very popular member and the SACP wanted a high-profile black leader at the party's helm in an attempt to double membership by its December congress, Mr Cronin said.

The move would depend on ratification by MK, the ANC's national executive and the SACP congress.

The first stage of the process of releasing Hani would take place at the weekend when MK holds a conference at the University of Venda behind tight security. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would give the opening address at the conference on Friday morning.

Among issues to be dealt with are MK's role during negotiations, and its response to negotiations. — Sapa

Medal for Mandela

BRASILIA. — The Brazilian government gave anti-apartheid crusader Mr Nelson Mandela the nation's highest medal yesterday and pledged its "unrestricted support" for full democracy in South Africa.

Mr Mandela met President Fernando Collor de Mello for 20 minutes in the Planalto presidential palace here, the last stop on the African National Congress leader's five-city tour of Brazil.

After the meeting, Mr Collor gave Mr Mandela the Grand Cross of the Order of Rio Branco, Brazil's highest award for outstanding contributions to society.

The president said he hoped to see Mr Mandela become "the symbol of a stronger, involved and racially integrated South Africa". He reaffirmed Brazil's support for "all those working for the cause of democracy" in South Africa.

ET 6/8/91

During his visit Mr Mandela asked Mr Collor to maintain Brazil's sanctions against South Africa and not to appoint an ambassador to Pretoria until apartheid is abolished.

There was no immediate response from Mr Collor, but a spokesman said the government would consider the request. — Sapa-AP, UPI

Oscar Dhlomo

in talks plea

~~DURBAN~~ (11A) — Government and the ANC should immediately start serious discussions aimed at convening a multiparty conference, Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday. *B (12/18/91)*.

Dhlomo told the Fedhasa congress that before such a conference settled down to serious business, it would have to discuss thoroughly the structure of a joint transitional authority.

It was no longer possible that government could alone oversee the transition process. He was pleased to note it had begun to appreciate this.

Government and the ANC would have to be pragmatic with regard to transitional arrangements.

It was quite legitimate for the ANC to demand an influential role in a transitional authority, but demanding the entire government resign might not be realistic, he said. — Sapa.

Hani easing out of Umkhonto

3/6/91
UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani has been relieved of many of his functions and these are now being carried out by his probable successor, Siphwe Nyanda.

Former Operation Vula trialist Nyanda was also expected to oversee Umkhonto's merger with the SADF under a new constitution, Umkhonto and ANC sources said yesterday.

The new developments were precipitated by the SA Communist Party's request last week that the ANC release Hani to take over as general secretary of the SACP from Joe Slovo.

6/8/91
BILLY PADDOCK and PATRICK BULGER

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said Slovo did not feel he could devote enough time to the SACP in view of his growing commitments to the ANC.

Slovo serves on the ANC's national working committee and is in its negotiating team.

Hani was a very popular member and the SACP wanted a high-profile black leader at the party's helm in an attempt to double membership by its December congress, Cronin said.

Cronin said Hani's move had to be agreed to by the

11A
ANC's national executive committee and Umkhonto, and the SACP's congress had to ratify his position as general secretary.

The first stage of the process of releasing Hani would take place at the weekend when Umkhonto holds a conference at the University of Venda behind tight security. ANC president and Umkhonto commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela would give the opening address at the conference on Friday morning.

Among issues to be dealt with are Umkhonto's role during negotiations, and its response to negotiations.

ANC to push ahead with boycott of white business

6/18/41, WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC plans to revive a boycott of PWV white businesses which has failed to gain popular support despite being called more than a week ago.

An official said the boycott of white-owned businesses in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, the East Rand and Far East Rand called by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu last Monday, was "well and alive".

"But it is too early to say if it has been effective as it has not taken hold in all the zones as yet," he said.

"But at a meeting of the ANC PWV campaign committees at the weekend all the zones indicated that they had held sufficient consultations with various groupings in their areas and that a campaign to popularise the action had begun in earnest."

Last week the ANC said the boycott was sparked by the "disclosures of clandestine funding of Inkatha and Uwusa by the security police".

Shopkeepers in various centres polled recently said the boycott was having little effect on turnover.

US aid to Inkatha doubles to \$2,5m

8/10 am 6/8/91
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has notified Congress that it will give the Inkatha Freedom Party \$2,5m to help equip a new national headquarters in Durban and about 30 regional offices.

The ANC is to receive \$4,5m for similar purposes. In both cases the contributions will be in kind — computers, fax machines, printing equipment and the like rather than in direct cash transfers.

The funds are being made available as part of the long-stalled \$10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress in April last year, and should start to be disbursed by mid-month.

The \$2,5m for Inkatha is more than double what the State Department initially proposed last December.

Administration officials defended the decision on the grounds that the support would be entirely open and that, Inkatha-gate notwithstanding, Inkatha remained "an important political force".

A Senate foreign relations committee staff member commented that it was now up to Inkatha to "prove itself as a viable political force with a national rather than regional constituency".

The administration's decision is based on a "needs assessment" of Inkatha and the ANC prepared by Zille Shandler Associates, an SA consultancy. The firm strongly cautioned that neither organisation should be permitted to use the funds to expand their political support base.

The SA Council of Churches has been allocated \$1m, according to the formal

□ To Page 2

US aid

8/10 am 6/8/91
notification papers sent to Congress last Friday.

However, the organisation has yet to be asked if will accept the money, disbursement of which is subject to two conditions.

The SACC will have to demonstrate that it can absorb the funds efficiently. It will also have to agree to US embassy and Agency for International Development oversight to ensure the proceeds are not passed on to the ANC or other groups for political purposes.

The US Information Agency and the National Endowment for Democracy are each to receive \$1m for approved projects designed to enhance the negotiating process.

Before the Inkatha funding scandal, Con-

gressman Dan Burton, the senior Republican on the House Africa subcommittee, reached an informal agreement with the panel's chairman, Congressman Mervyn Dymally, that the ANC and Inkatha should receive an equal share.

Dymally has since backed away from the deal. He has indicated that he accepts the State Department's decision, despite protests by the Washington Office on Africa, a leading activist group, that Inkatha should receive no money in light of the recent revelations.

The administration's decision appears to be final. State Department lawyers have completed a legal analysis concluding that the \$10m must be spent before October 1 and that the administration has sole discretion over how it is divided up.

11A
□ From Page 1

Yes, we want

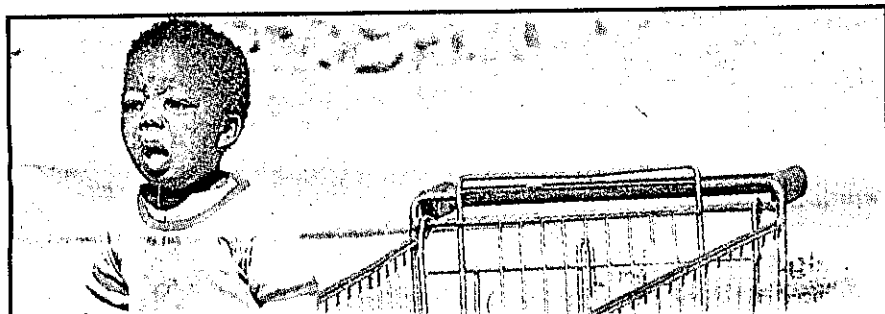
to talk

*Sowetan
6/8/91*

11A

Now Azapo, PAC, ANC and Govt give thumbs-up

On the move again



THE ANC, Azapo, the PAC and the Government have signalled that they are ready to enter into multiparty talks to create a transitional authority.

While the route for the extra-parliamentary organisations lay through a "patriotic front", which will be established in Cape Town between September 6 and 8, President FW de Klerk has said he was ready to begin multiparty talks.

There is also growing consensus among the "patriotic front" elements for the transitional authority to be neutral and for the security forces of the country to be held in check during the transi-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

tion period.

In his address to the nation last week, De Klerk said: "Today I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure, in a constitutionally accountable manner, that the Government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its negotiating partners."

"I therefore conclude with an appeal to every leader to help me to get the multiparty conference started expeditiously."

While the Government calls it a "multiparty conference", the ANC refers to an "all-party

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

MK meets for three days of 'tough talk'

8/18/71
By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — Members of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), converged on Thohoyandou yesterday from all over South Africa — and beyond its borders — for the start of a three-day conference.

The conference will be opened today by ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is also MK commander-in-chief.

Discontent

Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, chairman of the Military Council which took power in Venda after a bloodless coup last year, will read a paper at the start of the conference.

His presence is an auspicious sign for the ANC, which is involved in a contest with President de Klerk's administration for the allegiance of "homeland leaders".

There were consistent reports of discontent in MK ranks during the ANC conference last month. Mr Mandela himself alluded to these.

"A separate conference of MK cadres, at-

tended by leading members of the ANC national executive committee, is necessary if justice is to be done to their complaints," he said.

"The question of the suspension of armed action will be an important question on the agenda as dissatisfaction continues to surface."

MK men and women feel they have not been consulted sufficiently on major ANC decisions — of which the suspension of armed struggle a year ago is a major example — and that they have been insufficiently involved in the new phase of struggle in the political arena.

There is no question of rebellion, however. As Chris Hani, MK's chief of staff, has noted, MK's tradition is one of complete loyalty to the ANC and its leaders. But there will undoubtedly be much tough talking.

The conference will almost certainly discuss a South African Communist Party request for Mr Hani to take up a full-time post in its head office, a move which would result in his vacation of the number three position in MK.

We're keeping our word, says Umkhonto

Star 7/12/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

(S) (IA)
The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), has steadfastly observed agreements entered into between the Government and the ANC, including the suspension of the armed operations, MK leaders said in Johannesburg yesterday.

At a press conference to announce MK's national congress to be held in Venda at the weekend, the MK leadership said in a statement that trained cadres had made "a major contribution and sacrifice to the peace pro-

cess now unfolding in the country" by observing agreements reached with Pretoria.

"This was no easy decision. However, it was made possible due to the strong discipline of our cadres and their deep-seated commitment to peace, freedom and the establishment of democracy in South Africa," the statement said.

However, the MK leaders — chief of staff Chris Hani and commanders Tokyo Sexwale, Goodman Moloi and Lambert Moloi — said they viewed the Government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Workers Union of

South Africa as a serious threat to the peace process.

The three-day MK congress at the University of Venda will be opened by ANC president and MK commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela on Friday morning, and will be attended by more than 240 delegates.

Among the issues to be discussed are the creation of a new security force in a democratic South Africa, negotiations, the suspension of armed activities and the welfare of MK cadres.

Mr Hani said the leaders hoped the right wing would not interrupt the congress.

Establishment ^{11A} of patriotic ^{star} front postponed ^{11/8/91}

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The proposed patriotic front of anti-apartheid forces, initially scheduled to be launched in Cape Town this month, has been postponed by a few weeks, The Star has been informed.

It is believed the meeting to formally inaugurate the patriotic front will now be held in mid-September at the earliest.

It is understood that one of the problems encountered by the organisers was the ANC's alleged insistence that the Azanian People's Organisation should take part as a junior partner in the front, and not have the same status as the ANC and the PAC.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander confirmed that the launch meeting would be postponed.

Mr Alexander also revealed that "the question of the participation of Azapo (in the patriotic front) has been resolved to the satisfaction of everybody".

Among the organisations to be part of the united front are the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the New Unity Movement, the South African Communist Party, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

PAC, Azapo and ANC spokesmen have in the past said all organisations taking part were expected to accept the demand for a constituent assembly.

At the time of going to press, Azapo could not be reached for comment.

Hani won't quit MK before ANC agrees

Star 7/18/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Chris Hani, popular chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), will not relinquish his position before MK's national congress in Venda this weekend, it was disclosed yesterday.

Mr Hani, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, is awaiting a decision by the ANC leadership regarding a request by the South African Communist Party that he be relieved of his responsibilities in the ANC so that he can concentrate on SACP matters.

He is tipped to succeed Joe Slovo as SACP secretary-general in an attempt to strengthen the party.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC information and publicity department chief Dr Pallo Jordan said the SACP's request re-

garding Mr Hani was still receiving the ANC leadership's consideration.

However, Dr Jordan said he did not think Mr Hani would be relieved of his responsibility as MK chief of staff before the congress in Venda.

Mr Hani ruled out any integration between the SADF and MK. The SADF, he said, was the National Party's military wing.

Incorporate

He said a democratically elected new government would have to form a new defence force which, he conceded, would incorporate soldiers from the present SADF, MK and other armies such as those in the various homelands' defence forces.

Mr Hani denied reports that some MK cadres had been integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, saying such reports were a result of "the wild imagination of the South African intelligence services".

Responding to speculation

that the SACP's request for him to concentrate on party work was motivated by the need to cash in on his popularity and to give the party a "black face", Mr Hani said he would feel insulted if he had been chosen simply because he was black.

Mr Hani also revealed that the SACP would request that more of its members be relieved of their duties in the ANC to concentrate on building the party.

Asked how he felt about Mr Hani's pending move to the SACP, Dr Jordan — whose criticism of the SACP as undemocratic has received much publicity — said he had not criticised the SACP as an anti-socialist or an anti-communist, but had done so "from a socialist perspective".

Dr Jordan said he and Mr Hani were friends and Mr Hani could go "anywhere as long as he does not go to the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) or the CP (Conservative Party)".

Bilateral talks out, says PAC

11A



Soweto
7/8/91.

THE PAC warned yesterday that the envisaged "transitional arrangement" would be no more than a mechanism which would ensure that elections to a constituent assembly would be free and fair.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said there could also be no bilateral constitutional negotiations between the PAC and the Government.

Any negotiations on the constitutional future of the country would have to be among democratically elected representatives of the people of South Africa, he said.

"An interim government based on the current constitution is unacceptable, as we do not want to be managers or co-managers of apartheid.

"We have agreed with

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

the ANC that no constitutional talks should take place until the oppressed have met to map out the way forward at a patriotic front."

He said the Government had assumed the mantle as convener of a

conference of all parties while it was "not democratically elected".

The PAC believed that the conflict in South Africa was a national issue and not an individual one, and if it were to start discussions on the constitutional future of South Africa, it would have to be in concert with other liberation movements.

Azapo not keen on talks

11A

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday said it was not interested in multiparty talks.

Azapo was "at this stage" also not interested in talks with parties outside the liberation movement, the organisation's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said yesterday.

He said Azapo preferred a "consultative conference of all liberation and labour organisa-

9/18/91
tions leading to a "patriotic front".

"Azapo regards a consultative conference as an important forum wherein organisations that are committed to the eradication of the apartheid structures can discuss and iron out issues that can form part of the patriotic front agenda.

"Collaborationist forces and the Government are not wel-

9/18/91
Sowetan
come to this consultation," he said

Nefolovhodwe was reacting to comments by Azapo's Mr Lybon Mabasa on Monday and which were published in *Sowetan* yesterday.

Mabasa said Azapo was in favour of an initiative that would lead to the establishment of a neutral and independent monitoring body.

Progress depends on the Patriotic Front

IIA
Sowelen
11/8/91

PROGRESS towards a peaceful settlement in South Africa for the time being depends on an envisaged "patriotic front of democratic forces."

It also depends on an acceptance, by all political organisations in the country, on reaching a settlement through some kind of contact with the Government.

The PAC and Azapo, co-conveners with the ANC of the "patriotic front", have not yet publicly accepted that they are in favour of a negotiated settlement, but both would like to see a peaceful solution to the South African conflict.

The PAC and Azapo also prefer an independent mediator, like the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, or the Non-Aligned Movement, to watch over the negotiating process. This, too, has to be discussed by the "patriotic front".

However neither organisation can say exactly how they see the OAU, UN or NAM agreeing to step into South Africa's political morass.

It is hardly likely that a mediator or mediators would simply pitch up at Jan Smuts Airport. There would first have

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

to be lengthy and intricate negotiations on the issue as the Government has remained adamant that it would not "simply hand over power".

The ANC has not explicitly said that it preferred the OAU, NAM or the UN, but has indicated very strongly that Government's dual role as a player and referee was unacceptable.

The ANC has publicly stressed its commitment to a negotiated settlement and, as a precursor to this, an all-party forum to reach agreement on the composition of a forum for constitutional negotiations.

While all three organisations will at some stage sit down and discuss the future of South Africa - unless one or more of them decide to "continue the armed struggle" - any future talks remain contingent on the "patriotic front".

The PAC, Azapo and the ANC are in the process of organising the "patriotic front". The three hope to emerge with a coherent strategy early in September in Cape Town.

United

The "patriotic front" or a "united front of the oppressed" has been on the agenda of the Black Consciousness Movement for almost two decades.

It is common knowledge that when Steve Biko was arrested (at the end), he was returning from discussions with other political formations in Cape Town on the issue of a united front.

In March last year, the then newly-elected president of Azapo, Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, said that it was premature to talk with the Government until the "liberation movements" and their allies entered into some kind of "conference of liberation organisations".

"Negotiations should take place among resistance organisations of the black people, not with the ruling class," Mosala said.

The PAC, at the initial meeting of minds relative to the "patriotic front" in Harare during April, also put its weight behind such a front.

In search of a coherent picture, then, the three main parties in the "patriotic front" have already reached tacit agreement on at least three issues:

- * That there should be an interim arrangement and it should preferably be independent or neutral;

- * That there should be some kind of check on the security forces during the negotiating process; and

- * That it is the duty of the "patriotic front" to forge a new set of rules for the negotiating game - the Government has dictated most of the terms over the past year-and-a-half.

The chances of the ANC actually leaving the PAC and Azapo behind during negotiations are unlikely - if only Azapo and the PAC can accept that appearing in print next to Government, or talking to Government about a negotiated settlement is not necessarily a bad thing.

There is no indication from the Government, however, that it would agree with the idea of handing over power summarily.

On another level it would perhaps be better for the country as a whole if coalitions were formed early in the process, especially among the liberation movements.

At this relatively early stage it seems highly unlikely that the ANC would accept power in South Africa without inviting at least the PAC and Azapo aboard.

The nightingale who became 'Mama Africa'

NEW YORK - South African singer Miriam Makeba opens her newest album with an exile's lament - but says her decades of living abroad finally are nearing an end.

Makeba, who for more than 30 years has championed the anti-apartheid cause from her artist's platform, plans to return to live in South Africa by December.

"I think I have tried my best from outside to tell the world that we have a problem," she said in an interview.

"And now that I can go home, I can do concrete things - help the children, help the elderly. The fact that my country is in a rotten state doesn't mean I should stay away."

The song "I Still Long for You," by South African composer Victor Masando, "expressed what I feel, having been to so many countries - I could fill a wall with the names - and missing home," Makeba said in a recent telephone interview from her current home in Brussels.

She said the song is one of her favourites on "Eyes on Tomorrow," an album she recorded in South Africa. It was released June 11 on the Polydor label.

"I've been singing that song on stage for two years," she said in a soft voice that nonetheless was as compelling as her powerful singing.

"In Germany, the first time I sang it at a big arena in Berlin, all you could see was torches waving back and forth with the rhythm. I guess I sing it with a lot of feeling."

In Johannesburg she worked with musicians who "understood the music I was doing," she said. "I think there was less explaining to do. They understand even the lyrics, which I sing in African languages. I didn't have to translate for them. . . as I usually have to do with my musicians."

She writes in her 1987 memoirs that friends and relatives who first encouraged her to perform compared her voice to that of a nightingale. The young nightingale went on to become "Mama Africa" and "The Empress of African Song," titles that recognise the emphasis she has placed on traditional songs as well as the work of contemporary African composers.

The multilingual "Eyes on Tomorrow" includes "Vukani" ("Wake Up"), a song in her native Xhosa written by noted South African trumpeter Hugh Masekela.

"It's a plea to our people to stop calling each other names, to stop killing each other, that we must begin to hold hands to build a nation," she said.

She blends a traditional Xhosa song, "Thulasizwe" ("Nation, Stop Weeping") with Bob Dylan's "I Shall Be Released" in a duet with American singer Nina Simone.

Makeba said both songs speak of "breaking through."

The recording sessions in Johannesburg brought Makeba together with several old friends - Simone as well as Masekela, Makeba's former husband, who plays flugelhorn on "Vukani."

And Dizzy Gillespie contributes a smooth vocal to a duet of Paolo Conte's romantic "Don't Break My Heart."

Makeba and Gillespie are preparing to tour with a show that begins in Europe and reaches New York in August.

She still sings with the sweet, clear voice of the young woman who in the 1950s introduced American and European audiences to the "click sounds" of the Xhosa language.

And at 59, she also has developed a jazzy growl and an accomplished actress's grasp of emotion.

Makeba left South Africa to perform in Europe and the United States in 1959 after her brief appearance - she sang two songs - in the film "Come Back, Africa" introduced her to a wider audience.

Though she was not at first politically outspoken, her growing prominence as an artist seems to have raised suspicion in Pretoria.

In 1960, when she tried to fly home for her mother's funeral, her passport was revoked. The Government offered no explanation for the action.

In 1963, she appeared before the UN Special Committee on Apartheid to call for an international boycott on South Africa. Pretoria responded by banning her records.

Since becoming state president in 1989, South African President FW de Klerk has reopened the doors to many exiles as he attempts to abolish apartheid and end his country's isolation.

Makeba was allowed to return briefly last June, when she visited her mother's grave.

She began work on "Eyes on Tomorrow" early this year. While in South Africa to make the album, she gave two concerts in Johannesburg.

"It was like a revival," she said of the April performances. "My music having been banned for so long, that people still felt the same way about me was too much for me. I just went home and I cried."

De Klerk has overseen the dismantling of laws segregating neighbourhoods, hospitals, property ownership, parks, beaches and many other facilities.

In late June, the South African Parliament repealed the law that classified all citizens by race.

Last year, De Klerk legalised the main anti-apartheid group, the African National Congress, and freed its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

But the Government and the ANC still have not sat down for substantive negotiations on a new constitution that would give blacks a say in national affairs.

"We still don't have the vote, so I don't see what change people are talking about," Makeba said. "No change has been made in Soweto. Maybe there has been change on paper, but the people have not felt any change." - Sapa-AP.

More SACP (11A) CT 7/8/91 to leave ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Communist Party will in the near future request that more of its members be relieved of their ANC duties, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Mr Hani, a senior official in the ANC and the SACP, made the announcement while being questioned by reporters at a press conference here about the SACP request to relieve him of his ANC duties, including his position as MK chief-of-staff.

He also said the ANC will not accept integration of its military wing into the SA Defence Force.

Addressing the press conference to announce arrangements for MK's three-day national conference at the University of Venda in the far-Northern Transvaal over the weekend, Mr Hani said the ANC regarded the SADF as "the military wing of the National Party government", just as MK was the politicised military wing of the ANC.

He attempted to scotch speculation that his pending change in status reflected a SACP split from the ANC or that he was being sidelined. He said he would remain an active member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and that the ANC/SACP alliance remained solid.

His move was only a "change in emphasis" to concentrate on building the SACP in its struggle for a socialist South Africa.

He felt he had been chosen, not because he was black, but be-

Hani denies MK role in Transkei

JOHANNESBURG. — Members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), are not being recruited by the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said.

Mr Hani, addressing a press conference here, was reacting to Pretoria's request over the weekend that Transkei desist from recruiting new soldiers or risk losing South African funding.

The ANC had never discussed the matter with Transkei's military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Mr Hani said. — Sapa

cause the SACP required someone of his experience to organise and strengthen the party.

"I would feel insulted if I was picked because I'm black," Mr Hani said, adding the SACP was "a Marxist-Leninist party and very non-racial".

The ANC's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, seated next to Mr Hani at the press conference, said the ANC would take a final decision on Mr Hani's future "in due course" and not before Umkhonto we Sizwe's three-day national conference this weekend.

Mr Hani said he was unable to say whether the ANC would keep him on as a member of the ANC's negotiating team which will de-

bate with the government South Africa's new constitution.

On the issue of integrating MK into the SADF, he said a new democratically-elected government would have the task of creating a new defence force which would have to be orientated to defend democracy.

He said such a new defence force could well contain elements of the SADF, MK, and other military elements, such as the homeland armies.

The ANC was awaiting the response of the new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the formation of a new defence force representative of all South Africa's people.

"We hope Meyer will be more open-minded (than his predecessor General Magnus Malan) to the issue," Mr Hani said.

According to an ANC statement released yesterday, the MK conference this weekend was taking place "in the light of the ongoing violence in many parts of South Africa which has been shown to be orchestrated by the government through agencies such as the CCB, Askaris and many elements in the SAP and the SADF".

Revelations that the government used public funds to secretly finance elements opposed to the ANC was "indeed a very serious threat to the peace process . . .", it said.

About 240 MK delegates from inside South Africa, and some still stationed in countries such as Tanzania and Zambia, will attend the conference. — Sapa

Azapo 'no' to talks with NP

(11A) CT 7/8/91

Political Correspondent

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) announced yesterday it was not ready to enter multi-party talks if the Nationalist government was represented.

However, Azapo said it was keen to attend the "Patriotic Front" meeting of extra-parliamentary opposition groupings to be held in the city later this month.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovodwe dismissed as "fic-

tion" reports that his organisation was prepared to enter multi-party discussions which included the government and "government-created parties".

He said in a statement that Azapo favoured a "consultative conference" of all liberation movements and labour organisations, leading to the formation of a Patriotic Front.

"Collaborationist forces and the government are not welcome to this consultation."

However, the Patriotic Front conference will now take place in the city from August 23-25.

● Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reports from Harare that the PAC and Azapo are due to meet in Kadoma, Zimbabwe, on Friday and Saturday.

The PAC's chief Zimbabwe representative, Mr Patrick Gola, would not reveal the agenda, but sources said the meeting would discuss the coming united front summit in Cape Town.

ANC pays for praise of Castro^(11A)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela's lavish praise of Cuba's President Fidel Castro and his human rights record effectively cost the ANC millions of rands of US aid, diplomatic sources have indicated.

They said the ANC would have got substantially more of the R28 million from the US Transition to Democracy Project if Mr Mandela had not indulged in "vigorous speechifying".

"Mr Mandela dug himself a hole," said one. "Those in Congress who tried to prevent money from going to Inkatha in the wake of the slush-fund scandal were weakened by his public embrace of Mr Castro."

Wrangle

It was announced on Monday that the Bush administration had decided to give the ANC about R12,5m and Inkatha R7m to help the organisations transform themselves into conventional political organisations.

The balance of the R28m will go to other organisations, including the SA Council of Churches.

A diplomatic source said the money had been tied up in a congressional wrangle for several months.

The sources said the decision to send money to Inkatha was a clear indication that there were conservatives in American politics who wanted to keep "some alternative to the ANC alive".

Trade boost?

PRETORIA. — There is much room for expansion in trade between Taiwan and South Africa, Taiwan's Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Vincent Siew, said here yesterday after meeting President F W de Klerk. — Sapa

Umkhonto may ask govt to aid its cadres

THE ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is considering asking government to provide welfare assistance to cadres.

Umkhonto commander Joe Modise said his army did not begrudge SADF members their salaries or pensions even though they had defended apartheid.

"The government says apartheid was wrong. But the real defenders of democracy in Umkhonto are walking the streets without jobs. We are going to discuss this at the conference and then raise the issue of assistance with the government."

Announcing plans for Umkhonto's conference in Venda this weekend, ANC information director Pallo Jordan, speaking on

Bjpan 7/8/91
PATRICK BULGER

behalf of Umkhonto's commanders, told a news briefing yesterday the conference would examine "the dangerous manner in which the De Klerk government attempted to undermine the confidence and commitment of the ANC to the peace process at the negotiations table".

Jordan said the conference would look at issues like the security forces in a democratic SA, negotiations, the suspension of the armed struggle and the welfare of Umkhonto cadres.

Outgoing Umkhonto chief of staff Chris

Hani said Umkhonto was not seeking incorporation into the SADF. He envisaged a post-apartheid army made up of Umkhonto, the SADF and other military forces like homeland armies. He said he hoped incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer would be more flexible on military issues than Gen Magnus Malan.

The three-day conference will be opened by Umkhonto commander-in-chief and ANC president Nelson Mandela. The road to Venda will take delegates through some of the more extreme right-wing enclaves in SA. Hani said he hoped right-wingers would not disrupt proceedings, and Umkhonto reserved the right to self-defence.

POLITICS

Tough task for Hani — selling the Communist Party

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff

WITHIN ANC ranks he is recognised as the man who reorganised Umkhonto we Sizwe. Now Chris Hani has been called upon to tackle one of the most formidable tasks of his career: selling the South African Communist Party.

It won't be an easy job because the SACP is not the best commodity to sell in a country long used to a battery of anti-communist propaganda from the ranks of the government and its supporters.

The party's recruitment drive has failed to hit an upwards curve among blacks. Appointing Mr Hani, who enjoys widespread support in the townships where he has become almost a cult figure, is expected to change this.

Senior MK and SACP member Mr Tony Yengeni said: "There's some truth in the argument that Chris Hani will be used to recruit blacks."

The ANC said last week that Mr Hani from the movement's National Working Committee to assume a full-

time position in the SACP. Mr Yengeni said the MK chief of staff would be appointed as the party's deputy secretary general.

It is a position which puts him on course to become SACP secretary general at its December conference.

Mr Yengeni said the incumbent Joe Slovo was not under any threat or facing a revolt.

"We may well remove Joe from office because he is very central to the ANC leadership and a key member of the movement's negotiating team. He is good at formulating policy and formidable in negotiations."

Given his role in negotiations, Mr Slovo has not been able to devote all his time and attention to the party's fortunes.

Mr Yengeni said: "We saw the wisdom of asking the ANC to second a man who is very popular with the working class and youth."

He denied that Mr Hani's appointment was an attempt to Africanise the party.

"The image that the party leadership largely comprised white males had to be corrected. The party leadership must reflect our population."

The party had been concerned about its inability to recruit new members and had discussed this at at least three meetings.

"It was clear that the secretary general, because of his involvement with the ANC, could not play a full-time role in organising and expanding the party."

"We were looking for somebody who could do this. Ultimately we agreed that Comrade Hani must take this position and lead the party to our December congress and create a solid leadership core. He wanted the job as well."

Mr Hani will remain chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. His new role in the party is not considered as a big blow to the ANC's army.

"The armed struggle has been suspended and no military operations are taking place. His office has been transformed into a welfare office, where he listens to MK soldiers complaining about things such as housing."

"Beyond that he was sent to trouble spots to put out fires. He does not have a job within the ANC and had no challenges. I think that's why he volunteered to work for the party."

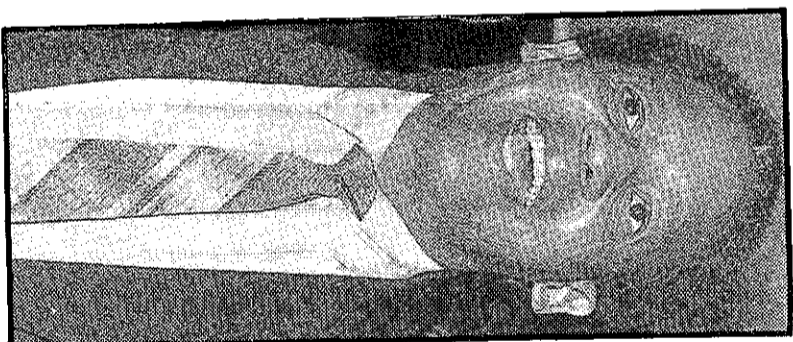
Said to be a soldier's soldier, Mr Hani has fought side by side with his men, reorganised MK and put down a rebellion against the ANC leadership in Angola.

"He is a legend. That's why he is so popular. You can't win a soldier's confidence and trust if you have not been one. He may or may not be replaced as chief of staff. I would not support his being relieved because that would leave a big hole. We respect him and don't want him to be replaced as MK chief."

This message is expected to be given to ANC leaders, including president Mr Nelson Mandela and his deputy Mr Walter Sisulu, when they attend an MK congress in Venda at the weekend.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday it was revealed that Mr Hani would not relinquish his position of chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe before the MK's national congress in Venda this weekend.

ANC information and publicity department chief Dr Pallo Jordan said the SACP's request regarding Mr Hani was still receiving the ANC leadership's consideration. However, Dr Jordan said



Mr Chris Hani . . . enjoys widespread support in the townships, where he has become almost a cult figure

he did not think Mr Hani would be relieved of his responsibility as MK chief of staff before the August 9-11 MK congress at the University of Venda.

Mr Hani, an outspoken critic of the South African Defence Force (SADF), ruled out any integration between the SADF and MK. The SADF, he said, was the National Party's military wing.

He said a democratically elected new government would have to form a new defence force which, he conceded, would incorporate soldiers from the present SADF, MK and other armies such as those in the various homelands' defence forces.

Asked to comment on General Magnus Malan's replacement by Mr Roelf Meyer as Minister of Defence, Mr Hani said he hoped Mr Meyer would be "more open-minded" than his predecessor on a number of issues.

Mr Hani denied reports that some MK cadres had been integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, saying such reports were a result of "the wild imagination of the South African intelligence services".

Responding to speculation that the SACP's request for

him to concentrate on party work was motivated by the need to cash in on his popularity and to give the party a black face, Mr Hani said he would feel insulted if he had been chosen because he was black.

The SACP, he said, was a Marxist-Leninist party which was completely non-racial. He had been an SACP member since 1961 and the party now needed his experience.

Mr Hani also revealed that the SACP would in future request that more of its members be relieved of their duties in the ANC to concentrate on building the party.

Asked how he felt about Mr Hani's pending move to the SACP, Dr Jordan — whose criticism of the SACP as undemocratic received much publicity — said he had not criticised the SACP as an anti-socialist or an anti-communist, but had done so "from a socialist perspective".

He had found "certain aspects of its (the SACP's) socialism wanting".

Dr Jordan said he and Mr Hani were friends and Mr Hani could go "anywhere as long as he does not go to the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) or the CP (Conservative Party)".



CHRIS HANI

MK, SADF merger is out - Hani

~~SECRET~~
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Sowetan
7/8/91

THE ANC will not accept integration of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SA Defence Force, MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday. Hani, addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg to announce arrangements for MK's three-day national conference in Venda over the weekend, said the ANC regarded the SADF as "the military wing of the National Party Government".

A new democratically-elected government would have to create a new

defence force which would have to be orientated to defending democracy, Hani said.

Such a force could well contain elements of the SADF, MK and other military elements.

The ANC was awaiting the response of the new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the formation of a new defence force representative of all South Africans.

"We hope Meyer will be more open-minded on the issue," Hani said. - Sapa.



Doubts over Government's trust in talks



CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said the time was not yet ripe for constitutional negotiations to proceed.

They reiterated the demand that Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok should be dismissed and that the Government was untrustworthy to lead the country into a democratic transition.

Miso from Katlehong urged the ANC to withdraw from the negotiations and said a "patriotic front" should be formed as soon as possible.

The ANC should get closer to Azapo and the PAC and the three should get a full mandate from the people of South Africa to negotiate a new constitution.

He felt that talks about talks conducted by the ANC and the Government did not have the backing of the people.

Citing Namibia as an example, Tim from Soweto said a neutral group should be constituted to oversee the transition to democracy.

Raymond felt that negotiations should continue but was sceptical about the "attitude" of the Government.

"The Government believes that liberation movements are still their enemies, which is why it is conducting a double agenda - trying to negotiate on the one hand while funding other organisations."

David from KwaThema, who was also sceptical about the future of negotiations, said the Government had proved to be unreliable and that the liberation movements were compromising a lot by rushing to the negotiating table.

Mandela absolves Inkatha members

By Patrick Laurence

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday exonerated rank-and-file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party of blame for the Inkatha-gate scandal and expressed the hope they would "clean up their organisation".

His statement — made at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South American countries — was interpreted by some journalists as an invitation to Inkatha members to oust Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: "We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are ... certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them."

A central theme ran through his replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from State coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary: it complicated but did not foreclose the task of

negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

But, the ANC leader made clear, the Government had itself become an obstacle to negotiations, and processes towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to nonracialism.

Mr Mandela adopted a generally tough attitude towards Mr de Klerk. He refused to retract a remark to which the State President took exception — that Mr de Klerk was promoting his administration's cause "over the corpses" of ANC members — and accused the President of being less than frank when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha.

Mr Mandela's understanding attitude towards the Inkatha membership contrasted with his remarks about its leader.

"Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the Government," he said unequivocally. "There is no difference whatsoever between the Government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll."

On Mr de Klerk's complaint

Star 8/8/91
about the accusation that he, Mr de Klerk, was advancing his cause over the ANC's dead, Mr Mandela responded: "Mr de Klerk is the last person to complain about that remark."

Asked whether he thought Mr de Klerk was telling the truth when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha, Mr Mandela said: "You will have to decide for yourself ... No funds could have been spent by the Minister of Police and by the Minister of Finance, and with the concurrence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which would not have been known to the State President."

Declaring that Mr de Klerk had still not acknowledged the full extent of covert funding of organisations hostile to the ANC, Mr Mandela said: "We are demanding that the present Government transfer power to an interim government."

● Sapa reports that Soviet President Gorbachev has invited Mr Mandela to visit Moscow later this year, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs responsible for Africa, Valery Nilayenko, said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Nilayenko is due to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha today.

ANC rebuff for Tokyo Games invitation

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 8/8/91
(11A) (2/2)

It was not proper for international sports bodies to put pressure on local sports administrators to get South African athletes to compete in world championships, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg on his return from abroad, Mr Mandela said it was improper of bodies such as the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) to pressure SA to send a team to Tokyo this month.

He was commenting on IAAF president Dr Primo Nebiolo's letter to him, asking him to intervene and help send a South African team to the world championships in Tokyo.

The letter, written by Dr Nebiolo after receiving a request from some South African athletes bent on competing in Tokyo, also invited Mr Mandela to "watch with pride" as the local team entered the national stadium to compete.

In his letter to Mr Mandela, Dr Nebiolo — who is also believed to have tried to obtain President de Klerk's interven-

tion and help — said: "We are convinced that if you were to give us your valuable and eminent support, we would be in a position to give something very precious back to the young people of South Africa."

Mr Mandela told the press conference the matter was receiving attention from ANC national executive committee member Steve Tshwete.

A spokesman for President de Klerk's office could not confirm yesterday whether Dr Nebiolo had sought the President's intervention in getting South African athletes to go to Tokyo.

Interim rule now thrust of negotiations, says ANC

By Shana Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is ready to get an all-party conference going as early as mid-September — in spite of the Inkathagate scandal — but it will now insist that the key obstacle to be discussed is the authority of the Government itself.

In an exclusive interview with *The Star*, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa revealed that a process of consulting the ANC's membership and its allies on whether suspended preparatory constitutional talks should be reactivated had already begun.

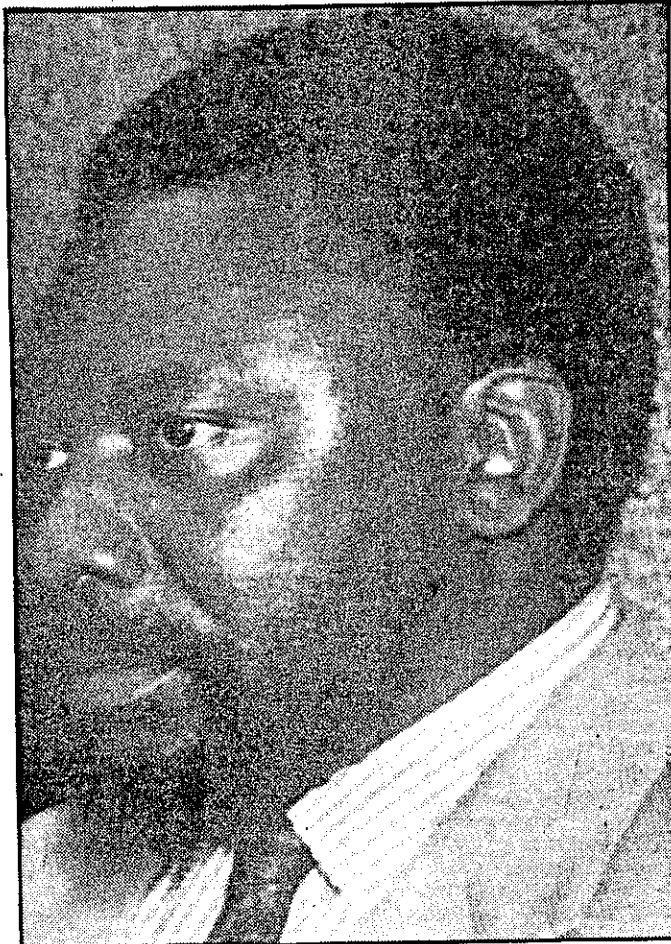
He said it was difficult to state precisely when its result would be known, "but I would say maybe a month, six weeks. The process is under way already . . .

"We are going to be ready for an all-party conference after two things — the consultations and the patriotic front conference. After that, we are ready to go."

The move confirms new ANC urgency to get the negotiations process moving again, particularly in the light of the organisation's belief that its case for an interim government has been greatly strengthened by the slush fund revelations.

The pre-scandal position — in which the Government was seen to be impatient for round-table talks, and the ANC was dragging its feet — appears to have been reversed.

Interim government has now supplanted all other issues as the pivot around which the political debate



Exclusive interview . . . Cyril Ramaphosa.

"parties themselves" — is considering hardening its position dramatically because of Inkathagate.

There is a very strong possibility that the OAU will shortly send a ministerial delegation to Europe and the US to push the case for pressure to be placed on President de Klerk to accept an interim government in South Africa.

According to Mr Ramapho-

Mr Ramaphosa said that when the ANC's internal consultation process "reaches finality . . . we will be able to say very clearly to the Government that we now are ready to start talks on the calling of an all-party congress — if our membership agrees that we should now lay more emphasis on the main obstacle, which is the Government.

"This would be without de-emphasising the other obsta-

He said there was no question of the ANC trying to "destroy" the Government in the wake of Inkathagate.

"I think there is a recognition that his Government is necessary to the process," Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that if Mr de Klerk agreed that Pretoria could not manage the transition alone, "he could actually find himself being a leading part of an interim government".

The ANC's low-profile role in the course of Inkathagate reflects a strategic decision to hold back and let matters unfold independently in the hope that the end result would be to speed up negotiations to the ANC's benefit.

"We could have gone on to the rooftops," said Mr Ramaphosa, "but I don't think a responsible political organisation should do that. We had to come with a response that gave direction to the country rather than one that just served party-political interests.

"We take very seriously our responsibility to not only lead our followers, but to give leadership to the country."

The ANC secretary-general expressed disappointment however, with the way which the ANC's response had been greeted.

"I think the Government either did not read the signal coming from the ANC (regarding Inkathagate) very clearly, or they are just grateful.

"Because the signal that we gave is that of course we want the investigations to go on, but at the same time we are saying: 'Let us get on with the job that is at hand. We don't trust you — but people don't trust you more — but we are prepared to trust you more if you let us in

Australian government invites Sisulus for 12 days

Foreign News Service

8/29/91

MELBOURNE — Two leading members of the ANC, Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, will arrive in Sydney on Saturday for a 12-day visit.

They will meet Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans.

Last night, Mr Hawke promised that Australia would be at the forefront of the world community in removing sanc-

tions against South Africa

He said: "Under my leadership, Australia was at the forefront of the imposition of sanctions which produced negotiations towards the end of apartheid."



ANC throws Star 8/8/91 down the 11/1 gauntlet to push pace

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC has moved to push the pace of "real" negotiations as Pretoria reels from the funds-for-Inkatha scandal, and has identified concessions on an interim government as the price President de Klerk will have to pay for a multiparty conference in the near future.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who returned from overseas yesterday, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that talks with the Government would not be called off because of the slush fund revelations, but signalled that the interim government issue now stood above all other "obstacles to negotiations".

The ANC position appears to be that outstanding "obstacles" would fall away if the larger issue were resolved.

If the Government conceded the necessity for working out an interim structure, Mr Ramaphosa said, the ANC could be "ready to go for" an all-party conference as early as mid-September.

Mr Mandela, who last month said he did not think it likely that the round-table talks could start this year, confirmed that a concession on the principle of an interim government was now a condition Mr de Klerk had to meet if preparatory talks on constitutional negotiations were to be reactivated.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to be co-opted into the existing Government: "What we want is a transfer of power to an interim government."

This was the only way to solve the problems created by the Government's covert funding of Inkatha.

Observers believe the ANC's new push on the interim government issue reflects its assessment that if it presses Pretoria into multiparty talks soon — and succeeds in making the transitional government the top point on the agenda — it would begin bargaining from a position of strength.

● More reports — Pages 3, 6

Mandela demands

'Interim govt now — or no talks'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night demanded the immediate installation of an interim government.

The ANC president was speaking at a press conference soon after returning from a tour of Latin America.

He said negotiations could not continue unless this demand was met.

He also rejected any plans for cooption into the existing structures of government.

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's commitment to negotiations, but emphasised that his organisation would not enter negotiations blindfolded.

"We are not going to go into negotiations blindly. The government must carry out its responsibility and it must agree to a mechanism which will ensure that

we'll not have a similar scandal to the Inkatha scandal. And the only mechanism we see which will give this assurance is the immediate installation of an interim government."

He said there was no reason why the government should not accept the idea of an interim government. "We are already moving close with the government on this question. Mr De Klerk is prepared to discuss interim arrangements along the line of a government which embraces the major parties in the negotiation process, but we are not satisfied with that. We want him to go further.

"The idea of an interim government with sovereign powers over the all the organs of government and not co-opting certain individuals, is our demand.

"We are not prepared to be co-opted into the existing structures of government.

"We want a transfer of power from this government to an interim government. It

is the only way which we can resolve the problems which have been raised by the Inkatha funding scandal."

He said the scandal had made it difficult for the ANC to continue to negotiate with the government, which he charged was "not negotiating in good faith".

"The fact that Mr De Klerk has not been able to respond satisfactorily to the scandal is creating very serious difficulties.

"The government must respond to our satisfaction to the Inkatha scandal. And if it does not do so, it is going to be very, very difficult indeed to move forward."

Asked which response from Mr De Klerk he would consider satisfactory, Mr Mandela said: "He must accept the idea of an interim government which is going to supervise the whole process of transformation from an apartheid state to a non-racial democracy."

Later he reiterated the ANC's commitment to negotiations. "The central point

is the introduction of an interim government. But we do intend an all-party congress to discuss all these problems. And the question of an interim government may follow the calling of an all-party congress."

He said the scandal had put a question mark on the integrity of Mr De Klerk.

He would have expected the State President to have taken him into his confidence and to inform him of his problems, Mr Mandela said. "I would have gone out of my way to try and assist him."

Mr Mandela said he had put his whole political reputation on the line by saying that Mr De Klerk was a man of integrity.

"And he turns out to be conducting a double strategy towards us, because he could not have been ignorant of that, he

To page 2

● NP 'subverting' democracy — Page 2
● ANC will help sport — Page 3

was aware of it, how can I continue to say that this is a man of integrity?" he said in an apparent reference to the slush funds scandal.

Mr De Klerk had responded in part to ANC demands when he recently reshuffled his cabinet, said the ANC president.

On ANC-Inkatha relations following the scandal, Mr Mandela said it was clear that IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had allowed himself to be used by the government.

"They are on the same pay roll and that discovery, which we suspected all along, must affect our relations and our strategy."

However, he felt the broad IFP membership may have been ignorant of the secret payments, saying he hoped they would take measures to "clean" their organisation — Sapa

Patriotic Front talks hit 'logistical' hitch

er 8/8/91 Political Correspondent (117)

THE "Patriotic Front" conference slated to take place in Cape Town in two weeks' time has been postponed:

A conference organiser, the PAC's Mr Carter Seleka, said yesterday that the conference had been rescheduled for September 6-8 because of "logistical problems".

Among the organisations to be represented are the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Cosatu and Nactu, plus a wide variety of church, business and educational bodies.

The conference venue has still to be finalised.

A notable absentee from the conference, called to forge a unified response to the government ahead of constitutional negotiations, will be the Inkatha Freedom Party which decided last month to decline the invitation.

ANC and govt moving closer on interim administration, says

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the ANC and government were moving closer together on an interim government and welcomed President F W de Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle.

But the ANC wanted government to go further in its commitment to such a government, Mandela said on his return yesterday from a visit to Spain, Cuba and South America.

He welcomed De Klerk's removal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Volk from their portfolios and indicated the ANC would now abandon calls for their removal from

the Cabinet.

"De Klerk is responding to our demands. He may not have met those demands to the full. But we must take account that he has taken some action. He has removed these two Ministers from the portfolios they had. That is what we asked them to do. It may well be that the fact that they are now in charge of minor portfolios is a matter which we may not like to take any further. The central question is that he has responded to our demands."

He said the ANC was not prepared to be co-opted into the present government and would demand an interim government.

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12/12/91 8/8/91.
PATRICK BULGER

"There is no reason why the government should not accept the idea of an interim government. We are already moving close to the government on this question. De Klerk has said he is prepared to discuss interim arrangements along the lines of a government which embraces the major parties in the negotiations process.

"We are not satisfied with that. We want him to go further. The idea of an interim government with sovereign powers over all the organs of government and not co-

opting certain individuals is our demand. We are not prepared to be co-opted into the existing structures of government. We want a transfer of power from this govt to an interim government. That is the only way we can solve the problems that have been raised by the Inkatha scandal."

He said negotiations had to take place in an atmosphere of mutual trust. Events of the past 15 months had put a question mark on the ANC's characterisation of De Klerk as a man of integrity.

Mandela said the ANC would go ahead with an all-party congress at which an in-

terim government could be discussed.

He said relations with Inkatha had been damaged by the scandal and he hoped Inkatha members would take steps to ensure Inkatha recovered from the scandal.

He called on the private sector not to participate in De Klerk's private sector committee to vet the use of secret funds.

Meanwhile, PAC deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday his movement was prepared to engage in a "pre-constituent assembly conference" to discuss means of getting such an assembly off the ground.

Picture: Page 3

Mandela

Mandela warns on talks

South Africa 8/8/91

(1A)

~~SECRET~~

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE ANC had lost all faith in the Government and the National Party had to hand over power to an interim government before negotiations could start, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The ANC president said that it had become "very difficult" to negotiate with the Government while it was pursuing a "double agenda of talking peace while making war".

He said there was absolutely no way that President FW de Klerk could not have known about the secret funds given to Inkatha or that he was unable to stop the violence.

The ANC had warned De Klerk 15 months ago about the violence in the country, but the President failed to stop it.

He said he had repeatedly spoken with De Klerk on the issue and that he had gone as far as calling the President "a man of integrity".

But, Mandela said, his opinion of De Klerk "might have been exaggerated."

"Black lives are very cheap to white South Africans and De Klerk is part of that attitude," Mandela said.

He said that the ANC and the Government were moving closer on the issue of an interim government, but the ANC would not be co-opted.

Inkathagate proved that the present Government could not oversee the transitional process on its own while it had a role to play in the creation of a new order.

"The Government must respond satisfactorily to the Inkathagate scandal. If it does not, it is going to be very difficult to move forward."

"What we want is a transfer of power to an interim Government," Mandela said.

Commenting on the future role of Inkatha in the light of the covert funding issue, Mandela said that the relationship between the ANC and Inkatha had been damaged.

He also said that there was no difference between the Government and Inkatha.

"They are on the same payroll. Speaking to Inkatha is like speaking to the Government," Mandela said.

Media coverage fair - callers

SOWETAN
REPORTER

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



Sowetan
8/8/91
MEDIA coverage of Inkatha is fair and the organisation has been discredited by its main ally the Government, callers to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback show said yesterday.

They told host Isaac Phaahla the media had done a good job by uncovering secret Government funding to Inkatha.

8/8/91
The Talkback topic was chosen as a result of a statement by Inkatha's Transvaal youth leader, Mr Themba Khoza, that the media were trying to discredit and destroy the organisation.

Wrong

Except for Solomon, calling from Katlehong, callers agreed that Khoza

8/8/91
was wrong and that the media were right in exposing Inkatha for what it was - "a Government ally".

Solomon agreed with Khoza and said the media had never supported Inkatha and it had criticised leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi even when he consistently refused to take independence.

they have never been criticised by the media."

Discredited

However, Mxolisi from Eldorado Park, felt that Inkatha's main ally, the Government, discredited Inkatha by admitting that it had secretly funded the organisation.

"Inkatha also discredited itself by receiving money from the Government."

"Two Xhosa nations, Ciskei and Transkei, have taken independence but

Operation Vula trialist mooted for hot seat

ALL indications point to Operation Vula trialist Sphiwe Nyanda assuming the hot seat as the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe when Chris Hanani moves to head the South African Communist Party.

This week a cagey and non-committal Nyanda said while he would see the position as a big responsibility, he would nonetheless see his promotion as "no big deal".

According to ANC sources, Nyanda's name is the only put forward to replace Hanani.

While Nyanda insisted that the talk of his promotion to chief of staff is "pure speculation at this stage", ANC insiders say that his ascendancy to the high-powered position is a foregone conclusion.

Nyanda said that, although he rec-

ognised that Hanani was a man "with a great deal of charisma", he will not be daunted by it.

"I see the task as a big responsibility but I would simply see it as one that has to be done."

Apart from the publicity surrounding his key role in Operation Vula, not much else is known about Nyanda.

He is reported, however, to have built a track record in the ANC underground over the past 16 years, which makes him the ideal candidate for the position.

Nyanda was born and raised in Jabavu, Soweto. He matriculated at the Orlando West High School and entered the University of Zululand as a science student in 1971.

In his first year, he was expelled as a result of his role in food protests

at the university.

"I was found guilty of puncturing smelly cups with my divider."

For the next four years he worked at various jobs, including a stint as sports writer for the defunct newspaper "World".

He joined the ANC underground in 1975 and at the beginning of 1976 he left the country, on the instruction of the ANC, and was sent to the German Democratic Republic to further his training. He returned to Africa in 1977 — managing to sneak into South Africa for three months — then based himself in Maputo, Mozambique.

He was appointed the political commissar of the Transvaal Urban Machinery set up in Maputo, and later promoted to commander in 1978.

In 1983 the Urban Machinery was

transformed into the Military Command and he was appointed chief of staff for Transvaal.

The signing of the Nkomati Accord put paid to ANC operations in Mozambique, resulting in Nyanda and others moving to Swaziland where the base was re-established.

In 1985 Nyanda was sent to the Soviet Union for further training and returned to Swaziland later that year.

In 1987 he was appointed Mac Maharaj's deputy commander in Operation Vula. He was arrested in 1990 and, earlier this year, granted indemnity from all charges relating to the operation.

Nyanda was elected on to the National Executive Committee at the recent ANC National Conference. —
NEW AFRICAN



Sphiwe Nyanda

South 8/8 - 14/8/91

11A

11A

ANC, PAC to ^(11A)
demand amnesty

^{South 8/8-14/8/91}
ANTI-APARTHEID movements are to launch a campaign to force the government to grant a general amnesty to exiles.

This was agreed at talks last weekend between the ANC, PAC and Azapo held in Johannesburg.

"The present system of indemnity and immunity is cumbersome, inadequate and with many pitfalls. It is imperative that all our political exiles must have unconditional general amnesty," the Rev Frank Chikane, national chairperson of the National Coordinating Committee for Repatriation, said after the talks.

The armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is holding its first conference inside South Africa this weekend. On the agenda is the return of the thousands of MK cadres still in exile, their deployment and welfare, and a united army in a post-apartheid South Africa. **REHANA ROSSOUW** reports:

Romance and realism: MK at the crossroads

South 8/8 - 14/8/91.

IIA (11A)



UMKHONTO WE SIZWE: Potent force or romanticised army?

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

BEFORE the unbanning of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe last year, ANC activists tended to hold somewhat romantic notions of the "people's army".

Their freedom songs lauded the guerrillas training in "the bush" and praised the heroes of the Sasol and Koeberg bombings. Umkhonto we Sizwe was going to roll down Government Avenue towards the Union Buildings, tear down the South African flag and hoist the ANC colours.

After February 2, another picture of MK emerged. This was no victorious army marching into the cities to liberate the people, but rather a guerrilla force facing the challenge of integrating its members into the ranks of its former enemy — the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Problems Integrating

Unlike the guerrilla forces in Zimbabwe and Namibia, MK faces major problems in integrating into a united, post-apartheid South Africa.

When the SADF withdrew from Namibia, the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) was almost the same size and strength as Swapo's armed wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

At the end of the war in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian army numbered 74 000 and the combined strength of the liberation movements' armies was 40 000.

In both countries it was possible after independence to merge the opposing sides without friction.

A major factor militating against integrating MK into the SADF is the disparity in the size of

the two armies.

The SADF, the largest army in Africa, is a modern, sophisticated force consisting of an army, navy and airforce with extensive conventional battle experience, a highly-developed infrastructure and state-of-the-art weapons and equipment.

It is estimated to have a permanent force of 75 000, a standing operational force of 125 000 (including conscripts) and a reserve of 455 000.

In comparison, military analysts estimate MK's size at 10 000 trained guerrillas who, although they might have won propaganda victories against the state, were never considered a serious military threat.

While some MK cadres underwent rigorous and conventional training in friendly countries abroad, a large number had only a few months' training in African states before being shipped back to South Africa to be deployed in the field.

In African states, the ANC's guerrilla army trained with limited material

support and outdated weapons and equipment.

Unlike the SADF, MK is an ill-equipped and ill-trained army. Many of its members are unlikely to become career officers or soldiers and are not available to join the post-apartheid defence force.

Officer training

In the past year, MK cadres have been sent abroad for officer training and training as pilots, navy personnel and mechanised battalion personnel. Recently, a number of cadres have been seconded to the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to upgrade their skills.

Despite this, there is little the ANC can do to transform its guerrilla forces into an army that compares favourably with the SADF. There is little it can do to produce officers with the skills and sophistication of the SADF.

The immediate challenge facing MK is to transform its forces into a conventional army requiring strict routines of accountability

and logistical structures.

MK needs to distinguish between the civil and military roles of its cadres. These have been blurred by the political involvement of nearly all its guerrilla fighters.

The army needs to decide upon rank designations and relate these to strict educational requirements.

It is becoming clear that a balanced integration of MK guerrillas into the SADF will not be achieved as smoothly as in post-independence Zimbabwe and Namibia.

What is likely is that the post-apartheid army will make a few political appointments of key MK individuals into top posts in the new defence force, but the army will continue to be controlled by white officers.

At present, only SADF officers have the skills and experience to manage the large and complex organisation that is the SADF.

The officers corps of the South African Police is also likely to remain unchanged, as the new government

will not have the experienced police personnel with which to replace them.

This presents a host of problems for the post-apartheid defence force.

The continued domination of whites in the army and police is unlikely to promote legitimacy and public confidence.

This dilemma is already being experienced in Namibia, where the Swapo Youth League is campaigning for the dismissal of white officers who retained their positions after the SWA Police was disbanded.

The white officers have been accused of attempting to destabilise the government, and black officers complain that the command structure is as racist as it was before independence.

If the SADF does not become a truly integrated army, another concern could be the unwillingness of Frontline states to divert spending from defence to repair the havoc unleashed on them for decades by the SADF.

Post-apartheid defence

Leaders of the Frontline states will be hesitant to accept the bona fides of the post-apartheid defence force if its command structure is still dominated by whites.

The conference will also consider the effect of MK's weaknesses on the negotiation process.

The inequality between the SADF and MK has already given rise to an unequal balance of power between the ANC and the government during their talks.

At present, the government enjoys a virtual monopoly of military and police power while the ANC relies on its popular support to add weight to its demands at the negotiation table.

The government will no doubt seek protection for its constituency in the new South Africa and an obvious choice would be to retain control of the defence force to ensure the preservation of white interests.

Judging from both the SADF and the SAP's record of involvement in the political process, the possibility exists that they could disregard or interfere in the political process after apartheid.

The danger here to the ANC is that while it could enjoy political power in a future South Africa, the security establishments will remain under the control of their present political commanders.

Langa school 'collapsing'

South
8/8-14/8/91



By Anthony Ndlovu

THE future of Zimasa Public Primary School in Langa is uncertain because of a dispute between the Department of Education and Training (DET) and an Anglican church council over the maintenance of the school.

One of the township's oldest primary schools, Zimasa is owned by St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Langa, but is administered by the DET.

According to the headmaster, Mr Xolile Njengele, the school pays the DET from its funds. The DET should, in turn, pay monthly rentals to the church.

Njengele said the DET has insisted it will not upgrade the school unless the church transfers ownership to it.

Parents and teachers have made several attempts to negotiate the handing over of the school to the DET but talks regarding the sale of the premises deadlocked when the DET was unable to raise the R375 000 demanded by the church.

Since the unsuccessful bid to buy

the school, the DET has not maintained the premises.

Njengele said the school buildings were in a bad state, with cracked walls and chalkboards so badly damaged that they were no longer in use. Floors in several classrooms were in danger of collapsing and some classrooms had no electricity.

According to Njengele, the school — which has 402 pupils sharing 10 classrooms — has no staffroom and poor toilet facilities.

Upgrade

Njengele said an attempt was made last year to get help from the Urban Foundation to upgrade the school, "but the Urban Foundation could do nothing as the school does not belong to the community but to the church".

He said a year ago, the church and the DET met to try to resolve the matter, but no agreement was reached.

"We demand that the DET build a new school for us as there are many open spaces in Langa," Njengele said.

St Cyprian's parish priest, Rev CT Kokoali, said the church could not afford to upgrade the school. He claimed that the DET had not paid the R1 500-a-month rent to the church

since 1980. According to Rev Kokoali, as soon as the DET pays the amount outstanding, "the church will be more than willing to upgrade the school".

Mr MH Hales, the registrar of the Anglican Church, could not be reached for comment.

The Regional Chief Director of the DET, Mr WA Staude, said: "The Zimasa Public Primary School is accommodated in a building presently owned by the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Since the building does not belong to the state, the department cannot undertake any repairs to it."

He said at one stage the DET offered to buy the building, but the idea was abandoned when no agreement could be reached.

"In September 1987 the department accordingly proposed to the church that occupational rental be paid and this offer has since been repeated.

"To date a definite response to the offer has not been received," Staude said.

He said plans for the erection of a new building were underway, but added that progress would be determined by the "availability of funds".

South 8/8-14/8/91 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

ANC joins teachers' talks

A TOP delegation of ANC national executive members joined in unity talks between the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) last week-end.

The two biggest teacher organisations are at odds following the CTPA's decision to "temporarily withdraw from Sadtu activities until all problems are properly addressed and resolved", said CTPA president Mr Archie Vergotine.

"The biggest problem is how to get organisations like the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA), the Natal Teachers' Society (NTS) and the Transvaal Teachers' Association (TTA), which were part of the Harare

Accord, back to the unity talks," he said.

These organisations were about to form a new organisation — which was not in the "interests of teacher unity".

A working committee had been formed to enhance instead of damage unity, he said.

The ANC delegation included Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Dr John Samuel and Ms Sheila Sisulu.

Sadtu general secretary Mr Randall van der Heever said on Wednesday the various positions discussed at the talks would be re-examined at the Sadtu national executive meeting, to be held in Johannesburg next week-end.

Hopes fade over early retirement

South 8/8-14/8/91

WOMEN teachers who would like to retire at 60 may do so only if they have 35 years of unbroken service.

Reports that the retirement age would be brought forward to 60 were this week discounted by the Department of Education and Culture (DEC).

A 60-year-old teacher with 32 years' experience said: "Everybody's hopes had risen when they saw the report that the retirement age had been brought forward to 60 years."

DEC director of communication Mr Henry Jansen said in terms of the Government Service Pension Act, women teachers who began contributing to the pension fund after June 1955 would have to work until 65.

Pupil fined for teacher assault

South 8/8-14/8/91

A BELLVILLE South matric pupil was this week fined in the Bellville Magistrate's Court for assaulting teachers during a feud over the dismissal of temporary teachers.

Bellville South Senior Secondary School pupil Leslie Ruiters, 18, and former pupil and ANC member Henry Verwinkel, 20, were fined R200 and R100 respectively.

They were also given six-month suspended sentences for causing about R3 000 damage to teachers' cars. The charges stem from an incident on March 18 when the pupils were campaigning for the reinstatement of three temporary teachers dismissed by the Department of Education and Culture.

AFTER 'INKATHAGATE'

Silent knights

~~FM~~ IIA
Fm 9/8/91

The ANC has been remarkably restrained over the issue of government's funding of Inkatha. The pious recriminations it left wisely to the putative guardians of its virtue, the homegrown representatives of foreign Western newspapers — or "stringers." Their behaviour over it can hardly be described as having much finesse.

At the two major press conferences that this unfortunate affair provoked, they came in hordes less to ask questions than to air their opinions. These conferences must have been heaven-sent for the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, circumscribed as he must be in reflecting on the unreality of the matter of violence in our black cities. The answers given were not, in his view, "satisfactory" — as if that meant anything.

There were probably two reasons for the ANC's good sense. First, it knows that (like the Nats themselves) it has no alternative to negotiations. The prospect of going back to a bush war simply does not exist.

Second, the ANC cannot afford to be too indignant about its own funding and record on human rights. Indeed, the morality of some of its donors simply does not bear scrutiny. It has accepted support from some of the world's worst, most cruel and notorious thugs; Nelson Mandela's foreign trips are as much to express gratitude as to solicit funds.

Of course, it was extreme folly for the De Klerk government to even countenance a police request to fund Inkatha. And it was equally so for Inkatha to have accepted the money. But that does not reduce the importance here of the Zulus and the role of Inkatha in both the forthcoming constitutional negotiations and the future government of the

country. It is typical of this sort of media outrage that the perpetrators try to squeeze as much advantage as possible out of it, using innuendo to create suspicion. In the process the net becomes very widely cast indeed.

And so the National Students Federation (NSF), a modest body of mostly sensible students, who support free enterprise and libertarian ideas, has been tarred with a similar brush as Inkatha.

And it doesn't stop there. *The Weekly Mail* is seeking also to identify the *FM* as an NSF financier along with some other companies and the police. The facts are that at the *FM*'s request some years ago, several SA companies joined us in contributing to two economy-class tickets so that two NSF students could participate in an international students' conference in Switzerland.

According to the same newspaper, the NSF stands condemned because the police attempted to manipulate it. To be sure, if the SAP has been so metamorphosed that it is prepared to finance and propound libertarianism, we have to regard that as welcome progress.

The Weekly Mail has twice itself requested and received financial support from the Anglo American Corp. It carries some corporate advertisements that smack of covert subsidy. And the newspaper, manifestly ineptly run, exists today by courtesy of its printers, another Anglo associate.

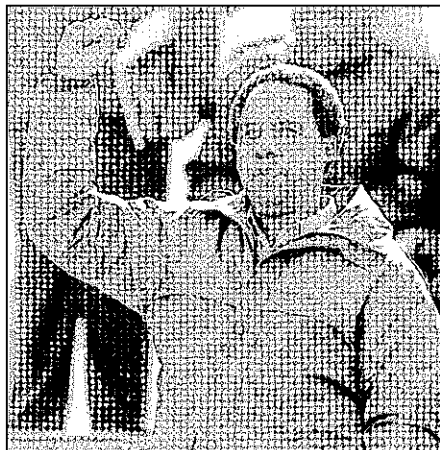
We leave *The Weekly Mail* to explain whether its own funding and circumstances detract from its credibility as a socialist mouthpiece and collectivist tool which encourages the maintenance of financial sanctions — with all the institutional violence and hardship that implies. ■

whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia, and who are now mostly employed commercially in Ethiopia and Lesotho. There will also be MK cadres with naval training, including Hani, as well as strategists, intelligence officials and weapons experts.

For most of the delegates, the arrival in SA last week was the first visit in many years as non-combatants. The focus of discussions will be on integration with the SADF, and the creation of a "depoliticised" SADF to oversee and "defend" the negotiations process.

Tokyo Sexwale, an MK senior commander, told the *FM* it is hoped that another conference will be convened by a group such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa). This might enable the SADF, MK and the various military groupings in the country (including those of the Left, the Right and homelands) to discuss integration and military policy for a new SA.

Says Sexwale: "We have to hold discus-



Hani ... full-time with the Communists

sions about a united, depoliticised army that will defend the process of negotiations, and thereafter protect the constitution."

These talks could begin soon after the "patriotic front" conference in Cape Town at the end of August, where the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other groups will try to form a united front for negotiations. They are also expected to look at future military strategies for SA, and the possibility of linking their forces. It will be the first time the three armies (such as they are) have held talks.

In February 1976, when he was a sports reporter and underground ANC activist, Nyanda left SA. While in exile he became commander of MK's Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983. He was appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. In 1988 he was seconded to Operation Vula, a key ANC-Communist Party project designed to overthrow or undermine the State, under direct control of Oliver Tambo (then ANC president).

Nyanda infiltrated SA in 1988 and was detained for four months last year when government detected Operation Vula. Since

January he has been at ANC head office, where he has been involved in organising township defence units.

Since last week senior MK commanders from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola have been arriving in the country. MK has increased its training in conventional warfare, particularly in its Ugandan camp. Some senior commanders are versed in conventional warfare: Hani, for instance, was trained in the Soviet navy, and Sexwale specialised in explosives and anti-aircraft artillery. But most MK soldiers are trained in guerrilla tactics.

Sexwale would not reveal how many combatants MK has. Journalist Howard Barrell, in his book, *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle*, estimates the total at no more than 5 000 men and women. But the figure could be higher, given the establishment of defence committees over the last two years.

The ANC envisages a small professional army for SA, according to Sexwale, with size determined by "threat analysis." There would be no conscription.

The MK conference will discuss training programmes to ensure that those MK members who do not wish to join a future army will have civilian skills in the technical, administrative, farming and para-medical areas. "Some senior MK members, who have indicated that they would like full-time military careers, are already undergoing specialist training," says Sexwale. Apparently such training still takes place in the Soviet Union.

Sexwale cautions against viewing integration in terms of "technicalities." He acknowledges SADF superiority in terms of numbers, budget, military schools and technical skills. But he argues that MK combatants have skills in certain areas — in particular, communications and guerrilla warfare — that the SADF could benefit from. Each side, he suggests, can learn from the other.

Sexwale rightly points out that for political reasons many blacks who might have been inclined towards military careers were prevented by political considerations. He also criticises the SADF for the low complement of black officers — though this has increased markedly in recent years.

SADF statistics provided to the *FM* show it has 162 non-white officers from the rank of second lieutenant upwards. Twenty-five are blacks, including two colonels; 14 are Indian, including one with the naval rank of commander; and the remainder are coloured officers, including two colonels. There is only one non-white pilot.

Sexwale was critical of suggestions that MK is inferior to the SADF. "We received advanced military training in Warsaw Pact countries. This was recognised when MK cadres were captured and brought before the courts. Then officials said these people were highly trained and dangerous."

The future role of Armscor will be discussed. MK is against its privatisation, and wants it to expand research to compete in the arms market.

Charlene Smith

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
FM 9/8/91.
Winning the peace

Operation Vula commander Sphiwe Nyanda (41) is expected to replace Chris Hani as chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Nyanda is at present the third most senior MK commander in SA, after Joe Modise and Hani (who is taking up a full-time position with the Communist Party).

Nyanda's appointment could be announced this weekend in Venda, at the first MK conference to be held inside SA. The 300 delegates to the conference include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots — some of

TALKS

Growing common ground

Negotiations on the political future are set to begin before the end of this year. The National Party government is impatient to get moving and the ANC has made it clear that it is almost ready for multi-party talks to begin. But the ANC first wants to see what alliances can be forged at the Patriotic Front conference, to be held in Cape Town on August 23.

This conference will bring together the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action; union groupings Cosatu and Nactu; sporting organisations such as the SA Congress of Sport; the SA Council of Churches; and leaders from Transkei, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and kwaNdebele. Inkatha has declined an invitation.

Those attending the conference will do so because of their background as avowed "liberation movements" or as supporters of the "liberation struggle" and because they share a commitment to a constituent assembly — though it is clear that this term is being defined very loosely.

The process envisaged by all the main players is that a multi-party conference should begin work as soon as possible. The conference is expected to start by trying to work out what sort of transitional authority should run the country while a new constitution is being negotiated.

Both the Nats and the ANC, the two major players, accept that a neutral government should oversee this transitional phase. But what kind of government? This is expected to take up many hours of debate. The issue of security force neutrality will also be critical.

However, concepts like "constituent assembly" could be confusing and the problem of definition could itself delay negotiations. Some spokesmen appear to assume that a constituent assembly would be elected in a nationwide poll. But this would in effect produce an alternative parliament. It is an option that government is not falling for and it has little chance of being accepted.

On the other hand, when major players have to come to terms with reality, they may be surprised at how much they have in common. The ANC, as far back as its January 8 policy statement, conceded that a multi-party conference, or all-party conference, could transform itself into the constitution-making body.

Government has accepted the principle of a transitional or interim government. Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen says the form it will take depends on the multi-party conference — which government is keen to see established as soon as possible.

Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, told a conference in Durban on Monday that it was "no longer possible for the majority of South Africans to trust government alone to over-

see the process of transition," particularly in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal. But Dhlomo says the ANC should not impede progress by demanding the resignation of the entire government.

The immediate difficulty, then, will be the structure of the conference. Which groups will qualify to take part? Who will chair the sessions? How will each organisation choose its representatives — and how many of them will be allowed? Will the Nats and the ANC have equal representation? Should neutral



Dhlomo



Viljoen

outsiders — businessmen, academics, lawyers — be called in to advise? Should resolutions be put and voted on? To what extent should the talks be secret?

Government is maintaining an open mind on these issues. Hannes de Wet, Viljoen's press secretary, says most of them will have to be worked out in exploratory discussions. He says a measure of agreement has already been reached with ANC representatives — but nothing has been approved yet by the national executive committee ■

Buthelezi: I don't fear Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A
9/8/91
stev

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday launched a scathing attack on Nelson Mandela, adding that he was not afraid of the ANC president.

Chief Buthelezi, who accused Mr Mandela of using "double standards" when dealing with the IFP leadership and the Transkei military government, said he had never been afraid of the Government, which could have put him in jail for his opposition to its policies, and there was no way he could now be afraid of Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi was responding to Mr Mandela's statement this week that he had allowed himself to be used by the Government and that there was no longer any difference between the Government and the IFP.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg on his return from a visit to Caribbean and Latin American countries on Wednesday, Mr Mandela said the Inkathagate scandal had shown there was no difference between the IFP leadership and the Government, and "they were all on the same payroll".

"In the light of the scandal, if

we have spoken to the Government we have also spoken to the IFP," Mr Mandela said.

On his return from China and Hong Kong yesterday, Chief Buthelezi told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport that Mr Mandela, whose statement showed "skewed logic", was guilty of using double standards "by sinking so low" in his attitude to the IFP while he embraced the Transkei leadership.

The IFP leader spoke of his efforts to frustrate the apartheid policies of B J Vorster's and P W Botha's governments over the years, his insistent calls for Mr Mandela's release, and his refusal to negotiate with the Government until political prisoners had been released and political organisations unbanned.

Informed

Chief Buthelezi said he and the IFP central committee were "never informed" about the Government's secret funding of his party.

He said the R250 000 received by his former personal assistant, Zakhele Khumalo, from the SAP on behalf of the IFP had not been used "to further an IFP alliance to smash the ANC. The two rallies funded by the SAP were held "in the national interest and not to promote the IFP."

Chief Buthelezi rejected "the ugly and unfounded insinuations" that Mr Khumalo had been forced to accept responsibility for the secret funding and resign. Mr Khumalo had resigned voluntarily "against very substantial pressure from within the IFP not to do so".

Promoted

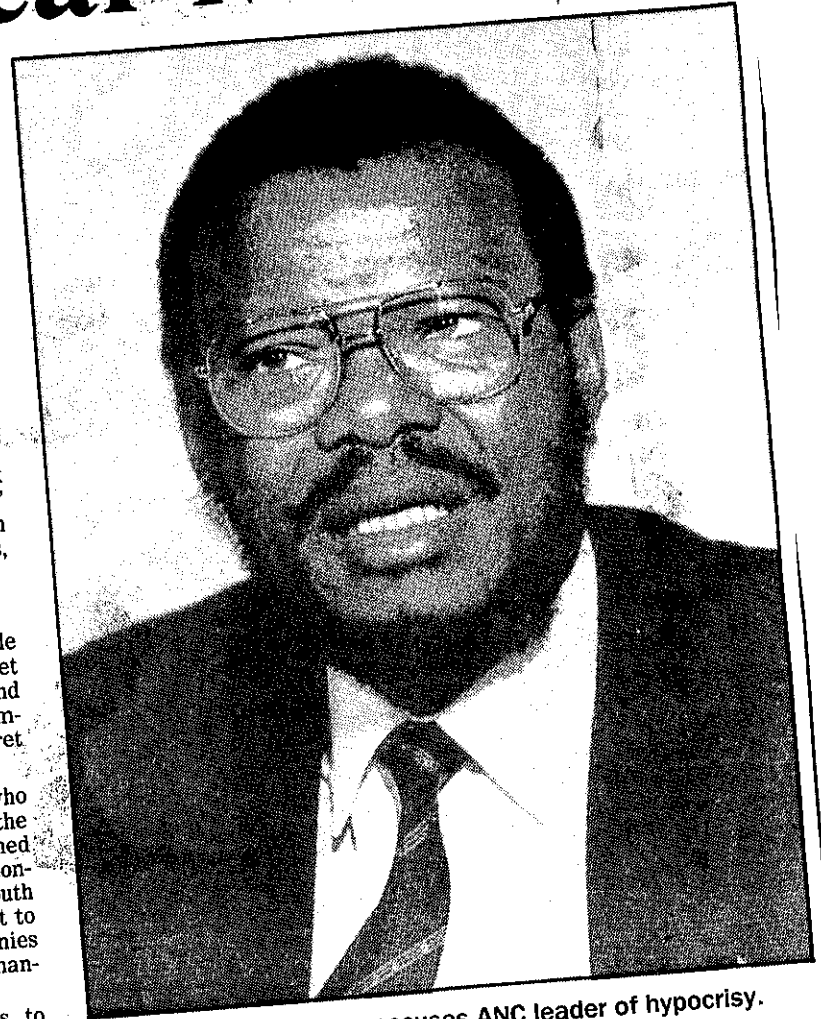
Responding to Martin Dolinchek's allegations that the then Bureau of State Security (BOSS) had promoted the IFP, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Dolinchek was "a discredited mercenary" who had been involved in an abortive coup in the Seychelles, and his credibility was zero.

Chief Buthelezi also:

- Welcomed President de Klerk's decision to bring secret funding under strict control and appoint a private-sector committee to advise him on secret projects.

- Thanked businessmen who were trying to raise the R250 000 which he had returned to the Government, and condemned the Congress of South African Trade Unions' threat to take action against companies which supported the IFP financially.

- Called on IFP members to close ranks "because these are bad times".



Chief Buthelezi . . . accuses ANC leader of hypocrisy.

League seminar aims at greater say for women

By Zingisa Mkhuma

The ANC Women's League PWV region will hold a one-day seminar tomorrow aimed at bringing together women from all political affiliations to formulate an alliance which would serve in a proposed women's charter.

The ANC's campaign officer, Ferosa Adams, said they hoped to form "some sort of independent alliance" which would concentrate on gender issues related to a future South African constitution.

"We have invited a broad range of women's organisations, including political parties, Ms Adams said. "We intend holding discussions on forming an alliance which would become national in future.

"What we've seen in other

Star 9/8/91
countries is that although women form part of the liberation struggle, they are often left out when a constitution is drawn.

"Gender equality and protection often does not get addressed. This would be the first consultation in the country as to how best we can ensure that women's rights are protected," she said.

The seminar, which is titled "Women raise your voice in a future constitution", will be held at the University of Witwatersrand and will be addressed by various speakers, including psychologist Dr Nono Makhudu and Wits sociologist Jackie Cock.

For more information telephone Ms Adams at (011) 29-8595.

The power behind the grin

Star 9/8/91

11A

2/11

A FEW years ago, during a wage dispute between the mine owners and the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa was the subject of a famous political cartoon.

He was pictured standing behind a mining magnate, whose face was contorted with discomfort. This was due to the fact that the caricatured Mr Ramaphosa's hand was up in-between his legs, squeezing his sensitive parts. The speech bubble had Mr Ramaphosa saying, sweetly: "Do I hear 30 percent?"

But the most striking element of the drawing was Mr Ramaphosa's face, at once brutally intelligent and innocently cherubic. It captured perfectly the political personality: a top-drawer charmer who exercises his considerable power with a winning, impish grin.

This is the Cyril Ramaphosa — NUM chief no more, but secretary-general of arguably the most powerful political organisation in South Africa — who will shortly become the ANC's full-time negotiations facilitator and strategist.

He was in full flight this week, in his new office at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters. He answered, under sufferance, questions asked about his new job definition and about the apparent parallel between his position and that of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who is being relieved of his Cabinet duties to become the National Party's negotiations pointman and chief marketer.

Mr Ramaphosa was much more animated when talking

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON in conversation with the ANC's tough-talking negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa.



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . wants a hand on the wheel.

about the political situation in the wake of Inkathagate.

For him, the exposure of Government funding for Inkatha is positive proof that an interim executive, drawn from the various key parties, is the only means of ensuring speedy and successful negotiations.

"We have a feeling that the Government is going to crash this ship," he says, "because it is not capable of piloting us through this stormy transitional weather.

"And I don't think there are many of us who want to end up on a political Oceanos. Not when we can see that the captain isn't fully in control, and might crash and run away.

"We intend to educate him

(President de Klerk) out of that bad seamanship. And one of the ways of doing so is to say: 'We want to educate you on the job, we want to hold the steering wheel with you.'

"Because at the moment Mr de Klerk is saying to us: 'Trust me. In spite of Inkathagate and everything, I want you to be in with me in a transitional arrangement. But I'm not going to admit you into the captain's cabin. I'll keep on opening the door and saying: how am I driving? Then I'll close it again.'

"Now we say: 'We want to be in there with you, and that's all we ask.' Mr de Klerk could actually find himself in a leading part of an interim government."

Mr Ramaphosa says he is not wedded to the particular terminology, but to the principle involved. "If the term 'interim government' is all they have problems with," he says, "I think most of us would be willing to call it something else.

"But I have a feeling that it is much more than the term that they have problems with. Therein lie the seeds of a deadlock. And I think Government would be misdirecting itself if it thinks it can still infuse faith and confidence in the transitional process, with its hands still on the steering wheel."

Mr Ramaphosa believes that as a result of Inkathagate "our (the ANC's) case has become

greatly strengthened because many people have now seen that this Government is not going to be capable of ensuring that the transition period is smooth. If this Government remains in control, there are going to be many, many pitfalls which might delay the process — and even reverse the process to a certain extent."

Will the dramatic Cabinet changes not make a difference? Mr Ramaphosa ponders for a while before answering. "I think Mr de Klerk's new Ministers will serve him well. In fact, I have no doubt they will serve him and the objectives he wants to achieve well. The new Cabinet, or the reformed Cabinet, will be fully behind him.

"But I am not so sure if, in the end, the changing of the Cabinet will mean much change in the way the Nationalist Government has been thinking and doing things. One could say that to us, it might seem as if it is just the musical instruments that have been changed. The orchestra plays on."

Mr Ramaphosa was finally inveigled into talking about his altered post and its apparent mirror within the National Party. He dealt with second things first. "I am uncomfortable with the (Van der Merwe) parallel," he says, adding with a grin before the obvious question could be asked: "But don't ask me why."

Had he asked for the re-allocation of duties? "I'm not saying" he laughs, but then concedes he has "found this job involves a lot of work". □

(11A) (3077)
CT 9/8/91
PAC rejects interim govt

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. —
Mr Benny Alexander,
secretary-general of the
Pan Africanist Congress,
said this week that his
organisation rejected
the idea of an interim
government because it
would not be an elected

government based on
democratic elections.

Speaking in Centenary
Great Hall, New Brigh-
ton, he said an interim
government was a form
of replacing an illegit-
imate government with
another undemocratic
structure.

Talks likely in October, say Ministers

B/D ay 9/18/91

(11A)

GOVERNMENT, the ANC, and other major parties were likely to start meeting for negotiations as early as October given good faith by all concerned, senior Cabinet Ministers said yesterday.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen is also expected to make an announcement on a multiparty conference at a news briefing today.

The parliamentary select committee on constitutional development, made up of all the political parties represented in Parliament, also met yesterday to discuss developments towards convening the multiparty conference.

The Ministers said they welcomed the recent indications by the ANC's national executive committee and its president Nelson Mandela that the two sides were drawing closer.

However, the ANC demand for a "sovereign interim government" to replace the current government was still a major stumbling block.

Viljoen yesterday rejected the ANC demand for an interim government as "not acceptable under any circumstances". But he did accept that some form of transitional arrangements, where other groups such as the ANC were brought into the Cabinet, was necessary.

One source believed that once the parties were involved in a multiparty conference, they would find solutions to most of the remaining problems, possibly including some compromise between "transitional arrangements" and "interim government".

BILLY PADDOCK

Another source said that one helpful result of the Inkatha funding scandal was that it seemed to have strengthened the ANC's hand and given them the confidence to now push for negotiations.

Government believed that before the lengthy process of continuous negotiations started, there would have to be a series of *ad hoc* meetings between the major and acknowledged political parties and organisations.

These parties would include the NP, ANC, PAC, Inkatha, Azapo, the SACP, the other parliamentary parties except the CP which has so far refused to participate.

At these meetings, the parties would take two or three days to thrash out issues such as the agenda of the multiparty conference, the number of representatives each party would send to the conference and how it would be chaired.

The major negotiations in the conference would not get off the ground before next year because of the preparations required, and the different groups' schedules that could cause delays, the source said.

The way was clear to get the urgent business of drafting a new constitution on the road now that some of the major obstacles to talks were being removed. These included the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the progress of the peace initiative to end the township violence.

The source said government was ready to start the process immediately and the NP would need no more than a month to

□ To Page 2

Talks B/D ay 9/18/91

fine-tune and fully prepare itself.

President F W de Klerk had announced to the world last week that he wanted the talks to start soon.

The NP was based on a federal structure and it was expected that its team of negotiators would probably consist of the four provincial leaders: Finance Minister Barnd du Plessis (Transvaal), Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett (Natal) and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee

(11A) (20/91) □ From Page 1

(Free State).

There would also be a back-up NP team that would probably include incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe and Viljoen.

Last week De Klerk told a news conference that the first item for discussion by a multiparty conference could be an interim government or some form of transitional arrangement. But he made it clear that this had to be within the framework of the current tricameral constitution.

The Call for a Patriotic Front

Part 2

11A

New Nation (Learning/N) 9/8-15/91

The struggle to build fronts of progressive organisations

Since the unbanning of progressive organisations in February 1990, there have been calls for the formation of a Patriotic Front (PF). The front will bring together organisations which are committed to the struggle for a non-racial South Africa based on majority rule. Although the call for a PF is happening under conditions which are different from any in the history of struggle in South Africa, it is not the first time that attempts have been made to bring together progressive organisations in a united front against the government. In this article, we will look at some of these attempts.

The All African Convention (AAC)

Like most capitalist countries in the world, South Africa experienced an economic depression from 1929 to the mid-1930s. Workers and their families were badly affected by the recession. The state also made matters worse by pass laws, increased taxes and police raids. The state attacks, together with the policies followed by organisations of the oppressed people, weakened the working class movement. By the mid 1930s both the ANC and the Communist Party were very weak.

In 1935, in the context of this weakness of organisation, the state introduced laws which removed Africans in the Cape from the common voters' roll, established the Native Representative Council and also promised to increase the land reserved for Africans to 13% of the land of South Africa. The Native Representative Council (NRC) was a body something like a community council. The bills which introduced these changes were known as the Hertzog Bills.

In response to these laws the President of the ANC, Seme and Professor Jabavu called a meeting of all oppressed people's organisations in December 1935. The aim of the meeting was to oppose the Hertzog Bills. About four hundred representatives from many organisations attended the meeting and the All African Convention (AAC) was founded. The meeting passed resolutions rejecting all the bills and also agreed that meetings of protest should be organised all over the country. It was decided to make the AAC a permanent body and to send a deputation to the government. But the AAC was dominated by conservative leaders who preferred delegations to the government and opposed any militant action. Militants from the SACP failed to turn the AAC into a militant organisation and the various organisations failed to take up any joint campaign outside of the national meetings.

The Hertzog bills were passed in 1936. When the AAC met in June 1936, Jabavu and other conservatives in the AAC decided to participate in the elections to the Native Representative Council, although they had rejected it the year before. But although the majority agreed to participate, the AAC could not even put up common candidates to the NRC. What also happened during this period was that the workers movement began to recover from the defeats of the early 1930s. Unions began to grow again, workers went on strike in many factories and struggles were taken up in the townships. In 1937 the people of



Benoni rioted against the state's attempts to enforce pass laws and tax collection through the Native Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1937. The AAC failed to take up these struggles and towards the late 1930s the AAC became less and less effective as a political force that could defend the people against the state. The main weakness of the AAC was that it failed to take up militant action around the Hertzog Bills and also around the daily issues affecting people in the townships and rural areas.

There were also other attempts to build unity in the 1930s. The other important attempt was the Non European Unity Front (NEUF). NEUF was formed in Cape Town in 1938 and was made up of trade unions, political parties and cultural societies. The NEUF supported the principle of working class solidarity and also organised a big mass meeting against racial laws. This meeting in March 1939, ended in a riot as police attacked the people. NEUF was also formed in the Transvaal and also campaigned against the suppression of Indians in Natal in the 1940s.

The United Democratic Front (UDF)

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s there were other attempts to unite organisations against the government. One such example was the South African United Front (SAUF). The SAUF was formed by the ANC, PAC and SWAPO soon after the banning of organisations in 1960. It was formed in exile and it collapsed in 1961. The main reason for its collapse was that it was formed at a time when the organisations could not cement their unity through mass action on the ground. The 1980s, however, saw the growth of the most powerful and militant front in the history of South African struggle.

Like the AAC in the 1930s, the UDF was formed as a response to government attempts to introduce legislation that is aimed at preventing majority rule. The UDF was launched in August 1983 in Cape Town by two thousand delegates representing more than five hundred organisations. The organisations included civics, student organisations, trade unions, religious organisations, political organisations and women's organisations. At its launch

the UDF passed resolutions opposing the Tricameral Parliament and the bill by Koornhof which aimed at causing further divisions among people. But the UDF was different to the AAC in many ways.

Whereas the AAC was formed when the mass movement was in retreat and organisations were weak, the UDF was formed in a period of intensifying mass struggles. Since 1976 many mass struggles were waged in many parts of South Africa and many organisations were formed on the ground. In 1980 there were schools boycotts all over the country and during 1981 and 1982 many community struggles as well as factory struggles broke out in the Transvaal and other parts of the country. These struggles included bus boycotts, anti-Republic Day campaigns, strikes over wages and consumer boycotts.

The second important difference with other fronts in the past was that in the UDF there was strong representation of organisations which took up the daily issues like civics. The presence of these organisations is what made the UDF a militant front. Although the UDF was formed to oppose the Tricameral Parliament most of the struggles taken by its affiliates were over local issues like rents, transport, educational struggles and so on.

In order to facilitate its work the various organisations of the UDF came together in an Area Committee in the townships. Although the AAC had also tried to form organs of the Convention at a local level it failed because these organs were not connected to mass action at a local level. But the UDF also had some weaknesses. Its greatest weakness was that although many struggles were taken up under its banner the UDF did not always succeed in centralising them. For instance, although many areas were involved in housing struggles the UDF did not develop a national programme of action on housing and it also failed to facilitate the formation of a national civic organisation.

From the experience of the AAC and the UDF it is clear that a strong front can only emerge as a combination of mass struggle on the ground and the centralisation of these struggles at a national level.



Hani ...giving the party a face

AFTER securing a massive vote of confidence within one organisation, a politician promptly announces he plans to lead another. It is hardly surprising that Chris Hani's latest move has sparked furious press speculation.

On a request from the SA Communist Party, the charismatic Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief of staff looks set to move full time into the SACP as assistant to secretary-general, Joe Slovo. Sources believe the party's congress in December may confirm him as Slovo's successor.

If the African National Congress agrees to release him — and it seems likely — he will relinquish his positions both in MK and the ANC's full-time national executive committee, the National Working Committee (NWC), while retaining his NEC seat.

Following hard on the heels of the

Did Hani jump? IIA

Was Slovo pushed?

W/ma 9/8-15/8/91

When top figures in the Communist Party shuffle about, there's bound to be excited speculation. Alas, this time, the banal reality seems to be: The commies are telling the truth. **By DREW FORREST**

ANC's national conference, at which Hani polled more votes than any other candidate in elections for the organisation's leadership, the move has raised eyebrows.

Some commentators have interpreted it as a sign of the growing distinction between the ANC and the SACP and of the diminishing role of MK in the run-

up to negotiations.

A symmetry between his departure and the demotion of Pretoria's arch-hawk, defence minister Magnus Malan, is also detected — Hani is even seen as having been "sidelined". Other observers believe long-standing tensions between Hani and MK's commander, Joe Modise, may be a factor.

The reality, SACP and ANC sources unanimously confirm, is much more humdrum. While conceding that pressures within the ANC for greater distance from the party are growing, they insist this has nothing to do with the issue.

They stress that the initiative came from the SACP, and that in view of Hani's huge popularity, particularly with militant youth, some ANC leaders were unhappy about releasing him.

"There were already complaints about Slovo spending too little time on party work because of his ANC responsibilities," said one source. "Now Slovo is on the NWC — who else is there to take over?"

Elaborated the SACP's Jeremy Cronin: "We have a lot of emotional sup-

● Continued on PAGE 21

Mandela in Brazil: home from home

w/mail 9/8-15/8/91

11A

By COLIN DARCH: Rio de Janeiro

"WHEN I look at your faces," African National Congress president Nelson Mandela told a racially mixed Brazilian crowd at a meeting held in his honour here last week, "I get the feeling that I'm at home."

His remark prompted a cartoonist on one of Rio de Janeiro's daily papers to ask sardonically the next day whether the "home" referred to was in apartheid or post-apartheid South Africa.

Though both the ANC and the Brazilian government had their own specific agendas for Mandela's five-day visit at the head of an 11-person delegation, the simmering issue of race relations in Brazil kept bubbling to the surface.

Indeed, at the end of his trip, Mandela admitted to the president of the Brazilian Supreme Court, Sidney Sanches, that he had sensed considerable bitterness among Brazilian blacks over racist practices prevalent in their society. However, the ANC president added diplomatically that recognising racism is the first step towards eliminating it.

Despite the visit's poor organisation and a hectic schedule, both sides made small but significant gains from the encounter, at least at the level of practical politics.

Mandela and the ANC came away with a promise from President Fernando Collor that Brazil will keep in place the sanctions which it has applied since 1985. But the ANC's appeal for financial assistance fell on deaf ears in both the public and private sectors.

There is no doubt that this will be a major disappointment to the ANC. Indeed, the "strategic objective" of the visit, according to Carlos Alberto Cao, labour secretary in Rio de Janeiro and the man who carried the invitation for Mandela to Johannesburg last year, was precisely to raise political and, above all, economic support for the democratisation process.

On the Brazilian side, the foreign ministry had clearly hoped to get Mande-

la's approval, as a courtesy, for the upgrading of the embassy in Pretoria to full diplomatic status again. For several years the ministry has left the embassy under a charge d'affaires, as a gesture of disapproval of South Africa's racial policies, but now wants to upgrade to full ambassadorial level again.

After his meeting with Collor, Mandela was cagey and would only say that the ANC would "consider the possibility" of supporting the proposal.

The sanctions presently applied by Brazil cover oil and arms sales, as well as sports and cultural boycotts, in conformity with international practice. Outside these areas, there are close commercial relations between the two countries.

There are also large-scale South African investments in Brazil. Anglo American has investments in such sectors as mining and citrus-fruit production, as well as in giant shopping complexes in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and in the world's largest coffee plantations at Alfenas.

For the Brazilian public, however, the point of Mandela's visit was that a black hero had arrived and was receiving VIP treatment from the state. Brazil has stringent laws against racism, but despite this "black" remains synonymous with "poor" for most of the country's white minority. Blacks are rare in the higher levels of business or government, and it is even unusual to find black waiters in high-class restaurants.

Mandela is a legend in Brazil and he was able, in five days and four cities throughout the country, to attract vast crowds. It is probable that only the Pope could do as well.

Winnie Mandela received a heroine's welcome. Her hour-long tête-a-tête with Brazil's first lady, Rosane Collor, was devoted to discussion of social-work projects and received almost as much media attention as their husbands' encounter.

Giving flesh to the notion of interim government

w/ Mail 9/8 - 15/8/91

A CREDIBLE interim government will involve not just placing representatives from other parties in the cabinet, but tampering with the civil service itself, says Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the African National Congress.

In a wide-ranging interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week, Ramaphosa said the prime areas of joint control that the ANC would be aiming for would include the security forces and the broadcasting media, but added "I think you have to go way beyond that".

The Inkathagate scandal has transformed the political scene in South Africa, cutting through the impasse over political-prisoner releases, the return of exiles and the township violence, and opening the way for an all-party conference to begin the real task of negotiations.

Both the government and the ANC agree that item number one on the conference agenda will be an interim government or "transitional arrangements", but the actual shape it will take is still only a hazy outline in the minds of both major parties.

Ramaphosa said that within the ANC there is an intensive discussion on how to give flesh to the notion of an interim government.

"Whilst it holds out the dangers of co-option, if it is properly structured, the dangers are much reduced," he said.

"By an interim government, we are talking about a sovereign body which will be vested with the instruments of state power.

"We will no doubt have the National Party and all other parties participating.

"There's also the question of the civil service — the real rockbed of apartheid. It is the civil service that has to run elections, and if you're not going to tamper with the way the civil service works, then the end result is going to look like an apartheid government.

"The concept of an interim government will become much clearer for us when the consultation process among our members has reached its conclusion and also at the all-party conference, when our proposals on the table will have been gone through thoroughly. What is clear is that we do not want to go through the transition process with a De Klerk government.

"I think De Klerk has set his mind against giving up the sovereignty of his government. There is some hope, to the extent that he is prepared to talk, and we will be going in there to demonstrate to him that an interim

The actual shape of an interim government is still only a hazy outline. Cyril Ramaphosa, the man at the helm of the African National Congress in the past weeks, provides an insight into ANC thinking.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

government is the best route to be taken."

Ramaphosa said the significance of the interim government for the ANC was that it would be an insurance policy during the negotiations.

"Its overall importance has to do with injecting confidence in the whole negotiation process. The feeling on the ground is that there is very little that you can trust in De Klerk and in a Nat government.

"Because they cannot be trusted, they cannot therefore act as player and referee and hope to hang on to the reins of power. Government can have a very big influence on whatever settlement emanates.

"I think if we allow the Nat government to proceed in government, we will actually be making sure that we have a recipe for disaster afterwards.

"Apart from the fact that they are going to undermine agreements that we've reached, there's a chance that we might be forced to get into agreements that may not be popular or we might be forced to get into agreements of convenience with them that will never last the test of time."

Ramaphosa said among the elements that would be regulated by an interim government would be the police, the defence force and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

"An interim government will not just be political involvement. It will go beyond to include the operatives to ensure that the interim government will be fully involved in the structures of the police force and the defence force."

Ramaphosa said another concept the ANC was dealing with was the role of the international community during the transition phase, but that it was still a bit early to see whether they could play the same role as they played in Namibia.

"There is a case to be made out for the involvement of the international community. They have been involved in a number of

other conflicts and have been involved in South Africa in an indirect way in terms of putting pressure through sanctions and the adoption of the Harare and United Nations declarations.

"A case can be made for their direct participation, but it is premature to say how. But things have advanced to a point where we think the involvement of a neutral party in the negotiating process is going to become a reality.

"We have to decide who that neutral party will be, who will convene the all-party conference, who will chair it, and so forth.

"We've had success with neutral players already — that is, the church and business — in the peace talks. One cannot say whether they will be called to play that role in the constitutional process."

Ramaphosa said he had not yet settled in his own mind how the all-party conference is to be convened.

"Government envisages a meeting to talk about planning an all-party conference. That could involve the government and the ANC, and at that meeting there could be agreement on handing over to a neutral party that could convene a planning committee where all parties are represented."

Ramaphosa said it was not inconceivable that the all-party conference would sit this year or at the beginning of next year.

"Preparatory things have to be done — invitations have to go out, you have to check the credentials of every organisation, criteria have to be agreed on, and so forth.

"But there are many pitfalls along the way, just as there are hopeful points. Depending on how all parties participate in the process, we may find that we speed up the process and reach rich, good agreements or everything comes to a standstill. We as the ANC are hopeful that we will be able to steer clear of the pitfalls."

On ANC co-operation with Inkatha, Ramaphosa said: "We cannot run away from the fact that Inkatha is also a player on the political scene. What we have said is that we're going to review our relationship with Inkatha because it has proved that it's not an independent political party, as we thought it was.

"That review will be taking place at all levels — regional, branch, national — and when it is completed, we will be able to take a position."

Ramaphosa said the obstacles to negotiation would still have to be removed, but "the main emphasis now is on the removal of the major obstacle — the government".

Chris Hani's move: what does it really mean? (11A) Argus 1991

THE ANC will hardly be the same without Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani in the foreground.

Some of his fiery speeches and tough statements have given him a hawk-like image. Without him the ANC's leadership will be like the De Klerk government without General Magnus Malan.

A puzzling aspect of the unexpected change in Mr Hani's position is that his experience as soldier and military leader appear to be lost to the ANC when he becomes a full-time communist party boss.

Many questions have been raised about the move, but so far there are few answers.

Why did he decide to change his role at a time when the issues of violence, security and the future of MK members are unresolved? Does it reflect disension inside the ANC's lead-

The political mystery of the week is the surprise shift of Mr Chris Hani from his key role in the military wing of the African National Congress to a full-time job in the SA Communist Party. Political circles are abuzz with speculation about the meaning of this move, but so far there are no convincing explanations. **Week-end Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE** examines some of the clues.

ership structures, or is there a hidden agenda which makes the SACP's role all-important at this stage of the "struggle"? Explanations offered so far by members of the ANC/SACP alliance are not convincing.

It may be, as is claimed, that Mr Joe Slovo needs to give all his attention to his role in the ANC's negotiating team, but it is argued that surely there are other competent people who can fill the gap in the SACP.

Political analyst and risk consultant Dr Wim Boooyse sees the move as part of an SACP plan to pave the way to a socialist system.

He says the ANC/SACP alliance has regained its self-con-

fidence and feels assured of victory for the ANC in democratic national elections.

The SACP's sights are, therefore, already set on the new government to be elected after a political settlement has been reached by negotiation.

This is where Mr Hani comes into the picture. The role Dr Boooyse sees for him will be that of a super-salesman who would have sold the SACP's socialist dream to the ANC's working-class masses by the time a new post-negotiation government is in power.

Mr Hani, a dedicated communist and one of the most popular leadership figures in the ANC, is undoubtedly the

man for the job.

Some observers question the feasibility of such a move when Mr Hani's experience and leadership ability are needed in the ANC's military wing. Will his talents not be wasted in his new SACP role?

On the other hand, it is argued that this very illogicality may be a clue to a hidden agenda held by either the SACP or the ANC or both.

Could it be that Mr Hani is merely retreating into the background for tactical reasons before negotiations get under way? Is he taking a low-key role because his hawk-like image, especially in some government circles, is not wanted in the foreground right now?

Dr Boooyse, who has studied the ANC/SACP alliance over the last 12 years, expects Mr Hani is being groomed either to succeed Mr Slovo as secretary-general of the SACP or to become chairman in place of Mr Dan Tloome, who is expected to retire because of ill-health.

Dr Boooyse sees Mr Hani's task in the SACP as largely one of recruiting more members to strengthen the party. Unlike some observers, Dr Boooyse does not foresee a split between the SACP and the ANC, but believes their alliance is as solid as ever and is likely to endure for a long time.

Once a new government is in place, the SACP may adopt the

role of a pressure group in a bid to move the new government towards socialism.

It is known that the SACP remains committed to a socialist system, regardless of differences on this issue with the ANC, which has moved away from nationalisation and some other socialist ideas.

In the words of Mr Slovo: "As a party we do not hide our socialist objectives. It is our duty to spread the message of an ultimate socialist society now. In this respect we differ from the ANC even though the differences are non-antagonistic."

And then, in a recent statement which may now cast some light on Mr Hani's new task, Mr Slovo said: "It is the task of our independent party to ensure that in this inter-class lineup of forces, working-class interests are not swamped, that the working class is organised as a powerful constituency..."



□ Chris Hani — will be lost to ANC.

It's jackets and ties as Umkhonto shows its human face

THOHOYANDOU — The much-feared "terrorists" of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress's military wing, put away their camouflage uniforms and AK-47s and came out of hiding this week.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) presented a studiously civilian image at its first national conference, which started in the capital of the Venda homeland yesterday.

Ceremony

At the opening ceremony the only uniform was worn by a non-MK member: Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana when he welcomed the 250 delegates.

The former guerillas themselves — four generations of them from all phases of MK's 30-year armed struggle — were togged out in civvies, many in neat jackets and ties.

If there was any uniform, it was

Star 10/8/91
the cool "urban camouflage" of leather jacket and jeans.

And there were none of the irritating youths toting wooden AK-47s who invariably hang around such events. It was clear that this was no co-incidence and that an instruction had gone out.

"This is the first time MK is showing its face to the public. I hope you found it human and not too frightening," said MK chief of staff Chris Hani, sporting a snazzy sports jacket and smart tie.

And indeed, shorn of military trappings, the men and women of MK were, not surprisingly, human.

Like George Molebatsi, the commander of the unit which carried out the bloody "Silverton Siege", the famous occupation of a Pretoria bank early in 1980, when three MK men and two white civilians died.

Lounging at the pool deck of the local hotel, wearing casual slacks,

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

shirt and loafers, this slight 38-year-old does not look the part.

He has just served 12 years in prison, even though he was betrayed and captured before the siege happened.

As the former guerillas emerge from hiding, or exile or prison, a different view emerges of events so garishly portrayed at the time.

Mistake

Mr Molebatsi is anxious to explain that the taking of hostages at Silverton was a mistake. When he was captured, his subordinates abandoned the original mission, to sabotage petrol tanks, and did their own thing.

"It was made clear to us that no civilian targets should be attacked," he said.

Although there have been rumblings of dissatisfaction among MK members about the ANC's decision last August to suspend armed actions, this is not apparent when talking to ordinary MK members at the conference.

Another commander, Len Tsela (39), who fled to East Germany in 1975 to receive military training after writing his teacher examinations, captures the general feeling when he says: "The armed struggle was an extension of the political struggle. When the struggle could be suspended and negotiations had a chance, we had to take it."

Mr Tsela frequently travelled in and out of the country through "green borders" (unofficial routes) evading capture until indemnified this year.

He is deliberately vague about his operations — conducted mainly in the Soweto area — describing them

only as "sabotage and even attacking enemy personnel".

Tapsy Diseko, attending the conference from MK's underground structures in Zimbabwe, says there was some unhappiness in the camps when armed action was suspended.

But that was mainly because they were taken by surprise. He heard about it on BBC radio.

"When it was explained, it was accepted as a decision that our leaders saw fit to take. We don't want to see bloodshed."

The conference is all about finding a new role for MK in a peaceful South Africa, and these soldiers — like their white counterparts — are anxious about their role in a civilian future.

It is not yet clear whether they will serve in self-defence units, in the new army which MK hopes will soon be formed, or have to look for jobs in civvy street.

Give up control of army, Mandela tells FW

Star 10/8/91
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PATRICK LAURENCE

THOHOYANDOU — Hundreds of trained African National Congress guerillas yesterday heard their commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, call on President de Klerk to surrender control of the security forces to an interim government of national unity.

Speaking at the first legal conference inside South Africa of the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela used the occasion to step up pressure on Mr de Klerk to accede to growing demands for an interim government "within an unambiguous time-frame".

Time

In the text of the speech, Mr Mandela set 18 months as the "outside limit", but in his actual address he did not stipulate a specific time.

Later, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa drew loud acclaim from ANC combatants when he advised them to ensure that the ANC leaders did not compromise in their negotiations with the Government.

General Holomisa, who has a close friendship with Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, said: "We would like to witness a situation where the ANC would not bend its resolve to have an interim government established as a matter of extreme urgency."

The Transkei leader rejected as "malicious" the allegations that the Transkei Defence Force was integrating ANC insurgents into its ranks.

He did, however, admit that there was co-operation between the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto, and called on the ANC to evaluate Transkeian soldiers to see whether their training was good enough to assure them of key positions in the new South African army.

Another leader who spoke at the conference was Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the military ruler who seized power in Venda in a bloodless coup last year. He is committed to the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa, and was given a standing ovation before and after his address.

At the same briefing session, the ANC introduced to the public for the first time several of its military commanders, at least half of whom are members of the SA Communist Party.

The commanders who fielded questions from journalists included Mr Hani; Ronnie Kasrils, former ANC intelligence chief; Tony Yengeni; Che O'Gara; James Mahaya; Rashid Patel; Walter Ma-taung and Jackie Molefe (the only

woman on the panel).

Mr Hani said Umkhonto was accountable to the ANC, not the SACP. He and his comrades refused to quantify the proportion of communists in Umkhonto's upper echelons, arguing that the secrecy which shrouded the SACP until very recently made it impossible for them to give an estimate.

Asked to comment on grievances (referred to as "complaints" by Mr Mandela) among Umkhonto members, Mr Hani admitted that logistical problems were affecting the flow of supplies to camps in neighbouring countries.

Prisons

Cadres returning to South Africa from exile or emerging from prisons did not have an easy time either, Mr Hani said.

Most former ANC soldiers were unemployed.

Another grievance had been a breakdown of communications between the ANC leaders in South Africa and the men in certain camps, with the result that combatants were angered when they heard about the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

These problems would, however, be discussed openly at the conference and recommendations would be made to the ANC leadership.



PAYING HOMAGE: a cleaning woman at the University of Venda kisses the hand of Winnie Mandela as Nelson Mandela looks on. Mr Mandela yesterday opened the first Umkhonto we Sizwe conference inside South Africa.

Surrender control, F W

Mandela intensifies pressure at MK indaba

SKW
10/8/91
PATRICK LAURENCE (11/1/91)

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Later, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa drew loud and prolonged acclaim from ANC combatants when he advised them to ensure that the ANC leaders did not compromise in their negotiations with the Government.

General Holomisa, who has a close friendship with Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, said: "We would like to witness a situation where the ANC would not bend its resolve to have an interim government established as a matter of extreme urgency."

The Transkei leader rejected as "malicious" allegations that the Transkei Defence Force — which is currently expanding — was integrating ANC insurgents into its ranks.

He did, however, admit that there was co-operation between the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto, and called on the ANC to evaluate Transkeian soldiers to see whether their training was good enough to assure them of key positions in the new South African army.

Standing ovation

Another black leader who spoke at the conference was Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the military ruler who seized power in Venda in a bloodless coup last year. Committed to the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa, he was given a standing ovation before and after his address.

At the same briefing session, the ANC introduced to the public for the first time several of its leading military commanders, at least half of whom are members of the South African Communist Party.

The commanders who fielded questions from journalists included Mr Hani; Ronnie Kasrils, former ANC intelligence chief; Tony Yengeni, from the western Cape; Che O'Gara; James Makhaya; Rashid Patel; Walter Mataung and Jackie Molefe (the only woman on the panel).

Mr Hani stressed that Umkhonto was accountable to the ANC, not the SACP. He and his comrades refused to quantify the proportion of communists in Umkhonto's upper echelons, arguing that the secrecy which shrouded the SACP until very recently made it impossible for them to give an estimate.

Asked to comment on grievances — referred to as "complaints" by Mr Mandela — among rank-and-file Umkhonto cadre, Mr Hani admitted that logistical problems were affecting the flow of supplies to camps in neighbouring countries.

Cadres returning to South Africa from exile or emerging from prisons did not have an easy time either, Mr Hani said. Most former ANC soldiers were unemployed.

Another grievance had been a breakdown of communications between the ANC leaders in South Africa and the men in certain camps, with the result that combatants were angered when they heard about the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

These problems would, however, be discussed openly at the conference and recommendations would be made to the ANC leadership.

An old debate revived

DEAR Comrades.
Our Party has and is suffering owing to being too Europeanised ...

European (I use the term in its correct sense, not for "white") language is not blindly applicable for South Africa ...

Here, national oppression, discrimination and exploitation confuse the class war and the majority of the African working population are more national conscious than class conscious ...

I suggest that the Party become more Africanised or Africanised ... In reality, it should be a Party working in the interests and for the toiling people in South Africa, and not a Party of a group of Europeans who are merely interested in European affairs.

With revolutionary greetings.
Yours fraternally."

No, this is not a newly-leaked document on current debates within the South African Communist Party. It is, in fact, 57 years old, having been written on February 23 1934. But it still has a bearing on the shifts taking place in the SACP now, in August 1991.

The letter selectively quoted above is the work of the late Moses Kotane, one of the most outstand-

Undercurrent
Affairs
SHAUN
JOHNSON



ing and effective activists produced by the communist cause in South Africa. He was convinced, all those years ago, that the party's language — and, to an extent, its leadership — was too European to strike a chord among the majority of black South Africans.

Kotane, a deeply committed nonracialist, was not suggesting that whites did not belong in the party, rather, his implication was that they had to reorientate themselves, and that as a corollary African members had to assume more prominent leadership roles.

A simple question thus arises: Is the likely accession of Chris Hani to the top position in the SACP a modern-day outgrowth of that old debate?

There is reason to believe that this is, in part, an explanation for the surprising prospect that the ANC's most popular NEC member will soon swop his black, green and gold cap for a red one.

Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils, to name but two SACP leaders, are

extraordinarily popular in the townships, particularly among the militant youth. But the potential appeal of Hani — himself a product of those townships — is inordinately higher. Kotane's words resonate.

It makes perfect sense, from the SACP's pre-election vantage point, to make Hani's the face of communism on the billboards. It is also true, as SACP officials point out, that Slovo has been devoting much of his energy to ANC work, to the inevitable detriment of the SACP. And besides being charismatic, Hani is a highly respected organiser. The party could not hope to find anyone else nearly as effective.

Party sources say Slovo's election to the ANC's National Working Committee — a kind of "shadow cabinet" — makes it essential that someone else take over the effective day-to-day control of the SACP. But this does not explain everything. Hani was also elected to the NWC: Why should he, and not Slovo, decline that position in favour of the party? It is difficult to conclude that the "Africanising" factor did not play a part in the decision.

A more intriguing element of the mystery, though, is why Hani him-

self seems prepared to make the move. He could surely have refused — after all, he was not so much on a fast track within the ANC as on a flight path.

His admirers say they are not surprised. They say the man is a dedicated socialist, and a loyal SACP member who thrives on working with the militant grassroots — he simply looks happier toying at a rally in battle fatigues than in a three-piece suit on the way to a meeting at the Union Buildings.

His detractors are more cynical. He is taking a calculated risk, they say, banking on becoming a more powerful player as top dog in a smaller organisation, than as one of many second-tier leaders in a big one.

But amid the speculation that there is an incremental distancing between the ANC and SACP — there is, and will be, but it is not the same as a "split" — observers would be unwise to conclude that Hani's days as a high-ranking official of the ANC are over. He retains his seat on the National Executive Committee. And it is not impossible that he could still one day become a president of this country — wearing the black, green and gold more prominently than the red.

Hundreds at MK congress

CT 10/8/91

THOHOYANDOU, Venda. — A last-minute surge has doubled to about 500 the number of delegates attending the first conference inside South Africa of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Stringent security measures have been set up at the University of Venda in the far northern Transvaal, where the three-day national conference, which began yesterday, is being held.

At least 60 senior MK commanders have arrived from outside SA, mainly from MK camps in Uganda, Angola and Tanzania.

A senior ANC source at the conference confirmed that there was a possibility the delegates would appoint a new MK chief of staff, replacing Mr Chris Hani who is set to take up a full-time position in the SA Communist Party.

The ANC has not yet responded officially to an SACP request to relieve Mr Hani of most of his ANC duties.

Signs that an announcement was imminent were fuelled by news that the ANC's so-called "shadow cabinet", its National Working Committee, had met in Johannesburg on Thursday.

According to speculation at the conference, Operation Vula commander Mr Siphwe Nyanda, 41, is the most probable successor to Mr Hani.

Mr Nyanda is at present the third most senior MK commander inside SA, and has recently taken over many of Mr Hani's duties in MK. — Sapa

Inkatha scandal 'moved ANC to urgency'

PRETORIA. — The Inkatha scandal had had the advantage of making the ANC take a more urgent stand about the start of a multi-party conference, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

At a press conference here on the latest developments in South Africa's negotiation process, he said he particularly welcomed a recent statement by the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, that he was ready to get an all-party conference going by September.

Dr Viljoen said the government's "own business-like approach" was in "stark contrast" to the ANC's stance of demands and ultimatums.

The government and the ANC and its allies had the same interest in getting the process towards a multi-party conference going.

'Media dismay'

Dr Viljoen said it was his impression that there had been more dismay among the media than the broad public about the government funding of Inkatha.

The government's view on a transitional arrangement was that not only the demands of the ANC had to be met.

"We believe it is not just a question of a sharing of power but co-responsibility for all involved."

The government was not in favour of a facilitator from outside South Africa for the negotiation process, but supported the use of expert advice on facilitating.

On the National Party forming an "embryo alliance" with other groupings, Dr Viljoen said this was a matter of strategy and tactics. The NP aimed to win an election in an alliance with others. — Sapa

Interim

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CT 10/8/91

govt: ANC 'flexible'

Own Correspondent

THOHOYANDOU. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday signalled a new flexibility on the thorny interim government issue.

In his opening address to Umkhonto we Sizwe's first legal conference in South Africa, at the University of Venda, he said the "modalities of its installation and its actual composition can be a matter for discussion and negotiation among all the players on the political arena".

The ANC would insist on only two principles:

● "The first is inclusivity, so that no body of political opinion feels excluded." This will go some way towards addressing the fears of those who believe the organisation's proposals for an interim government would amount to little more than an ANC government.

● "The second is a definite and unambiguous time frame." It has been suggested in ANC circles that this should be no longer than 18 months.

Mr Mandela painted a picture of what he envisaged as the process that should be followed.

"For an interim government to assume office will require that the in-

cumbent government resign and hand over power to the transitional administration.

"The interim government would have to take charge of all armed and security forces in the country, adopt an interim bill of rights, supervise and conduct the elections for a constituent assembly in addition to implementing other measures necessary to prepare the country for democracy," he said.

Mr Mandela also returned to the recent ANC decisions to maintain MK in combat readiness, establish MK structures around the country and to create self-defence units.

"Because of our keen awareness of the dangers inherent in the minority regime's determination to cling on to power... we dare not relax our vigilance and we dare not permit this MK to disintegrate or whither away," he said.

He added that "we are called upon to prepare ourselves and restructure MK so that its cadres can take their rightful place in the armed forces of a democratic South Africa".

Mr Mandela paid lavish praise to those countries that have backed MK during its 30 years of existence. They included Angola, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Egypt, the USSR, Cuba and China.

THOHAYANDOU. — The ANC had planned to invite the SA Defence Force and the KwaZulu Defence Force to its first military wing conference inside South Africa, but "Inkathagate" had dashed this, said a senior ANC source at the start of the three-day meeting here yesterday.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa is attending in his capacity as chief of the Transkei Defence Force.

The defence forces of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu were not invited to attend, the source said.

Plan to ^(11A) invite ~~(S)~~ SADF ^{10/9/91} dashed

The conference is being held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou.

"Initially, the ANC had planned to invite the South African Defence Force and the KwaZulu army to attend the MK conference, but Inkathagate dashed this," the source said.

They would have

been invited to attend yesterday's opening session, and allowed a "limited input".

General Holomisa said he would be delivering a detailed message from the Transkei government to the MK conference.

KaNgwane's former chief minister, Mr Enos Mabusa, and a delegation from Contralesa (Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA) are also attending the conference.

Former SADF officer Mr Nico Basson and his newly-formed "Soldiers for Peace" have confirmed their attendance, the ANC source said. — Sapa

MK puts on its civvies

11A
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THOHOYANDOU (Venda). — The “terrorists” of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress’s military wing put away their camouflage uniforms and AK47s and came out of hiding this week.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) presented a studiously civilian image at its first national conference which started in this capital town of the Venda homeland yesterday.

At the opening ceremony the only uniform, ironically, was worn by a non-MK member Brigadier Gabriel Ramashwana, Venda’s military head of State, when he welcomed the 250 delegates.

The former guerrillas themselves — four generations of them from all phases of MK’s 30-year armed struggle — were togged out in civvies, many of them in neat jackets and ties.

If there was a uniform it was the “urban camouflage” of dark leather jacket and jeans.

And there were none of the irritating youths toting wooden AK47s who invariably hang around such events.

It was clear that this was no coincidence and that an instruction had gone out.

“This is the first time MK is showing its face to the public. I hope you find it human and not too frightening,” said MK chief of staff Mr Chris

PETER FABRICIUS

Political Staff

Hani, sporting a snazzy sports jacket and smart tie.

And indeed, shorn of military trappings, the men and women of MK were, not suprisingly, quite human.

Like Mr George Molebatsi, the commander of the unit which carried out the bloody “Silverton Siege”, the famous occupation of a Pretoria bank early in 1980 when three MK cadres and two white civilians were killed.

Lounging at the pool deck of the local hotel, wearing casual slacks, shirt and loafers, this slight 38-year-old does not look the part.

He has just served 12 years for it — even though he was betrayed and captured before it happened.

As the former guerrillas emerge from hiding, or exile or prison, a different view emerges of events like this.

Mr Molebatsi is anxious to explain that the taking of hostages at Silverton was a mistake. When he was captured, his subordinates abandoned the original mission to sabotage petrol tanks and did their own thing.

“It was made clear that no civilian targets should be attacked.”

Although there have been rumblings of dissatisfaction among MK rank-and-file about the ANC’s deci-

‘Hope you find us human’

sion of last August to suspend armed actions, this is not apparent talking to ordinary MK members at the conference.

Another commander, Mr Len Tsela, 39, who fled to East Germany in 1975 to receive military training after writing his teacher examinations, encapsulates the general feeling when he says “the armed struggle was an extension of the political struggle”.

“So when a chance arose that the struggle could be suspended and negotiations had a chance, we had to take it.”

Since his departure, Mr Tsela has frequently travelled in and out the country through “green borders” (unofficial routes) evading capture until indemnified this year.

He is deliberately vague about his operations — mainly in the Soweto area — describing them only as “sabotage and even attacking enemy personnel”.

Mr Topsy Diseko, attending the conference from MK’s underground structures in Zimbabwe, says there was some unhappiness in the camps when the ANC decided to suspend armed action.

But that was mainly because they were taken by surprise. He heard about it on BBC radio.

“But when it was explained, it was accepted as a decision that our leaders saw fit to take.

“We don’t want to see bloodshed. We mandated them to negotiate and make the necessary decisions.”

Topsy is wearing the closest thing to a uniform at the conference; khaki shirt and longs but with no colours or insignia.

His views sound a little too much like the party line. Is he a political commissar or a purely military man?

“Can’t you tell? He’s military,” quips one of his companions. “You can see by his AWB uniform.”

This conference is all about finding a new role for MK in a peaceful South Africa and naturally these soldiers, like their white counterparts, are a little anxious about their roles in a civilian future.

Everything is uncertain and it is not clear yet whether these people will serve in self-defence units, in the new army which MK hopes will soon be founded or have to look for jobs in civvy street.

Unity a critical issue 114 ARCTUS 10/8/91 at Patriotic Front talks

HOWEVER ideologically disparate the ANC, PAC and Azapo may be, their Patriotic Front conference, to be held in Cape Town early next month, is not to be underestimated.

The three organisations will be the main players at the three-day talks, but participants will cover a much broader spectrum of non-system politics. Delegates from 40 organisations are expected.

Apart from the well-known veterans, there will be representatives from the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), from cultural, sporting, church and professional bodies, and from the homeland governments of Gazankulu, Transkei, Venda, Lebowa and Qwa Qwa. Even the Labour Party has expressed an interest in attending.

It could turn out to be the most significant meeting to be hosted in Cape Town this year.

The central policy issue will undoubtedly be affirming and streamlining the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government to run the country while constitutional talks are underway.

The Inkathagate scandal has endowed this demand with a measure of legitimacy the government must deeply regret.

Even the Democratic Party is saying only a government of national unity can adequately ensure a trustworthy administration during the transition to a new order.

On the other hand, the Patriotic Front meeting, which is bound to clarify issues surrounding this question, could be of some help to President De Klerk inasmuch as it could conceivably hasten the calling of all-party talks.

But there is a more important aspect of the Patriotic Front conference that, again, the government must be watching with anxiety.

It is what ANC rising star Trevor Manuel describes as the process of "shortening the negotiation table".

What does he mean? In essence, he means the formation of a tightly-knit constituency, an amalgam of several powerful organisations, who would act as one in constitutional discussions.

This would mean that instead of, say,



Michael Morris



Dennis Cruywagen

A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

10 extra-parliamentary representatives each pursuing his or her own organisation's distinct goals (all seated at a long table), the government and its allies would be faced with a smaller and more powerful caucus acting as one.

Such unity will not be easy to achieve and it remains to be seen how the Patriotic Front conference will seek to create it.

Clearly, though, the potential for creating it makes next month's meeting a critical date on the negotiation calendar.

THE dust jacket of Frank Vorhies's new book, *Comprehending Karl Marx* (Juta, R23,95), punts it as an overview of Marx "through the eyes of a liberal critic".

One can't help thinking that it is, rather, a capitalist critique of Marxism, and that *Comprehending Capitalist Antipathy Towards Marxism* ought to be its title.

These initial impressions might or might not be valid. What is interesting about the book is that it actually is a debate of sorts.

Vorhies — US-trained, now a lecturer in business economics at the University of the Witwatersrand — has liberally used, albeit selective texts from Marx, Engels, Slovo and others against which to pitch his own pro-free market liberalism. To that extent, at least, it offers an opportunity for personal judgment.

In fact, the book evolved from a series of lectures he gave at Wits on Marx and why Marxism is a disaster area.

His conclusion, succinctly enough, is that "a liberal democratic government is incompatible with Marxism".

For anyone who wants to understand the global intellectual antipathy towards socialism, Vorhies's book is probably a good place to start.

Among its strengths is a 13-page list of selected readings at the back.

THE death of Cape Town photo journalist Mr Aziz Tassiem in a car accident last weekend removes from the political beat one of its best known faces, and a journalist who championed Press freedom in an environment in which it was constantly embattled.

In his time, Mr Tassiem, 27, faced teargas, bullets, batons and severe press restrictions, but he stuck to his task, following Visnews cameraman Jimi Matthews to where the news took them.

Ironically and sadly, it was their pursuit of a hard news story — the sinking of the Oceanos — rather than the political tumult which itself has cost so many lives, that led to his death.

SCREAMING Lord Sutch's Monster Raving Loony Party is a well-liked detractor in British politics and it is probably to the detriment of South Africa's well-being that we don't have something similar.

But it is clear some South Africans are sick and tired of established political parties.

One of them is H J Mangin, who believes that "the challenges of life are too complex to be left to professional politicians". He proposes forming a new party, the Real Alternative Party (RAP), committed to minimum government, and "real action policies".

RAP would cut off treasury funds to nine government departments — Constitutional Development, Development Aid, Agriculture, Public Works and Land Affairs, Water Affairs, Trade and Industry, Transport and Mineral and Energy Affairs — and sell off parastatals. It would scrap control boards and several other key quasi-government corporations.

And RAP would scrap income tax, VAT, excise taxes and import duties and replace them with a land tax, a petrol tax and a national lottery. The lottery is a punchy "real action policy" since, as Mr Mangin points out in a letter to Weekend Argus, it will "make at least one new millionaire a week".

That would presumably be some consolation to the thousands who'd lose their jobs in the real action shake-up RAP would inflict on the civil service.

Mandela firm on interim government

11/10/81

ESTHER WAUGH

11A

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THOHOYANDOU. — The ANC will insist on a definite time-frame for establishing an interim government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the government's "range of criminal and near-criminal" behaviour demonstrated the need for interim rule.

He was speaking at the national conference of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe at the University of Venda yesterday.

In a prepared speech given to the Press, Mr Mandela said 18 months were the limit of a realistic period to establish an interim government. However, he made no mention of this period when he delivered his speech.

Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani said Umkhonto we Sizwe had already begun preparing itself for a new defence force by sending some of its members to various countries for regular army training.

Mr Hani said the ANC leadership had not yet decided about the Communist Party's request to relieve him of his ANC duties, including his Umkhonto we Sizwe position.

How ANC's top soldier plans to 'arm' the SACP

SI Times 11/8/91 11A

CHRIS HANI has a problem. He is about to assume leadership of a party that has few members, little money and embraces a severely discredited ideology.

But the enormously popular Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff who is intent on becoming the leader of the South African Communist Party is undaunted by the challenge.



NEW ROLE ... Chris Hani

Since its unbanning on February 2 last year, the SACP has attracted just 15 000 members.

The reasons for this can be summed up in these broad categories:

- Its top members have been involved almost exclusively in ANC work;
- A lack of money;
- A failure to establish a clear identity separate from the ANC;
- Its struggle to come to grips with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

Where the ANC now has its own building, Shell House in Johannesburg, which is peopled with hundreds of organisers and assistants, the SACP headquarters consist of three rather dingy offices in Cosatu's National Acceptances House. There are

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

only five full-time staff members.

With the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the SACP has lost its chief source of funds. It survives now on savings built up from the largesse

of communist leaders in the pre-Gorbachev era, membership subscriptions and the sales of its publications. But the SACP offices are piled ceiling high with unsold copies of its mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*.

The leadership election at the ANC congress in Durban in July was proof that individual members of the party are among the most popular in the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. Mr Hani topped the polls while SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, Vula trialists Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj and unreconstructed Stalinist Harry Gwala, all finished in the top 10.

Heirs

While this means they are able to wield enormous influence within the alliance, the party itself has suffered because they devote almost all their time to ANC work.

It has been left to the "third team", SACP publications officer Jeremy Cronin, who is also a member of the ANC national executive committee, publicity officer Essop Pahad and administrative secre-



JOE SLOVO

tary Geraldine Fraser to hold the party together.

Why then has Mr Hani — who, with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, is among the heirs apparent to Nelson Mandela's throne

— decided to give up a powerful position in MK for a seemingly impossible task of building the party.

He is set to take over as deputy secretary-general now with the likelihood of being appointed secretary-general at the SACP congress in December.

First, he is a dedicated communist who believes the SACP has been instrumental in transforming "the ANC from a moderate, national liberation movement into a radical one which moved from the politics of mere protest to the politics of challenge".

The SACP, he believes, has to expand its base to enable it to effectively represent the interests of workers in the alliance.

Split

Second, he is aware that MK's role is rapidly diminishing and, as someone who sees himself as a politician rather than a soldier, becoming *de facto* leader of the SACP provides him with an opportunity to play an important role in forthcoming negotiations.

A third reason which Mr Hani identified in an interview this week is to build up the SACP to withstand the pressure the ANC is experiencing from foreign governments, business and some churches to split from the party.

To do this, the SACP will have to be transformed from a small party in which leading activists are able to wield influence out of proportion to their numbers, into one which has mass support.

It will also have to end the secrecy surrounding its membership.

Mr Cronin said this week: "I don't see any particular strong reason why people who want to be communists and remain communists should not announce that they are. Those who are not, or decide to let membership lapse, should do so."

The date set for this

"coming out" is the party's congress.

Mr Hani is clearly hoping that his personal popularity will attract thousands of workers to the SACP. Despite the collapse of communism around the world, he argues that the legacy of apartheid makes South Africa an exception.

Time

Referring to a cartoon published in an afternoon newspaper which depicted him and Joe Slovo on a sinking ship, he said: "They simply have no idea of the attraction we have to the working class. We have really not exploited this potential support."

Separate

"I am not sure that we are able to convince them of this because they ask why we need a separate party and the ANC. That is a challenging question."

It is a question made more challenging by the fact that, in the short and medium term, the SACP has no separate policy platform to that of the ANC.

Another challenge facing Mr Hani is that in leaving MK when most of its men are still in camps, he runs the risk of being accused of deserting them.

But to do this, Mr Hani will have to persuade workers that it is necessary for them to shell out a R2 membership fee to the SACP, an annual R12 fee to the ANC and whatever union dues they might have to pay to Cosatu.

Mr Cronin says the greatest difficulty the SACP has faced is to get people to make the time to attend party meetings.

"The kind of people we attract are also hyper-active in the civics, their union and their ANC branch. It is a question of getting people to prioritise and also convincing them that the party has a particular role to play."

THE ANC has announced that it now accepts Congressman Stephen Solarz's "multi-billion dollar" light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel aid package for post-apartheid South Africa. An advance, yes. Unfortunately, we do not know precisely what it is that the movement has accepted.

Nor is there much clarity on why the movement delayed as long as it did before endorsing the plan.

Disorganisation is an answer that comes easily to some. Others say it was disagreement over the low-income housing assistance Mr Solarz wants to make available before a new regime is installed.

Mr Thabo Mbeki has pointed to an early draft of the letter Mr Solarz proposes to send to President Bush, which suggested that the US Congress might support the lifting of sanctions in return for the administration adopting the aid programme, a trade-off that is now moot.

IF any, or all of the above, are the full explanation of the ANC's dither, fine. But one is reminded of the saying "God is in the details".

The devil may lurk there too.

Here is a critical detail of the Solarz plan. The development assistance, investment incentives and trade advantages it promises are contingent not only on the election of a new, non-racial government, but on the kind of policies that government chooses to adopt.

The plan, as the author himself has stated, is modelled on the \$10-billion "Multinational Assistance Initiative for the Philippines". It was worked out



SIMON BARBER'S Washington

STimes
11/8/91. Diary

between the Reagan administration and key US allies in 1988 at the urging of a bipartisan group of Congressmen, among them Senator Richard Lugar, then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the progressive neo-conservative Congressman Jack Kemp, Senator Alan Cranston, a liberal Democrat, and Solarz himself.

"The basic concept behind the MAI," states a recent congressional report reflecting the consensus views of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "is that of a quid pro quo. The willingness of the US and other donors to provide a significant increase in resources to the Philippine Government will continue to be contingent on the demonstration of its willingness and ability to enact fundamental economic reforms."

The report goes on to note that the committee "strong-

ly supports the economic reform agenda" worked out between donors, as represented by the MAI Consultative Group, and the IMF.

The agenda is entirely market-oriented. It includes foreign investment incentives, privatisation, price deregulation and tariff, financial sector and tax reform.

In short, the basic thrust of the MAI is unmistakable: if Manila implements the kinds of policies that will ensure that donors' money is not being poured down another Third World sink-hole, then the US and its allies will be generous. If not, then tough luck.

At this embryonic stage, the South Africa initiative is no different in its approach. The commitment of foreign resources will be highly conditional on a new government's behaviour.

THE question therefore is: does the ANC wholeheartedly accept what will be expected of it in the event of it becoming the new government? If the answer is yes, three cheers. The anti-liberalisation, anti-market, anti-foreign investor and lender arm of the liberation alliance has been out-gunned. If no, the ANC's acceptance of the plan is deceitful.

An important indicator will be how the ANC's friends in Congress attempt to tamper with the authorising legislation as it moves through the House and Senate, probably next year.

If attempts are made to weaken the conditionality, or somehow contrive to make the aid tap difficult to turn off once it has been turned on, we will know the ANC's approval is insincere.

We will find the devil in the details.

The ANC, the army and the KINGS OF THE KRAALS

STWES

11/8/91

11A

48P

CHIEF MABOE MASEMOLA is a woman in the middle.

Situated discreetly behind her Lebowa kraal is a South African army encampment of over 20 soldiers who, she says, protect her from a faction in the village which wants to oust her.

Down the road from her kraal lives her brother, Tlokwe Mase-murule, an ANC organiser in the region and a trained MK soldier. He says the army presence prevents him from organising an ANC branch in the village.

Here is the irony. Chief Mase-mola says she supports the ANC. But her survival as chief of the Bapedi people living in 13 villages in the south of Lebowa depends on the SADF.

Trouble

Chief Mase-mola's bind is not uncommon throughout the Lebowa homeland and reflects that it is not so much ideology that determines the battle lines in these rural areas but personal power.

More than 80 percent of Lebowa chiefs claim to be members of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralasa) but, beneath the rhetoric, many of them do not oppose the army presence because it suits them.

And the chiefs' determination to retain their positions seems to suit the SADF, whose presence in villages throughout Lebowa serves as a cold shower to ANC activity.

EDYTH BULBRING reports on a slice of rural South Africa where politics are anything but predictable

The simple reality is that, in many areas, the chiefs, Contralasa members or not, have become unpopular with their supporters because of corruption and unfair taxation.

Chief Mase-mola's position in the village is tenuous. Being a woman, she cannot attend the meetings of the councillors, and is consulted by the councillors only when a decision is needed.

She became chief two years ago when her husband, the chief, died. Shortly afterwards, a group of teachers and pupils marched to her kraal waving an ANC flag demanding that she stop the traditional practice of circumcision and stand down as chief. They also demanded that the practice of unpaid labour for the chief be scrapped.

It was only days after this incident that the South African army arrived and set up a base in the village. Chief Mase-mola says she has no idea who called them, and an army officer will only talk vaguely of "consultation" preceding the platoon's arrival.

At first Chief Mase-mola and her subjects were not happy with the SADF presence, but row relations were harmonious, she said. The SADF, explained Chief Mase-mola, was in the village to

protect her and her people from troublemakers who were trying to oust her — people like businessmen, intellectuals and even ordinary villagers who wanted to install another chief.

As long as there were elements in the village who wanted to take over her position, she needed the SADF in her village, she said.

Over at the army base, a young lieutenant, who refused to be identified, explained his presence differently.

He said the unit helped the chief with security and keeping control over the people as there was only one policeman. While there had been no trouble in the village for some months, there would be trouble if the soldiers left, he said.

Tension

"People like the ANC and PAC — they are the ones causing the trouble — keep a low profile in the village because they know about us here," he said.

The lieutenant seems oblivious of Mr Mase-murule standing only a metre away. The ANC organiser's eyes glint with amusement — but he keeps silent.

Mr Mase-murule returned to Mase-mola village last year after serving six years on Robben

Island for undergoing military training and furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

He said his task of organising the ANC branch in the village was difficult as people felt intimidated by the soldiers.

A meeting held in April at one of the other villages under his sister's control was disrupted by the army and he was arrested and taken to his sister. He was released on her instructions.

Chief Maphoha, of the Gama-phoha village over the mountain, was also questioned by SA security police in July after he signed the ANC's signature campaign for an interim government.

Chief Mase-mola allows ANC activities in her villages — ANC meetings are held at her kraal — but does not actively encourage or discourage them. There are, however, those who do promote the organisation.

Chief Tserere is one. He has ruled his Mphahama tribe for 16 years and says he has been an ANC member since 1956. In his village he has an active civic organisation, which works with his councillors, and an ANC branch, of which he is a member.

He says he encourages his people to follow him into the ANC.

Relations with the civic organisation are good, he says — but only as long as the civics do not challenge his traditional authority.

For, while Chief Tserere welcomes "democratic" change, there is one thing he will not



THREATENED: Maboe Mase-mola stand for — an undermining of his authority.

If anyone tried to undermine Chief Tserere, he would "face the bullets".

"If the tradition of chiefs dies then the tradition of queens in England must die. Even the ANC cannot intervene in this tradition. That would lead to bloodshed," he said.

Chief Tserere's critics do not take him lightly. He served 12 years in prison for killing his sister. Her crime: trying to sell the traditional land to white property owners.

Chief Tserere graciously insisted that we observe protocol by eating a meal before he allowed us to go. We ate the full plate of goat meat under his gaze as he explained the depth of his loyalty to the ANC.

Recently Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike launched a

political party in the homeland called the United People's Front — an attempt to forestall a strong ANC presence in the territory and create for himself a negotiating platform during constitutional talks.

Chief Tserere was approached by officials from the United People's Front asking him to join. They promised him cars and money if he did so.

He told them: "In our tradition, only a wife can be bought". He has 10 wives and 39 children.

Northern Transvaal ANC official Lawrence Phokanoka says he expects that there will be tension between the two organisations, but that things will settle down in the long run.

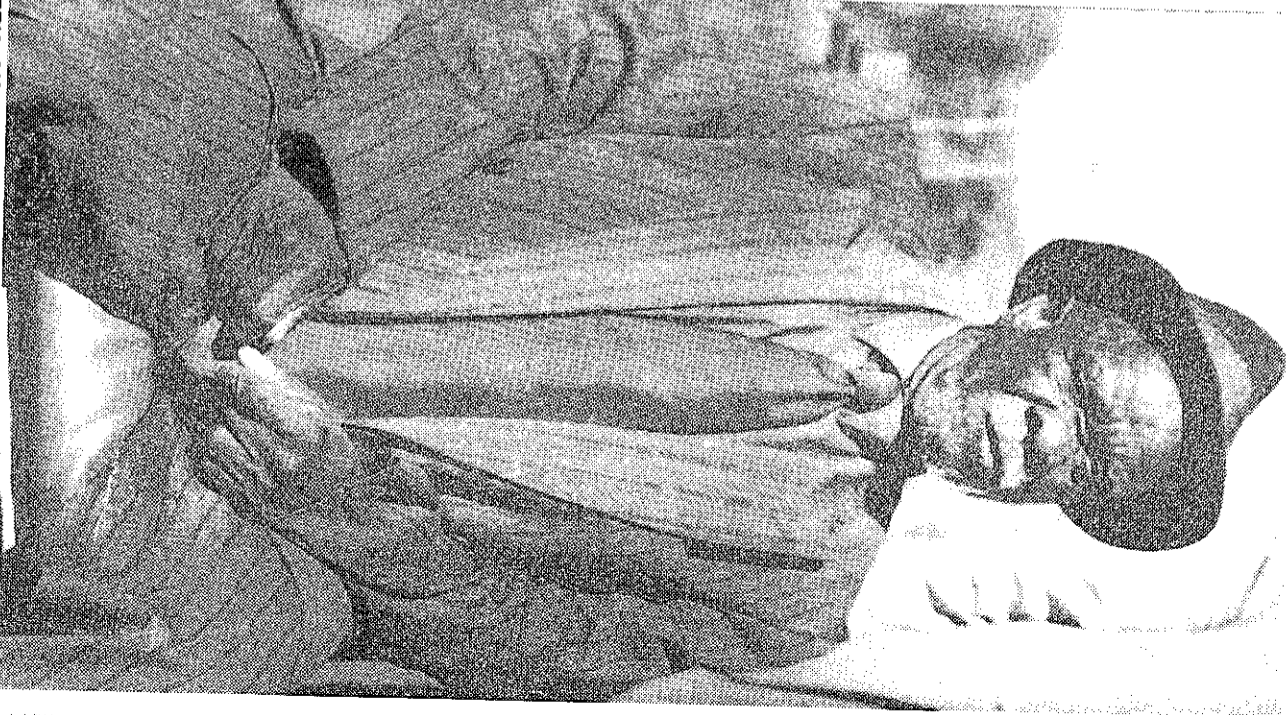
Intense

Chief Alfred Kekana is also a Lebowan. He is easy-going about most things — neither complaining about the army's presence (although he believes they broke protocol by not asking permission to camp in his area) nor flaying in his support for the ANC of which, he claims, he is a member.

Where he does become intense, however, is when he talks about his own position of power.

"Any government that can ever dream of abolishing chieftainship is making a grievous mistake because we will stand up and fight. Chiefs are royal blood," he says.

Mr Phokanoka says the strategy of the anti-apartheid movement towards chiefs has changed



FIERY: Alfred Kekana says chiefs will fight to retain their power

since the unbanning of the ANC. Where there was an attitude of confrontation, this had changed to attempting to win the chiefs over to the ANC, he said. If anything, co-operation allowed the ANC to organise in the villages, he added. The battle for hearts and minds in these rural areas is far distant from the tumult of the cities — but no less intense.

'Gebuza' tipped to lead MK

BY LEN KALANE (11A) (877)

THE elusive "General Gebuza" was the most sought-after ANC commander during the underground armed struggle.

As the commander in the Transvaal, his name popped up in most terror trials in the Transvaal. It was a familiar name to a number of judges, magistrates and officials within the State security apparatus. (11/18/91)

It was - and still is - the MK name of Sphiwe Nyanda, the man hotly tipped to take over the MK reins from the outgoing Chris Hani, whose leadership is now being sought by the South African Communist Party.

If he does not take over, another senior commander, Tokyo Sexwale, will probably head the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto WeSizwe. But it is expected Nyanda will be appointed chief of staff in Venda this weekend at the first MK conference to be held inside South Africa.

He is at present the third most senior commander in South Africa after Joe Modise and Hani. He apparently got to be well known in larger South African circles during Operation Vula days. He was the commander of the elite unit under the direct command of Oliver Tambo, then ANC president.

Operation Vula was smashed last year by Security Police in Durban. The operation included the infiltration of ANC military commanders into South Africa and the establishment of arms



SIPHIWE NYANDA ... the man who led Operation Vula.

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

caches and safe houses in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, with the aim of expanding a revolutionary army in South Africa in order to create a national uprising.

In addition to the four known key members - SA Communist Party members Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils and top MK members Nyanda and Janet Love - seven others were assembled at the home of ANC president Nelson Mandela, then deputy president.

These included former *Daily Dispatch* journalist Charles Nqakula and others, Vusi Shabalala, Christopher Manye, Mo Sheik, Solly Shoke, Mpho Scott, Ivan Pillay, Jabu Sithole, and Faied Jadwat.

Since last week, senior MK commanders from camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola have been arriving in the country for the Venda conference. The 300 delegates to the conference reportedly include more than a dozen Soviet-trained pilots - some of whom have fought in air battles in Angola and Ethiopia.

Nyanda left the country in February 1976 - four months before the June 16 Soweto riots when he was a sports reporter for the banned *World* newspaper - and went underground.

He became MK commander of the Transvaal urban region from 1977 to 1983 and appointed chief of staff for the Transvaal from 1983 to 1987. It was in 1988 that he was seconded to Vula.

He infiltrated South Africa during this period and when Vula was detected, was arrested and detained for four months. The Vula operatives were released after they were granted indemnity and charges against them dropped.

But according to Sphiwe himself, he has been in the country on many occasions for special missions successfully carried out without any arrests. During those days, he was strictly known as "Gebuza".

TODAY, on the soil of our motherland, we have come together to collectively chart the way forward for our army.

We are meeting at a time in our country's history, pregnant with great possibilities for the realisation of our people's most heartfelt aspirations, but at a time also fraught with the gravest dangers of reaction and counter-revolution.

What we do and say in the next two days will and must have a crucial bearing on the entire future course of our people and our country. We have set ourselves an immense task. We dare not fail.

When the ANC met in national conference during July, among the decisions taken were a number with a direct bearing on MK. We resolved at our national conference that:

■ MK should remain combat ready.
■ MK should establish structures throughout the country at all levels.

■ The ANC has the duty to maintain and develop MK as a fighting force until a democratic constitution has been adopted with a view to the integration of its personnel into a new defence force.

■ MK should play a role in training and establishing popular defence units, under the control of community organisations, to defend our communities against State-sponsored violence and crime.

We reject the simple equation of apartheid with specific laws and legal measures. We are dealing with a comprehensive system of domination which cannot be unpacked into laws which, if repealed, will imply its demise.

The most visible and dominant conflict in South Africa was that between the oppressed black majority and the oppressor State.

But, while in other colonial systems the colonising State existed outside the borders of the colony, in our case the colonial State and the colonised lived within one territory.

In South Africa therefore the struggle must result in the destruction of the colonial state and not only the system of colonialism.

Our struggle is essentially a struggle for national liberation. Civil rights, civil liberties and the other universally accepted rights would be achieved by national liberation and not the other way around.

Freedom would come as the oppressed black masses themselves consciously engaged in struggle and not as a gift from the oppressor.

Victory is dependent on the active and conscious participation of the masses determining their own destiny through struggle.

For the ANC and its allies to secure that participation the movement must be integrated with the masses, enjoy their confidence and be capable of providing overall leadership.

The ANC and the alliance of liberation forces that

it heads, have always acted on the basis that it is in actual struggle that masses will acquire the political experience to mould themselves into an effective and victorious political force.

Strategically this dictated that the regime must find itself confronted with struggles carried out in a variety of ways - strikes, boycotts, mass rallies, civil disobedience campaigns, demonstrations, cultural and other manifestations - all directed at achieving the conscious unity of the masses.

Tactically, this required that the popular movement provide the conditions in which the ANC's underground structures could function and survive.

But, survive to multiply themselves by imparting to the masses the necessary political and military skills.

Plotting the path ahead for Umkonto

The forces of national liberation and democracy were also to encourage the formation of organisations of the oppressed to draw the greatest number of our people into active struggle.

The fundamental strategic weakness of the oppressor State is its narrow social political base. The forces of apartheid therefore continuously seek ways to undermine the potential unity of the

oppressed by encouraging ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious distinctions. They also embarked on attempts to create organisations and encourage movements that represent sectional and other divisive interests.

The renewal of organised mass opposition and resistance to the institutions of racial domination was the central feature of South African politics during the 1980s.

This period was characterised by mass revolt, near-insurrection; the growth and consolidation of a Mass Democratic Movement; the unification of the democratic trade union movement under the banner of Cosatu and the proliferation of mass organs of struggle among the oppressed.

The single most enduring facet of the upheavals was the emergence of a broad strategic alliance under the leadership of the ANC.

The ignominious defeat of an abortive invasion of Angola by the South African regime in 1978 created the pre-conditions for the emergence of new progressive forces among the white population who were increasingly attracted into the political orbit of the ANC.

Our demonstrated capacity to challenge the regime militarily, plus the evident growing influence our movement exercised among the mass of our people helped concentrate the minds of the regime on a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

We said also that negotiations cannot be a substitute for the national liberation struggle. They can and must only be an aspect of the movement's strategy, employed at a specific moment to attain our stated and historic objectives.

It was from that perspective that the ANC entered into the process leading through the Harare Declaration to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

We took this path not because we had become tired of fighting. We took this path not because we thought we are incapable of defeating the enemy. We took it because of our firm conviction that we should exhaust every opportunity to resolve peacefully the crisis into which racism has plunged our country.

The ANC has loyally, scrupulously and very faithfully observed the letter and the spirit of all the agreements.

Can President de Klerk and his Cabinet make the same claim? In the teeth of the orchestrated covert campaign to finance, train

State-sponsored violence, massive covert destabilisation operations, the systematic assassination of our regional leaders and other supports of the ANC, our movement has made every endeavour to keep the peace process on track.

Can President de Klerk and his Cabinet make the same claim? In the teeth of the orchestrated covert campaign to finance, train

and address special words of thanks to all those friends and allies, from every part of the world who assisted us in building, training and maintaining our people's army.

Thirty years ago when a small tightly knit group of us took the inescapable decision to create and build Umkonto weSizwe, we were in many respects taking a step into the unknown.

I want to use this occasion to salute and address special words of thanks to all those friends and allies, from every part of the world who assisted us in building, training and maintaining our people's army.

We are called upon to assist the masses in devising the appropriate response to state-sponsored violence.

Our response is to state-sponsored violence. We are called upon to assist the masses in devising the appropriate response to state-sponsored violence.

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Our response is to state-sponsored violence. We are called upon to assist the masses in devising the appropriate response to state-sponsored violence.

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week addressed the first public conference of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe, on South African soil. At the University of Venda in Thohoyandou he spoke about MK and the road ahead. This is an edited version of his speech.



FACING THE FUTURE . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela this week told the MK conference that cadres had to maintain vigilance because of the dangers stemming from the regime's will to cling to power.

Vula man new MK chief?

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
CHRIS Hani, the controversial Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief of staff, may step down officially from his position today when the ANC's military wing restructures its high command at its three-day national conference in Venda. *CP 11/8/91*

Conference sources tipped Siphwe "Gebuza" Nyanda, who led Operation Vula last year, as Hani's likely successor.

The move is seen as a tactical step to make way for the "young lion" to facilitate the transforma-

tion of MK into a viable future regular army.

Asked if he was ready to take over the MK reins, effectively making him second in command to Joe Modise, Nyanda dismissed it as mere speculation. *TIA*

"I don't believe in speculation," he said.

Hani, 45, who joined MK in 1963 and fought in the former Rhodesia's Wankie district during 1967 as a member of the Luthuli detachment, has been requested by the SACP to work for the

party fulltime.

Yesterday Hani described the request as reasonable, which indicated his readiness to acquiesce.

However, Tony Yengeni, who was indemnified this year after a marathon treason trial in Cape Town, expressed misgivings at Hani's pending departure.

"If he goes, it would be very bad for MK. My personal opinion is that he should remain in the army. I hope we will have a chance to air our opinions as cadres on this matter," Yengeni said.

Alex tense after killings

By **CP reporters and Sapa** *CP 11/8/91*

RENEWED shooting was reported in Alexandra township yesterday only hours after police said two people had been killed in fighting between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha.

By yesterday afternoon reports from the area claimed three people had been killed. The police could confirm only two deaths.

A City Press team found the township tense. Groups of men wearing red headbands were stop-

ping cars and searching them.

Alex resident Simon Selepe told Sapa that shortly before 6 am he heard shots from a shack settlement where the two were earlier stabbed to death.

A mob of more than 200 armed hostel dwellers was advancing on the settlement, he said.

Police Capt Eugene Opperman earlier confirmed two people had been killed and three injured. He said the fighting broke out among a

group gathered near a blazing shack.

Three people were treated for gunshot wounds at the Alexandra Clinic, according to the sister in charge, Legora Marumo.

About 40 women and children had sought refuge from the violence at the clinic, she added.

Alexandra township leader Obed Bapela said unease surfaced in the township last week when Inkatha launched a cleanup campaign that was rejected by most residents.

MK warns Hani about leaving

S/Times 11/8/71.

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC'S military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has refused to release its top soldier, Mr Chris Hani, to work full-time for the SA Communist Party.

If he defied this resolution, he would have to accept the consequences, warned one delegate to MK's first public conference in the country yesterday.

The delegate said the final decision on whether he would be released from MK was up to the ANC national executive, but they would have to take note of the MK decision.

Visits

"Mr Hani would be taking a risk if he chose to defy the army," the delegate said.

Earlier this week Mr Hani admitted that his decision to leave MK was likely to be questioned. He said he intended to visit MK camps abroad to explain his decision.

But a delegate at the Thohoyandou conference said it was not up to Mr Hani to take individual decisions. MK needed Mr Hani to assist during the crucial phase of converting

to a conventional army and the integration of MK in the SADF.

The focus of MK's first legal conference inside the country was the role and structure of MK during the negotiation phase and how to structure itself in defence against violence.

It would also have to plan how to convert from a banned guerrilla army to a legal army — and how to prepare itself to become part of an army under a democratic constitution.

Mr Joe Modise, MK commander, in his confidential address to the conference, said the organisation would put its energies into increasing recruitment, building up a con-

ventional force and receiving training from at least five friendly countries.

MK's military headquarters planned to send cadres for long-term training and to upgrade them in academic studies, Mr Modise said.

Lagging

"Steps have been taken to train our men in ground, air and naval forces. It is important that we institute training in those areas in which we lag.

"In other words, it means that the conversion of our guerrilla detachments into a modern regular army should play a pivotal role if the liberation movement is to be present in the future South African defence apparatus.

"That is why the building of an officers' corps is a task which we cannot delay," Mr Modise said.

He told the conference that Tanzania and Uganda were training MK officers and similar arrangements would be finalised with three other countries.

Sources at the conference indicated yesterday that it was likely that the conference would resolve to strengthen its underground structures and step up recruitment and infiltration of soldiers inside the country.

It was also likely to resolve to maintain arms caches inside the country and step up the inflow of arms from outside.

● See Hani's plans for SACP on Page 8

Intolerance at root of most violence - poll

By Shareen Singh

Inkatha was the group least liked by black South Africans, and the ANC was the group least liked by whites, according to a survey conducted by Dr Amanda Gouws of the University of Stellenbosch.

Ranking second among least-liked groups was the AWB. Both black and white respondents to the survey were more or less even in their dislike of the AWB - 25,7 percent of whites and 24,4 percent of blacks.

The survey, published in the first Vrye Weekblad/Sowetan quarterly "State of the Nation Report", indicates that widespread and intense political intolerance is at the root of most political violence in South Africa.

Banned

Of the 270 white respondents from the Cape and Durban metropolitan areas and from Pietersburg, 49,4 percent said they would definitely not allow ANC members to hold a public demonstration in their town; 45,9 percent would not allow ANC members to teach at a major university; 43,6 percent would not allow their friends to associate with ANC members; and 36,2 percent said the ANC should be banned.

Most blacks were

against Inkatha circulating petitions criticising other political groups in their neighbourhood, or Inkatha making speeches criticising the political beliefs of their neighbourhood.

About half indicated they would not allow Inkatha members to teach at a university.

The findings of the survey indicated "just how widespread and intense" political intolerance was, said Dr Gouws.

She said all the major political groups were important centre-stage actors in the political process, and to be intolerant towards one meant to be intolerant towards a large section of society.

The black majority did not have equal access to political institutions and did not view such institutions as legitimate. Institutional barriers, therefore, did not exist to prevent intolerance from becoming violent, Dr Gouws said.

Instead, political opponents settled scores by maiming and killing each other, rather than by open debate and democratic process, she added.

As long as South Africa was unable to control intolerance, it would be unable to prevent the violence that had become commonplace, Dr Gouws warned.

MK calls for a new army for the new SA

By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), ended its national conference yesterday with a call to the "Pretoria regime" to match the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle by formally committing itself to a ceasefire.

In a communique issued at the end of its first legal meeting on South African soil, MK pressed for the establishment of an independent commission to examine how to form a new South African army and to control the various security forces, including the SADF and the SAP, during the transition to nonracialism.

Three further resolutions taken at the conference were:

- A unanimous call to the ANC executive to retain Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff. (The request came after speculation that Mr Hani would have to forfeit his military post if he took up a full-time position in the SA Communist Party.)
- An expression of grave concern over the refusal of "the regime" to free hundreds of MK combatants who were jailed after being captured, tried and convicted. (Robert McBride,

Mthetheleli Ncube and Euclid Nondula were named specifically. All three were originally sentenced to death for their role in guerilla actions that led to the death of civilians.)

- An endorsement of earlier ANC demands for sanctions to be kept in place until all political prisoners were released and all exiles allowed to return.

In addition, MK called for contact between "all security forces and armies within South Africa" committed to the establishment of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The resolution came after the conference was addressed on its opening day by Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, both of whom favour the reincorporation of their territories into greater South Africa.

The presence of the two men at the conference — which was held at the University of Venda with the blessing of Brigadier Ramushwana — signalled success for the ANC in its strategy of building a broad front of "progressive forces", including "homeland leaders", for the expected negotiations on how to restructure South Africa.

Another resolution called for the establishment of a social welfare department within MK.

It reflected concern — expressed at the conference and in the run-up to it — that MK cadres have not been cared for fully by the ANC since February 2.

Pending the inauguration of a new constitution and the establishment of a new South African defence force — composed of MK, guerilla fighters from rival liberation organisations, the "bantustan armies" and the existing SADF — MK would remain intact and "combat ready", the resolution said.

One of its functions in the interim period would be the "defence of the people", a reference to its role in the formation of "defence committees" to counter the activities of vigilante forces.

In a confidential address delivered at the weekend, MK commander Joe Modise disclosed that MK cadres were being given instruction in armies of friendly African countries.

"Tanzania and Uganda are currently training our officers," Mr Modise said.

In his earlier address, General Holomisa denied that MK cadres were being integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, although there was co-operation between his army and MK.

MK wants Hani to stay as head

Sowetan 12/8/91

By RUSSEL MOLEFE and Sapa

THE ANC's first military conference inside South Africa ended yesterday with a unanimous decision to have Chris Hani remain as

Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff. The SA Communist Party had requested the ANC to have him work fulltime for the party.

● To Page 2

MK wants Hani to remain as chief

● From Page 1

The announcement was made at a Press conference at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal, at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK commander Joe Modise ruled out the SA Defence Force as an army committed to change. However, there were elements within the SADF who were for change and the MK wanted to meet them.

In an interview with Sapa later, Modise said MK's role as a guerilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular

army had been taken.

He predicted it would take MK between two and four years to transform itself into a regular army.

It was also revealed MK would be recommending to the African National Congress NEC that an MK Supreme Council be formed to strengthen the ANC's armed wing.

Hani said he was prepared to abide by any decision which would be taken by the NEC concerning his release to the SACP.

The conference also called on the Government also to commit itself to a ceasefire "in order to facilitate the process of peaceful transformation to a democratic future".

Sowetan 12/8/91

11A

11A

PAC, ANC, Azapo and Nats somehow agree

Same noises but it sounds differently

THE Government and the black liberation movements are making more of the same noises - they just resonate differently.

There was a time when the only thing on which there was unanimity was that South Africa needed a new constitution.

Over the past two weeks, all the main actors in the unfolding political drama have reached confluence on another issue, and that is there has to be some kind of "transitional arrangements" - a very ambiguous, if not generic term.

The ANC has said it wanted the ruling National Party "to hand over power to an interim government".

The PAC too, wants an interim government, but has warned that if an interim government meant becoming part of the existing government structures - under the bedrock of latter-day apartheid - the Constitution Act of 1983, which specifically excludes black people from central government - it was not interested.

Observer

Azapo has said that it preferred as a "transitional arrangement," an independent and impartial observer in the form of either the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, or the Non-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Azapo are vehemently opposed to contact with Government, but the chances are that when talks start both will be on board - or face the possibility of being marginalised.

Both have expressed what they are against and what they prefer, but neither have indicated exactly how they intended getting to any given moment in the ensuing drama.

All of which brings us to the Government, which has repeatedly stressed the need for some kind of joint decision-making, and President FW de Klerk's address to the nation on July 30 when he said that the creation of a "transitional arrangement" was a matter of greater urgency.

On July 30 De Klerk said: "Today I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure, in a constitutionally ac-

Sowetan 12/8/91
11A ~~2014~~

‘Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until the Government gets up off its seat and quits.’

De Klerk's July 30 statement falls in line with indications from the ANC that it saw the route to a settlement through engaging the Government in a series of talks, starting with an all party conference where an interim structure would be created.

The PAC on the other hand early last week said that it would not accept an executive role under the present constitution.

However, by the end of last week, at a briefing in Pretoria on Friday, the Minister of Constitutional

is that this would lead to no real power, no real influence, and that it would amount to co-option. Therefore we are prepared to look at alternatives.

"But whatever the results, it must be the result of negotiations at a multi-party conference and the agreements achieved there and the rules of the game in which we (negotiating partners) should agree beforehand with respect to the multi-party conference."

gets up off its seat and walks out - something which the Government

has repeatedly said that it was not prepared to do.

Parliamentary political parties, like the Democratic Party, should simply walk out of Parliament, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said late last week.

There are four basic positions regarding a "transitional arrangement".

The Government has said that it wanted to discuss the "transitional arrangement" at an all party or multi-party conference.

The ANC has signalled that it was it too was ready to go to a multi-party conference - but calls is an all-party conference.

The PAC has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has so far only been able to say why it wasn't possible - the PAC has not said how it envisaged reaching its destination.

Suggestion

Azapo has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has made a suggestion as to how it thought this could be achieved.

And then there is Inkatha...

It can be safely assumed that Inkatha will accept anything Government suggests.

In the words of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela: "Talking to Inkatha is like talking to the Government."

Slovo speaks his mind over nationalisation in South Africa

11A
~~11A~~
Sowetan
12/8/91

THE South African Communist Party would not be prescriptive about nationalisation if it came to power.

It will work with trade unions and "management at enterprise level" to create a form of participation and control by actual producers.

These are the ideals of the SACP as expressed by the general secretary of the party, Mr Joe Slovo, contained in the book *Nationalisation: Beyond the Slogans*, written by Keith Coleman.

"The SACP has rejected the prescription of nationalisation as part of the programme of the

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

party. We did so because on balance it was a much abused and over-used cliché, which meant different things to different people.

Opted

"In old thinking it connoted the transfer of legal ownership from private hands to the state.

"We reject that as the kind of dispensation which results in the basic transformation in the interest of the people, on its

own.

"We opted instead for the process of socialisation which may or may not involve the transfer of legal ownership, in whole or in part, of enterprises during the post-transformation period," Slovo says in the book.

The SACP prefers the State to engage itself in the economy in a way which empowers it to give direction to it in the interest of the people whom the present system has failed to empower.

Through legislation or regulation it is possible for the State to control big corporations without actually owning them.

Law

"Obviously the State exercises regulations over the whole economy; and by law it can provide prescriptions interfering directly or indirectly with production — like this State has done.

"The problem I have is that we are always looking for one prescription — nationalisation or no nationalisation.

"There are mixed forms. Which is why nationalisation in itself is a counter-productive word. It means so many things at so many levels — some negative — so I prefer not to use the word at all," he writes.

The book is published by Raven Press.

MK calls for formal ceasefire

11A

CT 12/8/91

THOHOYANDOU, Venda. — The ANC's military wing yesterday recommended there should be a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Mkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, its commission on security forces recommended that an international supervising body under the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity participate in the transitional period to a new constitution in South Africa.

In an interview after the conference, MK commander Mr Joe Modise said MK was ready to meet with other security forces in South Africa.

"We feel it is our duty, an imperative duty, to create a climate of dialogue, of discussions, among the security forces — MK, bantustan armies and elements within the SADF — to create a climate where our political leaders ... can sit together to discuss a constitution that must take this country into democratic elections and a new government."

Mr Modise added: "Among the SADF forces, particularly the whites within that force, we want to believe that there are elements also who want to see change. Those elements are also welcome to this (proposed) forum."

But Mr Modise ruled out an invitation to the SADF per se. The MK conference called for an independent body to facilitate such a forum.

Delegates decided a commission would research the form of a future regular army. Mr Modise said work on restructuring MK would begin immediately.

● The ANC plans to continue military training of members in five "friendly" African states. — Sapa

● MK won't let Hani go — Page 5

'Intimidation': Azapo to re-appraise boycott

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) yesterday called for a re-appraisal of consumer boycotts by the liberation movements in the wake of persistent reports of gross intimidation during such protest actions.

Azapo made the call following repeated reports in the media earlier this week that youths were victimising township residents suspected of contravening a consumer boycott in the PWV region.

The boycott, although partially successful, began last Monday. Since then reports have claimed that youths have allegedly attacked boycott-busters on trains and taxis.

While noting that consumer pressure was a well-meaning tactic, the organisation said confusion often lent itself to abuse by "social deviants who confuse the revolution with anarchy". — Sapa

(11A) CT 12/8/91

SA groups decide on Patriotic Front

HARARE. — Three South African anti-apartheid movements yesterday resolved to work towards the establishment of a Patriotic Front.

The decision was taken during a two-day meeting of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian People's Organisation in Kadoma, Zimbabwe's Ziana national news agency reported.

In a communique read in Harare by PAC's first deputy president and chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, the three agreed all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle, should be maintained.

The meeting also agreed that all organisations which accepted the democratic constituent assembly formula be invited to the launch of the Patriotic Front in September. — Sapa

MK conference

ET 12/8/91 (114)

votes: Keep Hani

THOHOYANDOU. — The ANC's first military conference inside South Africa ended yesterday afternoon with a unanimous resolution calling on the ANC's national executive committee to retain Chris Hani as Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, and not to agree to a SA Communist Party request for him to work full-time for the party.

The announcement was made at a press conference at the University of Venda at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK called on the South African government to commit itself to a ceasefire and said it was ready for contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa who were committed to democratic change.

MK commander Mr Joe Modise

ruled out the SA Defence Force as an army committed to change, but said MK believed there were elements within the SADF who were, and MK wanted to meet them.

In an interview later, Mr Modise said MK's role as a guerilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular army had been taken.

The MK conference gave its "unqualified" support for the negotiations process.

Security was tight throughout the three-day meeting, which was held mostly behind closed doors.

The conference criticised the government for its "refusal" to release hundreds — according to the ANC — of political prisoners.

Mr Hani told the press conference it was for the ANC NEC to

decide on his future, and he would abide by their decision.

An MK commander stressed to the media the decision to call for Mr Hani's retention as second-in-command in MK was not a snub to the SACP.

Mr Modise revealed in a confidential report to the conference on Friday that MK would soon embark on an unprecedented recruitment drive in South Africa, concentrating mainly on academically qualified men and woman.

The request on the first day of the conference by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa for MK and the ANC to assist in an evaluation of homeland armies will be discussed by the NEC, it was announced. — Sapa

MK 'no' to ANC control

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) resolved at its first open conference in SA to set up a supreme military council that would put control of the military beyond the immediate reach of the ANC.

Delegates at the weekend discussed the composition of a 20-member body that would oversee MK's activities in place of the recently dissolved political military council.

The supreme military council will take MK through its transitional phase from a guerrilla army to a conventional military force whose members will be trained in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and India.

The council will also be responsible for the welfare of demobilised MK members.

81 Day 12/8/91

PATRICK BULGER

MK is believed to have about 12 000 members, although MK spokesmen remain secretive about the exact number.

About 400 delegates representing 10 MK regions in SA and in exile were given a detailed explanation of the ANC's undertakings in terms of the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and DF Malan agreements.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that the decision to suspend the armed struggle had been unpopular with some MK members, although they had fallen under military discipline and accepted the decision.

MK reserved for itself the right to build a military force to oversee the negotiation

To Page 2

Control

81 Day 12/8/91

process. Hani said that even when a democratic constitution had been secured, MK would be loyal to the constitution rather than to the government of the day.

The overwhelming thrust of the delegates' discussions was the welfare of MK cadres.

A plan to help cadres integrate into civilian life was discussed but at the end of the proceedings nothing concrete about their future was decided.

The conference took place amid intense speculation about the future of Hani, who earlier last week was asked by the SACP to become its leader.

Hani was ambiguous about his future while other MK delegates indicated that there should be a place for him in MK even if he was replaced as chief of staff.

The conference was attended by most ANC leaders, including president Nelson Mandela and chairman Oliver Tambo.

From Page 1

Doubts over Sisulu's political judgment

(11A)

ARG 12/8/91

The Argus Foreign Service

MELBOURNE. — The national daily, the Australian, warned today about accepting the political judgment of the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu arrived in Australia at the weekend for a visit which has received wide publicity.

Noting that he had repeated the ANC demand that trade sanctions on South Africa should not be lifted until an interim government was formed, the newspaper raised some doubts.

"However desirable this might be, such a radical transformation of South Africa's constitutional structure could not be achieved without consultation among all significant elements of the population", it said.

"This does not mean that the

process of removing the remnants of apartheid cannot be hastened. It does mean that a new government cannot be formed overnight.

"If sanctions are continued through this process, there is a grave possibility that what has been gained since Mr De Klerk became president could be lost because of the economic injury that must result."

Yesterday Mr Sisulu warned that the right-wing element in South Africa was becoming more dangerous because it had international connections.

He also said that the ANC's trust in the government had been shattered because "we feel it has a double agenda".

He added: "We no doubt need each other and the situation demands that we find a way of working together. The National Party has been exposed as unreliable."

Cadres call for ceasefire

~~SECRET~~ (11A)
Sizweham
12/8/91.

THE ANC's military wing yesterday recommended a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, its commission on security forces recommended a formal ceasefire supervised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference yester-

day adopted four resolutions from commissions dealing with the restructuring and welfare of MK, negotiations and the armed struggle.

Policy

The conference resolved to recommend that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The welfare commis-

sion, presented by ANC department of social welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela, recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous.

Despite argument that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a 20-person Supreme Council to oversee military headquarters.

The council will be chaired by ANC president and army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.
- Sapa.

Cadres call for ceasefire

11A
Sizwe
12/8/91

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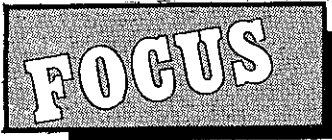
Sapa.

MK soldiers

map out future



Sowetan 12/8/91



THE ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe went public on Friday after a 30-year invisibility inside the country.

There were no wooden or real AK-47s or uniforms at its three-day conference which began yesterday at the University of Venda at Thohoyandou. In fact, the only uniform in the hall was that of Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.

Among the 250 delegates, representing 10 regional structures and camps in five African countries, were some well-known faces such as Broederstroom trialist Damian de Lange and Operation Vula trialist Siphwe Nyanda but most of the faces and names were unknown with many still preferring to use their MK nom-de-plumes.

Future

There was no evidence in Thohoyandou that the armed wing was hosting its first ever conference here, except in the foyer of the Venda Sun where MK security men are identified by badges.

They are gathered here to reflect on 30 years in exile and, more importantly, to map out their future.

The rather low-key event was attended by fewer journalists than was expected, with many canceling bookings at the last minute in favour of the expected confrontation in Ventersdorp.

On the surface it appeared to be like any other political conference, but nowhere else would a journalist ask at a Press briefing: "Are you the person who threw the hand grenade at the

police in the Eastern Transvaal?"

One of the delegates was George Molebatsi, who was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment as the commander of the unit which took hostages at the Volkskas bank in Silverton in 1980.

Propaganda

He first left the country in 1977 for a two-week crash course in small arms. On his return, he said, he was involved in propaganda work such as painting slogans but then adds "a little sabotage, nothing serious".

He left the country later that year after one of the men in his underground unit was killed in Soweto.

Molebatsi says he left over the "green border," meaning anywhere along the border except at a border post.

He entered into specialised formal training in urban guerilla warfare. The nine-month course included training in small arms, rifles, pistols, hand grenades, mortars, military and combat work and political training.

"When we left the country, we were not politically advanced and had little understanding of the political setup. We just wanted to leave, get guns and fight back. We believed our freedom was taken by the whites and we could get our freedom back with a gun. We thought it was a racial thing," said Molebatsi.

Political education in the camps, however, taught them that they were not fighting against people but against a system.

"We were taught not to shoot at anything and everything that was white. Whatever you did had to have a political reason."

On completion of his course, Molebatsi was sent to Mozambique, where along with Mr Len Tsela they received new cadres from South Africa.

Tsela says in Mozambique they gave crash courses in political training and urban guerilla warfare to new recruits before sending some of them back to South Africa before their absence was noticed.

Tsela was instructed in urban guerilla warfare in East Germany before returning to South Africa as part of the underground in 1978.

Negotiations

Molebatsi infiltrated South Africa in 1979 as a commander of a unit of five men. Their first target was to sabotage petrol tanks but before they could execute their orders, Molebatsi was arrested.

He left the men behind at their base in Garankuwa to organise logistics for their operation. He says the unit did not know what had happened to him and apparently then decided to attack the Silverton bank.

He said it was not part of their plan to attack civilians.

Molebatsi said he knows who betrayed him to the police but would do nothing to retaliate as the present climate was one of negotiations and not revenge.

He says his unit which went to the bank were not "the devils they are made out to be" and were not terrorists. He says they wrote the ten clauses of the Freedom Charter on a piece of paper and handed it to the bank's manager. They demanded the release of detainees and that of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Disturbed

Asked about reports that MK had not taken kindly to the suspension of armed actions, Molebatsi says it was a "proper" and correct decision. "You can't talk and shoot at the same time."

Another delegate Mr Tapsy Diseko, based in Zimbabwe, says he was disturbed when he heard news of the suspension but on reflection realised it was the right decision.

Regarding the armed forces, Tsela said a new security apparatus was needed as well as a new defence force.

Decision

Molebatsi said a new defence force should reflect the changing situation.

On their decision to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, Tsela said: "If I had to start again, I would do the same but avoid the mistakes. In other words, it was the right decision. Whatever we have lost in our careers as civilians, it was worth it because it was done for a good cause."

Asked about their own futures, he said: "I cannot answer that, it depends on the outcome of negotiations. Our futures depends entirely on negotiations." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Star 13/8/91
 (11A)
 Negotiations
 hinge upon
 interim rule,
 says Sisulu

SYDNEY — Anti-apartheid campaigner Walter Sisulu yesterday accused the Government of President de Klerk of fostering violence in South Africa in order to cling to power.

Peace would not return to South Africa until the Government was replaced by a multiracial interim government, the ANC deputy president told a public meeting in Sydney.

A patriotic front would be formed within the next two months to organise an all-party congress aimed at establishing an interim government, he said.

"Our next obstacle is to bring about an all-party congress which will be the basis of establishing an interim regime," said Mr Sisulu, who is on a 12-day visit to Australia.

Undermine

"The regime that is in power is unreliable and cannot stop the violence because it is the cause of violence itself.

"By allowing violence to go on he (De Klerk) undermines the very things he says he believes in. He knows the dangers but he is in a predicament — he still wants to hold on to power and he believes that can be done if he destabilises the African National Congress."

Mr Sisulu, who was jailed for 26 years by the South African Government, said an all-party congress could be achieved in the face of Government and right-wing opposition by the "mobilisation" of all South Africans.

"Unless an interim government is established, we are not willing to continue negotiating."

**B
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of a quick response to applications, designed to cut through red tape. And repayment terms tailored to meet the borrower's every need. Look no further than BOE

THE State President provoked violence in Ventersdorp on Friday in an effort to escape the so-called Inkathagate funding scandal, the South African Communist Party alleged yesterday.

In a statement signed by the SACP's Jeremy Cronin, the party asked why Mr FW de Klerk had chosen to speak at "an otherwise insignificant, rural backwater like Ventersdorp at this time?"

Although the SACP upheld the right of all to hold public meetings anywhere they chose,

SACP ^{1/A} *Sowetan* blames De Klerk

^{13/8/91}
"we are all aware of the delicate transition period in which our nation is involved".

"Did De Klerk go to Ventersdorp to escape Inkathagate?"

"Why were hundreds of heavily armed Afrikaner Weer-

standsbeweging supporters allowed to converge on Ventersdorp, with ample warning... of their intention to do so?"

"Why were those publicly displaying weaponry not disarmed before the inevitable deaths and injuries occurred?"

"The brutal reality is that the Ventersdorp affair suits De Klerk. He would like its rumblings to persist for as long as possible. He is hoping that Inkathagate will be forgotten by the world."
- Sapa.



QUESTIONING ...
Dr Adam

Visiting academic questions ANC's morality

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

11A
CT 13/8/91

THE ANC had for years ignored the plight of the oppressed in East Germany, where its representative even went hunting with the country's ousted leader, Erich Honecker, visiting Canadian academic Dr Heribert Adam says.

The SA Communist Party and the ANC had yet to question the morality of accepting support from dictatorships, whether they were East Germany, Libya or Cuba.

East German or Libyan citizens had no choice or say in who their executives were, how they spent their taxes or how they were collected, he wrote in an article which has been published by the Cape Western region of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

"This remains the essential difference between a democratic and criminal autocracy.

"Even if no support is available from the right side, is it, therefore, justifiable to align oneself with the criminal camp?

"The ANC has for decades known about the undemocratic privileges of an East European nomenclature in the midst of the misery of its people."

Dr Adam, currently a visiting lecturer at UCT, said Mr Honecker cunningly supported ANC's magazine, Sechaba, in return for praise by a universally acclaimed liberation movement.

"Yet it never occurred to the South African exiles that by accepting 'fraternal solidarity' from such a dubious source they also ignored the plight of the oppressed in East Germany, let

alone harmed their own goal of establishing democracy through association and praise for dictatorships."

Most ANC leaders would argue that they had no choice in taking the money, regardless of the sponsor's record, if they wanted their organisation to survive.

"Indeed, can the hungry be blamed for accepting food from the devil?

"However the ANC/SACP did not exactly view its Eastern sponsors as a necessary evil but as superior example of socialist internationalism."

MK fears crackdown

One integrated democratic army 'vital' for SA, says cautious ANC

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

MOVES by the government to crack down on "private armies" could lead to a confrontation with the ANC.

The movement fears that a crackdown on the AWB, following Friday's fatal clashes with police in Ventersdorp, will be used as an excuse to circumscribe or even outlaw its own armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC believes the government should concentrate on enforcing a ban on carrying weapons in public.

The ANC spoke out yesterday after it emerged that the government was considering a crackdown.

Security sources said serious consideration was to be given at a scheduled meeting of the State Security Council to outlawing armed wings attached to political movements.

One well-placed source indicated that any action would have to be "across the political spectrum and would have to include all the rightwing armies and organisations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe".

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said: "My first reaction to suggestions that the government is thinking of a crackdown on private armies is one of caution. Our feeling is that it will be used against the ANC, not the right wing.

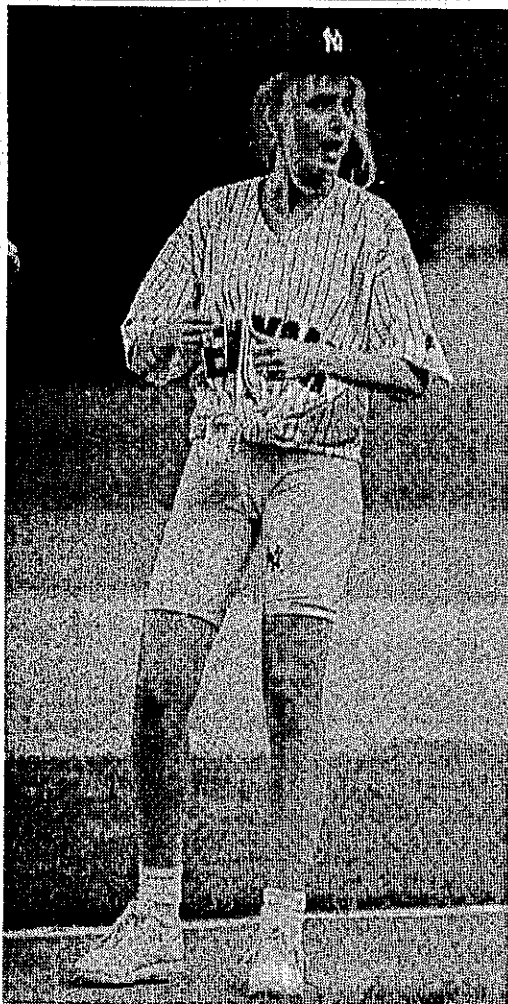
"The point we make is that we have an agreement (the Pretoria Minute) with the government on anything to do with MK. Whatever they do must be in terms of that agreement.

"We also point out that the government has legitimised the concept of private armies through the homeland police forces and armies. These are just private armies too."

Mr Macozoma added: "We have been saying since May that the carrying of weapons in public assemblies by anybody is dangerous and that is what the government should be looking at, rather than finding excuses for a crackdown."

11A
ANC NEWS
13/8/91

Cape Town is in my heart says Joburg-bound Manuel



TRUMP CARD: Maria Maples, fiancée of multimillionaire Donald Trump, talks to fans as she coaches from first base in a celebrity softball game at Yankee Stadium at the weekend.

Still time to get Map of the World

IF you missed The Argus Map of the World — a high quality, full colour, double-page political map — on Friday, August 2, copies are still available at the front counter of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MR Trevor Manuel, new head of the ANC's economic planning division, wants to see the end of sanctions — but believes they should remain in place until political change is irreversible.

Outlining ANC economic policy, he said the ANC was committed to a mixed economy, to fighting unemployment and to redistributing wealth. The movement was also aware of the need to temper expectations after liberation.

He said the Inkathagate funding scandal had exposed President De Klerk's strategies and shown that the government would try to control negotiations.

The ANC's view, as formulated at its July conference, was that the lifting of sanctions should go hand-in-hand with change.

"The establishment of an interim government, for instance, would be an important step because it would signal the shifting of sovereignty from a white minority government to a full democracy."

This was a small step, but "it is the determining part of irreversibility".

The adoption of a new constitution by a constituent assembly would change the face of government in South Africa forever, he said.

"This is the point where all the vestiges of sanctions must go."

Sanctions were being removed at a formal level, resulting in prospective investors seriously examining South Africa "but there has not been an influx of investors".

He said the nation-wide violence was keeping investors away and not giving them confidence.

"A constituent assembly would rid this country of violence because it will represent the voice of the electorate. Changes in South Africa will not be complete until the electorate has spoken."

A founder member of the



Mr Trevor Manuel

United Democratic Front, Mr Manuel has built his extra-parliamentary career in media relations.

He said: "I'm not a trained economist."

But he realises that job creation and meeting expectations are two of the biggest challenges awaiting a new government.

Unemployment was growing and the market could absorb only about 10 percent of school leavers annually.

Housing and the electrification of black townships were among the issues waiting to be tackled head on.

South Africa produced 60 percent of the Africa's electricity, yet 89 percent of Africans were without it. In the Western Cape alone, only 22 percent of Africans were living in brick houses.

He said: "A democratically elected government would have to undertake major upliftment programmes and thereby drastically reduce unemployment."

The government and others held sanctions responsible for unemployment, but Mr Manuel disagrees.

"I think a lot of our economic problems emanate from economic mismanagement, particularly during South Africa's boom years."

The millions used to fight Swapo in the Namibian elections, organise anti-sanctions campaigns and build white elephants should have been pumped into job-creation programmes.

"We're up against these kinds of odds. The interest in areas related to economic development and upliftment will determine if liberation stands or falls.

"Unless we are going to provide the goods and services that will improve the quality of life of our people, the notion of liberation will not be worth the paper it's written on."

While nationalisation was still part of the ANC's policy, it was looking at a number of options which could be harnessed in the redistribution of wealth.

"Nationalisation has always been one of our options. It is now less prominent in our economic documents."

Cape Town-born Mr Manuel leaves for Johannesburg next month to take up his new appointment.

"I'll be based there for the next three years, although circumstances could well change. We should at least have an interim government before my three years are up."

He said it was quite sad to move from Cape Town at such a crucial time in history.

But the city and the Cape Flats, where he has become a symbol of the fight for justice and equality, "will always be part of me".

Elected general-secretary of the UDF (Western Cape) in 1985, Mr Manuel, like many others associated with struggle politics, came to know life on the run, the inside of a prison cell and detention without trial, restrictions and banning orders.

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — its detractors perhaps unfairly call it the least successful guerrilla army of all time — faces a future as uncertain as its past.

Aside from SA itself, Umkhonto today has no meaningful presence in southern Africa. The Frontline states one by one capitulated to pressure from Pretoria so that Umkhonto today has its largest bases in distant Tanzania and Uganda.

Support from its East bloc allies has dwindled — Czechoslovakia has extended its exports to SA beyond landmines, the Soviet Union has forsaken its internationalist ambitions and East Germany no longer exists. Pretoria, for its part, has replaced silenced pistols with talks.

If armies thrive on war, Umkhonto withers in peacetime. It is separated from home by half a continent, its supplies and finances are in a parlous state and its leaders locked in talks with a government Umkhonto could not blast from power.

These were some of the realities faced and discussed at the weekend by delegates to Umkhonto's first legal conference on SA soil since it detonated its first bombs in Durban in December 1961. What of Umkhonto's future?

The problems are many and obvious — what will become of cadres, especially the maimed and aged? What will become of Umkhonto itself? What if negotiations are derailed and SA's low-intensity civil war resumes? What role will Umkhonto play in township defence and who among the competing negotiators and insurrectionists in the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance will prevail in policy determination?

Conference delegates — well-versed in coining slogans — latched onto "deployment or employment" to crystallise the practical problems facing the army. Cadres trained only in guerrilla warfare have little to offer a modern economy. Some will be trained as officers for a future defence force, but many will join the legions of exiles tramping the streets searching in vain for jobs that simply do not exist and relying on handouts from the ANC's strained coffers.

Demobilised army struggles to come to terms with peace

B/par 13/8/91.
PATRICK BULGER

(1A) ~~ANC~~

A social welfare department has been set up with a R10 000 donation from a sympathetic businessman, and co-operatives will absorb some of the unemployed. For many, however, years of arduous sacrifice in the camps will go unrewarded.

Umkhonto itself will seek to be included in a post-apartheid defence force. Earlier calls for the integration of Umkhonto and the SADF have now given way to calls for an entirely new military establishment. To this end, talks with friendly homeland defence forces — Transkei and Venda — and with a more open SADF under verligte incoming Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, will help chart the future of SA's military.

Conventional training, with assistance from friendly African nations like Tanzania and Uganda, has already begun. Other conventional training countries mentioned are India and France.

Umkhonto will, however, retain a guerrilla or non-conventional programme. While delegates to the conference supported the negotiation process, Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani admitted that selling the negotiations and suspension of armed struggle decisions to cadres was not all plain sailing.

Delegates were, however, not unanimously pleased with the progress in setting up self-defence units

in townships. Umkhonto earned a promise from the ANC's consultative conference last year that its personnel would be involved in helping train and arm defence units. One delegate said no progress had been made at all and the ANC leadership faced charges that it was paying lip service to the defence units.

The units are viewed with some alarm by the older and more conservative of the ANC leadership. Within the ranks of the alliance there is ambiguity about what the defence units are meant to achieve and this ambiguity underlines a deeper uncertainty about where control of Umkhonto actually lies.

During the ANC's exile, Umkhonto fell under a politico-military committee which was dissolved with the suspension of armed struggle. The committee controlled exiled operations in the regions outside SA and was dominated by SACP figures who provided the vital political input that has so heavily politicised Umkhonto members.

While some ANC spokesmen insist Umkhonto is ANC-controlled, others argue it is the army of both the ANC and the SACP. While the reorientation to a conventional army presumably reflects the ANC's nationalist orientation, the SACP's ambitions for Umkhonto are less clear.

The self-defence units — outlined in an SACP-inspired document entitled *For the Sake of Our Lives: Guidelines for the Creation of Self Defence Units* — dovetail neatly with the insurrectionist perspective sketched in the SACP programme, *Path to Power*. However, they also fit into the ANC's policy on the creation of these units for purely defensive purposes.



□ HANI

While the more pragmatic elements within the ANC — among them international affairs head Thabo Mbeki — were arguing as long ago as 1979 that the ANC should concentrate more on political activity than on armed struggle, the SACP was developing the insurrectionary perspective outlined in *Path to Power*.

Hani says Umkhonto is answerable only to the ANC. Yet Hani himself, whom delegates unanimously decided they did not want released from Umkhonto duties, is now being tipped as a future general secretary of the SACP. Here, then, is an army under the de jure control of the ANC president in the person of commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela, but under de facto control of prominent figures in the SACP. Just whose army is Umkhonto?

Hani insists that in a future SA Umkhonto, as part of a national defence force, would be accountable only to the constitution.

But the question became even more uncertain at the weekend when Winnie Mandela — in a confidential welfare report — referred to a hitherto unheard of command body called the Supreme Military Council. ANC and Umkhonto spokesmen have been less than forthcoming on the role and duties of the council, preferring to say only that it was still being discussed by the ANC's NEC.

Mandela, herself, was less reticent. In a confidential briefing paper she spoke of the council as a body on a par with the ANC's inner cabinet, the national working committee. This body would run Umkhonto independently of the ANC and would be composed of about 20 people. One source said the council was simply a way to expand Umkhonto's military headquarters to steer it through difficult times ahead.

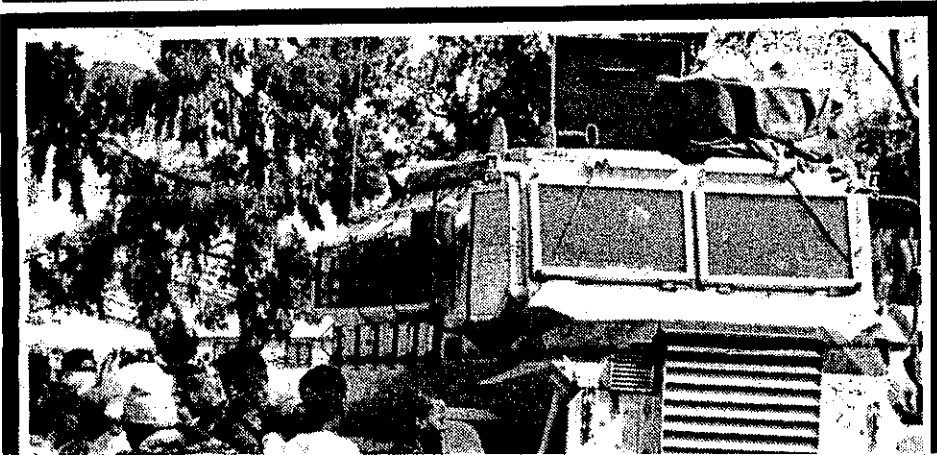
If, however, the council operated as an autonomous body — albeit chaired by commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela — the lines of command would once again be blurred.

In the final analysis, Umkhonto is an army responsible to the ANC, commanded by leading SACP figures and controlled on a day-to-day basis by an autonomous and evidently powerful and independent guiding body. Unconventional indeed.

Big talks set to start soon

Sowetan
13/8/91.

11A ~~2~~



INFORMAL talks between ANC and Government frontline negotiators are expected to start soon to put together a viable proposal for a transitional government representing most South Africans.

Diplomatic sources have revealed that impromptu informal discussions between the two main players have already produced positive results and that more structured informal talks seemed to be the next step.

This view was endorsed by senior ANC and Government officials at the weekend, who confirmed that the multiparty conference was now a distinctly attainable goal.

The prospect of real multiparty negotiations and a workable compromise on a transitional government advanced significantly during the week preceding last Friday's Ventersdorp skirmish.

In the direct statements of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, it became clear that an accommodation between the two main players was taking shape.

Mandela set two conditions which significantly softened the ANC's earlier precondition of the unconditional resignation of the Government in favour of an interim government.

Instead, he said, "the modalities of installation

● To Page 2

P.T.O

Review the consumer boycotts, says Azapo

Sowetan 13/8/91
The Azanian Peoples Organisation on Sunday called for a reappraisal of consumer boycotts by the liberation movements in the wake of persistent reports of gross intimidation during such protest actions.

Azapo made the call in a statement to *Sapa* following repeated reports in the media earlier this week that youths were victimising township residents suspected of

contravening a consumer boycott in the PWV region.

The boycott, albeit partially successful, began last week Monday and has seen youths attack alleged boycott-busters on trains and taxis.

While noting that consumerist pressure was a well-meaning tactic, the organisation said confusion often lent itself to abuse by "social

deviants who confuse the revolution for anarchy".

What was needed, it continued, was for the liberation movements to accurately identify the target of protests, the issues giving rise to such action and the effect it would have on the victims of apartheid.

Thus, a reappraisal by the various organisations was urgently needed, Azapo said. - *Sapa*.

Women to rally for Star 14/8/91. hope, peace

A group of women's organisations is to hold a peace campaign — at a cost of about R500 000 — to give hope to South Africans, says Mary Panos, a member of a committee organising a Peace and Goodwill weekend and a campaign of Friendliness and Goodwill.

Yesterday, members of the committee told a news conference in Johannesburg that the campaign would begin on August 31. It would culminate with a jamboree of "mass multicultural festivities with an Africa theme" at the FNB Stadium near Soweto. The guest of honour would be President de Klerk's wife, Marike.

Among the organisers are the ANC Women's League and the IFP Women's Brigade.

Asked whether anything substantial would come from the festival, or whether the money collected should not instead be used to feed and clothe the poor, Margaret Lessing of the Women's Bureau of South Africa said: "Out of this will come a great future." — Sapa.

ANC 'stopped school chaos'

Star 14/8/97
East Rand Bureau

Members of the ANC in KwaGaqha at Witbank on Monday helped avert a disruption of schooling in the township by a group of youths, a Department of Education and Training spokesman said yesterday.

He said the DET had been warned that there was going to be a disruption of classes at the schools.

"A group of pupils from one of the local

(11A) (52)
schools set out to disrupt classes, but they were stopped from carrying out their intentions by members of the ANC in the area," the spokesman said.

He added that the action of the ANC members was positive and was to be commended.

The spokesman said half the teachers at the Ulwazi Secondary School in Daveyton, who had earlier left the school after pupils chased away the principal, had returned.

The ANC's National Working Committee is a shadow Cabinet, says Shaun Johnson

A govt waiting in the wings

Star 14/8/91

EVERY week, over decades, the Cabinet has met to evaluate political developments and fashion strategies to ensure that the Government stays in control of South Africa, and in power.

It has made the decisions which changed our lives, or kept them the same. The executives of white opposition parties have met in similar conclaves, but have known that they never had any real chance of ousting the Nationalist Government — they were "shadow Cabinets" in theory only.

Now, however, there is a new shadow Cabinet, and at its weekly meetings in Johannesburg it deliberates in the full expectation of tasting power.

This is the National Working Committee (NWC) of the ANC, an entirely new body emerging from the organisation's national conference last month, and already in full swing.

It will, in the coming months, assume tremendous political importance. What does it look like and how does it work?

The NWC bears a strong resemblance in form to the NP Government's Cabinet, and its relation-

ship to the larger ANC National Executive Committee is similar to that of the Cabinet and the NP caucus.

According to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the NWC enjoys a great deal of political latitude within the ANC. It is only regarding the most momentous of issues that the key decision-making body would be required to get the say-so of the NEC.

"The type of issue (that would require the NWC to consult the NEC) would have to be of such a serious nature," he says, "that it could warrant review of policy, review of relationships with Government, or review of the negotiation process."

Like the Cabinet, the NWC is chaired by the organisation's chief executive — in this case ANC president Nelson Mandela. Its most important members besides him are Oliver Tambo, national chairman; Walter Sisulu, deputy president; Mr Ramaphosa; Thomas Nkobi, treasurer; and Jacob Zuma, deputy secretary-general.

According to Mr Ramaphosa, "the decision to form the NWC oc-

curred during the period running up to the July (ANC) conference, where many people felt that we needed a national executive committee that had basically three components.

"One, people from the regions who are rooted in regional organisation — to bring the regional grassroots dimension to the work, thinking and decision-making of the NEC.

"Two, a group of people who would be working on a daily basis on the political issues that confront our country, and taking decisions. This was the NWC, people who are not just going to be observing what is happening, but observing, analysing, strategising, deciding, taking the process forward.

"The third group is made up of people who are part of the NEC, but not of the regions or the NWC. They are there to bring their wisdom, their experience, their insight into a whole range of issues, to bear on the work of the NWC."

The work of the NEC has many features, Mr Ramaphosa says. "Perhaps its tasks can be characterised as a combination of a revolutionary council, an implementa-

tion body, and a shadow Cabinet. "It will be implementing decisions of conference and the NEC... At the same time, it will be helping to shape and formulate policies for the transition period leading up to a democratic South Africa."

"It will also be dealing closely with the whole question of negotiations. Various departments and committees of the ANC will be headed by NWC members."

The NEC meets once every three months, and also on an emergency basis, depending on the issues of the day.

"For instance," says Mr Ramaphosa, "the Inkathgate scandal led to an emergency NEC meeting being called, despite the fact that the NWC had met twice to consider the whole matter."

This was a case in which the full NEC was required to give "a verdict, or final decision" before the ANC issued a formal response to the scandal. The NEC meeting was informed, however, by a comprehensive briefing from the NWC.

The NWC meets weekly. Mr Ramaphosa says it operates according to a "normal quorum — a sim-

ple majority — but so far we've held five meetings and we've had more than six-eighths of the members of the NWC there". The attendance expectations of members are higher than for their NEC colleagues, says Mr Ramaphosa.

"They have to attend. Remember, these are full-time employees of the ANC, paid by the ANC, and they subject themselves to the staff discipline of the ANC, the code of conduct."

The NWC membership is skewed towards Transvaal-based politicians.

"We worked on the availability of people who could serve on the working committee, and it turned out that those people who were available to work full time for the ANC were mostly Johannesburg-based.

"But we were very pleased when two Cape Town-based people, Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel, agreed to serve on the working committee. So they are going to leave Cape Town and re-settle in Johannesburg."

A key issue confronting the NEC at this stage of the negotiating process is the manner in which an all-party congress — the Govern-

ment calls it a multiparty conference — should be convened. The ANC has publicly committed itself to getting round-table talks off the ground as soon as possible.

Reflecting debates within the NWC, Mr Ramaphosa says the "shadow Cabinet's" current thinking "is that the all-party congress should be convened by a neutral body, and we still need to finalise it more closely with Government as to which neutral body can call it."

"One thing that (President) De Klerk concedes is that a neutral body should convene the conference, and a neutral chair should chair it. So we need to settle that... It's not inconceivable that the (peace initiative conference) could become the convener of the all-party conference."

Acceptance of, or refusal to attend, such a conference is a clear example of a situation in which the NWC will fashion strategy, and present it to the NEC for ratification or amendment.

In this sense, it appears that while the NWC enjoys considerable power, it remains more answerable to its parent body than does the NP Cabinet to its, caucus. □

By PATRICK BULGER

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ANC promise

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Demobbed army is struggling to come to terms with peace

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Blurred lines of command

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Unconventional indeed.

□ Patrick Bulger is on the staff of Business Day.

Accord a spur to all-party talks

Peace plan put to three key players

B/day 14/8/91

11A

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha today will consider a historic draft peace accord that could be adopted at a national peace convention planned for early next month.

If accepted, and sources close to the church-business initiative are confident that it will be, the accord will provide rules for future political competition and help end SA's spiral of political violence.

If the agreement proves a success, the mechanisms used to set it up could help to get all-party talks going.

The accord is the result of two months of behind-the-scenes meetings between the three parties.

It provides for a permanent peace secretariat, which would include political representatives and specialised negotiators. It is intended to be a statutory body, although this has yet to be finalised.

It would link up with the proposed standing judicial commission on violence and intimidation proposed by President F W de Klerk in mid-June, a source close to the process said yesterday. The exact nature of the link is still being discussed but it is expected that it would be the chief enforcement mechanism of the peace code.

A secondary multiparty committee will also be discussed today. This would be made up largely of church, business and political leaders, and would keep a watching brief on the peace process. It would also be charged with bringing the process back on track in the event of breakdowns.

The monitoring body could also form the basis of a multiparty conference, expected to be initiated in October.

A church source said yesterday agreement had already been reached on codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, as well as a code of implementation. The draft peace accord is an amalgam of the separate codes.

It has been drafted and backed in principle by senior figures among SA's three major political groupings, among them Cabinet Ministers. Yesterday it was being considered by the political parties, which will make their views known at today's meeting.

The peace accord provides for peace committees at national, regional and local level. Copies of the accord have been forwarded to non-participating political parties, among them Azapo, the PAC and the CP. All of the latter will be invited to take part in the convention, which could be attended by up to 300 political, church and business leaders.

The accord includes mechanisms to deter participants from engaging in disruptive political action. Anyone issuing an inflammatory political statement, for example, could be compelled to apologise publicly. In a similar vein, parties would confer with one another on potentially explosive public protests.

□ To Page 2

Peace plan

B/day 14/8/91

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□ From Page 1

It also provides for a more rapid judicial process in terms of which political killers would be brought to justice quickly.

There are no formal plans to involve the church-business initiative in helping set up multiparty talks, although the Constitutional Development Department has been drawn in to assist with secretarial and logistical arrangements for the peace convention.

Government sources would not comment on the peace process yesterday as it had reached a critical stage. They did say, however, that progress made in talks between the parties augured well for the

success of future constitutional talks.

The church source agreed with this, saying: "It has been an encouraging process so far. One might think that the church-business alliance might be the catalyst to keep the political process going."

The peace process was initiated by church and business leaders after a government-backed peace summit in May failed to attract politicians from the left.

Among the negotiators who have been involved in the peace meetings are Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

ANC lifts Reef boycott *ALG*

Political Staff

(117) (2) 15/8/91

THE ANC-led tripartite alliance has announced the lifting of the three-week PWV regional consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

The consumer boycott, called by the ANC-Co-satu-SACP alliance to protest against the government's secret funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Workers' Union of South Africa, was lifted with immediate effect, said a statement issued by the ANC in the PWV region.

The ANC said the boycott, mostly in the Pretoria area had "run its full course and registered its point" on the Inkathagate scandal.

"The alliance is impressed by the disciplined conduct of our people during the campaign", the ANC said.

ANC weapons used in Zambian robberies

Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Firearms belonging to the African National Congress have been used in robberies in Zambia, ANC officials have confirmed.

The officials said the weapons had been stolen from the ANC, but other members of the organisation privately told the Africa News Organisation that ANC "comrades" were suspected of selling their guns because they were short of money due to the delay in their repatriation to South Africa.

Both Japhet Ndlovu, the ANC's chief representative in Zambia, and Tom Sebina, the organisation's spokesman, had confirmed the theft of guns but had refused to give details, the ANO reported.

It is a highly sensitive issue; we need government permission to disclose the number of our guns which have disappeared," Mr Ndlovu said.

Mr Sebina said the police were investigating a number of cases of "illegal use of our guns".

Some were alleged to have been used in robberies at police stations, he said.

The ANO quoted highly placed ANC sources as saying members of the organisation were believed to have resorted to selling their weapons because of an acute lack of funds for buying their normal requirements.

Mr Ndlovu said the ANC had budgeted for the allocation of funds to the Zambian cadres until April in the expectation that the repatriation process would have been completed by then.

Star 15/8/91

Inkatha's drive will stall, says Dhlomo

Sowetan 15/8/91
INKATHA will have difficulty recruiting new black members following the scandal over its funding, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former secretary-general of the movement, said yesterday.

Dhlomo was speaking at the launch of a breakfast briefing for the church agency *Diakonia*.

Now a political consultant, Dhlomo said the funding scandal would not have much effect within Inkatha as the majority of members would accept the version of events given by their leaders.

Many Inkatha members "will not have all the facts and the intricacies surrounding the scandal at their disposal, so you

would not expect that they would take the matter very seriously".

At the national level the scandal had affected Inkatha's capability to align itself with other black political groupings, especially in the liberation camp.

Secret

"I think Inkatha will make no headway at all with political co-operation with these groups, but could co-operate with groups in the various self-governing states."

Receiving assistance from the Government, let alone secret assistance, was considered by virtually the majority of black South Africans as

"bad news".

"Inkatha recruitment drives among whites will not be affected, but among black people it will now be quite a struggle to recruit more members. Not impossible - difficult - to recruit more members," said Dhlomo.

The much-heralded National Party-Inkatha alliance might also be delayed now, if it was ever on the cards.

Inkatha's stand against sanctions had been original, Dhlomo said.

The greatest enemies to Inkatha's position had been the security police and the Government "who have now discredited everything Inkatha did". - *Sapa*.

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Mandela's 'private' city lunch

Political Correspondent

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela slipped into Cape Town yesterday for a private lunch as the guest of a leading stockbroking firm.

As a "select group of institutional managers" lunched with Mr Mandela at a prestige five-star hotel in Camps Bay, members of the press who had got wind of the meeting were kept at bay.

ANC officials refused to give details about the visit. **CT 15/8/91**

A Johannesburg spokesman for the stockbroking firm said Mr Mandela had come to Cape Town as "personal favour" to the partners of the firm.

Peace talks edge closer to deal

8 (Day) 15/8/91.
GOVERNMENT, ANC and Inkatha representatives met behind closed doors last night to discuss proposals for a draft peace accord aimed at ending political violence.

The delegates met at Barlow Park in Sandton to scrutinise the reports of five working groups on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces.

The groups, set up under a church-business initiative, also prepared proposals on socio-economic developments.

If an accord is accepted by all the parties it could be presented for formal adoption at a national peace convention planned for next month. Representatives from most of SA's political, church, labour and business groups and homelands are expected to attend the convention.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he expected progress from last night's meeting, the



LINDEN BIRNS

result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks. The talks were complicated by "Inkathagate" which raised tensions.

The accord would set up a permanent peace secretariat made up of political representatives and specialised negotiators. The intention was to make this a statutory body, but this still had to be finalised.

The establishment and role of a secondary multiparty committee was also thought to have been up for discussion at last night's meeting. This committee, probably made up of church, business and political leaders, would be charged with maintaining a watching brief on the peace process, and would be responsible for bringing the process back on track should breakdowns occur.

● Comment: Page 6

sult 15/8-21/8/91

By Henry Ludski

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~~SECRET~~

UMKHONTO we Sizwe has been described an army without a war; it now faces the prospect of being an army without Chris Hani.

At the weekend MK conference at the University of Venda the 400 delegates made it clear that they emphatically wanted Hani to retain his role as MK's Chief of Staff.

Said Tony Yengeni, former MK commander in the Western Cape: "Hani is the soul of MK. It's hard to imagine MK without him at the top.

"When it came to the issue of him taking a full-time position with the South African Communist Party MK members didn't want to listen to anything, they just voted with their feet," said Yengeni.

It is clear that Hani will have his work cut out for him if he stays. A key issue is MK's relation with the SADF.

The conference decided to push for an independent commission to examine how to form a new army and control the different security forces, and refused to enter into any discussions with the SADF.

The conference, however, decided to call for individual elements in the SADF to enter into dialogue with MK.

Said Rashid Patel, a member of MK's military command: "We do not believe that the SADF is willing and capable of committing itself to a negotiated settlement."

He said the ANC was drawing up guidelines for a new defence force.

"We have to solve the political problems of this country before the issue of a new army can be addressed."

MK will continue training members as it undergoes a transition from a guerilla force to a "regular" army.

If Hani stays on, another of his tasks will be implement longstanding calls to set up self-defence units.

Said Yengeni: "MK cadres are very concerned about the lack of implementation of defence units and have given the leadership of the movement six months to show some progress.

"Cadres are also frustrated at the lack of creativity of the rank and file when it comes to the issue of self-defence units because often MK members are the first targets of violence," said Yengeni.

Another issue which presents a serious problem for MK is the growing dissatisfaction over the inadequate welfare for MK cadres.

"Cadres feel that they are being neglected by the ANC and don't accept that their welfare should be their own responsibility," said Yengeni.

He said for this reason the conference recommended that the ANC should set aside a special budget for the welfare of returning cadres.

"Cadres don't have jobs, they don't have places to stay and they have their families to look after," he said.

"If the problem of welfare is not sorted out it could lead to serious problems where cadres will either take the law into their own hands or degenerate into social misfits," Yengeni warned.

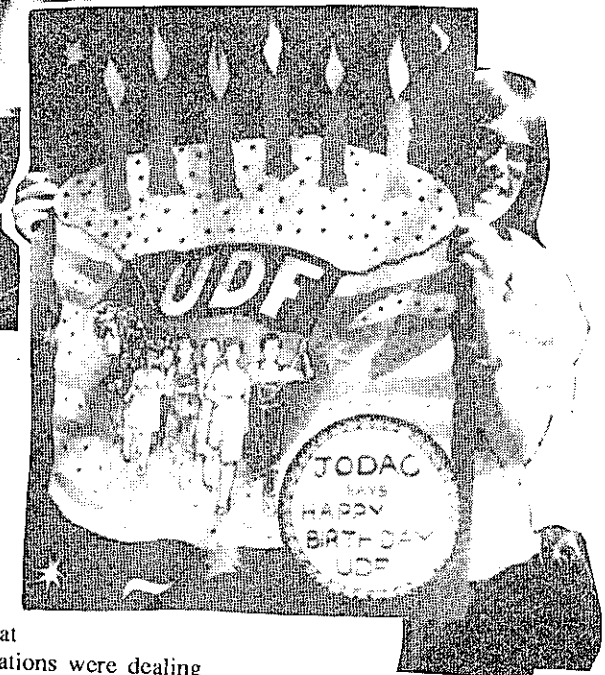
• See page 10



UDF DEFIES: Above left, announcing the defiance campaign. **UNITY:** UDF activists accompanying a restrictee home after he broke his restriction by staying out after dark, above right. **REMEMBRANCE:** A candle light vigil during the years of repression, inset. **ON THE MARCH:** UDF supporters on the march to demand the unbanning of the ANC



"People were quite shell-shocked. Some activists went into hiding in 1985 and never emerged again. We wrote off quite a few activists during those years."



South
On July 21, the government declared a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal.
The "insurrection" had grown to such an extent that organisations were beginning to replace state structures such as community councils with street and area committees — organs of "people's power".
ALTHOUGH TODAY IT IS clear that this was a phase of struggle, for UDF activists at the time these structures were a realisation of the kind of democratic structures they hoped would eventually be the foundation of a post-apartheid South Africa.
But this was not to be. The UDF suffered heavily under the repressive powers granted by the declaration of the emergency.
Its meetings were banned, leaders and activists imprisoned or restricted, offices shut down and its foreign funding cut off.
In 1986, three out of four of those detained were linked to the UDF — more than 6000 of the official figure of 8000 detainees.
A handful of leaders not behind bars bravely attempted to keep the organi-

15/8 - 21/8/91 (11A)
sation alive under a new name — the Mass Democratic Movement which consisted of affiliates which had not been restricted.
This nullified what the movement had hoped would be its major strength in the face of repression — in most towns the street committees were eradicated and civic bodies had collapsed.
Manuel describes this period as "the dark years". There was no response forthcoming from political organisations on issues affecting people. UDF leaders who were not in detention were in hiding.
"People were quite shell-shocked. Some activists went into hiding in 1985 and never emerged again. We wrote off quite a few activists during those years."
The "unbanning" of the UDF by popular demand during the defiance campaign launched in July 1989 led to the largest mass action witnessed in South Africa in decades.
Following the peace march in Cape Town in September 1990, thousands of people followed suit throughout the country.
The UDF enjoyed a brief period of success before the organisation was once again overtaken by political

events — this time with the unbanning of the ANC in February 1991.
The demand to unban political organisations, which the front had played a key role in popularising, was ironically, its undoing.
WHILE THERE WAS NEVER a formal alliance between the UDF and the ANC, there was common cause from the outset that there was an overlap of membership between the two organisations.
The UDF, which was careful not to isolate prospective alliance partners during its lifetime by taking "inappropriate" decisions like adopting the Freedom Charter at its launch, lost its senior activists to the ANC within months of its unbanning.
When the ANC began rebuilding its structures inside the country, a large percentage UDF members were absorbed into the process and many of the UDF's religious, sports, education and women's alliance partners were left in the cold.
Manuel said it was still unclear what future there was in the kind of alliance politics the UDF had.
"There is a strong argument for a measure of loose cooperation between sectoral organisations."

However, the legacy of the UDF's style of organising was not likely to be preserved in the present political climate.
Manuel said the reality was that political organisations were dealing with a different political period and lessons of the UDF were not automatic.
"People were attracted to the UDF when it engaged the rotten apartheid system but the reality now is that the system is perceived by some people to be less rotten," Manuel said.
"Yet the UDF was never in a position to prove its membership while for the ANC, building a real support base with signed-up and paid-up membership, the problems of organising are much larger.
"However, the ANC probably has more activists today than the UDF had."
Manuel said the two eras in which the UDF and the ANC operated could not be conflated.
The UDF was able to mix bread-and-butter issues with national poli-

tics and strike a balance in a manner that made sense to people.
The ANC, on the other hand, was far more concerned with national political issues.
"But at the same time, there must be an understanding among activists that a campaign against VAT is far more attractive to many people than a campaign around a constituent assembly. "That is the legacy of the UDF."
The UDF's national executive committee held its last meeting on Wednesday, when they discussed the winding up of the organisation's affairs.
All that will remain after Sunday's rally are its archives which will be stored at universities and possibly, a suggestion from the Western Cape region, a UDF annual human rights prize.

Is it a hawk? Is it a pigeon? No, it's Armscor

South 15/81 = 21/8/91.

AS UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK) delegates assembled in Thohoyandou, Venda, to thrash out a new peace-time role for the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), the prime weapons supplier of the South African Defence Force (SADF) was presenting a completely revamped image of itself in a glamorous TV advertisement following the news last Saturday.

Most viewers were probably surprised to see the country's weapons industry — producer of the killing machines deployed in the war in Angola and northern Namibia — now using harmless flying pigeons to symbolise its role as a "winner". It certainly is a far cry from Armscor's previous international advertising campaign which used a charging rhinoceros, a striking cobra and a prowling lion to symbolise the potential of its products.

Why is the manufacturer of ratels and casspirs, which in the past decade have become a feared sight in the townships, now suddenly deploying the traditional symbol of peace?

LESS THAN A YEAR AGO THE VERY same Armscor was seemingly unperturbed by an international controversy around its alleged sales of the G5 and G6 howitzers to Iraq, just before the American invasion. Then the people at the helm of Armscor had no qualms about showing two fingers to the rest of the world.

As recently as May 1989 General Magnus Malan, as Minister of Defence, could still defiantly prescribe "unconventional methods" in obtaining weapons internationally. These methods included clandestine deals bordering on the criminal, wheeling and dealing on the black market, theft and even official perjury in the case of the "Coventry Four".

The new drive for respectability may be confusing, but inexplicable it is not. The untenability — during the country's peaceful transition to democracy — of an enormous arms industry geared to counter an escalating bush war has for a long time been too obvious to be ignored.

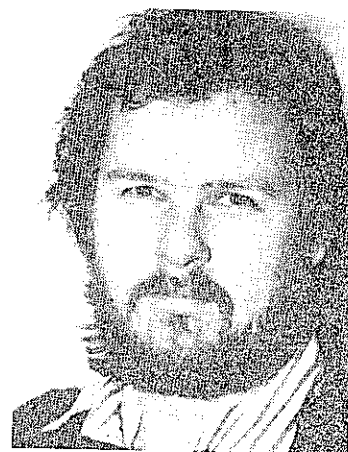
Regular readers of Die Suid-Afrikaan would have known that Armscor was in for a major shake-up. As long ago as April of this year — under the title "Krokodil se tande word getrek" — we published a comprehensive analysis of developments in the industry since the early 1960s.

OVER A PERIOD OF TIME IT HAD become quite clear that a major cut-back in the budget of Armscor was inevitable. The major reasons were the destructive impact of sanctions on the economy of the country, and the lack of a real war in which newly-developed equipment could be tested.

Another factor was the government's new emphasis on "peaceful negotiations", making the armament industry something of an anachronism, despite protestations to the contrary from senior Army generals.

I wrote an article tracing the development of the armaments industry through its different phases, beginning with the fanciful notion that the world "will always respect a winner".

Umkhonto we Sizwe's first legal conference in South Africa coincided, ironically, with the launch of an advertising campaign boosting the image of Armscor, the government's giant weapons manufacturer. The campaign uses images of pigeons to suggest a new "peaceful" role for Armscor — a development predicted in April by the independent political magazine Die Suid-Afrikaan. The magazine's managing editor, **CHRIS LOUW**, tells his story:



The truth was much more mundane. There was no "deep throat". My main sources of information were readily available press clippings, including reports over the past three decades in Die Burger, the Cape Times and international publications like Jane's Defence Weekly.

In order to understand something of the prevailing mood when decisions about the armaments industry were taken, I also consulted Hansard.

I really had no option but to rely on these sources as Armscor flatly refused to allow me to interview either its executive chairman, Johan van Vuuren, or its public relations director, Johan Adler. Neither of the two, I was told, would be available to see me, even though I was prepared to fit in an appointment any time during a period of almost a month.

In the event my report proved to be remarkably correct, predicting precisely the transformation of Armscor from a major weapons supplier to an important source of technical know-how for the private sector. Following Armscor's own tradition of using animals to convey messages, recent developments have shown that we were right about the crocodile's teeth being pulled.

Armscor's reaction was swift and unambiguous. We received two letters summarily terminating Armscor's subscription to Die Suid-Afrikaan: one from the agency handling Armscor's subscriptions and the other from Armscor itself.

The story didn't end there. Two months later I had a phone call from Johan Adler's office informing me that he wanted to meet me in Cape Town. I found it amazing that Adler was now prepared to meet me in my own office whereas before the publication of the story he could find no time at all to see me.

AS IT TURNED OUT, ADLER WAS in an accommodating mood when we met on July 3. He assured me that he had "no problems" with my story and even confirmed that my facts were on target. However, he said he was disappointed that I had never tried to contact him to get Armscor's point of view!

Adler said that he had never received the message that I wanted to interview him. He said that he suspected that internal politics at Armscor's headquarters might have played a role in sabotaging my efforts. As far as the cancellation of Armscor's subscription to Die Suid-Afrikaan was concerned — that was due to an administrative error, he assured me.

In line with Armscor's newly adopted friendlier image, Adler phoned from my office to order his people in Pretoria to immediately renew the subscription.

Later I was to learn that, in line with the animal metaphor, there was a conflict between "hawks" and "doves" at Armscor. The "hawks" apparently were furious about the article because of the "bad light" in which it portrayed Armscor. The "doves", on the other hand, were quite happy with the excuse it offered them to go public in changing the company's image.

So, the fact that the new image of Armscor's TV ad is conveyed by pigeons rather than hawks may be no coincidence after all!



Then came the hawkish years of P W Botha and the siege mentality that followed, with criminal acts justified by the end of obtaining weapons secrets from Western countries.

The final phase was the inevitable crumbling of the military empire following the take-over of F W de Klerk

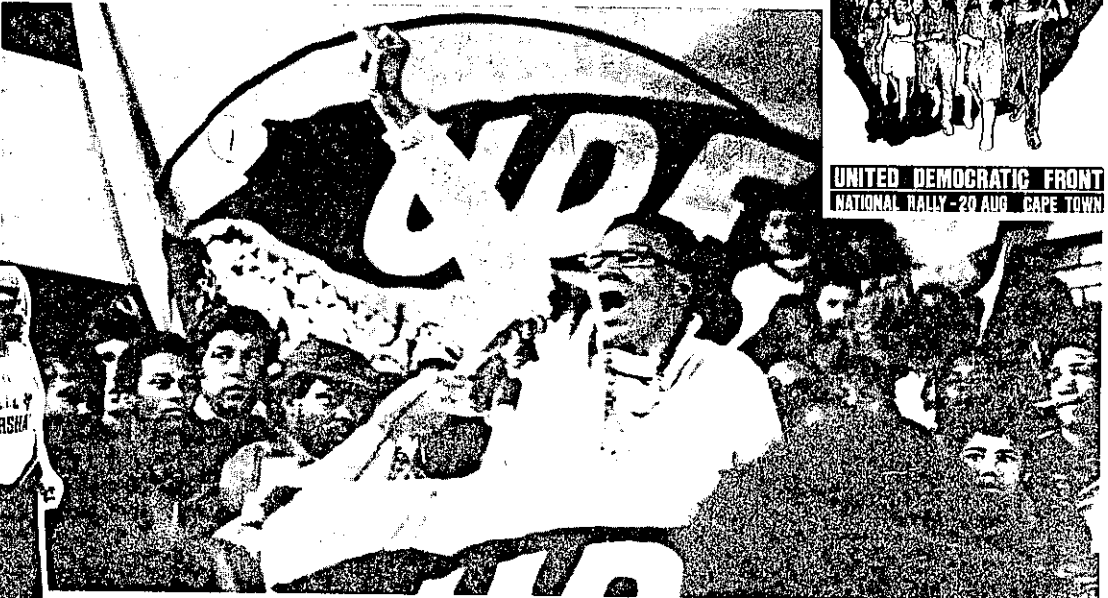
as head of state. The conclusion of the article was that a completely new, scaled-down peacetime role was in the process of being defined for the once mighty Armscor. This was described as a complete humiliation for the "hawks" in the military establishment.

The report created quite a stir in the top echelons of Armscor, with accusations that I had been fed the information by a "mole" at headquarters in Pretoria. It was even suggested that I had had access to top-secret "classified" documents and in places had quoted directly from these.

UDF overtaken by events, but here to be praised

South 15/8 - 21/8/91

Eight years ago, 15 000 people gathered at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain to launch the United Democratic Front. Next Sunday, the UDF will be gathering there again — this time to disband the organisation. **REHANA ROSSOUW** spoke to Trevor Manuel, former UDF Western Cape secretary:



IN FULL FLIGHT: Frances Baard, above, at the launch of the UDF in the Rocklands Civic Centre

ALTHOUGH THE UDF is winding up its affairs, people will not be gathering at the Rocklands Civic Centre to bury the organisation — they will be coming to praise it.

"Let's bury the Constitution", said an early edition of UDF News. Today, that goal is easily in sight.

"The UDF meant so much to the Western Cape specially, not only because it was launched here but because of its style of work, its grass-roots politics and its creativity which captured the imagination of thousands of people," said former UDF Western Cape secretary Mr Trevor Manuel this week.

"Its songs, the way activists went into communities to listen and learn from them and its heroism during the defiance campaign made people want to be part of the UDF.

"The organisation was able to break the culture of silence which existed previously in the Western Cape."

Next Sunday, the ANC will be hosting the rally at the Rocklands Civic to pay homage to the legacy of the UDF.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo has been billed as the main speaker, joining UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak and UDF national executive member Mr Popo Molefe at the podium.

"The ANC was able to lay the basis for talks with the government because of the gallant struggles waged by organisations like the UDF," Manuel said.

"It is not only the ANC which has to express its gratitude to the UDF, but other organisations as well."

The UDF's legacy — its pioneering style of organisation — will be remembered at the rally.

The organisation spent most of its first year opposing the government's reforms, particularly the new constitution which introduced the tricameral parliament and the Koornhof Bills.

This package aimed to co-opt coloureds and Indians with a second-class franchise, while consolidating indirect rule over urban Africans

through unpopular community councils.

Its first broadside against the constitution came through the Million Signature Campaign. Although the target proved too large for the young movement, the campaign's major aims were met.

Communities were made aware of the UDF and what it stood for and activists learnt to listen to the people and to understand their problems.

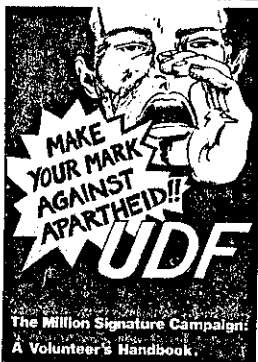
"Another important breakthrough was the fact that the campaign was taken to the rural areas — before 1983 we organised primarily in the urban areas," Manuel said.

The UDF also revived the non-racial ethos last seen in South Africa during the heydays of the Congress Alliance in the 1950s.

It spurred the growth of a host of sectoral organisations. Before its launch, there were three youth congresses in the country. A few years later there was a youth organisation in practically every South African town.

Women's and civic organisations also flourished under the umbrella of the UDF and through its alliance-style politics.

"The UDF also created a new culture. I remember at the launch, the Soweto delegation came toyi-toying into the hall and everyone stared,"



The Million Signature Campaign: A Volunteer's Handbook



UDF UNITES: The organisation had popular appeal among young and old

"Its songs, the way activists went into communities to listen and learn from them and its heroism during the defiance campaign made people want to be part of the UDF."

Manuel said. "I chaired the first session and I don't remember using the word comrade once."

The UDF built its strength despite some early differences with trade unions linked to Fosatu and despite infighting around the alleged existence of a Natal-based leadership cabal.

It spearheaded the African township boycotts of community councils — successfully undercutting the "Koornhof Bills" strategy to bolster local control.

Its campaign against the August 1984 tricameral elections — one of the biggest campaigns in South African history — left the government's reform programme in tatters.

It took up popular issues affecting ordinary people — from bread price increases to conscription — and grew to become a mammoth structure even

if its claims of uniting over 700 affiliate organisations were no doubt inflated.

Then in September 1984 a peaceful protest by 2 000 Lekoa township residents against rent hikes became a running battle with the police.

The army took control of Vaal towns and the UDF, Fosatu and the student movement Cosas staged an unprecedented mass stayaway to demand that troops leave the townships.

From the Vaal the protests spread — to the East and West Rand and down to the Eastern Cape. By August 1985 the conflict had scorched its way down to the Western Cape.

On July 20 1985, 60 000 people gathered at Lingelihle township to bury the "Cradock Four" — assassinated UDF activists Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Ungrasped nettle

The ANC is again facing the problem of divided loyalties.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's

11A

military wing, has voted against the proposed resignation of its chief of staff, Chris Hani — after it was announced that he would take up a senior fulltime job with the SA Communist Party (likely to be secretary general after the SACP's December conference). Faced with integration with the SA Defence Force and the problems of transforming guerrillas into professional soldiers, MK believes it cannot afford to lose Hani's skills.

Hani says he will rely on instructions from the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC), but otherwise he won't comment.

The MK call has embarrassed the top leadership of the ANC and SACP. But it is hard to see how

the ANC can stop Hani moving. SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo has now assumed a fulltime position as an ANC negotiator, with Cyril Ramaphosa, Valli Moosa and Thabo Mbeki. At least half the ANC's NEC are active communists: it is unlikely they will refuse a move that would boost the SACP.

The controversy about the SACP is similar to issues that caused debate in the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the third partner in the alliance. John Copelyn, general secretary of Cosatu's third biggest union, the Clothing & Textile Workers', has attacked the SACP for secretly approaching top Cosatu members to join the interim leadership of the party last year.

Now the same thing seems to have happened with Hani. Two weeks ago, the SACP invited Hani to work fulltime for the party. A few days later, Hani informed the ANC NEC of his resignation.

Angry cadres

This rapidly leaked to the press, including the snippet that former Operation Vula commander Sipiwe Nyanda was Hani's likely successor. All this took place shortly before last week's MK conference in Venda.

Many MK cadres were privately angry that Hani had not waited for the conference to discuss his resignation with them.

The army is angered by what it perceives as shoddy treatment from the ANC leadership in the past year. Commander-in-chief Joe Modise, has spent most of this year trying to quell rebellions in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda. Cadres complain they have been critically short of essentials, including food and toiletries, in all the camps.

They also say the ANC leadership has kept them poorly informed. The Zambian homes of some senior ANC officials were attacked with bombs, grenades and AK-47 fire by, it is believed, angry MK combatants.

The Hani resignation also reflects disillusionment with the ANC leadership. Hani worked harder at grassroots than any other

top ANC official last year, recruiting and addressing meetings. The FM has learnt that he became dismayed with the jockeying for senior ANC positions before the July conference. According to colleagues, Hani also felt his skills would be diluted as deputy to the often autocratic Nelson Mandela.

Almost a month before the conference, Hani told other leadership candidates he would not be up for election. It is then, apparently, that he decided to assume a more permanent political role with the SACP.

If the ANC agrees to Hani — a superb organiser — moving from MK, the SACP could increase its appeal. Total paid-up party membership is presently around 10 000 members, drawn from the PWV, eastern Cape, western Cape, Border and Transkei.

Such a switch by Hani may undermine the ANC — but it is an outcome that the organisation has done little to avoid. The ANC itself has no core of bright young stalwarts ready to assume leadership positions. Nor is it planning for any future separation of the two organisations — which means it could be severely weakened if at any time the communists walked out.

Despite the ANC's official rejection of personality as an important factor in the "struggle", the organisation's revolutionary period achieved precisely the opposite — with the result that folk heroes like Hani are extraordinarily influential.



Hani

Labour Party, PAC leaders meet

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Labour Party yesterday held talks on a patriotic front and the call for a constituent assembly, a source said in Cape Town.

He said a full statement on the talks would be issued tomorrow.

He was not in a position to say who had taken part, except that "leaders of the PAC and the LP" had attended.

The talks were held at the PAC offices in Johannes-

burg. It is understood that LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and his son Peter were at the meeting.

The source said the talks had been a "one-off meeting" but might lead to further discussions.

Earlier, SABC radio news quoted an unnamed PAC spokesman as saying the talks had been fruitful and had paved the way for the LP's participation in a patriotic front meeting scheduled for next month. — Sapa.

THE present debate on the economic and political future of South Africa underscores momentous challenges facing the country.

For instance, the unbanning of the major resistance movements presages a period of political, economic and social transformation.

People and organisations across the social, economic and political spectrum are also wrestling with vital choices which could alter the course of history.

One such organisation is the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, which tackles the impending economic transformation and black economic empowerment at its 27th annual conference at Sun City near Rustenberg, starting on Sunday.

Under the theme "The new South Africa: Opportunities for black economic empowerment", about 1 500 delegates are expected to adopt a new constitution which the chamber believes will be essential to its future development.

One of the most important resolutions to come from previous Nafcoc conferences was one urging an economic conference involving all key players to map out a clearly defined economic policy proposal.

In accordance with the resolution, the Nafcoc council decided to establish an economic commis-

Nafcoc meeting to focus on economy

Soweto 16/8/91

**Business Reporter
JOSHUA RABOROKO
prepares the
important Nafcoc
conference which
starts this weekend.**

sion whose research functions and responsibilities centred not only around the organisations of workshops, conferences and collating data, but also commissioned specific studies into various aspects of the economic and sociopolitical milieu.

Seminars

During 1990 the Nafcoc economic commission was responsible for organising a successful conference in Transkei; and also an important workshop on the land issue in Johannesburg towards the end of the year.

During 1991 several workshops were held, at which specific attention was given to other sectors of the economy. Such workshops were attended by representatives from ANC, PAC, Azapo and



ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC's Clarence Makwethu will deliver keynote speeches.

the Black Consciousness Movement.

The main objective in arranging such workshops and seminars was to enable Nafcoc, in the long run, to formulate an appropriate and sound macro-economic policy framework that enjoys the widest public support in the country.

Nafcoc executive director Mr Mofasi Lekota said that the theme of the conference was in line with the findings of the commission, which would make recommendations to

the members.

It was important that members look at the opportunities for black business after restrictive laws, including the Group Areas Act, the Land Act, and other laws regarding blacks, are scrapped.

The conference will be addressed by various speakers from different schools of thought and it is hoped that far-reaching decisions, including the future economic policy that will be operational in the post-apartheid South Africa.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will open the conference, which has been urged to organise and enable black business to participate fully in the current debate on the framing of an appropriate economic policy for South Africa.

Other keynote speakers include PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, University of Cape Town vice-chancellor Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Dr Ali Mazrui, director of the Institute of Global Studies at the State University of New York (Binghamton).

Sanctions

An important highlight of the conference will be the presidential address to be delivered by Mr Sam Motsuenyane.

Apart from the economic empowerment issue, the conference would lay groundwork for the chamber's post-sanctions role in trade with other countries, especially with neighbouring African states.

Lekota said: "We foresee an important issue will be co-operation with other southern African countries in trade and development and the formulation of strategies to increase the asset base of our members and the GDPs of the country and region.

"Nafcoc recognises the urgency of the need for foreign investment, once the sensitive issue of sanctions has been resolved, to enable the country to carry the financial burden of the problems of a post-apartheid South Africa.

He said restructuring has enabled Nafcoc to double its membership to more than 100 000 in the past year.

The 27-year-old chamber has decided to shift from accepting only regional organisations as members to such national bodies as the 400 000-member African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business.

It has also broadened its membership by embracing the building and the taxi industries and indications

are that it will venture into other sectors of the informal business, such as the stokvels and burial societies.

The chamber will also prepare the ground for its mission to sell the new South Africa to the rest of Africa.

Nafcoc has also relaunched an educational committee to look into the crisis in black education.

Mofasi said the aim of the committee was to train blacks to become not just job-seekers, as in the past, but job creators who used their entrepreneurial skills for the benefit of the community.

Delegates will also discuss the violence that has gripped the country and affected most businesses.

"The bloodbath in the townships is disturbing and needs serious attention by leaders of the warring groups. Let us stop this violence," Lekota appealed.

Plans are also afoot to merge Nafcoc with the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services and the whites-only South Africa Chamber of Business. Meetings, fully backed by the ANC, have been held in this regard.

To this end Nafcoc has open its membership to all people who subscribe to the principles enunciated in its business charter - the key element being removal of racial discrimination in South Africa.

LP, PAC in talks

THE PAC and the Labour Party held talks on a patriotic front and constituent assembly in Johannesburg yesterday. A statement will be issued tomorrow. — Sapa

Azapo protest (1/1)

AN estimated 50 Azanian Peoples' Organisation members were arrested by police while taking part in a demonstration outside Pollsmoor Prison yesterday.

The demonstration was in protest against the continued imprisonment of three former Robben Island political prisoners who are on a hunger strike at the prison. — Sapa CT16/8/91

Protesters warned

Crime Reporter (118) AG 16/8/91

POLICE arrested 41 Azanian Peoples' Organisation members and supporters who staged a demonstration outside Pollsmoor prison to demand the release of three political prisoners being held there who are on hunger strike. A police spokesman said they were warned and released.

Final bell tolls for the UDF

NA
Sowetan
16/8/91

A WIDE array of activists who built their political careers on United Democratic Front platforms will speak at the movement's last public meeting on Sunday.

The last post for the UDF will sound in Rocklands Civic Centre where it was launched on August 20 1983.

The UDF national executive committee met for the last time on Wednesday, confident that the political changes the organisation fought for are attainable.

Formed to fight the tricameral parliamentary election

in the absence of banned organisations such as the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Communist Party and others, the UDF resolved early this year to disband because these organisations had been legalised.

Among UDF stalwarts who will address Sunday's meeting are Communist Party member Miss Cheryl Carolus, Mr Popo Molefe and Dr Allan Boesak, the director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, who played a pivotal role in the founding of the UDF.

Saturday classes in Mamelodi

THE Mamelodi Education Project has organised Saturday classes for Standard 8 and matric pupils.

The classes start tomorrow at J Kekana High School and will be held between 8am and 4pm every Saturday. Pupils will to be taught by teachers from different high schools in the township.

For further information please contact Miss Iris Moche at (012) 805-8407.

Tambo expected

Invitations will be sent to UDF patrons Archbishop Desmond Tutu, sports administrator Mr Hassan Howa, and ANC activists Mrs Amy Thornton and Mr Johnny Issel.

Organisers are hoping that former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will attend.

Members of the Congress of South African Writers will read poetry and the University of the Western Cape Creative Arts Choir will perform. - Political Staff.

Rumpus as Botswana paper is linked to SA military

w/ Mail 16/8-22/9/91

The day President FW De Klerk announced an end to secret projects, 'the taps were turned off' at a Gaborone newspaper controlled by South Africans.

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK and FERIAL HAFFAJEE

ed by military intelligence. Craft Press publishes the *Mafikeng Mail* — a Bophuthatswana government mouthpiece.

Magnum managing director Neil Burrows angrily rejected suggestions that the newspaper would be closed down. "No such luck," he said.

The DSA/Q-Group companies numbers among their senior staff several former *Sunday Times* journalists, including Alan Soule, Gary Dixon and Neil Hooper.

A former SABC journalist, Sipke de Vries, is also employed in the group. He is allegedly the link between military intelligence and Q-Group.

tions Project, which Basson used to coordinate covert government activities in Namibia before the elections there; and to Veterans for Victory, which has long been regarded as having been established by the government to counter the End Conscription Campaign.

DSA staffers also comprise the staff of the rightwing South African magazine, *Southern African Special Despatch*, known to have close links with the government. Further, DSA acts as the official media liaison body for the Bophuthatswana government, and performs a PR role for Armscor.

The former managing editor of *Newslink*, Barry Baxter, told *The Weekly Mail* last week he believed the publication had been funded and controlled by military intelligence through DSA.

Baxter was paid off this week and told by the newspaper's owner that it would be sold to Craft Press, a company controlled by the Bophuthatswana government.

According to Basson, Craft is also fund-

A BOTSWANA-based newspaper was on the point of being closed down this week amid allegations from its own staff that it is a covert project of South African military intelligence.

The newspaper's former managing editor has told *The Weekly Mail* that he believed the newspaper, *Newslink*, was a front for the South African Defence Force's Military Intelligence Division.

The SADF has refused to confirm or deny the allegations.

The Weekly Mail has established that *Newslink* was closely monitored and controlled by a Pretoria-based communications company that is known for its close co-operation with secretly funded organisations.

Newslink has a formal agreement for technical services with Q-Group, formerly Dixon-Soule Associates (DSA), which had been labelled a government front by former military intelligence major Nico Basson.

Newslink is owned and published by Magnum Press, based in Gaborone but controlled from the Pretoria offices which house Q-Group. The chairman of Magnum Press, Abel Rudman, is also a director of Q-Group.

DSA has provided services to the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, which the government has admitted was covertly funded; to African Communica-

matter of weeks to a third of the area.

"All indications are that the tap was suddenly turned off."

The rapid restructuring of the operation, says Basson, suggests that Pretoria may be trying to cover up an Info-type scandal which brought down John Vorster in the 1970s.

Basson has told *The Weekly Mail* that DSA and the rest of the companies in the group are financed by the SADF out of a secret government fund. He says the money used for these and similar projects run by military intelligence comes from a secret budget called the Special Defence Account, which was budgeted at R4,17-billion in the current financial year.

Much of it went on arms production. But it is also known that the account was used to fund military hit-squads — the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Baxter said that both he and his staff had long been concerned about the source of *Newslink's* funding, because it did not seem viable as a commercial operation.

It was supposedly financed by Rudman, who presented himself as a wealthy Western Transvaal farmer interested in investing in the Botswana publishing industry. Copy produced locally by his staff was sent by computer to Pretoria where it was re-written before being sent back.

● To PAGE 9

The Weekly Mail is in possession of documents which illustrate DSA's management of *Newslink's* contents.

One fax from DSA to *Newslink* gives instructions for the publication of a critical letter from the Botswana Journalists' Association, which was to be printed along with a response from the newspaper's editor, Douglas Tsiako.

De Vries wrote: "You can go ahead with both items. Douglas' answer to the allegations is spot on and must not be changed. If anybody at Magnum Press or *Newslink* is approached for comment, there is to be the standard and friendly reply: 'No comment as this is an internal letter.'"

"I just think it's a very direct comparison to the Info scandal," said Basson this week.

"The Info scandal was an attempt by the government to buy and manipulate a communication medium like magazines, newspapers and public relations and communications companies.

"This is a repetition, just far more sophisticated. They create holding companies which own communication facilities. It's a total strategy in everything that can create a critical message to change the attitudes of the voters in South Africa."

The Weekly Mail has learned that Rudman told senior *Newslink* staff on Wednesday night that he was only dealing with DSA "insofar as they provided special technical services". He added that "there's nothing wrong with these guys working for the government".

He said he had no link with DSA and only employed them to do this work. However, Rudman's name appears as a director on the letterheads of Q-Group. Calls to Q-Group confirmed his post.

The Weekly Mail was unable to reach Rudman for comment yesterday. However, Q-Group assistant managing director Cliff Patterson emphatically denied that DSA was funded by the military.

He added that Magnum Press and *Newslink* were clients of one of DSA's subsidiary companies, Future Graphics, "who supply a pre-press production service to them. This is due to the unavailability of professional and technologically similar facilities in Gaborone".

When approached by *The Weekly Mail*, the SADF refused to confirm or deny the allegations. They referred *The Weekly Mail* to the statement released by the state president's office last week, saying that,

"for the present, no further details about alleged special secret projects or funds will be made known".

Botswana's CID chief, Assistant Commissioner T Kaitshalo, told *The Weekly Mail* that he had had several inquiries about the allegations, but no action would be taken until firm evidence came to light.

"If the reports prove accurate, it would amount to subversion," he said.

Staff dissatisfaction at *Newslink* has been running high for some months, with numerous complaints of racism directed against Neil Burrows, a former Rhodesian based in Botswana.

According to Baxter, Burrows had a sismbok hanging in his office until a few weeks ago. He has also been the subject of labour department investigations.

Newslink staff members have told *The Weekly Mail* that they were on the point of walking out in protest against the newspaper's links. However, they were waiting to be addressed by Rudman and Burrows at a special meeting called for today. Methaetsile Lepile, managing editor of the Gaborone-based newspaper *Amegi*, told *The Weekly Mail* that efforts to confirm the allegations elicited a "tense and evasive response" from Rudman.

He added: "*Newslink's* management is known to be very close to South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Basimanyana Masire, the brother of the President Quett Masire and an associate of Botha's."

Lepile said it was widely believed that Basimanyana Masire had shares in *Newslink*. Botswana newspapers recently disclosed that Botha had stayed with him on a surreptitious visit."

NEWS

It defied PW's juggernaut, now mission is over

UDF bows out

Star 17/8/91

11A

CAPE TOWN — Tomorrow, exactly eight years since it was launched, the United Democratic Front will cease to exist.

The move is in line with one of the working principles adopted by the UDF in 1983 that it would not be a substitute for legitimate liberation movements.

It was launched at the time of the Total Onslaught and the co-option of coloured and Indian political parties into the tricameral system, a time when it appeared the National Party juggernaut had steamrolled all opposition.

As gloom clouded the political skies, Dr Allan Boesak called for an alliance of anti-apartheid forces to take on PW Botha outside Parliament.

His was not a lost

voice in the political vacuum caused by years of oppression and detention without trial.

On August 20 1983 in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, scores of delegates from all parts of the country met to form the United Democratic Front.

It was a bold step into the cauldron of South African politics, one which invited government retaliation.

It is now history that the iron fist seriously damaged, but failed to destroy, the UDF. Mr Botha no longer stomps around Tuynhuys or Parliament, and the UDF, which was effectively banned on February 25 1988, is legal.

The National Party, the very same party which through State machinery and forces hounded the UDF, is now engaged in talks-about-talks with the ANC, the same organisation the State once claimed had

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

started the UDF.

February 2 1990, which brought with it the unbanning of liberation movements, signalled the beginning of the end for the UDF.

For Dr Boesak the UDF brought a move from the traditional black consciousness politics to a nonracialism.

He said: "The organisation, both in terms of what it stood for and people I'd worked with, was an inspiration I'll never forget."

"It laid the foundations for the return of liberation movements and the ongoing personal involvement in politics of a totally new generation, and that cannot be taken away from us. I'm really proud of what the UDF has been able to achieve."

He said the UDF had done more for the cause of democracy than many

other organisations.

"I don't think that since the banning of the ANC have people been so mobilised on such a wide scale.

"I also think that the UDF, maybe for the first time for many people, brought into focus the ideals we fought for and what they actually meant."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "The UDF played a crucial role in holding our community together when the other liberation movements were banned.

"It was subjected to continual harassment during its existence, but it was vindicated when the Appeal Court acquitted its leaders after the notorious Delmas Trial.

"If it had not been for the UDF, there could have been a lot more violence and confusion in the 1980 and '90s.

"It also produced outstanding leaders such as Popo Molefe and Terror

Lekota."

Trevor Manuel is one of those activists whose name became synonymous with that of the UDF.

The ANC national executive member said: "We need to salute (the UDF) for a job well done."

Christmas Tinto was one of the people who planned the formation of the UDF. He was elected to the first regional UDF executive, and has led the UDF in the western Cape. Today he is western Cape head of the ANC.

He said he did not know of any other organisation which had kept the ANC influence alive during its illegal days as the UDF had done.

The UDF also ventured into an area which the ANC had neglected, he said. "It organised the youth. Today the youth is taking over and dominating our conferences."

UDF comes to the end of an era



IT WAS the era of the Total Onslaught and the co-option of coloured and Indian political parties into the tricameral system ... a time when it appeared the National Party juggernaut had steamrolled all opposition.

As gloom clouded the political skies, Dr Allan Boesak called for an alliance of anti-apartheid forces to take on P W Botha outside Parliament.

His was not a lost voice in the political vacuum caused by years of oppression and detention without trial. On August 20 1983 in Rocklands, Mitchell Plain, scores of delegates from all parts of South Africa met to form the United Democratic Front.

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The National Party, the same one which, through State machinery and forces, hounded the UDF, is now engaged in talks about talks with the African National Congress, the same organisation which the State once claimed had started the UDF.

And the UDF? It has decided to leave the centre stage of extra-parliamentary politics. Tomorrow, exactly eight years since it was launched, the Front will cease to exist.

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traditional black consciousness politics to a non-racialism.

He said: "The organisation, both in terms of what it stood for and people with whom I'd worked, was an inspiration I'll never forget. It laid the foundations for the return of liberation movements and the ongoing personal involvement in politics of a totally new generation and that cannot be taken away from us. I'm really proud of what the UDF has been able to achieve."

He said the UDF had done more for the cause of democracy than many other organisations.

"I don't think that since the banning of ANC have people been so mobilised on such a wide scale. I also think the UDF, maybe for the first time for many people, brought into focus the ideals for which we fought and what they actually meant."

The UDF had failed to wreck the creation of the tricameral parliament, but "we saw to it that system never gained any respect or credibility in this country or abroad".

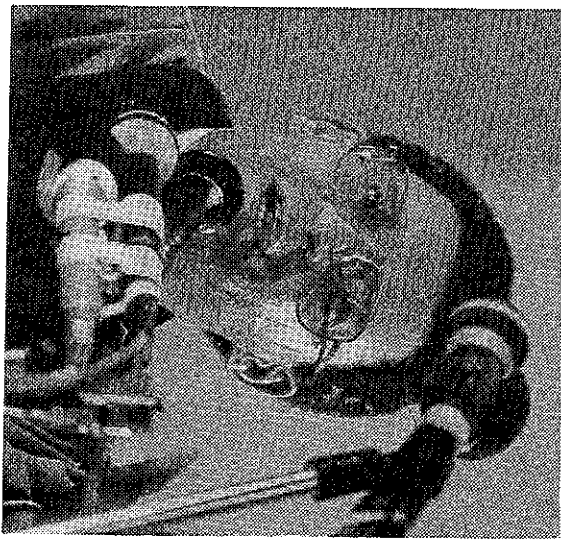
Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "The UDF played a crucial role in holding our community together when other liberation movements were banned."

"It was subjected to continual harassment during its existence, but it was vindicated when the Appeal Court acquitted its leaders after the notorious Delmas Trial.

"If it had not been for the UDF there could have been a lot more violence and confusion in the 1980s. It also produced outstanding leaders such as Popo Molefe and Terror Lekota."

Mr Trevor Manuel is one of those activists whose name became synonymous with that of the UDF. The ANC's new national executive member said: "However much we remain attached to the UDF, we cannot afford to be sentimental about it. We need to salute it for a job well done."

The UDF had helped him to grow as a person, learn about other sides of life and had contributed to building a culture of resistance, he said. "It in-



ALLAN BOESAK: Founding figure.

spired people to fight back and took the struggle from the cities to the rural areas."

Mr Christmas Tinto was one of the people who planned the formation of UDF. He was elected to the first regional UDF executive, and has led the UDF in the Western Cape. Today he is Western Cape head of the ANC.

He said he did not know of any other organisation which had kept the ANC influence alive during its illegal days as the UDF had done.

He added: "It is the only organisation which upheld the political aspirations of the ANC. It played a very important role in politicising people and tackling the apartheid government."

The UDF also ventured into an area which the ANC had neglected, he said. "It organised the

youth. Today, the youth is taking over and dominating our conferences."

He paid tribute to Mr Oscar Mpeha, first Western Cape leader of the UDF, for the role he had played in building the Front.

Mrs Hilda Ndude's involvement earned her the wrath of a firebomb which was thrown at her New Crossroads home in 1988. The former UDF publicity secretary dragged her children to safety but was badly burned on her leg in the process.

She was proud of the UDF and its achievements. "I'm not sad at the decision to bury the UDF. It played a very important role in our struggle and filled a vacuum. The UDF was the mouthpiece of the oppressed and (we) spoke with one voice."

She said the UDF had epitomised non-racialism. "We had no colour bars."

Sadly, people like Matthew Goniwe, Fort Galata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlawuli will not be in Rocklands tomorrow. The four Cradock leaders were waylaid and murdered while on their way home from Port Elizabeth in 1985. But they will certainly be remembered when the roll call of UDF dead is read out.

The real history of the UDF, like that of the country, may be written only once there is a democratic government in power. Only then will it be possible for the full truth to be known.

However, when historians sit down to chronicle the UDF's contribution to democracy, they may well pause on the year 1989 and write that it was that year when the Mass Democratic Movement, which really was the UDF in another guise, took on the might of apartheid with its defiance campaign.

It was also the year in which prominent UDF activists went on a hunger strike in prison to focus world attention on detention without trial. Their action forced Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok to release them, albeit under severe restrictions which they defied.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

32 SA spies come in from cold

HA
ARG 17/8/91

ESTHER WAUGH

Political Staff

MORE than 30 South African government spies are on their way home from Uganda after having been released by the African National Congress at the end of May.

Their return is in line with a decision taken by the ANC's national executive committee in February to release all South African spies and agents in its detention.

The group of 32 men will be handed to the care of the International Red Cross at Jan Smuts Airport this evening.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said last night there was no relationship between the agents' return and the agreement reached yesterday between the government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

She said their return depended on ANC resources to finance their journey to South Africa, and pointed out that the men did not require amnesty as they were government agents. She emphasised that the returning agents did not include any dissidents.

Some of the released agents and spies preferred to be integrated into ANC ranks or to take up scholarships, she said.

One returning agent is Mr Samuel Mpho Motjoadi, also known as Moramphaga Mojaki, who she alleged took part in armed actions against ANC activists and handed booby-trap handgrenades to an ANC group in Springs before attempting to infiltrate the movement.

Mr Oscar Mtombela, also known as Siphon Mhapi, was allegedly involved in the identification of an ANC house and took part in the attack on ANC members in Maseru in 1982 before infiltrating the movement.

In its statement yesterday, the ANC said that the 32 — "who were among the most notorious" — would be returning to South Africa on Flight SA 185, arriving at Jan Smuts at 9.30pm. The ANC had provided air tickets and passports.

Back to basics (11A)

THE United Democratic Front formally closes shop on Tuesday after exactly eight years' existence. *8/11/91 18/8/91*

Hogarth remembers the dirty tricks that accompanied its launch in Rocklands Civic Centre near Cape Town. One pamphlet widely circulated in Mitchell's Plain said the launch had been called off; another said it was postponed; and a third offered free admission to a rock concert nearby.



All three pamphlets were fake — but it was not enough to keep away the crowds who turned up to listen to

Allan Boesak coin his famous slogan: "The road is long but the end is near."

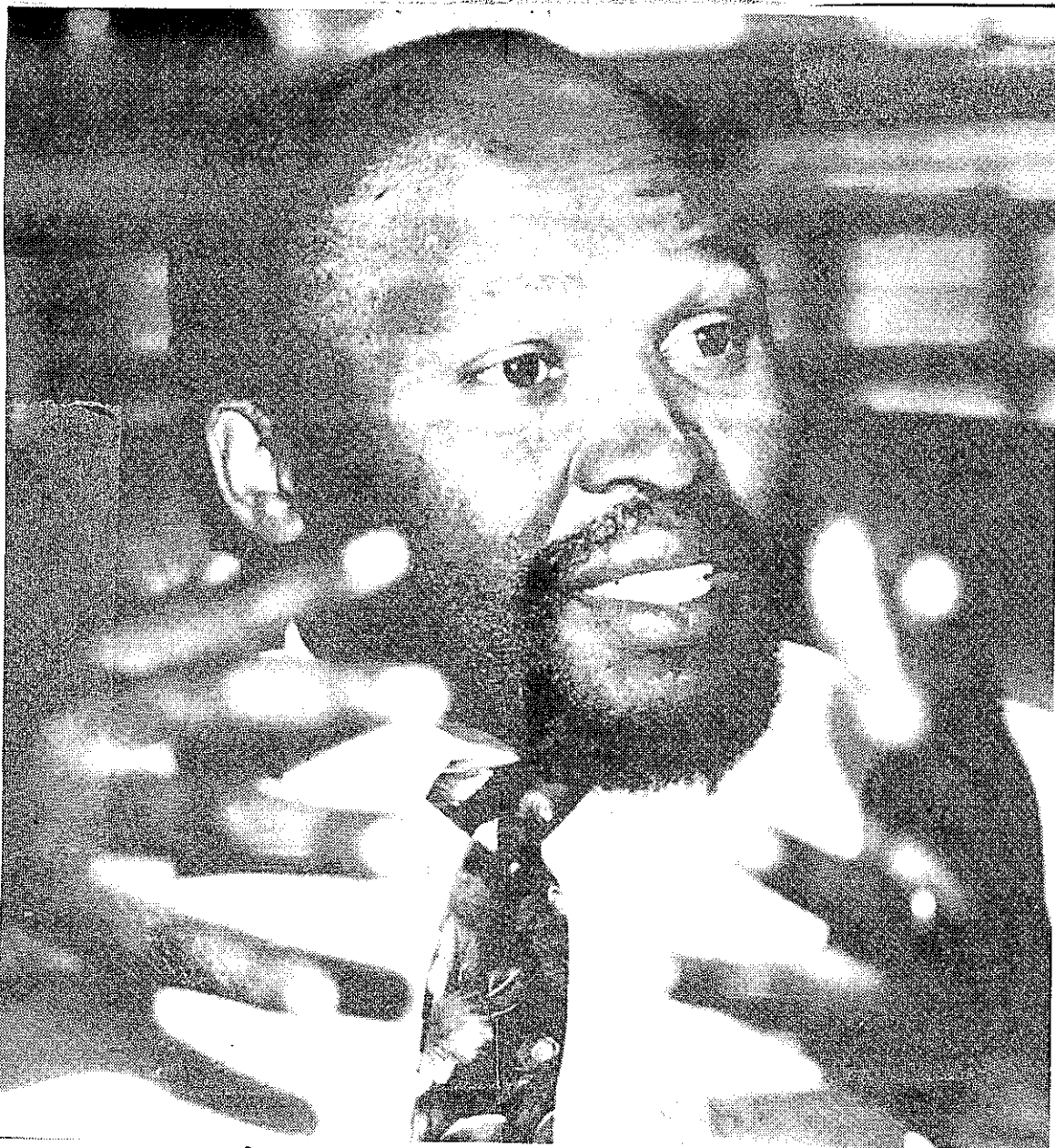
Now both Boesak and the UDF have returned to their natural home: the ANC.

A Soldier's Tale ^{St James}

18/8/97
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, the military arm of the ANC, experienced a mutiny of another sort when delegates to the organisation's first legal conference last weekend arrived at barracks — in this case, the Venda Sun.

Senior cadres discovered that they were not only expected to share rooms, but also beds.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and national executive member Alfred Nzo had particular objections to sleeping cheek-to-cheek. Hotel staff had to swiftly move twin beds into the rooms to separate the brothers-in-arms.



NO SADNESS ... Murphy Morobe, who says the UDF has not left a void

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

Murphy's lore

AS UDF FINALLY SHUTS UP SHOP,
MOROBE SAYS: WE HELPED THE
PEOPLE TO STAND UP AND FIGHT

FOR five years, Murphy Morobe was the official voice of the United Democratic Front. On Tuesday, the voice of that organisation will fall silent.

August 20, eight years since the organisation was formed, is identified by the UDF as the day it will cease to exist.

Mr Morobe, now an industrial relations liaison officer for PG Wood, says the UDF had its last executive committee meeting on Wednesday.

Far from sadness, there was a feeling of accomplishment. It is not as if the organisation is leaving a void, the UDF's acting publicity secretary says.

"You have the sense that you have come to an end of a chapter and I think this meeting for me was the last milestone for the UDF."

The UDF's key objective when it started off in 1983

By EDYTH BULBRING

was to oppose government initiatives — the Koornhof Bills, the black local authorities initiative and the tricameral system.

"Today, as the UDF closes shop, even that constitution which we sought to render ineffective is on its deathbed," says Mr Morobe.

The UDF also campaigned for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of organisations.

"We managed to get people to stand up and fight for their rights without any fear and actually challenge authority," he says.

Study

The UDF also laid the groundwork for the ANC to come back into a country where people accepted the principles of mass action and a broad front to achieve objectives.

The principle of non-racialism had also been tried and tested in the UDF's campaigns.

Mr Morobe, who returned to the country at the end of June after studying international and public affairs for nine months at Princeton University, says he will continue to be involved in politics.

He is still trying to find his niche but says his interest lies in development work.

Whether he does this from a business perspective or from within the ANC is irrelevant to him. "I see myself as throwing in my lot with everybody else involved in those areas," he says.

Rumours

Mr Morobe denies rumours that he and UDF leaders involved in calling for the isolation of Mrs Winnie Mandela in February 1989 have been sidelined by the ANC.

Far from being shunted off overseas, the decision to go had been his alone, he said.

"I had reached a point where I was burnt out and no longer had a sense of accomplishment," he said.

In an attempt to "set the record straight", Mr Morobe says that far from being sidelined, UDF people had been at the fore-

front in establishing ANC branches throughout the country.

It has also never been the view that all UDF leaders should get places on the ANC's national executive committee, he says.

For Mr Morobe, his low times in the UDF were the three times he was detained.

But the third time, he could not be held.

In September 1988, he and two other UDF leaders escaped from Johannesburg Prison, or "Sun City", and took refuge at the US consulate in Commissioner Street for 32 days.

Mr Morobe describes this event gleefully. "That was one of the highest moments in my life. We grow up seeing these things in movies. It never occurred to me that one day I would be one to jump prison walls and dash for safety.

Escape

The biggest problem was to reach the consul before it closed at midday, Mr Morobe said. They made it to the consul at 11.55am.

The purpose of the escape was to highlight the plight of detainees.

The stunt also undermined the governments rationale for keeping people in jail. Following the escape, Mr Morobe was a free man.

"It was quite clear what the solution to staying out of jail was if you were a detainee. If you get caught, escape," he says, laughing.

The UDF's greatest achievement was making itself the stepping stone towards the process of negotiation, he says.

The low points were the violence and intimidation that arose from some UDF programmes, such as stay-aways and boycotts.

Some activists went overboard and did things that were not consistent with the principles of the organisation, he said.

The best results could be achieved only if people freely supported your programmes and were not forced to do so, he says.

While the UDF's voice will soon be silent, it is unlikely that Mr Morobe — businessman, developmentalist and activist — will be quiet.

Cadres claim Hani

By THEMBA KHUMALO (IJA) (SZA)

THE "young lions" of Umkhonto weSizwe have sent a clear message to their political leaders in the ANC national executive committee not to dare remove Chris Hani from his position as chief of staff so he can take up a full-time appointment within the South African Communist Party. *C/Pres 18/8/91.*

At their national conference held at the University of Venda near Thohoyandou last weekend, the 500 MK delegates bluntly warned the ANC that it would relocate Hani at its peril.

In a surprise move three weeks ago the SACP asked the ANC to consider releasing Hani from his army duties to enable him to take up a full-time position with the party. The NEC must still decide on the matter.

The young cadres felt their older leaders suddenly wanted to "dump" them with the immense task of transforming the guerrilla army to a regular one.

Hani, who is held in high regard by MK cadres, still does not know whether the NEC will release him from MK.

Cadres even hinted at a mutiny if the ANC carried out its decision as the 45-year old deputy commander was considered indispensable to MK.

Western Cape MK commander Tony Yengeni, whose indemnification this year rescued him from a possible death sentence arising from the marathon Yengeni Trial at the Cape Town Supreme Court, was even more explicit.

"If comrade Chris leaves us, it will be bad for the ANC," he said.

Yengeni, one of Hani's top right-hand men, was probably ex-

pressing the sentiments of other commanders and the rank-and-file.

Yet Hani told journalists he was ready to go.

"In my opinion the communist party's request that I join them full-time is not unreasonable," he said.

After the conference he was at pains to say his fate rested in the hands of the NEC.

"I'll be bound by their decision. I'm a servant of the people."

Whatever the NEC decision, the loyalty of MK cadres drove home the point that Hani was perhaps the best-qualified person to oil the wheels of their proposed social welfare department.

A resolution on the matter read: "We request the establishment of a social welfare department within MK to look into the specific needs of the entire membership both inside and outside the country."

Some of the tension eased after the conference was addressed by Mandela, Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and his Transkei counterpart, General Bantu Holomisa.

Ramushwana, who came to power after a bloodless coup some two years ago, told the delegates that MK was free to campaign without hindrance in his homeland.

He even offered Mandela and his wife, Winnie, a Rolls Royce and a chauffeur to ferry them to and from conference, and the two were accommodated at his royal house outside Thohoyandou.

Ramushwana knows his public flirtation with the ANC is likely to earn him respect among those who see the ANC as the future government and enmity among those who still regard the ANC as an

"enemy and adversary that is manipulated by the communists".

His government footed the conference bill and provided security for delegates in and around the venue.

The conference also unveiled several rising stars within MK who, if Hani quits, may be considered for his post. Among them were Tokyo Segwale, an ex-Robben Islander and unit commander who served 13 years of his 18-year sentence; Sphiwe Gebhuza Nyanda who headed Operation Vula; Rodney Patel, a popular camp commander; Jeff Hadebe and Sihle Ndlazi, both regional commanders from Durban; Thenjiwe Mtintso, a former Eastern Cape journalist who fast rose to the Military High Command, and Jacqueline Molefe, head of communications in high command.

One of the conference resolutions demanded the immediate release of all remaining political prisoners, especially the two "Messina Trialists", Mthetheleli Mncube and Euclid Nondula, who are both languishing on Death Row, and Robert MacBride, whose death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment this year.

Hani said MK leaders were negotiating with several countries to retrain the cadres as part of their new programme, among them India and Uganda.

However, Joe Slovo, the SACP general secretary who once master-minded some of the MK operations inside South Africa, was not at the conference. It is not known whether the 72-year-old former MK chief of staff was too busy working for his party, or if he is now drifting away from his subordinates.

US activist may speak at first Azasco congress

By LULAMA LUTTI

(Pres 18/8/91) (11A)
VETERAN US civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael is likely to visit South Africa next month at the invitation of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). Azanian Students Convention (Azasco) publicity secretary Siphon Maseko said negotiations to have Carmichael address its first annual congress were at an advanced stage.

The venue is likely to be either Cape Town or Pretoria. Also to deliver a paper is Azapo economic affairs head and former Robben Island prisoner Mzukisi Madlavi.

The Azasco congress, the first since it separated from the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) last year, comes against the backdrop of the collapse of authority in many township schools.

Maseko said the more than 500 delegates from 39 branches would also be asked to affirm the organisation's commitment to the National Students' Consultative Conference (NSCC).

The NSCC was scheduled for May this year, but was postponed due to ideological differences and the fact participating organisations could not agree on the number of delegates to send to the conference.

ANC captives row

S Times 18/8/91.

By EDYTH BULBRING

THIRTY-TWO suspected state agents held by the ANC in detention camps flew into Jan Smuts airport last night — and into a row over who was to care for them.

The ANC said in a statement on Friday that they would be the responsibility of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

But Red Cross mission director Tony Pfanner said

yesterday he had informed the ANC that the 32 were the responsibility of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

By last night, however, the Red Cross had reluctantly agreed after discussions with the ANC to care for them until the UNHCR operation could swing into action.

Yesterday the ANC

released the names of its prisoners and details of some of them.

One of them took part in planting a car-bomb at Harare's Avondale shopping centre in May 1986 which maimed anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill, the ANC said.

Another was alleged to have identified ANC homes in Lesotho to the SADF. During an SADF raid in December 1982, 42 people, including women and

children, were killed.

A third gave short-primed grenades to ANC members which exploded immediately the pins were pulled.

Meanwhile, UNHCR involvement in the repatriation of about 40 000 SA exiles was settled in Geneva on Thursday after 501 days of exhausting negotiations with the government and compromises on both sides.

Harare's grim Chikurubi maximum security prison remained firmly locked up in their cells this weekend as Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe showed no signs of relenting towards former Rhodesian servicemen who threw in their lot with Pretoria.

Mr Mugabe has so far ignored repeated pleas by ANC envoys to free the five and create a climate for the release of convicted ANC bombers in SA, including Robert McBride.

Deviation

Political exiles wanting to return home will not have to give an account of their political "crimes" when seeking indemnity, officials involved in the process said yesterday.

This is a deviation from the existing indemnity process agreed to between the government and the ANC for political prisoners and exiles.

This concession on the part of the government fulfils the UNHCR's mandate that it will not be party to a process of self-incrimination.

The other area which had prolonged negotiations was the question of the UNHCR's free and unhindered access to returned exiles inside the country.

The government could not give the UNHCR a cast-iron guarantee of this in the case of the independent homelands, but assured the UNHCR that it would use its good offices to ensure that returning exiles would not be interfered with by the homeland leaders.

● The "forgotten five" of

In 22-hours-a-day solitary confinement in Chikurubi's 4 + 1,5-metre windowless condemned cells are former Central Intelligence Organisation double agent Kevin Woods, 39, ex-Rhodesian army engineer Michael Smith, 38, and retired Transkei-born Rhodesian police sergeant Phillip Conjwayo, 56.

Raid

They were sentenced to hang for the January 1988 car bombing of an ANC "safe house" in Bulawayo.

Serving life sentences are Barry Bawden, 33, who aided the May 1987 SADF raid on the ANC in Harare, and former Special Air Service paratrooper Denis "Sammy" Beahan, 41, who was captured during the abortive June 1988 bid to free SA agents from Chikurubi.

Tolerance, liberal values pledged in anti-violence pact

HERE IS THE PEACE PLAN

SITlines
18/8/91

FIRST WITH THE NEWS

By MIKE ROBERTSON Political Correspondent

IN A historic peace pact, the ANC, the government and Inkatha pledged this week to uphold basic democratic values and promised to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance.

The 70-page draft accord — full details of which can now be disclosed by the Sunday Times — sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

But it also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

The accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal

Annie's baby takes a bow



Cops hurt as rugby

fans go berserk

THREE policemen were hurt when they were pelted with stones as they tried to stop angry fans invading the field during a rugby match between Western Province League and Free State at Paarl.

Fans at Daljosafat stadium also hurled bottles and stones at the Free State players and Western Province referee Paul van Blommenstein.

The referee, whose decisions against the WP League team angered local supporters, had to be taken from the stadium in a riot truck.

Free State captain Pote Human led his men off the field 20 minutes into the second half with his team 34-3 ahead.

Accord stifles covert action
SITlines 18/8/91

The 70-page draft accord — full details of which can now be disclosed by the Sunday Times — sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

But it also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

The accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Accord stifles covert action

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THE draft peace accord agreed to this week empowers a standing commission on violence to seize state records if it believes the security forces are engaged in operations biased against a particular party.

The steps agreed to by the government, ANC and Inkatha are designed to prevent a recurrence of the Inkatha funding scandal.

The setting up of the commission was approved by Parliament earlier this year. It will be headed by a judge or retired judge, but representatives of the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party will also serve on it.

In terms of the accord, the SAP and SADF "shall not countenance the establishment or maintenance of any clandestine or covert operation which is

COPS AND COMMUNITY See Page 21

contrary to the letter and spirit of the agreement". This includes:

- Any operation biased towards or against a political party;
- Any operation which seeks to promote, undermine or influence a political party by means of illegal acts or disinformation;
- Channelling funds to any political party, trade union, political association or group;
- Training or providing funds, weapons or ammunition to non-security force members to carry out actions which support or undermine a political party.

Inspect

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal

FROM THE PREAMBLE TO THE PEACE AGREEMENT

or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;

- The appointment of a police board — with equal representation for the force and members of the public — to advise on future policing policy;

- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;

- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;

- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;

- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The agreement was crafted by members of the preparatory committee, in many sessions mediated by church and business leaders. Among the key figures involved were Middelburg Steel's John Hall, Anglo American's Bobby Godsell, former NGK Moderator Johan Heyns, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rustenburg Church Group co-chairman Louw Alberts.

The government's representatives included Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers and NP defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys.

Charged

The ANC alliance delegation included International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki, NEC member Aziz Pahad, Cosatu's Sydney Mufamadi and the SA Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin.

Inkatha representatives included national chairman Frank Mdlalose and central committee members Denis Madide, Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos.

Central to the functioning of the peace accord is the National Peace Committee. All signatories to the accord will be represented on the committee, which will have a businessman and church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

The NPC will be charged with implementing the accord and resolving any disputes which may arise. All decisions will be made by consensus.

If consensus is not reached, an arbitrator will be appointed, whose decision will be final. A National Peace Secretariat will be appointed to set up structures to actively combat violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

The NPS will consist of full-time representatives of the ANC alliance, the NP, Inkatha and the Department of Justice, as well as five other members.

The function of the secretariat will be to establish and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRCs) and Local Dispute Resolution

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If you build it . . .

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FM 9/8/91
SA may be letting its roads crumble, but Namibia and Botswana are pushing ahead with multimillion-rand highway projects to link the two countries through the Caprivi Strip and Kalahari Desert, which should be a boon for transport and tourism.

Construction of the 693 km Trans-Kalahari Highway between southern Botswana and Namibia has started on both sides of the border. When the road is completed early in the next century, the entire route between Gaborone and Windhoek will be tarred, saving SA truckers 400 km on the Johannesburg-Windhoek route.

The Namibian government is using its own plant and workers to build the 103 km Namibian segment and plans to have it finished by 1994. Concor Botswana has started work on the first Botswana section, a R23m, 72 km stretch in southern Botswana that it expects to complete in 18 months.

In another enormous road project, the Namibian government has awarded a R33,5m contract to Stocks & Stocks Namibia to build the second phase of the Trans-Caprivi Highway. Tenders for the third phase will be called for later this year. When that phase is completed, 200 km from Rundu east to Bagani will be tarred, with another 450 km to go before the project is completed through Katima Mulilo to Ngoma on the Botswana border.

Both roads will boost business by offering exporters and importers in SA, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia a direct, quality link with Walvis Bay. Many of them will then have the choice of using the inefficient east African ports or under-used Walvis Bay. ■

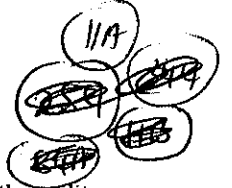
PLEASE, SIR,
I WANT SOME MORE.



Para-military forces look set to increase, says Helen Grange

Private armies left and right

Star 19/8/91.



DESPITE the Government's objection to the evolution of private armies in South Africa, there are indications that these military structures are heading for another phase of expansion and growth.

This trend has already manifested itself in the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) announcement last week that it would review its options with regard to a private army of its own — in the light of the growth of other private military groups.

Referring to the clash at Ventersdorp and the training being given by five African states to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Inkatha appealed to the Government "to take the necessary actions before other parties may be compelled to match the growing number of private armies".

Last week, the Cabinet formally decided against banning private armies following clashes between police and the right wing in Ventersdorp. Driving militant organisations underground introduces a threat of intensified violence of which the Government is only too keenly aware.

In addition, banning rightwing armies would necessitate the same action against other military wings such as MK, a move which would have serious consequences.

With MK's recent announcement that it plans to turn itself into a regular army, the possibility of Inkatha forming its own army and the right wing's announced expansion of its military units, the Government faces a problem with no easy solution.

There are already a number of private armies in South Africa and its homelands — some well organised and others taking the form of self-defence units or para-military groups.

Apart from the ANC's MK and the AWB's Wenkommando (formerly Aquila), there are scores of other politically oriented military wings attached to various organisations.

On the left, there is the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Black Consciousness Movement's Azanian National Liberation Army. On the right the known militaristic groupings include the

Boerekommando (expected to become the military wing of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging), the Wit Bevyrdomsleer, the Orde van die Dood, the Orde Boerevolk, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging and the Boereleer.

In addition, there are trained armies in the homelands and self-governing territories, apparently formed to protect their governments, but increasingly perceived as being linked to political objectives in South Africa.

This is particularly the case in Inkatha's stronghold, KwaZulu, and the ANC's stronghold, the Transkei.

On a grassroots level, an increasing garrison mentality can be seen in the form of civil protection units, township vigilante groups and neighbourhood watches.

There is a massive build-up of weapons inside the country, with illegal firearms running into the thousands. The huge influx of AK-47 rifles into the country following the ANC's unbanning means these weapons are relatively easily bought on the black market by

anyone with a military cause.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa, says it is MK which has the most access to such wartime weaponry — while soldiers on the right, most of them having been trained by the SA Defence Force, have the expertise.

Professor Hough feels strongly that despite the proliferation of private armies in the country, violent combat on any significant level will probably never materialise.

"I don't think the right wing wants to escalate conflict to civil war status. There will probably be a continuation of rightwing incidents as there have been in the past, but they would avoid open combat because they are not strong enough to confront the State," he said.

Wim Booysse, an expert on the right wing, says rightwing soldiers may choose to launch a host of weaponry thefts from State security keypoints — "in which case, they will be preparing for a revolution — although they are not nearly prepared at the moment".

Dilemma of the exiles

Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi from the Eastern Transvaal is an exile in Tanzania. In a letter addressed to the ANC president, secretary general and to various regional offices of the organisation he tells of his plight. *Sowetan* has obtained a copy of the letter. Today we publish excerpts from it because it illustrates one part of the exile problem. The ANC's response to Nkosi's allegations is also published today.

11A 330 4540 Sowetan 19/8/91.

NKOSI SAYS:

I Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi, hereby formally present to you this letter smuggled out of the Tanzanian/ANC cells in Mazimbu, and I shall not dwell so much into the pros and cons of what happened.

My point of contention is that I do not want to be incarcerated by the ANC as a liberation movement. I left South Africa to escape such actions. It is even worse here because the people in charge are completely ignorant of the proper procedures to follow.

Now that repatriation is approaching I feel very much insecure because the community used to be my best security. Right now anything is done because of personal grudges. I also do not have access to our currently unreliable legal protection due to the high rate of bribery (which is) the order of

the day.

There is a lot of properly calculated and organised anarchy going on here by our "Big Sharks". They, by virtue of the powers vested in them by the ANC, simply manipulate such rights to frustrate the already frustrated exiles.

As I have said before, anything may happen to me due to the fact that I do not want to co-operate at this point in time. The possible answer to accountability, will be either that I was released or I had defected or deserted. My fear is that only the intestines of this earth shall know my whereabouts.

Enough is enough, I want to be home like other exiles.

No more police cell delays.

Down with petty corruption.

Yours in the struggle.

ANC SAYS

Ms Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information responded to *Sowetan* inquiries with this statement: "With regard to the letter you asked us to comment on, sent to you by Bangizwe Fanie Nkosi from Mazimbu, we have obtained the following report from our chief representative in Tanzania, Manala Manzini.

"Nkosi was, together with another person, a finance officer at the Vocational Training Centre in Dakawa. A certain sum of money was unaccounted for and he disappeared only to be arrested by the Tanzanian authorities at the Zambian border.

"Nkosi was returned to the ANC in Dar es Salaam. He has never been arrested by the ANC, is not presently under detention, and at present he is deployed as an education officer in Mazimbu.

"The other finance officer has accused Nkosi of being implicated in the missing money."

Exile vows to challenge ANC

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19/1/91

ONE of the 32 alleged State agents who were held in detention by the ANC yesterday vowed to challenge the organisation to produce evidence proving he was a State agent.

Jose Ribeiro-de Souza (29) who, with 17 others, was last night in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross in a Johannesburg hotel said although he had been recruited by the South African security forces when he was in prison, he had never worked for them.

Ribeiro-de Souza, who hoped to rejoin his family

at Eersterus, Pretoria, before the end of the week, was one of many suspected agents and infiltrators released by the ANC on Friday in terms of its resolution in February.

Ribeiro-de Souza and 31 others, described by the ANC as being among the most notorious, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday into the temporary care of the ICRC.

The ANC had provided them with air tickets and passports.

The former University

of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and received military training inside the country, left South Africa in 1983 to further his studies at the University of Columbia in the United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

"While I was in detention, South African security forces offered to release me if I worked for them. They told me I would face a minimum of 20 years for being a Umkhonto we Sizwe member and having operated as an MK cadre.

"I agreed to work for them and was released in August of the same year," he said.

He said he soon fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he informed Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience in the country. He said Mr Hani assured him he could be used as a double agent.

ANC

under fire

11A
CT 19/8/91

From page 1

ANC claims

Mandela has said conditions in the Angola camps in the 1980s were not satisfactory and the organisation appointed a committee to investigate the situation, particularly the allegations of torture and the conditions at Quattro.

The latest allegations follow similar claims made earlier by eight other ANC dissidents who returned to South Africa from Kenya after the intervention of the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane.

It is likely, as happened in Namibia when Swapo dissidents made similar claims, that the allegations will be exploited by opponents of the ANC.

But if they are substantiated, even partly, they will cause problems for the ANC. Since its unbanning the ANC has rejected detention without trial and called for an independent judiciary.

Concern

It is known that there is widespread concern within the ANC about some of the occurrences in the camps, particularly about the role of its intelligence wing in the 1980s, but it is not clear at this stage whether it intends taking any action against those responsible.

By BARRY STREEK
THE ANC is facing new claims of torture and arbitrary detention after 32 of its former detainees returned to South Africa at the weekend.

A spokesman for 19 of the detainees, Mr Joachim Ribiero de Sousa, 29, alleged that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff and ANC national executive committee member Mr Chris Hani was personally involved in organising the detention and torture of suspected government agents.

He also claimed that several other senior ANC officials, including ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, had visited the organisation's prison camps and were aware of the poor living conditions and the torture that went on in the camps.

But the ANC hit back at the claims relating to the detentions and said the conduct of ANC officials was not the issue.

The issue, the organisation said, was rather that the released men were SA security

force agents sent to infiltrate, eliminate and attack ANC members.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday that whatever claims were made should be seen in the light of this.

She said the ANC had evidence to substantiate its claims in the case of each of the 32 "agents" who returned to the country on Saturday night. She would not say if the evidence would be made public.

Mr Hani has emphatically denied in the past that he was in any way involved in detention of people in ANC camps.

He said at the ANC conference in July that he was not involved in MK's intelligence section, which was responsible for security and detentions in the camps, and that he was responsible for its operational wing.

However, Mr Hani said then that he was involved in the suppression of a mutiny by dissidents at the ANC's Quattro camp in Angola but justified this by saying any Western government would have acted the same way in a war situation.

ANC president Mr Nelson

To page 3

Mr Ribiero de Sousa, who said he had been held in ANC prisons for five years, made his allegations about torture in the camps in a lengthy interview at a Johannesburg hotel early yesterday.

A plain-clothed South African security official insisted on being present throughout the interview.

The men, who were released by the ANC and flown from Uganda via Kenya, returned on Saturday following an agreement on exiles between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Of the 32, 19 refused to be processed by the National Co-ordinating Committee because of its ANC links, said Mr De Sousa. He was appointed spokesman by these 19.

International Red Cross officials booked and paid for hotel rooms for the 19 former prisoners in a dingy hotel in down-town Johannesburg.

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Comments on the ANC constitutional proposals

111 CT 19/8/91

THE true status of the ANC's Constitutional Principles as set out in its preface, is that of a discussion document.

Thus the document seems to reflect only some tentative thinking within the ANC and allied organisations and is not put forward as a final position paper or a blueprint. These comments must therefore also be understood to deal with hypothetical propositions.

The document is stated to have been drafted according to the following principles:

1. A united South Africa, meaning the territorial unity and constitutional integrity of the country.

Single system of basic rights

2. All South Africans should have a single citizenship and nationality, and a common loyalty.

3. All apartheid structures should be dismantled and replaced by institutions of government which are truly non-racial and democratic.

4. There should be a single system of fundamental rights guaranteed on an equal basis for all.

5. The symbols of State should encourage a sense of shared South Africanness.

The acceptable concepts expressed in the document should be acknowledged.



By DR TERTIUS DELPORT
Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Provincial Affairs, and Member of Parliament for Sundays River Valley.

No control over ruling party

The document was, however, drafted in the tradition of the Freedom Charter. Concepts are employed in such a way that the cumulative effect could even be to sanction an undesirable and undemocratic result.

What strikes one in particular in this regard is the absence of democratic control over the ruling party and the over-centralisation of economic control.

As far as political policy is concerned, the ANC document reveals a strong preference for centralisation.

Excessive provision is made for the centralisation of all power. The central government is given the responsibility of ensuring that there is

a common framework of principles and practices applicable to the whole country.

Local government subordinate

Regional government is seen merely as an administrative organ of government, without any autonomous power. Thus no provision is made for power-sharing between the first and second tiers of government.

According to the ANC document, local and regional government are to be entirely subordinate to the central government, in the sense that they will exercise delegated powers.

They are to have wide discretion in regard to the priorities to be pursued at these levels, provided always, however, that such policies do not conflict with national policies.

The consequences of the ANC's economic policy have not changed significantly — any changes are purely terminological.

Defunct socialist instruments

It is clear that affirmative action has become the keystone of the ANC's economic centralism.

This must be seen in the light of the unpopularity of the more traditional socialist instruments in the world today. Thus the ANC envisages the State promoting affirmative action programmes at all three levels of government.

Other less desirable aspects of the proposals show signs of political pressure in the general direction of pragmatism.

The language policy, as set out in the constitutional principles, can thus be seen rather as political opportunism than as principles that will function in practice.

Political unilateralism

The excessive emphasis on non-sexism is a further example of ANC

opportunism. The document goes so far as to state that there will be an independent Ombud, rather than speaking of an Ombudsman!

Despite the democratic image that the ANC document portrays, it is clear that extensive provision is made for government action that would be mainly technocratic, politically unilateral and centralised.

Although the ANC endeavours to phrase its thoughts in democratically acceptable terms, there is a significant difference of approach between the government and the ANC on how the end-result should be attained. This is due to the difference in the content of specific concepts as used by the two parties.

Points of convergence

This is particularly noticeable in regard to the economic consequences of ANC policy and the proposed extent of the competence of Parliament.

The content of the ANC proposals clearly undermines the essence of the concept of the constitutional state as a whole.

The following points of convergence between the government's views and those presented in the ANC's document, emerge from the document:

1. The legislative branch of government should be composed of two Houses of Parliament.

2. The electoral system should provide for a proportional representation system.

Court safeguards for constitution

3. A declaration of fundamental rights should be entrenched in the constitution in order to ensure that rights are guaranteed against arbitrary infringement by the State.

4. The concept of a Constitutional Court entrusted with the jurisdiction to safeguard the constitution.

5. Regional governments are envisaged as taking the place of the present provincial administrations and the functions at present vested in these administrations will be vested in the regional governments.

Notwithstanding the points of agreement, there remain some important fundamental differences between the government's views and those expressed in the ANC's discussion document:

Power sharing as principle

1. The government is

considering an executive in the form of a collective body. The ANC, however, seems to be of the opinion that the head of government will be an elected President who will also be the head of State.

2. The government is working towards an executive body with power sharing as the underlying principle. However, a simplistic majority government is ostensibly favoured by the ANC.

3. The ANC states that when they speak of a united South Africa, they have in mind in the first place the territorial unity of South Africa as a unitary state. The government also envisages a unitary state, but expects substantial autonomy to be vested in regional structures.

Addressing social inequalities

4. Regional government is seen by the government as an autonomous second-tier government. However, the ANC's discussion document makes no provision for substantial autonomy at that level of government and seems to see local and regional government as exercising merely delegated administrative powers not in conflict with national policies.

5. Affirmative action is emphasised by the ANC as a *leitmotif* throughout their constitutional principles. It is an important part of the government's commitment to address social and economic inequalities in society, but punitive or discriminatory affirmative action has been shown internationally to be counter-productive.

Basis for negotiation

The government's action plan, however, is intended to achieve the optimal results within the bounds of the limited resources available and the constraints of demographic trends.

There remain some important policy differences between the government and the ANC.

As has been indicated at the outset, the actual and eventual status of the ANC document is as yet unknown and it can be seen only as stating broad principles without any definite commitment.

There are, however, certain points on which both parties think along similar lines and these may be used as the basis for negotiating an equitable, democratic future for all South Africans.

□ From Monitor, Box 13197, HUMEWOOD 603

ing for the Wall



Their hopes are shattered and they suffer. They manifest their discontent by using scapegoats. Top of the list are foreigners. The collapse of the Wall has forced unpleasant characteristics, among them xenophobia, to the surface on both sides of the divide.

Poverty

Some would argue that East Germans have gained little from the subtler advantages of the "good life" while grasping for its brasher, status-oriented aspects. Even an expected rush to freshly available knowledge failed to materialise.

East Germans have refused to buy West German newspapers which they maintain have alien values and no relevance to their own problems.

Crowded roads, intolerance, unemployment, poverty and elitism now bear down on the eastern side while inflation, higher taxes, intolerance and fears of exaggerated nationalism haunt the other.

The government predicts social and economic problems will ease within four years, allowing the real benefits of political freedom to blossom. Some believe the price is too high and that a new and taller Wall would be the answer.

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ehlungsborn, a smart atury bathing resort, favoured Communists for sticky fruit juices -cream, the five-kilogram sandy beach is deterring under drifts of s former visitors have on to more tempting s exposing it as a third-ility for a deprived nity.

illions, the coming el-has proved elusive.

Alleged agent claims torture

(11A) CT 19/8/91

AN alleged government agent, released from an ANC prison in Uganda on Friday, has claimed he was brutally tortured.

He said top ANC members knew about the misery in the organisation's camps but had done nothing to improve it.

"When (former ANC president) Oliver Tambo visited us in Uganda we had a lot of hope. He shook our hands, we all got a tin of powder milk — and nothing changed."

Mr Joachim Ribiero de Sousa and 31 others, allegedly including some of the "most notorious" agents to have infiltrated the ANC, are being kept at secret safe havens in Johannesburg.

They arrived at Jan Smuts Airport late on Saturday night, where they were issued with identity documents before being whisked away through a back exit by officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross, leaving behind a large contingent of frustrated local and international media waiting for them in the arrival hall.

Three hours after their South African Airways plane touched down, 19 of the returnees, thin and clutching meagre belongings, arrived at a secret

refuge in downtown Johannesburg, accompanied by a strong security force presence and ICRC officials, including ICRC Southern Africa Mission head Mr Toni Pfanner.

He said the 13 others had been accommodated elsewhere and that the men had requested the strong security measures.

Mr Ribiero de Sousa, 29, mandated by his group to talk to reporters, expressed deep mistrust, disillusionment and fear of the ANC, saying he would request the Red Cross to take him out of the country should his safety not be guaranteed.

With a security policeman present throughout the interview, he said many of his group had not wanted to return to South Africa.

"I still think the ANC's documents are a form of democracy for South Africa, but I don't think the

ANC practises anything that is written in its documents."

Mr Ribiero de Sousa, who said he joined the ANC in 1981, denied ANC allegations that he had been a SA National Intelligence or CIA agent.

He believed his incarceration could have been the result of personal differences with Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff, Mr Chris Hani.

"All this time I thought a mistake has been made. I had been at loggerheads with Chris Hani, mostly about some form of womanising ... I thought it was possible that that was the reason (for my incarceration)."

He claimed that top ANC members, including former president Mr Oliver Tambo, had visited ANC "prisons" and camps in Angola and Uganda and had known about the conditions there.

Cape Times, Monday, August 19 1991 5

The next time I spoke to him I was behind bars."

He said he was taken by ANC personnel to a house in Lusaka, known as "RC" or "Rehabilitation Centre", and locked up in a room naked, without blankets on a cement floor for three days.

A man commonly known as Jomo had interrogated him and tortured him by beating him with police batons, particularly on his feet — "I still have problems with my left foot" — and on knees, elbows, and ankle joints.

He also claimed to have been kicked unconscious and hung upside-down.

He alleged that his interrogators had drawn up a document, which they forced him to copy in his own handwriting, in which he supposedly admitted to having been recruited by the SA Security Branch.

After a month in an Angolan prison, he was transferred to an ANC detention camp known as "Camp 32" where Mr Hani allegedly visited him and promised to investigate his claim that his confession was forced.

Neither the Red Cross nor the Angolan authorities had ever visited the camp, he said. — Sapa

He said Mr Joe Modise, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Jacob Zuma had also visited the camps.

A former science student at Columbia University, USA, Mr Ribiero de Sousa said he was asked to join the "Ordinance Department" of the ANC, which he said had been responsible for the import of arms into this country.

In 1986 he had been briefly detained by SA Security Police in Pretoria, he said.

"There was an attempt to recruit me, but it failed."

After his release, he had returned to Lusaka where he had reported to Mr Hani that he had been approached by elements of the South African government's security apparatus.

"Chris Hani said it's no problem, we'll solve it.

'MK will not surrender'

UMKHONTO we Sizwe was not going to surrender its arms to the government, the Western Cape regional commander, Mr Tony Yengeni, said in Cape Town the weekend.

He was speaking at a report-back meeting on MK's recent conference held in Thohoyandou, Venda.

Mr Yengeni said MK, the military wing of the ANC, would not abolish its military camps in foreign countries.

Its strategy was to become a regular army. He called for the establishment of defence units to counter the spate of violence. — Sapa

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UDF

CT 19/8/91

saluted at farewell

By PETER DENNEHY

EIGHT years after the launch of the United Democratic Front, the ANC yesterday saluted it at a rally in Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, and consigned it to history's "roll of honour".

The UDF will be officially dissolved tomorrow on the eighth anniversary of its national launch, which also took place at the Rocklands civic centre.

A broad coalition of over 600 organisations of women's, civic, youth and religious groups, the UDF spearheaded countrywide non-violent resistance to apartheid from the run-up to elections for the tricameral parliament in 1984 until last year.

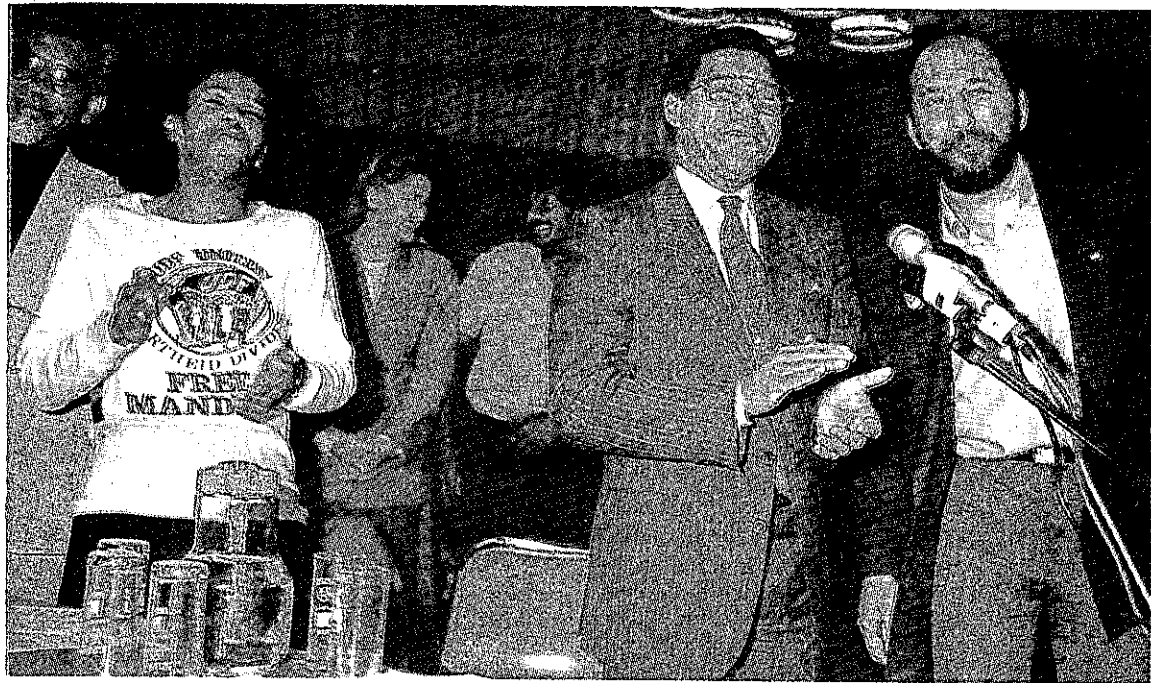
In the ensuing State clampdown, most of the over 20 000 people detained were UDF activists.

The UDF's goals were the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the return of exiles, the freeing of political prisoners and detainees, and the collapse of the tricameral system.

The launch eight years ago was attended by about 15 000 people. Yesterday's meeting was a nostalgic event, with many of the same speakers, slogans and songs. About 1 000 people filled the hall.

Mr Trevor Manuel of the ANC, who chaired the meeting, said the UDF had achieved what it had set out to do, and could hand on the baton to others to take forward.

Among those present were former UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, treasurer Mr Cassim Saloojee, patrons Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Zoli Malindi, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Reg September, Mr Johnny Issel, Imam Hassan Solomons, Ms



LAST RALLY . . . UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak and ANC NEC member Mr Trevor Manuel lead the singing of a UDF song at the organisation's final rally at the Rocklands Civic Centre. With them are Mr Mac Maharaj and Ms Cheryl Carolus, and DP MP Ms Dene Smuts and Mr Johnny Issel in the background. **BELOW:** Former UDF national co-president Mr Archie Gumede (left) and former Western Cape vice-president Mr Joe Marks were also at the rally.

Pictures: RICHARD BELL

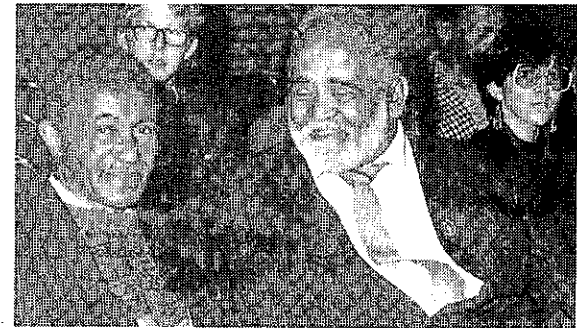
Amy Thornton, Mr Joe Marks and Mr Johnny de Lange.

Ms Carolus said she and all the activists felt good about the UDF, "which is where we grew up and learned political tolerance".

"That was why we were in the organisation. We built up bonds there that will help us build a democratic country together."

Dr Boesak was on fine form in his speech too, and he had the crowd chanting "Now is the time" along with him at the end of his speech — just as he had done at the launch.

"Remember Le Grange, P W Botha, Adriaan Vlok? See where they are now," Dr Boesak said.



Hani was personally involved'

Released 'spy' tells of torture in ANC jails

11A
SID 17/8/91

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani was personally involved in organising the detention and torture of suspected SA government agents, a returnee "spy" alleged at the weekend.

He also claimed that several other senior ANC officials, including ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, had visited the organisation's prison camps and were aware of the poor living conditions and the torture in them.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday responded by saying the conduct of Hani and other ANC officials was not the issue and maintained that the returnees were security force agents sent to infiltrate, eliminate and attack ANC members.

"Whatever they have said should be seen in that light," she said.

She said the ANC had evidence to substantiate this in the case of each of the 32 "agents" who returned to the country on Saturday night. She would not say if the evidence would be made public.

Jose Ribeiro de Sousa, 29, who said he had been held in ANC prisons for five years, made the allegations in a lengthy interview at a downtown Johannesburg hotel early yesterday. A plain-clothed SA security official insisted on being present throughout the interview.

Some of the returnees said they feared assassination attempts.

The men were released by the ANC and flown home from Uganda via Kenya on Saturday, following an agreement on exiles between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

LINDEN BIRNS

Of the 32, 19 refused to be processed by the National Co-ordinating Committee because of its ANC links, said De Sousa. He was appointed spokesman by these 19.

De Sousa said he and Hani had a difference of opinion on whether MK cadres should be allowed to womanise, and he thought this was initially the reason for his being jailed by the ANC.

He said he had been held in Pretoria by security police after taking part in several missions in SA for MK.

THE US and Sweden are to contribute \$6m to help finance the return of exiles after last week's agreement between government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The US will provide \$4m and Sweden \$2m. The UNHCR wants at least \$35m for the repatriation operation.

"During this period of detention a Col Dries van der Merwe took me to a farm near Erasmus for a braai and I was asked to consider becoming an agent for government, but I never did join them," he said.

After his release from Pretoria he left SA and went to Lusaka.

"During a meeting with Chris Hani — who was my commander — I told him about my refusing an offer to become an SA government agent.

"Hani said it was okay, and that we would sort it out at a later stage. The next time I spoke to him was a few days later

□ To Page 2

Torture

from behind bars," De Sousa said. He claimed that he had been held and tortured at an ANC "rehabilitation centre" not far from the UNHCR's Lusaka offices. He was later moved to two prisons in Angola and finally taken to a prison camp in Uganda.

"Tambo, Joe Modise, Steve Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Sizakele Sixwele all visited us in prison, but never did anything to improve the conditions," De Sousa claimed.

"When Tambo visited us in prison we had a lot of hope. He shook our hands and we were all given a tin of powder milk, but nothing changed.

"Tortures were intensified immediately following these visits. We later found out that they had complained to the prison commander that his staff were not doing their jobs properly in solving our cases."

De Sousa said his torture included whipping and throttling with wet nylon or cloth, baton beatings on the soles of his feet,

11A

□ From Page 1

elbows and knees, and being manacled in a hunched-up position and suspended upside down.

De Sousa, who obtained a BSc Honours degree from New York's Columbia University after joining the ANC in 1981, said: "I was told I was accused of working for the CIA and for the National Intelligence Service (NIS). But I never worked with any intelligence agency or any government."

He alleges that he was beaten and tortured into making a false confession during his detention in Lusaka.

He claimed that Hani and Kasrils had visited him on several occasions during December 1986 and questioned him about SAP spy Olivia Forsyth.

"The ANC can torture me and degrade me, even kill me. But it's worse with a woman. They get raped," he said.

International Red Cross officials booked and paid for hotel rooms for the 19 former prisoners when they arrived.

Released prisoner vows to challenge ANC to produce evidence

Political Staff (11A) ACC 19/8/91
JOHANNESBURG. — One of the 32 alleged government agents released from detention by the ANC has vowed to challenge the movement to prove he was an agent.

Mr Jose Ribeiro-de Souza, 29, who with 17 others was last night in the care of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said that although he had been recruited by the South African security forces

he had never worked for them.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza, who hoped to rejoin his Eersterus, Pretoria, family before the end of the week, was one of many suspected agents and infiltrators released by the ANC on Friday in terms of its resolution in February this year.

The former University of Western Cape student, who joined the ANC in 1981 and had military training in South Africa, left in 1983 to further his

studies at the University of Columbia in the United States.

On his return in 1985 he was stationed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka until he was sent to South Africa on a mission in April 1986. Two months later he was arrested in Pretoria.

"While I was in detention South African security forces offered to release me if I worked for them.

"I agreed and was released in August of the same year."

He soon fled from South Africa and rejoined the ANC in Lusaka, where he told Mr Chris Hani, then MK commissar, about his experience. He said Mr Hani assured him he could be used a double agent.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said the ANC arrested him a few days later and accused him of being a National Intelligence Service officer and a US Central Intelligence Agency agent.

"When I denied the allega-

tions they started to torture me. I then agreed to sign a statement saying I was indeed an agent. I was sent to an ANC prison in Angola. In 1989 the ANC smuggled us out of Angola to Uganda, where we were imprisoned until last Friday," he said.

Mr Ribeiro-de Souza said his immediate plans include furthering his studies at a local university to improve his academic qualifications.

UDF 'sent apartheid to its deathbed'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

APR 19 18 1971

THE United Democratic Front had not only brought the government to a standstill, but had sent apartheid to its deathbed, said Dr Allan Boesak at the organisation's emotion-charged last meeting.

The UDF was wound up yesterday at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain, the venue where it was

launched eight years ago.

Dr Boesak said the government had introduced changes not because it had had a change of heart, but because "we forced them".

Sanctions and a campaign to make the country ungovernable had been key elements in the UDF's strategies.

"We went to the world and asked for sanctions. It took us years to get them, but we did.

"Now we have this government which says we have changed because our hearts have changed. They changed because we forced them to."

The very same government which had boasted to parliament that it would break the UDF was now speaking the organisation's language.

It was using words such as democracy, non-sexism and one-person-one-vote, Dr Boesak said.



Making up . . . alleged State agents Alfeus Keke Kheswa (left) and Mpho Motjuadi and top ANC members Chris Hani, Winnie Mandela and Simphiwe Nyanda.
Picture: Jacob Rykliff

ANC talks to 'tortured agents'

By Brian Sokutu

An ANC delegation yesterday met to effect a "reconciliation" with 20 alleged State agents who earlier claimed they had been tortured in ANC prison camps in Zambia and Angola.

The delegation, led by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and including welfare department head Winnie Mandela, legal department chief Zola Skweyiya, and executive committee member Simphiwe Nyanda, also agreed to arrange further discussions to deal with any complaints the returnees still had against the ANC.

After the meeting at a Johannesburg hotel, the parties issued a joint statement in which they agreed not to talk to the press and to explore ways of resolving their differences.

The 20 returnees were part

of a group of 32 prisoners flown back to South Africa at the weekend after years of imprisonment in ANC detention camps.

They had earlier claimed to have been tortured by the ANC after being suspected of having infiltrated the movement.

In an earlier interview with The Star, Patric Dlongwana (32), a former organiser of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who spent more than five years in ANC camps in Lusaka, said he would never take part in politics again following his torture while in captivity.

"I'm feeling unsafe even now after my release: I would like to go abroad, but I must see my family first. I don't know whether they are alive or dead," said Mr Dlongwana, who left South Africa in 1986.

He said he was arrested in Lusaka immediately after his arrival and accused of being a spy for the Government.

At a "rehabilitation centre" in Zambia, Mr Dlongwana claimed to have been tortured, beaten and told by ANC security officers to admit to being a spy.

He said he was also accused of being involved in the December 1982 raid in Maseru in which many ANC members died, and in the disappearance of three Pebco leaders, Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela.

Strike

"Because of pressure, I admitted to the charges, which included working for the security police and the National Intelligence Agency."

He said he also spent time at Quattro, "a concentration camp" in Angola, where he went on a hunger strike.

"I demanded to be released or die, and they promised to release me. I'm still very sick and suffering from kidney trouble."

Mr Dlongwana said the only time those held had been "relieved" was in Uganda, where they were given "good food" and allowed newspapers and radios.

Alfeus Keke Kheswa (26), of Maritzburg, said he left the country in 1987 and was detained and tortured at an ANC camp in Zambia after being accused of being an enemy agent.

He said he and a colleague from Soweto had wanted to further their studies abroad and were not ready to join the military wing.

"Life was tough but we've survived it all," he said.

After the meeting Mrs Mandela said the talks with the former prisoners, whom she described as "former members of the organisation" and "comrades", had been "frank, open and cordial".

She said no statements would be issued to the press because they were likely to be misinterpreted.

"The group, which has just returned, is only interested in being integrated into a normal South African society," Mrs Mandela said.

She said another joint statement would be released after the groups had held final discussions.

● The National Co-ordination Committee for Repatriation said it welcomed an agreement between the Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees which had led to a general amnesty of South African exiles.

"We're however concerned that the terms of the agreement are still formulated within the framework of South Africa's indemnity arrangements with its inherent limitations," NCCR spokesman the Rev Frank Chikane said.

He said the NCCR was committed to helping all returnees and had met the 32 alleged State agents at Jan Smuts Airport and arranged accommodation for 12 of them.



People power . . . defiant anti-coup protesters clamber aboard armoured personnel carriers in Moscow yesterday.

Picture: AP

SACP stresses commitment to democracy and negotiated settlement

By Jovial Rantao *Star* 20/8/91
and Thabo Leshilo

The fall from power of Soviet reformer Mikhail Gorbachev would not prompt the South African Communist Party to make "some kind of a U-turn", said spokesman Jeremy Cronin. He said Mr Gorbachev's oust-

ing was another chapter in the crisis faced by communism in the Soviet Union and it was too soon to say whether the change in leadership would deepen the crisis or resolve it.

"Information on developments in the Soviet Union is still extremely sketchy, and without adequate information

and the proper study of it the SACP is unwilling to comment on these events.

"But our own perspective for a democratic change in South Africa remains absolutely unaffected. The SACP reiterates its commitment to a negotiated settlement in South Africa and to a longer-term perspective of

democratic socialism." *(11A)*

The SACP believed that socialism could not, in the long run, thrive in an undemocratic environment.

"Likewise, we believe that the democratisation of South Africa will not be complete as long as the commanding heights of our economy are monop-

lised by a small handful of capitalists," Mr Cronin said.

The ANC said Mr Gorbachev's removal from power was a Soviet matter.

Gill Marcus of the ANC department of publicity said Nelson Mandela's trip to Moscow, postponed last October, was not on his agenda at the moment.

Join front, black business is urged

Sowetan 20/8/91 (11A) (14/8)

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

BLACK business has been called upon to join liberation movements in a patriotic front that will encourage economic empowerment in South Africa.

The call was made by leaders of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation at the annual conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce at Sun City yesterday.

The conference, whose theme is "The new South Africa - Opportunities for Black Economic Empowerment", is attended by more than 1 500 delegates from South Africa, African states and overseas.

Opening the conference, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a patriotic conference of all liberation movements followed by the peace convention should come before an interim government.

"The interim government is meant to be a sovereign government that should supervise the transition. The present government would have to step down, thus allowing a government of national unity to assume power. There will not be

any other authority above this authority," said Ramaphosa.

He said the interim government would have to ensure peace and normal political activity.

"In this sense it will complete, consolidate and defend the process that started now, including releasing political prisoners and eradicating all repressive and apartheid laws."

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said

the primary purpose of the patriotic front would be to co-ordinate strategies of transition among liberation movements and to build up support around the demands for a constituent assembly.

"Nafcoc is certainly on the list of invitees and we look forward to meeting your representative at the patriotic front conference to be held in Cape Town next month," Makwetu said.

Azapo president Mr Phandelani Nefolohodwe said a national economic

agenda should be linked to an overall national agenda for national liberation.

In that regard, Azapo would encourage the formation of a national front of black business organisations.

He said Nafcoc and the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services needed greater co-operation despite differences, to see a national economic agenda that would work out economic freedom for all South Africans.

Return all our assets - Azapo

Political Staff

LAWYERS for Azapo are considering bringing an action against the Government for the return of nearly R1 million worth of assets seized when anti-apartheid bodies were banned and during police raids.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, said: "We are investigating a claim against the State for the confiscation of all our resources. There is a possibility that we can recover these from the Government.

"We want to get all our property back because it is ours," Moodley said.

Besides seeking the return of their own property, Azapo's lawyers are considering whether or not the organisation can bring a court action to



STRINI MOODLEY

seek the return of assets the State seized from the Black Peoples Convention, the South African Student Organisation, the Black Community Project "and all the other organisations that were banned in 1977 that belonged to the Black Consciousness Movement".

Moodley put the value of the seized assets at

R1 million, comprising vehicles, clinics, fittings, furniture and documents.

Azapo did not know what the State did with the confiscated property.

Under the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the State appointed a liquidator to liquidate banned organisations. Any balances remaining after its debts had been paid were distributed to charitable or scientific organisations designated by the Minister of Justice.

Banned

The 1982 Internal Security Act made provision for any balance remaining to be paid into the State Revenue Account.

Mrs Helen Suzman, then the Progressive Party MP for Houghton, asked in Parliament in February

1979 what had happened to the assets of organisations banned on October 19 1977.

The Minister of Justice said the balances remaining for the unlawful organisations were: Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa, R2 083,77; Black Community Programmes Ltd R13 442,34; Black Parents Association R55 056,32; Black Peoples Convention R15 931,38; Black Women's Federation R7 600,40; National Youth Organisation R27,87; South African Student's Movement R125,63; South African Student's Organisation R14 102,79; Union of Black Journalists R1 656,70; and Zimele Trust Fund R64 627,88.

Sowetan 20/8/91

'SACP's view won't change'

Sowetan 20/4/91 (11/4)

Sowetan Reporter

THE ousting of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev will not alter the South African Communist Party's perspectives for democratic change in South Africa, a party spokesman said yesterday.

In its reaction the SACP yesterday reiterated the party's commitment to a negotiated settlement in South Africa and to democratic socialism.

"We believe socialism cannot in the long run thrive in an undemocratic environment. Likewise we believe that the democratisation of South Africa will not be complete as long as the commanding heights of our economy are monopolised by a small handful of capitalists," the SACP said.

In a separate statement the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday said the overthrow of Gorbachev and the accompanying devel-

opments were "a cause of great concern".

Botha said international relations had in the past few years entered a new phase where co-operation had been replacing confrontation and considerable progress had been made in resolving global and regional problems.

"It is too early to assess all the implications of developments in the Soviet Union, but I very much hope that they will neither give rise to large-scale turbulence within the Soviet Union itself or more widely in Europe."

It was encouraging that acting president Gennady Yanayev was reported to have stated that the temporary emergency measures would not affect international commitments by the Soviet Union under existing treaties and agreements.

PAC dissidents threaten unity accord

The PAC - riven by bitter splits in the early 70s while in exile - was this week faced with a political *de jure* reminiscent of earlier strife as dissident voices began to be heard over key policies.

Now a firm part of South Africa's political mosaic - just two weeks ago Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen described the organisation in a letter as a "very important political player" - the PAC, nevertheless, is having to grapple strongly with the dissident faction.

Derisively called "the watchdogs" by PAC Internal insiders, the dissidents reject out of hand negotiations with Pretoria, a constituent assembly or any peaceful process leading up to the transfer of power to the majority.

Instead, they believe in the classical Maoist position that a single vanguard party must grab power at the exclusion of all other groups. The use of force,

according to theory, enables the winner to "foist correct policies upon the masses" for their benefit.

No entryism - the belief that political parties can operate within certain boundaries of the existing State superstructure - is tolerated by the group.

The dissidents have already split into two one of the PAC's key organs - the Azanian National Youth Unity - with the "watchdogs" claiming their organisation remains true to the founding charter of the PAC in 1959.

Strongholds

While not large in numbers, the dissident Azanyu has posted key members in various PAC strongholds, including seven black townships in the Orange Free State as well as other areas on the East Rand such as Katlehong.

Their brief is to canvass support away from mainstream PAC political thought.

Confirming the existence of the dis-

sident group, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander described them as "a motley group of people without a firm theoretical foundation".

"Since the days of early revolutionaries, such as Lenin, all liberatory organisations have had in their ranks leftwing deviationists as well as rightwing tendencies. The PAC is no exception.

"The only way to combat false doctrine is with truth, and we are combating them."

"These guys are just a few isolated molecules not worthy of any notice. Our supporters at the grassroots level have already begun to show them that their position is unrevolutionary. However, our door remains open for them to come and raise any difficulty in our democratic forums," said Alexander.

While Alexander denied the dissidents were a threat, a source within

the PAC national executive told *Sapa* the organisation had looked at the whole question of "the watchdogs" carefully at a meeting in QwaQwa last weekend.

"It was decided that they should be isolated at every level. And, in fact, a directive has gone out to the various branches to sort these fellows out before they sow discord in disproportion to their numbers. So, obviously the leadership must be angry with this dissident group."

Potential threat

That the dissidents present a potential threat was further attested to early in July when the head of the PAC's external mission and commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army was forced to issue a statement from Dar es Salaam, denouncing the dissidents.

In the meantime, the rumour-mill about individuals both in the PAC proper and the dissident wing con-

tinues to grind on.

Some PAC officials claim the dissidents, the most prominent being Bernard Mhloai and Mayaya Molefi, were ousted from Azanyu after financial irregularities were discovered, while the other side accuses certain NEC members of making deals with big business and other white interest groups to downplay the question of "settler-colonialism".

Whatever the foundations for the allegations, it is clear the PAC will have to deal with the problem before it assumes larger proportions - it is understood the "watchdogs" are building up an office infrastructure to counter whatever PAC headquarters has to say on any issue.

It is clear the PAC cannot go into the Patriotic Front conference - scheduled for September 6 in Cape Town - with the "watchdogs" snapping at their heels. - *Sapa*

11A

Sowetan 20/8/91

Red Cross
(11A)
CT 20/8/91
'tried to
visit'
ANC jails

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The International Committee of the Red Cross had been trying unsuccessfully to visit ANC detention centres for the past 15 years, ICRC detention co-ordinator Mr Marc Henzelin said yesterday.

The Red Cross, asked ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela a month ago for permission to visit the centres but had not yet received a reply, he said.

Mr Henzelin was speaking to reporters while a meeting was in progress in a city centre hotel here between dissident former members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and members of the ANC's leadership.

Among the ANC delegation was Umkhonto chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, who has been singled out for criticism by the group of ex-detainees who returned to South Africa at the weekend.

Dissident leader Mr Jose Ribeiro de Sousa, who claims he was tortured while he was detained for five years by the ANC, came face to face with Mr Hani to discuss the group's problems.

The meeting continued into the night.

Azapo: reform helps whites

6/20/81 20/8/91 THEO RAWANA

11A

SUN CITY — The removal of discriminatory laws by President F W de Klerk only facilitated the entry of whites into black areas, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said at the Nafcoc conference yesterday.

“At the time when these laws were still in place white business had saturated its terrain of operation to the extent that it needed space for expansion.”

Nefolovhodwe said the removal of the laws had nothing to do with the promotion of black business, but had everything to do with conditions demanded by the interests of big business. The rich would get richer, while most blacks would remain economically powerless.

In his opening address at the conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called on all political organisations to commit themselves to a 10-point plan. This included holding a “patriotic front conference” that would demand an interim government and the transfer of power to a government of national unity.

Clarify stance on coup, ANC urged

ANC urged

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has called on the ANC to clarify its stance towards the new regime in the Soviet Union in the light of apparent close links between the new Soviet leaders and the ANC's

Star 21/8/91
alliance partner, the SA Communist Party.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Soviet coup had raised new questions about the alliance between the ANC and the SACP. "The stated standpoint of the SACP — and by implication the ANC — is that the communist

system failed because it was not implemented democratically. They therefore proclaim 'democratic socialism'.

"But one wonders; does 'democratic socialism' include the use of tanks to force an arbitrary takeover of power? Does 'democratic socialism' mean the proclamation of a state of

emergency and imposition of restrictions on news media?
"The ANC owes the country a clarification, in the light of its partnership with the SACP. Does it identify itself with the actions of the new Soviet regime?" Dr Viljoen asked.
"If so, how does this tally with the ANC's own plain state-

ments in favour of democracy? Or does the ANC distance itself from the coup in Moscow?
"If so, what becomes of the partnership with the SACP and its close links with the new Soviet leaders?

"It is remarkable that the ANC and the SACP — usually quick and lavish in their utter-

ances on current affairs — have been slow to say anything about the events in Moscow.
"The changes in Moscow offer no advantages to local Left-radical groups. Communism has already been unmasked irrevocably as a bankrupt ideology, not only in the Soviet Union but also in central Europe."

PAC, Wosa ^(1/A) won't endorse peace accord

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff Star

21/8/91

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) will not sign the national peace accord currently being finalised by the National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee, the two organisations said yesterday.

In a statement after a top-level meeting between the two organisations, they said that though they would take part in the September 14 peace conference, they would not bind themselves to decisions they did not support by signing the peace accord.

The PAC and Wosa's rejection of the peace accord comes two days after the National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee - responding to the "premature disclosure of a draft peace agreement on Sunday - denied the existence of "an authorised version of a draft peace accord".

The committee said some issues needed to be finalised and other political parties still had to be consulted.

According to the 70-page draft accord, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government have committed themselves to the creation of a culture of political tolerance and the upholding of basic democratic values.

Patriotic front interest grows

INTEREST in the patriotic front, scheduled to be launched next month, is growing and indications are that within weeks political parties in Parliament will join its ranks. *Sowetan 21/8/91*

The Labour Party and the PAC have recently held wide-ranging talks which covered possible inclusion in the front. Another meeting between top-level delegations of the two organisations is scheduled for early next month.

The Democratic Party has also shown an interest in the formation, but no final decision has been reached.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action yesterday announced that it would join the front. It has been reported from Cape Town that the New Unity Movement would also join the front.

In a joint statement in Johannesburg yesterday, the PAC and Wosa "left the door open" for political parties which identified with the basic principles of the front to take part.

The principles, as outlined by PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, are that all participating organisations should commit themselves to:

- A constituent assembly as the only means of arriving at a democratic constitution;

- The total rejection of apartheid and stop participating in all Government structures;

- The idea that the front be structured at local, regional and national levels and not simply be a leadership forum.

Azapo has maintained this position, which is strengthened by the consensus growing among front affiliates that the Government's and ANC's idea that a multiparty conference or all-party conference could follow into a constitution-making body, was unacceptable.

"It cannot be a constitution making body ... It can only be a body which can discuss the forum for negotiations and a constituent-making body," Alexander said.

ANC complains on Inkatha weapons

Sowetan 21/8/91

THE Richmond branch of the ANC is to lodge a formal complaint with Natal police after several hundred Inkatha supporters marched through the town on Saturday, allegedly brandishing dangerous weapons.

Although dangerous weapons are prohibited from being displayed in public in Richmond and one of the conditions of the march was that no weapons were to be carried, the ANC alleged on Monday the police did nothing to disarm the group.

Richmond's ANC chairman, Mr Sifiso Nkabinde, said the ANC was preparing to lodge a formal complaint with the

Pietermaritzburg District Police Commissioner, Brigadier Chris Jonker, and Richmond's police station Commander.

"This incident shows police bias in that people were told not to carry weapons, yet they did not comply and police did not act," Nkabinde said.

Richmond's magistrate meanwhile confirmed on Monday that a condition of the march was that no weapons were to be displayed, but said he had not been at the march and had not received formal confirmation that weapons had been displayed.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party in the western Transvaal has claimed that four of its members, among them a senior official, were assaulted by ANC members at Ipelegeng township near Schweizer Reneke at the weekend, writes **Nkopane Makobane**.

Mr Daniel Chope, secretary of the local branch, and two relatives from the Leeuw family were assaulted when they went to the Roman Catholic Church hall to attend a beauty contest on Saturday evening.

The fourth member, Ms Caroline Selamo, was allegedly assaulted at a tavern. She reportedly received medical treatment and later laid an assault charge.

MP: Soviet coup puts Slovo on spot

(11A) (27A) CT 248/91

Political Correspondent

THE coup in the Soviet Union puts the SA Communist Party on the spot, the MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said last night.

He told a meeting in his constituency that SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo and his party should now tell South Africa whether they supported the politics and ideals of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev or those of the new Soviet president, Mr Gennady Yanayev.

Mr Carlisle said the SACP had accused Soviet bloc communism of losing contact with the people it was supposed to represent.

"Mr Joe Slovo claims that the SACP stands for democratic socialism, which he defines as a democratic policy with entrenched human rights and a mixed economy.

"He thus stakes his claim to a place among the angels — a position of which I, for one, am dubious.

"Now his party faces the real test. South Africa urgently awaits the SACP's answer."

Mr Carlisle said the events in the USSR inevitably cast a darkening shadow upon the already turbulent and confused transition process in South Africa.

"We would be naive to believe that what has now happened in Russia could not also happen in South Africa. We followed Russia into the process of reform partly because they made it possible."

"By the same token, the local securocrats may take a further leaf from the Russian book."

Detainees: 'No
ANC reprisals'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC national
executive committee
last night reassured the
alleged state agents re-
leased from the move-
ment's detention camps
that they need not fear
any reprisals from ANC
members.

In a statement the
ANC said it was pre-
pared to make a contri-
bution in the re-inter-
gration of the returning
detainees.

The statement was is-
sued following an ANC
NEC meeting. — Sapa

Mandela at 'Going Green' launch

By Stan Hoppe

ANC president Nelson Mandela officially opened the launch, at the University of this week, of a book about people, politics and the environment in SA.

He said the book, "Going Green", broke new ground in environmental literature because it was people-centred and dealt with unusual issues in the conservation of land, water and nature.

Mr Mandela said the indigenous people of South Africa had been perceived as obstacles to environmental management — in keeping with colonial trends.

"It has been traditional for our people to live in harmony whereby our customs and taboos protected the environment," he said.

He accused the SADF, which he said was the largest landowner in the country, of having left a terrible legacy.

Major issues were the availability of land, adequate sanitation, non-toxic water and air free from pollution.

He warned that environmental issues would not be resolved without the participation of those concerned. The ANC, he said, regarded that as part of its struggle.

The book, edited by Jacklyn Cock and Eddie Koch, investigates the environmental challenges facing South Africa and demonstrates that these issues are deeply political.

The authors point out that environmental concern cannot be confined to preserving wilderness areas or endangered species.

They say the crisis is embedded in people's lack of access to power and resources and cannot be resolved until these underlying causes are addressed.

The major concern of a new environmental policy must be to ensure all South Africans can live in health and safety.

MK 'wants to buy our silence'

Star 22/8/91
By Jacqueline Myburgh

A group of former Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers have broken an agreement with the ANC not to speak about their alleged torture in the organisation's prison camps in Angola and Uganda, and are accusing the ANC leadership of trying to buy them off.

Mpho Motjuoadi (27), who called himself "chief spokesman" for the group, said discussions with the ANC since they returned to the country had been in "bad spirit and bad faith".

Winnie Mandela and MK chief of staff Chris Hani met the men on Monday to discuss their claims of murder and torture in the ANC camps. A moratorium on "accusative statements" was agreed upon and no further statements were to be issued to the press.

"We said we would facilitate their reintegration into the community and they should not allow themselves to be used in propaganda against the ANC," spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.



Mpho Motjuoadi . . . Umkhonto chief orchestrated our capture.

He was responding to the challenge by the group that they were being bribed to keep their silence.

Mr Macozoma said it was clear the men saw the situation differently, and that each individual's case would be dealt with separately.

The men have alleged they were beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire while in captivity. They were forced into making false confessions and then

crammed into cells.

Mr Motjuoadi has repeated his accusation that Mr Hani orchestrated their capture and torture.

Mr Motjuoadi and Bongane Malinga (32) told The Star the ANC had hijacked the International Red Cross's aid operation "to appear in a good light".

"But they don't care about us," Mr Motjuoadi said. "If they did, they would have responded to us when we were on hunger strike in prison for 32 days."

He said all 20 of the men supported their denunciation of the ANC's efforts.

They accused the ANC of trying to bribe the men to "keep us quiet".

On Monday night, following discussions between the ANC and the group of men, Mrs Mandela gave them R300 to buy dinner, Mr Motjuoadi said.

Mr Macozoma said the ANC was in a no-win situation. "If we help them, they say we are bribing them; if we don't help them, they say we don't care."

ANC power play while Mandela away – journal

Political Staff (1/A)

Star 22/8/91

A militant group within the ANC used Nelson Mandela's absence during his recent overseas trip to secure more influence for themselves in the negotiations process, the London-based journal Front File alleges.

The latest edition of the journal claims ANC president Mr Mandela was "furious" when he returned from his trip to discover that the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) had restructured the organisation's departments and allocated portfolios.

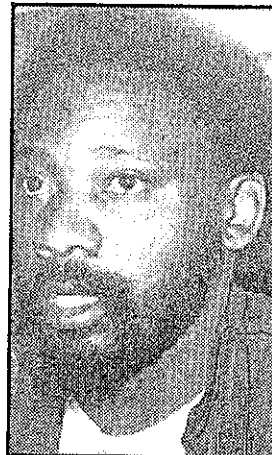
Front File says the effect of the surprise ANC "reshuffle" is "subtly to shift responsibility for the ANC's political departments away from the president's office, to the secretary-general's."



Nelson Mandela . . . said to have been furious at reshuffle in his absence.

The ANC took observers by surprise on August 2 by announcing changes in its top structures.

Front File claims the move was "executed by a group, at whose core are SA Communist Party members, that is trying to consolidate its influ-



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . allegedly gained ground in negotiating tussle.

ence in the national working committee (NWC) and the NEC" in the wake of the recent ANC conference.

Front File says the manoeuvre has thrown the ANC's upper levels into confusion.

"Some are calling the group who executed it a

'cabal' . . .

"Through its tight organisation, the 'cabal' — consisting of no more than a dozen or so NEC members, of whom at least six are also on the NWC — has been able to get its way on the NWC where it is assured of a majority through skilful manipulation."

Front File claims the most far-reaching changes in the political departments are the "sidelining" of senior ANC negotiator Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma in the negotiating line-up. "Mbeki lost his position as negotiations chief to (secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa, and Zuma was axed."

Front File claims the primary objective is to "consolidate SACP control of the ANC's decision-making bodies to ensure the ANC doesn't stray too far from the socialist path."

Winnie's move backfires

AN attempt by Winnie Mandela to persuade alleged African National Congress torture victims not to tell their stories to the media has backfired.

On Monday Mrs Mandela and Chris Hani, the ANC's military chief of staff, met 20 men who returned to South Africa at the weekend after several years in ANC prison camps. *Soutan 22/8/91*

Mrs Mandela and Hani, assisted by a legal team, were sent to visit the ex-prisoners, who had been jailed as "enemy agents".

After three hours of talks, a joint communique was issued in which a moratorium was agreed on "accusative statements" from either side.

But late on Monday one of the ex-prisoners, Mpho Motjuoadi, rang to say he and two colleagues, Alpheus

Kheswa and Bongane Malinga, had decided to flout the agreement. *(Soutan)* *(11A)*

Yesterday morning the three men, who between them spent 16 years in ANC prisons in Tanzania, Angola and Uganda, recounted how they had been beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire, forced into making false confessions and then crammed into small cells.

Motjuoadi rejected the ANC delegation's attempt "to bribe us to keep our silence". Particularly insulting, he said, was a gift by Mrs Mandela of R300 for the 20 men to buy themselves dinner.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the objective had been to convince the 20 not to let themselves be used for "state propaganda". - *The Independent*.

Biko's mission remains valid

Sowetan 22/8/91

11A

"YOU are either alive and proud or you are dead."

Steve Biko's message of black self-reliance remains a powerful influence among South Africa's anti-apartheid fighters 14 years after his death in police custody.

A measure of the success of his Black Consciousness philosophy is that its adherents now hold senior positions in many black liberation groups campaigning to end white supremacy.

Biko's followers say his mission to free blacks from crippling feelings of inferiority towards whites, dependence on white liberal activists and submission to authoritarian state power will remain valid long after the advent of black rule.

"Black people have made tremendous progress in self-esteem. You can see it in the day-to-day relations between blacks and whites," said former Biko colleague Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Apartheid

"That process has not come to an end. There are a lot of black people who are not as confident as they should be."

Aggrey Klaaste, *Sowetan* Editor, said apartheid had inculcated a "deep, shameful self-hate."

"The only way out of this mess is to rebuild black people totally," he wrote.

In the daily life of black trade unions, businesses, the arts, journalism and medicine the message Biko propagated in literacy and health programmes remains a guiding principle.

"We are keeping the dream alive," said former Biko associate Lybon Mabasa, community

FOCUS

projects coordinator of the main Black Consciousness movement, the Azanian People's Organisation.

But the philosophy which fuelled the 1976 Soweto uprising against white rule and continues to radicalise teenage black activists has a more important short-term role - helping end chronic bloodshed between rival black groups, Black Consciousness adherents say.

About 2 500 people have been shot, stabbed and hacked to death in a year of black township violence, mainly between the two organisations - the African National Congress and the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

Azapo will attend a summit of black groups in Cape Town from September 6-9 aimed at fostering tolerance and creating a united front to press for speedier political change.

Leaders say their group, itself embroiled in brutal feuding with an ANC-aligned organisation in the early 1980s, has a historic responsibility for building black unity.

They believe Biko met his death because police learned he was planning an overseas tour of the then exiled leaders of the ANC and radical Pan Africanist Congress to build the kind of black alliance envisaged next month.

He was arrested shortly before his planned departure.

"Steve was the kind of guy who could bring about that front and that is what actually led to



STEVE BIKO

his death. It was not coincidental," said Nefolovhodwe, echoing a widely-held belief.

An inquest found Biko died of brain injury probably sustained in a scuffle during three weeks in custody. No one was found responsible for his death and no charges were brought.

Leaders

Azapo leaders recall Biko acknowledged the then imprisoned Mandela and PAC founder Robert Sobukwe as his leaders, uniting many differing political strands because of his tolerance.

As a result Black Consciousness has been more successful as a philosophy than a practical political movement. Despite the publicity given Biko in the 1987 film *Cry Freedom*, Azapo has little of the resources and none of foreign funding of the ANC.

"The philosophy is still alive and vibrant. We still have it in the ghettos. But now people give expression to their feelings in a different way," said Sefako Nyaka, a former Azapo leader who now supports the ANC.

Mabasa said the ANC still used the Black Consciousness language of self-reliance when mobilising in townships "as that is what people want to hear. Other times, the ANC speaks differently".

Biko, who would have turned 45 in December had he survived, burst into national politics in 1969 with a campaign to revive black pride and reject white help in anti-apartheid campaigns.

"Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout *baas* willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home," he wrote in 1971.

His distaste for the patronage of white liberals and desire for a nonracial society that recognises African culture lives on in Azapo, which was formed in 1978 to fill the political gap when Pretoria banned BC groups in the wake of Biko's death.

But Nefolovhodwe, Azapo president, said a new concern in BC circles was that President FW de Klerk's political reforms might merely swap white oppression for black oppression.

He said over-enthusiastic support for black leaders like Mandela would boost domineering political attitudes.

"Liberation does not happen the day a black government comes into power. After 10 to 15 years, the eulogy (of black leaders) will end, reality will dawn and people will critically examine leaders they have been made to believe in.

"It is what has happened in most African countries." *Sapa-Reuter*

Slovo met Yanayev

b1pcu
22/8/91

PATRICK BULGER

(11A) (22)

SA COMMUNIST Party general secretary Joe Slovo yesterday condemned the Soviet coup and recalled that he had met coup leader Gennady Yanayev in April last year.

Slovo's meeting with Yanayev took place shortly before he returned to SA from 27 years in exile.

Yanayev, who headed a Soviet Communist Party delegation at his meeting with Slovo, was deputy general secretary of the party at the time.

"The meeting was part of a regular pattern of meetings between our organisation and fraternal parties throughout the world," said Slovo.

"No agreements were entered into for any form of direct assistance to our party, beyond the affirmation of diplomatic and political support for our whole liberation movement."

Slovo called events in the Soviet Union "very disturbing" and a threat to the future of democratic socialism.

Our political staff reports the PAC yesterday "unreservedly condemned" the coup against the "legitimate" Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev.

PAC national publicity secretary Barney Desai said his organisation believed in democratic socialism and was opposed to totalitarian rule.

● Comment: Page 8

Making money with the Mandela method

NELSON Mandela yesterday described the technique he used to raise \$15m on his first Africa trip after his release last year, and a further \$21m in Asia.

Addressing a function at the Islamic Bank in Fordsburg, the ANC president said he came straight to the point when speaking to potential donors.

"My approach to everybody was 'I want so much from you and I would like to take it away now', because you know governments are as shrewd as businessmen — if you are unable to get funds at the time you are there, you are hardly likely ever to get

Block 22/8/91

PATRICK BULGER

them.

"The first country we went to was Nigeria because Nigeria has oil. President (Ibrahim) Babangida called immediately for his finance minister and gave him a voucher for \$5m.

"We came back from Africa with \$15m in hard cash.

"In Indonesia we asked for \$10m and they gave us \$10m. We arrived in that country on a Saturday afternoon. On Sunday President Suharto phoned me and

(11A) gave me \$10m even though the banks were supposed to be closed. This is apart from the \$15m we got from Australia."

It was only in SA that he was not able to solicit funds from businessmen. He asked them: "How do you support the peace process if you don't want to give us the capacity to mobilise the country for peace?" He accused businessmen of giving funds to organisations fighting the ANC.

He was given a standing ovation and left the bank with a Koran and a cheque for ANC exiles.

● Picture: Page 3

August 20 to August 21



BIRTHDAY GIFT: Mrs Wadooda Kamaldien presented the UDF with a special gift at its birth eight years ago — her son. Mogamat Siddiq, 8, was born at 1.15 the morning of that Sunday, preventing his mother from attending the launch of the organisation. Last Sunday, mother and son were at the Rocklands Civic Centre to mark the disbanding of the UDF. "It was as though I was giving birth again, being at the rally was painful," said Mrs Kamaldien.

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

UDF becomes history

South 22/8 - 28/8/91
 TUESDAY marked the official death of the UDF, but the organisation will live on in a huge collection of South African "struggle" memorabilia.

At its last meeting this week, the UDF national executive committee decided that its minutes of meetings, media and discussion documents would be stored at the University of the Western Cape's Historical and Cultural Centre.

More archival material could also be forthcoming if negotiations between the ANC and the security po-

lice succeed in releasing a wealth of documents collected during police raids and as evidence in political trials.

Finding space for the collection is the biggest headache facing the supervisor of the UWC project, Dr André Odendaal.

He already has 3 000 boxes of archive material from the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund and 15 filing cabinets from the African National Congress London office.

11A

Second language barrier for pupils

South 22/8 - 28/2/91

By Bronwyn Davids

SECOND-LANGUAGE instruction is emerging as the biggest stumbling block for African pupils who have transferred to Department of Education and Culture (coloured) and Cape Education Department (white) schools.

Despite obvious learning backlogs as a result of decades of bantu education geared to the unskilled and semi-skilled labour market, no formal bridging courses have been implemented at state schools.

Both education departments claim, however, that extra instruction in languages is available where the need is greatest.

In addition to languages, African pupils are also disadvantaged by their legacy of dilapidated school buildings, no books and desks and low staff to pupil ratios.

This week a city DEC high school teacher said Afrikaans was a big problem for the 20 African children enrolled at his school.

"Although they are good at their content subjects, they could fail their standard if they fail Afrikaans. The school doesn't have any bridging courses but individual teachers do try and help where they can," he said.

A Grassy Park teacher said African pupils at his school had problems with both English and Afrikaans but some

teachers were engaged in study programmes to help them along.

At the private Rosebank House College where research has been done on aiding pupils with language difficulties, English has proved to be a critical area for those to whom it is a second or third language.

The principal, Mr Harold Idesis, said that extra English classes were given to pupils who were below a certain standard.

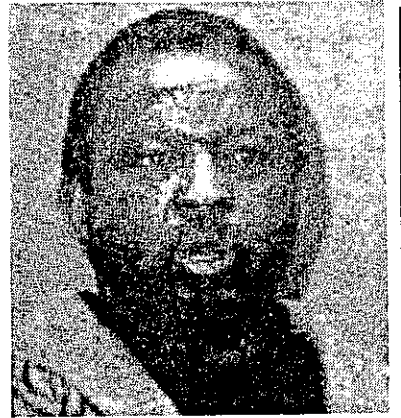
DEC spokesperson Mr Henry Jansen said the department required schools to address the needs of all pupils with a "specific backlog".

The implementation of bridging courses remained an option to be exercised by individual schools and tertiary institutions, he said.

Meanwhile, the executive director of the CED, Dr Schalk Walters, said bridging facilities had been available for several years for all pupils who experienced problems — whether they were from local or overseas schools.

"The nature of the assistance offered by the school is determined by the type of problems experienced by an individual pupil and the resources available at a particular school," he said.

Experts say the problem will have to be addressed soon on a national level before one education department is devised to encompass the white, coloured, black Indian and nine homeland departments.



Amos Lengisi

Lengisi censured for hitting woman

11A

South 22/81 - 28/2/91
THE Western Cape regional secretary of the African National Congress, Mr Amos Lengisi, has been censured by the organisation for assaulting a member of the Women's League.

The Regional Executive Committee (REC) said it viewed the incident in a "serious light" and has, among other things, suspended Lengisi for a month.

The REC has accepted the findings of a commission of inquiry that Lengisi be "severely reprimanded" for smacking or hitting an REC member, Mrs Mildred Lesea, in the organisation's Athlone office a few weeks ago.

He was also ordered to apologise to Lesea in the presence of the regional executive committees of both the ANC and ANC Women's League.

The organisation said the incident not only raised important issues such as the relationships among leadership figures and members, but also brought to the fore the issue of gender and gender sensitivity and questions of dignity and equality.

Pik turns to UWC

South 22/8 - 28/8/91
UNIVERSITY of the Western Cape officials are considering a request from Mr Pik Botha's Department of Foreign Affairs to set up temporary offices to recruit students for administrative and diplomatic posts.

Mr Nazeem Howa, a university spokesperson, could not give details because UWC had not responded to Foreign Affairs. However, a source said university officials had been negative about the idea at a meeting.

"Everyone acknowledged the need for blacks to be trained in this field but felt those who responded would be recruited into the Nationalist Party," the source said.

Slovo hits at Natal party stand

South 22/8 - 28/8/91
THE South African Communist Party this week distanced itself from its Natal Midlands branch's support of the recent Soviet coup.

A statement by Mr Joe Slovo also said it found the attempted coup "very disturbing" and a setback for democratic socialism.

Four international church organisations have said the search for justice and peace in the Soviet Union should be based on "respect for freedom of conscience and of the dignity of human beings".

It should not come through terror and oppression.

Half a million needed for Cape returnees

South 22/8 - 28/8/91
By Anthony Ndlovu

MORE than 2 000 exiles are expected to return to the Western Cape this year, and more than half a million rand will be needed to accommodate integrate them and assist with development programmes.

Chairperson of the Western Cape Regional Committee of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles

(NCCR), Mr Hassans Solomons, said: "At present the committee is currently servicing more than 200 returnees in the region."

He said they had 36 returnees and three families at their primary reception centre who needed a home.

"In order to get a home they must get a job. The maximum period for accommodating people at the centre is three weeks, we have no option but to allow people to stay longer."

He said a secondary reception centre was urgently needed.

He said it costs R13 per person a

day to provide meals. The Western Cape Traders Association had offered to assist with basic food. Solomons appealed for more community involvement in the programme.

"This is a humanitarian programme, we should not allow ideological differences to interfere with the smooth running of it," he said.

In a recent statement, the NCCR said it hoped that the UNHCR would be allowed to exercise its mandate without hindrance to ensure that South African exiles return safely and with dignity.

FM 23/8/91

Still talking~~(S)~~ (11A)

Monday's meeting of the Government-ANC joint working group on education may have gone some way to resolving the smaller, more immediate issues in education. But it ended with no clear pointers to future education policy.

This is disappointing, because that is what the group is meant to be about. At its first meeting in February, the stated aim was, through broad consultation and negotiation, to reach agreement on future education policy and the changes needed to get there.

In many ways the 10-person education group seems to be suffering the same inertia as those taking part in constitutional talks. A bad sign at the start was ANC president Nelson Mandela's failure to pitch up, although State President F W de Klerk led the government delegation.

One reason given for Mandela's absence was that he felt he need no longer be involved in the educational debate. But ANC education department head John Samuel, who took his place, said Mandela felt that under "present circumstances" it would not be appropriate for him to be there.

Besides some agreement on resolving the supply of textbooks to black schools, the use of vacant and half-empty white schools by black pupils and a long list of guidelines, the delegates disagreed on the form that future negotiating bodies should take.

Education and Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe wants a multiparty conference on education, possibly to be linked at a later stage to multiparty constitutional talks. While not rejecting the idea outright, the ANC would not give its commitment to the proposal, saying that it would have to go back to its constituencies before a decision was taken.

Samuel says the ANC is not sure what government means by a multiparty conference. He says that there is a need for a national negotiating forum, while Jakes Gerwel, principal of the University of the Western Cape, says an interim government is

continue →

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 23/8/91

~~(S)~~ (11A)

needed before educationists can negotiate on an equal footing.

Van der Merwe clearly did not want to push issues, saying the ANC group needed time to go back to its members before making decisions. Even a date for the next meeting has not been agreed upon.

Samuel, on the other hand, says government has to show its commitment to actually doing something about the education crisis.

"There was a clear recognition from government that education has to be put right, but, at the same time, there is no clarity on what it intends to do. It says it will make 1992 a better year for education without saying how it is going to do it." It sounds like the same old story.

Samuel says a weakness on the part of the government group is that it does not seem to realise it is confronted by an emergency in education that is going to need drastic action to correct. "It seems to think it can still manage education by using the old methods. We see the need for apartheid structures in education to be suspended."

The problem with education is that any radical change to the structure as a whole could seriously disrupt those children at school at the moment.

A more realistic method would be to change in stages — starting, say, with junior primary schools. But years of apartheid neglect means that there is, in a sense, no time to be realistic.

About the only good thing to come out of Monday's meeting is that the joint working group will continue talking, despite being far from consensus on the bigger issues. ■

~~SECRET~~ (11A) (S) (11A) (S)

Red Cross to visit ANC detainees

Star 23-18191
The International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa announced yesterday that, following discussions with the ANC, it would be allowed to visit detainees held by the movement. 23/8/91

"The ICRC will carry out visits to detainees according to its traditional criteria.

"The delegates, including a medical doctor, will interview them without witnesses, look at their conditions of detention and their treatment, and give any assistance appropriate.

"In case of repatriation, the ICRC will help to repatriate them in co-operation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the National Coordinating Committee for the Return of Exiles."

Star 23/8/91
**League objects to
Marike as guest**

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC Women's League has pulled out of the Goodwill Foundation's "Peace and Reconciliation" programme next month, citing as a reason the choice of President de Klerk's wife, Marike, as the guest speaker at an event at the First National Bank Stadium.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Women's League president Gertrude Shope said that while the league believed peace and reconciliation were priorities, it would nevertheless not allow itself to be used to promote Pretoria's image here and abroad.

Mrs Shope said the Goodwill Foundation's choice of Mrs de Klerk as guest of honour and the main speaker at a function on September 28 was "a political statement".

She said it was strange that the Goodwill Foundation, an organisation which claimed to be non-political, could have picked Mrs de Klerk. That, she said, gave "the distinct impression that the Goodwill Foundation intends to promote the present Government with a view to improving SA's image worldwide".

Mrs Shope was also critical of the involvement of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

ANC will carry on VAT fight

11A



CT 23/8/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, Cosatu and other critics of VAT rejected government concessions yesterday, saying they were “inadequate and not negotiated”, and vowed to continue their battle for “a more acceptable system”.

About 20 of the organisations which attended an anti-VAT summit here demanded an urgent meeting with Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

They said they would ask him to postpone the new tax, scrap the petrol price increases and enter into negotiations for a “more widely acceptable system”.

Opposition parties yesterday slammed the government's handling of the introduction of VAT — as well as its decision to “slip in” a huge fuel price increase behind the announcement of a reduced VAT rate.

The Democratic Party's two finance spokesmen, Mr Ken Andrew and Mr Jasper Walsh, called on the government urgently to convene a meeting of all political organisations, business, trade unions, consumer organisations and major relief organisations to negotiate amendments to VAT.

The Conservative Party's spokesman on trade and industry, Mr Daan Nolte, said the 13c a litre hike in the petrol price would “fuel inflation”.

And the 8c a litre increase in the price of diesel would lead to a number of farmers — large diesel consumers — “going under”.

The SA Black Taxi Association said yesterday that the petrol price increase meant more problems for the already beleaguered black taxi industry. The increase would have to be passed on to the equally economically troubled commuters.

In the Western Cape organised com-

merce and consumer interests welcomed the decreased VAT rate, but criticised the increase in the price of petrol and diesel.

Both the Automobile Association and the SA Road Federation said road-users had once again been burdened with a tax on petrol from which they would not benefit.

The managing director of Captour, Mr John Robert, said the petrol price increase could be detrimental to the entire domestic tourism industry.

In Pretoria the Medical Association of South Africa welcomed the announcement that patients using state health services would not pay VAT, but expressed concern that this benefit was not extended to the private sector.

The Motor Industries Federation welcomed the VAT reduction but deplored the increase in fuel prices which, it said, would push up inflation.

‘Setbacks’

MIF executive director Mr Vic Fourie said: “It is difficult to understand why, if this petrol price increase is intended to fund the reduction in the VAT rate, it needs to be implemented some six weeks before VAT is officially introduced into the country.”

The Housewives' League welcomed the reduction in VAT but felt the petrol increase could negate the VAT decrease.

The president of the SA Agricultural Union, Mr Nico Kotze, expressed disappointment that the government was not prepared to exclude basic foods from VAT or to phase in the tax on those products gradually. This and the diesel price increase were major setbacks for agriculture, he said.

● Teleletters VAT outcry — Page 9

● Business reaction — Page 10

(111) CT 23/8/91

ANC demands interim rule

By BARRY STREEK

AN interim government was fundamental to the negotiation process, ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal said last night.

The government wanted to control the negotiation process and its outcome to prevent and retard any settlement in which the National Party could lose control of state machinery, he said at an ANC meeting in Claremont.

Professor Asmal said interim arrangements were simply temporary, to organise the elections, which would determine the

make-up of the body which would draft a constitution.

At the same meeting, the Democratic Party chief whip Mr David Dalling said the DP wanted a transitional government.

He said if there is to be a chance of a fair outcome of negotiations and elections, there must be impartiality and neutrality in the control of security forces, state spending and the management of elections.

"Unless these three crucial aspects are secured, we will not achieve a democratic result," Mr

Dalling said.

"No matter what they say, it is patently obvious that the NP — the party of the CCB and of hit squads — cannot be trusted with the impartial, neutral control of the security forces during the negotiating period."

Mr Dalling said three commissions, with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary nominees on 50/50 basis, should be appointed to oversee the activities of the security forces, state expenditure and the administration of elections during the period of transition.

List of 'black influence'

JOHANNESBURG. — A list of South Africa's 50 most influential black men has been published for the first time by Drum Magazine. (11A) CT 23 (8/9)

They include Dr Sam Motseunyane, president of Nafcoc and chairman of the African Bank; nuclear physicist Dr Gordon Sibiya; Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the Zion Christian Church; Mr Nelson Mandela; Mr Solomon Morewa, secretary-general of the SA Football Association; musician Hugh Masekela; Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste; Mr Jay Naidoo, general-secretary of Cosatu, and Nocsa chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy.

Factors considered for the nominees to qualify were their credibility rather than fame, the size of their constituencies, their achievements and their ability to change the status quo. — Sapa

ANC education director dies

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC director of education Dr Seretse Choabi, 55, died suddenly in London on Monday while visiting his wife and daughter. (1/3) CT 23/89

His body, accompanied by his wife, Mabel, and daughter, Neo, is expected to arrive at Jan Smuts Airport here at the weekend.

Dr Choabi, who was based in Lusaka, was among the first ANC exiles to return to South Africa.

He was planning and arranging the return to South Africa of ANC exiles studying abroad when he died.

Dr Choabi completed a MEd at the University of Fort Hare and obtained his doctorate in Ghana.

— Sapa

'ANC has lost control'

(11A) CT-23/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — An alleged state agent, recently released from ANC detention, yesterday claimed the organisation's leadership had lost control over its own security department as its members were intimidating fellow ex-ANC detainees.

Mr Mpho Motjuoadi said this was the reason why he and other five alleged agents had decided to flout an agreement with the organisation to keep quiet about their alleged torture in ANC camps and to refrain from accusations from both sides.

They were Messrs Alpheus Kheswa, Bongane Malinga, Brendan Samson, Patrick Dlongwana and a sixth man known as Khams, Mr Motjuoadi said.

Others had reservations about the talks with the ANC, which were due to continue in a downtown hotel yesterday, Mr Motjuoadi said.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma rejected the claims as "ridiculous".

"Why haven't they gone to the police? It would seem that some of them are trying to pick a fight with the ANC.

"Why should we bring them back to South Africa to attack them, when we could have done what we wanted wherever we had them. We're not as stupid as that!"

He said Mr Motjuoadi was not speaking on behalf of the entire group and that discussions for the normalisation of relations between the two parties would continue with those who wished to participate.

Mr Motjuoadi claimed one of the 20 men, who are staying in the downtown hotel after returning to South Africa from Uganda on Saturday night, had been beaten up by men in ANC T-shirts while walking down Bree Street on Wednesday night.

He alleged Mr Malinga was held up at gunpoint and robbed of R280 by people claiming to be from the ANC's security department.

Mr Motjuoadi said on both occasions the attackers had addressed the men in names given them in the ANC's Quattro prison in Angola.

Police spokesman Captain Eugène Opperman was unavailable for verification.

Mr Motjuoadi also claimed the ANC was undemocratic and suffered from lack of communication and "lots and lots of disorganisation".

He accused the ANC leadership of trying to silence the group and of negotiating in bad faith. — Sapa

Red Cross to visit detainees

PRETORIA. — The International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa announced yesterday that, following discussions with the ANC, it would be allowed to visit detainees held by the movement.

In a statement from its office here, the ICRC said the ANC had promised to facilitate the work of the ICRC through its representation abroad.

"The ICRC will carry out visits to detainees according to its traditional criteria." — Sapa

Interim govt is 'unlikely'

(NA)

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was unlikely to accede to the ANC's demand for an interim government, SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) President Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Delivering the SAIRR presidential address in Johannesburg, the former DP MP said ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand amounted to a transfer of power before a constitution with checks and balances against abuse of power had been agreed to by the major players. *61 Day 23/8/91*

Suzman said it was much more likely that De Klerk would try to devise some form of transitional government of national unity.

She speculated that in terms of this arrangement, representatives of the main parties would be included not only in the Cabinet but in the SADF, the police force and in high positions in the civil administration.

Town clerk told: Get out!

ACC 23/8/91
 (HR) (273)

VUYO BAVUMA
 Staff Reporter

AN ANC Women's League delegation has told Khayelitsha's town clerk to "resign and not come to the townships again", minutes after thousands of people marched in protest against a "terror" campaign waged against political activists in the area.

The women met Town Clerk Mr Graham Lawrence of the Lingeletu West Town Council at the offices of Mayor Mr Mali Hoza at Site B yesterday.

They also claimed Mr Lawrence and the councillors were responsible for the killings in the townships.

Mr Lawrence said he could not decide to resign on his own as he was employed by the council. He would consult his bosses, Mr Hoza and the council.

He admitted there had been problems between the residents and council and these were compounded "by the fact some councillors are not educated and cannot rule properly".

The women said they had given Mr Lawrence and his councillors until Thursday to decide on their demands.

The march, organised by the ANC's Women's League, was attended by several prominent people, including ANC member Dr Alan Boesak, DP MP Mr Jan van Eck, and ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar.

The protest action took place a week after at least seven people, including a mother and her children, were killed.

Mrs Florence Tshuku and her sons Lundi, 18, and Mncedisi, 20, and her daughter, Abegail, 17, were shot dead and their house was petrol-bombed in Site C.

Yesterday the marchers, some with South African Communist Party and ANC flags, sang anti-government songs and accused the Western Cape Black Taxi Association of allegedly being involved in the killing of community leader Mr Michael Mapongwana.



TAKE THIS: Mrs Mildred Lesia of the ANC hands over a petition to Colonel J Benadie. Behind her is DP MP Mr Jan van Eck, Mrs Nomaindia Mfeketho, a South African Communist Party member, Mrs Rashida Abdullah of the ANC Women's League and civil rights lawyer and ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar.

Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.



ON THE MARCH: Thousands marched in protest against the "terror" campaign waged against ANC political activists.

Others carried placards which read, "De Klerk is referee of violence", and "Disband the CCB, hit-squads and Askaris".

As the marchers moved towards Zola Budd Drive, a Bellville meat firm's vehicle was stoned and looted.

A shocked driver, Mr Wilson Kakaza of Nyanga, said he lost control of the vehicle as he tried to duck the stones.

The vehicle overturned but he was not injured. Later youths stole meat from the vehicle while Mr Kakaza was at a police station.

At the gates of Khayelitsha police station, a group led by Women's League regional executive member Mrs Mildred Lesia handed a petition to Colonel J Benadie.

The petition came from "concerned mothers who are deeply concerned with the killings of innocent children and activists" in Khayelitsha.

It also cited 13 cases of ANC activists who were harassed by unknown people allegedly assisted by the police.

LADIES!!

SewKnit FASHION WORKSHOP

SEPTEMBER 3, 1991
 The Forum
 CAVENDISH SQUARE,
 Claremont

SEPTEMBER 4
 The Gymnasium
 TYGERBERG TECHNIKON
 Panorama, Parow

SPEAKERS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Knit Cut and Sew. What's new with overlocking.

Latest Computer Design aids for Knitting Machines. Start your own Small Business, Wardrobe Planning. Other exciting topics.

Tambo heads Fort Hare (S4)
 ACC 23/8/91
 EAST LONDON. — ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo will be installed as chancellor of

Violence harms care in township

EDWARD MOLOINYANE (273)
 Staff Reporter

END OUT MORE

List of the richest blacks includes Tutu, Mandela ^(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — A list of South Africa's 50 most influential black men has been published for the first time by Drum Magazine.

They include Mr Sam Mutsenyane, president of Nafcoc and chairman of the African Bank; the nuclear physicist Mr Gordon Sibiya; Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Mr Barnabas Lekganyana, leader of the Zionist Church; ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela; Mr

Aug 23/8/91
Solomon Morewa, secretary general of the SA Football Association; the musician Hugh Masekela; The Sowetan's editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste; Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu and Nocsa chairman Mr Sam Ramsamy.

The panel at the magazine used factors such as the nominee's credibility rather than fame, the size of his constituency, his achievements, tact and ability to change the status quo in their choices. — Sapa.

Keeping the red banner flying

B Day 23/8/91

(11A)

LINDA ENSOR in Cape Town

COMMUNISM may be seen as a failed system in many parts of the world, but Cheryl Carolus is keeping socialism's banner flying in SA.

She has been mentioned by ANC president Nelson Mandela as a possible successor to him; and Mandela also predicted that she might step into Rina Venter's shoes as Health Minister in the new SA.

Carolus, 34, is a member of the SACP's national central committee and holds the health and welfare portfolio on the ANC's national working committee.

She came 22nd in popularity in the ANC's national executive committee elections in July, and took over the health portfolio from Winnie Mandela.

Her political training was fine-tuned during the political struggle of the '80s, which saw her, as a top UDF executive, in detention several times and on the run from the police for nearly two years.

Her view that it is undemocratic communism and capitalism that are the failures is more the result of her background than the product of a strictly intellectual debate.

Of working class parents — her father was a printer's assistant and her mother a nurse aid — Carolus is no stranger to poverty.

"I have always had a gut instinct about the poor and their right to the wealth they create. I have been a gut socialist all the time."



□ CAROLUS

While probably an underground communist before the SACP was unbanned (it is not something she will divulge), Carolus's membership of the organisation's internal leadership only surfaced in February 1990 at the public launch of the party in Soweto.

The party has been criticised for its sycophantic relationship with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but Carolus says an exciting and intense debate is going on inside the party, which has learnt the importance of accountability from the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

With the SACP pulling away to

some extent to form its own constituency in the run-up to national elections, it would not be surprising if a conflict of loyalties emerged. But Carolus disputes this.

"The SACP and ANC are separate organisations joined in an alliance based on an agreement of a fundamental set of principles. The ANC operates on the basis of a minimum programme to build a broad movement of national unity and to achieve national liberation and the establishment of a national democratic government.

"The SACP has a maximum programme based on its belief in socialism and brings people together on the basis of this ultimate vision. I believe that socialism can only exist in a system of democratic government."

At present the co-ordinator for the Education Resource and Information Centre, which is involved in staff development at the University of the Western Cape and leadership training for ANC, Cosatu and other organisations, Carolus will be moving to Johannesburg in about a month's time to take up her full-time position with the ANC.

Among her priorities as the ANC's shadow health minister will be to focus on the quality of life, nation-building and reconciliation. Also of importance will be to devise strategies to care for marginalised groups such as squatters and to reintegrate victims of war, returning exiles and political prisoners into society.

Other priorities will be AIDS and putting a halt to the privatisation of health care.

Fight against VAT continues

LESLEY LAMBERT

THE ANC, Cosatu and other critics of VAT rejected government's concessions yesterday, saying they were "inadequate and not negotiated", and vowed to continue their battle for "a more acceptable system".

About 20 of the organisations which attended an anti-VAT summit in Johannesburg demanded an urgent meeting with Du Plessis.

They said they would ask him to postpone the new tax, scrap the petrol price increases and enter into negotiations for a "more widely acceptable system".

Delegates, representing the ANC, trade unions, civic organisations and the health and welfare sectors, appointed a co-ordinating committee to manage the process and decide what action to take if Du Plessis rejected the demands.

Numsa national secretary and co-ordinating committee head Bernie Fanaroff told a news conference after the summit: "We want to convey to the Minister that we would like to negotiate as a matter of urgency."

"There was a general feeling from people at the meeting that their constituencies would strongly resist the bulldozing of the system into practice."

He and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said while the summit approved of the principle of VAT, it rejected the way it had been imple-

mented and the inadequacy of relief measures for the poor.

Fanaroff said: "We would like to see the system reviewed by negotiations and would like to have access to the calculations on which the rate was based."

"We also believe that food and health care should be zero-rated."

"We also agreed that if the Minister went ahead and implemented the new tax on September 30 without negotiation, there was likely to be general resistance from the public," Fanarhoff said.

Other spokesmen representing some of the organisations at the summit indicated that they expected widespread anger and industrial action from their constituencies if Du Plessis refused to accede to the demands.

Government's concessions on the VAT rate and relief aid, coupled with measures to recoup revenue losses, have been generally accepted by commerce and industry who say they represent relief without significant damage to the efficiency of the new tax system.

Du Plessis used the special powers granted to him in the Taxation Laws Amendment Act to make the concessions.

● See Page 7
● Comment: Page 10

ANC won't rally at Marike's side

DAVE LOURENS

11A

THE ANC Women's League announced yesterday it would not participate in the Goodwill Foundation's peace initiative rally on September 28.

Women's League president Gertrude Shope said the choice of Marike de Klerk as guest of honour and main speaker at the FNB stadium event was a political choice. 8/0 Aug 23/8/91.

Executive member Winnie Mandela said the ANC viewed the present government as illegitimate, and could therefore not participate if De Klerk was to speak in her capacity as the President's wife. Mandela said she had no problems with De Klerk as a person.

Goodwill Foundation spokesman Matilda Grobler said the gathering was not one of common political beliefs, or colour or religion, but of mothers and women promoting reconciliation.

Shope said the Women's League was also concerned about plans to invite the wives of some African leaders, as this would violate Africa's resolve to maintain sanctions.

Breaking the silence

Alleged ANC spies ignore pact and talk

(11A)
Sowetan
23/8/91

IN 1985 Patrick Hlongwane voluntarily left South Africa to "go and clarify" to the ANC in Lusaka that he had been wrongfully branded a South African Government agent by fellow activists in his hometown of Port Elizabeth.

For the next six years, until he returned home last Saturday, Hlongwane (32) would spend his life as a prisoner in rehabilitation centres of the organisation ANC in Tanzania, Lusaka and Angola.

Similarly, had Mpho Motjuoadi, now aged 27, not "volunteered" to tell the ANC security on his arrival in Lusaka in 1986 that he had been recruited - but did not yield - by a South African security agent in Maseru, he would not have been tortured and thrown into ANC cells.

The two men were among 32 former ANC prisoners who arrived in the country via Kenya from Uganda last Saturday.

One newspaper headline said about their return: "ANC releases most notorious spies."

Twenty of them refused to go into the care of the ANC but preferred the International Red Cross Society's offer of aid and shelter. Hlongwane and Motjuoadi are among this group.

Escape

Three days after their arrival a meeting between them and the ANC's Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, a moratorium on "accusative statements" was agreed upon and no further Press statements were to be issued.

A week later, the group has decided to break the agreement.

Hlongwane said: "The ANC has not kept its side of the bargain. On Monday night, one of us, Bongani Mlangeni, was accosted by ANC security people in the city.

They pressed a Makarov pistol to his neck and accused him of being a paid South African agent and took his money. He managed to escape when a vehicle suddenly appeared and distracted his assailants.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"We now know that before the world knows what happened to us in those camps, ANC security will have got to us. We would be dead", said Hlongwane.

Motjuoadi said someone posing as a journalist telephoned his hotel room and threatened to shoot him.

Bitter

"Only the ANC and its security knows us by name and sight and the method used to surround Bongani the night he was attacked is that used by ANC guerillas," said Hlongwane.

The men are obviously bitter with the ANC and lament the years they said they spent suffering for what they did not do.

Motjuoadi said: "They still have not and cannot prove that I was a spy or an enemy of the people.

"Had I not volunteered to the ANC security in Lusaka that I was recruited - I even gave

them the name of the security agent - I would not have suffered.

"I am going back to my home in Mamelodi because I am not afraid. I was never a spy."

Hlongwane said he was a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation/UDF activist in 1983 when he was among several people arrested and charged after a sustained consumer boycott. He was acquitted and the others were convicted. That's when his problems began; he was accused of working with the police. It was for this reason that he went to the ANC to "clarify them".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said as far as the organisation was concerned, there was nothing more to say. The men were free to go home as the matter had been discussed with the group.

He said as far as the ANC knew the 32 was under the care of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and not the Red Cross.

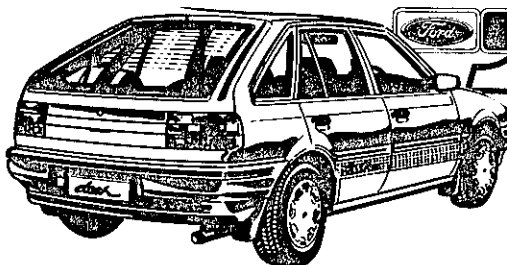


MPHO MOTJUOADI



PATRICK HLONGWANE

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PRACTICAL BOOKKEEPING AND ACCOUNTS



Pallo Jordan

Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Southlight

Jordan was held by comrades — and he doesn't know why

By GAVIN EVANS ^{u/Mail 23/8 - 29/8/91}
PALLO JORDAN, a member of the African National Congress' shadow cabinet, was detained by his movement in the early 1980s without being told why.

Jordan, a member of the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), told *The Weekly Mail* this week that he had never been given reasons, and was still dissatisfied about his detention.

The 22-member NWC is the inner circle of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) and responsible for day-to-day running of the organisation. Jordan is also the organisation's information director.

Asked whether he had been detained for a couple of weeks in the mid-1980s, Jordan responded: "No. Who said it was only a couple of weeks?"

He said he had been held without being informed why for six weeks in Lusaka in the mid-1980s.

Asked whether he now had any idea why he was detained he said: "No, they never told me."

He said those responsible may still be ANC members but none had been elected to the NEC.

Asked whether the situation had since been rectified to his satisfaction, he replied: "No, I wouldn't say so."

At the time, Jordan was known to be on the left of the ANC and strongly critical of Stalinist trends in the SA Communist Party.

In a recent interview in *Die Suid Afrikaan*, Jordan was quoted as saying that in 1988 there was a shake-up in the ANC's security apparatus and that the people responsible for the excesses were stripped of their positions.

The man who headed the movement's security and intelligence de-

partment at the time of Jordan's detention was Mzwai Piliso.

He was also prominently associated with the large-scale detentions which followed revolts and dissident actions in several Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) camps in the mid-1980s.

In 1987 Piliso was promoted sideways to head the ANC's Department of Manpower Development and last year he was appointed as head of the political mobilisation.

At the ANC's national conference last month he failed in his bid for re-election.

Jordan, in contrast, came fifth in the NEC elections with 87 percent of the vote, and third in the elections for the movement's NWC.

Following the abuses of detainees in the mid-1980s, Professor Albie Sachs, of the ANC's legal department, drafted a document — endorsed by the NEC — detailing the rights of detainees and forbidding any form of torture or assault.

Since then the most prominent ANC leader to be detained was former Swaziland Umkhonto weSizwe leader Thami Zulu who was suspected by ANC security and intelligence officials of being a spy. He died shortly after his release from house arrest in Lusaka in 1989 — of Aids according to ANC intelligence sources. Other sources, who deny that he was a spy, say he died as a result of assaults during his interrogation.

After this there appeared to be a shift in the approach to detainees. According to several NEC members, youth leader Peter Mokaba was also interrogated in 1989, and confessed to involvement with the security police.

However, after agreeing to certain restraints, he was allowed to return home shortly afterwards.

11A

Missing detainees aren't in our camps, says ANC

w/ma 23/8-29/8/91

Amid allegations of torture and bribery by former ANC detainees, 50 captives are still unaccounted for.

By GAVIN EVANS (11A)

THE International Red Cross says about 50 African National Congress detainees are still missing and believes that some are being held in the ANC's detention camps.

The movement strongly denies this claim, saying no one is being held in detention as it has closed its camps.

Senior IRC representative Fabia Biancardi told *The Weekly Mail* that there were about 50 ANC detainees who were unaccounted for, "and we have information that some of them might still be held in ANC camps".

She declined to say how many were missing or where they were allegedly being held and said the IRC was liaising with the ANC regarding this matter.

The head of the IRC delegation in South Africa, Tony Pfanner, was quoted by *The Star* as saying that the ANC had repeatedly refused the IRC permission to go into the camps because it feared infiltration by spies masquerading as relief workers.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said on Wednesday that "no one is being held by the ANC — absolutely no-one", and added that by May 31 this year the movement had released all detainees.

He said he was not aware of any communication between the ANC and the IRC on this matter.

On Sunday a group of 32 former ANC detainees arrived in South Africa from Uganda, some saying they had been severely tortured in the detention camps in Angola. Joachim Ribiero de Sousa said he had been forced to sign a confession about being a South African spy, and was interrogated by ANC National Executive Committee member Chris Hani. Others also accused Hani of orchestrating their capture.

On Monday the ANC sent a delegation — rather surprisingly consisting of Hani and Winnie Mandela — to meet a group of 20 "repatriated" detainees and hear their "serious complaints regarding human rights abuse".

After "lengthy and frank discussions" with the group the ANC "made firm undertakings to investigate all the complaints they lodged against ANC personnel", said the ANC Department of Information and Publicity.

Both groups agreed to make no further statements to the media. The ANC agreed to help ensure the safety of the group and to set up a sub-committee of the NEC to examine their complaints.

The Weekly Mail has been informed that eight of the returnees refused to meet the ANC or enter into any agreements with them, and plan to air their grievances.

And two days after meeting Hani and Mandela one of the group of 20, Mpho Motjuoadi, accused the ANC of acting in "bad spirit and bad faith" and of bribing them to remain silent. Motjuoadi said Mandela gave them each R300 to buy dinner after they agreed to a moratorium on "accusative statements". He said all 20 returnees supported this criticism of the ANC's stance.

ANC representatives say the organisation was trying to assist and not bribe the men. The agreement, the ANC said, was that the returnees should not allow themselves to be used in propaganda against the organisation. The ANC in turn agreed to facilitate their reintegration into the community.



Pallo Jordan

Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Southlight

Jordan was held by comrades — and he doesn't know why

w/ma 23/8-29/8/91

By GAVIN EVANS (11A)
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MEDIA WAVES

MARK GEVISSER's fortnightly look at broadcasting, publishing and advertising



The Tragedy of the Dancing Chairman

AT the concluding ceremony of the "Jabulani — Freedom of the Airwaves" conference held in the Netherlands last week, 42 South African media activists and specialists watched, with a mixture of delight and disbelief, as a choir of blue-eyed burghers sang freedom songs with a northern-European determination and a metronomic to-and-fro-ing roughly approximating the toyi-toyi.

All the South Africans present eventually joined in this bizarre victory-dance. But one man, skulking on the verge of the celebration, looked very uncomfortable: Professor Christo Viljoen, chairman of the government-appointed Task Group on Broadcasting.

Viljoen had just told the conference that he supported an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) that would take airwave control out of the hands of the SABC and "promote a multiplicity of voices". The SABC, he said, "should be a public broadcaster, independent of vested interests and government, and owned by the people".

But Viljoen, himself still vested in the grey suit of both state and professional interest (he chairs the SABC, after all), did not join "the people" in their victory dance — until someone rushed over to where he was standing by the doorway, and forcefully pulled him into the melée. There was much sniggering at the image of the Stellenbosch professor unhappily dancing the toyi-toyi — but no-one said "Welcome Comrade!"

The image of the spurned Dancing Chairman sums up perfectly the role Viljoen currently plays: hovering uncomfortably on the periphery of the democratic movement's demands, and trying, without much success, to win his enemies over.

The tragedy of the Dancing Chairman is this: all those present at the conference, from the free marketers of Radio 702 and Capital Radio to comrades from the African National Congress's Radio Freedom,

OUR country has a high reputation internationally for conservation. But the concern for the flora, fauna and wildlife did not extend to the well-being of the majority of the population, an objective which must surely be the purpose of our concern for the environment. Rather the indigenous people have been perceived as the "problem", the "obstacles", and even the "threat" in environmental management.

This is in keeping with the colonial and apartheid ethic. Intrinsic in apartheid is environmental degradation. The ethic of our rulers respects neither nature nor humankind. We do not need experts to point to the consequences: they are visible in the geography of our country and in what we see around us.

● Contrast the swimming pools of the white suburbs of Johannesburg with the stand pipes and absence of indoor plumbing and sanitation in the townships and squatter camps.

● Witness the consequences of increases of 400 to 500 percent in population density over a decade, in some of the areas created by the establishment of bantustans and forced removals: our land stripped bare, the soil eroded, as people have struggled against poverty and deprivation.

● Look at the black townships built downwind, and white suburbs located to protect residents from the poisonous matter that spews forth from the chimneys of industrial plants like Sasol, while inadequate pollution regulations add to the profits of companies.

● Consider the coal stoves polluting the townships, and in the rural areas the soil eroded and the land barren as trees are cut down for fuel and women have to walk nine to 10 kilometres a day in search of wood. Yet our power stations operate under capacity.

● We have a nuclear power station constructed on a geological fault, in an area where wind patterns can create a hazardous situation and with a population density higher than would be considered safe in other countries. The decision was motivated

The danger that knows no racial boundaries

w/Mark 23/8-29/8/91 11A

Nelson Mandela committed the ANC to far-reaching green policies at the launch this week of a book on environmental struggles. This is an extract of his speech

By NELSON MANDELA

ed by strategic considerations rather than energy needs of our country, and any debate on questions of safety was muzzled by legislation prohibiting discussion of such issues. And how are we going to deal with the nuclear waste?

There are plans now under way to build more nuclear power stations in our country. Can we allow this programme to go ahead? Should such decisions not await a democratic government and a society in which there can be free and informed debate?

The list of examples where people have been ignored is endless, and it is these images which we need to consider, at the same time as the projections of national parks and South African wildlife.

But a lesson apartheid South Africa has yet to learn, hopefully before we have a major catastrophe, is that noxious fumes, the destruction of natural resources, nuclear emissions and pollution of water do not respect racial boundaries. The clouds of smoke affect black people in the townships first, but they also drift into the white suburbs.

The uncontrolled storage of toxic waste will affect the air we breathe and the water

we drink, regardless of which racial group we belong to.

Traditionally our people lived in harmony with and respected their habitat. Traditional customs and taboos protected the environment and the concept of sustainable development was implicit in our practices. Our ancestors knew that the preservation of the fertility of the land and the non-destructive uses of resources was necessary for survival. That is the environmental ethic we have to rediscover and promote.

It is also the ethic we have to promote in our relations with our neighbours. The South African Defence Force, which is, incidentally, one of the largest land owners in our country, has left a terrible legacy in southern Africa: defoliation and destruction of the land and natural resources of Angola and Namibia; the war that still continues in Mozambique; military involvement in poaching and ivory smuggling.

The well-being of all the people of South Africa is going to depend in large measure on how we manage our environment. Economic growth, however rapid, will not suffice, unless that development is sustainable and our resources are conserved for future generations.

For the majority of South Africans, the major environmental issues are: availability of land, so that it does not have to be stripped bare in order to provide food and fuel; providing adequate sanitation and clean non-toxic water for irrigation and for the health of our people; ensuring that the air we breathe is free of pollution. These issues cannot be resolved without the participation of those most concerned.

The African National Congress sees the preservation and the rehabilitation of the environment as part of our liberation struggle. This is why what are called third generation rights — or more popularly, green rights — are included in our proposed Bill of Rights.

Like all other human rights they are inalienable.

● *Going Green: People, politics and the environment in South Africa* is edited by Jacklyn Cock and Eddie Koch (Oxford University Press, R44,95)

Time to scrap 24/8/91. Star 24/8/91. double-speak

A NIGHTMARE for political commentators is to try to simultaneously present the Government and the ANC's positions on a variety of issues pertaining to the process of political transition. The first problem one encounters in this regard is the fact that these parties stridently resist using the same names for almost anything, even if they are virtually talking about the same thing.

Firstly, the Government uses the term "multiparty conference" to describe a gathering of all the parties that have agreed to take part in constitutional negotiations leading to the drawing up of a new, hopefully democratic, constitution for post-apartheid South Africa.

For a conference with the same aim, the ANC uses the term "all-party conference". Therefore, to present their views, a commentator has to write something like this: multiparty/all-party conference.

Secondly, the ANC uses the term "constituent assembly" for a body that will be responsible for drawing up the new constitution. Because the Government is vehemently against the notion of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, or even proportional representation, it makes it a point to avoid the name "constituent assembly" at all costs.

Instead, it uses the term "negotiating forum". Note that in actual fact, the Government should not be against the term "constituent assembly" as such, but should be against the manner in which members of the CA are selected. But, in order to put the issue beyond doubt, it avoids the term "constituent assembly".

Thirdly, since the Government-Inkatha secret funding scandal, there is an intensified debate about the need for what

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHLOMO



the ANC calls an interim government or an interim government of national unity. According to the ANC, the Government needs to resign and hand over power to an interim government which would then oversee the process of political transition and prepare for the holding of elections.

The Government rejects the notion of resigning and handing over power before a new constitution is in place. It is, however, prepared to discuss with the ANC and others, a mechanism (not clearly defined) whereby the ANC and other parties would be included in the legislative and executive levels of the existing Government.

Of late, the Government sometimes uses the term "interim transitional arrangement" or "interim transitional authority" to describe what it wants.

Finally, the Government favours a future constitution that will provide for maximum devolution of power to regional governments. It studiously avoids calling this arrangement a federal arrangement. The ANC, probably suspecting that devolution of power to regions is a ploy to weaken central government, retains the territorial integrity of existing homelands and sometimes prefers to use the expression "bringing government closer to the people".

The ANC, like the Government, also studiously avoids the use of the term "federation".

When the two parties begin to use the same codewords during negotiations, we will perhaps be able to say the constitutional settlement is closer.

ANC 'juniors' detained Pallo

(11A) CT 24/8/91

Political Staff

PROMINENT ANC member Dr Pallo Jordan confirmed yesterday that he was arbitrarily detained for six weeks in the early 1980s by his own organisation in Lusaka.

He said he had never been given reasons for his detention and he was still dissatisfied about the whole incident.

"It is something that has passed. I don't have a yearly celebration about it."

Asked if he was still unhappy about his detention, Dr Jordan replied: "Would you be happy about it?"

"There were lots of people who were unhappy — and not only myself."

Dr Jordan, who is the ANC's director for information, is today one of the most popular figures in the organisation and came fifth in the elections for the ANC's national executive committee at its conference in Durban in July.

His detention in Lusaka was by members of the ANC's security and intelligence department.

He was asked, in an interview in yesterday's issue of the Weekly Mail, whether he now had any idea why he was detained, but he



DETAINED ...
Pallo Jordan

replied: "No, they never told me." Yesterday he confirmed this and added: "No, I have never had any explanation."

He felt the Weekly Mail report had implied that the SA Communist Party was behind his detention, but this was definitely not the case.

"I am on the left of the ANC and

I have been strongly critical of Stalinist trends in the SACP, but they had absolutely nothing to do with it."

Although the head of security and intelligence at the time was of his detention was Mr Mazwai Piliso, Dr Jordan said he did not think he was responsible and that he had been "out of town" at the time.

"His juniors were involved," Dr Jordan said.

The confirmation of his detention comes after the acknowledgement last year by Mr Nelson Mandela that some members of the organisation had been tortured in ANC camps after a mutiny in Angola.

Mr Mandela said then: "Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured."

In 1985 the ANC adopted a code of conduct of the treatment of people who violated the rules of the organisation and Mbokodo, the Umkhonto we Sizwe unit responsible, was disbanded and the officers responsible were disciplined.

However, dissidents have claimed that assaults and arbitrary detentions continued after the 1985 decision.

ANC man

suspended

(11)

CT 24/8/91

A SENIOR member of the ANC in the Western Cape, Mr Amos Lengisi, has been censured and suspended for a month for assaulting a woman member.

Mr Lengisi is also an ex-officio member of the ANC's national executive as he is regional secretary in the Western Cape.

The executive committee in the Western Cape said it viewed the incident in "a serious light".

A commission of inquiry into the incident had recommended that Mr Lengisi be severely reprimanded for smacking or hitting another member of the regional executive, Mrs Mildred Lesea, in the ANC's Athlone office recently.

Front meeting

put off ⁽¹¹⁴⁾
24/8/91

THE Patriotic Front conference to mobilise support for an elected constituent assembly has been postponed — again.

The conference — to be attended by almost 50 organisations including the ANC, the PAC and Azapo — was originally going to be held in Cape Town this weekend.

It was then postponed to September 6-8 because of "logistical problems" in finding a suitable venue.

Now a new date and possibly a new venue are being sought.

Voice of 'the people' could tell who holds power

ONE way to determine who really speaks for urban blacks would be to hold some impartial local referendums.

This is the view of political scientist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, who says this is important at a time when vital issues are at stake and strategic choices are to be made in the run-up to constitutional negotiations.

"Perhaps the voice of 'the people', on whose behalf everybody seems to speak, could provide direction at a crucial time," he suggests.

Professor Schlemmer is among various leading analysts who have warned about a growing power struggle between rival groups and organisations in South African cities.

Constitutional experts say the key to a peaceful transition to a non-racial democratic South Africa is in the hands of the millions of urban

WHO WIELDS POWER AT GRASSROOTS LEVEL IN BLACK AREAS AND HOW CAN THIS BE ESTABLISHED. WEEKEND ARGUS POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT FRANS ESTERHUYSE REPORTS ON ONE NEW SUGGESTION.

black people.

It will be the ordinary men and women who will determine the future of cities — and how democratic their local power structures will be.

But who wields power after the virtual collapse of the black local government system? And what prospects are there for building democratic structures in communities born and moulded under one of the worst of the undemocratic racist systems?

Research specialists have examined a whole range of political forces and groupings now at work in the black townships. The African Na-

tional Congress, with substantial support from the masses, is but one of the forces and by no means the most powerful in all areas.

Professor Schlemmer, in a recent research report, focused attention on a confused situation and potential new power confrontations in some areas.

He said the most disturbing feature of all is that the opinions and inclinations of the ordinary people on strategy are not heard.

"Everything is filtered through what are currently self-appointed organisations and activists. Not even opinion polls provide any insights

threatened by white conservative interest groups which are at their most powerful in Transvaal urban areas. They have been developing strategies for resisting non-racial local authorities.

The process can also be threatened from another direction if the civic association movement becomes a vehicle for an ideologically-based politics of power confrontation.

A potential flashpoint is the commitment by the ANC and the civic movement to a campaign of mass action to demand the resignation of existing local authorities.

Even if such mass action is intended to be little more than a symbolic display, Professor Schlemmer believes it can "enormously" strengthen the resistance of rightwing groups in urban politics.

because no academics can afford them and the commercial organisations that have the resources to conduct them persist in asking the most vacuous type of pop survey questions that can be imported from the United States."

Professor Schlemmer sees the cities as the place in South Africa's transition where negotiated alternatives to racial zoning and segregation must be shaped. This can be done by combining the experience, expertise and resources of white local authorities with the development priorities of the long-neglected black townships.

He warns, however, that this process could be

ARG 24/8/91
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in black areas



PAC president Clarence Makwetu addresses Nafcoc's 27th annual conference.

■ PICS: ANDRIES MCINEKA



UCT vice chancellor Mamphela Ramphele speaks on the causes of poverty in South Africa.

White business is dividing us — Azapo

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

C1/10/97 25/1/99
 (11A) (11A)

WHITE businesses encouraged black organisations to compete with each other on every venture in order to keep black business divided. Azapo President Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told cheering delegates at Nafcoc's 27th annual conference held at Sun City this week.

Nefolovhodwe said big business encouraged the formation of ventures which actually duplicated their activities, saying big business was the first to encourage Fabcos to compete with Nafcoc.

"The fact that Nafcoc and Fabcos exist as separate entities serves the interests of big business. Despite our differences, Azapo would want to see a common national economic agenda being worked out to enhance the economic gains of our people, and we encourage the formation of a national front of black business organisations.

"The present form of black economic empowerment has not succeeded in empowering blacks economically."

Owning a fast food outlet or a grocery shop had nothing to do with empowerment and economic control, he said.

"We believe economic control and power is found within the forces that black people should struggle to control," said Nefolovhodwe.

He urged Nafcoc to engage in productive measures that would be capable of feeding our children in the future.

Real power

A future constitution should enshrine the return of the land to the landless and an economic system in which the people have ownership, control and full participation in the creation, distribution and sharing of wealth.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said people no longer expected slogans, rhetoric or ideology from a conference. They expected to be informed about practical steps that would lead to them acquiring economic power and nothing less.

Ramaphosa said the conference came at a time when the apartheid regime was at its weakest and dazed as a result of self-inflicted punches like Inkathagate. The Vat punch was about to make it even more punch drunk.

"Our assertion that apartheid is a system that contains within itself seeds of self destruction has been proved a zillion times over as a result of Inkathagate."

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the conference was taking place at a very momentous time internationally as well as on home ground.

"On the African continent there has been little growth. In many African countries people have, for reasons not always of their own making, suffered on account of drought, internecine wars, poverty and a lack of democracy.

"It is heartening to note that presently there is an upsurge in demand for the installation of democratic forms of government which should lead to higher levels of economic performance.



Azapo's Pandelani Nefolovhodwe receives a gift from Nafcoc president Sam Motsuanyane as Simon Zuma looks on.

Yes to draft p-

~~2/1/91~~ ~~2/1/91~~ (11A)
Special Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE draft peace accord for South Africa was approved in Johannesburg on Friday.

It involves most of the political parties and organisations, church leaders, business leaders, trade unions and even the so-called self-governing territories.

The rightwing, however, was not present at the talks.

Parties were given the opportunity to comment on the draft accord before September 14. *C/Pren 25/8/91*

The final version will be discussed and hopefully approved on this date at the National Peace Summit.

The initiating committee of the National Peace Initiative - in which the government/National Party, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have until now been the key players - met on Friday at the head office of Premier Malinga in Killarney, Johannesburg.

The meeting was called to discuss the draft peace accord - agreed upon last week by the key players - with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, trade unions and homeland representatives.

The PAC and Cosatu attended the meeting, but not Azapo, the Conservative Party and other rightwing groups. KaNgwane and QwaQwa were represented, while Venda and Ciskei sent observers.

The draft accord provides for codes of conduct by the SAP and political parties; a system of monitoring under the supervision of a National Peace Committee; a statutory commission to investigate the causes of violence; a police council to advise on policy for policing; and a special police unit to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the police.

The accord also provides for the appointment of ombudsmen on a regional level to investigate misconduct by police, to investigate acts of political violence, and the introduction of special courts which will handle political violence.

According to reliable sources the ANC, the government and the IFP agreed on Wednesday in Durban that no dangerous weapons or firearms may be taken to political meetings or be carried or shown during political marches.

■ To Page 4

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibilya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

peace plan

THE draft of a letter American Congressman Stephen Solarz was preparing to send to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa early this month arrived on the fax machine last week. It was a plea for the ANC to make up its mind about Mr Solarz's ambitious South African aid initiative.

Whether, or in what form, it was finally sent is unclear — the ANC accepted the basic proposal within days of when the document would have gone out — but it is instructive nonetheless.

The first paragraph is especially striking. Having congratulated Mr Ramaphosa on his new job, Mr Solarz went on to remark that "I must say that when we first met over a decade ago, it never occurred to me that you would one day be occupying such a powerful and prestigious post."

One can be certain that Mr Solarz did not mean to be insulting. Even so, his choice of words speaks volumes about his unconscious attitude towards not just the ANC, but black South Africans generally.

In his heart of hearts, he finds their achievements surprising: that Mr Ramaphosa is now one of the most powerful men in South Africa is wonderful news —



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

S/T/W
25/8/91

but who would have thought it? Not Mr Solarz himself, evidently.

This is not to single out the otherwise estimable congressman for any particular blame. Truth be told, most outsiders — and not only those on his side of the political aisle — harbour similarly condescending reflexes.

INDEED it is upon such reflexes that most Western policies towards South Africa have long been based: black South Africans are poor dears, they need sanctions to strengthen their hand against the regime, and foreign aid that they may be "uplifted".

Mr Solarz found it incomprehensible that the ANC should take as long as it did — several months — to endorse his plan to pump "billions of dollars" of

assistance into South Africa once a new government takes power.

So incomprehensible, that he publicly became quite heated when the ANC's Washington representative Lindiwe Mabuza complained late last month that the movement needed more time to deliberate.

Mrs Mabuza's complaints seem to have been the main reason Mr Solarz decided to write to Mr Ramaphosa in the first place. Without her say so, the all-important support of the Congressional Black Caucus would not be forthcoming.

The congressman, in his genuine desire to help, was getting impatient, especially since Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Thabo Mbeki had both long since given their approval.

"If you believe this initia-

tive makes sense," the draft letter states, "I strongly urge that you send your Ms Mabuza a clear and unambiguous message describing the ANC's position on the proposal, which she can then forward to members of Congress."

Now it may be, as has been suggested in this space, that the cause of the ANC's delay was at least partly ideological. The multinational aid package Mr Solarz proposes is conditional upon the new government adopting the kind of market-based economic policies and reforms advocated by the World Bank and IMF, two institutions loathed by would be wheel-reinventors of the extreme left.

BUT the real reasons may go much deeper to a set of issues rarely addressed by those who aspire to engineer a decent outcome in South Africa.

The ANC's constituency, and those of the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha, for that matter, principally consist of people who have hitherto been denied all but the most minimal say in their own destinies. They are people, by and large, to whom and for whom things, some terrible, some well-intentioned, have always been

done.

This has created a vast, pent-up demand on their part to take decisions for themselves. Any decision will do. It does not matter whether it is wise, practical, quixotic or utopian. When a man dying of thirst finds a puddle, he drinks first and worries about amoebic dysentery later.

Mr Solarz, and anyone else who would seek to design a new South Africa from above, however well-meaning, are failing to take this into account.

He is seeking, like all too many others, the ANC included, to limit the choices of the hitherto disenfranchised before they have had a chance to make their own selection.

In the process, he is reducing, rather than increasing, the chances that the choices ultimately taken will not be the ones that international experience would favour.

A better approach, though a difficult one given the gross distrust of motives that infects South African politics, would be to enlarge the array of options on offer before any irrevocably foolish steps are taken.

Put another way, market-based economics are surely the only solution to South Africa's inequalities; how-

ever, Solarz's saying so before South Africans themselves have had an unprejudiced chance to weigh the evidence and alternatives would seem likely to encourage the adoption of a quite contrary method.

For this reason, it is a pity that the US Agency for International Development has not seen fit to fund a proposal by the Carnegie Endowment's Dr Pauline Baker.

SHE wishes to hold a major conference in South Africa at which economists and politicians from all over the world — ranging from the Soviet Union to South Korea — would discuss what has worked and what has not worked in their own societies and why. Ideally she would like to do this before a constitutional conference is convened.

She fears, with some justification, that unless South Africans more fully thrash out the economic alternatives available and reach some consensus on what the first legislative steps of a new government might be, the parties will seek to write their policies into the constitution, thereby all but guaranteeing the failure of both the constitution and the economy.

Peace on track

■ From Page 2

C/Pren
25/8/91



However, there still seems to be differences of opinion between the ANC and the IFP about the carrying of traditional weapons. Efforts will be made to solve this issue before September 14.

The Continuation Committee of business leaders, church leaders and politicians who have signed the National Peace Accord, will be transformed into a permanent National Peace Commission (NPC).

A neutral chairman and deputy chairman will be appointed from the ranks of business and church leaders, while representatives of each party will be co-opted on to the NPC.

The NPC will monitor the application of the accord and settle differences.

The NPC will take decisions by consensus and a meeting of national leaders of the parties will be called when consensus cannot be reached.

Differences in the interpretation of the code will be referred to arbitration.

A National Peace Secretariat (NPS) with regional and local conflict resolution committees will be formed to counter violence. Initially the committees will be voluntary bodies but they will later become statutory bodies.

The NPS will consist of four full-time members nominated by the signatories and one representative of the Department of Justice. The NPS will report to the National Peace Commission.

Regional conflict resolution committees will consist of representatives of all the involved political organisations, churches, trade unions, local associations of trade and industry, local management bodies and the police.

Local conflict resolution committees, consisting of representatives of the signatories, will try to create confidence and reconciliation between local communities, the police and the SADF.

They will co-operate with justices of the peace to combat violence and intimidation and settle differences which could lead to violence.

They will try to eliminate conditions which could impair peace, draw up rules for marches and political rallies and liaise with the local police and magistrate on marches and the prevention of violence.

More justices of the peace will be appointed in consultation with the signatories and local committees on grassroots level to promote peace and assist local committees.

'Spies' say ANC must apologise

By CHARLES MOGALE

~~SP~~

(11A)

FIVE years ago, Mpho Motjuoadi left South Africa to study for a university degree and to train as an ANC guerrilla.

Last Sunday night he flew back into the country without the degree - or any military training. He came back a bitter, angry man, after spending five years in ANC jails accused of being a South African government agent.

"I am ready to die, if anybody wants to kill me, but I am not going to sit back and keep quiet about how the ANC took away five years of my life, accusing me of something I have not done," Motjuoadi said this week.

When City Press spoke to him, the effects of five years of captivity were glaringly obvious. He was nervous, spoke in a barely audible whisper and when he tried to smile, occasionally, he could only grimace.

His story starts in August 1985 when he enrolled at the University of Lesotho for a BA degree.

He was stopped at the Maseru bridge border post by SAP security men who interrogated him for hours and asked him to spy for them.

"I had to agree, because I was being threatened. But in my heart I knew I would never work as an agent against my own people.

"I was only 21 and could not have been expected to tell those interrogators to go jump," Motjuoadi said.

He returned home for Christmas and because he feared security branch reprisals if he did not keep his promise to spy, he arranged to leave the country "for good".

In January he went back to Lesotho where he joined the ANC officially and flew out to Lusaka.

"I told them the whole story." But nobody believed him.

What followed was a



ALPHEUS KHESWA
... Court threat.

tale of torture and imprisonment in jails in Zambia, Angola and Uganda.

Motjuoadi is one of four former prisoners who broke an ANC moratorium not to speak on prison conditions.

Another former ANC prisoner, Alpheus "Keke" Kheswa, called for an independent inquiry into ANC detention camps.

"They have to withdraw their derogatory references to us," he said.

"We are innocent. And if they refuse to apologise to us we will have to take them to court."

Patrick Dlongwana, who spent more than five years of a 14-year sentence for his alleged role in the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982, was almost in tears when he told reporters this week: "I am not a spy, and I never was.

"I want nothing to do with the ANC and if they do not retract their reference to us as enemy agents, we will meet at the International Court of Justice."

Forget the slogans, let's take power - ANC

"African countries have also been victims of rigorous neo-colonial and imperialist exploitation."

Visiting professor and associate director of the Center for Management at Baruch College at the City University of New York, Prof Prakash Sethi, focused on the integration of blacks in South Africa's formal economy.

Sethi said he believed this was a critical area of concern for black leaders - just as it was for the white-controlled formal sector and the government.

"We must create a political environment that makes it illegal and politically unpalatable for the formal economic sector to use discriminatory practices against large

segments of South Africa's citizens," said Sethi.

Sethi said the country was going through a period of massive political restructuring.

"Political power will not necessarily achieve economic growth, improved job opportunities and a better quality of life for blacks in the country. Even when political power is used as a

coercive mechanism to redistribute wealth, the process is shortlived."

He warned that power did not flow from the barrel of a gun, but does flow to those people who have the money to buy guns and pay for the people who would use them to do their bidding.

He said the time for rhetoric and complaining was over and concrete

steps had to be taken to alter the current situation. This would require a change of dialogue between those who control economic power and those who seek to gain it.

Nafcoc President Dr Sam Motsuenyane said a high level of optimism prevailed when the government and the ANC agreed to engage in dialogue to resolve specific

problems that were perceived to be the main obstacles to negotiations.

However, he said while it was generally believed a negotiated settlement would not be unduly protracted or difficult, the process towards reaching the new envisaged multiparty negotiations "has been repeatedly thwarted and frustrated by the ongoing violence in the country".

'SPIES' VOW TO FIGHT AI

'We'll go to world court - four

By CHARLES MOGALE

"WINNIE (Mandela) won't muzzle us." These are the words of former ANC activist Mpho Motjuoadi, who vowed he would fight the ANC to the bitter end to expose its atrocities.

"I am prepared to die if I have to. The ANC has destroyed us and we are not going to keep quiet about it," said Motjuoadi, the leader of four representatives from a group of 32 former ANC prisoners who flew into the country last Sunday from ANC detention camps.

At a press conference on Friday night, the four said they would tell the world about atrocities inside the detention camps in African states. They are Motjuoadi, Patrick Dlongwana, Alpheus "Keke" Kheswa and Bongani Malinga.

They said during their detention in "ANC hell camps" they were kept in overcrowded cells, and beaten with barbed wire, bicycle chains and other blunt instruments, sometimes until they were unconscious.

They were also starved by their captors who demanded that they admit to spying for the South African Government, or die for their silence.

This week they threatened to take the ANC to the International Court. However, 16 of the men said they feared for their lives and would not



MASS MOURNING . . . Thousands of Soviet people carrying flowers and national flags gathered outside the Kremlin in Moscow's Manezh Square yesterday for the funeral of three men killed by troops during this week's failed coup, which sent jitters throughout the world. Prime Minister Mikhail Gorbachev and President Boris Yeltsin addressed the crowd.

See Pages 2, 12 and 13

say anything against the ANC.

The other 16, led by Joachim Ribeiro de Sousa, 29, pleaded with the media to distance his group from attacks on the ANC by their four former fellow prisoners.

He said Motjuoadi could continue challenging the ANC in his own capacity, but "he does not speak for us, and we feel he is endangering our lives".

Earlier, De Sousa was reported as saying he was tortured until he became unconscious. On one occasion, he said, when he woke up he found him-

self hanging upside down.

Friday's press conference came just hours after the men held a meeting with Winnie Mandela and MK operative Siphwe Nyanda.

Earlier in the week, the group had met with Winnie and MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

The ANC conceded this week that the assassins of ANC leaders Victoria Mxenge, Joe Gqabi and Cassius Make, were among the alleged dissidents.

ANC Working Committee member Terror

See page 5

Top cop in massacre row

By S'BU MNGADI

A POLICE major-general is at the centre of an investigation by the SAP's top brass over his alleged meddling with a inquiry into the massacre of 11 people in 1988 at Trust Feed in New Hanover, near Maritzburg.

Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber recently asked the Law and Order Ministry to remove Special Investigations Unit chief Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen from a team of Natal policemen investigating the massacre, allegedly ordered by senior policemen.

The victims, including seven women and two children, were shot dead in the early hours of December 3, 1988, at a funeral vigil.

Van der Westhuizen, head of 11 investigative teams countrywide, had arrived in Maritzburg on August 5 following the arrest of former New Hanover station commander Capt Brian Victor Mitchell and two special constables.

A few days after the chief's arrival, the Attorney-General warned police chiefs in Pretoria that should Van der Westhuizen not be taken off the investigation

by August 12, he would call a press conference.

Van der Westhuizen was called to Pretoria.

Subsequently, the SAP's Central Combating Investigation vice chief, Gen Basie Smit, to Maritzburg to investigate.

Meanwhile, Capt Jac Pieter van den Heever, 34, local Riot Unit, this week be the sixth policeman to be charged.

The accused will appear in Hanover Magistrate's Court tomorrow for indictment and date in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

'SPIES' VOW TO FIGHT A

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Top cop in massacre row

By S'BU MNGADI

A POLICE major-general is at the centre of an investigation by the SAP's top brass over his alleged meddling with an inquiry into the massacre of 11 people in 1988 at Trust Feed in New Hanover, near Maritzburg.

Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber recently asked the Law and Order Ministry to remove Special Investigations Unit chief Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen from a team of Natal policemen investigating the massacre, allegedly ordered by senior policemen.

The victims, including seven women and two children, were shot dead in the early hours of December 3, 1988, at a funeral vigil.

Van der Westhuizen, head of 11 investigative teams countrywide, had arrived in Maritzburg on August 5 following the arrest of former New Hanover station commander Capt Brian Victor Mitchell and two special constables.

A few days after the chief's arrival, the Attorney-General warned police chiefs in Pretoria that should Van der Westhuizen not be taken off the investigation

by August 12, he would call a press conference.

Van der Westhuizen was called to Pretoria.

Subsequently, the SAP's Central Combating Investigation vice chief, Gen Basie Smit, to Maritzburg to investigate

Meanwhile, Capt Jac Pieter van den Heever, 34, local Riot Unit, this week became the sixth policeman to be charged.

The accused will appear in Hanover Magistrate's Court tomorrow for indictment and date in the Maritzburg Sup Court.

'Spies' vow to fight ANC

■ From Page 1

CP/ren 25/8/91
Lekota told *Vrye Weekblad* the ANC had solid proof that all had worked for the SAP or the SADF. He said the ANC would not make known their names to the press as "their blood would be on our hands" if they were murdered.

Two of the agents say in a statement - which Lekota said was made voluntarily to the ANC - that they killed Victoria Mxenge, a prominent UDF leader in Natal, at her home in Durban. One agent said he was

(11A) ~~11A~~
the person who split her skull with an axe, while the second admitted that he shot her.

The two men said they acted under orders of the security police in Durban.

Gqabi, chief representative of the ANC in Harare, was shot dead in front of his house in July 1981. Make, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and MK leader Paul Dikelele, were shot dead outside Mbabane, Swaziland, in July 1987.

This week:

■ A former prisoner whose code-name is "Porko" (Portuguese for pig) was robbed at gunpoint in a Johannesburg street by a group of men who accused him of being an "enemy agent".

■ Another alleged agent was assaulted by a group of men in a city street.

■ De Sousa and several other former prisoners received threatening phone calls, De Sousa after giving a TV interview in which he said he was tortured by the ANC.

Pullout (11)

over *C/Pren* *25/8/91* **Marike**

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

THE ANC Women's League withdrew from a "peace venture" at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg yesterday following the invitation of Marike de Klerk, the State President's wife.

She was listed as a guest of honour and main speaker at the event, organised by the "Goodwill Foundation for Peace and Reconciliation".

Although the event had been described by its organisers as non-political, the invitation of De Klerk as the main speaker was a political statement, the Women's League said.

However, De Klerk responded by saying she had not organised the rally, and had accepted in her capacity as the Head of State's wife, "and not in any political capacity".

Labour goes left

By NORMAN WEST (28) *Sunday Times 25/8/91*
Political Reporter play inside the tricameral parliament.

LABOUR Party leader Allan Hendrickse yesterday publicly committed his party to becoming actively involved in popular black liberation politics. (11A)

Speaking at Labour's southern Cape regional conference at Riversdale, Mr Hendrickse said he had held talks with the ANC and PAC and they had "an understanding" for the pivotal role the LP still had to

He welcomed "the hand of friendship" extended to the LP by the ANC-PAC-Azapo movements and their willingness to accept the LP "as part of the patriotic front".

A patriotic front of all liberation movements and political parties which support the bottom-line demand for an elected constituent assembly will be established at a conference in Cape Town next month.



Kicked out of Moscow, red faced in SA

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

11/7 by Brian Pottinger

IT was the worst of times for communists this week. Dissolved in Moscow, banned in the Baltic states — and deeply confused in Johannesburg. While the Soviet Union went to the brink of civil war, the SA Communist Party reverted to tradition. It waited a signal from Moscow, any signal. Twelve hours after Monday's coup most capitals in the world had a view on the issue.

President George Bush called it "disturbing". Prime Minister John Major said it was unconstitutional. South Africa's Foreign Minister P. W. Botha said it was of "great concern". The SA Communist Party alone seemed at sea. "Information on developments in the Soviet Union is still sketchy," noted the first statement from the SA's Central Committee.

The eight-man Soviet revolution-ary committee announced the end of press freedom, prohibited all demonstrations and threatened to suspend opposition parties.

"Without adequate information and a proper study of it," responded the SACF, "we are unwilling to comment on these events."

By Tuesday world opinion had consolidated. The US suspended aid. The United Nations called an emergency session and Nato convened. In the Soviet Union, meanwhile, Boris Yeltsin appealed for Russians to oppose the coup, soldiers to refuse to fight and the world to support him.

Belief

The world did. But not the communists in the Natal Midlands. There the local party branch, home turf of unabashed Stalinist Harry Gwala, welcomed Mr Gorbachev's fall from grace.

"His government could have become destructive to the socialist objective," the branch observed. "The revolutionary committee, said the branch, had acted in the belief that Mr Gorbachev's government no longer derived its power from the governed, had become destructive or had the potential to become destructive.

By then, of course, thousands of the Russian "government" were massing around the Russian parliament to defend reformist Boris Yeltsin and the Soviet constitution against the rebels' tanks.

Mr Joe Slovo, SACF general secretary, later said the statement was "unauthorised" and had been retracted. If he had been listening to the black-supported Radio Metro Talkback Show he might have been less dismissive — the overwhelming number of black callers were in favour of the coup.

Wednesday and the coup failers. The SACF is spurred to action. Mr Slovo, on behalf of the SACF Central Committee, describes the

□ To Page 2

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events as "very disturbing" (thus catching up with President Bush's Monday position) and a danger to democratic socialism.

"We express the hope that this is not a signal for a reversion to everything which in the past did so much to discredit the socialist cause and the image of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." He is also at pains to downplay the importance of his meeting with coup leader Gennady Yanayev in April this year — "just routine," he assures. His sensitivity is understandable. In his important 1988 critique of socialist parties, Has Socialism Failed?, Mr Slovo had been unflinching in his praise of Mr Gorbachev.

"The only way to ensure

the future of socialism is to grasp the nettle with the political courage of a Gorbachev," he wrote then.

On Thursday it was all over and Mr Gorbachev back in office, if not exactly in power. The SACF's enthusiasm was now boundless. "On behalf of the SACF I wish to offer you our very warmest congratulations," Mr Slovo wrote to Mr Gorbachev. "I am overjoyed that you are once more back in office."

Was it relief at Mr Gorbachev's return? Or in anticipation of Mr Yeltsin's eclipse? Mr Slovo has not made it clear.

He was also obviously concerned about foreign relations. "The restoration of constitutional legality in the Soviet Union is a blow to those who dream of a

return to Stalinism, just as it is a blow to those on the right who dream of a return to the cold war."

That worry is understandable. The party has been unflinchingly loyal to Soviet imperialism: East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan. And was proud to be counted with the Kremlin. But times change. Jer-

emy Cronin, SACF central committee member, writing in this week's edition of *Marxbyde*, mouthpiece of the ANC, concedes the party's failing in the past has been to identify too closely with Soviet foreign policy. It has also been insufficiently critical of Soviet domestic policies.

Mr Cronin could begin by declaring his preference: Mr Gorbachev, Mr

Yeltsin or the new Soviet administration.

The SACF this week came close to repeating the sins of its past. But they at least did better than the ANC, vociferous on just about everything, which has yet to express any opinion at all on the coup. Perhaps, like the SACF, the ANC has nobody left in Moscow even bothered about giving them a signal.

Buthelezi depllores 'govt-in-waiting'

ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend the ANC's call for a Patriotic Front was an attempt to gain partners to push it into government.

Speaking at the IFP Youth Brigade annual conference at Ulundi on Saturday, he said the ANC wanted to line up everyone who opposed apartheid behind it (the ANC) so that it could "strut out as the victorious party".

However, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC did not want the Patriotic Front to fight apartheid since apartheid was already dead.

"Apartheid is smashed up, it is dismembered and its total eradication is a fore-

gone conclusion," he said.

He denounced the ANC's armed struggle, saying it could not be called an armed struggle.

"Not one place in South Africa was made into a no-go area for security forces. After a quarter of a century there was not one military base in our country. You can hardly call what they did an armed struggle," Chief Buthelezi said.

He related the failures of the ANC's military struggle, saying "it was not what they did which brought us to where we are today".

Chief Buthelezi said the victory belonged to the people of South Africa.

Regarding the ANC's call

for an interim government, he said the IFP was not in favour of this as it would be a first step by the ANC as an ensconced government-in-waiting.

He added the IFP would accept nothing other than open negotiations for a new constitution.

While the country was doing this he said the country had to be governed and that the present Government would have to remain the de facto government.

"We do not need a Constituent Assembly to do that little job. We simply have to take the Government by the ear and say play the game properly," said Chief Buthelezi.

— Sapa.

Pullout opposed by women's organisations

By Shirley Woodgate

11A

26/8/91

About 200 women's organisations including the Inkatha Women's League have countered the pullout of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) from the Goodwill Foundation's "Peace and Reconciliation" programme in September, by announcing extensive activities for "Friendship Month".

ANCWL president Gertrude Shope claimed the involvement of the Foreign Affairs Department and the choice of President de Klerk's wife as the guest speaker at the final event was a "political statement".

Marike de Klerk responded to the controversy by saying she had accepted an invitation to attend because she was com-

mitted to peace.

Plans for the peace initiative announced by Soweto's Stella Job, who heads the participating organisations, include the promotion of August 31 to September 1 as a peace and goodwill weekend through braais, special church services and prayer groups.

An official spokesman said on September 9 the Goodwill and

Self Development Foundations would hold a one-day seminar, Building a Prosperous South Africa Today, at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg.

Saturday, September 28, will be promoted as Reconciliation Day, climaxing with the controversial Nasrec multi-cultural festivities, a Goodwill Foundation spokesman said.

Inkatha Youth condemns ANC tactics

ULUNDI — The ANC has been accused of double talk, satanism, of trying to usurp power and of barbarism by the Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade which ended its 12th annual conference at Ulundi yesterday.

The conference resolutions, which were anything but conciliatory, came just three weeks before major peace talks between Inkatha, the ANC and the Government.

Concerning the secret funding of two Inkatha rallies, the Youth Brigade deplored the Government's provision of the money "without prior knowledge of the Inkatha leadership structures".

The rallies were in fact "used for honourable pur-

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poses about which we are not ashamed at all", the organisation resolved. (114) (12)

In another resolution the Youth Brigade decided that peaceful negotiations might be prejudiced should the ANC's military wing not be disbanded.

It was disgusted by the continued recruitment of "young blood" to undergo military training for the ANC.

"It is with deep regret that the commitment of the ANC to an honest and unqualified search for peace is in serious question in view of its ambivalence and double talk since its track record is fraught with contradictions," it noted.

The Youth Brigade con-

demned the ANC's demand for an interim government, saying it was attempt to usurp power. It resolved that a multiparty conference be convened immediately.

The ANC-initiated patriotic front was also condemned as "a cult which is sectarian in nature and a makeshift tactic which breeds on hatred".

The Youth Brigade therefore called on coloureds, Indians and whites to reject the patriotic front.

The organisation then went on to express its abhorrence for the "satanic and barbaric behaviour of the senior ANC authorities for the atrocities" reported by prisoners held in punishment camps in Angola. — Sapa.

'Demand handover of power'

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Sowetan 26/8/91

OPPRESSED people in South Africa should demand the transfer of power, President Robert Mugabe told Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe in Zimbabwe last week.

Nefolovhodwe, who had a consultation with internal leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement after a week-long visit to Zimbabwe, said he and BCMA chairman Mosibudi Mangena met Mugabe for an hour.

"Mugabe said demanding little things like the release of prisoners or the repeal of certain laws gave State President FW de Klerk credibility.

"He said we should demand nothing less than the transfer of power.

"He also said we should be wary of the various forces at play during negotiations, because there are many hidden agendas.

"Certain sections of the international community did not want Mugabe's Zanu-PF to be part of the negotiation process and tried everything to get them to opt out.

"But they stayed because the interests of the oppressed community come first."

Nefolovhodwe said they met delegations of the Nigerian, Libyan, Egyptian and Indian governments.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo consulted the exiled BCMA and the Pan Africanist Congress at Kadoma on the Patriotic Front which will be launched in Cape Town. - *Sowetan Reporter*

ANC dissidents at IFP meeting

DURBAN. — Five ANC dissidents claimed at the Inkatha Youth Bridge conference that they were tortured by ANC officials in Angolan and Ugandan camps.

The appearance of the dissidents caused immense excitement when they were introduced.

One of them, Mr John Besten of Port Elizabeth, said that conditions in the notorious Qautro camp were so severe that it was hard to relate them and brought tears to his eyes.

(11) (12)

Slovo: 'We're unaffected'

Own Correspondent

26/8/91
11A
JOHANNESBURG. — SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday that the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev as head of the Soviet Communist Party and his calls for its dissolution had no implications for the SACP.

Mr Gorbachev's actions in fact underlined the correctness of the SACP's direction over the past decade-and-a-half, which was to move away from Stalinism and towards democratic socialism.

According to Mr Slovo, Mr Gorbachev had reached a point where it had become clear to him that the measures he had taken to democratise the Communist Party had not been entirely successful and that it bore some responsibility for the attempted coup.

The continued existence of a Soviet Communist Party riddled with apparatchiks in key positions spelled a danger to democratisation.

Mr Slovo said it was important to remove all forms of single-party control from the body politic, as there was no middle path between democracy and tyranny.

SACP strategy to achieve socialism locally was based on the principle of a multi-party state in order to prevent the distortion of socialism through a lack of democracy, as had happened with the Soviet Communist Party.

● The French Communist Party has been thrown into turmoil by events in Moscow, the Daily Telegraph reports from Paris.

Nine reformist members have demand-

ed that leader Mr Georges Marchais call an extraordinary meeting of the party's central committee "to discuss the implications in depth".

The schizophrenic nature of the French communist party was best illustrated last week by the fact that the party's weekly paper, called "L'Humanité-Dimanche", had to throw out one edition with a cover story entitled "The drama and the failure" and replace it with one carrying a picture of Mr Gorbachev and the cover line "Hope Reborn". The question asked about the first edition was: Did the word failure refer to the coup or to perestroika?

The editor of the paper has since admitted that they over-estimated the power of the men behind the coup and were too quick to accept that it had succeeded.

LONDON

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The multi-party conference would not get off the ground unless there were unequivocally clear statements of intent to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

This would leave South Africa free to negotiate peacefully without the threat of revolution, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Call for MK to disband

(11) 26/8/91

Speaking at the opening of the annual conference of the Inkatha Youth Brigade at Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government did not have the constitutional right to have an army.

"It cannot run defence units but we must now seriously look at the op-

tions that are open to us," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also charged that the ANC was calling for a patriotic front in an attempt to gain partners to push it into government.

He said the ANC wanted to line up everyone who opposed apartheid behind it (the ANC) so

that it could "strut out as the victorious party".

However, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC did not want the patriotic front to fight apartheid since apartheid was already dead.

He denounced the ANC's armed struggle, saying it could not be called an armed struggle.

"Not one place in South Africa was made into a no-go area for security forces. After a quarter of a century there was not one military base in our country," he said.

TUE talk in SA today is about peace and an end to covert political activity. In this new era, the inside story of a "highlight" of the secret war between the ANC and the SA state can now be told — the unmasking of former police spy Craig Williamson.

Williamson's spying career, according to interviews with ANC sources and with Williamson himself, was ended by a series of comical errors of understanding and judgment — by everyone other than Williamson.

Williamson, it will be recalled, returned to SA in January 1980 from Geneva with his handler, then security police chief Brig Johan Coetzee, in a blaze of publicity. He had been employed there for just over three years by the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), which was an important funder of the ANC and anti-apartheid groups inside SA.

Williamson began his spying career at something of a disadvantage. When he arrived at Wits University in the early '70s, it was impossible for him to hide the fact that he had completed his national service in the SAP. His strategy was to be quite open about this.

The result was that attitudes towards him were ambivalent. In the absence of firm evidence, Williamson was cautiously accepted by most, although not all, of his colleagues on the Wits SRC and then the Nusas executive.

The IUEF's role as a funder of Nusas gave Williamson — a former Nusas treasurer — an "in" to the organisation when, in late 1976, he was instructed to become more ambitious in his activities and "fled" the country.

By the time he left Geneva with Coetzee — who eventually became police commissioner — Williamson had been appointed to the post of deputy to the IUEF director Lars-Gunnar Erikson.

In Geneva, Williamson had adopted the same open approach to his "temporary" career in the SAP as he had at Wits. He could hardly have done otherwise.

According to the ANC, Williamson quickly moved to befriend personalities in the organisation. He did this through his sociable manner and also by supplying intelligence, including information about some double-dealing on the part of IUEF.

The IUEF had promised the ANC it would no longer channel funds to the rival black consciousness movement and other such groups. However, it continued funding some of them, and Williamson passed this information on to the ANC.

He eventually applied for membership of the ANC — a step which put the organisation in an extremely embarrassing position. This was because the official ANC attitude towards Williamson was as ambivalent as that of his Nusas colleagues. The difference was that since the ANC ran covert military and political operations, the stakes were a lot higher. At the same time, there was no evidence that Williamson was actually a spy, and there can be no more terrible thing, in such circumstances, than to treat an ally as a traitor.

So, the story goes, while the ANC did not ever formally grant Williamson membership, it also took great care not to "insult" him by allowing him to become aware of the suspicions.

ANC investigations into Williamson, including inquiries among his acquaintances in SA, were fruitless.

Spy's cover was blown in a curious comedy of errors

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ALAN FINE

8 Day 26/8/91



□ WILLIAMSON



□ COETZEE



□ MBEKI



□ MAHARAJ

The man who — quite unconsciously — set in motion the train of events which led to the aborting of Williamson's spying career was ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj.

Some time in 1979 Williamson handed to Maharaj, who was passing through Europe, a copy of the IUEF's SA funding proposals for the following year. He was to deliver them to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Since the ANC was the IUEF's primary SA contact, the ANC was traditionally given the right to comment on the IUEF's SA budget.

Maharaj put the envelope in his pocket, and promptly forgot all about it. The proposals never reached Lusaka.

The Swedish government, the most important funder of the IUEF

and a long-time ally of the ANC, was particularly interested in the ANC's views. Indeed, it required ANC comment before it would hand over the funds to the IUEF.

There followed a period of confusion, with the Swedes getting impatient at the ANC's lack of cooperation, and the ANC repeatedly saying it had not received the necessary documentation.

Eventually, this forced a meeting between Thabo Mbeki and a Swedish diplomat based in Lusaka. Given his central role in this chain of events, the discussion naturally turned to Williamson. Mbeki — in his usual diplomatic manner — explained the ANC's view that Williamson was a friend of the organisation although one about whom there were certain reservations.

The Swedish diplomat misconstrued what Mbeki had told him, and wrote to his foreign service superiors saying bluntly that the ANC did not trust Williamson. This, the ANC says, was a misrepresentation of Mbeki's words (although, from its point of view, a fortunate one).

The Swedish officials in Stockholm promptly showed the letter to Erikson, Williamson's superior and friend Erikson, whose loyalty towards his employee could not be faulted, passed it on to Williamson.

Erikson's act prompted two developments. Firstly, Williamson embarrassed certain ANC acquaintances by confronting them and demanding an explanation of how they could think of him this way, in the light of all the funding assistance and covert intelligence he had given them.

...the more important, according to the ANC. Williamson notified Coetzee, who immediately flew to Europe to try and salvage the situation.

Coetzee's first stop was a meeting with Erikson. Prior to that, it seems, Erikson was still uncertain about the accusations against Williamson. Coetzee's arrival confirmed them.

Coetzee apparently tried to convince Erikson to co-operate. Coetzee argued that he (Erikson), a Swedish social democrat, was as anti-communist as was the SA government, and he should therefore allow Williamson to continue his spying activities on what he called the communist-dominated ANC.

According to Williamson, when Coetzee approached Erikson his intention was not to convince him to allow Williamson to remain in IUEF service, but to let him withdraw quietly.

Williamson confirms that Coetzee did try to convince Erikson that there was a certain commonality of anti-communist interest — if not between the IUEF and the SA government, then at least between the IUEF and certain (unnamed) Western intelligence agencies which used the IUEF in the Cold War struggle.

The point was that, if Williamson's true allegiances were made public, the IUEF would not survive, which would put Erikson out of a job. But Erikson, Williamson confirmed, refused to co-operate.

There are also suggestions — whose details are unclear — that Coetzee then attempted to blackmail Erikson into co-operating. But Erikson again refused.

Williamson and his handler then had no choice but to pull out of Europe as Erikson went public, and that was the end of Williamson's undercover career.

The final error, possibly, was Coetzee's. Had he not arrived in Geneva and confirmed Williamson's loyalties, the uncertain ANC might have simply given Williamson a mumbled apology for the "misunderstanding" and allowed him to continue.

Williamson says the Swedish problem might have been resolved. He showed Business Day a letter from Mbeki to him, dated October 5, 1979, in which Mbeki assured Williamson that the ANC did not believe he was a spy. However, this does not contradict the ANC's explanation that while suspicions existed no one wanted to accuse Williamson without proof.

Williamson's and the ANC's version of these events are in accord in all significant respects. However, Williamson says there were two other events which occurred at the same time — of which the ANC was unaware — which made his withdrawal from Europe necessary.

The first involved a senior Zimbabwe African National Union official — he later became a junior cabinet minister — who took a dislike to Williamson for the latter's "pro-Zapu" stance and began spreading rumours that Williamson was a spy. Williamson's apparent predilection for Joshua Nkomo's Zapu stemmed from the ANC/Zapu alliance in pre-independence Zimbabwe.

But the most serious problem, Williamson said, was that a former National Intelligence Service (NIS) operative, Arthur McGiven, who had been a colleague of Williamson's on the Wits SRC, was threatening to "tell all". "All" would certainly have included the unmasking of Williamson.

Tip-off on meeting led to Biko's arrest

Biday 26/8/91

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CRAIG Williamson tipped off his superiors in SA about a planned meeting between black consciousness leader Steve Biko and ANC president Oliver Tambo 15 years ago. It was this tip-off, the ANC believes, which led to Biko's detention and subsequent death.

In about August 1976, an ANC source recalls, after years of failed attempts, the ANC managed to convince Biko — then head of the Black People's Convention (BPC) — that a meeting with president Oliver Tambo was appropriate.

Plans were made for Biko to fly secretly by private plane from King William's Town to Gaborone where Tambo was due as a guest at a trade fair. It was thought advisable for the meeting to occur during one of Tambo's routine trips. A special journey by Tambo to a neighbouring country, the ANC feared, would attract the attention of SA security.

But Biko was prevented from making the trip. On the day he was to fly to Botswana the security police placed blanket, open, surveillance on him, making it impossible for him to reach the airport undetected.

The reason the police were so well-informed of Biko's plans was that, because the IUEF was the BPC's main funder, Biko and the ANC had conducted their planning for the meeting through Williamson at the IUEF. The operation, the ANC believes, gave police the impression Biko was an ANC operative.

Concluded the ANC source: "We had our people in the

BPC. But Biko was never one of them. The police — because of the incident in 1976 — had the wrong impression. So when they detained him (a year later) they tortured him to death for information he never had."

Williamson's version of the Biko story is a little different. He and the SA government knew it was the ANC's desire to bring the black consciousness organisations into an alliance. "We were worried about the ANC and the black consciousness movement getting together."

It was important to government to prevent this, hence the massive police operation to prevent the Biko/Tambo meeting in August 1976.

Williamson acknowledges he played a part in it. However, he denies the planning for the meeting, conducted through him, led him or the security police to suspect Biko was an ANC operative.

"We knew he was not ANC. I don't know what they (the security police who detained Biko) wanted from him. But the fact that he died in detention does not mean they were trying to get him to admit to ANC membership," Williamson concludes.



□ BIKO

BOOKS

Slovo welcomes Soviet moves

DAVE LOURENS

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo yesterday said the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev as head of the Soviet Communist Party and his calls for its dissolution had no new implications for the SACP. *Bl Day 26/8/77*

Slovo said it was important to remove all forms of single-party control from the body politic, as there was no middle path between democracy and tyranny.

He said Gorbachev's actions underlined the correctness of the SACP's direction over the past decade and a half, which was to move towards democratic socialism.

Slovo said he thought Gorbachev had reached a point where it had become clear the measures he had taken to ~~reform~~ *reform* the party had not been entirely successful. The continued existence of a Soviet Communist Party riddled with apparatchiks in key positions spelled a danger for democratisation.

Blast: 'Azanla was responsible' ^{IIA}

Star 27/8/91
The Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) has claimed responsibility for the blast at the Noordwyk power station, Midrand, on Sunday.

A man who identified himself as Molefe Moeketsi of the "Transvaal Command of the Azanla forces" claimed in a telephone call to The Star yesterday that the attack was

a part of the guerilla army's "continuing assault against economic targets" ^{IIA}

According to a police spokesman, two blocks of commercial TNT explosive with fuses were found on a transformer.

These were later defused by bomb experts, the spokesman said. — Staff Reporter.

Star 24/8/91

Slovo fighting bone marrow cancer

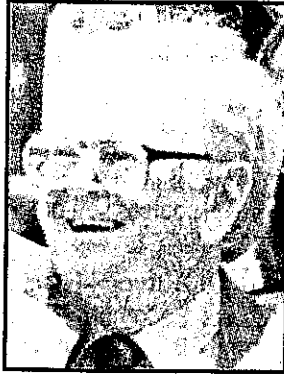
By Patrick Laurence

Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party and a senior ANC executive member, is suffering from cancer of the bone marrow.

Mr Slovo, a key member of the ANC negotiating team, told *The Star* of his illness last night amid speculation about the state of his health after he was forced to cancel several appointments.

But the 65-year-old Communist Party leader is responding to treatment and is able to fulfil his duties. His illness was diagnosed early. "It need not interfere with my work," he said.

Mr Slovo, however, is likely to relinquish his position as general secretary of the SACP — an administratively demanding post — at the



Joe Slovo . . . illness need not interfere with work.

party's annual congress at the end of the year.

The SACP has requested the ANC to release Chris Hani to serve in its office in a full-time capacity. The Umkhonto chief has been tipped to succeed Mr Slovo.

Mr Slovo will probably

succeed Dan Tloome as SACP chairman, a less onerous position.

His illness is a heavy blow for the SACP, which faces the enormous challenge of building itself into a well-organised political force when world communism is in a state of severe crisis.

Mr Slovo anticipated the crisis when he wrote his now oft-quoted discussion paper "Has Socialism Failed?", emphasising that socialism has to be rooted in democracy for it to succeed.

Communist parties, he says, have to earn the right to be vanguard parties. They cannot proclaim it.

Mr Slovo, the son of a van driver, and a lawyer by profession, believes passionately that the ideals of socialism are as valid today as they ever were.

Exiles now pawns to discredit ANC - claim

Sowetan 27/8/91

11A

ELABORATE plans are being made to launch a campaign to severely embarrass the ANC over alleged brutalities in Angolan and Zambian detention camps, according to one of the prisoners who returned to the country last week.

Last Sunday 32 ex-ANC prisoners arrived from Nairobi on a Red Cross-sponsored repatriation programme. Most are in a state of bitterness, while others have adopted a more conciliatory attitude after talks with senior ANC officials including Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Chris Hani and Mr Siphwe Nyanda.

Among the group which welcomed the prisoners when they landed at Jan Smuts Airport was Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Bruce Anderson.

Prisoners

Confirming he was there in his official capacity to welcome the prisoners home, Anderson said: "The IFP is launching a campaign to expose the terror camps of the ANC and to prove the vulnerability South Africa would have if they elected an ANC government."

He said the returnees intended forming a new organisation, although he did not say whether the IFP would help in the formation of the organisation.

According to one of the prisoners, who refused to be named "because I am still holed up in the hotel with the others", several high-ranking officials of moderate parties have visited them in the company of members of the SA Police.

"Some of us do not intend being used in what is clearly a plot to discredit the movement. We are not saying the atrocities did not take place but, since we

FOCUS

By SEFAKO NYAKA
Sowetan Correspondent

are now in a new era, we believe the matter can be settled amicably," he said.

The plan involves the establishment of a pressure group made up of freed prisoners and parents of ANC members still being held in detention camps. The group would then be paraded at Press conferences around the country.

Message

The underlying message at the Press conferences and talks the group would address would be: Would you allow an organisation with such a bad human rights violation record to govern the country?

At a later stage the group would focus on a campaign calling on the ANC to produce missing detainees and allow an international human rights group to visit detention camps.

Trained media people would be placed at the disposal of the group to write their Press releases and train them how to handle Press conferences.

Legal action would also be brought against the ANC to produce missing prisoners.

Demands would be made that those responsible for the atrocities be identified and called to account. The group would also demand that the ANC rehabilitates and compensates victims.

When the Government and the ANC had removed all obstacles to negotiations, the pressure group would become a political



CHRIS HANI

WINNIE MANDELA

party or throw in its lot with an existing moderate ally and demand representation at the negotiations.

Former SADF member Mr Nico Basson confirmed that, as far back as 1989, the Government decided to use the prisoner issue to discredit the ANC.

"In August 1989 I received a letter from Bertil Haggman of the Swedish Authors' Association containing testimonials from Afreda Hunter, Mkhusele Goxo and Oria Mabote alleging torture at the detention camps," Basson said.

At the time Basson was in charge of the campaign to discredit Swapo during the run-up to the elections in Namibia.

Harmed

"I recommended to military headquarters that we launch a similar campaign against the ANC. This was accepted and a Brigadier Serdi van Wyk was put in charge of the operations," he said.

The group opened an office in Melville, Johannesburg. Shortly after the Namibian elections, a group of top National Party MPs went to Namibia to analyse the election results.

"They found that the prisoner issue severely harmed Swapo's election campaign. When the

Government held the 'bush indaba' shortly before the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the matter was again discussed," Basson said.

ANC member and MK commander Mr Tokyo Sexwale this week said the ANC was aware that, because of the war-psychosis at the time, several people may have been imprisoned by overzealous security officials.

He however emphasised that the group which returned to the country last Sunday were not members of the ANC but agents of the SA Government.

"We have a dossier on each one of them including, in some cases, documentary proof detailing their (security) force numbers and the names of their handlers," Sexwale said.

Some of them, Sexwale claimed, were involved in the murder of anti-apartheid activists including Durban lawyer Ms Victoria Mxenge, ANC members Mr Joe Gqabi, Mr Cassius Maake and Mr Paul Dikeledi.

A SAP spokesman said the police had "taken note of the allegations in the media regarding the murders of the people mentioned. The allegations would be investigated during the normal course of investigations".

Sanctions lift ~~hasty~~ hasty - PAC

Sowetan 24/8/91

UNWARRANTED euphoria at recent developments in South Africa had led to the premature lifting of some sanctions, Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

He was addressing a one-day Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference summit in Arusha, Tanzania.

Zimbabwe's *Ziana* news agency reported Makwetu spoke on behalf of South Africa's liberation movements.

"When we in the liberation movement warn about unwarranted euphoria, we seek to forestall such setbacks as the recent premature lifting of sanctions," he told the 10 heads of state. - *Sapa*.

Communism still viable, say callers

Sowetan 24/8/91



EASTERN Europe and the Soviet Republics did not practise communism efficiently, callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback told host Tim Modise yesterday.

They were commenting on the fall of the Soviet Communist Party and President Mikhael Gorbachev's resignation as secretary-general of the party.

On the future of communism, most callers said communism could still be applicable even in South Africa if it was not imposed upon the people.

Mashilo from Evaton said there was never communism in the Soviet Union and that people were fed with Western propaganda that the Soviets were practising communism.

Agreeing with Mashilo was Pat from Jabavu who said the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and African countries did not practise communism but it was socialism of "some kind".

"It failed because it was imposed upon the people. Even in South Africa, it will fail if it is imposed," Pat said.

A Zimbabwean calling from Bryanston, Zeth, warned that if South Africans believe in communism then they will kill the country.

A self-confessed communist, Zeth said African countries are dying because of communism.

"With communism, the government is the ruling party without any opposition, whether official or unofficial.

"In Zimbabwe, when you import goods from other countries, the State imports them for you and then you will have to pay whatever the State charges you, which is not good for any business," said Zeth.

11A

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Sowetan 24/8/91

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Azapo and PAC speak on future

Sowetan 27/8/91

(11A)

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress have endorsed calls for "a transitional authority" to oversee the transitional period but rejected calls for a multiparty conference.

Own Correspondent

interim government, but Azapo and the PAC have rejected these calls, saying they did not want to co-manage apartheid.

The Government has also rejected calls for an interim government, but has recently expressed itself in favour of a "transitional arrangement".

In their endorsement of a transitional authority - which might turn out to be the same thing both the Government and the ANC call by different names - the three organisations laid down firm conditions.

These were that the transitional authority should have a limited duration, its mandate had to be "clearly defined" and it should not implement existing apartheid legislation.

It also had to be ensured that liberation movements and other organisations were not co-opted "as co-managers of apartheid".

At a joint Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the two organisations announced that they had decided a transitional authority was "essential" to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly were free and just.

This resolution was passed at a meeting attended by the two organisations' executives in Kadoma, Zimbabwe, on August 9 and 10. Also attending the meeting was the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, which is also party to the resolutions.

The ANC and its allies have so far been the only ones calling for an

EISE X

world's flow to democracy.
South Africans must now stand together for a democratic future.

possible last-resort means towards a solution), the warrior caste ends up as an imperium in imperio which confuses its own interests

of a professional army!
By "warrior caste", incidentally, I include the Ministry of the Interior's troops, who are full-fledged soldiers, and the

as unacceptable — at least partly because it diminished their own power and prestige.
The moral of the story is simple: keep your professional warrior caste

SACP will negotiate — warily

11A CT 27/8/91

From TONY YENGENI (Guguletu):

ONE readily concedes with Tony Holiday that indeed "the Reds are here to stay" (Cape Times, July 15). Seventy years of struggle is quite a feat especially under the repressive conditions in which South African communists were forced to operate.

But I do take issue with his fervent and mistaken belief that our political situation is irreversible and that we will march straight through negotiations to freedom.

This is a gross underestimation of the ruling class's ability and readiness to mount a bloody counter-revolutionary strategy whenever they feel that their interests are threatened by the masses. History and generations to come will not forgive us for not drawing important lessons from the bitter experience of the Chi-

lean communists.

Holiday's view of the ANC conference resolution on negotiations is thoroughly inadequate. Yes, the conference did reiterate its support for genuine negotiations and recommitted the ANC to them but equally (and this is what Holiday does not mention) resolved that a transitional negotiation phase is not irreversible, therefore strong mass political organisations and campaigns together with a combat-ready MK and defence units, are necessary pillars of struggle at this stage.

The recent MK conference also embraced this approach and firmly resolved that MK is here to stay until a new democratic constitution is in place. Is Holiday going to call this an insurrectionary or negotiation perspective? Or what?

I must also strongly reject Holiday's feverish attempts to divide

our cadres and leaders into insurrectionists and negotiators precisely because these labels give credence to the apartheid state's Red-baiting propaganda — that our movement and party are divided into hawks and doves, the doves, of course, being the negotiators who are nationalist and the hawks, the insurrectionists who are communist!

Our party programme is definitely going to be reviewed at the December 8 congress and this review must, in my opinion, take heed of the new and ever changing post-February 2 situation, particularly the impact of the recently exposed counter-revolutionary violence of the apartheid state on our party's strategic and tactical perspectives. I promise Tony Holiday that the new party programme is definitely not going to embrace negotiations at all costs.

Call to stop ^(11A)

aid to ANC

DURBAN. — The 32 former captives of the ANC have asked the international community to cease financial aid to the organisation.

Speaking at a media briefing here yesterday, the leader of the group, Mr. Berthuel Siphwe Lembo, said the ANC was fighting for the benefit of certain high-ranking officials. — Sapa

Chief challenged (117)

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC Youth League
yesterday challenged In-
katha leader Chief Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi to
prove his commitment to
peace — by joining the
Patriotic Front. — Sapa

CT 27/8/91

1991. The IBIR said Shadrack Motoung, who died in May this year, was last seen alive in police custody at Khutsong Police Station. Witnesses said he was shot dead within an hour after police removed him from the police station.

William Makajae also died in police cus-

She said the inv been hampered b false names and police records at The spokesmar his objective role tion team and sai mitted to solving of torture and m

Plight of right-wingers draws fire from ANC

THE ANC was deeply concerned about the possible deaths of Orde Boerevolk hunger strikers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, it said yesterday.

Since it was within the power of government to resolve the whole issue of political prisoners, their deaths would be tragic and totally unnecessary, the ANC said.

Government should long ago have had discussions with them.

"The government's behaviour is even more disturbing because Martin and Maritz were apparently members of the NIS and Military Intelligence," the ANC said.

To allow persons who had

actually operated for government to deteriorate to the point they were likely to die showed "the most appalling cynicism".

In Pretoria, AWB secretary-general Piet Rudolph welcomed the concern expressed by the ANC.

Rudolph said President F W de Klerk was "taking politically foolish decisions" by not releasing Martin, Maritz and Lood van Schalkwyk. "It is, however, heartening to note that the ANC views (them) as political prisoners," he said.

Orde Boerevolk leader Nic Strydom said the men were in a critical condition when he visited them at Pretoria's HF Verwoerd Hospital on Sunday. — Sapa.

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11/19/91

Lebowa's rural health services 'in chaos'

JOHANNESBURG. — Lebowa's rural health services are in chaos and homeland health authorities are doing nothing to help, medical personnel claim.

A shortage of doctors, lack of modern equipment, and a breakdown of ambulance services are seen as key problem areas, while the "unstrategic" allocation of government funds is allegedly one of the root causes.

Clinic nurses in the Sekhukhuneland area recently threatened to go on strike unless something drastic was done.

The situation was highlighted recently when a woman gave birth in a private car, after waiting in vain at a clinic for five hours for an ambulance to take her to the Jane Furse hospital.

Several of the hospital's ambulances were not in running

order, the medical superintendent, Dr Stewart Pringle, said.

A week later a critically injured three-year-old girl had to be transported 260 km in a private car from Sekhukhuneland to the Garankuwa Hospital near Pretoria after ambulances were declared mechanically unfit to make the journey.

Several Lebowa ambulance drivers said they had been fined repeatedly by traffic officers for vehicle defects.

They claimed ambulances were not kept in good running order.

The superintendent of Saint Rita's Hospital at Glen Cowie said it was not unusual for patients to sleep on the floor because there were not enough beds.

He also disclosed that motor accident victims often had to be discharged prematurely into the care of clinics.

Medical equipment in the hospital's theatre and laboratory was old and inefficient, he said.

Lebowa's Secretary for Health Services, Dr DM Its-weng, denied any knowledge of poor ambulance services in this region.

A Tzaneen doctor said the opening of a new R11 million hospital in the Lenyenye area, while an existing hospital 2km away was not being fully utilised, was an example of unstrategic spending.

He said the upgrading of existing hospitals, clinics and ambulance services would have been more logical.

Lebowa Minister of Health, Mr Boleu Rammupudu, has admitted there is a serious shortage of doctors in Lebowa.

He said doctors from the Groothoek Hospital near Zebediela, for example, worked at

Matlala Hospital near Marble Hall at weekends where patients sometimes waited a week before seeing a doctor.

However, the minister did not indicate what steps were being taken to alleviate the position.

● The De Meyer Commission of Inquiry into Lebowa government finances is continuing its work, and spending on medical services is expected to come under scrutiny shortly.

Slovo has bone cancer

(11A)
NEG 27/8/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a senior ANC executive member, has cancer of the bone marrow.

Mr Slovo, a key member of the ANC negotiating team, told of his illness last night amid speculation about his health after he was forced to cancel several appointments.

But the 65-year-old Communist Party leader is responding to treatment and is able to fulfil his duties. His illness was diagnosed early. "It need not interfere with my work," he said.

Mr Slovo, however, is likely to relinquish his position as general secretary of the SACP — an administratively demanding post — at the party's annual congress at the end of the year.

The SACP has asked the ANC to release Chris Hani from his ANC duties. He has been tipped to succeed Mr Slovo.

Mr Slovo will probably succeed Mr Dan Tloome as SACP chairman and continue his work at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

His illness is a heavy blow to the SACP, which faces the enormous challenge of building itself up when world communism is in a state of crisis.

Self-defence units go if peace pact is signed

Political Staff

(1/1) ARG 27/8/91
THE African National Congress will have to disband self-defence units after the signing of the draft peace agreement next month, the government believes.

The agreement states that no party or political organisation shall establish self-protection units on the basis of political affiliations. Such units would be considered as forbidden "private armies".

However, it endorses the rights of individuals to set up voluntary associations or self-protection units in any neighbourhood to prevent crime and "any invasion of the lawful rights of such communities". This includes the right to bear licensed arms for self-defence.

The ANC has for some time called for the establishment of self-defence units in townships in response to violence. However, it has been careful to point out that communities must establish these themselves.

But National Party chief defence spokesman Dr Boy Geldenhuys said that if these de-

fence units were the same as those proposed by the SA Communist Party in its document *The Path to Power*, they would be ruled out in terms of the draft agreement.

Dr Geldenhuys said such units were to have replaced the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in the townships. He said that both MK and the SACP were parties to the peace accord and therefore bound not to set up self-defence units.

He said the SACP plan had been to set up self-defence units based on platoons which could go into armed action if the negotiation process failed.

The peace agreement is due to be ratified in Johannesburg on September 14. No white rightwing groups have taken part in the peace initiative.

Dr Geldenhuys said that this meant the right wing was not bound by the agreement. The Cabinet had apparently decided not to pass a law banning "private armies" following the recent violence involving the AWB in Ventersdorp, he said.

ANC, US to discuss investment

THE ANC yesterday announced it would take part in a "historic" three-day meeting with leading US businessmen at the Notre Dame University in October. *610am 27/18/91*

The meeting would discuss the future direction of US investment in SA, the ANC said in a statement.

"Given the grossly unjust legacy of economic activity by foreign investors in SA under apartheid rule, the meeting is designed to explore a new policy," the statement said.

It added the ANC would send 10 members to the meeting, including international affairs director Thabo

TIM COHEN

Mbeki. The PAC and Azapo would also be represented. *(S)* *(11A)*

The planning committee includes Coca Cola president Donald Keough, former Reebok International president Joseph LaBonte, Johnson & Johnson CEO Ralph Larsen, Colgate-Palmolive president Reuben Mark.

The planning committee is co-chaired by George Schroll, the SA consultant for Colgate-Palmolive and Father Oliver Williams, an Associate Provost at the University of Notre Dame.

Coup: Esteem for SA party 'still high'

-By RAMOTENA MABOTE

THE plotters of the failed coup in the Soviet Union stained the name of communism, regional organiser of the South African Communist Party Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

However, he said that the large attendance at the SACP's rally on Sunday proved that the people still held the SACP in the highest esteem.

Mr Yengeni, also a member of the interim leadership group of the SACP, said the coup plotters wanted to take power without the support of the masses, which was not real socialism.

Mr Yengeni said the fact that the SACP was not in power and that it had been the victim of repression exonerated the SACP from the failures of communist governments.

(111)

Socialism only way - SACP document

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party is "very confident" of convincing the majority of citizens that socialism is essential to achieve the basic goals of democracy, the organisation says in its first draft manifesto.

"National democratic transformation represents the most direct route to socialism," says the internal discussion document, "Building workers' power for democratic change", which is being circulated among members before final adoption at the SACP's national congress in December.

The 24-page manifesto openly admits that the "virtual end of the world socialist system" has had a negative impact on the SACP's struggle.

However, it remains committed to the implementation of a unique socialist model based on the principles of Karl Marx.

In its analysis of events in Eastern Europe, the manifesto concludes that the lesson to be learnt from "the crisis" is that it is impossible to sustain and develop socialism in an authoritarian environment.

Nationalisation

Thus, emphasis should be put on democratic participation in sectoral and communal organisations affecting people's lives, their work, environment, education and recreation.

The manifesto notes that a post-apartheid society must not merely encompass political democracy but must also achieve a broadening of economic democracy to put the economy under public control.

State ownership or national-

isation is "neither sufficient, nor is it necessarily always the only or most effective form of socialist ownership", the SACP says.

"Our enemies like to spread the lie that the SACP wants to take away people's cars, houses or furniture.

"Democratic socialism will give every individual the right to own and to dispose all non-exploitative private property."

The SACP adds: "Nothing will dissuade us from our firm conviction that a system based on the needs of the working people will prove to be far superior to the present system based on greed and private profit."

The scrapping of all racist laws, a democratic constitution and one person, one vote elections would be an important victory, but the objective of the transformation should be to overcome the effects of colonial conquest and dispossession as well as "racist capitalism", the manifesto states.

Star 28/8/91.

11A (1) (2) (3)

ANC set to reject NP blueprint

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

SCOTT
11A

The ANC is set to reject the National Party's constitutional master-plan as a ruse to deny majority rule and entrench the status quo in South Africa.

A discussion paper has been drawn up urgently by a senior ANC constitutional expert following the disclosure this week of details of the NP's proposals. The crucial NP blueprint is to be put to a special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week.

The ANC document says the NP plan to vest veto rights in a second House of Parliament in which minority parties will have as much say as majority parties — as well as the proposal to replace a single head of state with an executive council — runs counter to the principles of both participatory and multiparty democracy.

The envisaged form of mandatory, rather than voluntary, coalition politics would render the new South Africa ungovernable, according to the document.

The ANC paper contains a strong attack on the NP plan to "fragment" South Africa into nine autonomous regions, thereby severely curtailing the powers of the central government.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a formal response to the NP blueprint would be forthcoming after it had been fully discussed.

Police investigate

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Help me get out of prison, pleads Winnie accused

Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the accused in the Winnie Mandela trial, says although he desperately wants to be freed from his Zambian jail, he is unwilling to return to South Africa.

"It is not safe for me to go back," he said from Lusaka Central Prison.

Mr Cebekhulu is a man in limbo. Both the Zambian government, who put him behind bars, and the ANC, whom he accuses of forcing him out of South Africa, refuse to take responsibility for his predicament.

Also, international humanitarian organisations, like the International Committee of the Red Cross and Amnesty International, have so far shown no interest in his plight.

Although he has not been found guilty of any crime either in Zambia or South Africa, he is denied privileges granted even to convicted criminals.

The Star's Africa News Service visited Mr Cebekhulu in the Lusaka jail last week and found him involved in a furious argument with a warder.

A short man, with darting eyes, he appeared restless.

Prison sources say Mr Cebekhulu suffers from bouts of depression. One said his mental state "is at times not what it should be".

He has been kept under close surveillance

since a local newspaper ran a story a few weeks ago. It was not possible to speak to him but a list of questions was smuggled to him.

Mr Cebekhulu (23) has reiterated that he was abducted from South Africa and wants to be helped out of jail but does not want to return to South Africa.

"I want people to assist me to be released. I want to be taken out of prison to any country where my life will be safeguarded."

Mr Cebekhulu said he was taken to Mozambique, then flown to Angola and eventually to Zambia.

He said he knew what had happened to Gabriel Mekgwe, a State witness who has also disappeared, but refused to say where he is or what had happened to him.

He said the truth did not come out during Mrs Mandela's trial and he would reveal everything he knows about the death of Stompie after his release.

He described conditions at the prison as "appalling".

Mr Cebekhulu said he did not eat the food because it caused him abdominal pain. He is still wearing the same clothes he had on when he was kidnapped.

Sometimes fellow prisoner lend him clothing when he has to wash his.

Asked whether there was any message he wanted relayed to his relatives, he said: "I want you to inform my mother that I'm still alive."

PAC military action (11a) CT 28/8/91 'looks set to intensify'

Political Staff

THE PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), had introduced a new style of operations based on swift attacks, and its activities would intensify, according to University of Durban-Westville academic Dr E A Mantzaris.

But police yesterday dismissed his claims, saying there was no evidence of Apla's growth, and that its activities were confined to a few radical individuals.

Dr Mantzaris, writing in the South Africa Foundation Review, analysed the movement's strategy in three related phases: Guerilla warfare through "armed propaganda" and the destruction of military installations; large-scale mobile military operations inside South Africa; and "the final

offensive (full-scale war)".

He added: "In recent months Apla has introduced a new style of military operations which is based on swift attacks, mostly with handgrenades.

"There is a continuity in these attacks, a fact that indicates that new blood (most possibly through the ranks of Azanyu — PAC's youth wing) has joined the PAC's military wing."

Dr Mantzaris argued that growing unemployment and poverty combined with the increasing militancy of black youth point to a likely increase in the activities of Apla in the near future.

However, a senior police source said there was no evidence for these claims, and Apla was definitely not growing.

Apla was small and not a threat, the source said.

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Slovo says he'll carry on in spite of cancer

11A
CT28/8/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, is determined not to allow his bone marrow cancer to interfere with his work in the party and the ANC.

Mr Slovo, 65, confirmed yesterday that he had bone marrow cancer but said the illness was diagnosed early and he was responding to treatment.

"It need not interfere with my work," he said.

Mr Slovo, a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, is a key figure in the negotiations with the government on the constitutional future of South Africa.

The SACP expressed "great sadness" at the news, but a party spokesman, Mr Essop Pahad, said Mr Slovo

was "absolutely determined" to continue with his work within the party and the ANC.

Mr Pahad was not sure when Mr Slovo found out he had cancer, "but he hasn't been feeling well for the past few weeks".

Mr Pahad emphatically dismissed speculation that Mr Slovo would relinquish his position as SACP general secretary in the near future.

Mr Slovo, who was born in Lithuania, has been an active communist ever since he joined the party in Johannesburg in 1942.

In recent years he has steered his party towards a glasnost-based democratic socialist interpretation of communist ideology and last week, before its defeat was announced, he criticised the abortive coup in the Soviet Union.

Fasting right-wingers will thank ANC

THREE right-wing hunger strikers will send a personal note of thanks to the ANC for the organisation's public support.

The ANC expressed its concern this week at the hunger strikers' plight, which it said illustrated government's lack of clarity on the political prisoner issue.

President F W de Klerk is expected to decide soon, possibly today, whether to indemnify the three. *Day 28/8/91*

Lawyer Wim Cornelius said yesterday the hunger strikers were "infinitely grateful" for what he described as an "incredible gesture" by the ANC.

A personal letter would be sent to ANC

JONATHON REES

general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Orde Boerevoik members Henry Martin, 49, Adrian Maritz, 43, and Lood van Schalkwyk, 53, are in critical condition in Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital. They are refusing food until government accords them political prisoner status and indemnity.

They are awaiting trial on charges of murder and attempted murder for their alleged role in two bomb blasts last year.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation believed that if people were prepared to come clean about their past, they should be granted indemnity.

11A
29/8/91
Star

Grave concern over prisons, says Mandela

Former convict Golden Miles Bhudu fell sobbing at the feet of Nelson Mandela yesterday as the ANC leader said that the question of prison violence was of grave concern to the ANC.

Mr Bhudu (28), was protesting at the ANC head offices yesterday "in solidarity with my brothers" who died in the Barberton prison revolt

Pressed in olive prison fatigues, his wrists and ankles in chains, Mr Bhudu said prison conditions were deteriorating.

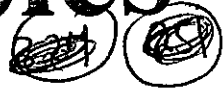
Mr Mandela, accompanied by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, said he was happy that men like Mr Bhudu were concerned with the welfare of both common-law and political prisoners.

— Staff Reporter.

ANC gives details on 2 'police spies'

Star 29/8/91

11A



By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

ANC officials have furnished ANC president Nelson Mandela with details of alleged police spies watching senior members of the organisation, and have requested Mr Mandela to take up the matter with President de Klerk.

ANC legal expert Penuel Maduna told The Star yesterday that this "dangerous situation" had become untenable and should be brought to the highest Government attention.

ANC officials yesterday gave details of two alleged spies — one who had been caught by ANC security personnel, the other who had approached the ANC and said he had been told

to follow ANC national executive committee members.

Mr Maduna said ANC officials had held a meeting with John Vorster Square police officials, one of them a Colonel van Wyk, after a man had been caught at the ANC's Johannesburg regional office.

When apprehended, the man had a two-way radio in his possession.

Handler

The man, former Gazankulu schoolteacher Morris Mdawe, said part of his brief from his handler, a Mr van Wyk, had been to monitor the activities of PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan. He said he had been paid R250.

Mr Maduna said details were still being collected on the second man, who had approached

the ANC yesterday.

Mr Maduna said Colonel van Wyk had denied any knowledge of Mr Mdawe and had said the two-way radio was not a police radio.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said the police would investigate the incident.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the whole matter was being investigated.

"We deny categorically that the SA Police was spying on the ANC as an organisation. The SAP does not interfere in any way with legitimate political activity. It should be borne in mind, however, that individual ANC members who might be involved in criminal activities of any kind are not above the law," he said.

The NP's main negotiating partners don't like its blueprint, writes Shaun Johnson

ANC smells a big Nat rat

Steer 29/8/91.

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HERE was no fanfare to mark the historic occasion, but an important moment it certainly was. This week the National Party's draft constitutional blueprint leaked out, and as a result "real" negotiations about this country's future — for which we have been waiting so very long — effectively began.

The multiparty conference may be some way off yet, but the fight about what the new South Africa will actually look like is under way, leapfrogging the seemingly intractable "obstacles to negotiations". The key negotiators are already strategising in constitutional detail, on the assumption that the "talks about talks" phase is all but over.

The NP document, subtitled "A Vision for a New Democratic Constitutional Dispensation for South Africa", is now poised to compete for public approval with the ANC's "Constitutional Principles and Structures for a Democratic South Africa", published in April. And although NP members will only get the chance to consider their document at a special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week, ANC constitutional experts

are already in the process of taking it apart.

Less than two days after the first details of the NP proposals were published, a critique in the form of a discussion paper was circulating among ANC leaders. It can be expected to influence their formal response heavily.

The ANC document is revealing, among other things, of the extent to which ANC trust of Government motives has been eroded. Although there are striking areas of apparent convergence between the NP and ANC visions — principally on broad voting systems and parliamentary structures — the ANC is convinced that President de Klerk's Government is speaking with a forked tongue.

The organisation concludes that the NP proposals contain a clear bottom line: There will be no majority rule.

The nine-page document deals in some detail with the NP proposals, and seeks to place them in the context of overall Government strategy in the constitution-making process — as seen through the now-jaundiced eyes of the ANC.

Regarding the blueprint itself, the author identifies the proposed

"fragmentation" of South Africa into nine regions (with largely autonomous governments enjoying entrenched constitutional powers) as a manoeuvre aimed at hobbling the central authorities.

"It would render it impossible for a future parliament to implement any national policy of reconstruction. It would render social and economic transformation impossible and render nationally directed affirmative action policies impossible. The Bill of Rights would be in jeopardy."

The proposal for a second house of parliament in which smaller parties will enjoy representation equal to that of larger ones — and an effective veto — is rejected as an aberration of democracy. Further, the idea of a mandatory multiparty cabinet is viewed as a ruse to undercut the legitimate power of the majority party.

"The proposal for multiparty government to be entrenched in a constitution is another unique South African contribution to constitutional law," according to the document. "(The NP) says this proposal is based on European constitutional models. It (deliberately) confuses a multiparty sys-

tem with entrenched multiparty government.

"In Western Europe it is the multiparty system which is entrenched — not multiparty government. Coalition arrangements take place as part of the electoral and political processes — freely entered into or not by parties on the basis of how they perceive their interests and support.

"Multiparty democracy is guaranteed in continental models in the sense that all political parties have the right to exist... All constitutions guarantee that the party which wins the elections has the right to form the government. Coalitions and multiparty arrangements are never entrenched in any constitution..."

"The clear objective (of the NP) is to prevent democratic majority rule. It will render the altering of the status quo extremely difficult."

Placing the latest NP proposals in the broader political context, the author concludes: "De Klerk's strategy is to ensure that he and his Government not only manage the period of transition, but also determine its eventual outcome... De Klerk wants a constitution-

al framework which will render one person one vote ineffective by making rule by an elected majority party impossible."

The document argues that this overall strategy explains Pretoria's opposition to an interim government, and its concern to negotiate a constitutional framework prior to elections of any kind.

"An elected constituent assembly is most unlikely to produce such a constitution (as that envisaged by the NP). Hence the proposal by the Government for a multiparty conference (or some similar variant) to draw up and agree to a new constitution after which it may be submitted to a referendum."

It is argued that the proposals for a "parliamentary structure designed to nullify majority rule", a multiparty Cabinet and a "rotating head of state or troika" are the constitutional means through which the Government hopes to achieve its objectives.

Even the Government's stated commitment to a Bill of Rights is attacked as a manipulative sham. "The Government's proposals as to what a Bill of Rights should

contain makes it clear that the Government sees the Bill of Rights as a mechanism to prevent the extension of real democracy and to protect existing privileges and property rights..."

"Not only the Government totally opposed to the inclusion of social and economic rights as proposed by the ANC, but the whole proposed constitutional framework and the objectives of such a framework will mean that the Bill of Rights will act as a mechanism to entrench existing privileges rather than extend rights and democracy. It will also protect regions and local groups against the democratic style."

It is a simple negotiating truism that participating parties demand more in the beginning than they expect to get in the end. For that reason alone there should be no great panic about the fact that the competing NP and ANC visions seem so far apart at the moment. We now have from both sides the opening bid. The real content of the bargaining process should be monitored from now on in terms of how each player is prepared to be in the course of the game. □

PAC plans move into Jo'burg

Sowetan Reporter

THE metropolitan area of Johannesburg will get its first civic association after the PAC officially launches a branch in the region.

Members of the PAC's Johannesburg central branch - which plans to have units in former whites-only suburbs including areas like Parktown and Yeoville - will take to the streets this Saturday to promote the movement.

One of the immediate tasks of the PAC in the new region will be to campaign, on behalf of the residents in the area, against the recent increase in municipal rates, PAC information secretary in the region, Mr Nelson Veerasamy, said.

He said the idea to establish a civic association was because blacks in the region had no representation in the Johannesburg City Council.

"There are an estimated 60 000 oppressed people in the city area and they are experiencing serious problems of a lack of community life, educational facilities, lack of sports and decent recreational facilities, lack of municipal by-laws to protect them against exploitation by landlords, lack of day-care centres for children through no representation in the city



BENNY ALEXANDER

Sowetan 29/8/91
council," Veerasamy said.

"The PAC intends to launch a city civic association to address these problems.

"One of the first tasks of the association will be to campaign against the recent hike in municipal rates by the Johannesburg City Council. A possible mass campaign against the city council is not ruled out."

Mr Benny Alexander, the PAC's general secretary, said yesterday the launch of the branches and the envisaged civic association opened the door to all residents of Johannesburg.

He said if a person who traditionally supported the Democratic Party felt the civic association could improve living conditions, the association would take up the case.

11A Civic

✓

Looking to the future

WITHOUT active intervention to promote a democratic culture in South Africa now, apartheid could be replaced by a far more vicious and unjust political system.

This was said by the executive chairman of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

In a speech delivered to the SA Institute for Librarianship and Information Science in Pretoria, Dhlomo said even though human beings do generally have an instinct for freedom, they are not born with an understanding of democracy as the safest way of guaranteeing their freedom and fostering equality and tolerance.

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Vicious, unjust political system could lie ahead

Dhlomo said nation building in South Africa would only succeed if the values of democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation were made the "foundation of all we do in our respective professions".

He said all South Africans had to share the responsibility of educating their fellow citizens on the virtues of democracy and "we can do this by disseminating as

much information on these virtues as we possibly can.

"It is in that way that we can hope to make post-apartheid South Africa safe for democracy".

Dhlomo said much of the political violence in South Africa resulted from the absence of a democratic culture conducive to political tolerance and freedom of association.

This intolerance was not, however, confined to black politics.

"As was clearly demonstrated by the Ventersdorp violence, some rightwing political parties are also victims and they also need assistance through education for democracy. This is a challenge that faces all of us."

Dhlomo reiterated his statement that democratisation in South Africa demanded that all South Africans "unlearn" all the political experiences of past decades and begin to build a democratic state on the basis of a common nationhood.- Sapa.



Dr OSCAR DHLOMO

ANC acts over Vista crisis

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Sowetan
29/8/91

A DELEGATION including a legal representative of the ANC and student leaders met senior officials of Vista University in Pretoria yesterday to resolve its education crisis.

The Soweto and Welkom branches of Vista were closed down by authorities following a planned week-long class boycott by students and the assault by police on an undisclosed number of students on Monday.

In a statement released on Tuesday, Vista authorities said the Soweto campus was closed down because property was damaged. The Welkom campus was also closed to forestall threats to property, the statement said.

Yesterday's delegation, which was led by attorney Mr Matthews-Phosa of the ANC, met senior officials of

By MONK NKOMO

Vista University including the rector, Professor S Engelbrecht.

Other representatives who accompanied Phosa included student leaders from the Congress of South African Students and the National Student Congress.

Before the meeting, Phosa said the main aim was to persuade the university authorities to reopen the two closed colleges and to resume negotiations on demands made by the students.

The meeting started at about 3pm. Vista's Registrar, Mr A Lubbe, said he expected the meeting to take "some hours or even continue into the night". He promised to issue a statement after the meeting.

Indaba about ^(11A) Sowetan 29/8/91 conflict

By **MONK NKOMO**

SENIOR executive officers of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha are expected to participate in a two-day conference on "Conflicts and negotiations" which starts in Pretoria today.

The ANC's deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, will be in a panel discussion with the chairman of the IFP, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Benny Alexander, general secretary of the PAC, and Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, president of Azapo.

The conference has been organised by the Herbert Quandt Foundation of Munich, Germany and the Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law at Unisa.

Other speakers include Advocate Nathaniel Masemola of the ANC's Constitutional Committee; Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association and former South African Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall.

THEO RAWANA

Nafcoc takes its place in liberation effort

LAST week's conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) left no doubt that major black political groupings saw the business organisation as a frontrunner in the black liberation effort.

The 2000 delegates who attended the four-day event at Sun City heard ANC, PAC and Azapo leaders urge Nafcoc to move hand-in-hand with them on the path to ultimate victory.

And the organisation's acceptance of PAC president Clarence Makwethu's invitation to participate in the Patriotic Front conference has placed Nafcoc among the

heavyweights in the black cause.

Makwethu said the purpose of the Patriotic Front would be "to co-ordinate strategies of transition amongst our liberation movements and to build up support and commitment around our demands for a constituent assembly. It is a front to ensure a total transformation of our society".

He said Nafcoc was on the invitation list. Perhaps ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa summed up Nafcoc's perceived responsibility when he said people did not expect slogans, rhetoric or ideology from the business organisation.

"They expect to be informed about practical steps that will lead them to acquiring

economic power and nothing less," Ramaphosa said.

He said Nafcoc stood out alone among many business organisations in terms of its record in "waging war against the heinous system of apartheid and promoting the empowerment of black people".

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe, warning Nafcoc against white business's efforts to divide black business to suit white designs, said: "It is our view in Azapo that your organisation occupies a special position in the struggle for economic emancipation."

Urging Nafcoc to unite with the other major black business grouping, Fabcos, Nefolohodwe said: "The fact that Nafcoc

and Fabcos exist as separate entities does in a way serve the interests of big business. Despite your differences, Azapo would like to see greater co-operation between Nafcoc and Fabcos."

Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane, speaking on relationships between political and business leaders, said: "In the past there was a mistaken tendency to disregard or underestimate the role of black business as a vital element of the liberation struggle in our country.

"Political and economic freedom can indeed be assumed to represent the opposite sides of the same coin, both are essential and indispensable to the progress and development of a democratic state."

Get an elephant's eye view

ELEPHANT-back safaris in Botswana have identified SA game enthusiasts as their latest target group.

Well-known wildlife conservationist Randall Moore, in SA for a few days, has extended the safari season by two months and laid on a special package exclusively for residents of southern Africa "as my way of saying thank you for all the support we have received from them over the past few years".

The highlight of the safaris is riding on elephants through the Okavango swamps. These are the

DAVE LOURENS

same elephants featured in the ISM commercial and in Clint Eastwood's movie, White Hunter Black Heart.

Guests are accommodated in luxury tents.

Numbers are limited to eight guests per safari.

Moore said the tight restriction on numbers had ensured the safaris were always fully booked. He said most tourists had come from the US, but he

hoped the safaris would

gain in popularity in SA. In order to cater for South Africans, the safari had been slightly shortened to make it more affordable.

Moore has been involved in the field of wildlife conservation for the past 20 years. He first became an elephant owner in 1979, when his mentor, Dr H Morgan Berry died and he inherited three full-grown African elephants, who formed the nucleus of his current herd in Botswana.

The elephant-back safaris are unique in Africa. The only similar safaris are in Nepal's Chitwan Park.

Oceana Investment Corporation PLC

("Oceana")

Non-renounceable offers to stockholders of up to 16,785,263 new Oceana ordinary stock units

UAL Merchant Bank Limited is authorised to release the following announcement in South Africa:

"The Board of Oceana announces that the Rand subscription price in relation to the Offer of up to 14,387,368 new Oceana stock units to Oceana stockholders (Offer "A"), which has already been declared unconditional, has been set at Rand 11.17 per new stock

The last of the commies

(11A)

Aug 29 1991

JOHN CARLIN
of *The Independent*

JOHANNESBURG. — The temptation is strong to heap scorn these days on the South African Communist Party. "The World's Last Commies — Walkies for short", they have been labelled by one of the wittier local commentators.

A look at the Party bank balance and their paltry lack of success in recruiting new members in the past year or so would offer a spectacle quite pitiful enough, never mind recent developments in the Soviet Union.

On July 27 the SACP had a party in Johannesburg's cavernous city hall — ostensibly to celebrate their 70th anniversary but more urgently, international funding having naturally dried up, to raise funds for the payment of their staff, who had not been paid in two months.

The price of entry was R100, which pleased the staff, who got in free, but provided little incentive to the oppressed masses to make the trip over from Soweto. Not surprisingly the hall was embarrassingly empty.

It was not the first time the SACP had overestimated their appeal. For the internal relaunch of the party after they were unbanned in February last year they booked Soweto's 80 000-capacity Soccer City stadium — again with excruciating results.

In the light of all this the government, and some newspaper columnists, have had a grand old time of it in the past week. One thing that is interesting, and perhaps unique, about South Africa is how the cult of anti-communism has managed to remain

so vigorously alive long after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

And not entirely without reason. For precisely what is, in turn, interesting and unique about the Communist Party is that its members do indeed remain a powerfully influential force in South African politics. The party has clout.

This is because it is in alliance with the biggest political movement in the country, the African National Congress. SACP members also occupy half the places — the best places, by and large — on the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee.

However, without the ANC the SACP is nothing. There has been much talk in recent months of the

two at some point severing their alliance, an alliance built on common opposition to apartheid.

More clearly now than ever before, this is a recipe for suicide for the party — a guarantee of increasingly dusty, poverty-stricken obscurity. Which is one reason why the party leadership is up for grabs in the party's annual congress in December.

Mr Joe Slovo, it was announced this week, is seriously ill with bone-marrow cancer — although he is still working and, he claims, hopeful of a cure. But his decision to quit the general secretary's job was motivated at least as much by a desire to focus on his ANC functions. The successor the SACP have requested, the ANC military chief Chris Hani, is highly unlikely to accept the job.

No one is rushing for the job. Quite apart from anything else, the top SACP officials in the ANC executive are unlikely to want to part with their salaries and well-appointed offices in exchange for the questionable prospects across town at party headquarters. Besides, most important of all,

the SACP is no longer a coherent unit but a collection of individuals with a greater or lesser commitment to socialism but an unequivocal identification with "the non-racial democracy" principle of the ANC. Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's able director of international affairs, has allowed his party membership to lapse. Quietly, others will follow; "democratic socialism" will become "social democracy"; and the ANC, in the manner of erstwhile revolutionary organisations everywhere, will in due course find its place somewhere marginally to the left of the British Labour Party.



CLENCHED FIST: SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo.

Police probe claims over spying on ANC

THE ANC yesterday produced a man said to have been caught outside their offices and confessed to have been briefed to follow and monitor PWV regional secretary Ms Barbara Hogan.

Mr Morris Mdawe, who claimed to be a former teacher in Gazankulu, said he met a certain Mr van Wyk at a hotel last week and was shown photographs of Hogan.

He was taken to her

house and told to follow and watch every movement she made.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said police had taken note of the allegations and would

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investigate the incident.

Hogan said police denied any knowledge of Mdawe and the two-way radio he was caught carrying outside the ANC's PWV regional office.

Mdawe said he saw his

handler yesterday morning wearing a green shirt and grey trousers.

The man was a Lieutenant Wilkens who had accompanied a Colonel van Wyk and Captain van Huysteen

after Hogan had phoned Van Wyk. *11A*

Mdawe pointed out Wilkens as the man he knew.

In another spy revelation, ANC legal department official Mr Penuel

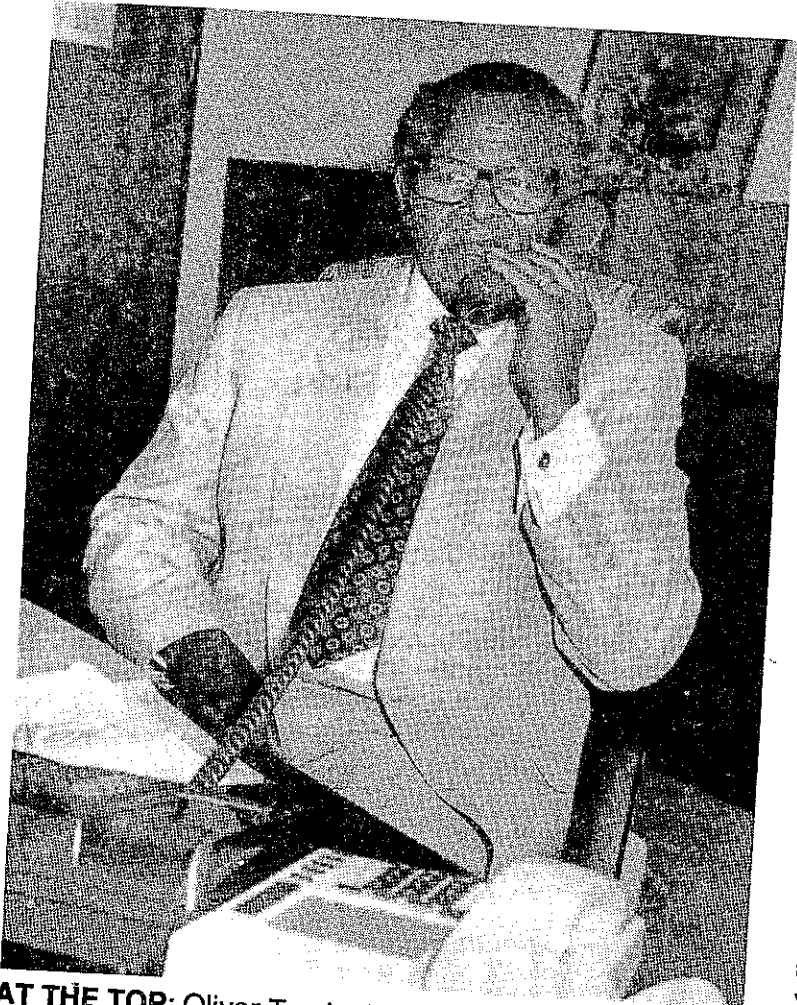
Maduna said a man had approached ANC head office staff yesterday and told them he had been detained and released with a brief to follow ANC national executive committee members. - *Sapa*.

Isn't that O.R. over there?

South 29/8 - 4/9/91

11A

These days, the Johannesburg headquarters of the ANC are looking more and more like a well-run powerhouse, as **MONO BADELA** discovered on a visit to Shell House:



AT THE TOP: Oliver Tambo in his office on one of the upper floors of the Shell House headquarters

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

WHEN it first opened its doors four months ago, ANC staff members used to call the movement's headquarters Hell House, a bastardisation of its real name, Shell House.

But nowadays, with the ANC rapidly getting on an organisational footing, staff members have coined a new name, State House.

From the ground-floor reception area to the high-powered offices of the Department of International Affairs on the 22nd floor, the ANC headquarters are looking more what they should be — the core of a dynamic liberation movement — perhaps even a government-in-waiting.

Not that everything is perfect at Shell House. It can still take ages to get through on the telephone, and the queue at the reception area can be tedious. This is particularly the case when media conferences called by Nelson Mandela draw local and foreign media workers en masse.

However, since the arrival of newly elected secretary-general Cyril

Ramaphosa, things are getting more ship-shape.

Situated in downtown Johannesburg, the 22-storey Shell House is a symbol of the changing times. For years the ANC conducted a vigorous campaign against Shell, pressuring the multinational to disinvest.

Now the country's biggest and oldest liberation movement owns the building bearing Shell's name, which it bought in March for R22 million.

At the entrance of the building is a shop selling the movement's posters and T-shirts, as well as a wide range of other items bearing the ANC's colours.

Next to the shop is a reception hall where everyone, other than ANC officials or staffers, must be registered before being allowed access into the building.

From the moment you enter one of the six elevators on the ground floor, you can feel a buzz.

For instance, I managed to rub shoulders in the lift with people such as Charles Nqakula (long sought-after member of Operation Vula), Winnie Mandela, Sydney Mufamadi and

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim. Besides the famous faces, there are scores of other interesting people one encounters: ex-Robben Island prisoners, returnees now home after decades in exile, young men wishing to join Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The engine-room of South Africa's most influential liberation movement is on the 10th floor. There you will find high-powered meetings taking place between prominent figures such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Thomas Nkobi, Alfred Nzo and Cyril Ramaphosa.

The movement also occupies floors 16, 17, 18, 19, 21 and 22. From the offices on the 22nd floor, the view is breathtaking, sweeping from Alexandra to Soweto.

ANC spokesperson Saki Macozoma said Shell House was a big improvement on the ANC's previous premises at 54 Sauer Street, in terms of security, convenience and accessibility.

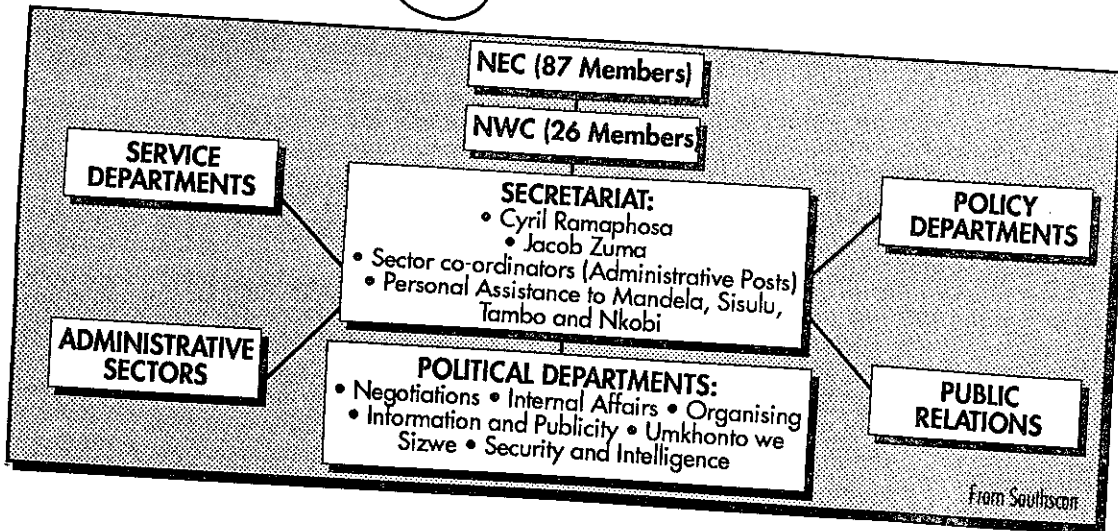
He had one little carp, though. "What we need is a restaurant in the building to cater for all the hundreds of people here!"

Oiling wheels of ANC machinery

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11A

President FW de Klerk's cabinet reshuffle takes effect on Monday, but how fares the ANC's own top team? A SOUTH special correspondent produced this inventory of the liberation movement's new machinery:



four major sectors, the following picture emerges of the organisation:

Administrative: falling directly under Zuma, this sector covers administration, internal information, personnel, operational research and a public relations division headed by Ahmed Kathrada.

Service: this sector includes the financial and legal divisions, headed by Nkobi and Zola Skweyiya respectively, as well as Tambo's evaluation commission. Vusi Khanyile runs the finance desk. Policy formulation: as a sector, this consists of commissions that include economic planning (headed by Manuel, with desk chief being Max Sisulu) and constitutional development (Skweyiya).

A third commission, covering health, welfare and human resources, falls under Cheryl Carolus. Reporting to her are Winnie Mandela's health and welfare desk, John Samuel's education desk, Jackie Selebe's repatriation desk, Wally Serote's culture portfolio and human resources.

The political sector consists of the new negotiations commission, international affairs (Mbeki) and information and publicity (Pallo Jordan).

Also in this compartment is the organising department, with Tshwete as convener, Popo Molefe (building ANC membership), Ronnie Kasrils (mass campaigns), Joel Netshitenzhe (mass communications, *Mayibuye* magazine), John Nkadimeng (rural organising), Sydney Mufamadi (relations with SACP and Cosatu), Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (relations with other groups), and Raymond Suttner (political education). Umkhonto we Sizwe (Joe Modise) and the security and intelligence divisions (Joe Nhlanhla and Terror Lekota) also fall in the political sector.

ple in this new ANC "machine" are members of the executive committee's "politburo" — the 26-member National Working Committee.

But rather than serving as a "shadow cabinet" for a future government, the NWC is more clearly designed as an interim authority structure. Its personnel and structural breakdown are geared to the immediate goal of beefing up ANC organisation and policies to win a particular constitutional system.

Only once that goal is achieved, will the NWC consider switching its emphasis towards grooming ministers for the first post-apartheid government.

This means, for example, that the demands placed on a non-economist like Trevor Manuel, new head of the ANC's Economic Planning Commission, are primarily of an organisational nature, and do not depend on any specialist economic knowledge.

The pre-conference ANC developed in a piecemeal and meandering way during its 30 years in exile, and its structures were clearly ill-suited to

the demands of the De Klerk era.

Under Ramaphosa's regime, however, for the first time there are direct line-functions and chains of command in the ANC — the idea being to make the many departments and desks more accountable to the leadership structures and more responsive to current demands.

ON THE negative side, there are some serious omissions in the line-up of new departments and portfolios, and problems may also arise from the mismatch between particular individuals and the tasks allotted them.

The absence of an explicit sports portfolio, for example, sees Steve Tshwete once again in the organising department. While this hitherto weak department has been strengthened by key former Mass Democratic Movement leaders, it will continue to suffer neglect in direct proportion to the inevitable fact that Tshwete's energies will continue going into benefiting

the ANC's role in sports politics.

It is also a moot point whether a standing committee on crisis issues should not have been set up. The past year has already seen countless unpredictable events remove the initiative from the ANC and turn it into a reactive type of organisation at best.

However, three significant advances in the new structures include:

- A standing evaluation committee headed by Oliver Tambo and intended to check the organisation's performance against resolutions and mandates.

- A specific department charged with negotiations, convened personally by Ramaphosa and including Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki and Thomas Nkobi.

- All departments now fall clearly into one of four sectors: political, service, policy formulation and administration.

Coordinating this machinery is a secretariat, which includes Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma, and section coordinators.

Breaking down each of the ANC's

PRESTROIKA CAME to the ANC when the organisation restructured its executive arm at its national conference in Durban in July. Part of the groundswell that led to Alfred Nzo being defeated in his bid for re-election as secretary-general was the anger many ANC members felt with their head office's poor performance.

Frustration within and without the organisation over poorly functioning structures and shoddy administration turned to hope when the leader of the mine workers, Cyril Ramaphosa, voted secretary-general at the conference, pledged to transform the ANC into a well-oiled machine.

With 88 members, the new ANC executive is much larger than in the past, but to the surprise of several observers this expansion, combined with the restructuring of departments and portfolios, appears to have created a more streamlined organisation. Most, but not all, the top-level peo-

'Irreverence is healthy'

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11A



OUTSPOKEN: Carolus

SHE DANCES on table tops, loves strolling on Table Mountain, munches Liquorice All-Sorts, and doesn't suffer fools gladly, particularly those who abuse power. This is Cheryl Carolus, Winnie Mandela's "boss", who will be heading the newly created Department of Health, Welfare and Human Resources of the African National Congress (ANC).

While she frowns on the fuss people are making about her following on the heels of the ousted "Mother of the Nation", Carolus' appointment signals an attempt by the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) to rejuvenate that department's image.

The two women are as different as Eva Peron and Angela Davis. While the glamorous Mrs Mandela entered politics in the shadow of her hus-

band, the denim-and-takkie-clad Ms Carolus has been an outspoken grassroots activist and feminist since the 1970s, when she joined the Black Consciousness Movement.

Non-conformist, outspoken Cheryl Carolus is the only woman in the shadow cabinet of the African National Congress. HEATHER ROBERTSON found her dedication intact, her humanity untouched by her new authority:

While Mandela is part of the old school who have frowned on the audacity of youth who flout "African traditions" by questioning their older leaders, Carolus supports irreverence towards political leaders as a healthy practice which ensures the accountability of leadership.

Loggerheads

Her experience in the women's movement in the United Democratic Front (UDF) has seen her at protest rallies and marches, but also at loggerheads with male chauvinists in political organisations.

Has her life changed at all since she has become a national figure?

"No, but the one thing that hassles me is the lack of a private life. In supermarkets five people will come up to me. You don't have the right to be bad tempered in a supermarket if you want to!" she says.

She cites this public spotlight as a major deterrent to contemplating a

future government post, because she behaves "in a non-conformist way which is at times outrageous".

But she is glad that South Africans are not awed by public figures. "Irreverence is a healthy part of our culture," she says.

Carolus' record as one of the youngest members of the ANC's negotiation team is impeccable, but some critics question whether she is sufficiently experienced to handle the Department of Health and Welfare.

It was her involvement in grassroots organisations that fed her outrage on behalf of people who have no access to basics such as housing or pensions.

But engaging in the politics of protest and making general demands on government is quite different from running a government. Does she feel equipped to be the next Minister of Health and Welfare?

"I don't think I'd like to be in government. I'll probably always just be an ANC activist," she says although she adds that basic social issues have always been her concern.

Carolus agrees that both the National Party and the ANC, by assigning welfare portfolios to women, are sup-

porting the idea that "soft" departments are women's concerns.

"Yes it is the soft option that is seen as the responsibility of women because of their nurturing role. But women are the people who become personally involved when it comes to economic policy or violence as an obstacle to negotiations. It is the women who insist on placing people's lives before political posturing."

As the only woman head of department in the ANC's shadow cabinet, how will Carolus ensure that women's issues are placed on the agenda?

Feminist

Carolus argues that women need to organise separately. "As much as Black Consciousness was an important phase to go through to prevent patronage and paternalism where whites spoke on behalf of blacks, so women need to be in organisations where they can speak for themselves."

Asked about the ANC rejection of the demand for 30 percent representation of women on decision-making structures, Carolus looks angry.

"It angers me that women have to be more than excellent to get onto the NEC when there are so many mediocre men there," she retorts.

She adds, however, that it was significant that the ANC conference spent so much time on the issue, even though the women's caucus ultimately had to bow to the majority male view.

Having a private life is "very difficult. In South Africa politics is very passionate and all-consuming. Sometimes a whole month goes by without

me seeing my parents in Silvertown and that saddens me.

"The difficulty is finding ways of replenishing yourself. I long for time to appreciate the mountain and read all the books I've wanted to," she says, rushing off to answer yet another phone call. It's her husband, Graeme Bloch, calling from America.

"I think I deserve this break to speak to him. It's half past three in the morning over there," she shouts. I ask later how her political life has affected her much-publicised marriage.

"We're both political animals but in our private lives we don't talk about politics. We're great friends, we laugh a lot and that has carried us through."

Does he not occasionally suffer from the Dennis Thatcher syndrome, having to walk in his wife's shadow?

"No, he has achieved political credibility in his own right, working on the National Education Crisis Committee and in the UDF, and he's confident enough in himself not to feel threatened."

Communism

Carolus dismisses criticism of her membership of the South African Communist Party.

"Those who are outraged by communism often claim to be democrats. If they believe in multi-party democracy then they should defend the right of a Communist Party to exist.

"I'm quite unapologetic about the fact that I believe that freedom must address the oppressed and exploited. That's where I side. I have no intention of pandering to people on the other side."

THE SACP ALONE

F M 30/8/91

(27) (11A)

No longer calling Moscow

By resigning as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and disbanding its central committee last Saturday, President Mikhail Gorbachev did more than end the powerful political force which grew from its Bolshevik roots in 1903 to dominate nearly every aspect of Soviet life since 1917.

He also seems to have accelerated the end of the 15-republic union. And by appealing for a swift move towards a market economy he ended the great communist dream — at least in parts of Asia and Europe.

Back home, overcoming earlier reticence followed by contradictory statements from Natal Midlands party chief Harry Gwala and SA Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Joe Slovo, the end of the CPSU is being mourned.

But its passing might also clear the focus of the SACP as it continues to move towards being an African communist party and sheds its Soviet links.

"If you lose your mother you cry and go and bury her, but you don't jump into the grave with her," was the quaint comment of SACP spokesman Essop Pahad.

He is critical of the way the CPSU has ended, saying it should be the decision of the party itself — not an individual. At the same time, Pahad says events of the past week have confirmed what the SACP has believed all along, "that you can't build socialism in an undemocratic society."

Along with State seizure of CPSU property and the boarding up of party headquarters throughout the USSR — as well as apparently spontaneous public removal of statues of Lenin and other party leaders — a lot else happened in the past week to change the face of Soviet politics forever.

Even as Gorbachev admitted the unlikelihood of continued union among the 15 republics and got ready to sign the Union Treaty, Uzbekistan and Moldavia moved towards secession, joining the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics.

With the Communist Party already gone in eastern Europe, where does all this leave the SACP? Pahad says the party has been moving for some time to root itself as an African communist party, despite perceptions that it was an offshoot of the CPSU.

"It's true that we were often in common agreement with the party in Moscow, but we didn't take our line from it. Without the CPSU we will continue as before," maintains Pahad. Which remains to be seen. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

The twain can meet

11A FM 30/8/91

Surprising though it sounds, there is, in principle, not much that separates government's constitutional proposals from those of its chief adversary, the ANC.

Of course, the National Party's proposal for a collegiate presidency will not be well received by the ANC, which has yet to respond formally. One member of the ANC national executive committee has already said that this is a derogation of the principle of majority rule. But a lot will be watered down in the give-and-take of negotiations, to which both sides are committed.

Aside from transitional mechanisms, disagreement centres largely on details about structure — for example, the powers of a second chamber in a bicameral legislature.

Similarly, the ANC's draft constitutional proposals advocate "strong and effective local government," compared to the NP's proposed nine "regional governments." That idea sounds for the moment too much like a federal arrangement, which the ANC eschews. But its call for "strong and effective local government" cannot be too different.

Despite these differences, the respective proposals fall into what UCT's David Welsh calls the "zone of bargainability."

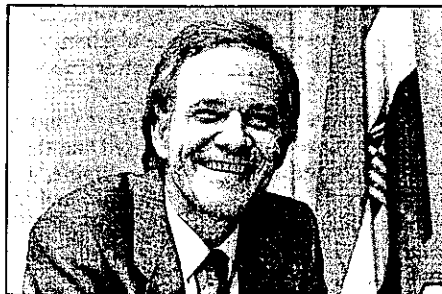
So it is not altogether surprising that the ANC did not rush out an official blanket rejection of the NP's constitutional proposals, leaked to *Rapport* last week and due to be tabled at a special NP federal congress in Bloemfontein on September 4 (see box).

PLAN IN A NUTSHELL

The NP's constitutional proposals include scrapping the present office of a single presidential head of State and replacing it with a council of three to five members.

Other features, according to *Rapport* and acknowledged as accurate by Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, include:

- A multiparty Cabinet of candidates from parties with "sufficient" support;
- Two houses of parliament;
- Proportional representation instead of the current winner-takes-all model in the first house of parliament — parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on the number of constituencies won;
- Nine self-governing regions;
- New municipal boundaries administered by single municipal councils;
- A democratic State with no apartheid and no discrimination based on race; and
- One person, one vote — with no group domination.



Stoffel van der Merwe ... spearheading the NP plan

Until the ANC formally responds (as it says it will), ANC constitutional committee members are saying that the NP proposals are nothing new. One, referring especially to the idea for a three- or five-member presidency, ventures to suggest they could be a formula for an interim government, but not a lasting solution. This suggests room for manoeuvre. The NP plan is seen as a convoluted way of, in effect, entrenching ethnicity.

The proposal for a collegiate presidency is derived from the Swiss federal council system, under which major parties share the presidency on a rotational, federal basis. It is an informal convention not actually written into the Swiss constitution. However, it is uniquely Swiss and difficult to export.

According to Welsh, who has no quarrel with this proposal in principle, the need for SA to avoid a winner-takes-all arrangement is amply supported by the voluminous literature on divided societies.

On regional and local government, there is a strong case for saying that government has become a centralised, bureaucratised Leviathan, suggesting that effective local or regional government will be a good thing. There can be no reasonable objection to decentralisation per se, says Welsh.

Of course there are all kinds of inconsistencies in what government is now proposing and what it did in the past. However, SA has entered a whole new era.

Nelson Mandela, in an interview with Stanley Uys, as well as other ANC figures, have said that they do not want to see minorities excluded from power. But their formal inclusion in government is another matter. The ANC may argue that, having agreed to proportional representation, it will accept a kind of coalition government, even if this is not entrenched in a new constitution. President F W de Klerk could counter that, with 30%-40% of whites sympathetic to the CP, he might lose a referendum unless this is inserted into the constitution.

It could emerge as a transitional measure entrenched for some years, as in Zimbabwe, and performing a stabilising role while poli-

tics in the new SA develops its own momentum. It would, after all, be a compromise in which the word race does not feature.

Clarity is yet to emerge also on the bicameral parliament. Welsh points out that a second chamber must have real power. Whether it is to be veto power remains to be seen; suffice to say that mere delaying power — as in Namibia — is not enough. Experience has shown that without genuine power, a second chamber is ineffective and pointless.

For all that, there is an interesting convergence in the ANC and government positions, observes Welsh. Both agree on multiparty democracy, universal suffrage, nonracialism, a common voters' roll, proportional representation, a bicameral parliament, the rule of law, a Bill of Rights, judicial review and having an ombudsman.

The differences appear to be over a collegiate presidency and regional government, which, Welsh argues, are eminently negotiable. "I am therefore fairly optimistic that a new constitution is basically within sight." ■

NATAL EDUCATION

Still cutting FM 30/8/91

Retrenchment of teaching staff in Natal is going ahead and will probably continue next year — despite the June 27 statement by three Education Ministers which, relieved educationists understood, overturned the previous "own affairs" rationalisation process.

John Deane, deputy director of the Natal Education Department (NED), confirmed this week that 688 posts in Natal would go by the end of the year. He did not rule out further retrenchments next year, though he said numbers would depend on the amount of funding the province gets for education.

This is hard to understand in the light of the earlier statement from Ministers Piet Clase, Stoffel van der Merwe and Louis Pienaar, which, though coming at a time when President F W de Klerk was under pressure to halt staff cuts and school closures (and after black pupils had occupied the empty Orange Grove Primary School), seemed to indicate that cuts would stop and under-utilised resources made available to all pupils.

Apparently not so. Deane says the June 27 statement "has not substantially changed our situation because retrenchment of teaching staff is being undertaken in the light of the amount of money we are getting."

Natal, according to De Klerk (*Current Affairs* July 5), gets the most favourable dispensation for white education in SA and,

Two visions

For the first time, both the Government and the ANC have put on the table their detailed plans for what the new South Africa will really look like. Sifting through the complicated documents, PETER FABRICIUS and SHAUN JOHNSON discover some important similarities — and a lot of deep differences.

AT FIRST glance the two models bear a strong resemblance to each other — surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party and the ANC. But close analysis shows that, once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

There are broad, important areas of convergence. Both models are apparently democratic; both acknowledge the principle of universal franchise; both propose bicameral legislatures involving the system of proportional representation; and both doff a hat to devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask substantial underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, but the NP would attach different weights to different votes at every level of government.

In essence, the ANC model would concentrate power at the centre, while the NP plan would disperse it, politically and geographically, as far as possible.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government where the majority's power would be qualified only by the constitution and the courts, and not by any other political party.

Qualify

The NP proposes a consociational style of government favouring minorities, where the power of the majority would be qualified at every turn by other parties, and some decisions would have to be taken by consensus.

In the ANC model, the majority party could appoint the president (or this position could be directly elected, still virtually ensuring it was filled by the majority party's candidate) as well as the entire Cabinet.

It would control all legislation, except, if it did not enjoy a two-thirds majority, changes to the constitution.

In practice, the ANC's commitment to decentralisation — in the forms of a second house of Parliament and regional and local authorities — would not substantially restrict the power of the majority party in central

government.

The majority could dictate policy to regional and local authorities. And the ANC's second house of Parliament (where regions would be represented) would have the power to slow down, but not to stop, legislation emanating from the first house, or National Assembly. Control of this house would be vested in a simple majority.

However, the ANC's endorsement of a system of proportional representation in the National Assembly — and the possibility of regional lists in voting for the Senate — would give more power to minority parties than they enjoy under the Westminster system of single-member constituencies.

By contrast, the NP's model would disperse power to the perimeters in a multitude of ways — some quite spectacular and unprecedented. The proposal to replace the present executive president with a three-to-five member multiparty Executive College would mark this as one of the most decentralised systems in the world.

Further, this supreme executive body would make all decisions by consensus — another remarkable brake on the powers of the majority party.

The two houses of Parliament might collectively pass a motion of no-confidence in the Executive College as a whole but, significantly, could not exercise this form of censure against individual members of the college.

The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that a majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority-party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate — it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution" — the NP's second house of Parliament would be an extraordinarily powerful body, with a veto over decisions by the majority in the first house, and the authority to initiate its own legislation on matters of regional and minority interest.

Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the second house would give minorities enormous clout — to the extent that, hypotheti-

cally, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.

The NP proposes that each of the country's nine regions should receive equal representation in the second house.

Although it is impossible to compute the permutations of how this elaborate system might work in practice, it is clear that it would impose tremendous constraints on the majority party, and oblige it to enter into coalitions in order to pass legislation.

Approval

Even in the first house of Parliament — elected on the basis of one person, one vote — a simple majority would not be enough to secure approval in as yet undefined "sensitive" matters.

At lower levels of government, the NP would also like to substantially dilute the power of the majority. In town and city councils, for instance, it proposes that property owners, tenants and ratepayers should receive greater representation than ordinary voters.

Geographically, the NP also proposes to devolve real ("original") and not merely delegated powers to the nine regions — each with its own legislature and executive — and to elected local governments.

It goes even further by proposing that elected neighbourhood councils be set up within municipalities, possibly at suburban level, to control very localised matters such as the granting of licences for property use.

The plan does not seem to have defined the precise powers of the lower levels of government, though the NP has made it clear before that it would like them to be considerable.

It is only when one moves beyond the shared declamatory commitments to broad principles such as nonracialism and democracy that the very different points of departure being utilised in each political camp become clear.

And it is the detailed proposals which flow from those points of departure that will be the focus of the real horse-trading around the constitutional negotiating table. □

of the new South Africa

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The ANC Star 30/8/91 blueprint

THE ANC envisages a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A **unitary** state, that is a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government: the **executive, legislature and judiciary**.

A **president**, who would be head of the executive and head of state. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public — and consequently vested with greater executive powers — or elected by and answerable to Parliament. A **Cabinet** would be headed by a **prime minister**, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

Two houses of Parliament. The first a **National Assembly**, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary, legislative power would be vested in this house.

The second house would be a **Senate**, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional — though not ethnic — representation. The ANC insists this would neither be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called "community" interests. The **Senate**, as the "guardian of the constitution", would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts, and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the **National Assembly** but not to veto it.

Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years, and conducted by secret ballot. An independent electoral commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of **proportional representation** means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats. Despite the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A **constitutional court**, appointed by the president possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land. The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum. The constitution would be supreme.

Positions in organs of **local and regional** government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

Regions would not be devised as means of perpetuating privilege, or ethnic or regional divisions along territorial zones, but would be based upon the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances. Central government would control external relations, defence and security; general economic, fiscal and tax policy; national policy frameworks; and resources for social upliftment and the removal of historical imbalances in the society. Regional and local authorities' powers would be clearly circumscribed.

A **justiciable bill of rights** would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the bill of rights would be invalidated.

A **human rights commission** would investigate violations, and a **public service commission** would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service. An independent **ombudsman** would investigate complaints against the public service. □

'ANC voice' coming home after 27 years

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — Thomas Sebina-Letlalo is going home at last.

Mr Sebina-Letlalo, or Tom Sebina as he has come to be known, has for the past decade been the voice of the African National Congress, informing the world about the ANC from his base at the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia.

He has not set foot in South Africa since he left the country as a 27-year-old, 27 years ago. Now he's coming home, the last of the organisation's senior officials to leave Lusaka.

In an interview at the almost deserted ANC headquarters in Lusaka, perhaps the last interview he will give in Zambia, Mr Sebina spoke about his years in exile and his homecoming.

For the past 10 years, Tom Sebina's voice has been the voice of the ANC.

"I was thrust into this whole thing, really," he says.

"Most of our leaders were banned and couldn't be quoted back home. I happened to be the only person who was not on the (banned) list."

The road to Lusaka was a roundabout one. He crossed into Botswana (then Bechuanaland) in August 1964, then Tanzania, then went to the Soviet Union for military training.

He came to Lusaka in 1967 to join the ANC's publicity department, helping with the production of the organisation's publication, *Mayibuye*.

In 1970 he was sent to Czechoslovakia for a year's training in journalism. From there he joined the ANC's Radio Freedom in Tanzania.

He left Dar-es-Salaam in 1973 for Dakar, in Senegal, where he spent eight years.

It was back to Lusaka in 1980, and for eight years South African newspapers could quote him. In 1987 he was added to the banned list. He then simply became "an ANC spokesman".

ANC, former prisoners ^(11A) bury hatchet

Star 30/8/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

An agreement had been reached with recently released ANC prisoners at two 40-minute meetings between top ANC leaders and the former prisoners at the organisation's Johannesburg head office yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela announced.

Mr Mandela told a news conference in Johannesburg that all complaints about the men's treatment in ANC prison camps would be fully investigated and that their security would be taken up at the highest level of government.

The ANC president and other members of the ANC's national executive committee first held discussions with 11 of the released men, who had "always identified with the ANC", and then with a group of five, some of whom had gone public with allegations of appalling treatment in the prison camps.

ANC regions would be instructed to integrate "these comrades" in their structures.

"We are saying let's forget the past and join hands to work together," he said.

The former prisoners declined to address the media, except for Jose Ribeiro-De Souza, who has publicly condemned the ANC for its handling of the prisoners. He told the press conference that, while he still maintained that the ANC had committed injustices, he nevertheless agreed fully with Mr Mandela's statement.

Mr Mandela was assisted by several top ANC leaders including deputy president Walter Sisulu and national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Talking, listening the key to peace

DÉTENTE is a very Western concept which has worked well. It led to the end of the Cold War and was instrumental in creating a new world order.

The word means the easing of tensions, especially between nations or political parties.

It can also be interpreted as good public relations. For example, you might not agree with your opposition but, if you sat down and listened, or if your opposition sat down and listened to you, each party might have a better understanding of the other.

This is commonly known as talking. And while we are at it, we might as well add that talking is better than fighting.

Talking has the added benefit in that it can influence opposing views, perhaps even alter them.

Africa has its own kind of détente, which is rooted in the inherent peaceful nature of the Africans - and this is perhaps best explained by the concept of *ubuntu*.

This is manifested even in the most militant and radical slogan of the Africanists of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress: "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy."

While this is (politically) an extremely provocative slogan, it also in principle seeks peace first - albeit through the barrel of a gun.

As things stand, the PAC will not (officially) speak to the ruling National Party, but it will speak to the ANC, Azapo and Wosa.

And this appears to be because the NP is white. This could not be further from the truth, because the ANC and Wosa have white membership.

Similarly, and to substantiate this, the PAC this week released a statement about the launch of its Johannesburg Central Region and the envisaged creation of a Civic Association for this region.

The carefully worded statement

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was explicit - anybody who saw him or herself as an African and who paid allegiance to Africa could join the JCR.

The PAC's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said at the time: "The PAC recognises only one race - the human race."

In essence these two positions - which the PAC has held since its inception in 1959 - are light-years ahead of the pack.

The distinct Africanism sounds very similar to the ideas expressed by the NP (than those even) of the ANC, who has not expressed a purely Africanist train of thought.

The NP is prejudiced against any foreign interference in the lo-

cal conflict - it is even against intervention by other African states, for that matter.

The latter can be ascribed to fear rather than loathing. . .

When President FW de Klerk released his "Marshall Plan" almost two years ago, the desire was for the restructuring and rebuilding of the African sub-continent for the sake of Africans.

The chasm between the NP and the PAC, is thus, not as wide as it appears at first glance.

The thing that keeps the two apart is more an issue of semantics and interpretation than dogma or ideology.

Let's consider some of the positions.

The PAC is, in principle, not opposed to a negotiated settlement, nor is the NP.

The PAC believes there should be a new constitution, so does the NP.

The NP believes there should be a transitional authority, so does the PAC.

But where the fundamental differences lie are in the unfolding process of the democratisation of the country.

The PAC believes the present authority wielded by the Government (and by implication the NP), was unfair in that the State was determining the pace, tempo and

speed of the negotiating process.

All of this shifts the NP and PAC a little closer to each other, whether the militants appreciate this or not - it is a fact.

Which puts the question: how would it damage the image or (stretch) the credibility of the PAC if it engaged the Government in some form of talks for the sake of détente (or *ubuntu* for that matter) - or simply for the sake of influencing the process - by going to the eye of the storm, the ruling National Party?

The PAC and Azapo leadership, have in the past at some point or another, found themselves in the company of the NP or members of Government.

Consider the scenario - and remember the concept of *ubuntu* and the idea of détente: Two American senators arrive in South Africa to try and understand the unfolding democratic process in the country.

Upon their arrival their hosts - say, for argument's sake, the American Embassy - have a cocktail party to welcome the senators to South Africa.

On the guest list are members of all the political parties including the NP and PAC. . .

Should the PAC refuse to attend the cocktail party and shun the opportunity to meet (and indeed) influence the senators simply because there are Government officials present?

Let us take the analogy a bit further and let us assume that the PAC leadership and following would like to see an African government in the next South Africa.

Can the PAC, by petulantly storming out of a cocktail party (and remember this is a hypothetical situation), convince the world that, as the next government, it is capable of plugging into a world order of tolerance and détente?

The answers to the questions lie in the PAC and not the NP.

If the PAC believes that it has ideas which could positively influence the democratic process, it must share them - for the sake of democracy, and for the sake of the future of this country, not for the sake of the PAC.

Talks have entered new phase

THERE was no fanfare to mark the historic occasion, but an

important moment it certainly was. This week the National

Party's draft constitutional blueprint leaked out and as a result 'real' negotia-

tions about this country's future - for which we have been waiting so very long - effectively began.

The multiparty conference might be some way off yet, but the fight about what the new South Africa will actually look like is under way, leapfrogging the seemingly intractable "obstacles to negotiations".

The key negotiators are already strategising in constitutional detail, on the assumption that the "talks about talks" phase is all but over.

The NP document, subtitled "A vision for a new democratic constitutional dispensation for South Africa" is now poised to compete for public approval with the ANC's "Constitutional principles and structures for a democratic South Africa", published in April.

And although NP members will only get the chance to consider its contents at their special federal congress in Bloemfontein next week, ANC constitutional experts are already in the process of taking it apart.

Less than two days after the first details of the NP proposals were published, a critique in the form of a discussion paper was circulating among ANC leaders.

SOWETAN Correspondent

It can be expected to influence their formal response heavily.

The ANC document is revealing, among other things, of the extent to which ANC trust of Government motives has been eroded.

Although there are striking areas of apparent convergence between the NP and ANC visions - principally on broad voting systems and parliamentary structures - the ANC is convinced that President de Klerk's government is speaking with a forked tongue.

Strategy

The organisation concludes that the NP proposals contain a clear "bottom line: There will be no majority rule".

The nine-page document deals in some detail with the NP proposals, and seeks to place them in the context of overall Government strategy in the constitution-making process - as seen through the now-jaundiced eyes of the ANC.

Regarding the blueprint itself, the author identifies the proposed "fragmentation" of South Africa into nine regions (with largely autonomous governments

enjoying entrenched constitutional powers) as a manoeuvre aimed at hobbling the central authorities.

"It would render it impossible for a future parliament to implement any national policy of reconstruction.

"It would render social and economic transformation impossible and render nationally directed affirmative action policies impossible. The Bill of Rights would be in jeopardy." *Sowetan* 30/8/91

The proposal for a second House of Parliament, in which smaller parties will enjoy representation equal to that of larger ones - and an effective veto - is an aberration of democracy.

Further, the idea of a mandatory multiparty Cabinet is viewed as a ruse.

Placing the latest NP proposals in the broader political context, the author concluded: "President de Klerk's strategy is to ensure that he and his government not only manage the period of transition, but also determine its eventual outcome ... De Klerk wants a constitutional framework which will render one person, one vote effective by making rule by an elected majori-

ty party impossible."

The document argues that this overall strategy explains Pretoria's opposition to an interim government, and its concern to negotiate a constitutional framework prior to elections of any kind.

"An elected constituent assembly is most unlikely to produce such a constitution (as that envisaged by the NP). Hence the proposal by the Government for a multiparty conference (or some similar variant) to draw up and agree to a new constitution after which it may be submitted to a referendum."

Even the Government's stated commitment to a Bill of Rights is attacked as a manipulative sham.

It is a simple negotiating truism that participating parties demand more in the beginning than they expect to get in the end.

For that reason alone there should be no great panic about the fact that the competing NP and ANC visions seem so far apart at the moment.

We have, from both sides, the opening bets. The real content of the bargaining process should from now on be monitored in terms of what each side is prepared to jettison along the way.

Boesak's fund 'may be investigated'

Staff Reporter

THE Director of Fund Raising, Mr Alwyn Jacobs, may reopen an investigation into Dr Allan Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice following its official split with the Bellville South Ned Geref Sendingkerk last year.

Mr Jacobs said yesterday that he was concerned at reports over a wrangle between the two bodies, centering on Dr Boesak's

fund-raising activities while they were linked in a five-year contract.

He confirmed that an 1986 official investigation into fund-raising by the foundation had been referred to the Attorney-General who had declined to prosecute.

At the time the foundation was listed as an extension of the church's activities and as such exempt from the Fund Raising Act. It therefore did not have to

register a financial statement with his directorate.

However, the foundation's present status was "unclear", he said.

Mr Norman Michaels, personal assistant to Dr Boesak, yesterday said he had been instructed not to comment as "this is not an easy matter".

The foundation's board is expected to release a statement soon.

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ANC holds no one, repeats Mandela

CF 30/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress does not have any prisoners left in its jails, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela reiterated yesterday at the joint press conference here of senior ANC leaders and 17 dissidents.

Why then had the ANC agreed to International Red Cross requests to inspect its camps, a journalist asked.

"If the Red Cross wants to visit the empty prisons in which we kept them they're free to do so," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC is to take up with government the position of the security of recently returned ANC dissidents.

Mr Mandela disclosed that they would be reintegrated into the ANC, and all their complaints against the organisation would be "thoroughly investigated".

The ANC alleged that seven of the remaining 15 dissidents had joined the Inkatha Freedom Party, two had become Askaris and the rest had gone home to their families.

Other ANC leaders who had met the dissidents were present at the press conference.

They included ANC secretary-

general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, SA Communist Party general-secretary and senior ANC member Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Hani, and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

"We are going to go into all those issues, and every single case is going to be thoroughly investigated," Mr Mandela said.

In interviews with the press on his return to South Africa on August 17, returning dissident Mr Jose Ribiero de Sousa said he had been held in ANC prisons for five years, whipped, throttled and manacled upside-down.

Yesterday he said: "If anybody would shoot me I think it would either be the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Askaris or the Civil Co-operation Bureau or whatever they may be, so that the ANC can get the blame for this."

Another dissident, Mr Gabriel Sethloke, publicly distanced himself from a letter purportedly written by the Sethloke family, and which appeared in a Johannesburg newspaper on Monday, and was highly critical of the ANC's alleged treatment of dissidents.

— Sapa

Hani denies torturing dissidents

(11A)

CF 30/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, yesterday denied he had ever tortured any African National Congress prisoner, as claimed by several recently returned dissidents.

"No, that's not true," Mr Hani said here after a joint press conference of senior ANC leaders and 17 dissidents.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela announced that it had been decided after discussions with the returnees that they would be reintegrated into the organisation.

"I was a commissar and the chief of staff, and I would visit them," Mr Hani said when asked to comment on the allegations that he was personally involved in torture. — Sapa

Inkatha accuses ANC on exiles

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Inkatha Freedom
Party yesterday accused
the ANC of hiding be-
hind a smokescreen on
the issue of returning
dissidents, some of
whom have claimed they
were tortured.

"Predictably the inhu-
man treatment meted
out to the ANC exiles is
being sidestepped
through elaborate den-
ials," IFP national chair-
man Mr Frank Mtshoswe
said. — Sapa

CT 30/8/91

(114) (114)

AIDS case doctor 'warned colleagues'

A BRAKPAN doctor told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had told a dentist colleague during a round of golf that a mutual friend and patient had tested positive for AIDS so that the dentist could establish how exposed to risk he had been in the past.

Do Matthys Kruger was giving evidence in a R50 000 damages claim brought by Brakpan businessman Barry McGeary.

McGeary is suing his former medical practitioner for allegedly breaching doctor-patient confidentiality by telling two colleagues during a round of golf that he was HIV-positive.

McGeary's health has deteriorated to the extent that the court yesterday appointed his attorney as curator of his affairs.

He was forced to stop his testimony because of slurred speech and was hospitalised last weekend.

Neurologist Charles Kaplan testified

SUSAN RUSSELL
yesterday that the chances of any improvement in McGeary's health within the next two or three weeks were very slight.

Kruger yesterday told the court he informed two colleagues, both of whom had treated McGeary before, about his condition after a general discussion about AIDS and the risk doctors were exposed to in treating HIV positive patients.

In his mind, Kruger said, was the concern that the dentist, a Dr Vos, did not take all the necessary precautions.

Kruger said he told his two colleagues he had a patient known to both of them who had tested HIV positive.

The medical practitioner, a Dr van Heerden, asked if it was McGeary. Kruger said he confirmed this.

The trial has been adjourned until September 11.

Big drive to woo northern suburbs

WILSON ZWANE
THE ANC is set to embark on a major recruitment drive in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

ANC Johannesburg northeast official Giles Mulholland said yesterday the local leadership resolved last weekend to canvass "actively" in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, including Sandton.

The resolution was expected to be endorsed by the ANC's Johannesburg northeast branch at its meeting next Thursday, Mulholland said.

He said the ANC Alexandra branch would also be involved in the recruitment campaign.

Mulholland said bogus ANC officials had been demanding R1 monthly membership fees from domestic workers in Bryanston, and issuing fake membership cards.

He said the ANC intended taking appropriate steps to curb this.

Mulholland also dismissed reports that his organisation had advertised its Saturday meeting by distributing pamphlets in Bryanston. "There was no meeting but a workshop attended by 26 active ANC members in Bryanston. The members were notified of the workshop through our regular newsletter," he said.

Langeberg shuts factory after violence, deaths

WILSON ZWANE
LANGEBERG Corporation and Canning announced yesterday that it had temporarily closed its Boksburg factory after internecine violence involving its workers over the past two weeks left seven people dead.

The fighting involved members of the Cosatu-affiliated Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) and Inkatha-supporting United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa).

Protection

Fawu official Ernest Buthelezi has said clashes between the members began shortly after the Langeberg management had dismissed casual workers belonging to Uwusa.

Langeberg Corporation and Canning spokesman Dev du Toit said the factory stopped operating on Wednesday after its workers had expressed fears for their lives.

Du Toit said Langeberg management agreed "as protection" to let workers stay away until it and Fawu had decided on "safety measures" to be taken. "The factory will remain unoperational until Fawu and Langeberg have found a solution to this problem," he said.

He would not speculate on losses the factory would incur during its closure.

Uwusa spokesman Duke Sennakgomo said his union would meet Langeberg management soon to negotiate the reinstatement of its dismissed members.

Sennakgomo said 38 workers — "the entire Uwusa membership at the factory" — was dismissed unfairly. Management had allowed itself to be "bullied by the Fawu-Cosatu alliance into driving out not only casual workers but all Zulu-speaking workers belonging either to Uwusa or Inkatha".

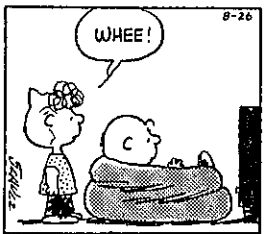
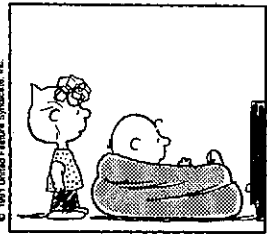
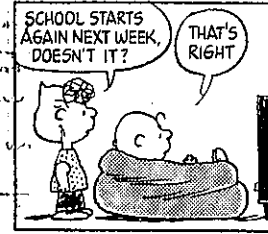
Du Toit said the dismissals had no "political connotations" as his company did not keep records of workers' political affiliations. "The dismissals were a normal practice," he said.

No arrests have been made. Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweekel has said police investigations had come to "a dead end".

"We appeal to the public to come forward with any information which may assist the police," Van Zweekel said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



40% of platinum catalysts for catalytic con-

Khayelitsha council clashes with ANC women

VUYO BAVUMA

Staff Reporter

275 114 265
ANC 30/8/91

DEFIANT Khayelitsha councillors told an ANC Women's League delegation who called for their resignation that they were "housewives" who should "go home and cook".

In a four-hour meeting, marked by heated exchanges yesterday, the angry councillors said the ANC women "shouldn't try to take the butter from our mouths as we have fought very hard to attain it".

The meeting followed a march by thousands of ANC women in the

township last week.

The women called on the town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence and his councillors to resign and on Mr Lawrence not to return to the township.

They were protesting about an alleged terror campaign against ANC activists in Khayelitsha and claimed that Mr Lawrence and his councillors were responsible for killing political activists.

Yesterday the councillors said the women should "occupy the forests as we did and build their own

area so that they can set up their own ruling body in it".

The councillors also said they would not resign because the violence in the township was not caused by them.

They agreed that they were "not learned people" but said they had to be "faithful to our supporters who are also not learned".

Concerning the town clerk the councillors said if the "ANC is having any problems with him, they should report to us and we will decide to fire him".

After the meeting, Miss Noma-tyala Hangana said the councillors were "sexist and undermined the women" during the meeting.

Vice-chairman of the Lingeletu West Town Council Mr George Magqaza said the situation in the country was that "people should talk about their differences.

"When the ANC held a march last week, we heard people insult us and now they are trying to force us to resign. This is puzzling us as we are supposed to be talking about our differences," Mr Magqaza said.

ANC has released all its prisoners, says Mandela

11A ~~21A~~ B Day 30/8/91

THE ANC had released all prisoners from its detention camps in Africa, the organisation's president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela was addressing journalists after the ANC had met two groups of former ANC prisoners.

About 16 dissidents — half the group which returned two weeks ago — agreed to be re-integrated into the ANC and to forgive the organisation for past injustices to which they claimed they had been subjected.

Mandela said the ANC prison camps were now empty and that he could not understand why the International Committee of the Red Cross wanted to visit the detention centres.

Last week the Red Cross announced that it had received ANC permission — after 15 years of trying — to inspect its prisons and interview prisoners.

Red Cross spokesman Tony Pfan-

LINDEN BIRNS

ner said a delegation would visit several ANC prisons to verify Mandela's claims.

"If there are still prisoners, it's not for the ICRC to pressure for their release. We simply want to ensure that their detention conditions are up to standard and that smooth repatriation and integration into SA society can take place if they are to be released," he said.

Security

Mandela said that of the more than 30 prisoners who returned to SA 12 days ago, five had joined Inkatha, two had joined the security forces as Askaris and several had returned to their homes.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani denied claims by one of the prisoners that he had been instrumental in ordering detentions and

tortures.

Hani said seven, and not five, former prisoners had joined Inkatha.

Law and Order ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze denied the claims that some of the former prisoners had been recruited as Askaris.

Mandela said the ANC had undertaken to investigate the allegations made by the former prisoners, and also promised to refer the issue of their personal security to "the highest level of government".

Sapa reports that Inkatha yesterday accused the ANC of hiding behind a smokescreen on the issue of the dissidents.

In a statement issued in Ulundi, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose accused a number of well-known anti-apartheid activists, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, of using "soft gloves" on the issue.



Recently released ANC prisoner Jose Ribeiro da Sousa, left, said yesterday he and other former dissidents would forget past injustices they had suffered in ANC prisons. ANC president Nelson Mandela, right, said all ANC detention centres were now empty.

Picture: JOAO SILVA

ANC warns Deutsche Bank on bond issue

THE ANC warned yesterday that plans by the German Deutsche Bank to facilitate a public bond issue to raise finance was a contravention of financial sanctions and could threaten negotiations.

It said in a statement: "This premature public bond issue will take pressure away from the apartheid government at this critical time in the process towards a democratic society."

The ANC said financial sanctions had been critical in pushing the process of political transformation to where it was. To undermine this would send the wrong signals to the international community.

BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC urged the Deutsche Bank and all international financial institutions not to subscribe in this bond issue until the negotiations process was completed.

The statement by government that this bond issue would contribute to the financing of social development programmes was "devious".

"Our experience, recently confirmed by Inkathagate and other disclosures, indicates the danger inherent in availing additional financial resources to this government which could be similarly misdirected."

11/18/89
BIP/uy 30/8/89

Overseas artists flood 'culture department'

THE ANC's arts and culture department had been swamped by applications from foreign musicians and other artists wanting to perform and work in SA, a spokesman said yesterday.

However, entertainment industry sources said the processing of the applications was being slowed down by an ANC/PAC committee's insistence that the artist be thoroughly investigated to ensure that they had not contravened cultural boycott.

The sources said musicians who had sought the ANC's blessing included Paul Simon, Tracy Chapman, Vanilla Ice and

LINDEN BIRNS

UB40.

by Day 30/8/91.
The "democratic cultural committee" has been recognised by the UN as the sole judge of who should be allowed to perform in SA.

ANC spokesman Oupa Ramachela said the continuing cultural boycott was not a punitive measure, but was aimed at strengthening "the emerging democratic culture in SA".

Artists wanting to visit SA had to meet conditions laid down by the cultural com-

mittee, said Ramachela. These included a provision that the mass democratic movement and grassroots organisations either issued the invitation or were consulted.

Artists allowed to visit would be expected to hold workshops with local artists. They would also have to contribute — in money or skills — to community projects and give non-profit, benefit performances, he said.

Those who had contravened the UN cultural boycott would be asked to make a full public apology before their applications are reassessed.

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Nelson Mandela sports the Jose Marti medal pinned on him by Cuba's Fidel Castro last month: he should rather have been considering Amnesty International reports about the lack of human right on the island, suggests a reader.

Credibility query on Cuban observations

8/30/8/91 (11A)

Mr Mandela, on his recent visit to Cuba, waxed eloquent on the achievements of the Marxist revolution. "The Cuban revolution was a source of inspiration for all freedom-loving people," he said.

This is a shocking observation and it puts Mr Mandela's moral credibility and integrity at stake.

If Mr Mandela was to read the reports of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, human rights activists inside Cuba, newly released prisoners and the families of those still held, he will find irrefutable evidence of thousands of people arrested at midnight; of tortures, beatings and extra judicial killings.

Human rights activist Armanda Valladores, in his book, "Beyond All Hope", describes what he saw and suffered in the Cuban Gulag. He was charged with "having connections with priests" and attending a Catholic school. He was convicted as an "enemy of the Revolution".

He and his fellow prisoners were reduced to Auschwitz-like ghosts, forcibly submerged in

pools of human and animal faeces, smashed to death in forced labour fields and quarries, how women were beaten and degraded, men mutilated by having their genitals shot away, all in the name of political re-education.

Did Mr Mandela and his comrades ever suffer the above tortures on Robben Island?

Does Mr Mandela know that after all these years, the Cuban people still have to queue for basic foodstuffs and simple amenities like soap and matches? There is a very strict gasoline rationing which obliges people to travel by bicycle or on foot.

Mr Mandela's moral credibility is at stake. He must either renounce what he said or confirm that he had no regard and respect for human rights, freedoms and democracy. Morality means recognising evil wherever it is found, whether in the apartheid state, ANC camps, kangaroo courts or the totalitarian hell that is Cuba.

Abdullah Khumalo

Fordsburg





resident Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela (partly obscured), national chairman Oliver Tambo and the SACP's Joe Slovo
 some of the 32 former ANC prisoners at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.
 Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

We will probe all claims of ANC torture Mandela

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE ANC is to investigate claims of assault and torture of former prisoners who were held in its camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made this announcement yesterday after meeting 16 of the 32 former prisoners.

The move also comes after some of the men broke an agreement with the ANC and went public with accusations of torture and maltreatment in ANC prisons.

The 32 men were released from a prison in Uganda and arrived back in South Africa two weeks ago.

To Page 2

ANC
 to probe
 claims
 11A
 Sowetan 30/8/91

From Page 1

They have been described as the ANC's most notorious spies. Some of them, who each spent up to six years in ANC cells, challenged the organisation to prove they had been State agents.

They broke the agreement with the ANC which called for a moratorium on accusations. They said they had decided to talk to the Press because the organisation had not adhered to the agreement.

"We will investigate every single case at the highest level," Mandela told journalists flanked by some of the men and senior ANC officials.

Dishonest

He said the ANC would provide the group with the best security.

"Let us forget the past and work together to build the organisation," said Mandela.

He said a certain newspaper had falsely attributed a letter to one of the men, Mr Gilbert Setshloke, by saying he claimed the ANC was dishonest.

Setshloke, who was present at the briefing, had distanced himself from the letter, Mandela said.

Camps

Asked whether the ANC still kept prisoners in its camps, Mandela said he had no knowledge of the existence of ANC prisons.

In response to a question about the International Red Cross Society's intention to visit ANC prisons, Mandela said he did not know who the society wanted to see.

Safe

The ANC met the 16 in two separate sessions. The first group comprised 11 men who Mandela said had thrown their lot behind the organisation.

The second consisted of five men who were part of a group of 20 which initially accused the ANC of threatening to kill them.

One of the five men Mr Ribeiro de Sousa, told journalists he was fully behind the ANC and that after meeting Mandela he felt safe.

Askaris

"If I were to die it would certainly not be the ANC but maybe the AWB or the Askaris," said De Sousa.

In a separate interview Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said seven of the men who had publicly accused the ANC had joined Inkatha while several others were now Askaris.

He denied that he had personally taken part in assaulting or torturing any of the men.

-Office of Employment, Race and
Development-

SACP depends on ANC lifeline for survival

(11A)

Sowetan 30/8/91

THE temptation is strong to heap scorn these days on the South African Communist Party.

A look at the party bank balance and their lack of success in recruiting members in the past year or so would offer a spectacle quite pitiful enough.

On July 27 the SACP had a party in Johannesburg's cavernous city hall - ostensibly to celebrate their 70th anniversary but more urgently to raise funds for the payment of their staff, who had not been paid in two months.

Little incentive

The price was R100, which pleased the staff, who got in free, but provided little incentive to the oppressed masses to make the trip from Soweto. The hall was embarrassingly empty.

It was not the first time the SACP had overestimated their appeal. For the internal relaunch of the party after they were unbanned, they booked Soweto's 80 000-capacity Soccer City stadium - again with excruciating results.

The Government, and some newspaper columnists, have had a grand old time of it in the past week. Indeed, one thing that is interesting, and perhaps unique, about South Africa is how the cult of anti-communism has managed to remain so vigorously alive long after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

And not entirely without reason. For what is interesting and unique about the Communist Party is that its members do indeed remain a powerfully influential force in South African politics. The party

**Joe Slovo has led a party
which now has few ideas left,
writes John Carlin.**

has clout.

This is because it is in alliance with the biggest political movement in the country, the African National Congress. SACP members also occupy half the places - the best places, by and large - on the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee.

However, without the ANC the SACP is nothing. There has been much talk in recent months of the two at some point severing their alliance.

This is a recipe for suicide for the party. Which is one reason why the party leadership is up for grabs in the annual congress in December.

ANC functions

Joe Slovo is seriously ill with bone-marrow cancer - although he is still working and, he claims, hopeful of a cure. But his decision to quit the general secretary's job was motivated at least as much by a desire to focus on his ANC functions.

The successor the SACP have requested, the ANC military chief Chris Hani, is extremely unlikely to accept the job.

No one is rushing for the job. SACP officials in the ANC executive are unlikely to part with their salaries and well-appointed office in exchange for the questionable prospects at party headquarters.

The Independent

PAC hosts talks

By XOLANI MAKWEDINI

11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress will host a dinner at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on Monday to explain its economic policies. *Sowetan 30/8/91*

The occasion will be opened by its vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and its chief economist, Mr Siphoshe Shabalala, will be one of the speakers.

Seats are limited and early bookings are essential. For bookings and more information contact Mr Bonginkosi Mhlanga at 836-0407/0442.

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By XOLANI MAKWEDINI

119

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Transkei ANC pulls its punches on detention

By LANGA ZITA: East London

w/mca 30/8 - 5/9/91

THE African National Congress' Transkei branch, while opposed in principle to detention, will not make any public declaration on the continued detention of 28 political prisoners in Transkei.

The ANC's publicity secretary for Transkei, Ezra Sigwela, commented this week on the growing outcry over detention without trial in the homeland. The Transkei government's recent amendment of section 47 of the Public Security Act has been criticised after it was used to prevent the release of two prisoners who had been in detention for 18 months.

Sigwela said the fact that the local ANC branch had not issued a statement on the detentions might appear as a shifting of position, "but the point is that we have not focused on it".

He said on matters affecting peace and security, the ANC had "a co-operative relationship" with the Transkei government.

"If the way of dealing with something is against our principle, we cannot make a public statement. We will go to the government and talk," he said. "That is our approach, even though we are independent.

"The present (Transkei) government is no longer a Pretoria creation. When they took power, they changed the character of the government."

Making public statements, he said, "would be betraying the mutual trust that we have built up". — elnews

Chief Luthuli's death 'no accident'

DURBAN — The Luthuli family still could not accept that the 1967 death of the African National Congress leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli was an accident, his daughter, Dr Albertina Luthuli, said this week.

Dr Luthuli addressed a University of Natal forum on "Albert Luthuli — his life and work". *Star 3/18/91*

The other speakers were veteran anti-apartheid activist Archie Gumede and Dr Tessa Marcus from the department of sociology, Maritzburg campus.

Dr Luthuli, the eldest daughter of Chief Luthuli, studied at the University of Natal medical school and returned to South Africa on June 4 this year.

She spoke of her life as one of the seven children in the Luthuli home in Groutville.

Chief Luthuli opened and closed his day with prayer, she said. "It was a wonderful experience to have him as a fa-

OWN CORRESPONDENT

ther. He was a compassionate man, understanding and patient, warm, loving and tender. He would listen to anybody. He was a born teacher and loved music."

Their family life was disrupted by the bannings, which started in the Fifties.

Suddenly Chief Luthuli — a man of the people so used to crowds and human interaction — could only see one person at a time. He became very lonely.

Chief Luthuli could not continue as a preacher in his church, and on Sundays would put a suit on and listen to a church service on the radio, sometimes singing along with the hymns.

Dr Luthuli said the family had been harassed a lot by the Special Branch who arrived to search their house any time the other side of midnight, "just when you are enjoying your

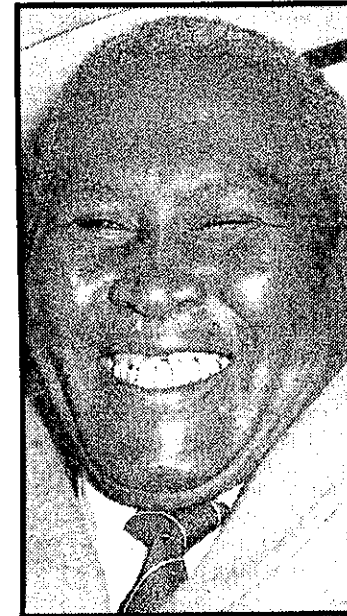
sleep".

This irritated the children much more than it irritated Chief Luthuli. He never said anything rude to the police as, he told his children, they were only doing their duty and were simply pawns of their masters.

During the Treason Trial, Chief Luthuli would send a message to his family that he would read a particular biblical verse at a particular time. The family would also read the verse at the appointed time and "this really made us feel as though he was there".

Dr Luthuli said the family was distressed about Chief Luthuli's death. The explanation given — struck by a train — was never acceptable to the family "and we do not accept that it was an accident".

It was reported at the time that Chief Luthuli was hard of hearing, but "nothing could be further from the truth", she said.



REVERED FATHER: Life with Chief Albert Luthuli was a wonderful experience, says his daughter.



KEEPING LEFT: Angela Davis — once top of the FBI's most wanted list — reaffirms her commitment to socialism. ● Ph

Fiery US activist speaks her mind on burning issues

Star 3/18/91 (11A)

FIERY American black political activist Angela Davis — who once topped the FBI's list of most wanted people — arrived in South Africa yesterday and immediately backed the ANC's call for the release of the three right-wing hunger strikers on humanitarian grounds.

"Of course our solidarity is with the progressive forces, but we agree with the ANC in asking for their (the rightwingers) release," said Professor Davis at a Johannesburg press conference last night.

"As progressives we have a responsibility to represent humanity, and must not adopt the measures taken by the oppressors."

A guest of the ANC Women's League, the South African Communist Party and the Institute for Black Research, Professor Davis was accompanied by Charlene Mitchell, president of the

PAT DEVEREAUX

National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression — one of the first organisations to take up the issue of apartheid in the US.

Commenting on the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, Professor Davis, a member of the American Communist Party's central committee, said it was "a very sad and difficult time for those who have fought for socialism around the world".

"I am no less an advocate of socialism than I was before. In the US we are witnessing a crisis of capitalism. We need jobs, housing, health care and education," she added.

Asked what she hoped to achieve by visiting South Africa, Professor Davis said: "A few years ago I could never have imagined being here. All my political life we

vowed we would not visit until South Africa was free.

"We hope to revitalise the movement for a free South Africa and we hope to advance our own fight against racism and sexism in the US.

"South Africa is a beacon of light. We organised a powerful solidarity movement and as a consequence our own struggle against racism advanced."

She said there were many similarities between the struggle in the US and South Africa.

"But the intensity of the struggle and violent oppression in South Africa is awesome in comparison to the US. We've had lynchings in the US, but South Africa is the fountainhead of racism."

Professor Davis said she regretted not being able to attend the ANC's July conference, as she

● TO PAGE 2.

Angela (11A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

had been expected to do.

"It took a while for our two-week visas to be approved," she said.

She stressed the importance of women in political groupings and said "affirmative action relating to gender and race was the only way to intervene in a cycle of cumulative repression".

On the question of violence in political struggle, she said: "I am in favour of peaceful struggle wherever possible. But I understand it is absolutely necessary to counter a military force."

"I am in favour of self-defence. When I was a child living on 'Dynamite Hill' in Birmingham, Alabama, the men in the community armed themselves and patrolled the neighbourhood because the government of the day was controlled by the Ku Klux Klan."

Professor Davis and Ms Mitchell are to visit Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and address public meetings during their stay.

Associated with the Black Panther movement, Professor Davis was acquitted in 1972 of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges. She is now a professor at San Francisco State University.

THE fact that it can continue to operate at all — many other communist parties have simply withered before the hot draft of communism's collapse elsewhere — is the result of a variety of factors specific to its position in SA.

At their simplest, these factors include the party's undeniable — and invaluable — historical legacy as one of the earliest and most courageous opponents of apartheid; the depth of commitment of some of its devotees; its timely publication of self-critical documents; and its identification with perestroika and glasnost, most recently evidenced in its draft manifesto for its December conference.

The SACP argues that within its own country, it has visited upon its people none of the disasters of Eastern Europe, and cannot therefore be held responsible for the actions of other communist leaders elsewhere.

It holds it has always fought for human rights via its antipathy towards apartheid, and that it committed itself early on to moves towards democratic socialism.

In short, it recognises the failures of communism but remains convinced that its critique of capitalism is valid.

It wants to ensure that the South African working class is not "sold out" in the new society; therefore there is a role, albeit a changing and unpredictable one, for it in the new South Africa.

But within left-wing circles, and even in the SACP itself, these conclusions are far from uncontroversial: they are the subject of fierce, ongoing, and still-undetermined debate. The problems the party faces are too big and too tangible to be ignored by even the most fervent of acolytes.

The London-based journal Front File reports that the SACP is experiencing a period of "unprecedented ideological and organisational turmoil" and that "even general secretary Joe Slovo's bold 'Has Socialism Failed?' document — which tried to integrate the lessons of Eastern Europe in a new policy of embracing multi-party democracy and some market principles — has failed to unite it."

"Funding has dried up and the party has a serious cash crisis... despite a year of campaigning, the party has managed to sign up no more than 15,000 members."

To compound these disadvantages, it has become increasingly clear that some of the SACP's best are deserting by far the bulk of their energies to working for the ANC.

Party is suffering a cash crisis, says British journal

SACP internal leadership writes Front File, "like Slovo, John Nkomo and Ronnie Kasrils, spend most of their time on ANC matters. This is in line with the position of party traditionalists — like Govan Mbeki — that the first objective of the party should be to build the ANC.

"Mbeki strongly resisted the public launch of the party last year and warned that it would lead to tensions that could become irreconcilable. Mbeki was right."

HERE is undisguised unhappiness among younger, fully committed party officials about the "afterthought" status of the party as far as members in high-profile ANC jobs are concerned. It is precisely this dynamic which led to the SACP secondment request

Regarding Chris Hanu, an issue that is as yet unresolved, and is causing headaches for a reluctant ANC leadership.

Add to all of this the stagnatingly quick and now irrevocable changes in the Soviet Union — changes which SACP figures concede, have thrown much of the party's rank-and-file township membership into confusion — and it is blindingly clear that the party has seen much better days.

It is an indication of the extent to which this is being recognised by people within the SACP, or at least closely associated with it, that the latest edition of the influential left-wing journal Work in Progress contains a hard-hitting critique entitled "Can the SACP change track?"

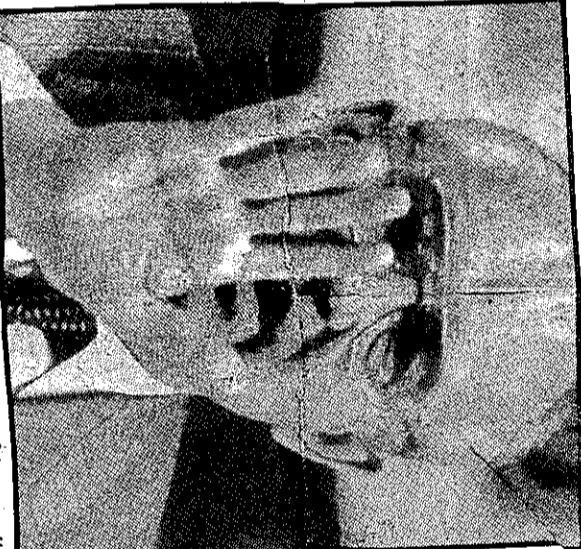
The article, written by WIP editor and former political prisoner Devan Pillay, does not mince words: "The party cannot remain as

it is... it has to radically transform itself."

Pillay is concerned that the party should "help prevent the ANC from becoming a 'moderate' (possibly narrow) nationalist political party, which is the desire of the ruling class" and that it should "assert a distinct democratic socialist perspective within the liberation movement, so as to sow the seeds of eventual socialist transformation."

But he provides a litany of problems besetting the party, which he believes cannot be addressed if the SACP retains its current form. The SACP is "finding it difficult to fully internalise the deep implications of the crisis of 'socialism' in Eastern Europe. A significant layer within the party retains, to one extent or another, an adherence to Stalinist thinking and practice. This goes against two other distinct currents within

the party. Firstly, a (perennially) current which attempts to recast SACP Marxism-Leninism to make it fit into a revolutionary, 'democratic socialist' discourse, thus distancing Leninism from Stalinism. The second current goes further, and sees Leninist roots in Stalinism. It therefore seeks the abandonment



NYET: Gorbachev 'did not democratise his party'.

Shake-up will be clarified in December, says Joe Slovo

revolutionary vanguardists' on the one hand and reformist capitulation' on the other."

This bleak diagnosis leads Pillay to conclude that there are three options open to the party — one of which, the least attractive, is to press on regardless — and that a decision is urgent.

The two other alternatives are to "become a completely independent partner which nevertheless retains the essence of its alliance with the ANC" or to "dissolve as a party, and reconstitute itself as an open socialist platform" or "forum within the ANC" — the latter a role not dissimilar in structure to that of the Militant Tendency in Britain's Labour Party.

If the status quo is maintained in the hope of deriving "the best from both worlds", argues Pillay, the party "will have to overcome a perhaps irresolvable

tension between developing a distinct, independent role for itself (to justify its separate existence) while at the same time not straying too far from the ANC's programme so as to jeopardise the position of communists occupying high office in the ANC."

These are not easy options for the party," Pillay concludes. "All contain dangers which could seriously derail the struggle for socialism. But these are times for bold, courageous decisions."

In an interview with the Saturday Star this week, Mr Slovo conceded that the CPSU's collapse could "undoubtedly be a disaster" but rejected the suggestion that this should lead the SACP to consider disbandment.

The SACP had always represented the workers and the poor, he said, and would continue to do so. As the ANC necessarily pursued a "broad church" political persona, he argued, the SACP's ability to pursue its specific concerns would become increasingly important.

He sympathised with Mbeki's decision to quit the CPSU, but would not follow a similar course himself because "our

MR SUTTNER accepts that the phenomenon of 'non-practising communists' might grow in the light of events, but remains defiant.

"If people do drop out because of this, I think we will have shed people who have not really understood what is entailed in being a member of the Communist Party. A lot of people are clearly disillusioned, but I'm not sure what the drop-out level will be."

On the key question of whether the party would consider changing its name, both Mr Slovo and Mr Suttner are resolute, but do not entirely dismiss the possibility.

Mr Slovo said it was not at the moment "an issue in the party" although it could conceivably become one.

"This debate," added Mr Suttner, "is not a debate among the membership. It is raised periodically by one or two people."

"In my view you don't change a name unless there is a real reason to do so. An important conclusion to be drawn from the SACP's travails is that the image of the party (assiduously promoted by Pretoria) as all-powerful within the ANC alliance, is far from accurate.

It is an open question as to whether the system of overlapping leaderships benefits or damages the SACP. In these apocalyptic days in world politics, the party is involved more in fighting a battle for survival than for power. And it is a battle whose outcome remains just as unpredictable as that in, say, Yugoslavia.

Star 3/18/91 Holding on to the Red badge

Local communists are against the ropes — but the count isn't over, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

(11A)

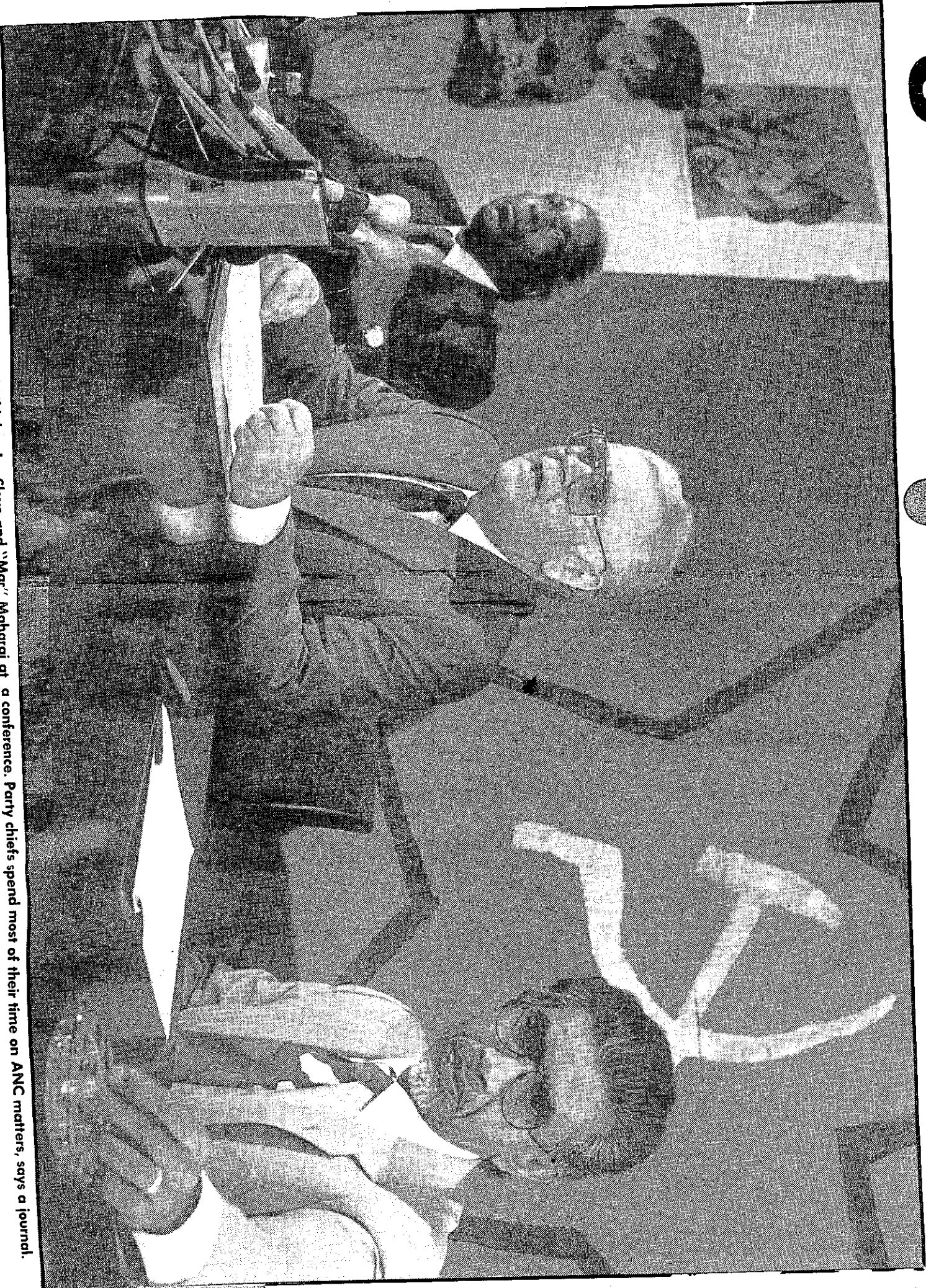
THE WORLD'S most senior communist has torn up his membership card and turned his back on the mother of all communist parties.

The end of the line for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), longstanding mentor and patron of smaller parties around the world, raises a burning question about its offspring: can communist parties elsewhere, including the South African Communist Party, possibly survive the passing of the matriarch?

There is little doubt that the current agonies of ideology, identity and resources are placing unprecedented strains on the SACP. It is not alone in its pain.

In France, to give but one example, Communist Party leader Georges Marchais is grappling with the same pressures: should his party change its name? Should it do away with itself? How can it have a role when its role model is dead and disgraced?

But in South Africa, initial indications are that while the SACP is in ferment as never before, it will survive the Moscow cataclysm.



QUESTION OF PRIORITIES: The SACP's Raymond Mhlaba, Joe Slovo and "Mac" Maharaj at a conference. Party chiefs spend most of their time on ANC matters, says a journal.

circumstances are different ... Gorbachev began to democratise Soviet society, but failed also to democratise CPSU structures. We have not failed to democratise our structures."

Mr Slovo accepted that some members or sympathisers of the SACP might now be distancing themselves from the party, but said the shake-out would be clarified at the December conference, "when communists would be required to publicly declare their loyalty to the party."

Raymond Suttner, the ANC's head of political education and a longstanding, committed communist, was equally insistent that the SACP should not roll over and die in the face of pressure from all quarters: "I'm not prepared to accept that just because communist parties have been disbanded elsewhere, we must change the SACP."

"But the point is that nothing that happened in the Soviet coup attempt has altered the reasons why I or anyone else should be a member of the Communist Party. Our critique of capitalism and its South African form remains valid ...

"This is not to say there aren't lessons to be learnt — there are, in terms of democratisation."

Kremlin message: the good guys are winning

Star 31/8/91

IT'S funny how history turns out sometimes.

South Africa has spent the past 40 years in the political wilderness not only because of apartheid, but also for its ugly habit of silencing all opposition including, of course, the communists.

The South African Communist Party was driven underground, its members jailed and harassed.

Now, as the rest of the world is starting to do much the same thing, expunging communism, the new South Africa is facing a government in which communists will likely have a powerful voice.

Remember that this comes at the end of a fortnight which has seen a hardline communist coup fail in the Soviet Union and Mikhail Gorbachev resign from the party, ordering all its assets seized by the state. Its members have been banned from government office and the KGB has had its senior ranks purged.

The Soviet Union was the birthplace of communism. Now, its citizens are cutting it out, like an old, but dangerous, cancer.

The events of the past two weeks will also spur the rest of Eastern Europe faster along the Western, democratic path. Any communist residue will quickly be poured down the drain of history and the likes of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia will be ever quicker to align themselves with the West.



So where does this leave us?

Well, it's clear that there are still many supporters of the SACP who believe that the failure behind the Iron Curtain is due not to communism itself, but to the way it was implemented. They are all too keen to give it another try under African skies, to make it work here, where dozens of other countries have failed.

It's a creed which appeals, as well, to the Afro-Stalinists, driven as dictators by a lust for power. But across the continent, these men are being swept from office.

Even their less doctrinaire but equally one-party-state cousins, like Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Kaunda of Zambia, are now facing the growing might of multiparty democracy.

So you should be under no illusion at all. Communism has failed in Eastern Europe and in Africa. It may well come to partial power in South Africa, but it will fail here, too, for exactly the same reasons.

At the end of the 20th century, democracy's grip on this planet is

growing firmer. Perhaps it is because of the ever-increasing spread of the media. People worldwide are able to see what their neighbours are doing. They are also able to see the excesses of the dictators. They now insist on rejecting such people through the ballot box.

In other words, the good guys are winning and the bad guys are losing.

So the message for South African politicians of all persuasions is simple. You really have to be good guys, or sooner or later, you will be found out. You also have to be seen to be good guys.

For the Government and the National Party, this means a clear set of principles, which are to be adhered to openly. It also means abandoning complex and convoluted schemes involving rotating executive councils and upper chambers with rights of veto.

If not, the people will see this simply as a shady bid to hang on to white power, or, if you like, to keep the KGB running the Lubyanka.

For the ANC, this means a clear separation from the SACP. In spite of the closeness of the past alliance against apartheid, communism is dead or dying worldwide. The time has come for the ANC to move on.

If not, be certain the people will clearly see this as a bid to replace one KGB with another.

● Chris Gibbons is Radio 702 head of news sport and talk shows.

ANC a 'beacon of light'

JOHANNESBURG. — The success of the ANC's struggle in South Africa was "a beacon of light," representing what people all over the world — including the United States — could achieve in their struggle for liberation.

United States feminist and black activist Professor Angela Davis said this at a press conference here a few hours after her arrival in South Africa yesterday.

Ms Davis — who was an icon of US black activism in the '60s when a famous portrait of her was published in Life magazine — is in South Africa on a two-week visit as a guest of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the Institute of Black Research.

On the question of the freeing of right-wing hunger-strikers, Ms Davis was in agreement with the ANC that they be released on humanitarian grounds. "We will never assume the characteristics of the oppressors," she said. — Sapa

'Front' indecision bothers govt

(1/n)
CT 31/8/91

Political Correspondent

CONCERN is growing in government and diplomatic circles at the continuing indecision over the Patriotic Front conference.

The event, to be attended by almost 50 organisations, has already been postponed twice and the organisers have failed to agree on either a date or a venue for the conference.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that "logistical problems" were continuing to hamper efforts by the ANC, the PAC and Azapo to settle upon a mutually acceptable date for the conference.

However, it could take place "late in September or early in October," he said.

Mr Niehaus acknowledged that "it will be difficult to get an all-party conference going until the Patriotic Front meets."

The delays and confusion surrounding the conference are beginning to bother the government and diplomatic observers as the entire negotiation process has effectively been placed on hold.

SA Reds ^{cr 31/8/91} to hold crisis talks on future

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE South African Communist Party is to hold a crisis meeting in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss the future of the party in the wake of the collapse of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

The brainstorming session, which will be attended by SACP officials from across the country, has been given fresh urgency by the suspension of the discredited Soviet Communist Party and the anti-commu-

nist purge following the failed coup.

SACP sources have indicated that the party in South Africa, already strapped for cash, could soon find its problems compounded if its already limited membership started "throwing in their party cards".

The crisis of confidence in communism coincides with efforts by the recently unbanned SACP to build and consolidate its structures in South Africa ahead of the party's national

conference in December.

This weekend's meeting is also likely to deal with the leadership problems facing the SACP.

The disclosure that SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo has cancer has given added impetus to moves within the party to restructure its leadership.

However, the refusal by Umkhonto we Sizwe to release its charismatic chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, for full-time service with the SACP has complicated efforts to make it

more attractive to black workers.

In Cape Town yesterday the secretariat of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) said the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialism in other countries had nothing to do with "the alleged superiority of the capitalist system".

Wosa ascribed the collapse in the USSR to "the self-seeking perpetuation of privilege in the Soviet bloc" and the ideological "bankruptcy" of the CPSU.

ANC 31/8/91

United, non-racial, non-sexist

THE ANC envisages a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A UNITARY state — a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government: the EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE and JUDICIARY.

A PRESIDENT, who would be head of the executive and Head of State. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public — and consequently vested with greater executive powers — or elected by and answerable to parliament.

A CABINET would be headed by a PRIME MINISTER, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the cabinet would be appointed by the president.

TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. The first a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary legislative power would be vested in this House.

The second House would be a SENATE, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional — al-



NELSON MANDELA

though not ethnic — representation.

The ANC insists this would 'neither be a corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called "community" interest.

The SENATE, as the "guardian of the constitution" would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, but not to veto it.

ELECTIONS would be held at intervals of not more than five years and conducted by secret ballot. An independent Electoral Commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats.

In spite of the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT, appointed by the president, possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land.

The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum.

Positions in organs of LOCAL and REGIONAL government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies, provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

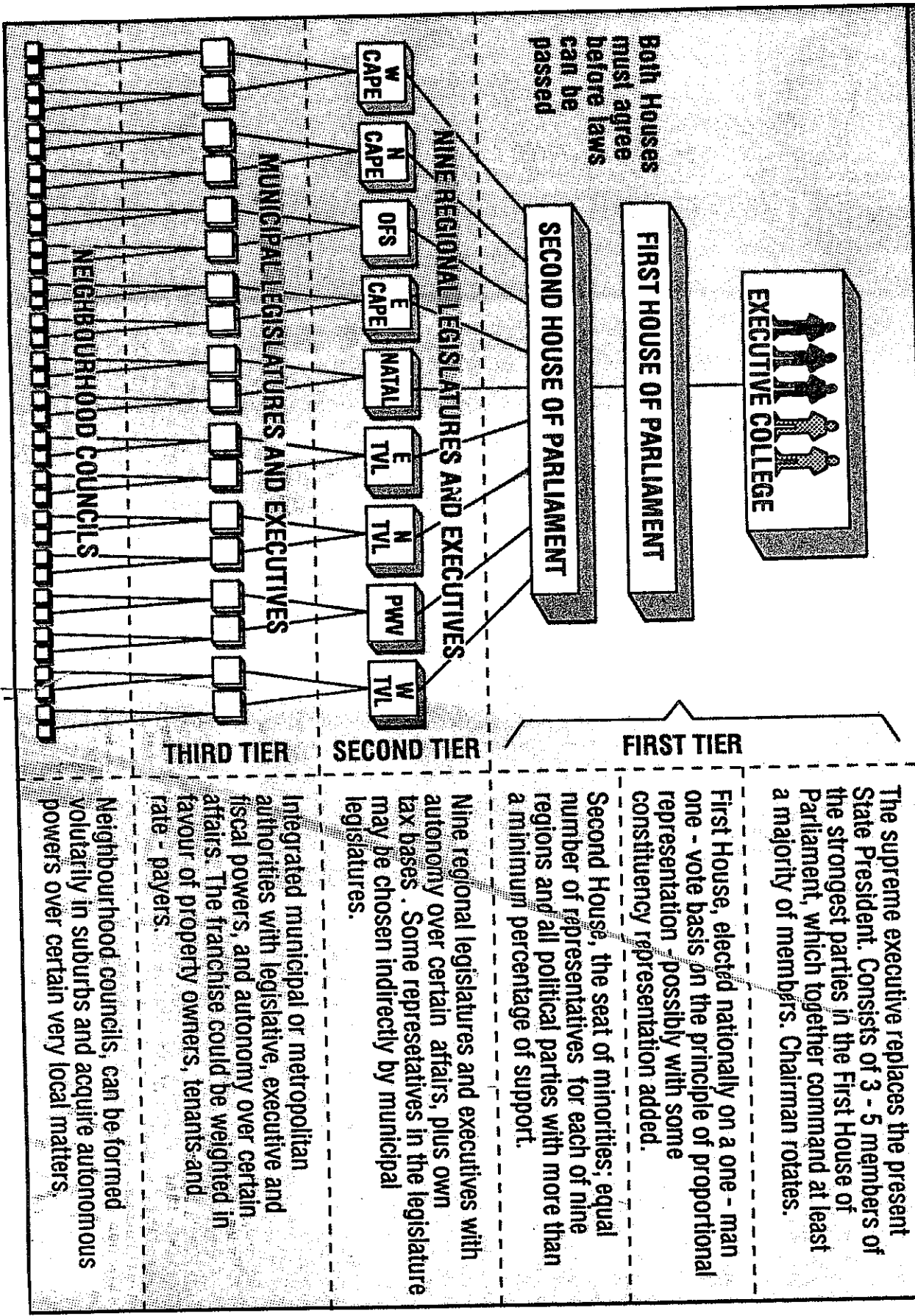
REGIONS would not be devised as a means of perpetuating privilege, ethnic or regional divisions, along territorial zones, but would be based on the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances.

A justiciable BILL OF RIGHTS would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the Bill of Rights would be invalidated.

A HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION would investigate violations, and a PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service.

An independent OMBUDSMAN would investigate complaints against the public service.

How Nats see future government



The supreme executive replaces the present State President. Consists of 3 - 5 members of the strongest parties in the First House of Parliament, which together command at least a majority of members. Chairman rotates.

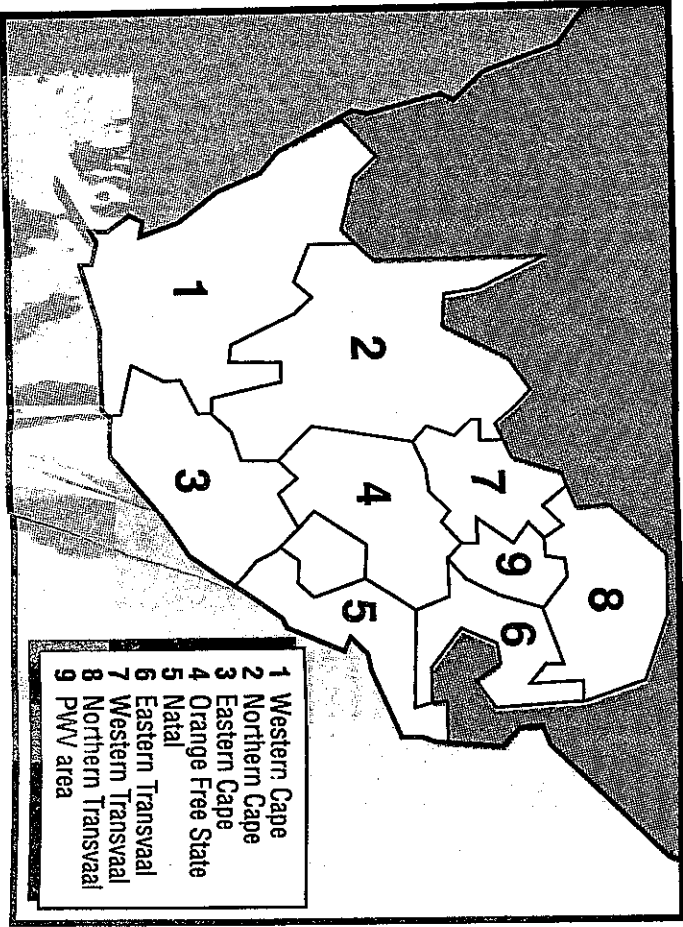
First House, elected nationally on a one - man one - vote basis on the principle of proportional representation - possibly with some constituency representation added.

Second House, the seat of minorities; equal number of representatives for each of nine regions and all political parties with more than a minimum percentage of support.

Nine regional legislatures and executives with autonomy over certain affairs, plus own tax bases. Some representatives in the legislature may be chosen indirectly by municipal legislatures.

Integrated municipal or metropolitan authorities with legislative, executive and fiscal powers, and autonomy over certain affairs. The franchise could be weighted in favour of property owners, tenants and rate - payers.

Neighbourhood councils, can be formed voluntarily in suburbs and acquire autonomous powers over certain very local matters.



PAC's way back into the political limelight

OF ALL THE political organisations analysed critically so far — the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party — the Pan Africanist Congress is the least known and reported in the media.

Yet, the PAC is perhaps the most resilient black political movement in the history of South Africa. It has survived to tell the story, after it was crippled by a banning order in 1960 when hardly a year old. At least the ANC was already 48 years old and more politically mature when banned the same year. After the PAC's banning, it was left without a leader when founder president, the late Mr Robert Sobukwe, became the first black leader in modern times to be jailed on Robben Island after the Sharpeville riots of the same year. When Mr Sobukwe had fully served his sentence, the then Minister of Justice, Mr John Vorster, introduced a clause in the detention laws ensuring that the black leader remained in jail. It became known as the "Sobukwe Clause". When eventually released, he was a sick man and later died in Kimberley, where he had been banished.

A few months after its unbanning in 1990, the PAC once again buried a president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng — this time on South African soil. He was replaced by the current president, Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu's presidency saw the introduction of a new breed of younger and more eloquent leaders on the PAC's national executive committee — the most prominent being Advocate Dikgang Mosenene, the second deputy president, and Mr Benny Alexander, the secretary general. However, the PAC has yet to function in full strength inside the country since some of its senior leaders are still in exile — including its first deputy president, Mr Joe Mkhwanazi.

Throughout its political existence in exile, the PAC has been plagued by leader-

OSCAR DHLOMO, a former general-secretary of Inkatha and now director of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, notes changes he feels the Pan Africanist Congress should make in an evolving South Africa (IN) ARG 31/8/91

ship crises. Consequently, it was overshadowed by the ANC, although it did win observer status on international bodies like the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations General Assembly.

Many young black activists, who left South Africa after the Soweto riots of 1976 intending to join the PAC's military wing, ended up joining the ANC in exile. Similarly, the PAC's armed struggle, which was mainly supported by Red China, never had a significant impact in South Africa.

Before its unbanning, there was a tendency among commentators to either write off or ignore the PAC. When it was unbanned, it became clear that its support and influence, though by no means overwhelming, had indeed been underestimated. A sober assessment at this time is the PAC enjoys widespread credibility and respect in black politics — even from the ANC. Significantly, the PAC has never been fully involved in the current political violence. The PAC is also on "talking terms" with the ANC and Inkatha.

Now the PAC is back in political business, it will have to address a number of challenges:

1: The PAC must embark on a detailed and far-reaching reappraisal and evaluation of its policy positions on a variety of issues. It would be unrealistic for PAC leaders to expect that policy positions adopted in the Sixties during the Sobukwe era are still appropriate to the last detail in the South Africa of 1991, which is now poised to negotiate a new socio-political order. For one thing, the PAC needs to take a hard look at the role of non-blacks

in the liberation struggle. The PAC policy which says that an African is anybody, regardless of colour, who identifies fully with and owes allegiance to Africa, will only become meaningful the moment the movement begins to admit non-black members. As of now, the membership profile of the PAC contradicts this commendable view and gives the impression that all white South Africans cannot or do not identify with Africa, and cannot be members of the PAC.

The PAC's various departments must undertake this policy reappraisal as a matter of urgency and it must also include other policy areas such as land, the economy, education, health and welfare, housing and foreign relations.

2: The PAC's policy on negotiation has shifted slightly during the past few months. The movement started from a hardline position, which totally rejected any possibility of negotiations with the present government and preferred instead the intensification of the armed struggle, which it said would ultimately lead to the capitulation and abdication of the government.

The PAC said this intensification could be achieved through maximum black unity involving the ANC, Azapo and other black groups. Given that the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and Azapo never officially endorsed it, this was a tall order on the part of the PAC — not to mention the fact that the combined ANC and PAC armed struggle, even at its zenith, never threatened to reach the levels of intensity that could challenge South Africa's enormous military capability.

At present, the PAC appears to be say-

ing it could be prepared to enter negotiations provided they were about the structure and modalities of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote and which would draw up a constitution for post-apartheid South Africa. Unlike the ANC, the PAC rejects the notion of an interim government and argues that participation in such a body would be tantamount to participation in the administration of apartheid.

To add more complications to its policy in this regard, the PAC also surprisingly appears to reject the concept of an all-party or multi-party conference supported by the Government, the ANC, Inkatha and virtually all the other political organisations in South Africa. Yet, it is at this conference and nowhere else where the PAC can put its case for its version of a constituent assembly. The PAC will certainly have to come to grips with the question of its participation in negotiations because it cannot afford to be sidelined by default.

3: One reads little about the PAC in the South African Press. Until recently, PAC leaders never appeared on television. Some journalists maintain that because of its hardline stance, its rejection of negotiations and its perceived anti-white image, the PAC is not newsworthy both in South Africa and overseas.

4: The PAC must also soon come to the realisation that its enduring rhetoric about maintaining an armed struggle, which does not exist in reality, is doing it more harm than good and costing it substantial support. The PAC has been overlooked by the American congressional funding programme, which will see the ANC and Inkatha receiving millions of dollars in aid to strengthen their organisational capacities in preparation for negotiations and future elections. The rationale for denying the PAC the same level of support is that the organisation has not renounced or suspended the armed struggle and is rejecting negotiations.

I HAVE OFTEN argued that black and white South Africans see, and respond to, the same things differently — that the view from the top is never the same as from the bottom.

If anything, my belief in that view has been strengthened.

This week James McClurg, our sister newspaper The Star's Ombudsman, had some interesting comments to make about this column.

Today's column is not so much in response to Mr McClurg — one of the few people in South Africa whose sincerity and decency I do not doubt and who, in my opinion, is a highly distinguished newsman with few equals in the trade — as it is a general response to readers with views such as those which prompted Mr McClurg's article.

I have never gone out of my way to ingratiate myself with any section of the South African population, or to please any section. Indeed, to me a spade has always been a spade, be it in black hands or in white hands.

On occasion, I have pointed out that I am neither a spokesman for any group or class of people, nor a politician (despite lingering suspicions in some minds that I am really a politician who is trying hard to be a journalist).

It has never given me any pleasure to be at the receiving end of readers' ire, but I am not complaining — it comes with the turf. If I am going to poke my fingers into the fire I should expect to get burned.

JUST JON

JON QWELANE



So far, so good.

But why must I mince my words when referring to Messrs de Klerk, Botha, Vlok, Malan, and Viljoen? For that matter, why must I do the same about Messrs Bush and Major?

White South Africans, generally, see the local political and social situation as having improved so much as to warrant softer black voices now.

I do not share that view at all.

It has been pointed out that I employ "threats" in saying that when — not if — blacks get to run the country, we will do it our own way.

That is no threat. Just a simple statement of fact.

Right now — as indeed they did yesterday and the decades and centuries before — whites are still running the country and our lives *their* way. Can anyone dispute this?

We still don't have the vote, and the itchy-bitsy slow shuffles by Mr de Klerk

and his Government are decided by the National Party cabinet, subject to ratification by NP councils and provincial congresses. In other words, it is a case of those in power now doing it *their* way. Why shouldn't that be sauce for the gander in our time, when it is sauce for the goose right now?

My conviction is that the bits and pieces of "reform" taking place nowadays have not come about because the Nationalists and their supporters have suddenly become nice men and women. Rather, the changes are part of the Nats' survival kit and have absolutely nothing to do with some heartfelt concern for us.

Perhaps my language has been somewhat robust in the past, hence the charge that my style is beginning to look like "plain unmannerliness". Actually, the other day a white person said blacks must use "moderate" language when addressing apartheid.

But I have never come across "mannerly" or "moderate" evil — for, make no

mistake about it, apartheid is evil — as embodied in our oppression by the white ruling class of this country. It is really as simple as all that.

And just in case there may be misconceptions about the reality of the status quo, let me say that apartheid is *not* dead. Far from it.

That is not to deny there has been some movement. What I am saying is that, with the unbanning of political organisations and release of leaders from prison, it is the *status quo ante*. It is back to 1960 before the bannings, and little else.

Least things are still unclear, let me stress an important point: we are not asking white South Africans to treat us more favourably, nor are we asking for special accommodation in their scheme of things.

Rather, we are *demanding* our full, God-given, and inalienable right to complete freedom in the land of our birth and of our forefathers. We are *demanding* 100 percent of that.

Further down the Ombudsman's article was an excerpt I couldn't resist ... isn't the devil famous for his mischievous twisting of the Scriptures to suit his own purposes?

I reproduce the excerpt verbatim, but you can substitute the word "columns" for "stories" — granting that my columns are, in a loose manner of speaking, stories about my opinions.

"Readers think stories are fair when they agree with them. When they don't agree, the stories usually have something wrong with them."