

BLACK POLITICS

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Don't expect too much from talks, warns Viljoen

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has warned against expecting too much from the crucial first formal talks with the African National Congress which begin here tomorrow.

Dr Viljoen also disclosed that the talks — due to start at 3,30 pm and to continue until Friday — would take place at the historic former Prime Minister's residence Groote Schuur, in Newlands.

Dr Viljoen stressed again the Government's firm standpoint that the ANC would have to make a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful political change.

This implied abandoning violence and intimidation and an end to references to the armed struggle.

At a press briefing last night, Dr Viljoen said there were people who were inflating expectations about the outcome of the talks.

He said that the Government realised the urgency of the talks particularly against the background of the continuing violence in the country.

"But we also believe it will take time to build trust and understanding as a foundation for finding mutually satisfactory solutions and for them to have a good chance of working."

Dr Viljoen stressed that the talks were confined to the issue of removing obstacles to negotiations and would not deal with either the question of how constitutional negotiations should be set up nor would they deal with any constitutional issues.

He said that negotiating a new constitution was a political activity which required a normal political process for establishing valid negotiation.

To reach real negotiations, the Government was presently involved in preliminary talks with several potential and likely participants in such talks.

He said that the Government had already met groups such as Inkatha as part of the same process.

The Government was prepared to discuss with the ANC such matters as conditions for lifting the state of emergency and possible extension of the definition of so-called "political offences" with a view to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles and indemnity against prosecutions and arrests.

The Government insisted that the responsibility for ensuring peace if the emergency was lifted rested not only with the Government but with all — "including those who in the past considered themselves justified in resorting to violence".

Today both delegations will complete their preparations for the talks while the ANC leaders will also address a series of rallies in the Cape to celebrate Workers' Day.

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the Free State and Natal."

For Johannesburg, the April rainfall was a record 144 mm. This beat the previous best for April of 112 mm recorded in 1974.

Other measuring points close to Johannesburg also showed considerable gains. The Jan Smuts Airport recording for the month was 109,6 mm. The average there is 55 mm for April and the record 130 mm in 1971. Rand airport had 117,8 mm this April.

In Pretoria, where the April average is 51 mm, rain for the month was measured at 111 mm.

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ANC consults allies (11A)

CAPE TOWN — The ANC delegation, which is to engage in talks with the Government this week, yesterday held a meeting with the national executive committees of the UDF and Cosatu. (11A)

According to a press statement from Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the UDF, the purpose of the meeting was to consult the UDF and Cosatu on the issues to be discussed with the Government.

The UDF/Cosatu delegation consisted of 35 people. "This consultation was in keeping with the approach of the ANC to canvass the views of the MDM at every stage in the negotiation process." — Sapa.

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Observers see ANC softening on economy

African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela last week said nationalisation would be embarked upon only if, on experts' advice, the move would strengthen South Africa's economy. Does that constitute a shift in policy? Observers say Yes, but the ANC says No. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

When African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told businessmen in Transkei last Thursday that his organisation favoured nationalisation only if the move would strengthen South Africa's economy, he probably did not anticipate the fanfare and enthusiasm with which his statement was received.

The statement, observers believed, marked an important strategic shift in either the ANC's economic emphasis or in its policy of nationalisation itself.

Mr Mandela had barely said the ANC would ask experts to investigate nationalisation of the country's mines, banks and monopoly industries and that if their findings did not encourage nationalisation the ANC would listen carefully, when he was cautiously applauded by some politicians and the business community for the "pragmatic attitude."

Feeding the speculation of a possible low-key policy shift was another statement made in Johannesburg on the same day by an ANC representative, Mr Mike Roussos, at a conference on "Aspects and Implications of Nationalisation".

Although Mr Roussos came out unequivocally in favour of nationalisation and strongly against privatisation, he also said an ANC government would weigh up the benefits of nationalisation against the problems that might be encountered. "Alternatives that may be able to achieve the same effect, but result in fewer problems, would have to be considered. The fact that all this will be occurring within the framework of a capitalist economy means that fairly severe limitations will exist. Capitalist economies depend on the private owners of capital being willing to invest it in new ventures," he said.

Do these utterances constitute a shift in policy or economic emphasis on the part of the ANC? Observers believe so. The ANC, however, is adamant that there is no shift in its policy whatsoever.

The internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, told The Star last Friday that nationalisation was still the ANC's policy.

Said Mr Sisulu: "Nationalisation was never meant to be a mechanical thing. It is intended to improve the economy of the country, and it should therefore be seen in that light. The policy of nationalisation still stands as spelt out in the Freedom Charter."

However, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis appeared to have thought otherwise. He was quoted on Friday as welcoming "the new moderate line on nationalisation" taken by Mr Mandela, saying it appeared to be "an important shift in emphasis if not in policy" by the ANC.

"Any such moves towards a policy that more closely resembles reality and the prevailing wisdom are to be welcomed," he said.

A political science lecturer at the University of South Africa, Mr Clive Napier, shared the Finance Minister's view. Mr Mandela's statement, he said, was "a softening on the insistence of the organisation on nationalisation".

The head of the Political Studies Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Alf Stadler, said Mr Mandela's statement definitely constituted a policy shift.

"The whole debate about nationalisation has been very important and has brought to the fore issues and concerns over how power is distributed."

A tough test for both sides

South Africa's ruling National Party and its long-standing enemy, the African National Congress, have set aside three days for their historic "talks about talks", thereby extending the short one-day meeting they originally planned for April 11.

Their agreement to treble the time available for talks — reached after the ANC's cancellation of the April meeting in protest against the shooting of 11 black civilians on March 26 — is a tacit acknowledgment that the rescheduled discussions will be tough and their differences will not be bridged easily.

Judging from pre-meeting comments, it is not too hyperbolic to see the talks — which start tomorrow — as a meeting between the immovable stone and the irresistible force.

Mr Joe Slovo, a leading member of the ANC's national executive and the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, says within minutes of arriving in South Africa: "We come in a spirit of reconciliation but not as petitioners. We have come as claimants on behalf of the people who have been kept down for too long."

Majority rule

If Mr Slovo's statement hints at the irresistible force, President de Klerk conjures up images of the immovable stone: the Government, he says, is prepared to talk about sharing power, but it is not prepared to "commit suicide" by submitting to simple black majority rule.

The main purpose of the three-day meeting is to remove the obstacles to negotiations. One of the obstacles is identified by the Government as the violence sweeping the country, resulting in the highest rate of deaths in South Africa in peacetime.

One of the causes of the violence is the ANC's continued commitment to "armed struggle", Mr de Klerk says.

He elucidates: "You cannot send and threaten to send armed men

Problems loom large as historic meeting begins



Mr Joe Slovo.

PATRICK LAURENCE

discusses the climate in which this week's crucial talks between the Government and the ANC take place in Cape Town.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

into the country, send mobs rampaging in the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully...

"We say their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block, preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations."

In contrast, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, reaffirms the ANC's commitment to armed struggle almost as soon as his feet touch South African soil after years in exile.

His words echo those of Mr Nelson Mandela: armed struggle cannot be abandoned, ANC fighters cannot lay down their arms while policemen gun down unarmed civilians.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr de Klerk's right-hand man, insists the cessation of violence, in fact and in rhetoric, is an essential prerequisite to the "normal political process", without which there cannot be negotiations.

Against that, Mr Walter Sisulu, the white-haired veteran ANC leader, ripostes: "The cessation of armed hostilities cannot be a unilateral demand. It cannot be discussed

before negotiations. When and how there should be a cessation of hostilities is a distinct question to be negotiated."

Mr Mbeki identifies the obstacles to negotiations as the continuing state of emergency, the continuing incarceration of men and women who were jailed for carrying out ANC orders and the continuing uncertainty about the safe return of exiles.

Judging from Government comments, the question of prisoners and exiles can be solved: Dr Viljoen speaks of discussion to redefine the term "political prisoner", presumably to widen it; the air is thick with conjecture about an exchange of prisoners, ANC saboteurs whose actions resulted in civilian deaths for, say, South African agents imprisoned in Zimbabwe.

Lifting of the state of emergency, however, seems a more difficult problem. To some extent it is a question of priorities: the Government says abandonment of the commitment to armed struggle will make it easier to lift the state of emergency; lifting the state of emergency, the ANC counters, will

make it easier for it to abandon armed resistance.

Even if, or when, these issues are resolved, a long road lies ahead. Even in outline the problems loom large and seemingly intractable.

One is the reconciliation of white fears with black aspirations. Another is the conflict between the Government's demand for protection for "minority rights" and the ANC's suspicion that "minority rights" is 1990 newspeak for "group rights" and apartheid.

A third issue relates to the tricky question of who will be at the negotiating table and how they will be chosen. As the ANC's legal expert, Mr Albie Sachs, notes that theoretically it is a procedural matter but in fact it is a substantial question and hence of critical importance.

As the two sides grapple at the negotiating table, however, each will be aware of their adversaries outside.

The National Party faces a threat from ultra-rightists who are using more and more bellicose language every day and who applaud the recent theft by rightists of weapons from the air force armory.

Growing challenge

The ANC dare not ignore the growing challenge from the more militant, anti-negotiation Pan Africanist Congress. According to one recent survey, the PAC already has more support among the youth in Soweto than the ANC. The survey's methodology has not been scrutinised and its findings cannot be regarded as definitive.

But the survey's results are consistent with claims by the PAC of rapid growth, and serves as a warning to the ANC that its paramilitary in the black community cannot be taken for granted.

The white ultra-right and the PAC are reminders to both parties that they dare not surrender too much in the "give-and-take" of negotiations. But, at the same time, they stress the consequences of failure, of abandoning the talks.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
THE ANC has agreed to broaden the agenda for this week's historic talks with the government by including the armed struggle.

A top ANC source said yesterday that the dramatic gesture was made "as a measure of our seriousness" and "in the interests of conciliation".

The ANC's ongoing commitment to armed struggle is viewed by the government as the chief stumbling block to negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation.

However, ANC sources emphasised that there was no question of the organisation considering a "unilateral suspension of violence".

Amnesty

A commitment by the ANC to put the armed struggle on hold would have to be part of a "package deal" in which the government effectively addressed the ANC's obstacles to full-scale negotiations.

These included a general and permanent amnesty for political prisoners and exiles, the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of "repressive legislation" such as the Internal Security Act, which gave the government an unfair advantage in mobilising its supporters.

On the eve of today's crucial first round of talks about obstacles to negotiation being held at the historic Groote Schuur residence, both sides said they were optimistic that progress would be made in the "search for peace" over the next three days.

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government "accepts the need" to discuss the lifting of restrictions imposed by the state "on the normal functioning of the political process".

These included matters such as "conditions for lifting the state of emergency and the possible extension of the definition of so-called 'political offences' with a view to the release of prisoners, return of 'exiles' and indemnity against prosecution and arrest".

Dr Viljoen said the government had already shown that "we have been positive in coming together in eliminating obstacles".

However, he emphasised that no meaningful negotiation could take place before there was a cessation of "violence, intimidation and so-called 'armed struggle', both in practice and in rhetoric".

A senior ANC source said, however, that it had originally intended to raise the issue of armed struggle only once the appropriate climate had been created by the re-



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moval of ANC obstacles to negotiations.

If the question of violence had to be examined at this stage it "must be addressed on both sides — it's unfair to expect a unilateral suspension of violence.

"If the government say they want to raise the issue now we want to have a very thorough discussion."

ANC members said the organisations had been trying "desperately hard" in recent months to stop violence in trouble spots as diverse as Natal, Ciskei, Kathlehong and Uitenhage.

Where it had failed, the state and rival political organisations had often played a role in encouraging continued violence, the ANC charged.

However, if this week's talks and subsequent government actions demonstrated that the government was genuine about doing enough to create an appropriate climate for negotiations, then the ANC was prepared to "give non-violence a chance".

But one top ANC source emphasised that while the suspension of violence was on the agenda at this week's talks, "not under any condition can we say that we forever commit ourselves to acting in a non-violent manner".

The talks might break down and the government could use existing legislation to ban the ANC and other rival political movements once again.

Although both sides indicated that they expected this week's talks to be "tough", there was hope that sufficient common ground could be established to keep talks about peace on track.

A member of the government's 11-person talks team, Mr Roelf Meyer, said last night that it was in the interests of all sides that this week's talks succeeded.

He noted that both sides had stated that they would like negotiations to start as soon as possible.

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'Armed struggle' on the agenda today

ANC talks

'gesture'

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON

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The ANC's ongoing commitment to armed struggle is viewed by the government as the chief stumbling block to negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation.

ANC talks of trade-off on struggle

By Peter Fabricius, John Ryan
and Craig Kotze

The African National Congress is ready to suspend its armed struggle if the Government agrees to end violence from its side.

Hopes for success in the historic three-day talks between the ANC and the Government starting at Groote Schuur in Cape Town today seem to have been boosted by the ANC's agreement to put violence and the armed struggle on the agenda.

The Government has insisted these are the key issues in removing the obstacles to the start of negotiations.

Though the ANC is now willing to consider suspending the armed struggle as part of a trade-off, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing commander Mr Joe Modise said his organisation was still recruiting guerrillas to carry on the armed struggle.

Stringent security is being handled by the security police. No ANC security contingent is present, police said.

Since its arrival at the weekend, the ANC delegation has been closeted at the luxurious five-star Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West under a police guard.

The two delegations are scheduled to sit down at 3.30 pm today to face each other across a long rectangular table in the dining room of Groote Schuur, the former prime minister's residence. The two leaders, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, will sit directly opposite each other on the long sides of the table, flanked by their teams.

Priceless Flemish tapestries and antique oils and prints hanging on rich wood-panelled walls in the house once occupied by Cecil Rhodes will create a colonial ambience that might seem ironic to the ANC delegation as it sits down to parley with the Government after 78 years of beating at the door.

Both sides are fairly optimistic about the talks, which are scheduled to run until Friday. They believe some progress will be made, but agreement will be reached only at a subsequent round of talks.

● A surprising omission from the South African delegation is Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, but speculation is that his presence might have been counter-productive. Mr Modise said he was not surprised General Malan was not included in the Government team.

"I nearly didn't come myself. The army is the enemy on one side. MK (Umkhonto) is the enemy from their point of view."

● See Pages 2 and 16.

ANC seeks Security Act trade-off

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The African National Congress is likely to insist on the scrapping of the Internal Security Act as part of a political trade-off with the Government this week that would include the ANC suspending the armed struggle at this stage.

With the ANC pushing at this week's talks in Cape Town for the lifting of the state of emergency, the delegation is keen to see the removal of the Internal Security Act also, which it says is anachronistic as it gives the Government the power to reintroduce political restrictions.

ANC sources have confirmed they are prepared to suspend — but not permanently end — the armed struggle at this stage.

However, they warned that the suspension of hostilities could not be one-sided and would require a matching commitment from the Government.

What form this should take is not clear, although there has been talk of mechanisms to curb the defence force and police.

In addition, the Government will have to remove the obstacles to negotiations already formally identified by the ANC. These are the lifting of the state

of emergency, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, the repeal of repressive legislation and the removal of troops from townships.

All of these are on the talks agenda, which has been thrashed out by a joint ANC-Government steering committee over the last few days.

ANC sources say their agreement to put the issue of the armed struggle and general violence on the agenda is proof they are serious about the talks.

Concession

They say that in the Harare Declaration — the ANC's blueprint for negotiations — ANC hostilities are scheduled to be suspended only once a climate has been created for negotiations by the removal of these obstacles.

They believe they have made a concession by including the armed struggle.

Both sides have made it clear there are many difficult problems to be thrashed out. One of these will be deciding which prisoners should be freed and which exiles allowed to return.

The Government has already given some proof of its bonafides by introducing legislation

that will allow it to grant in demnity from arrest and prosecution to whomever it chooses.

Another tough nut is the state of emergency. The Government regards it purely as a measure to curb violence and says it cannot be lifted unless law and order and stability are assured, which is why it insists the issue of ANC violence must be on the agenda.

On the other hand, the ANC considers the emergency as a measure to curb political activities of Government opponents.

All these weighty issues make it unlikely a breakthrough will be achieved this week.

The Government's nine-man delegation for the talks is President de Klerk and the following Ministers: Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Constitutional Development); Mr Roelf Meyer (Deputy, Constitutional Development); Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs); Mr Barend du Plessis (Finance); Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice); Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (Education and Development Aid); Mr Adriaan Vlok (Law and Order); Dr Dawie de Villiers (Mineral and Energy Affairs).

The ANC delegation under Mr Nelson Mandela consists of: Mr Alfred Nzo (secretary-general); Mr Joe Slovo (SA Communist Party chief and ANC national executive committee member); Mr Joe Modise (Umkhonto we Sizwe commander); Mr Thabo Mbeki (foreign department chief); Mr Archie Gumede (UDF chairman); Mr Ahmed Kathrada (NEC member); Ms Cheryl Carolus (UDF spokesman); Mrs Ruth Mompati (NEC member); Dr Beyers Naude; and Mr Walter Sisulu (executive member).

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First day of the Cape Town talks goes 'pretty well'

Now the bargaining begins

Armed struggle and need to end violence are on agenda

CAPE TOWN — The critical peace talks between the African National Congress and the Government got off to a promising start yesterday, but the really hard bargaining begins only today.

The first day of talks had gone "pretty well", sources close to the Government delegation said.

The time was devoted to getting to know each other and a broad overview of problems.

Starting at 2.30 pm today, the two delegations meeting at the historic Groote Schuur homestead will begin to discuss the real nitty-gritty — the obstacles to negotiation — and the possible trade-offs.

A first-ever joint statement by the ANC and the Government last night announced that they had agreed on an agenda after four hours of "candid and open" discussions.

Agreement by the ANC and the Government were approved in advance of yesterday's meeting. Significantly the ANC's armed struggle and the need to end violence are now formally on the agenda.

This has set the scene for a possible agreement by the ANC to suspend the armed struggle in exchange for concessions by the Government.

Sources close to the Government delegation said today it was too early to say what the ANC might accept as the price for suspending the armed struggle. This might start to emerge today. The talks had started "pretty well" and it was promising that both sides had realised the seriousness of the situation.

The delegations had shown a "willingness to approach the problem in a spirit of trying to solve it rather than trying to perpetuate it".

The delegations appear to have achieved the important breakthrough on the personal level as a basis for further discussions.

It has emerged that the two heads of delegation, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, almost certainly met at Tyunhys before the delegations met. This tends to confirm the goodwill that exists between the two men — which could be vital when the talks hit hard ground.

Mr Mandela was clearly at pains yesterday to show the respect for Mr de Klerk which he has expressed pre-

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

viously. After Mr de Klerk had made a few opening remarks to the press before the talks began, Mr Mandela shook his hand and congratulated him on a "good speech".

In a first joint statement, the ANC and the Government said last night they had agreed on an agenda which included the ANC's adherence to the armed struggle and the need to end violence. This has considerably boosted hopes of a successful outcome. Most sources, however, believe final agreement will be reached only at a subsequent round of talks.

President de Klerk — standing next to Mr Mandela and facing a battery of about 250 newsmen before the talks began — expressed cautious optimism about the outcome and said violence would be the focus of the Government's concern.

Mr Mandela said it was the first time in the 78 years of the ANC's existence that a truly serious meeting was taking place between it and the Government. The talks were a significant first step on the road towards the fundamental restructuring of South African society.

And, speaking in Afrikaans, he assured whites, and especially Afrikaners, that they had nothing to fear from the ANC.

In a tableau unimaginable a few months ago, behind the two leaders on the steps of Groote Schuur, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha stood next to SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok stood next to ANC national executive member Mrs Ruth Mompati.

Mr de Klerk said the vast majority of South Africans desired the negotiation process for a new constitution to get started as soon as possible.

Mr Mandela said the ANC came to the meeting not as supplicants or petitioners, but as equal fellow South Africans. The black masses, he added, demanded and expected fundamental change without delay.

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President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela shake hands prior to the start of talks

Picture by Associated Press.

Atmosphere on first day is 'friendly'

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The delegations to the first official talks between the African National Congress and the Government found it "unbelievable" that they could mix so easily after nearly 30 years of war.

"The way in which we met was so normal it was as if there had been no barriers before," a source close to the Government delegation said today.

"It didn't feel as if we were meeting for the first time. There were no signs of aggression. It was quite friendly."

"Many delegates expressed the feeling that it was unbelievable that we are together and we can mix so easily. Especially for those from Lusaka, who have longed so much for home, it was even more important to mix with us."

The delegate said the mood had been good and the talks had gone "pretty well".

But it was too early to say it had been "totally positive" as the fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

"Both sides showed a willingness to address the problems, but in a spirit of trying to solve them instead of trying to perpetuate them."

"It's too early to predict the outcome and in-depth discussions will still have to take place. But the important thing is that both sides realised the seriousness of the point that the country had reached," he said.

"If we do not take the opportunity now, it will be to the detriment of our country," he said. The first day had been devoted to getting to know each other and to an overview of the problems to be tackled.

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Top ANC delegate optimistic about talks

The ANC will not agree to a unilateral cessation of violence at its historic talks with the Government. **JENNY CARGILL** reports.

A leading African National Congress delegate to this week's talks with the Government is optimistic about the outcome of the historic Cape Town interchange between the country's two main antagonists. And, therefore, ceasefire negotiations could be expected to follow soon afterwards.

But, talking to The Star amid tight security at a luxury Cape hotel, the ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the ANC would not agree at these preliminary talks to a unilateral suspension of violence.

"We are saying that we agree that the issue of violence shall be addressed," said Mr Mbeki, who is credited with moulding the ANC's negotiations perspective.

But first, he said, the obstacles to negotiations had to be removed and that was what these talks were about.

The ANC has put on the agenda for the May 2 to 4 talks four key preconditions: the release of political prisoners; the removal of the state of emergency and other repressive legislation; and the return of exiles.

The cessation of ANC armed activity and any pronouncements about it is President de Klerk's one demand.

The disagreement with the Government on this was over "the timing, when that discussion about a ceasefire should take place", said Mr Mbeki.

He said a ceasefire would necessarily be the first item to be addressed in negotiations.

Indicating a keenness by the ANC not to see these talks scuttled, Mr Mbeki reserved final opinion on Saturday's bombing of ANC priest Father Michael Lapsley. The matter would be taken up with the Government, he said.

He pointed out there were other forces that would want to make sure the situation did not move forward.

Mr Mbeki, whose security along with that of his ANC team is in the hands of the South African Police, said his organisation needed to be able to take part effectively in its own security.

Mr Mbeki rejected a linkage between the cessation of the armed struggle and the removal of the state of emergency.

"They don't need a state of emergency to arrest Umkhonto cadres, or to engage in battle with them, or to protect a power station."

He also rejected any notion that the ANC's continued commitment to armed struggle was fuelling township violence, as Government officials have inferred. The causes of such violence were quite different, argued Mr Mbeki.

He saw no reason why Mr de Klerk should block the return of exiles or the release of political prisoners.

"I would want to move from the position that the regime regards this as a reasonable demand."

He added: "We are dealing with people open to reason, who have understood that the apartheid system will go."

The Government was aware that the ANC had the capacity to return its cadres without guarantees, but "it would help Mr de Klerk to have a situation in which the ANC had to act in defiance".

He added that ANC cadres did not want to "stay outside for much longer".

Since the Government had already released political prisoners, Mr Mbeki said there was no principle involved on this issue anymore.

The ANC, said Mr Mbeki, was "determined to do everything in its power to move this process (of negotiations) forward as quickly as possible. There is a degree of impatience on the part of the ANC, and a great degree of urgency".

Some observers have suggested that deadlock could be avoided by reaching agreement on broad principles, with working committees set up after the Cape Town talks to deal with the detail.

'Political offences' could be redefined

ANC's armed struggle is on talks agenda

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has agreed to a government request to put the armed struggle on the agenda of today's historic talks aimed at removing obstacles to negotiations.

The two delegations, led by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, are to meet in a dining room at the historic Groote Schuur residence built by Cecil John Rhodes. The talks are expected to last three days.

Neither side is expecting any firm agreements to be reached at this week's talks, but both are hopeful that sufficient progress can be made to pave the way for a further round.

Government's chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a briefing this week that the fact that both sides stressed the importance of talks and that the leaders of the two delegations respected each other were positive factors, but he fully expected the talks to be difficult.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said the organisation was hopeful and was taking the meeting very seriously.

The ANC can be expected to insist that any decision to suspend the armed struggle would have to be part of a larger package. This would include the release of political prisoners and ending political trials and the state of emergency. In addition, the ANC will call for troops to be removed from townships, except from Natal where the organisation believes deployment is justified.

Government, through De Klerk, has in-

MIKE ROBERTSON

sisted that conditions on the ground will determine when the emergency will be lifted. In the talks, government spokesmen can be expected to tackle the ANC on its alleged use of violence and intimidation to oust township councillors and homeland leaders.

The ANC will contend that it is not the organisation's strategy to have escalating violence in the country and that it does not want a Lebanon-type situation in SA.

Its negotiators will contend that the ANC has intervened to attempt to end violence in Natal, Gazankulu and Uitenhage, as well as in the Kattlehong taxi wars.

However, they will argue that the emergency has been used by police to specifically target ANC, UDF and Cosatu members. As long as this continues, they will contend, a "normal political process" will not exist.

The ANC delegation expects that reaching an agreed definition of what constitutes a political prisoner will be crucial at this week's meeting.

At his briefing, Viljoen displayed some flexibility on this issue when he said government was prepared to discuss the "possible extension of the definition of so-called 'political offences' with a view to the release of prisoners, return of exiles and indemnity against prosecutions and arrest".

He said while expectations were high for a breakthrough to be reached at this meeting, it would take time for both sides to get

Talks agenda

to know each other.

Viljoen said the establishment of a normal political process was a prerequisite for negotiating a new constitution.

"A normalised political process requires at least two fundamental conditions:

- Firstly, the lifting of restrictions imposed by the state on the normal functioning of the political process; and
- Secondly, the cessation of violence, intimidation and a so-called armed struggle, both in fact and in rhetoric, as being incompatible with negotiations in its true sense."

He said the goal of the talks was to achieve a point where both parties had satisfied each other that these fundamental conditions had been met.

He said government was prepared to discuss conditions for lifting the emergency, but it had to be accepted that it had a responsibility to ensure the maintenance

of stability and law and order.

"The government insists that this responsibility rests not exclusively with itself alone, but that all involved have a responsibility to contribute towards making conditions on the ground favourable to this end, also those who in the past considered themselves justified in resorting to violence."

Viljoen said government also insisted on a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful methods for political change. This implied the abandonment of violence and intimidation and a cessation of references to continuing the armed struggle.

Security arrangements at Groote Schuur have been made in conjunction with ANC members of the steering committee, set up to be a channel of communication between government and the organisation.

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AM-Tints 2/5/90

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ANC, Cosatu 'in struggle against privatisation'

HARARE. — The African National Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have reiterated their determination to push for an end to privatisation in a post-apartheid economy, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reports.

Addressing a joint press conference here yesterday, ANC economic and planning department officials and Cosatu spokesmen said they would be actively engaged in the struggle against privatisation, which they said, to their horror, was increasing.

"We are expressing utter opposition to privatisation. All industries already privatised should be put back to the public sector.

"We are going to engage in a struggle against privatisation and this will take various forms — mass demonstrations, mass boycotts and many others," said an ANC representative.

The representatives said now was the time to start reconstructing the new South African economy — the present South African economy was in a shambles, they said.

The press conference was told that the impact of sanctions was not hurting the black majority in the country, but internal problems caused by the

Pretoria regime caused much suffering and discontent.

Cosatu also said foreign investment would not play a major role in the South African economy — but the changing of the domestic economy and its reconstruction, based on a mixed economy, would do the trick.

"We are looking for a mixed economy which will address all problems like unemployment, deprivation and poverty in our country.

"The future government of South Africa must begin now to make plans to change the economy. We are looking at a massive reconstruction programme," said Mr Tito Mboweni, ANC economic and planning representative.

Mr Mboweni said the ANC was not a socialist party, but at the same time was not opposed to socialism.

"The ANC is a national democratic movement, not a socialist party. But we are not opposed to socialism, in fact, we work in alliance with them (socialists)," he said.

The new South African economy envisaged by the ANC and Cosatu would not take the shape of other African economies, but would be modelled according to South African circumstances, speakers noted. — Sapa

Top-flight Argus team

TO keep readers up to the minute with the news as it breaks with this week's talks between the government and the ANC, The Argus has assigned a top flight team of journalists to the job.

The team includes TOS WENTZEL, The Argus's Presidential affairs specialist, Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS and the Argus Africa News Service's JOHN RYAN, whose assignments in Africa have brought him into close touch with leading personalities in the ANC, some of whom are in Cape Town for this week's talks.

Also contributing to the coverage this week will be a special team from the Sowetan, The Argus's sister newspaper from Soweto, as well as the political correspondents of other sister newspapers, the Star, the Sunday Star, the Daily News from Durban, the Sunday Tribune and the Pretoria News.

'Honour your leaders', Mandela tells youth

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela ended his visit to Transkei, where he was born in 1918, with a clear message to the youth to respect their teachers and honour their traditional or tribal leaders.

Mr Mandela, who paid a nostalgic trip to his home village of Qunu, near Umtata, reflected sadly on the poverty of Transkei's rural areas: the bad roads, the derelict, overcrowded classrooms and the ill-equipped hospitals.

Addressing the youth, Mr Mandela said: "We do not envisage the emergence of a situation where teachers live under constant threats from the student body."

It would only serve to retard the academic progress of future leaders and deny them "the opportunity to compete equally in South Africa."

Against that, however,

The talks who's who

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

FOR the first time since their formation early this century, the National Party and the African National Congress sit down formally

today for talks on ways to achieve a negotiated settlement.

Two teams, one of nine government ministers and the

other, a widely representative 11-member ANC delegation, are scheduled to hold discussions for the next three days.

The government team

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK, 54, a Potchefstroom University graduate and a lawyer by training. Born in Krugersdorp, he entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Vereeniging.

Six years later he was in the Cabinet and the portfolios he has held since then are Posts and Telecommunications and Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning, Mineral and Energy Affairs, Internal Affairs and National Education.

He was elected Transvaal leader of the National Party in 1982 and National leader last year.

MR PIK BOTHA, 56, Foreign Minister, also a Potchefstroom law graduate, joined the diplomatic corps in 1953 and rose through the ranks, travelling extensively.

He was admitted to the bar in 1970 and, in the same year, became MP for Wonderboom.

Mr Botha was appointed ambassador to the United Nations in 1974 and the United States in 1975. He became Foreign Minister in 1977. He is deputy chairman of the National Party in the Transvaal.

Dr GERRIT VILJOEN, 64, Minister of Constitutional Development, studied law and classical languages at Pretoria University, and studied further at Cambridge, Leyden and the Sorbonne.

He was Administrator General of South West Africa from 1979 to 1980. His Cabinet portfolios have been National Education, Co-operation, Development and Education, and Education and Aid.

He is the government's chief negotiator.

Dr DAWIE DE VILLIERS, 50, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Undertakings, a philosophy and theology graduate from Stellenbosch University and the Rand Afrikaans University.

A former Springbok rugby player, Dr de Villiers entered politics in 1972 as the MP for Johannesburg West. He was then appointed ambassador to London in 1979.

He was made Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism in 1980.

Mr KOBIE COETSEE, 59, Minister of Justice, a Dux medalist, studied law at the University of the Free State. He was admitted to the bar in 1972. He entered politics as MP for Bloemfontein West in 1968.

Ten years later he became Deputy Minister of Defence and National Security and two years later, in 1980, was appointed Minister of Justice.

Mr BAREND DU PLESSIS, 50, Finance Minister. Potchefstroom BSc graduate, taught mathematics before joining IBM's banking and finance division in 1968.

He was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information in 1982 and Minister of Education and Training in 1983. He has been Minister of Finance since 1984.

Mr ADRIAAN VLOK, 53, Minister of Law and Order, was born in Sutherland and educated at Keimoes High. He moved to the Transvaal, joined the Department of Justice and took up part-time legal studies.

He entered local politics in 1972 became an MP in 1974. He was made Deputy Minister of Defence in 1984 and Deputy Minister of Law and Order a year later. He has held his present post since 1986.

DR STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, 51, Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid, is a political science graduate of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Unisa and Stellenbosch universities.

He became MP for Helderkruijn in 1981. His past Cabinet portfolios are Information, Information and Constitutional Planning and Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry. He is chairman of the National Party's federal information committee.

Mr ROELF MEYER, 43, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, was born in Port Elizabeth, but studied law at University of the Free State.

He was elected MP for Johannesburg West in 1979. In 1986 he was made Deputy Minister of Law and Order. He moved to the De-

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HOURS



spect of their pupils by sensitivity to their needs and allowing them to participate in the planning of their school work.

Referring to the traditional leaders, Mr Mandela, who comes from the royal Thembu family, assured them that their status was revered by the ANC. But he cautioned against despotism: every step taken by the leaders had to have the blessing of the people.

Anti-Apartheid body's pledge to oppose De Klerk tour

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement, spurred on by an appeal from Mr Nelson Mandela for the continued isolation of Pretoria, has vowed to campaign against President F W de Klerk's visit to Europe next month.

The AAM decided at a meeting to launch a campaign against Mr De Klerk's visit and to link up with anti-apartheid groups in other European countries he plans to visit.

In a message to the AAM, Mr Mandela, the African National Congress deputy president, appealed to "the people of Britain to take whatever action you can to isolate apartheid and impose people's sanctions".

Mr Mandela's message came at the same time as the AAM released the results of a Gallup Poll showing British public opinion to be opposed to a visit by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to South Africa.

The poll, commissioned by the AAM, showed that only 31 percent of the British public supported such a visit. It also showed that 56 percent of those polled backed anti-apartheid sanctions.

The AAM has threatened to intensify the boycott of South African goods, including gold products, and to discourage tourism to the Republic.

David Biggs's column will be found on page 10.

The ANC team:

MR NELSON MANDELA, 72, the deputy president of the ANC. Born in the Transkei and trained as a lawyer — he shared a law practice with Oliver Tambo — he became active in black politics in the 1940s, rising to prominence in the ANC.

A key figure behind the movement's decision to mount an armed struggle, he was convicted of treason in the Rivonia trial and jailed until February this year. He is acknowledged as having been one of the world's most famous prisoners, and commands respect among critics and friends alike.

MR WALTER SISULU, 78, leader of the Internal Leadership Core and serves on the ANC's national executive committee. A former domestic worker and bakery employee, he joined the ANC in 1940 and became active in the organisation.

He was a close associate of Mr Mandela and they were tried together in the Rivonia trial. He was released last year.

MR ALFRED NZO, 65, heads the organisation's mission in exile in the absence of president Oliver Tambo.

A former health inspector in Alexandra township, he became politically active as a student at Fort Hare University and later played a leading role in the 1952 defiance campaign. He was also prominent in the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra.

He has represented the ANC in Egypt, India and Tanzania.

MR JOE SLOVO, 64, Lithuanian-born secretary general of the South African Communist Party, and former chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He served with the South African Forces in World War 2.

Trained as a lawyer — he was an advocate in Johannesburg — his activism in the 1960s precipitated his exile in 1963. He left the country a month before the Liliesleaf Farm raid by police which led to the Rivonia trial. He was the first white to be elected to the ANC's national executive committee.

MR JOE MODISE, 61, commander in chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe. A former factory driver and grocery wholesaler, he joined the ANC in the late 1940s and played a leading role in resistance to the Sophiatown removals.

He was a member of one of the first armed units of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He travelled extensively,

helping to set up the armed units. He later received military training in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He helped plan operations with Rhodesian guerrillas against government forces in the late 1960s.

MR THABO MBEKI, 47, director of international affairs. Tipped as the future president of the ANC, he has an MA in economics from Sussex University. He has also received military training in the Soviet Union.

He became active in the ANC during the 1960s and has since been prominent in the ANC's diplomatic efforts abroad. He is one of the chief authors of the Harare Declaration.

MR ARCHIE GUMEDE, 76, UDF leader in Natal. He has been twice charged and acquitted for treason and often detained and banned.

He is considered one of the "old guard" in the anti-apartheid movement. His moderate views have occasionally brought him into conflict with others. His suggestion some years ago that the UDF could contest elections caused some controversy.

DR BEYERS NAUDE, 75, who studied theology and languages at Stellenbosch University, became an NGK minister. He was the youngest member of the Broederbond when he joined that organisation in 1940. His political transition occurred when he questioned the Biblical justification for apartheid. He has since been prominent in the clerical opposition to apartheid.

He was first banned in 1977.

MR AHMED KATHRADA, 60, a former Rivonia trialist, and close associate of Mr Nelson Mandela.

MS RUTH MOMPATI, 63, a veteran of the 1952 Defiance Campaign, is a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee and a noted strategist on the political and military council. She went into exile in 1962.

She serves on the National Women's Executive Committee.

MS CHERYL CAROLUS, 32, Western Cape publicity secretary for the UDF, she is well known as an activist in Cape Town.

Trained as a teacher, she became politically active at the age of 13 and became the first woman to be detained in the Western Cape. She holds a non-academic post in the University of the Western Cape's education, resource and information project.

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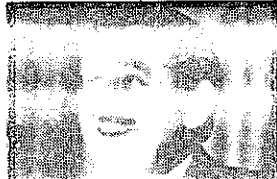
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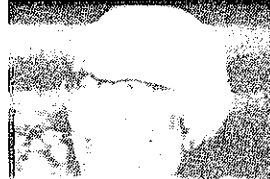
Mr F W de Klerk



Mr Pik Botha



Mr Nelson Mandela



Mr Walter Sisulu



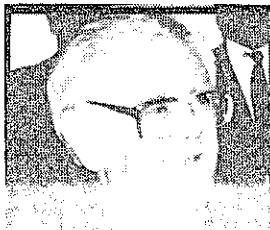
Mr Alfred Nzo



Dr Gerrit Viljoen



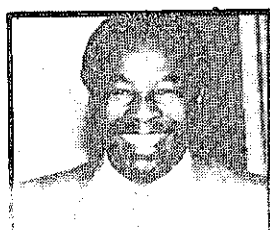
Dr Dawie de Villiers



Mr Joe Slovo



Mr Joe Modise



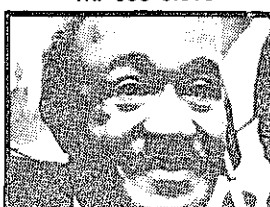
Mr Thabo Mbeki



Mr Kobie Coetsee



Mr Barend du Plessis



Mr Archie Gumede



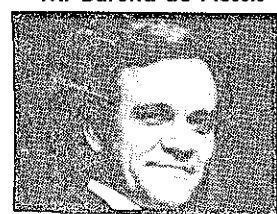
Dr Beyers Naude



Mr Ahmed Kathrada



Mr Adriaan Vlok



Dr Van der Merwe



Mr Roelf Meyer



Ms Ruth Mompoti



Ms Cheryl Carolus



Cosatu's 'war' statement irresponsible, say police

11A
 MBUS 2/5/90

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) declaration of war against Inkatha in Natal is "irresponsible" in the light of today's talks between the government and the ANC, say police.

Brigadier Jap Burger, who has helped impose relative stability in the strife-torn province, said today: "It seems as if Cosatu does not want peace. It must not think that it will be allowed to follow up its declaration of war.

"We will act against anyone, including Inkatha, who carries out violent acts. We will do everything to keep the peace."

Athlone rally

Brigadier Burger was reacting to a statement made at a Cosatu rally in Athlone yesterday by Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo.

Mr Naidoo said all avenues towards finding a peaceful solution in Natal had failed and the only way to resolve the problem was to fight.

"The only option is to fight in dealing with Buthelezi," he told 12 000 Cosatu members.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said anyone who wanted violence would be dealt with severely.

"We will not allow another flare-up in the violence."

Sporadic

More than 100 people had been killed in recent clashes between Inkatha and the Cosatu/ANC/UDF alliance in Natal townships.

The violence had largely been curbed by large-scale police and military action, but sporadic violence was still taking place.

Yesterday, a man was stabbed to death with an assegai in Empangeni in yet another killing in the power struggle between the organisations, police said.



ON THE MARCH: Waving Cosatu, ANC and communist flags, a crowd marches to Athlone Stadium for the May Day celebrations.

Mandela praises the PLO before meeting Arafat

CAIRO. — South African anti-apartheid leader Mr Nelson Mandela has met Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Mr Yasser Arafat.

Neither commented on their meeting yesterday but earlier Mr Mandela praised the PLO at a ceremony at Cairo University and said the black majority in South Africa and the Palestinians were struggling to achieve self-determination.

The governments of Israel and South Africa were practicing policies contrary to the principles of human rights, Mr Mandela told an audience at Cairo University where he was awarded an honorary doctorate.

The African National Congress deputy leader also at-

tended a meeting of a ministerial committee of the Organisation of African Unity.

The OAU monitoring committee for southern Africa is composed of ministers from the Frontline states.

The ministers said in a statement after the meeting that they "noted the measures taken by the Pretoria authorities and emphasised the fact that these measures were still far from sufficient to constitute the necessary climate for negotiations".

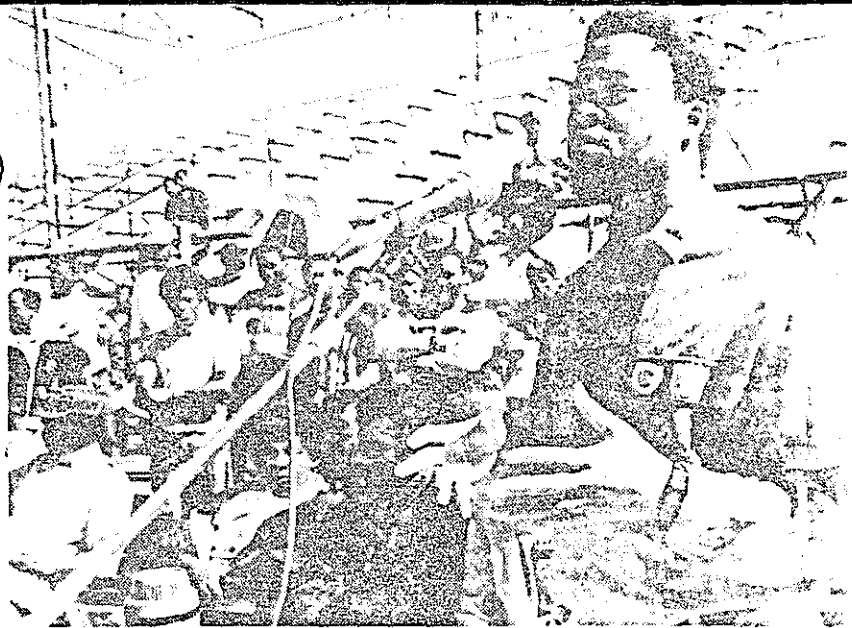
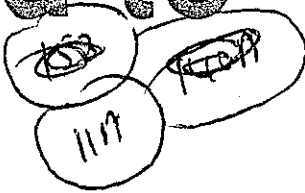
The government of President F W de Klerk granted temporary amnesty on Saturday to 38 exiled anti-apartheid activists, including ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

The amnesty, valid until August 19, will allow ANC officials to return to South Africa for talks with the government designed to clear the way for constitutional negotiations.

Some prisoners convicted of belonging to previously outlawed organisations such as the ANC have been released recently. The government has so far refused to grant amnesty to activists convicted of violence.

The ANC says that before constitutional negotiations can start all people convicted of politically motivated acts must be freed, exiled activists must be allowed to return, and the government must lift the four-year-old state of emergency. — Sapa-AP.

Workers urged to rally for unity



Mr Rapu Molekane told a May Day rally in Bekkersdal that workers should use their power to build a democratic South Africa.

MAY Day was celebrated in many parts of the country yesterday with calls for workers to unite in dismantling apartheid.

More than 10 000 workers at George Thabe stadium, Sharpeville, heard - perhaps for the first time - leaders of Cosatu, Nactu, ANC, PAC, BCM, UDF and independent unions present their stances from the same platform.

A Nactu banner flew opposite a flag proclaiming the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Shouted

From the stand PAC and ANC supporters shouted "Awethu" in unison, responding to a call of "Amandla" from the podium.

The Sharpeville meeting was permitted to go on between 10am and 3pm by the chief magistrate of Vereeniging.

Nactu assistant general secretary, Mr Mike Matsobane, said the rally was a watershed gathering "in

STAFF REPORTERS

our struggle" which called for worker unity and more vigilance against the capitalists.

Azapo projects coordinator Mr Muntu Myeza said the workers who were the life-blood of the nation would ultimately decide the fate of the country.

He said the workers unfortunately were caught between the major liberation forces (ANC and PAC) and the Government.

A Cosatu spokesman, Mr John Capel, warned that his federation would embark on a concerted action by May 21 if recommendations to alter the Labour Relations Act are not met.

He said both Nactu and Cosatu had been informed that the National Manpower Commission had made certain recommendations for gazetting to the Ministry of Manpower.

The two federations had also sent certain recommendations for debating gazetting, the earliest by today.

A worker representative from Natal whose

name was given as Mr Michael Vilakazi called on workers to help create structures to defuse the war in Natal.

An executive member of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Rapu Molekane at May Day rally held in Bekkersdal on the West Rand said workers should use their power to build a non-racial democratic country.

No police were at sight during the gathering which was monitored by marshalls.

Slogans

In Pretoria, a rally called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) at the H M Pitje stadium in Mamelodi failed to attract expected crowds.

Cultural groups rendered musical items and slogans were chanted throughout the morning.

No-one turned up at Randfontein's Mohlakeng township stadium where a similar rally was supposed to have been held.

No reason for the cancellation of the meeting

was given.

In Johannesburg, about 700 people, mostly wearing Pan Africanist Congress T-shirts, attended a rally organised by the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) at Shareworld Entertainment Centre, writes Nkopane Makobane.

All speakers strongly criticised the negotiations between the African National Congress and the Government which start today. They said the ANC had no mandate from the working class to enter into talks with the De Klerk regime.

Mr Colin Kotu, general secretary of the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, said the outcome of the negotiations was already known when one considers a statement by the State President that "minority rights will not be compromised".

Mr Patrick Msimanga of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), a body launched early this month, said De Klerk wanted to use "negotiations" to weaken the struggle. He said May Day had been won through mass struggle and

therefore, freedom would not be won through negotiations.

The phasing out of South Africa Congress of Trade Unions would provide an opportunity for

Cosatu to broaden trade union unity under its umbrella, Mr Johnny Malebo, regional chairman of the federation (Cosatu), said yesterday at a May Day rally

in Cape Town, writes Ishmael Lagardien.

He said Cosatu and Sactu had agreed to merge two months ago with the aim of achieving a single federation.

Talks unlikely to break down

Sowetan 2/5/90 (11A) (2053A)

By JOE THLOLOE and ISMAIL LAGARDIEN in Cape Town

THE ANC and the South African Government start historic talks at Groote Schuur today, a museum in Cape Town that was the official residence of South African prime ministers and state presidents until 1984.

The media will be allowed to take photographs before the talks, which will be held behind closed doors.

The Government will credit news people from the city centre to Groote Schuur.

The leaders of the two sides, State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson



F W DE KLERK

Mandela, may make informal remarks at the photo session.

The talks, postponed from April 11 to today, after the ANC protested against the killing of several Sebokeng residents during a march on March 26, will be about obstacles to negotiations.

They will last until Friday.

The ANC wants the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration of the Organisation for African Unity met before negotiations with the Government can start.

These include the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners, that exiles be allowed to return to South Africa and that political trials and executions be stopped.

Azapo, PAC will be kept abreast - Lekota

The Government, on the other hand, sees violence and the armed struggle as the major obstacles.

In the Government team are Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Finance Minister Barrend du Plessis, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

In the ANC team are South African Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, women's leader Ruth Mompati, Umkhonto we Sizwe

leader Joe Modise, Walter Sisulu, Beyers Naude, Ahmed Kathrada, Cheryl Carolus and Archie Gumede.

Although publicly the two sides appear to be miles apart on their attitude to the armed struggle, the talks are not likely to break down.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions for lifting the State of Emergency, the definition of political offences "with a view to the release of political prisoners", the return of exiles and indemnity against prosecution and arrest of ANC members.

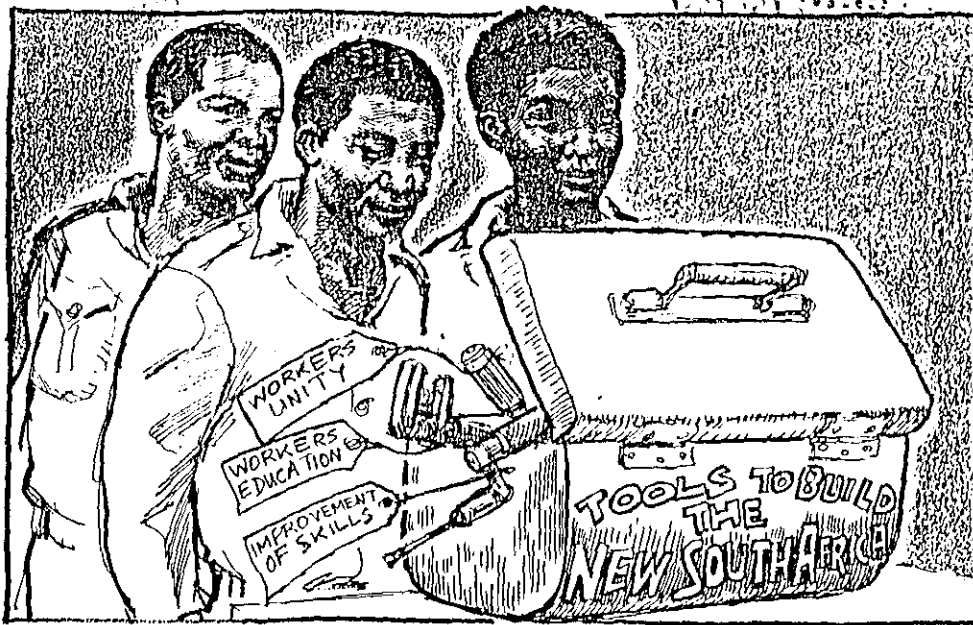
* ANC spokesman Terror Lekota yesterday said that his organisation would not negotiate a deal without informing "allied organisations" like Azapo and the PAC.

Speaking on the eve of the historic talks between the ANC and the Government, he said: "We will not negotiate above their heads."

"We are obliged to inform them of every step."

Both organisations have criticised the ANC for talking to the Government and have insisted that the struggle against white domination be intensified.

Anti-apartheid
Sowetan 2/5/90
THE Anti-Apartheid Movement is to stage a one-hour demonstration outside South Africa House in London today to demand an end to apartheid "repression" and to express solidarity with the ANC delegation when it sits down for talks with Pretoria. - Sapa (16) (11A)



Security tight for meeting with ANC

Expectations rise for today's historic talks

11A
Soweto
2/5/110

FOCUS

By JOE THILOLOE in Cape Town

ON Monday evening we returned empty-handed after driving in wet weather to a luxury hotel 45 kilometres outside Cape Town to attend a Press briefing by the ANC delegation that is meeting the South African Government from today.

The gates to the hotel grounds were guarded by two white security policemen. They checked our names against their lists and politely told us that we were not on them.

At the filling station near the hotel two police vans were parked and several uniformed policemen kept watch.

Across the street, opposite the garage, two private police cars were parked.

The Government is not taking any chances with the ANC people - security is tight.

On its side the ANC is also vigilant - Pressmen have to get ANC accreditation and as a result journalists covering the talks are carrying two Press cards, one issued by the ANC and the other by the Bureau for Information.

Convoy

While we manoeuvred to turn back, a convoy of several kombis and private cars, obviously carrying members of the delegation, stopped briefly at the gate, and then sped into the yard and up the incline to the back of the hotel.

The ANC delegation had been in meetings with the leadership of the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions, preparing for the talks today.

Journalists who have already been inside tell of the various checkpoints as they proceeded towards the appointments.

Requests for interviews have to be sent well in advance, and we were turned back because we had not made the arrangements.

Expectations are rising as the two delegations are poised to meet this afternoon at Grootte Schuur, a museum that was the official residence of South African Prime Ministers and State Presidents until 1984, behind the picturesque mountain.

Briefing

In a Press briefing on Monday, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen spelt out what the Government expects from the talks - "a clear...commitment to peaceful methods for political change on the part of all participants in negotiations, implying the abandonment of violence and intimidation and a cessation of reference to continuing the armed struggle."

"The Government believes such rhetoric is encouraging the use of violence and intimidation and is not conducive to normalising the political process," he said.

Spokesman Teror Lekota yesterday said that the ANC delegation would call off the armed struggle only when it was satisfied that the negotiations were on course and the process would not be aborted.

He said that when the ANC established Unkhonto we Sizwe armed struggle was not a principle, but a tactic used because of the circumstances then.

Lekota did not see the question of armed struggle being finalised at this round of talks. It is believed that the ANC will insist on negotiated ceasefire rather than a unilateral calling off of the armed struggle, but Lekota sees this happening later in the process.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC delegation led by deputy

president Nelson Mandela said they were determined to remove obstacles hampering negotiations:

"We consider ourselves obligated not only to our constituency, but to the whole country to make maximum effort to find a common ground to eliminate tension between black and white people.

cution and arrest.

Indications are that the Government is going to argue that it cannot release trained guerrillas into the community while they are still under orders to continue fighting.

In the same way, the Government will not grant indemnity to unled guerrillas still in exile.

Struggle

The ANC will be asked to call off the armed struggle first.

The Government will also argue that the state of emergency cannot be lifted until the violence in the black townships subsides.

Observers in Cape Town believe that at most the meetings over the next three days will produce a statement in which the two commit themselves to a peaceful process of negotiations and agree to set up working committees to look at issues like a ceasefire and the definition of political prisoners.

This week's meetings are a first tentative step that might not yield screaming headlines.

Obligated

"The ANC also considers itself obligated to the international community for the support which it has received through a most difficult period in the past and will do everything to make a success of the present exercise."

They said they were finalising and refining their approach to the talks.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions of the lifting of the state of emergency, the definition of political offences "with a view to the release of political prisoners", the return of exiles and the indemnity against prose-



NELSON MANDELA

AS the ANC enters the first round of negotiations with the National Party today, a shadow ideological war between the PAC and Azapo is being waged for the hearts and minds of the black population.

The political battle between the two groups to the left of the ANC is not high profile - rather it is being waged at grassroots level and involves painstaking door-to-door politicking by both groups.

In the last week, the PAC has begun fielding teams in Johannesburg's Hillbrow suburb, making it the first political organisation to take cognisance of the political potential of the more than 40 000 black people in the area.

The organisation has also opened offices in several "coloured"

townships, including the sprawling Ennerdale area south-west of Johannesburg as well as Bosmont and Riverlea - a clear indication of it muscling into areas that have large Azapo support.

"We are not going to shout from the rooftops about what we are doing. While we welcome media coverage, we believe that conscientisation at a grassroots level is the most important aspect of our work. We are not trying to score points off the black consciousness organisations.

"They have their programme and we have ours. We differ ideologically. But I would not say it is an ideological war. We are doing our work and they their bit," says PAC's internal general secretary, Mr Benny

Alexander.

Azapo's deputy-president, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, counters that they too are strengthening their structures at a grassroots level.

"We don't think there is a real threat from the PAC. We might lose a number of supporters from our ranks, but it will be insignificant. After all, we do expect the PAC to have some constituency. Our programme now is to further elucidate our philosophy without adopting an aggressive stance that will lead to confrontation with the PAC," he said.

It is difficult to assess exactly where the support of each organisation lies, but it is accepted Azapo has more hard-core fol-

lowers in the Northern Transvaal - especially townships near Pietersburg - than the PAC.

On the other hand, the PAC has a virtual monopoly over Azapo in the Eastern Cape and the Free State, while a recent survey by the Macann advertising agency found that more youngsters supported the PAC in Soweto than even the ANC.

The head of the police public relations, Maj-Gen Herman Sadler, is on record as saying there has been extensive gravitation towards the PAC from all major black political organisations.

The ideological drift group has not been without confrontation. At a recent rally in Welkom, in the Free State, Azapo supporters were ordered

Whither PAC, Azapo?

consciousness supporters were treated coolly despite the presence of Azapo president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala.

While both the PAC and Azapo regard each other as "natural allies" - but despite the cross-pollination of ideas, there are clear ideological dif-

ferences between the two. At the core of the "Africanist" philosophy is the belief that the fight in South Africa is against "settler colonialism" - an indigenous people being made landless and their culture alienated by an invading force that sought to plunder the wealth of the country.

ferences between the two.

At the top end, the PAC believes in a united, socialist Africa which, it says, would be the most potent weapon against "international imperialism."

For its part, the Black Consciousness group believes white racism led to the country being conquered when Jan van Riebeeck arrived in 1652.

Thus, black people are those who have been socially, politically and economically oppressed and "who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle for liberation."

Those black people, such as homeland leaders,

who do not fit in with this idiom are regarded as "non-whites," inhabiting the grey world where they are neither for liberation nor fit in completely in the "white person's world."

Black Consciousness further believes that all people struggling for self-determination are black. Thus, the Lithuanians are considered black as they have been politically, socially and economically oppressed.

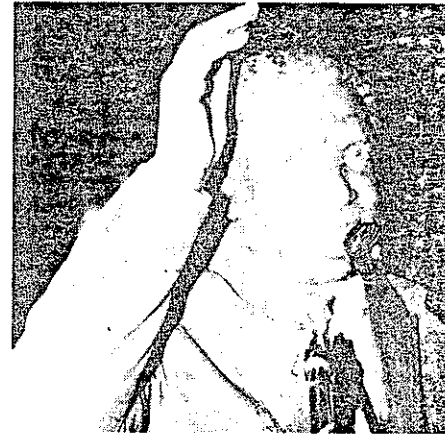
While the ideological conflict goes much further, there are many similarities between the two.

Both believe in socialism, in self-determination for black people, both believe to varying degrees in the "Africaness" of black people in South Africa and both agree that the land question is central in the fight against apartheid.

But that is where the convergence of ideas ends.

In the maelstrom that is black South African politics, either organisation could pick up the spoils resulting from failed negotiations between the ANC and the National Party.

At this stage, indications are that the PAC is ahead in the race. Whether the PAC will stay ahead - and win the hearts and minds it needs to control any future majority government - is a question yet to be answered. - Sapa.



PAC president Zeph Mothopeng



Azapo President Itumeleng Mosala

Dance for ANC leader's release

Explorers

Sowetan 2/5/90

welcome

Mandela

119
392

WELCOME
MANDELA (NM 1) by
Famous Explorers.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was released on February 11 this year in a blaze of publicity that attracted a lot of attention from curious people who would otherwise not have had an interest in the man.

This goes for the many people who are now making a lot of money out of his name.

In many cities and towns across the country,



you find shops selling "Viva Mandela" T-shirts although most of these

shopowners do not know anything of the policies the man stands for.

You also find mounted colour pictures of Mandela for sale in the streets which led to the UDF calling for Mandela's name to stop being exploited.

It is in these circumstances that this record welcoming Mandela home, hits the market.

The album cover is a picture of the meeting held at the First National Bank Stadium to welcome Mandela.

The group of

musicians, who call themselves the Famous Explorers Project, were thrilled at the release and recorded this pop-mbaqanga song with a joyous beat.

Songwriter Sam Wingate said he wrote the track and had it recorded three weeks before Mandela's release because he hoped it would "contribute to the celebration of Mandela's release - which is why it is such a happy song.

"What started as a

reason simply to celebrate Mandela's homecoming, has assumed unexpected proportions."

The LP has three slightly different versions of the same song with one of them remixed for dancing.

Wingate's Famous Explorers Project consists of Garth Deacon, Joy Deacon, Star Mbaso, Peter Cohen, Jo Day, Tom Fox, Scorpion Madondo, Russell Taylor, Tigger Reunert, Dee

Wingate and Andrew Bunker.

Welcome Mandela is due for release in Europe, Britain, Japan and America.

Azapo, PAC tap grassroots

CML Trap 2/5/90 11A

From NEIL LEWIS

JOHANNESBURG. — As the ANC enters the first round of negotiations with the National Party today, a shadowy ideological war between the PAC and Azapo is being waged for the hearts and minds of the black population.

The political battle between the two groups to the left of the ANC is being waged at grassroots level and involves painstaking door-to-door politicking.

In the past week, the PAC has begun fielding teams in Hillbrow, making it the first political organisation to take cognizance of the political potential of the more than 40 000 black people in the area.

The organisation has also opened offices in several "coloured" townships — a clear indication of it muscling into areas that have large Azapo support.

"We believe that conscientisation at a grassroots level is the most important aspect of our work. We are not trying to score points off the black consciousness organisations," says PAC's internal general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander.

Azapo's deputy president, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, counters that they too are strengthening their structures at a grassroots level.

"We don't think there is a real

threat from the PAC. We might lose a number of supporters from our ranks, but it will be insignificant. Our programme now is to further elucidate our philosophy without adopting an aggressive stance that will lead to confrontation with the PAC," said Dr Mokoape.

It is difficult to assess exactly where the support of each organisation lies, but it is accepted that Azapo has more hard-core followers in the Northern Transvaal than the PAC.

Confrontation

On the other hand, the PAC has a virtual monopoly in the Eastern Cape and the Free State, while a recent survey by the McCann advertising agency found that more youngsters supported the PAC in Soweto than even the ANC.

The ideological drift has not been without confrontation.

At a recent rally in Welkom, in the Free State, Azapo supporters were ordered by PAC followers to withdraw their flags at strategic points in the local stadium. At the funeral of PAC founder-member Japhta Masemola on Saturday, black consciousness supporters were treated coolly despite the presence of Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala.

While both the PAC and Azapo regard each other as "natural allies", there are clear ideological differences between the two.

At the core of the "Africanist" philosophy is the belief that the

fight in South Africa is against "settler colonialism" — an indigenous people being made landless and their culture alienated by an invading force.

For its part, the Black Consciousness group believes white racism led to the country being conquered.

Thus, black people are those who have been socially, politically and economically oppressed and "who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle for liberation".

While the ideological conflict goes much further, there are many similarities between the two.

Both believe in socialism, both believe in self-determination for black people, both believe to varying degrees in the "African-ness" of black people in South Africa and both agree that the land question is central in the fight against apartheid.

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In the maelstrom that is black South African politics, either organisation could pick up the spoils resulting from failed negotiations between the ANC and the National Party.

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Opp Tim's (111)

2/5/90

Churchmen's petition

TWENTY black churchmen, educationists and politicians who claim to represent "millions" of people, yesterday handed a petition to the government demanding that it move quickly to remove obstacles in the negotiation process.

Mr John Gogotya, president of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) and spokesman for the Progressive Alliance group, said his delegation had hoped to see President F W de Klerk yesterday but had instead met Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Adriaan Vlok.

'Others may not stick to ANC agreement'

MAY Day came at a point where negotiations were "thick in the air" and the liberation movement highly divided, Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said yesterday.

In a May Day statement he said: "It comes on the eve of talks about talks between the ANC and government without the ANC consulting with any section of the liberation movement"

He said it indicated that the ANC might enter into an agreement which other sections might never honour.

In a May Day call to

THEO RAWANA

workers, the council urged workers to use May Day as a forum to launch a struggle in the areas of housing, jobs, unity, education and training, working hours, and the fight against privatisation.

The May Day rally at Sharpeville Stadium — attended by about 10 000 people — was addressed by speakers from a cross-section of black organisations, including Cosatu, Nactu, UDF, ANC, PAC and Azapo. Another rally at Shareworld was attended by about 2 000 people.

A statement by the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), which seeks leadership of the black working class, said there were no shortcuts to freedom.

"May Day has been won

through mass struggle. Freedom will not be won through negotiations, but only through the struggle of the masses," Wosa said.

□ Sapa reports that a May Day rally in Mamelodi yesterday was marked by the first public appearance of a high-ranking ANC member in Pretoria since most of the organisation's imprisoned leadership was released last October.

Former Rivonia trialist Elias Motsoaledi was the keynote speaker at a rally attended by fewer than 2 000 people in Mamelodi's soccer stadium.

□ Our Durban correspondent reports that a number of Cosatu rallies were held in Natal to celebrate Workers' Day yesterday.

Organisers of the rally at Durban's Curries Fountain had a disappointing turnout of only 5 000.

- + 30%
- + 10%
- + 14%

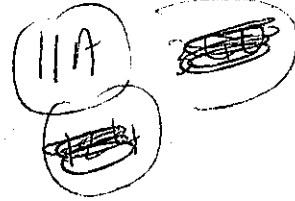
1989

NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989:.....	668
February 1989 — April 29 1990:.....	949
Past 48 hours' official toll:.....	9
TOTAL:.....	1 626



Wilton Mkwayi

Civics**vote****on unity**

South 3/5 - 9/5/90.

By CHIARA CARTER

A SINGLE, united structure for civic organisations in the Cape is imminent after a watershed civic conference attended by more than 200 delegates from a wide range of organisations throughout the Cape Province at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville last Saturday.

Delegates to the conference resolved to launch the new structure within the next three months.

An interim committee comprising all organisations and areas represented at the conference will be responsible for launching the new structure.

Keynote speaker, ANC national organiser Mr Wilton Mkwayi, told delegates that, as trade unions did, successful civic organisations should be able to attract a wide range of people around common issues.

"If there are no schools nearby, if rents are high, it affects all of us — regardless of political persuasion.

"This is why the ANC does not see civics as organisations affiliating to the ANC. But we do call on all cadres to join and become active civic members in the areas in which they live," Mkwayi said.

A strong, united civic organisation was needed not only in the Western Cape but also nationally.

He said this was an important step towards building "people's power".

The first task of the interim committee is to finalise a range of draft resolutions.

Muslims for new SA

**Religion
in
Focus**
BY NOEL BRUYNS

MUSLIMS from all over South Africa will discuss the role and contributions of Muslims in a future South Africa at a three-day conference at the University of the Western Cape this weekend.

The major items of discussion will be the role of Muslims in a changing South Africa, the Muslim

response to negotiations, and concerns and contributions of Muslims to the ANC constitutional proposals. *11A*

The opening programme will be held in the Gatesville Masjid at 7.30pm on Friday, May 4. *South 315-715790*

Representatives of the ANC and the PAC will speak on the positions of their organisations on negotiations.

"If nothing else, the

conference should prepare Muslims for a post-apartheid South Africa," said Mr Ebrahim Rasool of the Western Cape Convening Committee.

"This conference provides us with yet another opportunity to commit ourselves to struggle against apartheid and to help shape the future of this country," he said.

Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), said that, through the conference, a "far greater unity" would be established among Mus-

lims in South Africa.

More than 650 delegates, representing a broad Muslim opinion, will attend the conference. Speakers will include members of the Ulema (theologians), Muslim activists, representatives of the major liberation movements and Muslim academics.

*Talk — or
South 315-715790
destroy*

THE choice before South

Africa is negotiations or destruction.

So says the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in a discussion booklet on negotiations just published.

The wrong choice would mean an intensification of international pressure.

"Another consequence will be the intensification of internal pressure to the

point of severe disruption.

"The black majority has reached the end of its patience," the bishops warned.

Writing on the role of the Church in negotiations, Fr Albert Nolan of the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT), said the Church had a special interest in negotiations as it had a special responsibility to promote peace.

"The role of the Church in South Africa today is therefore abundantly clear. In this new era of talk about negotiations and peace, the Church will have to play the prophetic role of exposing any attempts that might be made to create a false or illusionary peace based upon

insincere negotiations and unjust arrangements," Fr Nolan said.

Many people expected the Church to be a neutral mediator.

However, the Church could not be placed in the middle as mediator if one side was right and the other wrong or if the demands of one side were just and those of the other were unfair.

"The Church must take a stand for justice and truth," he said.

Keys to the door of peace

The Government and the private sector should jointly formulate specific priorities in the areas of housing, community services and amenities, land acquisition, business development and community development to bridge the economic impasse which is threatening the brittle progress towards political peace.

This is the view of Mr Jan Steyn, who recently resigned as chairman of the Urban Foundation to head the Government's R2 billion trust for socio-economic upliftment.

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London yesterday, Mr Steyn said economic and political restructuring had to occur simultaneously.

However, these two dimensions were complicating each other to a significant degree.

While a political settlement was the current national objective, the economic priorities of the major parties appeared to be hugely polarised — thus placing the prospect of a political settlement at risk.

Compelling

To make matters worse, the conflicting economic objectives were all understandable.

Black political leadership was faced with the fact that the constituency it intended to represent was relatively very poor, had limited resources in land, was burdened by a massive housing shortage and was educationally disadvantaged, he said. For them, politics could be nothing else but about economics and wealth redistribution.

On the other hand, the new economic policies of the Government — which for the first time in 40 years broadly coincided with growth needs in the private sector — were equally compelling.

To lower taxes to stimulate investment and productivity, central government spending was being curbed. Money supply was on a tight rein, with high interest rates directed at combating inflation. In addition,

Politics, development must work in tandem

Addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London last night, outgoing Urban Foundation chairman Mr Jan Steyn argued that South Africa's rich-poor chasm must be addressed urgently to prevent the conflicting demands of politics and development from creating chaos. **Political Reporter ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE** reports.

tion, privatisation and deregulation were proceeding.

Serious attempts were being made to create conditions under which the economy could return to a growth rate exceeding 5 percent, the absolute minimum level needed to absorb new entrants into the labour market.

"The bitter irony, however, is that immediate welfare needs among blacks cannot be assuaged by medium-term growth-orientated economics.

"Worse still, the requirements of a political settlement are made hugely more complex by the economic conflict.

"Our lack of serious attention to black socio-economic development in the past has come home to roost with a vengeance."

Noting that a new constitution should not entrench the specific interests of whites or protect any category of the population formally defined in racial terms, Mr Steyn said a new constitution should:

- Provide for the effective participation of all significant interest groups irrespective of race.
- Create a situation in which all talent and leadership resources could work together in solving development problems.

● Effectively protect individual rights through a Bill of Rights.

"We can have good government, because the essential checks and balances generated by such provisions will help to ensure that whatever leadership emerges in South Africa will seek creative compromises — compromises which will promote the interests of the disadvantaged, but without damaging the legitimate interests, economic confidence and willingness to co-operate of those who command the resources to invest, and those who currently have the skills to contribute to a process of dynamic development."

Mr Steyn said these attributes were what all the Western democracies had.

Political balance had been achieved through development, social mobility and progress. This process had reduced gaps between the haves and have-nots.

South Africa did not yet have the demography and the development at present to secure this balance automatically. Thus any settlement of political disputes had to attempt to build it in.

"Whatever the grounds for political optimism may be, we dare not leave it to the political processes only.

These funds, he added, had to achieve their objective without creating or sustaining a bureaucracy whose middle class salaries would fuel inflation.

The problem had to be tackled in such a way as to make the development process self-sustaining which meant that markets had to be stimulated.

But because the very poor and needy could not afford market prices, funds had to be used as gearing finance, or leverage money, to lift the resources of the poor up to levels commensurate with minimum affordability at market rates, or reduce costs of provision with the same effect.

In this way, the public and private sectors could work together with the disadvantaged communities to secure both basic needs, market expansion and employment growth, Mr Steyn added.

Stimulated

It was a sign of hope that decision makers also believed there was a solution. The R2 billion independent development trust for disadvantaged South Africans was evidence of that belief.

The model had to be one of massive State and private sector development funds which went directly to areas in which there was a need and a market.

"We cannot place representatives of the disadvantaged communities in a position in which they feel obliged to challenge the interests of advantaged South Africans to seek redress."

Citing various examples of economic inequality in the country, Mr Steyn said South Africa faced a challenge in the field of development at least equal to the political challenge.

"The challenge has to be faced and these needs addressed, otherwise the conflicting demands of politics and development will destroy each other."

The PAC warns of ^{18/6/68 3/1/90} unwelcome trade-offs

By MICHAEL MORRIS ^{11/18}
Political Correspondent

AS the ANC and government delegations sat down to attempt to work out a deal to get negotiations going, the Pan Africanist Congress warned that the meeting could lead to "unacceptable compromises".

And it said its own support among blacks was growing, particularly among young people, as a result of the rapprochement between the government and the ANC.

"We are very apprehensive," said Western Cape representative of the PAC Mr Barney Desai.

"On the basis of Mr De Klerk's recent speeches and his London Television News interview with (former British MP and top TV personality) Brian Walden, we cannot see how anybody can negotiate on behalf of the oppressed people of South Africa for a new deal.

"The man (Mr De Klerk) is not coming clean. People are engaging him in negotiations and we must see what they come out with. But as far as we are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that table."

Mr Desai said the PAC's national executive committee would consider negotiations "only if the situation warrants it".

Violence could be sticking point

AMBUS
3/5/90

By TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

A TOUGHER round in the talks between the government and the African National Congress starts today.

After the comparatively easy preliminaries, hard bargaining is expected about obstacles to real negotiation and an agreement on the agenda.

The agenda had previously been arranged by a steering committee of officials from both sides. The last item to be included, at the request of the government, was the ANC's attitude to violence.

● The start of the great debate — page 17

This and the definition of political prisoners, along with ANC demands for amnesty for all its imprisoned followers, will be the two main sticking points.

Today the two sides will have to start tackling what one source called the political "nitty gritty", especially misgivings about violence from both sides.

There is also the growing impression in political circles that the present round of talks, due to end late tomorrow afternoon, will be the first of a series.

A source said yesterday that both sides had shown a willingness to approach the problems in a spirit of trying to solve them rather than trying to perpetuate them.

There was the realisation that if this opportunity was not grasped it would be to the detriment of the country. Both sides were determined to approach the talks in a positive spirit, but fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

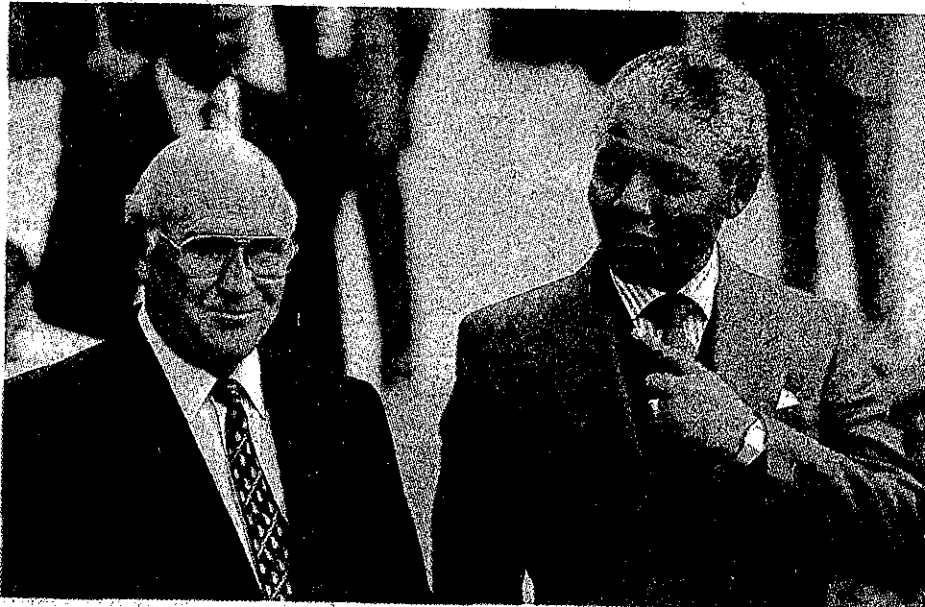
Another source spoke of the relaxed atmosphere between the two delegations.

ANC delegates from Lusaka who had long been in exile said the meeting was so normal that it felt as if there had been no previous barriers.

On the question of the armed struggle, the ANC side remained determined not to suspend it unilaterally, unless there were substantial undertakings from the government to stop State violence.

From the government side the feeling was that measures to maintain law and order in the country could not be regarded as "State violence".

Last night's talks at Groote Schuur ended about 9.30 and included a working dinner.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus

MEN OF THE MOMENT: At ease in each other's company, President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela prepare to face the Press.

● More pictures, page 17.

Thatcher, Mandela set to hammer out differences

NR6US 3/5/90 (11A)

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Mrs Margaret Thatcher's historic talks with Mr Nelson Mandela, now scheduled for July 3 or 4, are not expected to be easy.

There are many points where the two leaders differ, two of the most serious being sanctions and the armed struggle.

But the meeting's significance lies in the fact that it is the first such encounter between a British Prime Minister and an ANC leader since the formation of the ANC in 1912.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said here yesterday that he hoped the meeting would lead to a "Damascus experience" for Mrs Thatcher on the sanctions question.

Mr Mandela made it clear during his visit here last month that he would not go easy on the British Prime Minister and her anti-sanctions stand.

Although Mrs Thatcher has had a difficult year — she is already under fire at home on the poll tax and is trailing in the opinion polls — she is expected to put forward a spirited defence of her "rewards-for-reforms" approach, which involves lifting Britain's limited sanctions as changes are made in South Africa. She has also insisted that she will go to

South Africa as and when she sees fit.

But she has been eagerly awaiting this encounter with Mr Mandela, whom she holds in high regard, although she has kept her distance from the ANC, which she once labelled "a typical terrorist organisation".

Mr Mandela has described the British leader in interviews as someone who has the courage of her convictions, saying he "would rather have her as a friend than as an enemy".

He can be expected to give her an "inside line" on his delegation's talks with the South African government.

This will delight the Prime Minister, who has long coveted a place in the South African peace process.

Archbishop Tutu, who is visiting England, said that he hoped the talks would lead to "a mending of fences because Nelson Mandela will be playing a crucial role in the life of our country".

Asked whether Mrs Thatcher should visit South Africa, he said if she did she could expect a similar reception to that given to cricket rebel Mike Gatting.

"The majority of the people in the country would not be amused."

ANC choir (11A) interrupts PAC sermon

From ZOLA NTUTU

PORT ELIZABETH. — The church choir repeatedly interrupted a PAC representative from East London when he began attacking the ANC and its leadership during the Port Elizabeth funeral last weekend of a PAC founder member, Mr Dennis Siwisa. South 315-915 190

Mr GM Mbali was also chided for his conduct by attending ministers.

He told mourners the deaths of Siwisa and another PAC leader, Mr Jeff Masemola, had meant South Africa had experienced a "black weekend".

Hundreds of mourners from around the country, including ANC members, attended the funeral. Two forms of salute were seen — the PAC's open hand and the ANC's closed fist.

Paying tribute, a former student of Siwisa and ex-Robben Island prisoner, Mr Saki Macozoma — media director of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Johannesburg — said the memory of men such as Siwisa could be honoured by people helping to usher in a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. — *PEN*

The feminist who fights with words

South 315-915790

By Heather Robertson

DIANA Russell's recently-published book, "Lives of Courage", has been described by Oliver Tambo as "a very convincing canvas of the rich and brave lives of the women of South Africa" which "should go a long way in assisting the struggle in South Africa — especially the international aspect of it".

Russell, who has published a number of feminist books and articles including "The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective" and "Rape in Marriage", spoke to SOUTH during her recent visit to South Africa.

Russell left South Africa in 1956 when she completed her BA degree at UCT. She has since studied in Britain and America. She acquired her professorship in sociology at Mills College in California, where she initiated the first course in Women's Studies in 1969.

Horrors

Russell embarked on "Lives of Courage" because she wanted Americans "to be made aware of the horrors of apartheid and motivate them to support sanctions".

"I was looking for women who were particularly willing to take risks in the struggle because I believe no revolution can be made without taking risks."

She wanted the book to be based on interviews "because personal stories are far more poignant".

The first chapter of her book focuses on the gruelling experiences of women in detention. To some this might seem to sensationalise women's suffering, but Russell explains that many Americans are not aware of the horrors of detention.

"I wanted them to know about the courage of people who go into detention and come out fighting. Not many Americans are prepared to risk so much for their principles."

Active involvement in anti-apartheid organisations was the major criterion used in selecting women to interview.



Diana Russell: "assisting the struggle in South Africa"

"I decided to interview both black and white women involved in the liberation struggle, focusing on their lives and the risks they are taking to create a new South Africa.

"I tried to keep a balance in terms of race, ethnicity and political organisations but this did not always succeed. For instance I wanted to interview PAC women but I was never told who they were."

Space constraints also prevented her from including an interview with Jean Pease of the Cape Action League.

Although she is actively involved in radi-

cal feminist campaigns in the States, Russell has in some interviews steered away from asking questions on feminist issues.

Russell explains this was not her primary concern in the book.

"This is primarily a book that is trying to contribute to the end of apartheid. At the end of the interview with Winnie Mandela, I asked her about sexism. She said sexism was not a problem for black women. Men have been separated from women through migrant labour and women have had to be very independent.

She added that there might be a need for women to get together as mothers. Not all

the interviewees shared this view, but to many the struggle against apartheid was the major issue."

What are her views on feminism in South Africa?

"Many people have told me that feminism is perceived as a white, bourgeois American philosophy, not relevant to black women and that the left in South Africa has a lot of hostility to feminism.

"What came across in these interviews for the first time was that traditional ideas about sexism are not acceptable," Russell says.

"A refugee from Inkatha said she became aware that sexism was similar to racism and men were helping the regime because they stopped women from attending political meetings."

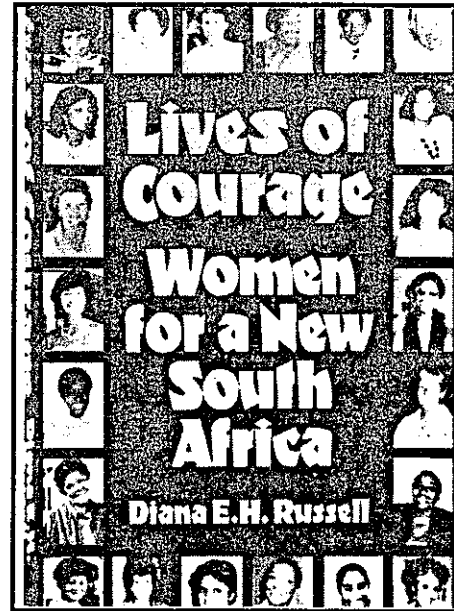
"I see South African women as incredible international role models. If women in other countries were prepared to take more risks, they would achieve more."

Despite the media's critical response to Winnie Mandela — particularly concerning the notorious Mandela soccer team — Russell still speaks in admiration of her.

Traditional

"I like her strong presence, which is the opposite of traditional women who are always trying to please, but she was also warm towards me."

Russell spoke to women activists from all over the country — including Shahieda Issel, Florence de Villiers of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwu), Ruth Mompati of the ANC National Executive, Ela Ramgobin of the Natal Indian Congress and Gertrude Fester of the United Women's Congress.



After completing more than 60 interviews with these activists, Russell says she was so inspired she wanted to change her American citizenship.

Citizenship

"I investigated whether I could reclaim my South African citizenship, but I could not."

She is, however, interested in coming back to South Africa next January to do a study on women and violence with UWC academic, Rhoda Kadalie.

She firmly believes the best way to get a message across is to let the women who suffer the most speak for themselves.

Russell describes herself as a radical feminist — as opposed to the liberal feminism of women who want to be integrated into capitalist society and not necessarily change the entire system.

Although she would not describe "Lives of Courage" as a feminist book, she says "if people want to know about what women feel about sexism in this country, they will get more from this book than others."

A handshake to peace

'Shacks' for classes

Shock conditions at Cape school

● Page 3

Fagme wants WP cleanup

New manager to act on "bullyboy" image

● Page 22

Women, rape and the law

The ordeal which faces victims

● Page 14

THIS is the handshake millions hope will bring peace to South Africa.

It breaks a 78-year deadlock between the world's oldest liberation movement and a government under pressure.

Most South Africans hope the talks between the two groups, led by ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and State President FW de Klerk respectively, will usher in a new, apartheid-free era.

But there are also fears that the historic talks which began at Groote Schuur this week could be an exercise in futility because of the great differences between the two groups.

Prisoners

As they sat down at the palatial former residence of South Africa's white prime ministers, in-principle agreements on all key obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa seemed assured.

But if agreements on the main obstacles — the release of political prisoners, amnesty for exiles, an end to the state of emergency and the scrapping of security legislation — are not reached, the meeting will not provide a quick fix for South Africa's problems.

Officials on both sides have acknowledged that the details of agreements, and their implementation, will be worked out — possibly over several months — by joint working committees likely to be es-

tablished after the talks.

The government will attempt to handle the release of prisoners and indemnity for exiles case by case.

Sources say the ANC has already presented the government with a list of several hundred prisoners it wants released and that — in advance of the talks — government officials have agreed to release at least half.

However, the two parties have yet to agree on a joint definition of a political prisoner.

"We sense (these issues) should not pose a problem," says ANC foreign affairs secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"The principles are already estab-

lished, Nelson Mandela was jailed for what they describe crimes of violence, but they released him unconditionally.

"So they can do the same for others."

Similarly, says Mbeki, Joe Modise, commander of the ANC's army and a member of the talks team "is walking the streets of Cape Town" under a temporary immunity granted to the ANC party.

"There isn't anyone in exile who can be said to have committed greater offences — attacks were carried out under his orders.

"If he can come back, I can't see any problem for anyone else."



On the other issues — the lifting of the state of emergency and security laws which block the practice of normal politics, and the government's demand that the ANC end its armed struggle — the question is no longer whether either side will move.

It is who does what first.

The ANC wants the state of emergency lifted before it begins discussing a formal ceasefire. De Klerk is saying that the ANC must first end its war talk before the emergency is lifted.

Much of the three days could be spent hammering out a compromise on which ends first: the emergency or the armed struggle.



Winnie's words terrifying — witness

PR 603 (118)
3/5/90
[Handwritten initials]

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "Mrs Winnie Mandela said some words which terrified us most of all — she said 'you are not fit to be alive'."

With these words Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, began describing a series of interrogations and beatings which he and three other young men allegedly endured at Mrs Mandela's house at 585 Diepkloof Extension, Soweto.

He was testifying yesterday at the trial of Mr Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson, 41, of Orlando West, Soweto.

At the start of the trial before Mr Justice B O'Donovan and two assessors in the Rand Supreme Court Mr Richardson pleaded not guilty to 11 counts — four of kidnapping, five of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, one of attempted murder and one of murder. The murder charge

arises from the death of James "Stompie" Moketsi Seipei, 14.

Mr Kgase said he had lived at the Methodist Church manse in Orlando West.

On the evening of December 29 1988 he was playing cards with Stompie, Mr Barend Thabiso, 20, and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, 21.

Someone burst into the lounge and ordered them into the kitchen, where he saw a tall, well-built man who he now knows as Jerry. Everyone from the house was rounded up.

"Quietness"

They were taken to Diepkloof Extension in a bus, to a house with a swimming pool and a jacuzzi.

Supper was served, more people arrived and Mrs Mandela came in.

"There was an intense quietness," Mr Kgase said.

Mrs Mandela then said they were not fit to be alive.

Xoliswa, a woman who lived at the manse, said Mr Kgase, Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe had slept with the Rev Paul Verryn. Stompie had sold out comrades in Parys who were killed by the police and Stompie had also complained about sexual misconduct.

Mrs Mandela went up to Mr Kgase, grabbed him by the hair and punched him.

She asked how he could be so irresponsible as not to stop the sexual misconduct, Mr Kgase said.

Then grabbed Stompie by the shoulder and interrogated him about using cameras to spy on everyone. Stompie said he knew nothing about it.

After each had been interrogated by Mrs Mandela, she asked for sjamboks. Then each was beaten up.

The hearing continues.

A hectic two days as teams bargain

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN *IIA*

THE next two days during the talks between the Government and the ANC are going to be hectic for both teams as well as for the Press corps who have flown in from all over the world. *Sowetan 3/1790*

If the past three days are anything to go by, none of the journalists stands a chance of meeting any member of the two delegations.

The ANC is holed up in a hotel an hour's drive from Cape Town, while the Government team are at their respective residences.

By late yesterday very few - perhaps nobody at all - had had an opportunity to meet any of the people seated around the negotiating table.

For the ANC, all the briefings and announcements were made by either Cape organiser Mr Patrick Lekota or the movement's stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki.

A chance of a single group photograph of the ANC delegation was allowed early yesterday.

Interviews

The media were promised a briefing "at the end of the three days" by spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Marius Kleynhans.

At the same time the Bureau for Information said it would try and arrange personal interviews with Government delegates.

At yesterday's opening speech in the shade of Table Mountain, both Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk made conciliatory and promising speeches.

The two leaders appeared relaxed and confident with the Press corps showing most of the strain.

The two sides hope that by the weekend South Africa will be closer to peace than it has ever been since the start of white rule.

Bomb claims absurd, says PAC



HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday rejected as "ridiculous" suggestions attributed to South African intelligence sources that it was responsible for the bomb attack on Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley.

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

It laid the blame on the South African Government and vowed its military wing would track down and punish the perpetrators and those who attacked one of its members and his family in Botswana, which it also

Sowetan 3/5/90
blamed on Pretoria.

Lapsley, a member of the Harare-based Liberation Support Committee who has worked closely with the ANC, lost an eye, a hand and most of his other hand in a parcel bomb explosion.

The attack came five days after that in which

PAC member Sam Chand and his family were killed in Botswana.

"The PAC rejects the ridiculous allegations by the South African intelligence that the parcel bomb attack on Fr Lapsley might have been carried out in revenge of

the assassination of our members, Sam Chand and his family in Botswana last week," said a statement released in Harare.

It dismissed allegations on both attacks as "part of an on-going attempt to get us into a feud that will only benefit the enemy of our people".

A group picture of the ANC delegation taken outside Groote Schuur yesterday. Back row: Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Joe Modise, Dr Beyers Naude, Mr Thabo Mbeki. Front row: Mrs Ruth Mompati, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Nelson, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu. Another member of the team, Ms Cheryl Carolus, is not in the picture. Photo - AP.

● See pages 4,5,8.

Hopes for SA peace

*Sowetan
3/5/90*

IIA ~~*SEPP*~~

THE South African Government and the ANC began talks yesterday with both sides expressing hopes for peace and an end to apartheid.

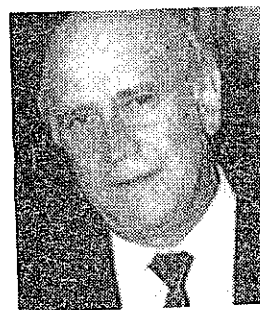
"The time has come to end apartheid," ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told reporters as the talks began at Groote Schuur in Cape Town.

He said the three-day



NELSON MANDELA

talks, the first official meeting between the Government and its chief opponent, "end the terrible tradition of dialogue between master and servant, the terrible tradition which we have to over-



F W DE KLERK

come". De Klerk said the Government wanted the ANC to help create a climate in which violence afflicting South Africa's black townships could be ended and full negotiations started.

He and Mandela each addressed a large Press conference on the lawns outside the Groote Schuur homestead where the first day's talks between them started.

The meeting between 11-member delegations was made possible by De Klerk's decision in February to legalise the ANC and the South African Communist Party and to release Mandela after 27 years in jail for plotting against white rule.

De Klerk and Mandela have met several times, but the Government says these discussions are the first official encounter since the ANC launched its guerilla war 30 years ago.

The Government wants the ANC to stop or at least suspend its armed struggle before full political negotiations begin.

The ANC wants the Government to end emergency rule, free all political prisoners and withdraw troops from townships. - Sapa-Reuter.

Too much hangs on the talks, says Tutu

Sowetan 3/5/90

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LONDON - Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday too much was at stake for either the white-led South African Government or the ANC to be "bloody-minded" in their first talks.

"Our hearts are at home this morning," the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town and an anti-apartheid campaigner said at London's Heathrow Airport.

"Virtually everybody at home is hopeful that we are going to see a new South Africa begin to emerge."

Visit

Tutu arrived for a three-day visit shortly before the South African Government and the ANC, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, were beginning their first talks in Cape Town.

Asked if he believed much could be achieved in the first round, Tutu said:

"I am very hopeful. I don't think that any of those people, on both sides, are going into those talks bloody-minded. We've got too much at stake. Too many people have already died, too many people have suf-

fered."

He said De Klerk knew that unless he settled with the black majority "the whole question of sanctions and apartheid economy will be exacerbated."

"On the ANC side, they know that most of their supporters would like to see an end to violence ... We'd like to be able to live as who we are - South Africans, free



in their home country."

Government sources, speaking on condition they were not identified, said Mandela would visit

Britain on July 3-4 for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The Irish government said last week that Mandela had accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Charles Haughey to visit Dublin from July 1-3. He was made a freeman of Dublin during his 27 years in prison.- Sapa-AP

ANC is serious in its search for a political solution

CM 7 cont's
3/5/90

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By MOSIUOA TERROR LEKOTA on behalf of the ANC

WE APPROACH the present talks-about-talks session with a deep sense of achievement. Over the years since the so-called National Convention and, particularly since the ANC was founded, black South Africans have done every possible thing under the sun to get whites to negotiate a democratic constitution. Now it seems clear that we shall negotiate that kind of constitution in the near future.

Our movement approaches the talks about talks with a serious frame of mind. We know that the hopes of many victims of apartheid oppression, racial conflict and bloody repression for relief are based on the success of the present exercise. While holding grimly to our views, we shall do everything short of selling out to help the government remove the obstacles to a political settlement.

The question is still being asked as to why the ANC is engaging the government in this exercise. Has the ANC suddenly begun to trust the government? Is the ANC at last convinced that armed struggle has failed? These are some of the questions asked.

Not the issue

In this regard, we state that the ANC has always believed in political solutions. Fifty years and more of non-violent struggle before its ban testifies to that. Even when the armed wing was set up it was not because the ANC was in search of a military victory. No, Umkhonto was merely to pressure the government to respond to the demands of the people. Those organisations which demand a military victory from the ANC have misunderstood the approach of the ANC in the first place. Our approach has always been that political solutions should enjoy priority in national and international affairs.

Whether the ANC believes the

government to be sincere or not is not the issue. The government has expressed willingness to negotiate a future with the rest of the population. The liberation movement is obliged to test that statement in practice. If the government is not sincere, the people of South Africa and the international community will pass the judgement. It is not for the ANC to say. In engaging the government, therefore, we are carrying out our historic duty to the people. In some aspects it is unpleasant but it must be done.

We also note with sadness the notion in some white circles that the government's willingness to open talks with the ANC implies defeat for whites. This is a narrow view of our society. It denies the right of other South Africans to full incorporation in every sphere of our society. We have no respect for those who think this way because they can only lead the country to a disaster.

Don't be shy

There is no doubt that a non-racial and democratic settlement will result in the defeat, *not of whites*, but of *privilege*. In its stead will emerge the coming of age of a white section that once harboured backward ideas about its black compatriots. Equality of status, mutual respect and unity of national purpose is what we need. We must not be shy to negotiate it when we can. We all stand to gain whenever the present racial tensions disappear.

Finally, we remind white South Africans that we have never lost faith in their capacity to come round to responding sensibly to black demands. You justified that confidence last year when you gave your leaders a mandate to negotiate a settlement with our movement. It now remains to be seen as to how seriously they take that mandate. Our movement is ready to turn its back on a racial past and boldly stride into a non-racial and democratic future for all.

From page 1

the carefully manicured lawns and flower beds of the estate, the talks teams gathered in a patchwork formation on steps behind.

The ANC's foreign-affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, stood beside the head of the SA security police, General Basie Smit, the head of the ANC's women's section, Ms Ruth Mompoti, next to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, and former Rivonia life prisoner Mr Ahmed Kathrada next to Education Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Earlier, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo strolled beside Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Sources close to the talks described the atmosphere in Groote Schuur last night as "informal and friendly".

Making the first of the introductory remarks before talks yesterday, Mr De Klerk said the government wished to create the right climate for negotiations by eliminating obstacles "as soon as possible" and was consequently approaching the talks "with the utmost earnestness".

The government was entering the talks "profoundly aware of our responsibilities to all the people of South Africa".

Mr De Klerk said the meeting provided another important and constructive step in the "irreversible process" of normalising South African politics. "We will seize that opportunity."

He continued: "The start of a new era for South Africa has created expectations among all our people. There are bound to be difficulties, but there is cautious optimism, as well as faith and conviction that our problems will be solved by negotiation."

The government accepted this and was doing "everything possible" to achieve this.

The government's ultimate goal was a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa and all its people.

"The process of attaining this is under way and I trust that these discussions will be another milestone on the road to a new, just South Africa."

Mr De Klerk said he welcomed the earlier commitment by the ANC "to make a maximum effort to find common ground to eliminate tensions and to make a success of this week's discussions".

In Afrikaans

He said: "Confrontation will get us nowhere. Our joint destiny demands that all of us steer clear of it."

Mr Mandela, speaking in Afrikaans, said the ANC was aware of the fact that there were many whites who harboured fear of democratic change.

"Therefore the ANC wants to emphasise once again that the white community, including the Afrikaners, have nothing to fear of the ANC."

The composition of the ANC delegation — which comprises all races and both sexes — was a "telling illustration" of the ANC's desire to include all South Africans in a future South Africa.

Mr Mandela said: "This is the first time in 78 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the ANC and the succession of white governments that have ruled our country for generations."

"This fact is sobering in its implications."

He said the ANC believed that the circumstances existed which enabled "all the people of our country to solve the grave problems which face us through negotiations".

"It was for this reason that we proposed that this



ANC group's quiet evening

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE searchlight of a police helicopter overhead lit the scene as the ANC delegation — sandwiched by several security police vehicles — sped into the grounds of their Somerset West hotel just after 9.45 last night.

The talks at Groote Schuur were originally scheduled to continue until 11pm.

Mr Nelson Mandela retired almost immediately to his room as his younger comrades settled down in the bar.

Mindful of a room crammed with eager media people, delegates avoided all talk of the opening day's negotiations.

Mr Thabo Mbeki declined to go beyond yesterday's joint statement. "Basically we put our positions on the table and there was no debate as such. Then we split into smaller groups to take it further over a meal," he said.

Among those present at the crowded cocktail bar were Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape executive member, lawyer Mr Dullah Omar and several recently returned ANC exiles.

Security at the five-star hotel was tight, with all incoming people stopped at the front gate and asked to identify themselves.

Security police were in evidence in cars in the parking lot, and in the hotel building and corridors.

Black service station workers along the way greeted the convoy with clenched fists and shouts of "viva".

'Youth are suspicious'

MILLIONS of militant young blacks could desert the ANC if talks with the government fail, according to Dr Beyers Naude, who is part of the ANC's talks

TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompoti (left) of the ANC facing Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok

again that the white community, including the Afrikaners, have nothing to fear of the ANC."

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"This fact is sobering in its implications."

He said the ANC believed that the circumstances existed which enabled "all the people of our country to solve the grave problems which face us through negotiations".

"It was for this reason that we proposed that this meeting should take place . . ."

The pace at which the participants moved to achieve a just solution "should be informed by the fact that the black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now and not tomorrow."

"The people as a whole want peace and stability, which can only come about as a result of the total abolition of the apartheid system."

Mr Mandela said that the colour of a person's skin defining his place in society should, to all people, "be as frightening as the plague".

Black people had broken out of the mental enslavement which in the past could have persuaded them that they were in any way inferior.

"We have therefore come to this meeting not as supplicants or petitioners. Rather, we are here as fellow South Africans and equal members with the rest of our people . . . who are irrevocably convinced that the system of white minority rule, which persists in our country, must come to an end, without delay."

Mr Mandela said: "We must succeed in the endeavour to remove these obstacles so that we can together move forward as rapidly as possible to end the inhuman system of apartheid."

The sacrifices made by the people of South Africa demanded that all should act with the necessary sense of responsibility so the dreams of millions of people in South Africa for an end to the system of white minority domination were transformed into reality.

"The time to reach this has come," Mr Mandela said.



TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompati (left) of the ANC facing Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

ABOVE: President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela during a break in talks. Inbetween is Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

By BARRY STREEK

THE Conservative Party yesterday walked out of Parliament in protest against the talks between the government and the ANC — and accused President De Klerk of "political immorality" by ignoring the law.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the government was negotiating with the very people responsible for the deaths of dozens of people.

It was ignoring the provisions of the Internal Security Act by negotiating with people who were guilty of treason, he said after he and members of the CP's parliamentary caucus handed a protest memorandum to Mr Anton Pretorius, the President's administrative secretary, in Tuynhuys.

CP in walk-out over ANC talks

The memorandum said the specific mandate the National Party received in last year's election, which left no room for any doubt, was that the NP would not talk to the ANC.

President De Klerk said last night that the walk-out was based on "blatant political propaganda with no factual grounds".

The CP's protest memorandum was "an accumulation of untruths and misrepresentations", he said.

Negotiations for a new constitution could take place with those who were committed to peaceful solutions.

"The talks at present with the ANC are not constitutional negotiations."

"As far as the security forces are concerned, I condemn the CP for their attempts to undermine state authority by attempting to politicise the security forces by trying to promote mistrust in the government."

The Democratic Party's co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said the CP's action was in line with its generally negative approach.

The DP knew there were many whites and members of other racial groups, not just Afrikaners, who were worried about the future.

"But the answer to these concerns is not to stage protest walk-outs, but to take those concerns into the negotiating process."

were Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape executive member, lawyer Mr Dullah Omar and several recently returned ANC exiles.

Security at the five-star hotel was tight, with all incoming people stopped at the front gate and asked to identify themselves.

Security police were in evidence in cars in the parking lot, and in the hotel building and corridors.

Black service station workers along the way greeted the convoy with clenched fists and shouts of "viva".

'Youth are suspicious'

MILLIONS of militant young blacks could desert the ANC if talks with the government fail, according to Dr Beyers Naude, who is part of the ANC's talks team.

"One should understand the very serious predicament of the ANC in regard to the deep suspicion in the minds of millions of young militant blacks who simply do not yet believe in the sincerity of the government. They believe that the only way forwards is the continuation and increase of the armed struggle," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

FW must 'address violence'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Talks between the ANC and the government would not be successful unless the problem of the violence in Natal was addressed by President F W de Klerk, a prominent member of the United Democratic Front warned, Dr Diliza Mji, warned yesterday. Dr Mji has been a member of a high-level UDF/Cosatu delegation which has been conferring with Inkatha on the fighting.

ANC denies loss of support

MR Patrick "Terror" Lekota yesterday denied that the ANC was losing support in Soweto and on the Rand to other organisations.

He said the Soweto Civic Association, the Soweto Youth Congress and the Federation of Transvaal Women were all part of the Mass Democratic Alliance and, as such, were allied to the ANC.

"Even Cosatu supporters in the region remain faithful to the non-racial, Freedom Charter position," said Mr Lekota. — Sapa

Tutu 'very hopeful' on talks

LONDON. — Too much is at stake for either the government or the ANC to be "bloody-minded" in their first talks, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday at Heathrow Airport.

Archbishop Tutu, here for a three-day visit, said he was hopeful that the talks would succeed. "We've got too much at stake. Too many people have already died, too many people have suffered." — Sapa-AP

Mandela to meet Maggie

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is set to meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher on July 3 or 4, probably at her official residence, Number 10 Downing Street, it was disclosed yesterday.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement said Mr Mandela would tell Mrs Thatcher her policy of relaxing sanctions could only perpetuate apartheid and conflict.

Mr Mandela will also visit the European Parliament during its June session in Strasbourg.

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Starts not a good start

ANC and govt off to a good start

GM- 7/11 3/5/90
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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE historic Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC began on a positive note yesterday with both sides expressing their desire for a speedy and peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa.

A late-night joint statement said the first four hours of talks had been characterised by "openness and straightforwardness on both sides" and agreement had been reached on obstacles to a new negotiated constitution.



It's going to be a slow process. They've got to negotiate about talks before they can start talking about negotiations.

issues on the agenda".

The talks will resume at 2.30pm today. Shortly before the initial session, President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela adopted a largely conciliatory, but firm tone in their introductory statements and defended the need to resolve the problems facing the country through negotiation.

The seriousness of the teams to make progress was illustrated by a statement by the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, that the organisation would "do everything short of selling out to help the government remove the obstacles to a political settlement".

The government's negotiating team began arriving for the crucial talks at the Groote Schuur estate amid strict security about 2.30pm, and the ANC entourage, accompanied by a SAP helicopter, arrived 20 minutes later.

As the delegation leaders read their preparatory statements to hordes of journalists crowded on to

To page 2

The topics which had to be discussed were security legislation, the return of exiles, troops in townships, political prisoners, the state of emergency, the armed struggle and the need to end violence.

The statement noted that the two sides had in their opening remarks yesterday emphasised each other's determination to seek agreement "without underestimating the complexities and differences that will have to be resolved".

The two sides adjourned for a working dinner "to enable individual members to exchange thoughts and proposals on the specific



TALKS ARE ON... President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, with their teams for the talks, address the press at Groote Schuur yesterday.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

MORE on the talks

- CP walk-out over ANC talks
- ANC group's quiet evening
- ANC 'in an optimistic mood'
- F.W. de Klerk 'address violence'
- ANC could desert ANC
- ANC denies loss of support
- Talks 'very hopeful' on talks

All on Page 2

What the ANC wants

THE African National Congress said yesterday it would do everything "short of selling out" to assist the government to remove the obstacles to a political settlement in South Africa.

In an article written for the Cape Times to mark the start of the Groote Schuur talks, ANC spokesman Mr M "Terror" Lekota said the organisation was approaching the talks in a serious frame of mind, knowing that the hopes for relief of many victims of apartheid were at stake.

● Full report — Page 4

What would Japhta have said?

WIMail 4/5-10/5/90

JAPHTA MASEMOLA must have turned in his coffin when a belief he and I cherished while inmates in Robben Island prison came under fire throughout his funeral in Atteridgeville last Saturday.

On the island, Bra Jeff and I were great buddies — initially because we both came from the Pretoria township of Atteridgeville. We might have owed allegiance to opposing political camps, but we agreed on a number of principles — common among inmates.

We held the view in prison that there came a time in the struggle for the down-trodden to negotiate with the enemy, and that compromise in the process was a tactic rather than a sign of weakness.

Robben Island prison was a university of revolutionary theory. Inmates in the charterist camp employed Marxist and Leninist tools of analysis. Marxist theory was detested by Africanists, who saw it as a foreign ideology. Despite this, Masebola the book-worm made his own investigations. He and I found it was Lenin's perception that reforms from the oppressor were vital in furthering the objectives of the struggle. You could take one step back in order to take two steps forward. Reforms were not an end in themselves, but a means to an end.

At Saturday's funeral, I was among nearly 5 000 mourners in Atteridgeville's Super Stadium. The Pan Africanist Congress internal wing had earlier made a ruling forbidding flags and banners of political organisations other than the PAC's.

However, there was one violation of that rule. I had worn a jacket I seldom used. A tiny square red badge with a picture of Vladimir Lenin had long ago been pinned on the lapel. On that day the badge coincided with the funeral of an old buddy.

I took a seat metres from the podium on which PAC president, Zeph Mothopeng, and the organisation's internal vice president, Mlamli Makwetu, were sitting with their wives.

It was from this podium I was later to hear the two lambasting the African National Congress for the very views Masebola and I shared in prison — negotiations with the oppressor.

One would have thought Mothopeng's and Makwetu's views were going to make me feel unwelcome at the funeral. But I had been with Mothopeng in prison throughout my seven-year sentence, after all, and we had coped with our political differences. Male and female PAC marshals had taken turns in forming the four-hour guard of honour next to Mas-

emola's coffin, which was draped with the organisation's flag. Right hand raised and a miniature PAC flag in the left hand, they stood in rows of three on opposite sides of the elevated coffin. The open palm signified the organisation's five-point political programme.

Cultural performances, including those by Amampondo, Carlos Djedje, Mafube Arts, the Saint Bernard and Martyr Anglican church choirs, and Ingoapele Madingoane's poetry, were interspersed with shouts of "One settler one bullet", "*iAfrika-izwe lethu*" (Africa is our land) and the freedom song, *Vul'indlela Mugabe* (Show the way, Mugabe).

Paying tribute to the "Blood tiger of the Azanian revolution" (a reference to Masebola), Madingoane shouted "Rise Africa, rise. On your marks — get set — ready — go. Run Africa, run."

Next came the anti-negotiations sledgehammer. "Negotiations are not liberation," said PAC branch representative, Gaddafi Mndau. National Council of Trade Unions representative Cunningham Ngcukana attacked what he called the "arrogance of the ANC" for this week's meeting with the "oppressor without consulting with other sections of the liberation movement".

Praising Masebola for joining "the galaxy of African heroes, Sobukwe, Tiro, and Biko", Ngcukana said Masebola, however, had recognised that "conflicts with oppressors do end up at the negotiation table". In an apparent reference to the ANC, he said: "The sell-

out is thick in the air." He said Nactu was not opposed to negotiations, but it was not yet time for them. But Makwetu made no bones about his organisation's stand on negotiations. He said: "We won't negotiate until the question of our land, one-man-one-vote in a unitary state and a constituent assembly are on the agenda." In conclusion, he shouted: "*Kode kube nini?*" (Till when?).

Said Mothopeng amid cheers of "*Ibhubezj Mothopeng*" (Mothopeng the lion): "We are going to attain our freedom even if it is by force. We'll revive the struggle of 1960, which was executed by us alone," said Mothopeng amid shouts of "*Izwe lethu*". He continued: "We don't announce to the enemy what we would do. The enemy can see from our actions." The highlight of the occasion was the rendition of musical pieces by about 200 PAC ex-Robben Island prisoners together with the St Bernard the Martyr choir. Under the baton of Michael Rantho, and joined by the crowd, they sang: "Tell the love of Sobukwe ... give a thought to Africa."



Japhta Masebola's sister throws flowers on his grave

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Yes, MK are still recruiting ... so are the SADF

Face-to-face with JOE MODISE

By GAYE DAVIS and
SHAUN JOHNSON

THE suspension of the armed struggle is high on the agenda during the talks between the government and the African National Congress, but Umkhonto weSizwe is still recruiting members.

"Yes, it is true that MK is still recruiting," ANC military commander Joe Modise said in an interview this week. "We are looking for volunteers — that is the fact of the matter, and you must put it in your papers ..."

"But then the South African Defence Force is still taking in conscripts every year ... even the Wit Wolwe are recruiting."

The Umkhonto commander stressed that the suspension of hostilities was open to negotiation, but said "it must be on an equal footing."

"We are ready to say to the government that once the conditions (set out in the Harare Declaration) are met, we are ready to discuss the armed struggle, particularly its suspension."

Until such agreement was reached, he said, "We shall carry on giving (our recruits) training that is equal to that of the South African Defence Force, or better."

Asked whether such training was taking place within South Africa, he said, "Why don't we just keep that quiet?"

Praise songs for Umkhonto were a strong feature of last weekend's welcoming rally for the ANC delegation at Mitchell's Plain, and members of the militant South African Youth Congress called on "our young comrades to join MK ... we need to defend our revolution. Go and join MK," they exhorted, "our revolution is not yet finished."

Modise said he visualised a future defence force that "will protect the interests of the entire people of South Africa, both black and white. A defence force that knows no colour, that is dedicated to the defence of all the people of South Africa, not a section of the population ..."

"We start from the premise that we are all South Africans, both MK and the SADF ... The SADF has been supporting an oppressive regime (but) ... members of the existing SADF who accept (this vision) are legitimate."

"We are sincere about these initiatives ... but we don't yet know what the SADF is going to do."



Joe Modise ... Carrying on

Modise denied reports that he and other senior MK commanders had sought a meeting with SADF officers, saying the only military-related talks planned were those in a meeting sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) with "former SADF members" and leaders of the End Conscription Campaign.

Modise said he was not surprised at the exclusion of Defence Minister Magnus Malan from the government delegation at this week's talks.

"These talks are to sort out obstacles (to further talks)," he said, "in fact I nearly didn't come myself, because I've got other commitments." Modise implied that a "ceasefire" was a matter for future meetings.

"We don't believe that the armed struggle comes into the category of obstacles," he said, "it is fundamental to the abolition of apartheid ..."

"We concede the point that in order to facilitate negotiations to bring about the end of apartheid we will have to consider the question of suspension."

"It is difficult for us to discuss abandoning the armed struggle but we could consider suspending it — which amounts to a ceasefire."

Modise said such a ceasefire was "not possible this week", but could be achieved in future.

And, asked whether the standing orders to Umkhonto guerrillas had changed in the light of the talks, ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo said: "No ... the orders are that they must continue with their operations as best they can."

BUSINESS

w/Mail 4/5 - 10/5/90

Stop the privatisation, says Harare conference

AN appeal for campaigns to oppose the South African government's privatisation policies and a warning that those companies will be re-nationalised in a post-apartheid South Africa were issued at a conference of ANC and Cosatu economists in Harare this week.

"In order to plan an equitable economic order in South Africa, action has to be taken now to resist the government's privatisation," said African National Congress economist Vella Pillay. "Demonstrations of mass indignation could make it extremely difficult to privatise because that would reduce possible buyers. A firm position by the ANC and Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions) that a future government would re-nationalise would itself be an obstacle to privatisation as it would discourage potential buyers."

Sixty delegates attended the conference and, at its conclusion on Tuesday, issued a statement spelling out their opposition to privatisation.

"It was noted with grave concern that the apartheid state is currently implementing a series of policies which will seriously inhibit the ability of a future non-racial government to achieve its objectives. These measures being undertaken now by the apartheid regime include privatisation, deregulation, the introduction of the Minerals Bill and others," said the closing statement.

"These measures are immoral and are unacceptable and this present government must not be allowed to shape our future in this way," said the statement which added that the much of

the privatisation would be "reversed".

The conference participants said they particularly objected to the privatisation of Iscor, the social services and mining activities through the Minerals Bill.

The conference participants agreed that South Africa should have a mixed economy with the new democratic government being "an active economic agent" as well as the private sector. That organised workers should play a major role in guiding the economy was also agreed upon.

A major area of consensus, according to Tito Mboweni of the ANC's economics and planning department, was that economic growth should

The Harare conference on a post-apartheid economy has called for a campaign to stop privatisation, reports ANDREW MELDRUM

take place through redistribution. For instance, by increasing minimum wages a new larger market would be created for food, clothes, cars and many other consumer goods.

"An example of growth through redistribution would be if a new government undertook a project to provide housing for the people, it would spur a boom in the construction industry," said Mboweni.

He said consensus was reached on other economic issues, including that minerals should be a national property which could be mined privately but under state controls and regulations. They also agreed the economy should be reconstructed to reduce its overdependence on exports of minerals in their raw stage. Instead, the minerals should be processed or beneficiated to the most finished stage possible.

The participants included economists from the ANC and Cosatu as well as the Economic Trends group, Economic Research on South Africa, the Centre for Development Studies and the Industrial Strategy group. Economists from Britain also attend-

ed. Thirty-four formal papers were presented but it was agreed none would be made public.

Speakers included Max Sisulu, Pallo Jordan and Sindiso Mfenyane of the ANC, Jay Naidoo of Cosatu and Alec Erwin of the National Union of Metalworkers. Pillay presented a paper on macro-economic policies entitled *Year one of a post-apartheid economy*. In it he outlined how the huge amount of funds spent on the military could be re-channeled.

Professor Lawrence Harris, of Britain's Open University, presented a paper on how to build and finance a mixed economy.

Number of ^{11A} armed attacks ^{11A} reaches peak

W/M 4/5-10/5/90
By GAVIN EVANS

THE number of African National Congress attacks in the first three months of 1990 has shown a marked increase over the 1989 average.

This increase, revealed in preliminary statistics published by Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies, contradict recent press speculation that the "armed struggle" has been little more than a rhetorical device.

The institute's head, Professor Mike Hough, told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday that 57 attacks had been recorded in South Africa by the beginning of April with an estimate of a further 20 to 25 in Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

This brings the recorded total to between 77 and 82 attacks, or a monthly average of 26 to 27, compared with an average of about 18 a month in 1989 and nearly 27 a month in 1988.

During the first three months of 1989 *SA Indicator* recorded 30 guerrilla attacks.

Hough said in many of this year's attacks the groups responsible had not been positively identified "but the vast majority of cases point to the ANC".

There has been no independent verification, either through research or through court records, of any Pan Africanist Congress attacks over the past four years, although several PAC guerrillas have been captured or killed.

Hough said the institute had not yet worked out a breakdown in terms of regions or categories but "there had definitely been a trend towards more attacks on policemen".

The institute, which has close ties with government security agencies, recorded 200 attacks in South Africa last year with a further 13 attacks in the "independent homelands" in the first 10 months of 1989.

The minister of law and order said that between February 1988 and January 1989 there had been 322 attacks, compared with 249 in 1987, 230 in 1986, 136 in 1985 and 44 in 1984.



Letter bomb attack nearly takes life of Harare ANC priest

W/441 415-101590 118
By ANDREW MELDRUM
Harare

FATHER Michael Lapsley, the Anglican priest and African National Congress member who was seriously injured by a parcel bomb in Harare last week, had earlier received a letter on ANC stationery telling him to expect books from South Africa.

When two parcels arrived he opened the first one and found a religious book from South Africa. "It was the second parcel which nearly killed him," said ANC chaplain Father John Osmer.

Lapsley, 41, is reported to be "improving" and has been moved from the intensive care unit. He lost his left hand and right eye and is missing all but two fingers of his right hand, according to Harare's Liberation Support Committee (LSC). Initially he had lost his hearing, but that is returning.

"We are happy with his progress," said Jonah Gokova, chairman of the LSC. Lapsley is under sedation but has been able to see visitors and has read letters that have come in, including a moving message from fellow bomb victim Albie Sachs.

The parcel bombing is the latest of many attacks on the ANC in Harare. Lapsley's colleagues say it is part of a South African government campaign.

"Mike was tragically the target of the centralised, co-ordinated network of sabotage emanating from the Pretoria regime," said Father John Lamola, also an Anglican priest who is the administrative secretary of the ANC's department of religious affairs. "This was not an act of the lunatic fringe of the far right. It was part of the government's ongoing campaign to hit strategic supporters of the liberation movement. In Mike's case, we think his bombing may have been intended to throw the ANC's team in Cape Town off balance as they entered into the meetings with President FW de Klerk."

Three Zimbabweans who were sentenced to death for past bombings of ANC members and houses have testified to a network of South African agents in Zimbabwe.

Fr Lapsley lost an eye and all but two fingers when he opened a parcel bomb

Picture: AP

Slovo for Jo'burg rally (11A)

JOE SLOVO, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, will fly into Johannesburg to address a rally at Soccer City stadium near Soweto on Sunday.

The mass meeting, jointly organised by the SACP and the African National Congress, will also feature the ANC general secretary, Alfred Nzo.

It will be the first time the two resistance leaders are able to address a political gathering inside South Africa since they went into exile almost 30 years ago.

4/5-10/5/90

Top PAC man hurt in crash ^{stay} 4/5/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter ^(11A)

A top official of the Pan-Africanist Congress is being treated in Kimberley Hospital after a car accident yesterday — the third car accident in three weeks involving senior members of the recently unbanned organisation.

The general secretary of PAC Internal, Mr Benny Alexander, and an executive member of the radical Islamic group, Quibla, Mr Cassiem Christiaans, were seriously injured when their car left the Britstown/Strydenburg road outside Hopetown, hit a culvert, and then rolled, said a police liaison officer in the northern Cape.

A spokesman for Kimberley Hospital said the two injured men were in a satisfactory condition and receiving orthopaedic treatment.

Mr Patrick Baleka, an aide to PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, said the men had not been seriously injured.

'Dubious' crashes

PAC finance secretary Mr Mike Mat-sobane told Sapa the organisation had been plagued by a spate of "dubious" car accidents in the past three weeks.

But Mr Baleka said yesterday's accident was not suspicious. "No-one is behind it. Car accidents happen."

He added: "Three weeks ago, Japhta Masemola died in a car accident under very dubious circumstances.

"Then Ishmael Chand died in a road accident on his way to his brother's funeral in Botswana. His brother Sam and his family was assassinated a week before.

"Now Mr Alexander and another aide have been injured in an accident. It is making us in the organisation suspicious."

Mr Alexander was returning to Johannesburg from Cape Town, where he had addressed a May Day rally, according to Mr Baleka.

Ten ANC dissidents still detained

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Ten African National Congress dissidents who were arrested on arrival in South Africa 10 days ago are still being held, a police spokesman said yesterday.

He declined to give any further details because they had been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The Democratic Party has slated their continued detention as "one of the more disgraceful human rights violations in South Africa in recent months".

The DP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said there was no justification for the detention of the dissidents, who returned to South Africa apparently to form a rival organisation to the ANC after revealing earlier that they had been tortured in ANC camps in Tanzania and Angola.

Jeopardised

He said prospects of ultimate reconciliation would be seriously jeopardised if South African expatriates wishing to return to re-establish their roots were to be treated in this fashion.

Reacting to police comment that they were being held to establish whether they had committed any crimes, he said: "If these unfortunate people, who appear to have been the victims of human rights violations in the past, are to be detained because and for as long as the authorities know nothing about them, it constitutes one of the more disgraceful human rights violations committed in South Africa for many months."

While the ANC believed the dissidents were being "debriefed" by security police, a spokesman for the Azanian People's Organisation said the detention proved that the Government would continue to exert its powers to stifle political debate.

New constitution: ANC wants an elected assembly

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC wants to see a constituent assembly elected to decide who should sit together and draw up the new constitution for South Africa.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday, Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, denied the party saw itself as the sole representative of South Africa's people.

"We recognise that there are other forces, and that they would have to be involved in the re-making of our country," he said.

"A meeting (of the groups) should draw up the constitution . . . then refer it to the people.

"We would want to argue that there should be an elected constituent assembly, much like the one in Namibia.

"That would stop all the debates about who is bigger, and who is genuinely represented.

"At a certain stage before a new constitution is adopted, and before political structures change on the basis of it, there would need to be an interim government which enjoys the confidence of all political groups.

"But before we get there, there are other interim measures necessary.

"One which clearly will become a problem is the question of who directs the SABC. It is a public corporation, not the property of the NP. It is a very powerful voice."

Mr Mbeki said that SABC coverage of the ANC had improved tremendously in recent weeks.

"But we have to accept that its leadership was put in place by (only) one of the parties to this week's talks.

"We need to have confidence in their impartiality. They must be able to operate with no pressure from either side."

Star
4/5/90
11A


Profile compiled on ex-councillor

Surveillance costing R4 500 was to have been carried out on former city councillor and civic personality Mr Pat Rogers, the Hiemstra Commission heard yesterday.

Mr Martin Hennig, a spy handler in the Johannesburg City Council's security department, said in testimony that Mr Rogers had been regarded as a "liberal."

In a profile compiled of Mr Rogers, he was suspected of having links with the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) and had advocated closer ties with the ANC.

The profile had arisen as a result of a 1987 resolution put forward by Mr Rogers that a city police force be established and that the members of it be allowed to serve as part of their national service commitments.

Mr Hennig said he concluded that Mr Rogers could, because of the resolution, be linked to the

End Conscription Campaign, an organisation advocating alternative service.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, for various parties, described it as a "very serious allegation" to link Mr Rogers to the SACP.

Mr Hennig said Mr Rogers "was possibly a member and possibly not."

Questioned by Mr Marcus on whether being a sympathiser of radical organisations fell within the ambit of the security department's spying activities, Mr Hennig replied: "It is possible."

Mr Marcus asked him about invasion of privacy and Mr Hennig replied that it would "depend precisely what is required."

Mr Hennig admitted that there had been a number of mistakes in the profile and implied that the whole report could have been an error.

● See Page 10.

President de Klerk said in a statement last night that he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson

day rejected an agreement between shop stewards and the MEC in charge of hospital services, Mr Fanie Ferreira.

But Mr Ellis said workers' efforts to make hospitals unworkable were unacceptable.

Hopes for agreement on issue of prisoners and exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hopes are high that some agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles will emerge today from the all-important talks here between the African National Congress and the South African Government.

Government sources close to the talks do not expect a complete breakthrough today on all

the obstacles to negotiation which are under discussion.

However, they think there could be a definite indication on how to solve the problem of releasing political prisoners and identifying which exiles may return.

They say it is possible some form of joint consultative process will be agreed on to determine who should be released and who allowed home.

Whether or not some form of commitment by the ANC on the issue of armed struggle emerges seems to depend on the last day of talks today.

The Government sources said the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was inextricably connected to other obstacles, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and the prisoners and refugees problem, and "that one can't be addressed without the other".

Yesterday's second day of talks got down to the hard issues, but both sides reported progress.

They said yesterday's session, dealing with differences on the question of obstacles to negotiation, had been "hard and practical"; one where the "nuts and bolts" had been discussed.

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in a brief joint statement, "expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far".

Government and ANC sources have indicated that the two sides have rapidly broken the ice and are beginning to move towards common ground.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of internal affairs, said yesterday all the delegates had realised at their first meeting that movement forward was "not only necessary but also possible".

He told the Cape Town Press Club that within minutes of meeting, both sides had realised "there was no one there who had horns".

Govt foots the bill for ANC talks team

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the Government this week are truly guests of the State.

The Government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

More than 50 rooms of the five-star hotel near Somerset West are occupied by the ANC team.

The likely hotel costs have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for a night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands, and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

2 injured as locomotives collide

Staff Reporters

Two commuters were injured when two locomotive units collided with a stationary passenger train at Kempton Park Station during peak hour today.

An ambulance spokesman said a man and a woman were slightly injured but were not taken to hospital.

Police said the locomotive of a

train, carrying passengers to Johannesburg, cut out.

Two units despatched to tow the train away ran into trouble when the brakes seized, sending the units crashing into a coach of a stationary train. Two compartments were smashed.

A railways spokesman said an alternative line was open for other trains.

Shift seen in ANC's stand on sanctions

WASHINGTON — Two New York city councillors have returned from a trip to SA, paid for by the Johannesburg City Council, calling for tougher sanctions — but with a twist that indicates the ANC's position on sanctions may be shifting.

The councillors, Abraham Gerges and and Noach Dear, want the immediate introduction of a Bill that would tighten New York's existing law against granting contracts to firms that have even non-equity ties to SA.

However, on what they claim is the advice of the Rev Beyers Naude, they are leaving open the question of whether the legislation should be enacted.

Gerges, chairman of the city's government operations committee which has

SIMON BARBER

principal responsibility for drafting the Bill, said "the threat of sanctions alone is a chip that can be used by the ANC to get talks (with the SA government) moving".

He said the idea of readying, but not necessarily passing, the Bill was suggested by Naude shortly before he joined the ANC negotiating team in talks with government this week.

This did not sit well with ANC New York representative Themba Ntinga, who charged that the two men were "apologists" for Pretoria in its efforts "to stave off new sanctions".

Ntinga said he had signalled ANC officials in SA not to see the two, but the mes-

sage had evidently failed to get through.

But a representative of the American Committee on Africa, a leading sanctions lobby which heatedly attacked the trip, admitted yesterday that his organisation might be asked by the ANC to reassess its sanctions stance after the Cape Town talks. ~~11A~~ 11A

He noted that Naude had recently given a speech voicing concern over the possible impact of sanctions on a post-apartheid economy. Sidney 45790

Three black councillors were dissuaded from joining Gerges and Dear.

One, Archie Spigner of Queens, said he regretted having to drop out, but his constituency "went crazy".

In the wings

With the spotlight currently (as in the past) very much on the ANC and government, the temptation might be to relegate the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to irrelevancy. That would be a mistake.

It has been said that the ANC cannot to afford to "fail" indefinitely (in delivering majority rule), without losing at least some of its support to its smaller, less compromising rivals in the PAC. Having embraced the idea of negotiation with government, the ANC could be gambling with high stakes. Any perceived "sell-out" could see the tables turn and the PAC automatically capitalising on it.

This appears to be its strategy — to outbid the ANC with militant rhetoric.

It may be early days in the negotiation process, but already doubts are evident in the black community about its efficacy and direction. The *Sowetan*, for instance, in an editorial this week found another obstacle to negotiation in President FW de Klerk's statement that the white electorate will have the final say on the new order to be negotiated: "More people will now be asking if the ANC is right in getting to the negotiating table at all. Worse still, De Klerk also said majority rule is out of the question."

39

According to a survey carried out by the SA Institute of Race Relations in Soweto in February, PAC support among youngsters appears to be growing as the ANC is perceived as having been "promoted" by Pretoria. Among the army of feral black youth, the PAC could well find many potential recruits.

At the weekend funeral of PAC stalwart Jafta Masemola, the PAC and Africanist affiliates such as union federation Nactu again slammed the ANC for its negotiation stance.

The secretary-general of the PAC's internal wing, Benny Alexander, described the government-ANC talks due in Cape Town this week as a "mockery and a circus." Those who participated were sell-outs if the talks did not include three items: redistribution of the land, majority rule and a constituent assembly.

"Slaves have nothing to gain from negotiating with their masters," intoned internal PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, reiterating a Maoist slogan favoured by the PAC: You cannot win at the negotiating table what hasn't been won in battle.

Azapo, too, has taken the ANC to task for meeting government "without a mandate."

Signs of a PAC revival have been evident since the mid-Eighties, following internal ructions and leadership disputes which had seen the organisation come close to being written off as a serious liberation movement. Building on Nyati Pokela's leadership (1981-1985), current PAC external leader Johnson Mlambo significantly improved its image, forging official contacts with a number of countries, including the US and UK.

Reports of PAC insurgency suddenly started appearing from around March 1986. Later that year, then Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange spoke in parliament of a dramatic increase in PAC activity, with a strong element of Maoism in its rural subversion campaigns.

Key PAC policy formulators are Mlambo; the secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim (whose brother, incidentally, is in the ANC); administrative secretary Joe Mkwanzazi; secretary for labour Sam Makhandia; and Benny Alexander. All are generally regarded as impressive.

Today, observes SA Institute of International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden, "the PAC has adopted the perfect outbidding position vis-a-vis the ANC — standing on the outside and appealing to radical elements."

This does not necessarily mean the PAC actually believes its rhetoric about a militant takeover ("one settler, one bullet"), or the land having to revert to its original indigenous owners before any talks can begin. At the moment, it can afford to sit on the sidelines and enter the negotiation process only at the point at which, if it didn't, it would be excluded altogether.

In the meantime, the PAC seems to be gambling on its stock rising should talks come to nought, or if State repression delivers a more militant populace into its arms. ■

Nuts and bolts (11A)

Interested parties have spent weeks trying to establish just who and where are the "official" representatives of the ANC in Natal. Now the organisation has announced the formation of a Southern Natal Convening

F/M 4/5/90 (11A)

Committee (one of eight regional committees around the country) and the beginning of a recruitment drive in the province.

This week the committee, headed by former UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota (see *People*), began to get down to setting up branch offices and signing up members.

The committee is made up of veteran ANC, UDF and trade union members. At this stage the other members are: Archie Gumede, Diliza Mji, Sibusiso Ndebele, Billy Nair, Cloepas Ndlovu, Virgil Bonhomme, Alec Irwin and Florence Mkhize.

Two of the biggest problems: continuing violence between ANC supporters and Inkatha members in Natal; and the possibility of Inkatha actively opposing the ANC recruitment drive (there has already been at least one incident of opposition).

Lekota says: "The committee is appointed, not elected. It will play a leadership role in the interim while ANC branches are being set up but, as soon as that part of the work is completed, a regional conference will be called (before December 16). At the conference a regional leadership will be democratically elected."

Reflecting on the earlier confusion over just who was calling the shots for the ANC in Durban, a statement from the new committee warned "the pretenders" who until recently presumed to speak for the ANC "to desist. The ANC wishes to point out that from now on she will speak for herself."

Membership cards (R12 a year) are being printed and new card-carrying members should soon be on the ANC's books. Lekota says he believes the ANC has "the greatest potential for membership in the region," a claim Inkatha leaders will no doubt strongly dispute. ■

Co-operation growing, says Mbeki

Govt, ANC signal talks are on track

CAPE TOWN — As the Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC enter the crucial third and final day both sides are sending out strong signals that good progress is being made towards removing obstacles to negotiations.

In a joint statement issued last night, President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed their satisfaction with the progress so far.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said the general feeling in his organisation's delegation was that movement forward was not only necessary but possible.

After a NP caucus meeting that was apparently briefed on the progress of the talks yesterday, NP chief whip Keppies Niemann said: "The caucus has noted with enthusiasm and grateful appreciation the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks aimed at achieving peaceful negotiation towards the creation of a new SA".

The joint government/ANC statement noted that yesterday's talks concentrated on a general discussion of the issues each party regarded as obstacles to starting negotiations on a new constitution.

It said: "Today's meeting was devoted to a wide ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of the specific issues in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences."

Mbeki said the participants on both sides found each other "perfectly reasonable people committed to finding solutions" who recognised the talks should have taken place "many years ago".

He said there was a feeling of surprise among participants because within a matter of minutes of sitting down "everyone

MIKE ROBERTSON

understood that there was nobody there with horns.

"When all of us departed, the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, it is possible."

Before beginning his address, Mbeki said the parties to the talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over.

Asked to describe the "flavour" of the first official encounter between the ANC and government, Mbeki said: "I really think the atmosphere was very good.

"It is very serious but not solemn."

It also had its jovial moments.

Mbeki said he had jokingly referred to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha as his deputy.

"He was not very pleased with that," Mbeki said.

He said it was clear "there has to be an increasing degree of co-operation" between the ANC and government to address matters of common concern, such as the violence in the townships.

He said he did not know whether such efforts would be institutionalised but "there has to be co-operation".

The ANC did not consider itself to be the "sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of SA", he said.

There were other organisations opposed to apartheid which would have to be represented at the negotiating table.

If the current round of talks succeeded in removing the obstacles to negotiation, the next problem would be to decide who would sit around the negotiation table to decide on a new constitution.

He said it was obvious a basic divide existed between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united

□ To Page 2

Talks on track

non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should recognised racial and ethnic division and take place in terms of a group-based solution.

The ANC believed "our side" would comprise a broad front including the UDF and Cosatu as well as homeland leaders who rejected the group concept and "very many white people".

Sitting next to De Klerk on the "group-based" side would be leaders such as those who claimed to represent seven million Zulus — an apparent reference to KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commit-

□ From Page 1

ment to the establishment of an interim government to supervise elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution, as in Namibia.

The NP is firmly opposed to such a scenario, but Mbeki said the ANC would attempt to convince De Klerk he was "wrong".

De Klerk has said the tricameral Parliament would have to approve any constitutional changes before they were implemented and has promised to put any proposals to the white electorate.

● Picture: Page 3

● Comment: Page 10

THE GROOTE SCHUUR TALKS F/M 4/5/90 (11A) (BOL)

The enemy, we presume?

It was with a remarkable degree of realism that the ANC and the National Party prepared for their talks in Cape Town this week.

Neither side expected significant gains in this initial round of discussions, aimed at removing obstacles to further talks. The common attitude seemed to be open-mindedness and a willingness to listen.

There was a belief on both sides that while the obstacles are now perceived as severe, they are not insurmountable and can be overcome through compromise. It was further felt that once the obstacles are removed, the constitutional negotiations themselves will progress rapidly.

There was last-minute posturing — Foreign Minister Pik Botha in parliament last Thursday; SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and — to a lesser extent — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Alfred Nzo at a public rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

However, both delegations were apparently firmly committed to being as open and honest as possible once the talks got under way. The agreed venue for the meeting is the historic Groote Schuur, a former residence of prime ministers and now a type of museum on the Groote Schuur estate not far from the president's residence, Westbrook.

One diplomat monitoring developments was so optimistic about the prospect of success that he commented that it was not the battle lines that had been drawn, but the peace lines. It seems both sides accept that it will be far more difficult to move backwards than forwards.

However, government is concerned that expectations of what these talks will achieve may have been pumped too hard both locally and abroad and there were behind-the-scenes efforts this week to tone down what was seen as "media hype." Government is also anxious for the talks to be seen as merely an attempt to remove obstacles and not the start of constitutional negotiations.

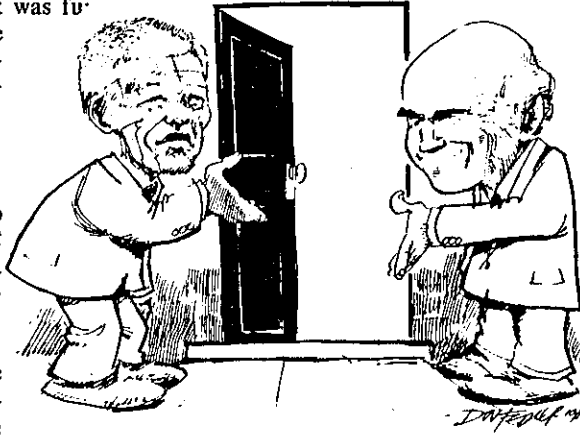
A senior government source says it must be remembered that similar, lower profile "obstacle-removing" meetings have already been concluded successfully between government and other interested groups, such as the KwaZulu government and other homeland administrations.

Government still insists that constitutional negotiations must be as comprehensive as possible. It is envisaged that once the obstacles troubling both government and the ANC have been removed, both parties will

move towards wider-ranging multi-lateral talks which include other groups.

This week's talks were due to start on Wednesday as the *FM* went to press and were expected to last until Friday. Although a "steering committee" formed from both sides completed groundwork before the talks started, issues such as the final agenda and rules of procedure were due to be discussed

NEGOTIATIONS



again by the full meeting at its first session.

Both sides were reasonably confident that the talks would not easily break down. They cited the personalities of Mandela and President F W de Klerk as a unifying factor. Both men respect each other.

Though the run-up to talks was marked by some harsh statements on both sides, it was generally accepted that they were a necessary part of the positioning process. It seems that government is still pursuing an "anti-Slovo" line in an apparent attempt to drive a wedge into the ANC.

Speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget vote in parliament last week, Botha savaged the ANC for failing to acknowledge the collapse of Marxism.

He said it was "almost unbelievable" that organisations in SA were proposing one-party states and centralised economies and the "new Utopia" at the very time those systems were collapsing in east and central Europe.

He likened the Marxist ideologues in the ANC to the apartheid ideologues in the Conservative Party. "The CP is as great a danger to the survival of whites, and specifically Afrikaners, as the conservatives in the ANC are to the survival of blacks. Both want to fight it out. Both want all or nothing. Each wants to rule the other."

Botha said the ANC's paradoxical stand on violence and its links with the SACP were damaging its image. He suggested that Slovo travel to eastern Europe to see what sort of

crowd he could attract at a public meeting. He said Slovo guided and dominated the ANC and appealed to the foreign media — particularly those from the Eastern Bloc — who will report on this week's talks to highlight his "prominent" role.

But at Mitchell's Plain on Sunday, Mandela pledged solidarity with Slovo's CP and said the ANC had rejected a government appeal to drop Slovo from its negotiating team. He and Nzo also pledged themselves to peace and were seen to be conciliatory.

Slovo, on the other hand, took a harder line in an hour-long address. While he welcomed the prospect of a peaceful settlement to SA's problems, he insisted on government's acceptance of the ANC's list of preconditions for constitutional talks. He also repeated the views of other speakers that the "struggle" must meanwhile go on and said the "armed struggle" had contributed to the climate for this week's talks.

The Mitchell's Plain meeting was seen as a disappointment for the ANC. The weather was wet, cold and windy and only about a quarter of the expected 100 000 people pitched up.

THE PAC F/M 4/5/90

In the wings

With the spotlight currently (as in the past) very much on the ANC and government, the temptation might be to relegate the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to irrelevancy. That would be a mistake.

It has been said that the ANC cannot afford to "fail" indefinitely (in delivering majority rule), without losing at least some of its support to its smaller, less compromising rivals in the PAC. Having embraced the idea of negotiation with government, the ANC could be gambling with high stakes. Any perceived "sell-out" could see the tables turn and the PAC automatically capitalising on it.

This appears to be its strategy — to outbid the ANC with militant rhetoric.

It may be early days in the negotiation process, but already doubts are evident in the black community about its efficacy and direction. The *Sowetan*, for instance, in an editorial this week found another obstacle to negotiation in President F W de Klerk's statement that the white electorate will have the final say on the new order to be negotiated: "More people will now be asking if the ANC is right in getting to the negotiating table at all. Worse still, De Klerk also said majority rule is out of the question."

Being there

3040 11A

F/M 4/5/90



In the latest edition of *SA Forum*, Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuyse looks at negotiations between the National Party and ANC. These are some of his views.

Negotiating a new constitution for SA requires a strategy which addresses the twin problems of a general consensus on broad political goals and agreement on procedures. The latter is of vital importance: given the absence of such a broad consensus, it requires what could be called a process of bargaining.

This, to be successful, requires at least the following:

- Acceptance by the parties to the conflict that the cost of maintaining traditional positions is too high;
- A clear understanding that there need not be winners or losers but that all parties to the conflict could get something from a resolution;
- A willingness to compromise; and
- Acceptance by the parties that the initial aim of the process should be a serious attempt to establish a contact zone or middle ground.

The nature of the conflict in SA requires at this stage what could be called a process of "bargaining about bargaining." The question arises whether a contact zone is at all

possible — given the mutually exclusive normative models of the incumbents and some of their challengers.

The potential for establishing some common ground in cases of mutually exclusive normative models and visions relates, first of all, to the willingness of the parties to compromise. Such willingness does not materialise on purely moral grounds. Nor does it result from a sudden change in political style or attitude. It stems primarily from the conflicting parties realising the cost of continuing the conflict is too high.

Indications are the leadership of both the National Party and ANC are at present considering the cost of continuing conflict. Whether people like it or not, willingness to compromise and enter into a process of bargaining is directly related, in the modern world, to the kind of international pressures experienced by the parties to a conflict.

Mutually exclusive normative models and visions do not necessarily preclude bargaining about bargaining, or a settlement process. In politics, factors like costs, international pressure and socio-political forces — together with a leader's perception and interpretation of them — can make a difference.

What has happened recently in SA is a good example of the fact that the mutually exclusive nature of competing models and visions does not imply an absence of any interaction. The SA government and ANC do not ignore each other. Tactically and strategically, they are compelled to reckon with each other. It is significant that the

ANC, in its list of what government should do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, has moved away from the condition that all apartheid legislation should be abolished.

The legislation in question entails the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act in particular; Acts which form the cornerstones of the present system of government and constitutional dispensation.

It seems as if the ANC is prepared to have these Acts discussed during the process of negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

What is expected from government is a clear commitment that these Acts are not non-negotiable (government has already indicated its willingness in this respect).

What it all adds up to is a greater willingness to accept the need for a transitional period as well as joint action to rid the country of the remaining vestiges of apartheid.

Agreement on a transitional stage — including the sequencing of the implementation of a settlement and consensus on how and by whom the country should be governed during this period — will contribute to stability, offsetting white concerns about the future.

Negotiated settlements do not have the character of a "Big Bang" event. They materialise gradually and require creative leadership, confidence-building and a sincere desire to find compromises. ■

The problem with being perfectly legal

W/M Mail 415-1015/90

Face-to-face with JOE SLOVO

By GAYE DAVIS and
SHAUN JOHNSON

THE South African Communist Party has no plans to change its name — despite the fact that many communist parties in Eastern Europe have judged it wise to do so — but is nevertheless gearing itself up for major structural adaptations.

In an interview with the *Weekly Mail*, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said this week that the party's constitution, and even its programme, would have to be revised "because obviously the kind of conditions we have been forced to operate in underground ... do not permit of the same kind of accountability and ideals of democracy within an organisation that we aspire to".

Slovo said he and his colleagues hadn't "turned our attention to the question of a name change, nor is it in our thinking", but accepted that strategic and practical changes might have to take place.

Primarily, he said, the party had to make the transition from under to above ground: "We are in the process of setting up national leadership and establishing an above-board legal organisation. But in our case the process is slightly more complex than that of the African National Congress. We've got to think about the way of doing it a little more carefully (as) I should imagine we would become the prime targets of the rightwing — this is a factor which influences the pace at which we can get going."

"We have underground structures in place ... and the process of transforming the structures from underground into legal structures is taking place."

But for the moment, said Slovo, "the underground (structures) will not be abandoned. We are not yet certain and cannot be certain of the outcome of this whole process (of negotiation). We can't be certain that there won't be a backlash — it would be foolish for us to be too euphoric."

Nevertheless, said Slovo, he believed that "within this year (the SACP) would have a public face" within South Africa. "We are going on a recruitment drive," he said, "and we've announced to people that we would like them to create what we call *Umsebenzi* discussion circles (*Umsebenzi* is the SACP's official publication) ... in order to study our party's programme. We are going to open offices."

Recruitment, said Slovo, would be directed at "all levels" of society. "But of course as a party which emphasises the role of the working class our bias would obviously be in their favour."

"We believe that we should become a large party without sacrificing quality. We hope to attract what we consider to be the thousands of workers



Joe Slovo ... He'd rather not be white South Africa's No 1 bogeyman,

and youth who have visibly expressed in the past period support for our party and an eventual future of socialism."

Asked whether he believed the ANC's alliance with the SACP might have "scared off" potential white supporters of the movement, he said this was more than compensated by strong support in the black community.

There was no conflict of interest between the objectives of the ANC and the SACP — but he was not saying there never would be, Slovo said.

Neither the ANC nor the SACP believed socialism was "immediately on the agenda".

"I think it must be accepted that the day after the transformation the situation is exactly the same as the day be-

fore — and therefore the objectives for which both the ANC and the SACP stand would have to be consolidated. I foresee a relatively long period in which both organisations will co-operate in order to carry out those tasks."

But there was no doubt that the ANC was "going to grow into an organisation with millions of members".

"It will attract all kinds of strata and groups. I've no doubt therefore that within the ANC there will be perhaps a greater ideological contest concerning the future path of development."

"But we believe it is correct for the ANC to be what it is — and that is a multi-class organisation which up to now has broadly speaking had a bias in favour of the working people. Of

but it is the price of principle'

course, those of us in the ANC who approve of that bias will continue to argue for (its) maintenance."

The SACP-ANC alliance had not been one-way, he said.

Nor would there be any conflict of interest during this week's "talks about talks": "We have both discussed as organisations the negotiating process and endorsed all the main positions of the ANC. I don't envisage there will be a decision to which we will object."

Slovo said he was "philosophic" about being made answerable to whites' worst fears: "I've been built up as their main bogeyman. It's earned me a great deal of following among 90 percent of the people! I'd rather not have that reputation among any section of the people, but it is the price of principle."

The potential for the SACP's growth as an above-ground party was "enormous", Slovo said. He "had no doubt" that the party would exceed its record membership levels of the 1940s. This was despite the fact that the SACP was "getting no support from Eastern Europe, and didn't expect any — unfortunately."

He added that the SACP leadership fully supported President Mikhail Gorbachev's moves toward reform in the Soviet Union: "We welcome the process that's going on. We think that if it succeeds socialism will be saved."

Yes, they DID meet in March

AFRICAN National Congress and South African government representatives met in Geneva in March to clear the way for this week's "talks about talks", ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo has confirmed.

The *Weekly Mail* reported at the time — soon after the February 2 unbanning of the organisation — that preliminary discussions had taken place. But a veil of silence was drawn over the contact, amid official denials.

This week Nzo said in an interview with the *Weekly Mail*: "Obviously meetings took place. When people are preparing to meet, obviously someone has to draw up an agenda and so on."

A joint team made up of ANC personnel and government representatives was established to deal with such issues, Nzo said. "There were a lot of meetings in South Africa to prepare an agenda — but the preliminary contact was in Geneva."

Azapo, PAC (11A) won't be seen *W/Mail 4/5-10/5/90* anywhere near the talks table

The PAC, Azapo and Nactu have accused the ANC of being 'sell-outs' by talking to the government; they have called on the ANC to abandon the talks. The PAC says it will not be found 'within spitting distance' of the negotiations table. By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE African National Congress' political rivals have poured scorn on the organisation for engaging the government in talks.

Strong attacks have come from the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and the National Council of Trade Unions.

In an open letter to the ANC this week, Azapo urged the ANC to abandon the talks, saying President FW De Klerk merely want the ANC to "endorse apartheid".

"Even at this late hour we call upon the ANC to refrain from meeting the De Klerk regime. We urge the ANC to abandon De Klerk and embrace the revolutionary forces."

Azapo claims the talks do not have the mandate and support from the "oppressed", and that they will only serve to "legitimate the new form of apartheid being projected by the De Klerk government".

The letter also intimates that in going ahead with the talks the ANC is trying to beat other organisations to power — but says this power is illusory and by so doing the ANC is falling prey to the state's ploy to divide resistance organisations.

Organisations should come together to "plan the final strategy for the regime's total defeat".

The strategy Azapo proposes in the letter is for organisations to jointly work towards intensifying "all forms of struggle" and strengthening the "people's organisations" to achieve maximum unity to seize power.

And negotiations are not the way to achieve this, the letter continues.

Talks will fail because De Klerk has stressed his rejection of one person, one vote in a unitary state and the redistribution of land and wealth.

He will also not negotiate minority rights and the maintenance of the free enterprise system — according to Azapo.

The organisation adds that even the "inadequate demands in the Harare Declaration", except for the unbanning of political organisations, have not been met by the government, and this should indicate to the ANC that these are "non-talks — between master and subject".

PAC Vice-President Clarence Makwetu said the "ANC had sold out" by talking to the state.

Western Cape PAC representative Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation was "very apprehensive" about the talks and warned that "unacceptable compromises" might be made. He said that De Klerk was not being honest and that the PAC would not "be going within spitting distance of that table".

Nactu representative Cunningham Ncukana said: "The government is not serious about negotiations, and the ongoing campaign of terror by police, detentions and harassment put the oppressed in a position of weakness at the negotiating table.

He added: "The outcome of the talks is binding on the ANC membership only, no one else".

The newly formed socialist organisation, Workers for Socialist Action, also rejected the talks: "Not addressing the land question or the redistribution of wealth will not overcome centuries of dispossession and exploitation".

"The free enterprise system will simply entrench inequality."

THE white South African security policeman spoke earnestly into his walkie-talkie. "Yes, Mr Lekota," he said.

Moments later, on specific instruction from the United Democratic Front publicity secretary, he chaperoned a group of journalists from the gate to the door of Somerset West's Lord Charles Hotel — straight into the care of waiting Umkhonto weSizwe security personnel.

The representatives of state and revolution addressed each other civilly, professionally, and with more than a small measure of curiosity.

The task of the former was to screen all arrivals at the hotel; the latter to usher approved visitors into the presence of the African National Congress delegation. Their relationship symbolised the extraordinary nature of developments in Cape Town this week.

A strange thing happened in

BACKGROUND TO THE TALKS ABOUT TALKS'

By GAYE DAVIS and SHAUN JOHNSON in Cape Town

W/ward 4/5 - 10/5/90

As the historic "talks about talks" got under way at Groote Schuur on Wednesday, they had already been overtaken by quiet, practical co-operation elsewhere. "What's it like protecting Joe Slovo?" the security policeman was asked. "It's just my job," he replied.

From the moment that the Zambia Airways jet conveying the ANC team touched down at DF Malan Airport on April 27, one of South Africa's most enduring psychological barriers crumbled: the unthinkable happened.

Policemen demanded "ANC accreditation" from reporters, UDF activists huddled down to make logistical ar-

rangements with their former jailers, and an air of profound unreality descended.

Govan Mbeki, sensing this, made the point in his welcoming remarks for Slovo, Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, Ruth Mompati and Thabo Mbeki.

"From Africa, always something new comes," he said, beaming. "Strange things happen ... In the days before (the delegates) left the country, we could never have gathered together like this. The gentlemen on the other

side (the security police) would have been trailing us. It's a very different story today."

Indeed it was, and the bizarre elements were driven home repeatedly in the run-up to the talks. At the happy, disciplined welcoming rally for the delegation at Mitchell's Plain, white traffic policemen studiously turned away those vehicles without "ANC Press" markings.

By the same token, ANC marshals courteously escorted representatives

prised the top leaders of the South African government and their principal challengers for power.

The ANC delegation and its support team were whisked after their arrival to a luxurious hotel in Somerset West, half an hour's drive away.

The irony of being put up in an establishment named after Lord Charles Somerset, one of the more notorious of South Africa's colonial rulers, could hardly have escaped them.

And when the delegation arrived at Groote Schuur on Wednesday, the irony was reinforced: adorning the front of the gabled Cape Dutch mansion — home since 1910 to succes-

sive South African premiers — is a bronze frieze. It depicts Jan van Riebeeck's first encounter with the Khoi and the San.

Van Riebeeck's arrival marked the beginning of a 300-year history of dispossession and domination of South Africa's indigenous peoples, as Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC's delegation, noted when he addressed a resive press corps gathered on Groote Schuur's lawns.

"This is the first time in 78 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the ANC and the succession of white governments that have ruled our

country for generations," he said.

"It indicates the deadly weight of the terrible tradition of a 'dialogue' between master and servant which we have to overcome."

As convoys of sleek luxury cars started ferrying in each of the delegations, it became clear just who the "servants" now were: shiny-suited security personnel hovering with walkie-talkies clamped to their ears.

Their dedication to their task led to some sparring with a bank of cameramen desperate for a clear shot: repeated appeals for them to move out of view went unheeded.

"Come on Van der Merwe," shout-

ed the SABC into a reserved media enclosure. Eriswhile enemies, it seemed, were capable of rehabilitation.

Senior ANC delegates interviewed by the *Weekly Mail* conceded that there was an element of perversity about the situation, but were philosophical about it.

"Yes, it's strange," said Nzo, "but that's because South Africa is a sick society ... MK and the security branch are working together, through a joint steering committee ... in any civilised society, the task of the police is to protect the community." The "community", for this moment, com-

ed a cameraman. "I am Dippenaar and not Van der Merwe," riposted the security man stiffly.

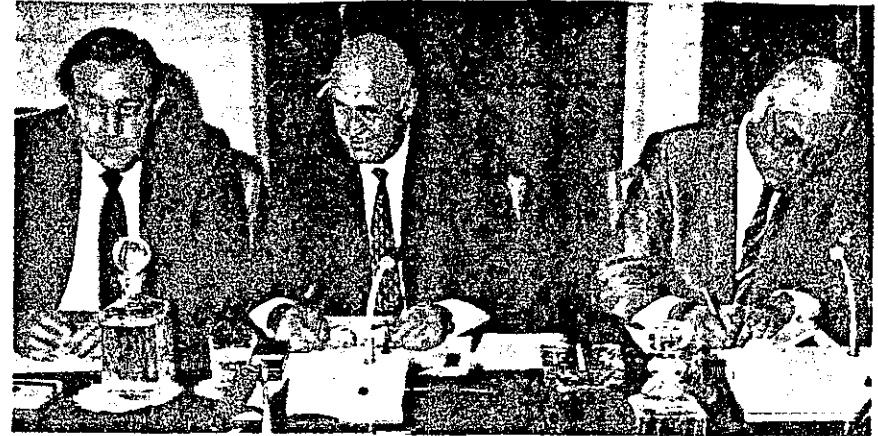
Any acrimony was washed away in laughter as another cameraman shouted: "It's OK, we're all working for peace and harmony here."

State President FW de Klerk and then Mandela delivered brief addresses, their respective teams standing together behind them: Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise next to Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer; Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha alongside South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo.

What was most clearly signalled by the epoch-making gathering was that those posing a threat were the far right and leftwings in South Africa's political potpourri; whether they liked it or not, the negotiators found themselves occupying the middle ground.

11A

Africa this week



FACE TO FACE . . . A glimpse at the talks between the government and the ANC — on the left are ANC delegates Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Alfred Nzo. On the right are Mr Pik Botha, President F W de Klerk Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Govt to pay 'poor' ANC's hotel bill

By CHRIS BATEMAN and NORMAN PATTERTON

THE government will pick up the tab for the ANC delegation's stay at the five-star Lord Charles Hotel at Somerset West, a government spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Neither the government, the ANC nor the hotel management would say how much the stay would cost, but it is estimated this will come to almost R10 000 a day — and about R70 000 for the week.

This does not include the cost of housing 53 government officials, mostly security personnel.

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A spokesman at an ANC information centre in the hotel said yesterday that the ANC occupied 31 rooms.

"The rooms are shared by two or three people," the spokesman said. She would not release further details.

The ANC convener for the southern Natal region, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said at the hotel that in the past ANC members had "slept on cement floors and eaten mealie meal", but in this instance the government had offered to pay. The ANC was a poor organisation, he added.

A government spokesman said in Cape Town that the government was arranging the group's accommodation — and the expense — "in order to facilitate security arrangements".

The hotel charges R240 a day for an ordinary room, breakfast included.

Ignoring the chances that ANC executives occupy any of the eight luxury suites, the cost of the 31 rooms would come to R7 440 a day. If 60 dinners a night — each costing R40 — were added that would add another R2 400, making a daily total of R9 840.

The group moved in last Saturday and will book out tomorrow.

11A

Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela doesn't drink alcohol and takes soda water with his meals, according to staff at the Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West, where the ANC delegation is staying.

"His bodyguard is right with him all the time, shadowing and serving him, which is sometimes disconcerting to staff," said an employee.

The hotel, set just off the N2, offers a magnificent view of the Hottentots Holland Mountains and is built around a stream that is visible from the hotel.

There is a cordial and friendly atmosphere between the predominantly white security minders and the ANC officials, who also have at their dis-

Close watch on teetotal ANC leader

posal the use of a swimming pool with nearby ladies' bar, trimpark, volleyball court, three tennis courts, fishing facilities, a heli-pad and a business centre.

In the lush lounge area a woman pianist provides soothing music on a grand piano.

The ANC group dines in a separate dining area, and prefers to eat mainly from the carvery, shunning more varied dishes.

But if they wished,

they could order, as a starter, terrine of kingklip with smoked salmon, graced with delicate horse-radish sauce, at R10,75, or cream of fresh leek blended with cream and spiced with a dash of Beefeater gin at R5,25.

For salad they could have sautéed chicken livers, flamed with calvados and finished with cream and served in a bed of lettuce hearts — at R6,75.

In the line of fish are Canadian salmon set upon a delicate

Sauvignon Blanc sauce at R19,50 or shallow fried rainbow trout garnished with grapefruit segments and roasted hazelnuts at R19,25. The fish come with a choice of sauces and fresh vegetables.

Main courses on offer include poached breast of chicken in a pink lobster sauce garnished with prawn tail at R18,75 or breasts of guineafowl gently braised in Amaretto and dressed with pine kernels — R24,95.

There are also pan-fried veal steaks set on a tarragon sauce and garnished with strips of fresh leek at R18,75, or noisettes of lamb topped with a rosemary crust and served with a Madeira sauce.

The buffet and carvery are both R29,50.



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11A

Nobody at talks has horns — Mbeki

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegates at the Groote Schuur talks realised within hours of sitting down to their first formal meeting that they had been "foolish" not to have got together for talks years ago, said ANC former exile Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We were a bit surprised, I think, at how foolish all of us have been because in a matter of minutes everybody in the room understood that nobody there had horns," he told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

"Everybody understood that these discussions ought to have taken place many years ago, and that everybody sitting in the room was perfectly reasonable and committed to finding a solution."

Mr Mbeki added: "When the meeting closed on Wednesday, the general feeling, I think, was that not only was movement forward necessary, but possible, and that it was a good thing to be participating in the

Ways to streamline public service sought

Political Staff

THE government is almost halfway through a job-by-job evaluation of the public service to establish where it can be streamlined.

This was disclosed in parliament by Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, who is conducting the scrutiny.

The government aimed to shrink the public sector's role in the economy, he said.

Dr De Villiers said yesterday a function evaluation programme had been completed in 10 departments. It was in progress in 13 more departments.

MORE EFFICIENT

A smaller, more efficient public service was still one of the biggest challenges facing the economy, he added.

He was speaking during his department's budget debate.

process of moving this whole thing forward."

In lighter vein, Mr Mbeki disclosed that he and his colleague Ms Ruth Mompati intended chiding a cabinet minister at the talks for "doing his office work" at the negotiating table.

He said he and Ms Mompati had decided to "complain" to the unnamed minister for this perhaps inappropriate devotion to duty.

They had noticed the minister "spent a bit of time doing his office work" during Wednesday's session.

Won applause

Another mischievous disclosure won applause from his audience.

Lifting the covers on lighter moments at the Groote Schuur encounter, Mr Mbeki said he had remarked at the start of the meeting that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha "was my deputy".

He wasn't sure that Mr Botha was "very pleased with that", he added.

In fact, Mr Mbeki said, the atmosphere at the talks was "very good... very serious, but not solemn."

Another move in the public service, he said, was commercialising services and introducing user-charges. Management units should be created in the government departments and they should be self-financing as far as possible.

Dr De Villiers announced also that the introduction of management accounting in the public service would emphasise cost effectiveness.

"The system is being phased in gradually and has been initiated in the Prisons Service, police and the Department of Finance," he said.

Private-sector managers would be employed throughout the public service once teething problems were overcome.

"The intention is to apply business principles in the management of government departments," Dr De Villiers said.



Mr Thabo Mbeki addresses the Cape Town Press Club.

State pays the ANC hotel bill

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
AFRICAN National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the government this week are truly guests of the State... the government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

About 30 rooms — one whole wing — of the five-star hotel near Somerset West have been occupied by the ANC team.

Some of the rooms are being used for meetings.

SPECIAL RATES

The likely hotel costs — which will include telephone and other bills — have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for one night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes-Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

In a brief statement, the Bureau for Information said: "In order to facilitate security arrangements, the government took responsibility for arranging the accommodation and local transport of the delegation and for the expenditure involved."

Whites 'stripped of rights'

THE independence of Namibia had stripped all whites in that country of their citizenship rights and that was what South Africa would become, said Mr J J C Botha (CP Wonderboom).

Speaking during debate on the Extended Public Committee on South African Citizenship at Attainment of Independence of Namibia Regulation Bill, Mr Botha said the honeymoon of the Namibian constitution would soon be over and the country would revert to a communistic state.

"If you want to see what the new South Africa is going to look like, look at Namibia. They have stopped religious devotions at schools. There is no Die Stem or Day of the Vow.

"Whites in Namibia have been stripped of all their rights of citizenship in that they have no say over these matters any more."

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Bill was the last chapter of the tragic history of Namibia.

"Few people who have left Namibia to come and live in South Africa support the National Party because of their experiences."

Mr Desmond Locky (LP Northern Cape) said a country could not carry on indefinitely granting citizenship to people who were not born in that country.

Mr Frikkie van Deventer (NP Durbanville) said South Africa respected Namibia's right to claim loyalty from its citizens, in line with international standards.

Mr Yusuf Seedat (Solidarity nominated) said the Bill was a natural consequence to Namibia attaining its independence and it was understandable that its government would not sanction dual citizenship.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the Democratic Party would not support the Bill because there had been no negotiation with the Namibian government.

South African citizens who left to live in another country lost their citizenship only after seven years.

"We do not see why Namibians should lose their South African citizenship so arbitrarily. The government is going about this too hastily. The Bill should be widely advertised so that South African citizens in Namibia could have a chance to decide on what they want to do." — Sapa.

CP member ordered out

MR Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) was ordered by the Chairman to leave the Chamber of Parliament after he implied President De Klerk was involved in politics of treason.

Speaking on the Administration and Economic Co-ordination Vote, he said: "The politics currently being followed are those of treason. You (the President) have no mandate to do what you are doing."

Mr Jacobs refused to withdraw the statement and was ordered out. — Sapa.

'Open up public service'

IF South Africans were moving into a new South Africa, people of all races had to be brought into the top level of the public service, Mr Roger Burrows (DP Pinetown) said.

Speaking in the debate on the administration and economic co-ordination vote, he said only a minimum of blacks were employed in State departments. Of the 131 people employed in the Office of the State President, no black, Indian or coloured people were employed. — Sapa.

THABO MBEKI AT THE TALKS YESTERDAY:

How foolish we all were ...



'Nobody with horns' ... ANC delegates Ruth Mompoti, Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki
Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

not to do this ages ago

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**Hopes high
as both
sides realise
... 'This
discussion
should have
happened
years ago'**

**By GAYE DAVIS
and SHAUN
JOHNSON**

ONLY minutes after taking their seats at the negotiating table, both sides at this week's historic talks in Cape Town realised "how foolish we'd all of us been", said African National Congress diplomatic head Thabo Mbeki.

He told an audience of 400 guests of the Cape Town Press Club yesterday: "We were all of us a bit surprised ... within a matter of minutes, everyone understood there was no one in the room who had horns — and that in fact, this discussion ought to have taken place years ago."

"And when we closed, the general feeling was that not only is forward movement necessary but that it is also possible."

Mbeki's address, which came at the mid-point of the

three-day "talks about talks", signalled the rapport which appears to have been achieved by the two opposing sides.

While his speech suggested that agreement on issues of conflict is still far from being achieved, it reflected a breakthrough in personal relations and attitudes among the country's major political players.

It was also a diplomatic *tour de force* from the man who is regarded as the ANC's crown prince: the audience was visibly impressed by his sophisticated and conciliatory approach. Introducing Mbeki, Cape Town Press Club president Alan Duggan said many in the audience had never met an ANC official and it was "long overdue".

Stressing that both sides had agreed not to disclose details of the talks before their conclusion later today — an arrangement Mbeki described as "very fair" — he spelled out the ANC's view of how the negotiating process should unfold.

• To PAGE 4

P.T.O.

Hopes high as talks begin in good spirits

●From PAGE 1

that those obstacles that have been identified are removed.

"What happens next? Our view is that some people have to get together to discuss who should sit around the table and negotiate a new constitution."

The obvious problem, he said, was who should sit around that table.

The "basic political conflict" in South Africa was between people who, on one hand, said there should be a "united, democratic, non-racial South Africa" and those who agreed there should be change but favoured a "group-based solution".

"I'm trying to be very fair," Mbeki said. "In earlier days I would have said what they wanted was a perpetuation of apartheid."

The ANC leader rejected assertions that his organisation saw itself as the "sole and authentic representative of the majority of South Africans ...

"The ANC recognises that many others are involved in the struggle against apartheid and should be involved in the process (of reshaping) the country," he said. "We would hope that many white people want to sit on our side," Mbeki said.

The United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, churches and other groups would already be on the ANC side, he said. There would also be "people serving within government institutions — such as the bantustans — who have rejected apartheid and who would attend as "part of the broad democratic movement".

On the opposite side of the table would be "FW de Klerk and such other people who might think of themselves as representative of groups.

"In that kind of framework, leaders who feel that they lead seven million Zulus would presumably sit next to FW de Klerk."

The election of a constituent assembly "would stop all debate about who is bigger than whom and who the genuine representatives (of the people) are", Mbeki said.

The constituent assembly would then draw up a new constitution.

The "sticky question", said Mbeki, was the need for an interim government to be appointed, ahead of the adoption of a new constitution, which would supervise the implementation of processes agreed to:

"The present government is party to this conflict."

He added later that the ANC believed the interim government to be essential at a "certain stage" of the process toward a new constitution — "we're not saying we must have an interim government now".

In a joint statement after the first day of talks at Groote Schuur, the government and ANC delegations said the discussions were characterised by openness and straightforwardness on both sides.

The key issues being addressed include: security laws, the return of exiles, troops in the townships, political prisoners, the State of Emergency, ANC adherence to the armed struggle, and the need to end violence.

Opening remarks by delegation leaders De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela emphasised mutual determination to seek agreement without "underestimating the complexities and differences that will have to be resolved".

The talks could produce results on the question of an amnesty for exiles, progress on the issue of political prisoners, and a "statement of intent" regarding the suspension of armed hostilities between the government and ANC.

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Team stabbed man — witness

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — After being assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela and members of her soccer team, Mr Kenny Kgase was asked to join the team and a few days later was taken along when team members caught and stabbed a man.

This evidence was led in the Rand Supreme Court during the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson. Mr Richardson, 41, of Orlando West has pleaded not guilty to four counts of kidnapping, five of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, one of attempted murder and one of murder.

"Kicked Stompie"

Continuing his evidence in chief yesterday, Mr Kgase said he and the other three were guarded that night by Mr Richardson and a man called Slash.

Later a "tall, muscular man" arrived and asked who they

were. Mr Richardson repeated the allegations against the four young men and the newcomer became angry with Stompie.

"He said that is the last thing that can happen when people are fighting for a just cause. He kicked Stompie and asked why he did it. Stompie couldn't answer and he became more angry. He kicked Stompie around the room," Mr Kgase said.

On New Year's Day last year, Mr Kgase said, Stompie was told to write his address on a piece of paper because he was going home. Various men spoke to Stompie before Mr Richardson told him to collect his belongings.

He decribed January 2 as a "different day" saying everyone referred to them as comrades and they were told the past was forgotten. Mr Richardson asked him if he played soccer.

"He said he was looking forward to having a strong team. I was asked if I was going to join them and I said 'no'. They said they had a league with people in exile," Mr Kgase said.

He said that before he gave his answer, everyone was taken out to a piece of open ground to do strenuous exercises.

Later there was a debate about who should be taken with Mr Richardson and other team members.

Mr Kgase said they were not sure what was happening but eventually were escorting a man in a red shirt to see "Mummie".

Later he was ordered to hold the man's legs while Mr Richardson sat on the man's chest and stabbed him with a blade from a pair of garden shears, the court heard.

The hearing continues.

By JOSS WEINIZEL, MICHAEL MORRIS and MICHAEL DOMAN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC have laid the foundations for the start of real constitutional negotiations.

Delegates came away with a great sense of moment. Distrust has been removed and on both sides there was astonishment at how well they got along.

For some on the government side it was a "cathartic experience" to listen to an ANC delegate's explanation of the frustrations of an organisation which had been cut off from normal channels of political communication and which finally found itself with no choice but to resort to violence.

With no contact between them over many years, except through police action after bomb or landmine explosions, they realised time was needed to listen to each other, assess each other's sincerity and build up some openness and trust.

Outstanding success

In that sense the meeting was an outstanding success. In some cases there are said to have been such "revealing perspectives" from both sides that many of the preconceptions they had before the talks would have to be rethought.

The talks were meant to deal only with obstacles to real negotiations. But in informal discussions — sometimes at lunch or at dinner breaks — reference was also made to what was meant by protection of minority rights and to how Nationalist thinking on some basic policies had changed.

Above all the talks made the delegates develop a taste for consultation. Said one: "It made us feel this was a diet we needed in greater quantity."

An important spin-off will therefore be an increase in formal and informal meetings between the two sides. While there is already a "hot-line" between Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and personal contact between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, further arrangements will be made for improved communication.

While they still have much to learn about each other, there are also considerable problems facing the joint working group appointed to address certain problems, with May 21 as its deadline.

Return of the exiles

One of these not mentioned in the "Groote Schuur Minute" issued after the talks is the economic implications of the return of the exiles.

Peace and co-operation were the themes of the delicately worded two-page joint communiqué, the objectives of which both sides agreed to achieve as soon as possible.

The question of the armed struggle remains one of the most critical. In what has been described as "very considerable progress" the ANC has agreed to review it.

Mr Mandela said at the joint Press conference: "The ANC intends to fulfil everything that has been said in this document (the Groote Schuur Minute)."

"In that spirit the ANC will therefore look into the question of the armed struggle and take appropriate steps."

While there is no commitment to ending the armed struggle, he committed the ANC to a rethink in terms of yesterday's "common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter ... and to a peaceful process of negotiations".

Tensions

But the government's emphasis on this has created a problem for the ANC. In government circles it is believed the ANC has problems with tensions between its hawks and doves and the older and younger members — as well as with not appearing to have full control over its supporters in some areas.

On the other hand the ANC's use of the concept "mutual cessation of hostilities" is a problem for the government.

The government maintains there are no hostilities — that these occur between states. But the ANC insists the state is perpetrating violence.

■ Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says it is "encouraging" that the government and the ANC have acknowledged that there is an urgent need to resolve the violence.

● See page 3.

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Lof
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PARADES TOGETHER

And the NP's 103-member caucus said yesterday in a statement after a briefing on the talks that it "noted with enthusiasm and grateful appreciation the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks aimed at achieving peaceful negotiation towards the creation of a new SA"

CAPL 7mb 45/90 mt

The statement, issued by the NP's chief whip, Mr Keppies Niemann, said the caucus unanimously expressed its thanks to President De Klerk and his team for the "positive initiatives that have been taken and the progress made so far".

20 000 for
repatriation,
says the ANC

Argus Africa News Service
LUSAKA. — The African National Congress says about 20 000 exiles will have to be repatriated to South Africa once all obstacles to their return have been cleared.

At the same time the organisation estimates that there are about 400 000 South African emigrants around the world, many of whom would like to return.

Mr Jackie Salebe, co-ordinator of the ANC's repatriation committee, told the Africa News Organisation, Anso, that the ANC would offer its assistance to everybody, even those those who were not ANC members, who wanted to return to South Africa.

Substantial progress made at ANC talks

By TOS WENTZEL and
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE first round of exploratory talks between the government and the ANC which ends today will not be conclusive — but substantial progress has been made.

The expectation in both camps today was that further consultations in smaller groups on issues such as the definition of political prisoners, immunity for exiles, the armed struggle and the state of emergency would have to take place.

Later, possibly in July, this would be followed up by another meeting of the two main delegations.

Sources close to the talks confirmed today that yesterday's discussions had again been "positive" and that the foundations for agreement on obstacles were being laid. The talks were reaching conclusions that would enhance the chances of real negotiations on constitutional reform.

EXPECTATION

From the government side it was pointed out that the expectation had always been that absolute finality could not be reached on all the obstacles to negotiation at the first round of the "talks about talks".

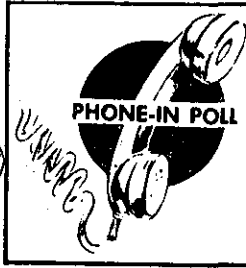
So far no final breakthroughs had been achieved as the talks often dealt with technical aspects of some of the obstacles.

Some of the continuing consultations that will follow today's round of talks will be on the issue of the definition of political prisoners, one of the sticking points at the talks.

But the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle and the question of the lifting of the state of emergency are thought to be connected to this issue and will also have to be dealt with.

The government, it was said, has always assumed that a number of rounds of talks would be necessary.

One source said today that, where ob-



Have your say . . .

Now that the Government and the ANC are talking, are you:

- More hopeful.
- Less hopeful.

Call us with your opinions on 208-4525 or 208-4547 until 9pm today.

stacles had not been finally removed, there had at least been indications of how this could be dealt with.

The two delegations spent 3½ hours at the table yesterday afternoon in a session "devoted to wide-ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of specific issues".

A joint statement said the aim of yesterday's round was "an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences".

BRIEFINGS CANCELLED

While both President De Klerk and ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela expressed "satisfaction with progress achieved so far", an indication of the difficulties that lie ahead today was the cancellation last night of a series of Press briefings various ANC officials and delegates were to give at their hotel in Somerset West because they were engaged in unscheduled consultations deep into the night.

● See page 5.

Talks will lead to compromise: PAC

AS the ANC and government delegations sat down to attempt to work out a deal to get negotiations going, the Pan-Africanist Congress warned that the meeting could lead to "unacceptable compromises".

And it said its own support among blacks was growing, particularly among young people, as a result of the rapprochement between the govern-

Sweetman 4/5/70

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

ment and the ANC. "We are very apprehensive," said Western Cape representative of the PAC, Mr Barney Desai.

Oppressed

"On the basis of Mr De Klerk's recent speeches and his London Television News interview with Brian Warden, we cannot see how anybody can negotiate on be-

half of the oppressed people of South Africa for a new deal."

Desai said De Klerk was not coming clean.

"People are engaging him in negotiations and we must see what they come out with. But as far as we are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that table."

Desai said the PAC's national executive committee would consider negotiations "only if the situation warrants it". - Sapa



FW DE KLERK

So we have 4/15/90

Talks good, serious

From ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

THE historic talks between the Government and the ANC enter the last round today with both teams still saying peace is the ultimate goal.

In a joint statement after the first day and a briefing yesterday by the ANC's spokesman on international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the mood and tempo of the talks were described as "good and very serious, but not solemn".

The first round was devoted to feeler discussions and preliminaries by both parties on the question of obstacles to negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

Discussion

The discussions were listed under security legislation, the return of exiles, troops in the townships, political prisoners, the state of emergency, the adherence to the armed struggle and the need to end violence.

Both groups agreed to the agenda.

"The discussions were characterised by openness and straightforwardness on both sides," the official statement said after the first day. No statement was expected last night on the second day's (Thursday) deliberations.

Foolish

In his lunch-time briefing, Mbeki said everyone had been foolish for so many years and that the long overdue talks "should have taken place ages ago".

"We found that we were all committed to finding solutions," he said.

Mbeki's address at the Press centre was originally scheduled for April 12, but fell away when the proposed first meeting with was cancelled.

A final statement will be made at the end of today's discussions.

PAN Africanist Congress (internal) general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and Qibla member Mr Cassim Christian were yesterday admitted to the Kimberley Hospital after their car overturned in the northern Cape.

A spokesman for the hospital declined to divulge the nature of the

Alexander 'stable' after crash

By THEMBA MOLEFE

injuries they sustained but said they were in a "stable and satisfactory" condition.

Alexander and Christian were transferred from Hopetown to Kimberley

soon after the accident, which happened at dawn.

They were returning to Johannesburg from Cape Town where Alexander addressed a May Day rally and the commemoration service for PAC member Mr Sam Chand,

who was killed with his family in Botswana last week, as well as other PAC members who died over the past two weeks.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said he was concerned about the spate of car accidents

which were claiming the lives of leading members of his organisation.

PAC internal secretary for finance, Mr Mike Matsobane: "The whole thing smacks of mystery and must be addressed immediately."



BENNY ALEXANDER

Azapo calls for joint action plan by black groups

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called for the creation of an interim committee for a united liberation front to plan joint programmes of action.

This would also serve to eliminate mistrust amongst black liberation movements, Azapo said.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said all major trade union federations and independent unions should "seriously work towards the establishment of a single trade union federation in the country"

Sowetan 4/5/90

Problems

Moodley said the black working class had nothing to gain from the talks between the ANC and "the white minority settler government".

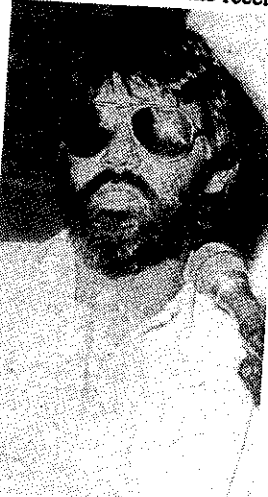
He said the De Klerk government, faced with massive economic problems caused by pressure from the working class and their international allies, was trying to woo some blacks to join them in the defence of apartheid in a disguised form.

Azapo rejected the talks and had sent an open letter to the ANC calling on them to abandon the

idea of winning concessions from De Klerk.

He said it was "self-deceiving" to believe that whites were ready to hand over power and the land to blacks.

De Klerk himself had said as much in the recent



STRINI MOODLEY

British Television interview, Moodley said.

Black organisations should, therefore, embark on a concerted campaign to "conscientise and preach the gospel of national unity".

Delegates to big talks mix freely

DELEGATES to the first official talks between the African National Congress and the Government found it "unbelievable" that they could mix so easily after almost 30 years of warring.

"The way in which we met was so normal that it was as if there had been no barriers before," a source close to the Government delegation said yesterday. *Sowetan 4/5/90*

"It didn't feel like we were meeting for the first time. There were no signs of aggression at all. It was quite friendly.

"Many delegates expressed the feeling that it was unbelievable that we are together and we can mix so easily.

"Especially for those from Lusaka

Sowetan Correspondent

who have longed so much for home, it was even more important to mix with us." *(11A)* ~~(11A)~~

The delegate said the mood had been good and the talks had gone "pretty well."

But it was too early to say that it had been "totally positive" as the fundamental issues still had to be resolved.

"Both sides showed a willingness to address the problems but in a spirit of trying to solve them instead of trying to perpetuate them."

"It's too early to predict the outcome and in-depth discussions will still have to take place."

Let the people decide future - ANC vision

ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki yesterday spelled out the organisation's vision of the road to a democratic South Africa: the election of a constituent assembly and the creation of an interim government to supervise the process. *Sowetan* 4/5/90

Mbeki was speaking to the Cape Town Press Club just before the start of the second day of talks between the ANC and the Government.

The ANC's vision is in direct conflict with what State President FW de Klerk envisages.

In an exclusive interview with the *Sowetan* last month De Klerk said his Government was legitimate, was recognised by the international community and would not abdicate to make way for an interim one.

He also rejected the notion of a constituent assembly, saying it would give some people unfair advantage before the talks over the constitution even start.

Future

There is now some convergence on the way the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress see the future.

In a statement to the *Sowetan* before the current talks, PAC's secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said: "Only elected representatives can claim to have a mandate from the majority of the people to draw up a new non-racial democratic constitution for a united Azania.

"Hence the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person-one-vote election to a single chamber constituent assembly..."

By JOE THLOLOE
in Cape Town

Mbeki said the best way to resolve the question of who sits around the negotiation table is through an elected constituent assembly.

There should also be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the people. The South African Government cannot supervise the process because it was a party to the conflict.

Mbeki envisaged a series of agreements that would lead up to an agreement on the assembly and the interim government.

The basic conflict was between those who believed in a united democratic South Africa and those who believed that change had to be based on groups, racial or other.

Mbeki envisaged those who believe in a non-racial South Africa sitting on one side of the table with De Klerk and such other people who might think of themselves as representatives of groups on the other."

The question of who directs the SABC would have to be addressed to make sure that it was not subject to pressure from one political organisation or another.

Cape
Times
4/5/90

(11A)

(11A)

(11A)



MEETING THE WORKERS . . . ANC executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki arrived at the Cape Sun yesterday to find a well-timed workers' protest under way outside. The protest, noticed by more than 300 members of the press attending Mr Mbeki's lunch talk, was related to an issue between workers and management. Mr Mbeki greeted the protesters with a smile and a handshake.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Good flavour at talks, says Mbeki

CAPE TIMES
4/5/90
11A

Political Correspondent

MR Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday that there had been a feeling of surprise among participants in the current talks because within a few minutes of sitting down "everyone understood that there was nobody there with horns".

"When all of us departed the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, but possible."

Before his address Mr Mbeki said the parties to the Groote Schuur talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over.

But when asked to describe the "flavour" of the first official encounter between the ANC and the government, Mr Mbeki responded: "I really think the atmosphere was very good.

"It was very serious but not solemn."

Mr Mbeki also said it was clear that "there has to be an increasing degree of co-operation" between the ANC and the government to address matters of common concern such as the violence in the townships.

He said he did not know whether such efforts to solve problems which arose daily would be institutionalised but noted that "there has to be co-operation".

The ANC did not consider itself to be the "sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of South

Africa", he told the Press Club.

It believed that a variety of forces should be involved in deciding the future of the country.

If the current round of talks succeeded in removing the obstacles to negotiation, the next problem would be to decide who would sit around the negotiation table to decide on constitution-making.

It was "obvious" that there was a "basic divide" between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should recognise racial and ethnic division and take place in terms of a group-based solution.

The ANC believed that "our side" would comprise a broad front which included the UDF, Cosatu, many churches, homeland leaders who rejected the group concept and "very many white people".

Sitting next to President FW de Klerk on the "group-based" side would be "people who claim to be the leader of seven million Zulus" — a clear reference to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commitment to the establishment of an interim government to supervise elections for a constituent assembly which would, as was the case in Namibia, draft a new constitution.

The NP is firmly opposed to such a scenario but Mr Mbeki said the ANC would try to convince Mr De Klerk that he was "wrong".

Getting together on the lawns of Grootte Schuur

Tight rein kept on Press corps covering ANC talks

11A
~~11A~~

Sowetan
4/5/90

THE autumn sky above Cape Town has been broody and unpredictable. The dreaded south-easter had spent itself crossing the Indian Ocean. By the time it reached the southern tip of the African continent fate had decided that no ill wind would blow upon these shores...

As the clouds were shifting and threatening, so too was the back-up to Wednesday's initial meeting between the Government and the ANC.... days of consultation in the luxury five-star hotel among the ANC had kept the Press guessing and everybody else hoping.

The Cape Town Press Centre, unofficial registration point for visiting media, was like a shopping mall on Christmas Eve - chaotic.

Efficient

The Bureau for Information's media centre was efficient, but hectic, too.

However, it all came together on the lawns of Grootte Schuur, where after waiting 78 years for an audience, the ANC met South African Government representatives.

Media representatives were asked to meet at Hendrik Verwoerd Centre, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, at 11.30am. From there they would be ferried to the venue by bus.

Shortly before noon - after a light finger snack including tea and instant coffee - the SABC's former Washington correspondent, now spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Marius Kleynhans, briefed the media.

Message

The basic message was: There would be a photo opportunity when the leaders of the delegations, Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk, made their short speeches.

"There will be no questions, and today's Press conference will

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

be the only one till after the talks," Kleynhans said.

Someone sighed and another said: "Was it worth coming here in the first place."

The journalists were piled into five luxury coaches with each bus getting its own someone-to-watch-over-the-Press. He was the standard Government issue - grey suit, moustache, pistol on the hip and walkie talkie. There was no doubt about who was in charge.

The drive to Grootte Schuur was fun and I imagine it looked rather impressive to the bystanders. Five really big coaches carrying a motley bunch of journalists from all corners of the world speeding through the city streets and accompanied by a number of police vans and cars sounds exactly like a fairy tale.

Nevertheless the drive to the venue, residence of State Presidents and Prime Ministers of South Africa until 1984, was slick and quick.

Press corps

It was the two-hour wait on the wet lawn to the side of arch-colonialist Cecil John Rhodes's old house that had the Press corps fuming.

"Do they really expect us to wait on this spot for two hours?" a French correspondent asked.

A German accent replied: "Ja! It looks like it."

A Japanese television cameraman smiled. And like a petulant teenager, one North American correspondent decided to take a stroll towards a little hand-made pond at the bottom of the landscaped garden.

The man with the grey suit, moustache, bulging hip and walkie talkie had other ideas and ran off to retrieve the irritated journalist.

Meanwhile back on the spot where the journalists had assembled a uniformed policeman brought a black reporter a glass of water: "Here's your water, Sir."



The drone of a helicopter signalled the arrival of the ANC delegation.

Most of the attempts to prevent chaos earlier in the day with pedantic do's and don'ts were nullified as photographers yelled at reporters to sit down and move aside and reporters replied that they were only trying to get their tape recorders started.

Kleynhans repeated his earlier remarks that there would be only one photo opportunity and that the arrival of the delegations was not it.

Sun shines

The sun briefly broke through the autumn mist and low rain clouds. While nobody was watching, a handful of ANC members had sneaked behind the conglomeration of journalists.

Steve Tshwete, Aziz Pahad, Mohammed Vally Moosa, and Raymond Suttner were at once overwhelmed when the journalists spotted them.

Then there was another rush in the opposite direction, back to the

first spot facing the podium where the leaders of the delegations were to address the media.

A tape recorder fell, a notebook landed in a muddy wet spot on the grass, its owner bent over to pick it up, but an American correspondent's right foot got to it first and left it with a boot print.

By the time the media hounds had settled, Mandela and De Klerk descended the six or seven steps and approached the podium, members of their delegations behind them all in a bunch.

Speech

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha stood chest out next to Communist Party boss Joe Slovo. Ruth Mompati looked amused next to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Nelson Mandela looked straight ahead during De Klerk's speech.

The State President tilted his head slightly while the ANC leader spoke.

At the end of the long and tiring wait, the lawns looked like an elementary school playground. There was garbage all over when the journalists had left. And then I felt a single raindrop - I might have imagined it though.



FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the talks in Cape Town.

Smash: ^{CAZ} PAC's ^{7/11/85} secretary ^{4/5/90} 'stable' ^{11A}

JOHANNESBURG. — The condition of Mr Benny Alexander, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) internal general secretary, has been described as stable. Mr Alexander was involved in a serious accident in the Northern Cape early yesterday.

A spokesperson for the Kimberley hospital, where Mr Alexander and Mr Cassim Christian, executive member of Quibla, a radical Western Cape Islamic group, said Mr Alexander was out of danger, but was still receiving constant attention.

"His condition is stable and we are monitoring his progress. At this stage, we cannot say when he will be discharged. A colleague of his, who is also in hospital, has regained consciousness."

The two men were transferred from the Hopetown hospital after the accident, which PAC internal treasurer Mr Mike Matsobane said occurred about 10km outside the town. — Sapa

ANC ECONOMIC POLICY

11A



F/M 4/5/90

A breath of commonsense

Nelson Mandela's statement that an ANC government will practise nationalisation only "if it would strengthen the economy" is, if taken literally, an admission that the organisation has dropped the policy; for there can be no doubt that nationalisation will weaken the economy and further impoverish the masses.

The beneficial impact of this admission, however, is overshadowed by SACP secretary general Joe Slovo's "return" speech on Sunday, which contained a strong, if implicit, continued commitment to this outmoded concept.

Several conclusions may be drawn from these events.

In the first place, it's clear that the ANC still has no coherent, let alone logical, economic policy. It is to be hoped that this week's brainstorming session in Lusaka will help overcome this lack. It's just a pity that Slovo will be haranguing President F W de Klerk instead of learning about the collapse of his beloved socialist dogma in eastern Europe.

In the second place, it seems any confusion in ANC economic policy reflects not just a failure to think things through, but a real split in ideology. The SACP still shows no signs of losing its role as virtually the only organisation in the world not to recognise the failure of socialist economics in eastern Europe.

As long as that blind spot persists Slovo will be unable to accept that the caravan has moved on and have to keep making doctrinaire public statements of total unreality.

Perhaps the most important conclusion is that, to the extent that Mandela *has* changed tone, it justifies the strident opposition of businessmen (and others) to the whole nationalisation campaign. Some have criticised this, apparently on the grounds that we mustn't upset the ANC and torpedo negotiation before it starts.

The fact is that negotiation means exactly that. It is not just a question of how to hand over power to the ANC. The ANC is far from being the only player government has to contend with and has weaknesses as well as strengths — an inability to enforce its calls for an end to violence in Natal being a vivid illustration of this.

The ANC is not in a position to dictate by force its blueprint for a post-apartheid SA, nor does it have a monopoly of ideological purity. Those whose vision is a democracy that goes hand-in-hand with free enterprise can take heart from Mandela's apparent reconsideration. It doesn't show that they have won the battle yet, but it does show that there is no reason for them to surrender, or even feel ashamed of continuing forcefully to advance their viewpoint. ■



Lekota ... leading peace initiatives

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be regarded as a "neutral" figure. Of his new role, Lekota says: "The ANC is committed to a multiparty democracy, that is, a policy of co-existence between organisations or parties which hold opposing policies without resorting to armed confrontation. It does not adopt a belligerent posture towards Inkatha or any other opposing party."

He is popular among the so-called white, coloured and Indian "minority" groups. This probably dates to 1983 when, as UDF national publicity secretary, he played a leading role in the campaign against the 1983 referendum on the new constitution, the Koornhof Bills and the boycott of the tricameral house elections in 1984.

Born in Kroonstad in the Free State, Lekota (42) attended the University of the North, where he joined the Black Consciousness (BC) oriented SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in the early Seventies. In 1974, when he took over as Saso organiser from Abram Tiro, he was charged under the Terrorism Act along with eight other BC leaders. After a 17-month trial, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

By the time he became UDF publicity secretary, Lekota had moved away from BC ideology, partly under the influence of Bram Fischer and Beyers Naude. Nelson Mandela's speech from the Rivonia Trial also left a deep impression on him.

Of the ANC's strategy for Natal, Lekota says the first step will be to set up branch offices. "I believe the foundations of peace must be preceded by an intense political education programme within our ranks.

"We can then appeal to Inkatha for peace, not only with words but by sending signals and taking practical steps, like ensuring that Inkatha members living in predominantly UDF areas are not harassed."

At the same time, Lekota says he believes Inkatha members will find a "natural home" in the ANC. He is also willing to meet with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi if it will aid the peace process.

Lekota is married to Cynthia and the couple have three children. *Amarnath Singh*

PATRICK (TERROR) LEKOTA

Leading ANC figure

"Terror", the name by which the likeable Mosiuoa Patrick Lekota is generally better known, is one he earned for his devastating skill on the football field and not, as many suspect, for harbouring guerrilla sympathies. That said, it hardly harms his activist career as a *nom de guerre*.

Lekota, who perhaps more than anyone held the mantle of the UDF in its heyday, was last month appointed ANC convener for southern Natal — one of 12 regional conveners tasked with setting up ANC offices and recruiting members.

Why was the formerly Johannesburg-based Lekota chosen for this sensitive post, apparently over the heads of senior ANC members in Natal? He says his appointment could be that he has lived in and knows the region. Also, after a five-year absence while imprisoned on Robben Island, he could also

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Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela doesn't drink alcohol and takes soda water with his meals, according to staff at the Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West, where the ANC delegation is staying.

"His bodyguard is right with him all the time, shadowing and serving him, which is sometimes disconcerting to staff," said an employee.

The hotel, set just off the N2, offers a magnificent view of the Hottentots Holland Mountains and is built around a stream that is visible from the hotel.

There is a cordial and friendly atmosphere between the predominantly white security minders and the ANC officials, who also have at their dis-

Close watch on teetotal ANC leader

posal the use of a swimming pool with nearby ladies' bar, trimpark, volleyball court, three tennis courts, fishing facilities, a heli-pad and a business centre.

In the lush lounge area a woman pianist provides soothing music on a grand piano.

The ANC group dines in a separate dining area, and prefers to eat mainly from the carvery, shunning more varied dishes.

But if they wished,

they could order, as a starter, terrine of kingklip with smoked salmon, graced with delicate horse-radish sauce, at R10,75, or cream of fresh leek blended with cream and spiced with a dash of Beefeater gin at R5,25.

For salad they could have sautéed chicken livers, flamed with calvados and finished with cream and served in a bed of lettuce hearts—at R6,75.

In the line of fish are Canadian salmon set upon a delicate

Sauvignon Blanc sauce at R19,50 or shallow fried rainbow trout garnished with grapefruit segments and roasted hazelnuts at R19,25. The fish come with a choice of sauces and fresh vegetables.

Main courses on offer include poached breast of chicken in a pink lobster sauce garnished with prawn tail at R18,75 or breasts of guineafowl gently braised in Amaretto and dressed with pine kernels — R24,95.

There are also pan-fried veal steaks set on a tarragon sauce and garnished with strips of fresh leek at R18,75, or noisettes of lamb topped with a rosemary crust and served with a Madeira sauce.

The buffet and carvery are both R29,50.

PAC to investigate accident involving general secretary

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE PAC will investigate yesterday's road accident which left the organisation's general secretary Benny Alexander seriously injured.

The vehicle in which Alexander, Cassim Christiaan, an executive member of radical Islamic group Qibla and other PAC aides were travelling was involved in a collision 10km outside Hopetown in the northern Cape.

The group was returning to the Transvaal after attending discussions in Cape Town about the present negotiations between government and the ANC.

All those injured were in a satisfactory condition last night after being transferred to Kimberley Hospital, a hospital spokesman said last night.

PAC finance secretary Mike Matsobane said there was definite concern at a spate of misfortune afflicting the organisation.

On April 17 PAC founder member and Robben Island ex-prisoner Japhta Masemola was killed in a car crash outside Pretoria.

On April 23 PAC member Sam Chand, his wife and two children died in a bomb attack on their home in Kgatleng, Botswana. Chand's brother Ismael died days later in a road accident on his way to the funeral.

Matsobane said it was too early to place blame for the attacks or to appraise the situation accurately.

Slovo to speak at Reef rally

Ad
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DEVEREAUX RA

SOUTH African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo is to jet to Johannesburg to address a rally tomorrow morning at the First National Bank Stadium near Soweto.

Mr Slovo and ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo will come face to face with thousands of South Africans for the second time at a public rally since the African National Congress and the SACP were banned in the 1960s.

Talks

A similar rally was held in Athlone, Cape Town, last weekend.

The two leaders are members of the ANC delegation currently holding high-profile talks in Cape Town with the South African Government.

Most of the ANC exiles taking part in the talks are expected to return to Lusaka after the rally.

Members of the steering committee which organised the talks will remain behind to tie up any further details.

The mass rally has been jointly organised by the SACP and the ANC and is expected to begin at about 10 am.

Govt, ANC take first step to peace

State 5/5/90

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TALKING ABOUT THEIR TALKS: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela brief the press after three days of negotiation.

Armed struggle halted in return for concessions

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the Government have reached an historic peace accord in a dramatic breakthrough at talks in Cape Town which ended yesterday.

The ANC has committed itself to peaceful solutions — in effect suspending the armed struggle.

It has agreed to help stop violence to enable the state of emergency to be lifted.

In exchange, the Government has made important concessions on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the amendment of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The accord is contained in a watershed document called the Groote Schuur Minute which was announced by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at a first-ever joint press conference after three days of talks.

It has substantially cleared away the obstacles

● TO PAGE 2. P.T.O.

England's
Luxury Cigarette

Peace

● FROM PAGE 1.

blocking the path to formal negotiations.

The critical passage of the Groote Schuur Minute reads:

"The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Mr Mandela would not say outright that this amounted to a suspension or abandonment of the armed struggle. But significantly he said that the ANC would review the armed struggle in the light of the accord.

He said the ANC's national executive committee would meet soon to review the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela said the agreement was the "realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years".

Mr de Klerk said: "I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process.

"The joint commitment to peaceful solutions which can lead to real negotiations is of extreme importance to all South Africans."

Sources close to the talks made it clear that the ANC had in fact agreed to suspend the armed struggle — but that it was difficult for it to say so outright.

In exchange, the Government has made these concessions:

● A working group is to be established to recommend which political prisoners should be released and which exiles be allowed to return.

This technical group is to be appointed by Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk and is to report back to both the ANC and the Government by May 21.

In the meantime the Government has agreed to look immediately into the possibility of indemnifying and releasing those who left the country illegally and those guilty of belonging to organisations which were banned.

● Temporary immunity from prosecution is to be urgently considered for members of the ANC national executive committee and other selected ANC members, to allow them to return to South Africa to help end the violence and to take part in normal political activity.

● The Government has undertaken to review security laws in order to ensure normal and free political activity.

● The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the ANC has agreed to "exert itself" to try to help end violence and intimidation.

● Efficient channels of communication are to be set up between the ANC and the Government to curb violence and intimidation.

Mr Mandela also announced that "we hope that as a result of the agreement and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call on the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions".

Full text of statement

HERE is the full text of the joint Government-ANC statement:

The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

Flowing from this commitment the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation, to discuss, in this regard, time scales, and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21st May 1990. It is understood that the South African Government in its discretion, may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately:

A) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document.

B) Any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country, to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

3. The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfill the objectives contained in the preamble.

5. Efficient channels of communication between the Government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively. The Government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible.

Star 5/5/90 (UA)

From Mandela's legal secretary to top ANC role

IN 1961 Ruth Mompoti secretly left South Africa at the request of the African National Congress to help set up the formerly outlawed organisation outside the country.

To do this she had to leave behind her two sons, aged two and six.

"When I saw them again 10 years later I couldn't visualise their growth; I still saw them as the babies I had left. Yes, I felt cheated that I had missed their childhood," Ms Mompoti said in a recent interview.

But she added stoically: "This is typical of what happens to so many South African women, either for political reasons or because of the breaking up of families as a result of apartheid laws."

This week Ruth Mompoti, after more than 29 years in exile, was one of the two women on the ANC's 34-person national executive committee which held historic talks with President de Klerk's

Government.

The talks were widely regarded as the first round of negotiations between traditional arch-enemies in the country — the Nationalist Party and the ANC.

While her portfolio is head of the ANC's board of religious affairs, she was expected to put across a strong feminist perspective in the discussions between the two groups.

Active in the ANC Women's League since she first joined in 1952, Ms Mompoti, now 65, was one of the key organisers of the 1956 march by 20 000 women on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. She also served on the national executive committee of the Federation of South African Women after its launch in 1954.

Born in the Vryburg area in the north-western Cape, she was one of six children. Only the three Mompoti daughters survived.

At the age of six her family could not make a living off the



land and moved to Vryburg township where her father found work in the local dairy.

The death of her father when she was 14 put strains on the fam-

ily income but Ruth's mother, a washerwoman, managed to educate all three daughters, who all went on to become teachers.

Ruth was forced to leave school in Std 6 and enrolled at Tygerkloof Teachers Training College where she qualified as a primary school teacher four years later.

She taught at a village about 30 km from Vryburg and became active in the teachers' union. The area was fertile, and villagers cultivated orchards and gardens. But the village was regarded as a black spot. It was declared white and all the villagers were forced to move to Bophuthatswana.

After marrying in 1952, Ruth accompanied her husband to Soweto. In the same year she joined the ANC-led Defiance Campaign and helped to raise funds for the thousands of people arrested for defying the apartheid laws.

During that year she completed a secretarial course and went on

to work as legal secretary for Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg.

She was then employed by Mr Ian Bernard, today a business consultant in housing, who at the time ran Union Artists at Dorkay House. "I believe this was the last job she had in the country. One particular Friday she left work saying goodbye to us very meaningfully," said Mr Bernard.

"We didn't see her again. I was later questioned by the security police who asked me: 'Do you know that your former secretary is now in Moscow?' That was the first time I heard mention of her ANC activities," he said.

Mr Bernard describes Ruth Mompoti as "a very strong person who exudes a quiet confidence".

With the banning of the ANC in 1960, Ms Mompoti went underground and then into exile. She believed the separation from her children would be temporary, but

was to see them again only a decade later.

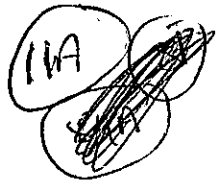
Since she left South Africa Ms Mompoti has worked mainly on the administrative side in various ANC offices and departments worldwide. Between 1976 and 1979 she was the South African delegate on the secretariat of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin. She was later the ANC's chief London representative.

In an interview before her arrival in South Africa with the ANC delegation, she told a reporter: "We are always being told that South Africa is a very strong country, and we know this. But we have something that the racists do not have: a cause to fight for."

"We have something to put before all the people of South Africa, irrespective of colour or creed. We have something to offer them — and that is a free, democratic South Africa for all."

PAC waits quietly in the wings

Star
5/5/90



LANGA — We turned to leave after talking to some youngsters outside a cafe, having failed to break through their defensive reserve and to coax them into saying whether their loyalties lay with the African National Congress or the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

But then, perhaps convinced at the last moment that we were bona fide journalists, they declared themselves. "Izwe Lethu," they said, giving the open-palm salute of the PAC. Assuming our ignorance, they themselves gave the appropriate response: "i-Afrika".

Stronghold

We had come to Langa to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC, talk which had thickened during the course of the discussions at Groote Schuur between Government and ANC delegations led by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

To label Langa a PAC stronghold would, on the evidence of our trip, be premature. There were, however, definite signs of a PAC presence. It served as a reminder that it was there, in 1960, that PAC leader Mr Philip Kgosana, then a young boy of 18, led 30 000 blacks in a march on Caledon Square in the heart of Cape Town.

From the cafe we went in search of Mr Batembu Lugulwana, a Langa-based member of the PAC national executive. He was not there. Our search, however, led us to a headmaster who must remain anonymous. We started to talk to him about the PAC.

Slowly he, too, identified himself as a PAC man, dropping first one hint and then another. "Japhta Masemola (the PAC leader who was killed in a car smash recently) didn't compromise with anyone, not even Mandela," he said. "They (the ANC) won't win over the youngsters," he added.

Later, as we walked to his office, we asked him why the PAC did not organise large rallies like the ANC, thus allowing observers to deduce that the ANC was the dominant force in the black community. He replied: "The PAC keeps quiet. We know we are the multitudes."

PATRICK LAURENCE

On the walls outside the school, PAC graffiti dominated. "Poqo," one writer had scribbled, reminding township residents of the underground movement which had briefly challenged white power in the early 1960s after the banning of the PAC.

"Kill the oppressor, not the oppressed" exhorted another, signing off with "PAC of Azania".

From the school we headed towards the outer periphery of Langa, encountering extreme poverty among people living in shacks and shanties. It was a ghetto within a ghetto. Our impression — I was accompanied by colleagues from Ireland and Sweden — was that these people were uncommitted politically. They would be won over by the best organised of the rival congresses.

Our car meandered back, passing through a better-off section of Langa. To use the label "suburb" would be to euphemise and distort what we saw. One slogan had been overtaken by events. "Free Mandela, Viva ANC" it said. Another proclaimed: "PAC for victory. No compromise. One settler, one bullet."

Later we talked to Mr Kwedie Mkalipi, a senior member of the PAC and a prison graduate.

Mr Mkalipi spoke warmly of Mr Mandela, asking us to pass on his regards, while disagreeing with him politically. He thought the time was not yet ripe for talks.

He did, however, agree with one point which is rapidly emerging as a central ANC demand: representatives at the negotiating table should be chosen in a one man, one vote election.

There should be no compromise on that, Mr Mkalipi said, warning that Mr de Klerk and his ruling National Party planned to create space at the table for people "set up by the system".

He was in favour of the idea mooted by Mr Thabo Mbeki, of the ANC: the election of a constituent assembly on the Namibian model to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr Mkalipi, like the Langa headmaster, was confident that the PAC would emerge as the dominant force after one man, one vote elections. He blamed the press for the failure of the PAC to capture the foreground.

Mr Mkalipi was concerned about another matter: the sudden spate of road accidents involving PAC men.

Murder

He mentioned the death of Mr Masemola, a stalwart of the PAC; the death of two delegates on their way home from the PAC's Bloemfontein conference a few weeks ago; the death of Mr Ishmael Chand while driving to the funeral of his PAC brother, Mr Sam Chand, in Botswana; and an accident in which PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander luckily escaped serious injury.

These accidents should be seen in the context of the murder of Mr Sam Chand and his family by unknown assassins in Botswana last month.

Mr Mkalipi said: "My fear is that a hidden war is taking place."

A famous advertising agency has been asked to help the ANC, but this will be no easy task, the Observer reports in London.

THE African National Congress has called on Saatchi and Saatchi's London agency to devise a campaign to promote the prospect of black-majority rule in South Africa.

If the agency took the account, it would produce an unlikely pairing of the Saatchi brothers, who helped Mrs Thatcher to victory in 1979, with the ANC and its leader, figurehead Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's support for an armed struggle against white-minority rule has recently been played down, but would still make servicing the account difficult.

The Saatchi reputation has been built partly on ground-breaking campaigns, such as its work for the Conservative Party, its role as communications adviser to the Turkish government and its record as the first agency to put up a poster on the east side of the Berlin Wall.

However, taking the ANC account may prove to be too bold a step even for the brash Saatchis.

The Charlotte Street agency's blue-chip client list, including multinationals such as Procter and Gamble, ICI and BP, might inhibit it taking on such a politically sensitive account.

REPRESENTATIVES from the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg are thought to have had one meeting already with Saatchi's

Too bold a step for the brash Saatchis?

management following a formal written approach.

The ANC's image has been heightened since Mr Mandela's release, but the thaw in relations with the South African government since then has caused concern within the organisation that pressure for sanctions and a one-person, one-vote democratic electoral system has subsided.

A further spur to the ANC could be the extensive advertising campaign in the Press for Anglo American, South Africa's largest company, through J Walter Thompson, the WPP-owned agency.

The Press advertising has emphasised the company's record on workplace equality for workers and its opposition to apartheid.

The ANC is anxious that this and the more liberal stance of President De Klerk should not lead to a slackening of the international campaign against apartheid.

W/C-MBCS
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Political changes are making
the ANC's mouthpiece,
Sechaba, alter its outlook, its
editor Dr Francis Meli has told
MIKE SILUMA in London.

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'No room for tribal chauvinism in new SA'

ALTHOUGH freedom of the Press and of expression would form the cornerstones of a new South Africa, the propagation of racism and tribal "chauvinism" would be banned, says the outgoing editor of the ANC mouthpiece, Sechaba, Dr Francis Meli.

Dr Meli, a member of the ANC's executive committee, was speaking in a rare interview following the decision by the Directorate of Publications to lift the ban on the ANC publication.

The unbanning of Sechaba, said Dr Meli, would open up new prospects for the publication, which has, for decades, been distributed clandestinely in South Africa.

Sechaba was launched in 1967 under the editorship of the late Mr M P Naicker, following the collapse of the first ANC journal, Abantu-Batho (or The People), in 1931. Dr Meli blamed the commercial newspaper owners of the time for the demise of Abantu-Batho, who, he said, felt threatened by ANC views.

The task of running Sechaba was never easy, recalls Dr Meli. By 1967 the ANC itself was banned, its ideas outlawed and its activities directed by an exiled leadership.

As a result, the publication's survival always depended largely on the support of the international anti-apartheid solidarity movement.

Sechaba has a small staff of just five people, four in London and one in East Berlin, where it is printed with the help of the East German government.

Most of the articles are written by ANC members, be they military camp inmates in Angola and Tanzania, cultural workers or academics based in any of the world's many cities giving ANC members shelter.

Sechaba has a monthly circulation of 20 000.

Dr Meli, who holds a doctorate in history from an East German university, recognises that political changes in East Germany and South Africa will force a change in Sechaba's outlook.

It was now likely that Sechaba, which presently has a circulation of 20 000, would be published inside South Africa and directed at a much expanded readership, and a new way of financing it would have to be found.

Prison attacks 'over amnesty'

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PRETORIA. — Prison gang jealousy over possible amnesty for political prisoners has led to at least two political prisoners in Pretoria Central maximum-security prison being stabbed, the SA Prisons Services confirmed yesterday.

Police are investigating the April 26 incident, which Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday said was largely due to the expectation of amnesty for political prisoners.

Delmas treason trialist Tintin Masongo and Death Row prisoner Nelson Bos were stabbed last Thursday by members of the "26" prison gang, relatives of the assaulted men told Sapa yesterday.

The prisoners responsible for the conflict were separated from fellow inmates and no other incidents have since been reported, the Prisons Service said in a statement.

The statement added that it placed emphasis on the maintenance of order in its

prisons and that "every complaint of alleged assault or harassment, no matter how petty, is regarded in a very serious light".

Responding in a statement to the reported conflict on Death Row, LHR said it had been aware for some time of growing tensions in Pretoria Central — predominantly between various prison gangs and so-called political prisoners.

It adduced this largely to the expectation of a possible amnesty for political prisoners, which had led to resentment from some gang members.

"We also believe that much of the tension is a result of insecurity by condemned prisoners as to their future, a natural result of the present moratorium (on the death penalty) combined with months and years already spent awaiting possible notices of executions," said LHR.

Before the recent outbreaks of violence, the human-rights organisation had been in contact with the prison authorities on the issue.

They had been assured the matter was

being investigated and every possible measure was being taken to ensure they were not repeated.

A temporary solution could be found in the separation of political prisoners and the isolation of those particular gang members causing the problem.

"This we believe is temporary, as we look forward to a system of justice which aims to rehabilitate prisoners rather than punish and brutalise, thus causing the problems we are faced with today," the statement said.

● Death Row prisoners in Pretoria Central Prison have been allowed to receive a summary of the main points of the recently tabled Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which drastically revises aspects of the death penalty, LHR said in another statement yesterday.

The Bill, among other things, allows for an automatic right to appeal against the imposition of a death sentence where, previously, capital punishment had been compulsory under some circumstances. — Sapa

Stompie trial: Court told of assault

JOHANNESBURG.— The Rand Supreme Court has heard how a man, identified as Mr Andrew Ikaneng, was assaulted by Mr Jerry Richardson, said to be a former member of the so-called Mandela football team.

Mr Richardson is on trial charged with murdering 14-year-old anti-apartheid activist "Stompie" Seipei Moeketsi. He has pleaded not guilty.

He has also pleaded not guilty to a charge of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Garden shears

The court heard earlier that Mr Ikaneng was taken by team members from his Soweto home to an open piece of veld where he was stabbed with garden shears.

Mr Kenneth Kgase yesterday told the court Mr Richardson had taken a garden shear blade from a man he identified as Isaac, who he earlier told to stab Mr Ikaneng, and had himself stabbed Mr Ikaneng, who was being held by two other men.

Mr Ikaneng was left to die.
Mr Kgase, Stompie, Barend

Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe were allegedly abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church by members of the football team in December 1988 and taken to various places, including the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

In previous hearings the court heard that Mr Richardson and other members of the team went to the Soweto home of Mr Ikaneng and said they were taking him away because "Mummy" (Mrs Mandela) wanted to see him.

The court also heard that Mr Kgase escaped from Mrs Mandela's home after Mr Richardson and a companion had left.

He jumped over a wall, rushed to Baragwanath Hospital and caught a taxi to the Methodist Church in central Johannesburg. He was taken to a doctor for examination.

The court heard that at one stage Stompie spent two days without food during a party that had been held for Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres at Mrs Mandela's home.

The trial continues on Monday.
— Sapa.

Expressed the hope that it would be necessary in future to the international community to maintain sanctions.

For its part, the government agreed to establish a joint working group, due to report by May 21, to advise on the release of political prisoners and immunity for political offences.

Shook hands

At the end of their packed press conference Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela left the H F Verwoerd Building together.

As they parted, the two men shook hands, and both said: "Thank you very much ... Goodbye."

Then Mr De Klerk walked away to his office at nearby Tuynhuys, while Mr Mandela climbed into a white Mercedes and was driven away.

At the press conference the ANC deputy president said the ANC looked upon the talks with satisfaction because it represented "a realization of a dream" for which the ANC had been working patiently and consistently.

Mr Mandela said: "At the end not only are we, the ANC and the government, closer together, but we are all victors — South Africa is the victor."

'Cordial and friendly'

While the government did not get an unequivocal commitment to the ending of the armed struggle, as it had hoped for, the ANC's strong commitment to the "peaceful process" — which Mr Mandela emphasized would be honoured — is the strongest indication yet that the days of guerilla violence are numbered.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela spoke in glowing terms about the progress made and the "cordial and friendly" atmosphere which characterised the crucial talks aimed at removing obstacles to negotiating a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk described the outcome of the talks as a breakthrough in the peace process, and as replacing distrust between old enemies.

Mutual trust

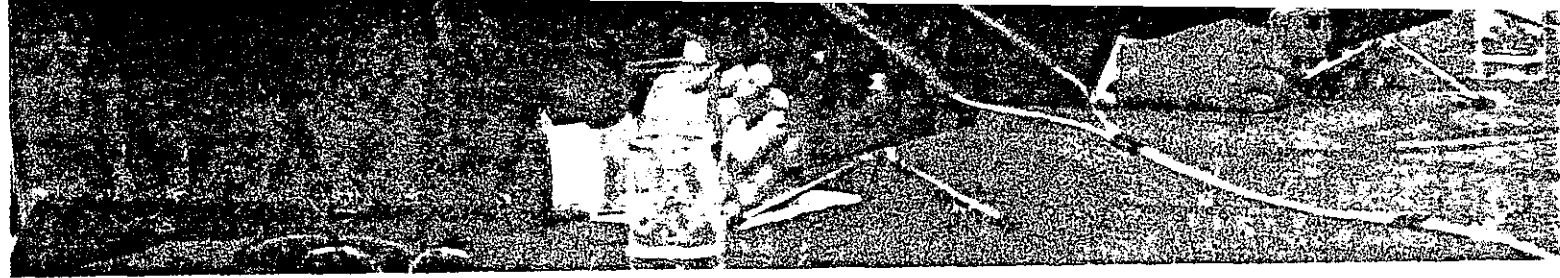
He told the joint ANC-government press conference, also attended by ambassadors, diplomats and National Party MPs: "I look forward to the future with confidence and appreciate the good spirit, earnestness and honesty which were the hallmarks of the discussion."

The "Groote Schuur Minute" released after the talks noted that "efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively".

Asked about the possibility of the ANC and the government setting up a joint security commission, Mr De Klerk said the first real moment for discussing a more formalised arrangement

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P.T.O



TOGETHERNESS ... President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela at their joint press conference last night.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Gun shop staff foil bank robbery

Staff Reporter

GUN SHOP staff in Delmas foiled a bank robbery in the town yesterday when robbers dropped the loot but fled in a getaway car.

Roadblocks were set up in the town after the four armed robbers escaped following a wild shootout with the shop staff.

The robbers — one armed with an AK-47 assault rifle — held up staff at the local branch of First National Bank, police said.

When the robbers left the bank, random shots were fired. Staff at the nearby weapons shop then fired at the men who fled in a getaway car.

During the shootout, the suspects dropped a bag of money. Blood was found on the scene.

Last week, there were three robberies in which AK-47 assault rifles were used.

A police liaison officer in Pretoria last night said it was difficult to say if there was a connection between the four robberies.

Urgent talks on hospital crisis begin

CAF Times 5/5/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Urgent talks between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union on the growing hospital crisis began here yesterday evening and will continue this morning, Professor Wyn and Pienaar, who is acting as negotiator, told Sapa last night.

According to Prof Pienaar, a senior consultant to a South African merchant bank, the two sides were unlikely to reach agreement on all Nehawu's demands by the end yesterday's session.

"There may be agreement on some issues, though," he said during a break in the negotiations.

Prof Pienaar has also made arrangements to use the venue this morning.

The TPA was represented by Dr Hennie van Wyk, the executive director of Hospital Services in the Transvaal, while Nehawu's team comprised 11 people.

The talks in Johannesburg were agreed upon at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday morning between the Minister of Health and National Welfare, Dr Rina Venter, and a Nehawu delegation, which included the general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo.

PETER DENNEHY reports that a Nehawu delegation and Cosatu were involved in a flurry of activity yesterday, in a bid to end the crippling Transvaal hospital strike.

Members of the delegation and Dr Venter spent two hours in Cape Town yesterday morning hammering out an agreement in Dr Venter's office, dealing with general principles rather than the "concrete issues giving rise to the present crises", according to a joint statement issued.

Then the entire union delegation flew to Transvaal for the meeting late yesterday with the Transvaal Provincial Administrator, Mr Fanie Ferreira, and Dr Van Wyk to deal with the strike itself.

In Cape Town yesterday, Dr Venter assured the Nehawu delegation that there were no plans afoot to sell state hospitals.

"Should any privatisation issue regarding health services arise in the future, the government undertakes to ensure that consultations with affected workers will take place at the earliest possible opportunity," she said.

The meeting urged all parties concerned to address seriously the issues

To page 2

Cook scores triple century

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Jimmy Cook completed a record-smashing undefeated triple century — 313 — in Cardiff yesterday to head a day of high-scoring glory for South Africans in English cricket.

● Report — Page 18

Syfrets Cape Times

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DAILY LISTING — Page 5
STOCK PRICES — Page 22

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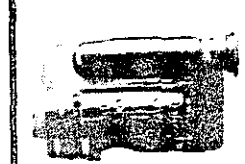
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5/5/90

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic breakthrough, the ANC last night promised to look "very hard and earnestly" at suspending the armed struggle — and the government undertook to urgently review South Africa's security laws.

The trade-off forms part of a remarkable package deal unveiled after three days of talks at Groote Schuur between the chief adversaries in South African politics.

The historic accord which sealed the success of the talks was announced yesterday at a joint press conference chaired by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC also:

- Resolved not to call for the intensification of sanctions;

- Expressed the hope that it would not be necessary in future to call on the international community to maintain sanctions.

For its part, the government agreed to establish a joint working group, due to report by May 21, to advise on the release of political prisoners and immunity for political offences.

Shook hands

At the end of their packed press conference Mr



Whichever way one looks at them, the preliminary talks have not been cheap. An immeasurable price in lives shattered and lost has been paid since the country became a union in 1910. To the bill for apartheid, run up since 1948, R70 000 has been added for the ANC delegation's stay at a five-star hotel this week. Weekend Argus Reporter JANIS FRASER looks behind the scenes ...

Fighting oppression — in lap of luxury

THE stony-faced man with short back-and-sides, off-white shoes, flared trousers and tie-talkie at the ready adds a bi-dimensional dimension to the elegant hotel, which discreetly points out that it has paid a record R15 000 for a case of 1967 Alto Cabernet.

Starchy men in those off-white shoes, sweaters and short-sleeved shirts aren't very thin on the ground at the Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West at the mo-

... flagpoles along the road are shorn of the usual national bunting indication is in residence; even an attempt at cutting the grass on the central island outside the hotel has a rather tense look about it.

At the moment your car is impeded by the no-nonsense security guards at the grand main entrance and the uncomfortable experience when the chap you mention on the hotel's set of overseas newspapers don't work here, madam" she nervous laughs when she asks if the special guests are full-blooded red, it's obvious they aren't the same as the ones at this five-star establish-

FOR a week it's been, following after the African National Congress delegation, they all say with a wary air that is one they'll remember for various reasons: "They're pumped", "Mr Mandela sometimes goes around and greets the delegates in the dining room, not too tired, which is unusual." "It's exciting to have Mandela here, like being part of his history and a weary." "They usually arrive pretty late."

The hotel, which prides itself on "thoughtful touches", seems an incongruous refuge for comrades to lay their heads while the talks are thrashed out. The single tariff is R225 for breakfast, double is R380 and suites don't come at R380 a night — enough, the ANC and Department of Information concede government is picking up a tab of about R70 000 for the week.

Driving past the wattle and white stucco tatters of Cross Street to get there, a profusion of green-and-pink fresh flowers, beech-fern, indoor fountains, and piano tinkling in the atrium and the sounds of sauna, 24-hour room service, hairdressing salon, leave an uneasy feeling that a house somewhere in Cape Town might have fitted the bill.

The hotel was chosen for its security and available ANC public relations staff said, and business amenities it offered. The party is made up of "about 18" in the ANC group, advisory staff and government security men.

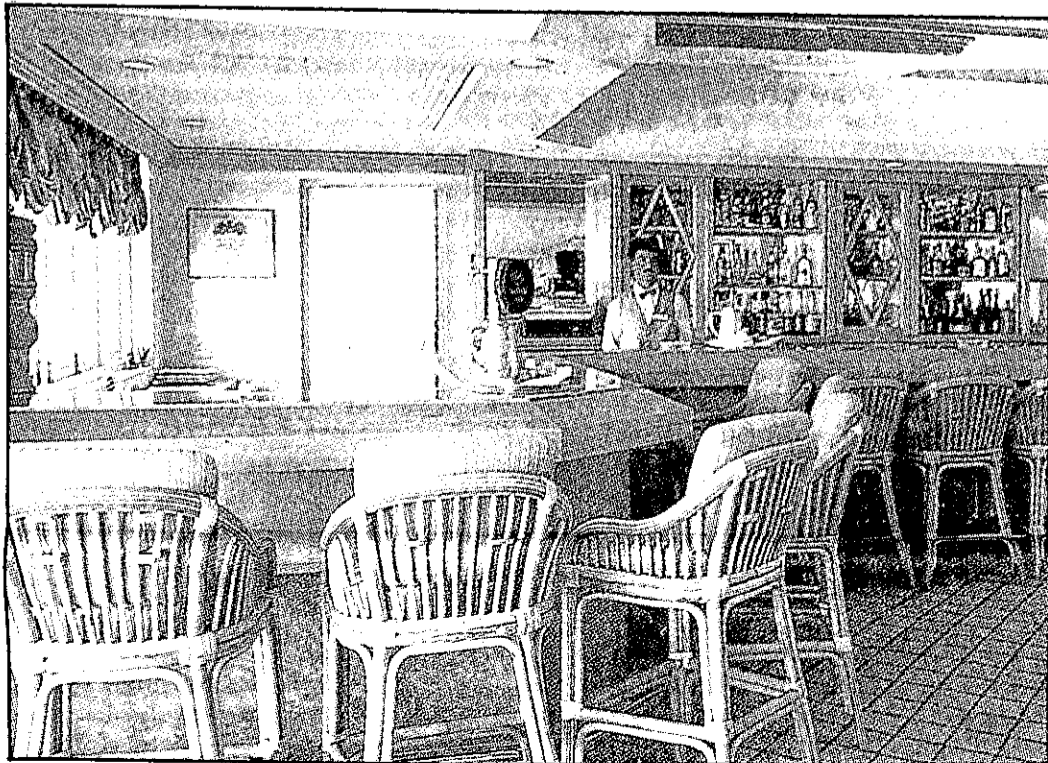
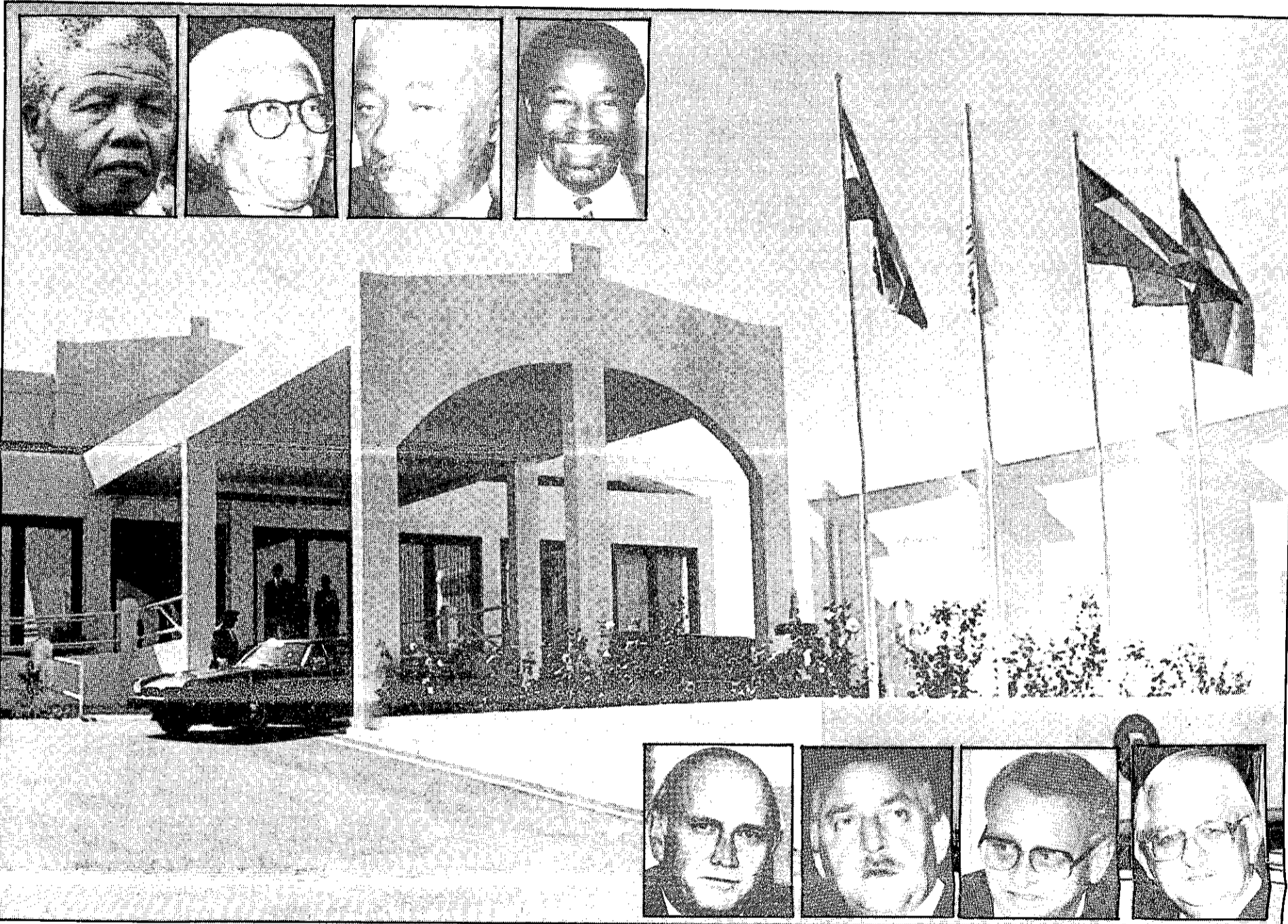
It dispels a rumour that has been rife in Somerset West. "Those poor security chaps camping in tents in the shrubbery, in all the cold," one shopkeeper says. "All very well that lot," says another, "they can afford to camp in the bar, which is more than most could say."

Amusing thing, they add, is that everyone in the ANC delegation is staying at the hotel, though the press and other media have been kept in the shadows.

News, spread in the town once jokingly as South-West-by-the-Sea — "now they're calling it Zimbabwe-by-the-Sea, isn't it a bit late?" — has gained a few embellishments.

And they're staying for two months, taken over the entire hotel and overseas staff paying for it all," a local offers at the club. "We haven't seen any of them doing their own shopping, though."

At the hotel, where the visitors share their wings with other guests, another meal is served around. The big league is still eyeballing the town in Cape Town, but off-duty security



The portico of the five-star Lord Charles, above, in Somerset West. The hotel prides itself on its thoughtfulness for its visitors and its "colonial" ambience, an irony that couldn't have been lost on its ANC guests, although a spokesman for the organisation has said the Lord Charles was chosen for the amenities it offers. Among the ANC delegates who stayed there this week were Nelson Mandela, inset top left, Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo and Thabo Mbeki. A number of them made use of the hotel's Planters bar, left, but Nelson Mandela was a notable exception. The government was represented at the talks by President F.W. de Klerk, main picture, inset below left, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen and others.

So much to say, so little time

The news, spread in the town once jokingly known as South-West-by-the-Sea — "now they're screaming?" — has gained a few embellishments. "I heard they're staying for two months, they've taken over the entire hotel and overseas country club. We haven't seen any of them around town shopping, though."

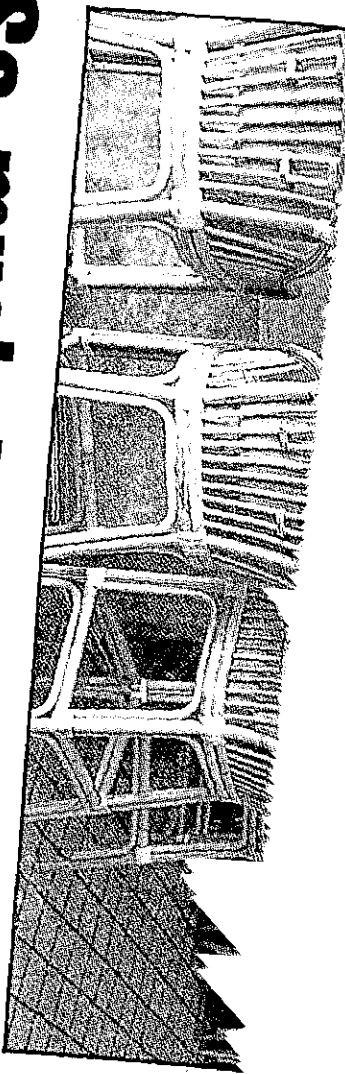
BACK at the hotel, where the visitors share time rolls around. The big league is still eyeball-to-eyeball in Cape Town, but off-duty security men and an ANC group referred to as the "lower echelon, the B team" by the foreign pressmen who are sharing a cheese cake dessert, politely make room for each other at the sumptuous buffet. It's obvious there's consensus on food at least.

Homemade soup, cold seafood platter, salads, fresh line fish, Cape Malay curries, casseroles, hot roasts on the carvery, fresh vegetables, wickedly tempting desserts, cheeses and filter coffee crowd the buffet counter. There is also the gourmet delight of the *a la carte* menu, if taste runs to the likes of black cherry and Grand Marnier soup, Canadian salmon, guinea fowl with Amoretto and pine kernels and baked ostrich fillet.

All this, as well as the claim to one of the best wine lists in the country. There are separate amenities for eating, though. "For security reasons" the delegation are seated inside a partly screened-off section of the dining room. Restaurant staff are discreet in discussing ANC preferences. "Mr Mandela eats simply, soup, roast and grapes. He drinks only orange juice and has a very light breakfast. The others like their beer and wine, though."

THEY may not be sampling that R15 000 case of wine, but the bar is the place where the conversation buzzes after a long day at the negotiating table. "Mr Mandela isn't seen there but some of the others enjoy it," a waiter says. It ironic to note from the hotel brochure that the comfortable cane-chaired meeting place, where the gentle strains of Handel's water music is piped softly in the background, is designed to create a colonial atmosphere where the service is impeccable but discreet.

It is all of that. There is fishing on the estate and sporting facilities, too, but no hunting. So it does in some of the corridors of power.



at the talks by President C. F. van der Stoep, left, Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Klerk, main picture, inset below. Botho, Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen and others.

So much to say, so little time

THE huge dining area is dominated by chandeliers and smoky mirrors. The chairs are upholstered, the wine bottled.

Banks of microphones, taped together, spew wires, giving the lecturer the look of Medusa's head.

On the walls on either side of the speaker's podium hang giant portraits. One is of Isbrand Goske, the first commander to carry the title of governor (1672-1675), the other is Baron Joachim van Plettenberg, governor of the Cape Colony from 1771 to 1785, both are reminders of early colonialism.

Between them is Mr Thabo Mbeki, the African National Congress's director of international affairs.

Lined up before him is a row of television cameras, their spotlights trained on the speaker. Below Mr Mbeki are the photographers, their fingers at the ready on the buttons of their cameras.

This is one of the largest gatherings of local and international pressmen seen at a lunchtime meeting of the Cape Town Press Club.

EARLIER there had been the usual room — photographers falling over themselves and each other in their attempt to get pictures, cameramen jabbing print media colleagues in the ribs as they tried to get a clear view.

Thabo Mbeki spoke at a Press Lunch — and left everyone hungry for more. STEPHEN WROTLESLEY, Weekend Argus News Editor, also noted that Mr Mbeki went hungry...

Then, there is silence. Even the hum and click of the cameras' motor drives seems to have died. Mr Mbeki speaks of horns — or the lack of them.

He speaks of the ANC, United Democratic Front, Cosatu, homeland leaders who reject the group concept. He speaks, too, of the very many whites who at any future talks will sit on one side of the negotiating table across from President F W de Klerk and those who support the group concept.

Alongside Mr de Klerk will be those who claim to be the "leaders of seven million Zulus".

Speaking slowly and ponderously, regularly clearing his throat, he seldom voices his private views. He prefaces his statements with "we believe" and "we think". A group concept?

HE does not claim the ANC has the sole right to represent the op-

pressed. He does not talk of confrontation, but rather of "convincing" opponents.

Hands moving from his sides to behind his back, clasping and unclasping, he talks of long debates and does not suggest any quick fix for South Africa. Even the question of who should sit around the negotiating table will have to be discussed.

There is much talk of tables, but he hardly has a chance to sit at that at which other members of the ANC's lunchtime delegation sit patiently waiting to answer questions.

However, when Mr Mbeki's speech is over, no one has questions for Dr Beyers Naude, Ms Ruth Mompati, Trevor Marnel or Rashid Lombard — they are directed instead at the man some have termed the "crown prince of the ANC".

Before even half the questions have been asked, the delegation's government-appointed minders deem it time to rush them off to Groote Schuur — leaving a sense of too much to ask, too little time.

The questions will have to be asked in future — who knows what the answers will be.

Meanwhile, Mr Mbeki hasn't had time to eat the breast of chicken, served in a creamy sauce, with roast potatoes and delicate trimmings.

There is no broccoli — the *bête noir* of Mr Mbeki's after-lunch companion, President De Klerk.



at the talks by President C. F. van der Stoep, left, Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Klerk, main picture, inset below. Botho, Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Constitutional Development Gerrit Viljoen and others.

The Groot Schoor Minute

THIS is the text of the Groot Schoor Minute, the joint statement issued by the government and the ANC after their talks:

THE government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations. Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon: *CAF 7-2-90 S/SFO (M)*

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation; to discuss, in this regard, time scales; and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21 May 1990. It is understood that the South African government in its discretion may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately: (a) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document and (b) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the national executive committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

3. The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble.

5. Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively.

The government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible.

Imbali priest assassinated, man arrested

OWN CORRESPONDENT

MARITZBURG. — A prominent Natal priest and chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches was shot dead and his six-year-old granddaughter wounded while they were driving in Imbali here yesterday.

The Rev Victor Africander, 60, rector of St Mark's Anglican Church, Imbali, was gunned down a short distance from his house while taking his granddaughter Thandekile to school in Maritzburg.

A 40-year-old Imbali man was arrested in connection with the shooting.

Police spokesman Lt Henry Budhram said Mr Africander had been shot twice, in the head and chest. A bullet grazed Thandekile's head. She was treated at Edendale Hospital and later discharged.

According to sources, Mr Africander was driving slowly out of a side road when a man approached and fired three shots through the open car window.

The principal of the nearby Ekukhanyeni school for mentally handicapped children, Mrs Miriam Gqubule, said she found Thandekile bleeding profusely from the head.

News of the shooting of the well-known and respected clergyman and community leader was received with profound shock.

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall, said he was absolutely shattered by Mr Africander's tragic death, which had brought home very closely the suffering that so many people had been experiencing.

"The whole Diocese will be deeply grieved."

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Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

This followed a failed top-level attempt to end the looming crisis when Health Minister Rina Venter, Nehawu and Cosatu met in Cape Town this week.

And Cape Town reports said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met State President FW de Klerk to discuss the spreading strike.

Provincial Hospital Services executive director Hennie van Wyk and a Nehawu delegation held talks on Friday and yesterday.

Wits University's medical faculty has called for an end to the strike and stressed its support for the strikers-key demands which included:

- A wage in line with the cost of living and the rate of inflation;
- Recognition of trade union rights;
- Desegregation of health services;
- The rejection of privatisation of public hospitals; and
- The abolition of temporary work status.

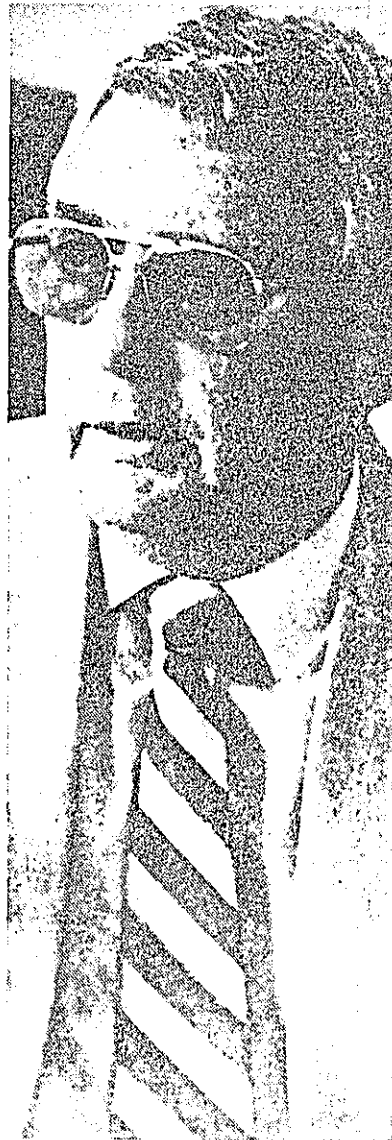
The faculty's support for strikers came after Friday's meeting at Baragwanath Hospital by members of the South African Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco), the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Health Workers' Union.

While urgent top-level talks continued the situation at Baragwanath was deteriorating.

Senior nurses said Baragwanath, which normally accommodates about 3 000 patients, now had - according to hospital records - about 1 935 and only "serious emergency cases" were being admitted.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough confirmed it had been necessary to discharge patients.

He also gave the assurance that



Administrator Danie Hough

measures would be taken to normalise services, including the re-commissioning of the laundry.

But by yesterday bundles of dirty linen and clothing were still heaped outside some wards. At the laundry tons of linen had piled up.

Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Jan Loubscher said 8 000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.

ANC attention to the Afrikaners

WHILE one of the most dramatic political power struggles in our history is unfolding in Cape Town, it could be expected participants in talks between the ANC and government would not lose sight of the public, says *Beeld* in an editorial this week.

"Moves made in public are as important as moves made behind closed doors. One interesting public move was the unexpected attention the ANC gave to Afrikaners.

"Afrikaners will accept this with a pinch of salt. Everyone knows the ANC's power base is not the Afrikaner and its starting point would be to first improve the lot of black people. *Press 6/5/90*

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

"The albatross of apartheid hangs heaviest around the neck of Afrikaners and the ANC will not let them easily forget it.

"Nevertheless the ANC's gesture reflects realism about the political power game. The most important criterion for a new constitution would be its acceptability for the majority of moderates.

"If most whites reject it, it would not materialise without bloodshed and even if it is enforced, it could lead to endless strife. *UFA*

"If the Afrikaner is important to the ANC, we suggest a more efficient method as a sign of friendship: Prove you are true democrats by rejecting political and trade union intimidation; by accepting a more realistic economic policy; by speaking out against further isolation of your motherland; by giving up violence, and by speaking out in favour of the efficient protection of minorities.

"What will happen then, could surprise you," says *Beeld*.

I'd do it again — freed guerrilla

By SAMKELO KUMALO

I'D DO it again if the need arose, an ANC guerrilla recently released from Robben Island said this week.

Sello Dan Motaung, who served four years on the island for ANC activities, this week told *City Press* about his training at an Angolan ANC camp and how he was later betrayed by a comrade.

Sello, 31, is the brother of Marcus Thabo Motaung, who was executed for political murder almost seven years ago.

Marcus was executed on June 9, 1983, with two of his comrades, Jerry Si-

mano Mosololi and Thelle Simon Mogoerane.

"Hearing my brother Thabo give evidence and his reasons for joining the ANC fight for democracy, I felt very proud of him," said Sello.

"When he was sentenced to death I felt something had to be done. From that day I became more and more interested in politics.

"I visited him a number of times when he was on Death Row and at one stage I told him I wanted to leave the country to join the armed struggle.

"He nodded and gave me a smile that is etched in my memory. I spent

some time in the country and in November 1982 I visited him for the last time.

"I told him I would not see him again as I would be on my way to the 'farm'. He understood I was going for training with the ANC."

"Three months after my brother's execution I arrived at Malanje Camp in Angola. I attended political science classes, which were compulsory, and physical training. I handled a rifle for the first time and knew there was no turning back.

"Women recruits were not treated differently. They had to endure the

same hardships as men did. Life was tough for both sexes. However, they had their separate section where they slept. We only saw each other on training, sports days and other cultural events.

"In the meantime, I tried to find out more about my executed brother. I learnt he was an exemplary soldier.

I had thought I would be trained in the same camp as he was. A new camp had been built at Cuculama after the Funda camp had been bombed by the South African Air Force in 1979.

"I trained for six months, learning everything about guns and explosives. On finishing the course, I could have gone to East Germany for specialised training in anti-aircraft guns and missiles, but decided to come home.

"I came back through Botswana. I had been told that my mission was to mobilise the masses and

Sello Motaung ... sold out. Pic: GIDEON NHLAPHO

recruit for education and army training abroad.

"Mobilisation also meant training some youths to use guns and explosives. I made myself at home in Mmabatho with no-one knowing my background. I kept contact with Lusaka.

"Part of my instructions was not to engage security forces, even where I sensed I would win. I had to identify targets which would not involve loss of life.

"On March 3, 1985, after a good day's work which included surveillance, I decided to go to one of the hotels to make contacts. I saw a man who had trained with me in Angola and he said he had been looking for me

and a place to hide some weapons and explosives.

"I directed him to a safe place. While he was talking to me some security police came into the hotel. I had no gun and there was no way of breaking for freedom. I had been sold out by my comrade.

"I was arrested and taken to Zeerust, and spent some time at Protea Police Station in Soweto. The police had found an AK 47 rifle, a number of hand grenades and ammunition where I had hidden them.

"I do not regret anything and I don't feel I have lost anything. I will always respond when the nation calls me," he said.



No place to hide

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

LIFE on the run begins again today for Dirk Coetzee and his former gardener, David "Spyker" Tshikalanga.

The two central figures in South Africa's police "death squad" scandal will fly out of Heathrow Airport for "somewhere in Europe", leaving many questions unanswered.

At their sides are the ANC guards who for the past six months have shared their twilight existence.

Home has been a series of anonymous "safe houses" and hotels in Lusaka, London and other European cities. It has been, says Coetzee, like "living in a prison".

But his protectors are the only "real friends" he has.

Ten years ago he masterminded a deadly campaign against them using, he says, any means he could — poisoning, shooting, stabbing, and letter and car bombs.

He moved in a murky world where, at times, fact seems to have been blended with horrible fantasy.

He described to the Harms investigation in London how an ANC suspect kidnapped from Swaziland was questioned.

The man was made semi-comatose, fed by drip with an anaesthetic or truth drug and asked questions in a room at the old Pretoria Observatory.

But his interrogators could get little out of him. The prisoner drifted in and out of consciousness.

Coetzee also recalled the seven-hour burning of two corpses on the banks of the Komati River.

The smell, he said, was bearable because of a light breeze — "a bit like a braai-veis". The two men had been shot in the head earlier in the evening.

Today Coetzee claims to be a fully-

It's back to a life on the run for Coetzee & Tshikalanga, the hit-squad star witnesses

fledged "military intelligence officer" in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. But he disavows violence and says he won't become physically involved in the armed struggle.

Tshikalanga — the quiet Venda who, by his own admission, brutally stabbed and beat to death a Durban lawyer suspected of receiving funds from the ANC — sat quietly by his side.

The two faced newsmen a day after the close of the Harms Commission hearings in the tiny basement theatre of the South African Embassy.

Asylum

A squad of lawyers and Mr Justice Louis Harms had already returned to Pretoria with a welter of papers and tape recordings. They face the mammoth task of transcribing and cross-checking scores of names and details revealed in the past two weeks.

Tshikalanga's first overseas visit has left him silent and bewildered. More proficient in his home language than in English or Afrikaans, he spent his time in London either in his hotel room or at the embassy.

The two were ferried by private car across the city. There was no time for sightseeing. "It's been all work," said

Coetzee. Tshikalanga, asked if he would also be joining the ANC, said: "There is nothing that I have decided. I'm just sitting to see how they accept me."

Coetzee, who says he is working on a book about his experiences, says he'll wait for about four months before deciding which country he will apply to for asylum.

He said he had missed his family — especially his two boys, Dirk, 13, and Carl, 11 — and hoped they would one day join him. His marriage to Karin, 42, had been destroyed and he had heard she was involved with someone else.

"I supposed that's the price one has to pay for telling the truth," he said.

But Coetzee added of his life in exile: "For the first time in ages I've been treated well. I have real friends, honest friends on whom I can depend."

"It's not pleasant being a long way from your country and loved ones. But now I understand what these poor comrades who have been outside the country for 27 years have suffered."

He said it had been an "eye-opener" to discover that the ANC was not the organisation of "terrorists and monsters" that South African television and newspaper "propaganda" had led him to believe.

His main aim was to clear his con-

science and help his country make a peaceful transition, he said.

He was moved, he added, by his meeting this week with Isaac Mohena, the brother of one of the men he helped murder next to the Komati River and whose corpse was burnt.

"I just don't know how I could have got involved in those things. My biggest shame was when he said his only wish was to be taken to the place where his brother was disposed of."

"I want to help ease the burden of the widows and those that stayed behind and unravel the secrets of their relatives' deaths. I want to try to stop these atrocities."

Coetzee's testimony to the commission this week gave rise to stormy scenes as lawyers and the judge probed differences in his and Tshikalanga's versions.

Irritated

They also zeroed in on discrepancies between what he told Vrye Weekblad reporter Jacques Pauw — who broke the hit-squad story last year — and his evidence to the commission.

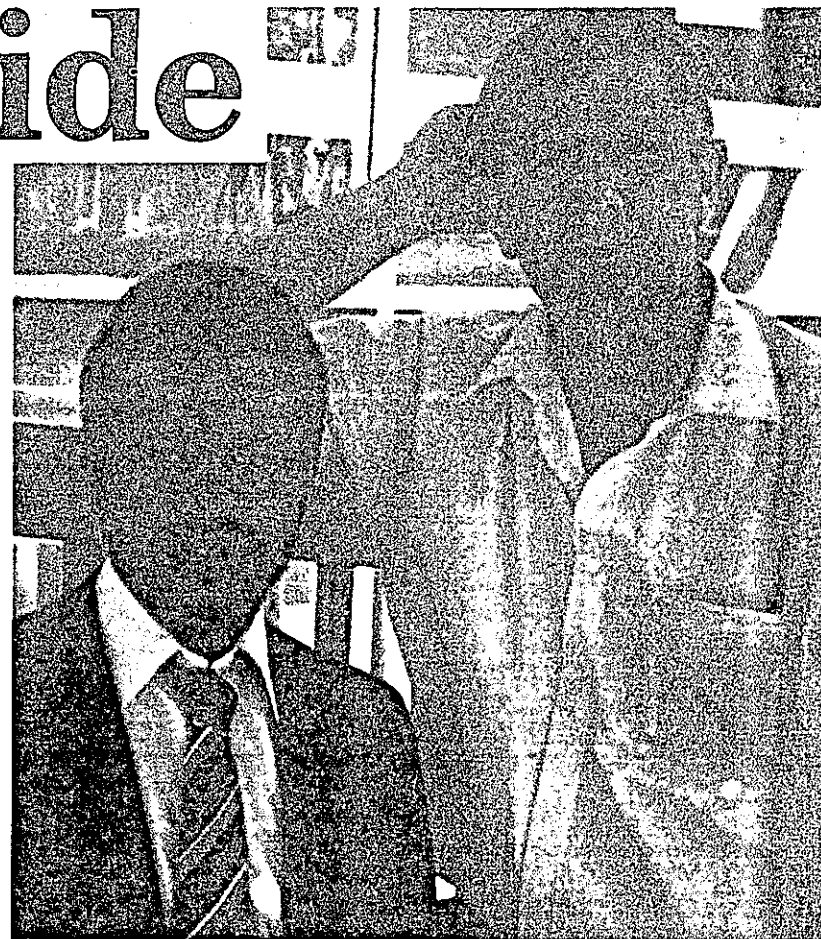
At one stage Judge Harms, visibly irritated by the former security captain launching into long descriptions instead of giving short to-the-point answers, said: "That's a load of crap!"

Later Coetzee said giving evidence to the commission was like "trying to play rugby in a squash court".

"Everytime you try and run a yard you hit a brick wall," he said.

Minutes before the final hearing ended a surprise appearance was made by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He shook hands with Coetzee and said he had come to learn more about the "monkey foetuses" that security officers allegedly planned to hang outside his home.



OUTCASTS . . . Dirk Coetzee and David Tshikalanga have spent weeks roaming the world as fugitives

Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

This followed a failed top-level attempt to end the looming crisis when Health Minister Rina Venter, Nehawu and Cosatu met in Cape Town this week.

And Cape Town reports said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met State President FW de Klerk to discuss the spreading strike.

Provincial Hospital Services executive director Hennie van Wyk and a Nehawu delegation held talks on Friday and yesterday.

Wits University's medical faculty has called for an end to the strike and stressed its support for the strikers' key demands which included:

- A wage in line with the cost of living and the rate of inflation;
- Recognition of trade union rights;
- Desegregation of health services;
- The rejection of privatisation of public hospitals; and
- The abolition of temporary work status.

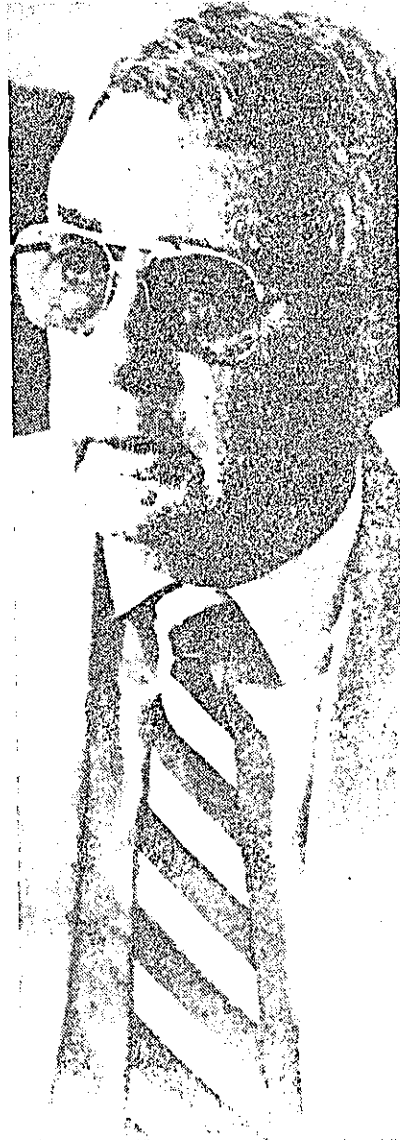
The faculty's support for strikers came after Friday's meeting at Baragwanath Hospital by members of the South African Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco), the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Health Workers' Union.

While urgent top-level talks continued the situation at Baragwanath was deteriorating.

Senior nurses said Baragwanath, which normally accommodates about 3 000 patients, now had - according to hospital records - about 1 935 and only "serious emergency cases" were being admitted.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough confirmed it had been necessary to discharge patients.

He also gave the assurance that



Administrator Danie Hough

measures would be taken to normalise services, including the recommissioning of the laundry.

But by yesterday bundles of dirty linen and clothing were still heaped outside some wards. At the laundry tons of linen had piled up.

Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Jan Loubscher said 8 000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.

Historic talks could mean end of the armed struggle

PEACE DEAL HAILED

STW
6/15/90

Sunday Times
THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE
The hopeful Spirit
of Groote Schuur

Comment on
the dramatic
events that
could shape
South Africa's
politics:
Page 26

By **LESTER VENTER**
Political Correspondent

THE conciliatory "Spirit of Groote Schuur" was acclaimed yesterday as a force that could put an end to revolutionary violence in South Africa.

The outcome of the historic three-day talks went well beyond even the most optimistic expectations of the participants, the Government and the ANC.

For all practical purposes, said observers, the ANC's armed struggle could soon be a dead letter.

In reciprocation, the Government will review its armoury of security laws, many of them outdated or unused.

Diplomatic sources also noted that the ANC seemed to have softened its stance on sanctions. It would not call for existing ones to be removed — but, on the other hand, it would no longer demand new ones.

In London, a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "We are particularly delighted by the flexibility shown by both sides."

"We hope the momentum will be maintained." A spokesman for the Japanese Government said progress had been made towards a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Committed

Lawyers for Human Rights said: "The talks were a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa. We congratulate

Love turns on Telly Fun Jane



Missing

girls:

Hunt

for car

thief

By DE WET POTGIETER

A CAR thief who served time in prison with child-sex and Gert van Rooyen is being sought in connection with the disappearance of five schoolgirls.

Arthur William Barrett, 32, was last seen in a Pretoria

I'm standing by my hit-man, says Karin Coetzee



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Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the accord was "epoch-making".

Mr Nelson Mandela, who led the ANC delegation, unequivocally committed his organisation to "look hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle".

President F W De Klerk, who led the Government team, called the talks a "breakthrough" for the peace process.

A "suspension" of the armed struggle, possibly for three months, is one of the options which the ANC's National Executive Committee will consider when its delegation reports back in Lusaka.

In that time the Government will review security laws. A partial lifting of the state of emergency may be part of this process.

One of the first actions to flow from the talks was a hastily transmitted message from Groote Schuur to Parliament placing the Indemnity Bill on the Order Paper for tomorrow.

The Bill, published yesterday, allows the Government to guarantee people who committed "political" crimes that they will not be prosecuted within a specified period.

Parliament's business has been rescheduled for a night sitting tomorrow. It will end only when the Bill is passed into law.

Avoided

The Conservative Party vehemently opposes the Bill while the Democratic Party and the Houses of Representatives and Delegates support it.

The ANC is said to have taken a strong stand on security legislation.

It objected to the Internal Security Act, the little-used Intimidation Act and aspects of many other laws, for example the definition of "communism".

A Government source described the ANC's points as "worthy of merit".

The Government team nevertheless explained the need to retain essential security legislation. The state of emergency may be lifted generally, for example, but be kept in Natal as long as violence continued.

The ANC is believed to have accepted this view.

Highly placed sources said the minute issued after the talks amounted to an agreement to end violence. It merely avoided terminology that was "sensitive and troublesome" to both sides.

The first paragraph of the Groote Schuur Minute reads: "The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Contacts

Another passage provides for "channels of communication to curb violence".

Mr Mandela's delegation also told the Government that not all violence could be ascribed to the ANC since it was not fully in control of all activity in black communities.

Mr Mandela repeated this point in a circumspect way at the post-talks Press conference.

Other points, regarded as successes by both sides, to emerge from the talks were:

- A spirit of reconciliation that bodes well for future contacts. One negotiator said it was a "cathartic experience" for the two sides to listen to one another's experiences and that "many as-

PW g

in fit

St Times 6/5/91

By LESTER VENTER

FORMER State President P W Botha has resigned from the National Party.

He bluntly told NP officials who approached him his Wilderness retiree home to renew his party membership that he refused to do so.

He said he was dissatisfied with the leadership of his predecessor, President F W de Klerk.

He also told a newspaper reporter that he objected to the inclusion of Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the Communist Party, in the delegation that reached a historic peace accord with the Government in Cape Town last week.

Mr Botha had been a member of the NP for 54 years and was elected to Parliament in 1948.

The main feature of

Peace deal is hailed

□ From Page 1
assumptions would have to be reviewed";

● A working group will now search for a definition of political offences and political prisoners, as well as ways to handle their release. It must report back by May 21;

● The economic implications of the return of exiles — the ANC says there could be more than 20 000 — was discussed. *SITime 6/5/90*

Meanwhile parties on the extremes of South African politics reacted coolly to the talks.

The Conservative Party dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence. *(11A)*

At the other end of the spectrum, the Pan Africanist Congress reiterated its opposition to negotiating with President De Klerk.

The Azanian People's Organisation said the ANC had been trapped in a well-laid plan designed by Mr De Klerk, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President George Bush, with the connivance of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorba-

chev and several African heads of state.

The ANC Executive Committee is expected to return permanently to South Africa within a matter of weeks, Mr Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

As ANC representatives left Cape Town's DF Malan Airport, they posed for photographs. Some, including SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo hugged and kissed children presented by eager mothers.

Mr Tshwete said he and his colleagues would attend a rally to be addressed by secretary-general Alfred Nzo and Mr Slovo in Johannesburg today.

Thereafter, the NEC men would return to Lusaka.

Asked if he had any idea when they would be returning permanently, he said: "A matter of weeks."

Mr Slovo said that, in addition to his official duties, he intended to visit relatives in Johannesburg.

"Then I'll be going back to Lusaka — temporarily."

THE lifelong dream of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to see his people free.

That dream seems to be coming true. This week he laid the foundation for negotiations between the ANC - and other future interested parties - and government.

It was not an easy achievement, considering he paid a heavy price for it by spending more than 27 years in prison.

But now that he has come this far I think the time has come for all of us to tell him: Now cool it, brother, *hamba kahle*, your schedule is just too much.

This is the general feeling of those who have been following Mandela's gruelling political schedule.

His diary since the first day of his release on February 11 could put to shame a man of half his age.

Medical experts and political observers have already sounded a warning.

Mandela's non-stop worldwide travels, endless

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Mandela, put your feet up



4 Press 6/5/90
interviews and now talks with the government, will slow him down.

Are we going to watch the leader we have rallied around burn himself out?

It has been proved Mandela is the leader of all South Africans.

It could be said the only political leader he has not met is Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This is the only time he bowed to pressure from his advisers.

But it could also be argued he is the only leader who has addressed

Inkatha and ANC members at one rally.

In letters and telephone calls to our office - from black and white readers - we were told that in a free South Africa where one person one vote is the order of the day, Mandela will be the next president.

If he goes, one caller asked, who do you think could rightfully succeed him?

Others have even suggested he quit politics and have a long rest.

But Mandela himself may argue that point.

In his second book, he wrote "the struggle is my life". It seems he will never give up on this declaration.

I am not suggesting he quit, but I would like to see his schedule revised drastically.

We need to see him in Tuynhuys in the next five years. But at the rate he is going, that dream may not come true.

The ANC can boast of several people who could take up the leadership role should something happen to Mandela.

People like ANC international head Thabo Mbeki; UDF's general secretary Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Patrick Lekota; NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa; SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane; and others, could lead this country to a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

In Cape Town this week Mbeki rejected any assertion that the ANC saw itself as the sole and authentic representative of the majority of South Africans.

He said many others who have fought against apartheid should be included in negotiations.

This statement should be taken seriously by those who have accused the ANC of selling out.

Let us not deceive ourselves that the National Party will give away power without a fight. And what better way of fighting than around the table.

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Press 615190
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ANC 'massively opposed' to call for privatisation

By PETA THORNYCROFT
Harare

ALL South Africa's state institutions being privatised will be re-nationalised, the ANC said this week after an economic workshop.

Mr Tito Mboweni, a senior member of the ANC's economics department, who travelled from Harare to Zurich for another meeting with South African businessmen yesterday, said: "People should be under no illusion. We are convinced the privatisation process should be stopped and reversed."

Mr Mboweni said there could be no negotiation on this issue and any future pri-

vatation of national resources would be "massively opposed".

Those institutions already sold off would be renationalised by an ANC government.

The conference was attended by academics and economists from South Africa and Britain, as well as trade unionists and the ANC.

In Zurich, the ANC — including Mr Mboweni, Mr Vella Pillay, Mr Rob Davies and Mr Esop Pahad — will meet with businessmen from South Africa, including Mr Christo Nel and Mr Ronnie Bethlehem. Nationalisation will be a main topic of discussion.

New accord is big boost for SA's image overseas

THE historic accord between the Government and the ANC has given SA's standing overseas a tremendous boost — just as President F W de Klerk prepares to leave on a nine-nation European tour.

Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will leave mid-week for official visits to Spain, Portugal, Greece, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain.

Two other Economic Community nations have not as yet announced the visit and the Department of Foreign Affairs has not released their names.

The success of the Groote Schuur talks will strengthen

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Mr De Klerk's hand at a time when several central European countries are reassessing their stance on sanctions.

In the United States, too, much depends on signs of real progress between the ANC and the Government. A visit to Washington some time in June is also planned.

On this week's trip Mr De Klerk will meet heads of state, foreign ministers and influential business leaders.

In Madrid he will be received by the Spanish monarch, King Juan Carlos.

Politically, however, his two most important meetings will be with France's President Francois Mitterrand on Thursday and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Chequers on May 19.

Britain has led Western support for Mr De Klerk's campaign to draw up a new, non-racial constitution.

However, France's links with the ANC have been stronger than those with Pretoria. The nation's socialist President is highly regarded in the Third World and, for this reason, the SA breakthrough is viewed as particularly important.

UNUSUAL things happen in unusual times.

So it was unusual enough to see the ANC's pipe-puffing Mr Thabo Mbeki standing outside Grootte Schuur, for seven decades the official residence of South African Prime Ministers and heads of state, ready to begin talking to today's Government leaders about a new South Africa for tomorrow.

But when he began to crack jokes, accompanied by some boyish elbow-tugging, with General Basie Smit, the chief of the Security Police, the unusual appeared to become elevated to the sublime.

War

That, at least, is the way it seemed to the drove of newsmen who had been bussed into the estate to witness the start of the historic first eyeball-to-eyeball meeting between the Government and the movement that's been trying to overthrow it since 1960.

Perhaps that's even the way it seemed to General Smit. His initial, stiffly arm-folded reaction to Mr Mbeki's impishness was textbook body language. But he rapidly mellowed into the congenial spirit of the moment ... and the occasion.

Of course it's unusual to speak of congeniality among

The peaceful day Thabo Mbeki smoked a pipe with SA's Security Police chief



A FOREIGN AFFAIR ... Piik Botha and Joe Slovo

people still formally engaged in an informal civil war. The Government continues to hold ANC prisoners and still, for the moment, withholds black South Africans' their

democratic birthright. The ANC will not relinquish its armed struggle until it has both of those. The Government will not begin talking about the substantive

SI Times
6/5/90 **By LESTER VENTER**
Political Correspondent

democratic issues until the ANC lays down its arms.

The problems seem intractable.

But there was no mistaking the mood of promise within which the talks began. A meaningful part of the explanation was to be found in the opening statements made by President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

A clear, common message emerged from their words and transcended their divisions — a genuine desire for a peaceful solution.

The setting, too, had much to do with it. It taxes the

imagination to talk of belligerence in the serene surroundings of the Grootte Schuur estate and homestead.

And it says much for that setting that it could dominate its incongruities. Grootte Schuur was brought to its present splendour by SA's arch-apostle of imperialism, Cecil John Rhodes.

He commissioned the famed architect Sir Herbert Baker to develop the buildings for a grand residence — a task completed in 1890. Rhodes's legacy of fine book collections, artworks and antiques has remained intact.



SMILES ALL ROUND ... President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela face the Press at Grootte Schuur

When, in 1910, Grootte Schuur became the Prime Minister's residence — its function until the 1980s — the Rhodes collections were judiciously added to.

For this week's most remarkable of Grootte Schuur's occasions, the rectangular dining room was made the meeting room. The ANC was given the lounge as a caucus room, and the Government used Rhodes's study. Modern

technology intruded. The dining room was specially lit, and the oblong table was incongruously set with 20 microphones and control boxes. In the corner of the room stood a table of sophisticated recording equipment to retain for posterity the nuances of the historic event.

An enormous bay window afforded at least some of the negotiators what was reputedly Rhodes's favourite view,

across the gardens to the richly verdant slopes of Table Mountain.

Off the room a marquee was erected, festooned with cascades of flowers, to provide a retreat with food and refreshments from the strain of making history.

In the gardens themselves portable latrines were erected for the Press corps, in green with black and gold male/female designations.

This unconscious use of the ANC colours in so questionable an application led to much mock debate in the media corps.

When the big moment arrived on Wednesday, the media melee was as assembled as it ever gets. The Government's men arrived as you would expect in a fleet of dark German limousines.

The ANC negotiators arrived in two similar cars —

and a mini-bus sponsored by the SA Black Taxi Association. They had been thus independently conveyed from their luxury hotel in Somerset West, where they were put up at Government expense.

As the proceedings got under way, the enormity seemed to overwhelm even its participants. Reaving himself to make his opening statement, Mr Nelson Mandela seemed momentarily nonplussed to find he didn't have his speech notes with him.

Red

An aide quickly thrust a pink file into his hands, from which he read his remarks. It seemed, though, that no special significance needed be read into the colour of the file.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, arrived with a bright red folder — matching the colour of the socks pointedly worn by the SA Communist Party delegate Mr Joe Slovo when he arrived from exile last weekend.

When the Government and the ANC entered the homestead to begin their talks, it seemed to some that history does, after all, work in cycles.

Above the main entrance to Grootte Schuur is a bronze frieze that shows Jan van Riebeeck wading through the waves to his first meeting with the indigenous people of South Africa.

IN almost no time at all the extraordinary has become the ordinary in South Africa. It is quite astonishing with what ease South Africans have accepted the breathtaking events of the last few months.

On February 2 F W de Klerk made the impossible reality by unbanning the ANC and other organisations.

Within three months the improbable occurred when the National Party government and the African National Congress publicly started talking to each other.

They did so in Groote Schuur, the home of South African prime ministers left to the nation by Cecil John Rhodes, with the communists and "terrorists" protected by white security men.

Not that they are negotiating yet, but they are talking about negotiating a new constitution.

With that they have put the seal on a process which is now irreversible, a process which over the next few years will lead to a South Africa where the rule will be equality for all instead of one where inequality was the norm.

Moreover, they are beginning to discover that they represent each other's best options. And this might discipline both sides into not expecting the impossible from the other.

Reason might just prevail.



Both need to show progress, both need the talks to develop into negotiation — and for the same basic reasons. For the National Party and the ANC know that they are not the only actors on the political stage, that there are others waiting to take over their positions instead of joining the process which has now begun.

For the NP, it is the Conservative Party and those to its right. For the ANC, it is the Pan Africanist Congress.

The CP walked out of Parliament in protest at what it saw as a sell-out by the NP. The PAC publicly called the ANC sell-outs for talking in Groote Schuur.

The oppressors and terrorists have overnight begun to represent the centre of South African politics.

Undoubtedly, both NP and ANC now are the biggest political groupings in their own constituencies. But neither represents the majority and both know that if they falter there are others who are willing to take over.

That concentrates the mind, makes compromise more possible and might even make it necessary that progress be shown.

The CP represents 30 percent of white South Africa. The PAC is an unknown quantity except that over the last year it has re-



Harald Pakendorf ANC joins the NP in a vortex of change

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appeared from a past of dissension, lack of leadership, funds and organisation.

It has moved from obscurity to graffiti on township walls and now to a position where it is beginning to vie with the ANC for support.

The CP and PAC represent extremes and in times of stress and change extremes have the advantage of simplicity and tend to become attractive.

They can only be contained by the centre holding, developing an understanding and possibly even agreement.

It will not be easy, it will take time and it is not written in the stars that it will come about.



Thanks to the existence of the CP and the PAC, the NP and ANC are in some way dependent on each other. The danger is that if they fail in Groote Schuur and the follow-up talks that will follow, they might veer away from the centre to undercut the extremes by becoming extreme themselves.

And, as John Vorster would have said, that is too ghastly to contemplate — not only for the country but also for the NP and ANC.

ANC sets foot on hallowed Matie soil

By KURT SWART and
AYESHA ISMAIL

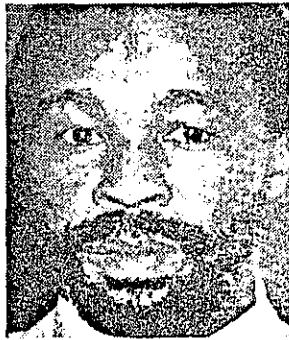
IN a scene once considered almost impossible, a black ANC leader addressed Afrikaans students at Stellenbosch University and invited them to become "comrades" of the ANC to help build a new South Africa.

Talking to about 1 000 Matie students yesterday afternoon in what is considered by some to be the intellectual heart of Afrikanerdom, ANC head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki began his speech by saying: "I hope I will not be chased out of here if I call you comrades."

Polite

Mr Mbeki, who admitted to being a bit "overwhelmed" by the occasion, added: "In the past this university was forbidden territory for some of us, but it is no longer so and I think this reflects what is happening in the country as a whole.

"It would be reasonable to make the assumption that we are not very far from a process of negotiations, which should involve all the political forces in the country, to decide what kind of South



THABO MBEKI
Overwhelmed

Africa we would like.

"We'd like to see this university with all its prestige, authority and weight, count itself among the forces producing the new South Africa, and to become part of the process of change."

Mr Mbeki told the attentive and polite student audience that the ANC appreciated that there were white fears about the changing

South Africa.

"It is natural and to be expected.

"But this university has a special place among Afrikaners and could play an important role in addressing the fears of the Afrikaner people — to tell them that the thing to fear is the continuation of the status quo."

He said this week's meeting between the ANC and the Government reflected a bit of the past and a bit of the future.

"We were discussing with a delegation that was exclusively white, male, Afrikaner and, I'm sure, middle class," he said to laughter.

"We had a delegation which was South African, and we need, all of us, to begin to compose ourselves in the same way as this delegation.

Smiling

"And we need to believe that we share a common patrimony and that we have got to act together to remove this deadly past and establish a society of which all South Africans can be proud.

"We believe that we and this university can be comrades in bringing about this change."

Earlier a smiling Matie rector, Professor Mike de Vries, welcomed the ANC entourage to Stellenbosch in his office.

The talk was organised by the student current affairs group SAAK, the Black Students' Organisation and the Stellenbosch branch of Nusas.

Included in the ANC group were Aziz Pahad, Jacob Zuma, and UDF leaders Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Amos Lingiswe.

Also in the group and wearing an ANC badge was Leslie Durr, whose political activities on campus last year led to her expulsion.

Buthelezi slams 'wipe out' speech

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A CALL by ANC Natal leader Harry Gwala to "wipe out" Inkatha members if they attack his supporters has been slammed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "irresponsible, aggressive and provocative".

Mr Gwala told the 10 000 strong crowd at a May Day rally at Edendale Valley Stadium, Maritzburg, to defend themselves if they were attacked by Inkatha. "Let us wipe them out if they attack us," he said.

The statement brought a strong reaction from the Inkatha and Kwazulu head.

Chief Minister Buthelezi said: "To say that Inkatha members are attacking others is incorrect. The statement which reads 'Let us wipe them out if they attack us' is highly irresponsible, aggressive and provocative."

He claimed the statement would result in increased attacks on Inkatha members.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, said yesterday that the killings in Natal would have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence. Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by the SAP and Kwazulu police was crucial to bring about peace in the area, he said.

In this week's talks between the Government and the ANC, clear lines of communication had been established to ensure police acted impartially in dealing with violent situations in Natal.

Home for a celebration

By ZB MOLEFE

FOR a moment, visiting author Mary Benson dreams of a future South Africa, free of apartheid.

Hours earlier she had visited Soweto. Last week she visited the graves of Canon Calata, his grandson Fort and Matthew Goniwe, the Eastern Cape leaders who died in 1985 during the Cradock disturbances she describes in her autobiography as "a flashpoint of the conflict sweeping South Africa like a veld-fire".

Says Benson: "The Cradock story says it all. Think of Goniwe, such a creative worker who gave his people hope; and Calata, a great clergyman." Her words are chosen with deliberate care.

"There's an extraordinary quality, not only in the leadership, although the country is torn apart by apartheid. It is such a rich and beautiful country."

She should know what she's talking about. This 70-year-old biographer of African leaders like Tshekedi Khama, Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, has been writing the South African story.

"I've always maintained that South Africans have to be hopeful. Otherwise life would be unbearable," she says, when asked if she hopes to see a liberated South Africa in her lifetime.

There's hope for SA, says author

"I think it is possible if I live to 80 years."

The Pretoria-born and educated Benson has paid her price for writing the South African story. This, in addition to her biographies, includes a history of the ANC, a novel, a radio play on Robben Island and dramatised documentaries on Mandela and Thomas Wolfe.

She was put under house arrest and banned in 1966 while in Johannesburg. She now lives in London.

A smile lights her face when she tells you that she has been given a three-month restricted visa allowing a visit to the homeland she last saw 24 years ago. It states that she cannot "engage in professional activities".

"And those 'professional activities' mean writing. But for me, coming here is a celebration." Her autobiography *A Far Cry* will be launched on Wednesday. "I'm an arthritic lady," she says sadly. "Could the authorities be afraid?"

Her remark brings to mind the words of the great Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who wrote about the fear governments have of writers, saying no government on earth tolerates real writ-

ers because its like having "another government in one country".

But Benson - who in her 20s and coming from a typical comfortable white South African background "and terribly prejudiced" was converted on her "Damascus road" when she read Alan Paton's *Cry The Beloved Country* - clings to her belief of a new South Africa.

This is the book, Benson tells you, which made an extraordinary impact on her and "cracked open the mould of white consciousness".

"If Beyers Naude could change, you feel there is hope, though at times you are depressed. My books have been aimed at my fellow white South Africans." Her features harden.

After 24 years out of South Africa there is another area which has changed for Benson. The physical change of apartheid South Africa. She feels in a relaxed mood as she watches the blacks who seem to have "taken over" central business areas of cities like Johannesburg, although they don't have a vote..

On the whole there is the lingering feeling Benson has picked up during her visit: "People are eager to see real change," she says.



Mary Benson... people are eager to see real change.

NIC to disband

By S'BU MNGADI

THE 95-year-old Natal Indian Congress is one of the ethnic political organisations due to disband once ANC structures have been established in Natal.

This was announced by the newly-appointed ANC southern Natal convening committee at a Press conference in Durban recently.

ANC and South African Communist Party veteran Billy Nair said that before the NIC disbanded its existing structures in Indian communities would facilitate the process of establishing the new ANC structures.

"When this task has been accomplished the NIC will hold a properly constituted conference at which a resolution to disband will be tabled.

"It will be senseless to disband the NIC into a vacuum," explained Nair, an executive member of the NIC.

He said discussions concerning disbanding the organisation had been taking place since February.

Two UDF affiliates, the United Committee of Concern - based in "coloured" areas - and the predominantly white Durban Democratic Association will also be disbanded.

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, the NIC has been instrumental in rallying the Indian community against apart-

ANC branches to be formed

heid.

Over the years, however, its image has changed.

Although it is still involved in the community at grassroots level, it has changed its strategy from one of radical defiance to more politicised action.

The NIC still subscribes to the "non-negotiable" guiding principles formulated by Gandhi.

calls to move the NIC away from its "Indian" base and meet the need for a broader, non-racial organisation have been headed by former NIC President MJ Naidoo and former executive members Rabbie Bugwandeem and DK Singh.

They said the NIC had now outlived its usefulness.

C/MS 6/4/90 (117)

ANC shouts foul after PAC tops agency survey of Soweto views

By SANDILE MEMELA

AS the ANC sat down this week for talks with the government, a popularity stakes contest broke out between the movement and its ideological rival, the PAC.

The heated contest was sparked when a survey by a leading advertising agency found the PAC enjoyed greater support among Soweto youngsters.

It was also found the ANC was perceived as being "promoted" by the government.

Research director Sue Lerena said: "Little doubt exists that the PAC is a force to be reckoned with, especially among the youngsters in Soweto.

"But it would not be correct to say it was more popular than the ANC."

The survey has been slated by social scientists, who said the sample of 50 youths interviewed was much too small for any conclusions.

"It has no scientific base. It is completely meaningless, it has no validity whatsoever," said Jannie Gagiagno of the department of politics at the University of Stellenbosch.

ANC spokesman Patrick "Terror" Lekota was quick to enter the fray on Wednesday when he denied his organisation was losing support in Soweto and on the Rand to other organisations.

"In the past eight months or so the ANC has hosted public rallies in the region the size of which the PAC has not come anywhere near equalling at any place in this country.

"Even Jeff Masemola's funeral attracted a humble 5 000 mourners."

Lerena said the PAC/ANC popularity research was commissioned by her agency in the light of measures announced by President FW De Klerk on February 2 designed to create a climate for negotiations.

Qualitative research conducted from February 14 to 22 was geared to explore these issues and assess the mood in Soweto.

Adults of middle income were interviewed together with high school

and university students aged 18 to 24.

The views and feelings of respondents were explored in five group discussions made up of 10 members each. Only 10 Soweto youths were interviewed at length.

According to Lerena, this technique differs from quantitative studies where emphasis is placed on numbers.

The research found the ideological differences between the PAC and ANC were a potential source of conflict. Suspicions that the ANC was backed by the government had also resulted in credibility problems for the organisation, said Lerena.

The PAC/ANC popularity stakes war comes in the wake of a shadowy ideological war between the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Sapa reports the political battle between the two groups is not high profile, but is being waged at grassroots level and involves painstaking door-to-door politicking by both groups.

This week, the PAC sent teams to Hillbrow in Johannesburg, making it the first political grouping to publicly canvas the more than 40 000 black people in the area.

The PAC has also opened offices in several "coloured" townships - including the sprawling Ennerdale area south-west of Johannesburg as well as in Bosmont and Riverlea.

This is a clear indication it is muscling in on areas that have large Azapo support.

Internal general secretary for the PAC, Benny Alexander, commented: "We are not trying to score points off the black consciousness organisations. They have their programme and we have ours.

"We differ ideologically, but I would not say it is an ideological war." Azapo deputy-president Aubrey Mokoape said they too were strengthening their structures at grassroots level.

"We don't think there is a real threat from the PAC. We might lose some supporters from our ranks, but it will be insignificant."

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Leading ANC member Albie Sachs arrived home in Cape Town on Friday after 24 years in exile. Sachs, who lost his right arm in a 1988 car bomb attack in Mozambique, was greeted by his mother Ray Edwards.

Picture: REUTERS

SO, at last the leaders of the Afrikaners and of the Africans have got together, thereby fulfilling the first, and indeed the crucial, pre-condition for peace. System and struggle. Oppressors and oppressed. Face to face.

The rest of us don't matter much — we'll fall into line — but we have every reason to be pleased.

The euphoria has actually been a bit overdone. South Africans are wont to behave as though anything worth doing is worth overdoing, but this time the foreigners have outdone us. The Danes, least frigid of the Scandinavians, have flung themselves into Pik Botha's arms; the Poles and Hungarians are trading; Madagascar wants an air service, if not diplomatic exchanges. The Dutch are treating the Afrikaners like prodigals returned.

An Australian diplomat with a reputation for rectitude and enthusiasm on racial questions gasps with relief when he is warned to expect a 10-year transition. "Oh, we'd be happy to support a 10-year transition, provided it was irreversible." Competition for coal contracts notwithstanding.

Clearly we have underrated the dread with which the civilised world — of which I consider Oz to be a part — has contemplated the prospect of a South African slide into Beirut-style warfare. By offering the merest chance of an alternative to The Night of the Long Knives, or The South African Bloodbath, President de Klerk has evoked a gushing goodwill from around the world.

He has succeeded in part because everybody who meets him, including his enemies, understands that he is in earnest. As the ANC's Thabo Mbeki said after the first meeting last week, it took only minutes to establish that nobody on either side had horns, and not much longer to perceive that progress was "not only necessary, but possible".

In terms of symbolism, the ANC quickly achieved what it has long

Noses flat against the window, we try to share the fun

KEN OWEN

B1Dm 7/15/90

sought: on the one side of the table, the white leaders of the National Party, on the other the polychrome and polyglot "new South Africa", ANC-led; outside, noses pressed against the glass, all the Anglo-Saxon liberals, disorganised and feeble as usual; and in the distance, excluded and defiantly dangerous, Inkatha and the PAC and the various black dissidents — and the Conservative Party.

This is perhaps the first point to note: neither side was representative of the South African people, but the ANC managed to capture the image of the "new South Africa", both non-racial and inclusive. The Nationalist delegation, as all-male as a rugby team, and lily-white, spoke for roughly one-half of Afrikanerdom, plus some fearful English hangers-on.

Within the ANC delegation, ironically, the weight of representation was communist. Not only "Slow Joe" Slovo, as his closest enemies call him, but Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and Thabo Mbeki have been identified by the American CIA as members of the SACP. Ruth Mompati was identified, less reliably, by South African intelli-

gence services as a party member, while Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu have always been loyal allies.

For a party which offers itself as the vanguard of the "new South Africa", it was a stroke of genius to include Beyers Naude, a better representative of the "new Afrikaner" than any of the more recent converts whose enthusiasm for the ANC has tended to grow with the imminence of ANC rule.

Personally, I was delighted by the inclusion of Cheryl Carolus, bubbling and articulate — 'n gladde bek, slick-tongued — and lots of fun to go with her political skill. But it was also calculated: a touch of youth and feminism to offset the greying male image of the politburo.

Archie Gumede for the UDF may have been an obvious choice, but it was intriguing that the younger men who have dominated so much of extra-parliamentary politics, and whose experience of dealing with white South Africans is so much greater than the exiles', were excluded: Cyril Ramaphosa, Patrick Lekota, Moses Mayekiso, and so forth. It's too early to talk of power struggles, but some crowns rest uneasy.

The government takes the view that no settlement will be lasting if it is reached without the participation of any significant group, or at least of any group that has the capacity to wreck it.

Three such groups are immediately identifiable: the Conservative Party with its hidden support in the police, the army and the civil service; Inkatha, without whose consent Natal is ungovernable; and the dimly perceived, poorly defined, but formidable Black Consciousness groups, together with the PAC.

The ANC appears to be taking the view that all these groups are welcome to join the talks, provided they line up either behind the National Party, or behind the ANC itself. In this, as in so much of what it does, the ANC displays the totalitarian instinct of all communist-dominated movements to crush dissidents, to operate slyly and by subterfuge, and to pre-determine any expression of "democratic" will.

On this point, the liberals have a special contribution to make to the debate, and perhaps to the character of the "new South Africa", by insisting that the diversity of the population — the country's glory and its

cross — must be recognised both in the negotiations and in the constitutional arrangements which are to follow.

Sadly, the liberals have allowed their voices to be submerged, by the socialists outside Parliament and in the universities, and inside Parliament by a hodge-podge of Afrikaner socialists, Nationalist defectors and ANC groupies. At the very moment when the country needs a clear liberal voice — and indeed, when liberals have nothing else to offer — that voice has been drowned in political cacophony.

The liberal lawyers who fought the unpopular cases, the liberal women who demonstrated in the streets when it was a courageous show of defiance, the academics and writers who fought for individual rights, and free speech, and an independent Press — all those who stood against apartheid and against the violent philosophies which it evoked — have been shouldered aside.

The prospect that English liberals, and in fact the English community as a whole, will be further marginalised by the negotiating process is great. The siren call from the ANC to close ranks, to join the nascent "new South Africa", will tempt some; the idea of falling in behind the Nationalists, despite their free market policies and their recent conversion to a bill of rights and to the rule of law, is unpalatable, but will tempt others. Either way, the liberal voice will be muffled.

It's no great tragedy. Events — and indeed the diverse character of the nation — are forcing all parties towards a solution that will, in its essential elements, be liberal. The central fact of South African life is that no party can govern this country without the consent of others who have very different convictions. The essential ingredient is tolerance.

In the end, the only form of government which can succeed over time in this country is one which grants the maximum liberty to all parties.

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in June

Political Staff

BOOSTED by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, the government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

And the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the bill is approved Mr De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation, to allow them to return.

● **Mandela rejects group rights — Page 5**

Mandela rejects demand for group rights

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a crowd of about 45 000 at Soccer City yesterday the ANC would never accept the concept of group rights.

The rally was called to report back after the ANC's three-day meeting with government representatives.

Introducing the main speakers at the meeting — ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo — Mandela said he intended to urge NP leader President F W de Klerk to "abandon the concept of group rights or minority rights without reservation".

He said he appreciated De Klerk's hon-

estly in raising the issue after the government/ANC talks in Cape Town last week.

The preoccupation of whites with minority rights meant they did not trust the ANC.

"We must accept fair criticism, and then we must reach a position where suspicion despite colour should be disregarded," he said.

He thought suspicion had been overcome during the discussions with the NP delegates in Cape Town, and members should go out and convince South Africans any form of racism would be a recipe for disas-

ter. He had no doubt blacks were fully behind the negotiations.

In his speech, Slovo gave De Klerk credit for his initiatives and criticised former President P W Botha.

He said his party had left the recent talks with government feeling that De Klerk probably meant what he said.

Botha, he said, would be remembered as the man who promised to cross the Rubicon, but who "never even got into a boat".

Referring to those who regarded talks with government as "treasonable", he said there was little to suggest they had contributed significantly to the struggle.

11/19
TIM COHEN

116 arrested after bus is hijacked

After 7/5/90 East Rand Bureau (SA) (10A)

Brakpan police yesterday arrested 116 people sporting ANC colours after they allegedly hijacked a municipal bus in Tsakane.

A police spokesman said the driver, Mr Lucas Madonsella (36), was en route from the Tsakane cemetery to the Methodist church in the township.

On a corner a group of about 300 people, all wearing ANC colours, stopped the bus. Many of them boarded the bus and ordered the driver to take them to the FNB football stadium.

Police, however, stopped the bus.

A special court was held in Brakpan and all 116 accused appeared before a magistrate on an allegation of boarding a bus without permission.

The hearing was adjourned until today.

No fuss as ANC men jet into Jo'burg

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

Fresh from their historic Cape Town talks several African National Congress leaders jetted into Johannesburg on Saturday night — and nobody seemed to notice.

In sharp contrast to the obsession with security that characterised the Cape Town talks, only a few sleepy-eyed uniformed policemen were on hand to greet Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and other National Executive members at Jan Smuts Airport.

Others to follow

"Now for the first time I feel like I am home," said Mr Slovo, who lived in Johannesburg before fleeing the country almost 30 years ago.

Asked what the ANC planned following the successful conclusion of the Cape Town talks, Mr Slovo bantered that "we have already tackled the improbable, now we plan to take on the impossible".

Included in the ANC group was NEC and leading Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Steve Tshwete, who revealed that he was the first ex-

iled leader to return to South Africa for good — and that others would be following in his footsteps shortly.

"I'm heading back to the Eastern Cape in the next few days, and if they want to get hold of me after that, they will have to dig me out," he said.

"In the next few weeks others will begin trickling back as well."

Most of the leaders will return to ANC headquarters in Lusaka "after a few days".

"I have a desk back there that is piling up with work," joked Johannesburg-born secretary-general Mr Nzo.

"But it is really good to be back home after more than 26 years in exile, and I hope to return again soon — for good".

● The South African Communist Party has decided to follow in the footsteps of the unbanned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and come in out of the cold.

Mr Slovo said the decision to come out in the open had been taken — but he could not give an exact date.

"Sooner rather than later. We have met, and are continuing to meet. It's a process, but the actual decision has been taken."

See Page 11.



Homecoming . . . African National Congress members (from left) Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Henry Mogothe slipped almost unnoticed into Johannesburg on Saturday.

Namibian echo in Groote Schuur Minute

The Groote Schuur Minute, drawn up in Cape Town last week, uses the same no-losers approach as did the Namibian peace settlement, reports PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent.



The scene of the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, where the Groote Schuur Minute was agreed on.

thermore to co-operating with the Government in trying to end general violence.

And in exchange the Government has agreed to tackle almost all the obstacles to negotiation identified by the ANC in the Harare Declaration — to amend its draconian security legislation, including the Internal Security Act, to set up a joint mechanism to identify political prisoners for release and exiles for amnesty, and to review the state of emergency.

The success of the minute appears to lie in something akin to the "linkage" concept

— ultimately the linchpin of success in Namibia.

In the Namibian talks the South African Government was faced with an internationally-accepted agreement — United Nations Resolution 435 — which called for its withdrawal from Namibia.

UN 435 made no mention of the 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, whose departure South Africa demanded.

South Africa managed to persuade the other parties to negotiations that the withdrawal of Cuban troops was linked to UN 435, because their pres-

ence north of the border was a threat to Namibian independence.

The eventual agreement synchronised the timetable for the implementation of UN 435 with a timeable for the complete withdrawal of the Cubans.

In similar fashion the South African Government in last week's talks was faced with an internationally widely accepted document — the Harare Declaration — which sets out the obstacles which need to be removed before negotiations start.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of security legislation, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles and the removal of troops from townships.

The Harare Declaration is very much the ANC's brainchild, and so not surprisingly it makes no mention of the armed struggle or violence in general as obstacles to be removed to create a climate for negotiation.

In the ANC view the armed struggle would be suspended once the obstacles it had identi-

fied were removed.

The two were not directly linked, in its view. It argued for instance that the state of emergency — like the other obstacles — was merely a device to hamstring the Government's most effective political opponents.

The Government differed. It insisted that the state of emergency could not be lifted while the struggle and the violence continued, because its object was to curb the violence.

The Government also argued that it could not be expected to release political prisoners and

allow exiled guerillas to return while the ANC was committed to the armed struggle.

It would be like releasing prisoners of war before the war was over.

During last week's talks — and the vital preliminary discussions — it is clear that the inextricable linkage between the struggle and the other obstacles was accepted.

This is apparent not only from the all-important preamble to the Groote Schuur Minute, which commits both sides to resolve the climate of violence and intimidation and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

The minute also binds the ANC more specifically to co-operative action to help make it possible for the Government to remove particular obstacles: "To assist in bringing violence to an end."

And the minute commits the Government to try to lift the emergency, but adds: "In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble."

In other words, the ANC has accepted that the Government can only lift the state of emergency if the violence abates.

It also seems to have conceded that it may be necessary sometimes to send troops into the townships, as its demand for the removal of the troops was on the agenda, but disappeared from the agreement.

And the minute also affirms that efficient channels of communication between the ANC and the Government are to be set up "to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively".

What these agreements mean is that though last week's meeting did not achieve its prime objective — of removing all the obstacles to negotiation — it did set up a joint effort to make this possible.

We are flexible over group rights - Nats

slr 7/5/90

11A 80

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

The National Party responded diplomatically today to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela's first tough constitutional challenge on group rights, made yesterday at a rally outside Soweto.

Mr Mandela told a crowd of about 40 000 that the ANC would never accept minority rights protection.

NP sources said today the party was flexible on the question of group rights.

Its response takes the sting for the moment out of Mr Mandela's challenge, reinforcing the mood of friendly negotiation created at last week's Groote Schuur talks. But group rights is still expected to be a major issue in future negotiations.

NP sources said there were different kinds of group rights. One was group rights used as the building blocks of a new constitution.

The other was protection of certain minority rights, such as language and culture.

This second form of group rights was universally acknowledged even in a United Nations declaration. The ANC had said it was not opposed to the protection of rights associated with culture.

Mr Mandela revealed that he would have several meetings with President de Klerk before the next round of talks between the two delegations.

He would urge Mr de Klerk, "an honest man whose willingness to discuss politics at the table was highly appreciated", to abandon his insistence on group or minority protection because it implied that "white South Africa does not yet trust us".

He added: "We have to convince them that any form of racialism is a formula for disaster."

Mr Joe Slovo, the crowd's favourite, added: "We know only one kind of democracy, and that is majority rule ... if this is not achieved, there will only be the 'peace of the graveyard'".

Explaining the Government's attitude to group rights in the light of yesterday's tough ANC policy stand, NP sources said the NP was flexible on which sort of group rights it wanted protected.

The NP is engaged in intensive internal consultations to try to come up with an acceptable constitutional model to put on the table.

An extended NP caucus meeting on Saturday focused on a bicameral model with a lower house elected on a common voters roll and an upper house which incorporated minority protection in some way.

NP sources have indicated that the party is moving towards a system where minority rights are protected by deeply entrenching normal democratic principles such as a multi-party system, and also the principle of free enterprise.

See Pages 3, 6 and 11.



Rail horror ... the wreckage at the scene of a collision about 40 km north of Sydney yesterday between a double-decker passenger train and an old-fashioned steam train chartered by jazz fans. At least six people were killed and 90 injured. The double-decker was carrying 100 passengers on board, was killed.

Strike talks as 'nightmare' continues

By Carina le Grange

Patients at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital last night described the "nightmare" conditions they were enduring, while crucial talks aimed at ending the hospital strike were due to resume today.

Hospitals still hit by the strike by non-medical staff are Baragwanath, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, H F Verwoerd and Natalspruit.

At today's talks in Pretoria between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu (National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union) the final issue to be settled is wage demands.

After weekend talks hopes are high that an agreement acceptable to workers will be reached later today.

At Baragwanath, patients told The Star of the stench of filthy wards, sleeping on dirty linen and hunger due to irregular meals. At the height of the strike, no meals were served for a 24-hour period.

Mrs Mabel Ndlovu of Alexandra, in hospital for a thyroid operation, was among those discharged early. With her was her one-year-old daughter.

"I am not healed. But there is no point staying in hospital with an infant and no regular meals, in an unhygienic place," she said. Her baby had survived on tea and she had often gone without meals.

Mr Samson Kubheka believes the strike could cost him a finger. He was admitted two weeks ago with a septic hand because he did not go for treatment after being burnt. He cannot have an operation he urgently needs since he has been told only emergencies are being done.

Nursing staff have doubled cleaners and cooks for the week, working long hours.

Strikers emptied rubbish bins and scattered litter at Hillbrow Hospital at the weekend after cleaners had cleaned up.

There have been numerous other reports of intimidation. Union officials responded by naming certain people identified as intimidators were unknown to the union and added it was wholly opposed to any acts of intimidation.

Emergencies only were being treated at the hospitals and patients not desperately ill have since been discharged.

By late yesterday it appeared agreements in principle had been reached on all workers' demands except wages.

Increases

Workers demand a minimum salary of R1100 a month.

1400 (40) (15)



Comrades in arms... a smiling Mr Joe Slovo, the SACP secretary-general, is greeted by a supporter at First National Stadium, Soweto, yesterday. © Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Only SACP's Slovo stirs the 40 000 crowd at subdued but chic ANC rally in Soweto

By Dawn Barkhuizen

A muted crowd about 40 000-strong turned out yesterday to hear South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, and his ANC counterpart, Mr Alfred Nzo, speak in Soweto for the first time in 23 years.

The crowd was about a third of the size of that gathered to cheer Mr Nelson Mandela home after his release from prison in February.

Damp squib

Compared to the pulsating, chaotic and jam-packed Mandela welcome rally, yesterday's event was a damp squib.

On several occasions speakers from the podium urged the crowd to respond to shouts of "Viva" with more enthusiasm.

Vast sections of the stadium were empty and the bright flags that in February swathed the seething mass in green, gold, black and red were far and few between.

In place of the six media choppers that hovered "Airwolf-style" over the Mandela rally was a single yellow and blue SAP helicopter.

Some newsmen, who had been told the rally would start at

11 am, went home when the event was rescheduled for 1 pm.

It eventually started after 2 pm.

Excitement echoed briefly when the posse of silver and white BMWs and Mercedes Benz cars eventually snaked on to the pitch carrying the 30-strong ANC-SACP delegation, and again when its members were introduced.

There was warm applause when Mr Mandela took the microphone.

But only Mr Slovo, emotive and with a broad South African accent, was able to stir the crowd.

They clapped when he said President de Klerk had shown courage.

They shrieked when he said the former State President, Mr P W Botha, had quit the National Party.

They were thrilled when he said he understood Mr Botha did not like him.

They stamped their feet with delight when he told them: "The fact that PW does not like me makes me feel I have done my job properly."

And when he said: "Nelson Mandela put his country first when he had tea with PW... De

Klerk is also big enough to think of his country first," the crowd roared.

Apart from the difference in size and behaviour, the most noticeable difference in the crowd of yesterday was in their dress.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, a fashion revolution has swept the townships.

Gone are the days that the ANC colours were emblazoned only on badges, T-shirts, armbands and umbrellas.

Pith helmets

From the age of five to 55, the old men, stout matrons, comrades and toddlers were wearing imaginative green, gold and black colour combinations.

Middle-aged mothers wore complete outfits with pleated skirts and matching shirts, shoes and hats.

There were chi-chi berets, pith helmets, fezzes, peaks and turbans.

Right from their chic tops, striped jumpers, track suits, soccer hats and scarves to their cravats, rosettes, earrings, neckties, rosettes and hand-painted designer T-shirts, the crowd who turned out yesterday were a walking advertisement

'Poor attendance due to bad organisation'

By Esmare van der Merwe

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed the relatively poor turnout at the ANC rally at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto on bad organisation.

The ANC's deputy president told the rally that "certain sectors of the press" would interpret the poor turnout as indicating that blacks were not behind the ANC's strategy of negotiating with the National Party Government.

Delegation

"There is no doubt in our minds that our people are fully behind us," he said.

about 40 000 people gathered to hear the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, speak in Johannesburg for the first time in more than three decades.

Introducing the delegation which returned to South Africa for talks with the Government last week, Mr Mandela lauded the contribution made by Mr Slovo, Mr Nzo and Mr Thabo Mbeki to the discussions.

He said Mr Slovo had led the discussion on the state of emergency, security legislation and on the issue of troops in the

townships. Mr Nzo had spoken about the return of political exiles and Mr Mbeki on the release of political prisoners.

The three men received a standing ovation for the "brilliance" with which they had fulfilled their task.

Agreement

Introducing the ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, who read out the agreement reached between the ANC and the Government, Mr Mandela said: "What we have done, we have done for you. It is important that you hear it from the horse's mouth."

Minority rights rejected by ANC leaders

1968. 7/5/90
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has made it clear that in spite of the success of the first round of talks with the government it would never accept the protection of minority rights and would continue its struggle against apartheid.

Leaders of the ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday addressed a rally at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto.

A crowd of about 40 000 gathered to hear SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo speak in Johannesburg for the first time in more than three decades.

The ANC entourage entered the stadium at 1.30pm in a motorcade, then walked a lap of honour to the sound of the African Jazz Pioneers before mounting a stage decorated in the colours of the ANC and SACP.

In a short speech ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed that he would have several meetings with President De Klerk before the next round of talks between the two delegations.

Mr Mandela said he would urge Mr De Klerk, an "honest man whose willingness to discuss politics at the table was highly appreciated", to abandon his insistence on group or minority protection because it implied that "white South Africa does not yet trust us".

"We have to convince them that any form of racialism is a formula for disaster."

Mr Mandela blamed the relatively poor attendance on bad organisation.

He told the rally that the attendance would be interpreted "by certain sectors of the Press" that black people were not behind the ANC's strategy of negotiations with the government.

"There is no doubt in our minds that our people are fully behind us," he said.

Mr Slovo, who clearly was the crowd's favourite, said the Cape Town talks would lead to peace only "if the peace we are talking about leads us in a straight line to a nonracial democratic South Africa".

"We know only one kind of democracy and that is majority rule. We know only one kind of nonracialism and that is an end to white economic privilege and social inequality."

Secrecy as FW heads for Europe

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Sowetan 21/5/90.

SC

TELEPHONE

STATE President FW de Klerk tomorrow leaves on a visit to several European countries.

His schedule includes stops in Germany, France, Greece, Britain, Portugal, Switzerland and Spain. A detailed schedule has been withheld for security and protocol reasons.

After last week's meeting between Government and the ANC in Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha briefed repre-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

sentatives of foreign governments on the deliberations.

A Department of Foreign Affairs source said that news of the talks were well received by European leaders, who had been waiting for moves towards a settlement in South Africa.

At last week's three-day indaba agreement was reached between the two to at least cease

hostilities and ultimately reach a settlement beyond which a free and just society is desired.

History

In the joint communique that will go down in history as the 'Groote Schuur Minute,' plans for a joint working group were announced. The working committee was given a 16-day deadline to advise on difficulties as to what constitutes "political of-

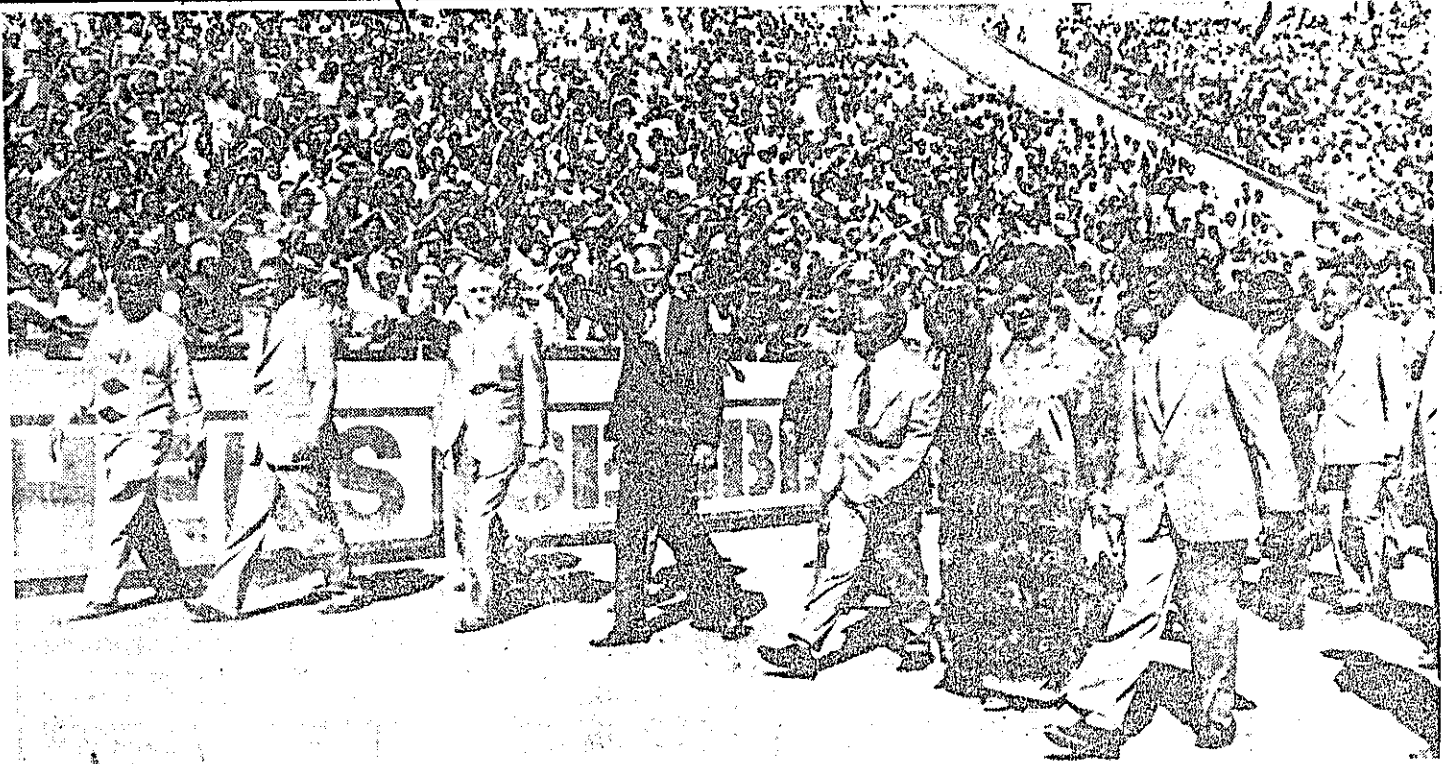
fences" and the norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity.

On the part of the ANC, the movement's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela undertook to seriously look at the armed struggle in the face of the new dispensation and semblance of peace between the two parties.

Mandela also suggested that there would be no further calls for sanctions, but that no existing sanctions would be lifted.

11A

11A



SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and Mrs Winnie Mandela salute the cheering crowd as they enter the FNB Stadium surrounded by bodyguards.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

Majority rule in SA

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Soweto 7/5/90

THE ultimate goal of negotiations with the Government was majority rule, South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo told about 40 000 supporters at a rally at the FNB Stadium

in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was addressing the ANC/SACP report-back meeting on last week's three-day preliminary talks which resulted in the Grootse Schuur Minute.

● To page 2

That's
our
goal -
Slovo

Majority rule is our aim - Slovo

From Page 1

an agreement reached with the Government on how to remove obstacles to negotiating a new constitution for the country.

Slovo said: "The talks are the beginning of the road to peace, a straight line towards a united, non-racial democracy.

"We must not play with words. A non-racial democracy means majority rule which involves every square metre of the country - from the Cape Point to the north, from the Indian Ocean to the Limpopo.

"We are talking about one homeland.

"The only hope for

real peace is that of accepting majority rule. The whites-only general election of September 1989 was the last," he said.

He warned that the agreement did not mean apartheid was dead.

"Whites still have the monopoly of the vote, land and the economy while blacks have the monopoly of the ghettos, unemployment and the bullets of trigger-happy police.

"Those whites who claim we have a secret agenda fear the 'do unto you what you did unto us' - the replacement of white domination by black domination.

"We do not have any secret agenda," Slovo said.

Referring to opponents of negotiations he said: "There are those who scream treason against dialogue, but they do not have any political solution to offer. It is because of the AK-47 that dialogue goes on," said Slovo.

ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo called for a broad unity of all political organisations saying the move had already begun at last December's Conference for a Democratic Future.

Among the ANC delegates at the rally were ANC director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto We Sizwe commanders Mr Joe Modise and Mr Steve Tshwete, ANC external executive committee member Mrs Ruth Mompoti and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo salutes the crowd at a rally at the FNB Stadium at Crown Mines, near Soweto, yesterday.

ANC committee will return

Soweto
7/15/90

11A

The ANC National Executive Committee expected to return permanently to South Africa within a matter of weeks, NEC member Mr Steve Tshwete said as he and members of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks left Cape Town on Saturday.

About 50 well-wishers and a strong contingent of police met the ANC representatives at DF Malan Airport. Their convoy of cars and minibuses was escorted from the Somerset West hotel, where they stayed, by a number of police vehicles and a police helicopter.

Inside the terminal

building, the representatives posed for photographs. Some, including SA Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo, hugged and kissed children, presented by eager mothers.

Tshwete said he and his colleagues would also attend a series of report-back meetings in Johannesburg with people from various areas.

They would return to Lusaka during the week on a date to be fixed.

Asked if he had any idea when they would be returning permanently, he said: "A matter of weeks." - Sapa



Mr PW Botha

PW quits Nat Party

THE presence of Joe Slovo, SACP secretary-general, at last week's talks between the ANC and the Government, has irked the former State President Mr. P. W. Botha to such an extent that he has quit the National Party

Sowetan 7/5/90

The former State President and leader of the NP said he distanced himself from the party leadership and the current direction the party followed adding "if I do not speak up now the monuments of the country would speak".

~~SECRET~~ (11A)

Botha said Slovo was an arch-communist who planned South Africa's downfall in London and has over a long time planned terror activities inside South Africa.

He said communism was strong as ever and the ANC stood for nationalisation and was dominated by communists leaders who had committed to violence.

Exiled veteran returns home

WHITE ANC veteran Albie Sachs, in exile from South Africa since 1966, returned home on Saturday to an emotional reunion with his 85-year-old mother.

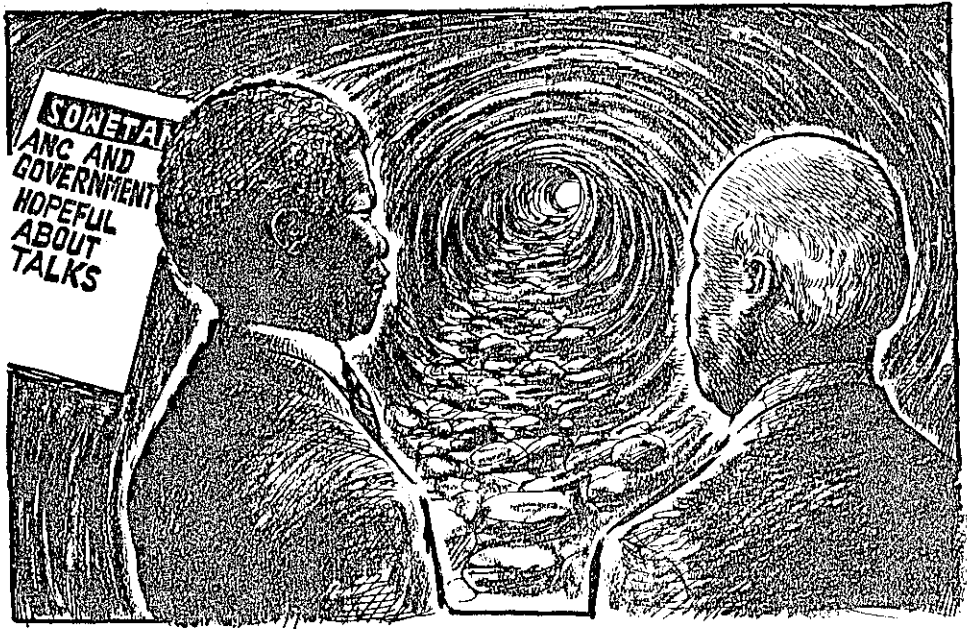
Sachs, a 55-year-old lawyer, who was maimed by a car bomb in Mozambique in 1988, is a member of the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee and the movement's chief constitutional thinker.

"It's wonderful to be home, it's wonderful to be back in Cape Town. Emotionally, spiritually and politically I never left Cape Town," he said as he hugged his mother.

He said he would consult with ANC leaders about proposals for a non-racial constitution for South Africa after negotiations launched last week in a pioneering meeting between the ANC and the SA Government.

"I think we are on the brink of a new era in South Africa," he said.

Sachs trained as a lawyer in Cape Town but fled the country in 1966 after 170 days detention in solitary confinement without charge or trial.



NELSON MANDELA

De Klerk: "The discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere.

There was opportunity for straight-forward discussions. We talked straight. All the facts were put on the table and there was an open interaction between the two delegations.

"I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process which we want to take place in South Africa. It has been this Government's goal to normalise the political process. Today we can say that a great step forward has been taken in the process. It has been our goal to improve the climate for negotiation, to create a climate conducive for negotiation.

"I sincerely believe that we have taken an important step in that direction. It has been our goal, with regard to all South Africans, to remove distrust and replace it with greater understanding. I sincerely believe that this meeting also served that purpose.

"In that sense of the word the joint commitment to peaceful solutions which will lead to real negotiation, is of extreme importance to all people of South Africa.

"I look to the future with confidence and I appreciate the good spirit and the earnestness and the honesty which was a hallmark of the discussions.

"I would like to also offer Dr Mandela the opportunity to make a few introductory remarks."

Mandela: "The striking feature of the discussions which we have had during the last three days has been their cordiality.

FACE TO FACE

Sowetan 7/5/90

304A

At the end of last week's talks between the Government and the ANC, State President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president M. Nelson Mandela faced the press today to explain the results of the talks and the progress of the negotiations.

FOCUS

"We have had discussions on sensitive matters in a spirit of conciliation and understanding.

"The ANC has taken the initiative in regard to getting the Government and the ANC to sit down together and hammer out a peaceful solution and these discussions, we look at them with satisfaction, because it is the realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years.

Credit

"We say so not in a spirit of either boasting or claiming credit for the success of the discussions. We went into these discussions in the spirit that there should neither be victors nor losers and at the end of these discussions not only are we closer to one another, the ANC and the Government, but we are all victors.

"South Africa is a victor.

"The important thing is going to be the implementation of this agreement and there is a

realisation on the part of both delegates that it is important that these obstacles which we have identified in the document should be removed at the earliest possible convenience.

"We in the ANC are convinced that both our organisation as well as the Government mean to do just that and we hope we will get the support of all South Africans and the international community in this important objective.

De Klerk: "As ek certiens kan se, gaan die raadpleging waarna in die dokument verwys word, spesifiek oor die kwessie van politieke gevangenes, van mense buite Suid-Afrika. Dit raak nie net die ANC nie. So 'n reëling, wanneer dit getref word, sal almal kan raak, sal 'n mens moet bepaal of daar ander belanghebbende partye is wat ook geleentheid gegee moet word om insette te maak oor die definisies. Wat die tweede deel van die vraag aan betref, naamlik hoe en watter partye gaan betrek word by onderhandelings: maar dit was konstant nog altyd die Regering se standpunt dat by die werklike onderhandelingsstafel moet aansit alle bewese leiers, met bewese onder-

steunerskorps, nie net die Regering en die Nasionale Party en die ANC nie, maar almal wat 'n belang het in die toekoms van Suid-Afrika, en in daardie sin van die woord moet onderhandelings 'n multiparty-geleentheid wees. Dit is ons standpunt. Ek sou graag dat Dr Mandela ook 'n toevoeging maak as hy wil."

Mandela: "The ANC and the Government are the main players in this country in the search for peace.

"There can be no peace in this country unless these two parties, these two organisations come to an agreement to an effective settlement, but the ANC has never claimed to be the sole representative of the black people in this country.

Proper

"We recognise the fact which we have stated over and over again, that there are other interested parties in this regard and it would only be proper at some stage to seek their views on the important question which we have been discussing over the last few days.

Mandela: "Everything



FW DE KLERK

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tends to fulfil, to carry out. In that spirit the ANC will therefore look into the question of the armed struggle and take appropriate decisions.

De Klerk: "No dates for a next meeting as such have been set. A steering committee has made a tremendous contribution in the preparation for the talks and also during the talks.

"Dr Mandela and I have met more than once since his release, he has been in contact with some of the Ministers on specific issues from time to time. So in a certain sense channels for communication have already been established.

Mandela: "I confirm what the State President has said, that already there is some machinery in this regard, namely the steering committee, which is composed of members of the ANC and those of the Government.

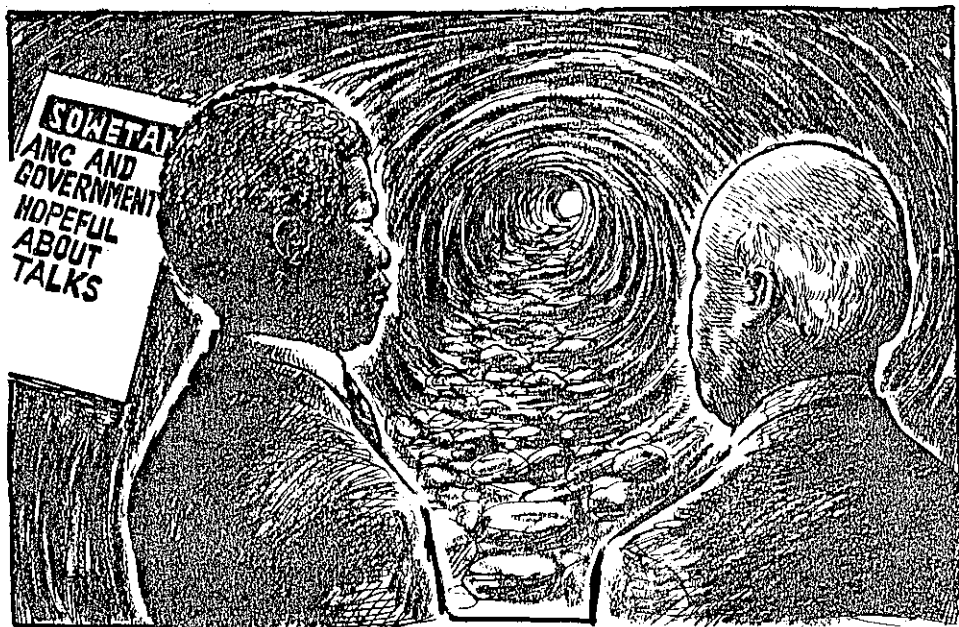
Search

This steering committee has been working for some time on common problems and preparing for this meeting."

"I have been in touch with the State President as well as other Ministers, it is always far better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace.

"We are looking into this matter as the ANC and in due course we may make a recommendation to the Government."

(Continues tomorrow)



NELSON MANDELA

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FACE TO FACE

Sowetan 7/5/90

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FW DE KLERK

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(Continues tomorrow)

Buthlezi

'heartened by action

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthlezi said at the weekend it was heartening the Government and the ANC had agreed on the urgency of addressing the problem of violence flaring up everywhere in SA.

He said it was not

enough to undertake to do something about the violence while members of the ANC delegation continued to single him out for denigration and attack as a leader and participant in the negotiating process.

He mentioned specifically Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Japan on Saturday welcomed the results of the talks between the Government and the ANC.

The Japan's consulate in Pretoria said in a statement that the country's that the country's Director-General of Public Information and Cultural Affairs had said his government looked forward to continued progress in future talks.

Japan hoped that the ANC and the SA Government would make further efforts for the commencement of "full-fledged negotiations" to build a new democratic constitution without apartheid.

Lawyers for Human Rights also welcomed the progress made in the Government/ANC talks last week.

"We look upon these talks as a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa, and congratulate all those involved during this period," said an LHR statement. The establishment of a working group to consider the question of political prisoners was particularly hopeful because the release of all political prisoners "will surely guarantee the forward movement we all desire", the statement concluded.

Killings must end - Mbeki

THE killings in Natal will have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's Director of International Affairs, said at the weekend.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence in Natal.

Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by both the SA Police and the KwaZulu Police was crucial to bring about peace in the area.

The police should not be allowed to enter into the conflict or to stand back and to allow one side to be given the opportunity to attack the other.

He said in last week's talks clear lines of communication had been established to ensure that the police acted in an impartial way in violent situations.

Mbeki said before the killings were brought to an end, a political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha was out of the question.

Sow Jan 7/5/90

CP, PAC cool towards talks

11A
328A

Sowetan 2/5/90

PARTIES on the extremes of South African politics reacted coolly at the weekend

to successful pioneering peace talks between the government and the ANC.

The ultra-Rightist white supremacist Conservative Party (CP) dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence announced by the Government and its chief opponent following their first official encounter.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) reiterated its opposition to negotiating with President FW de Klerk.

"I don't know what made the ANC approach the Government (to start talks). It's their problem," said veteran PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, whose movement advocates black self-reliance and socialism in the anti-

apartheid struggle.

Political analysts say both the PAC, increasingly popular among black township youths, and the CP, the main parliamentary opposition, would have to be party to any eventual political settlement if it is to have a chance of success.

De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela said on Friday they were satisfied with their three-day talks on removing barriers to full negotiations between the white minority and black majority.

They agreed to form a joint working group to thrash out proposals for the release of up to 3 000 people regarded by the ANC as political prisoners.

Violence

There was no formal mention of the ANC's 30-year-old guerrilla campaign. But Mandela said his officials would look "very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle," prompting speculation that the movement was ready to edge away from the use of violence.

Mothopeng said the PAC would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would only take part in negotiations when the transfer to blacks of the white-owned majority of South African land was on the agenda.

"We will not go to any talks to discuss, but to

make sure (PAC demands) are effected," said Mothopeng.

Despite his comments Mothopeng was at pains not to attack the ANC directly, saying repeatedly Mandela's movement was entitled to use whatever means it wanted to end apartheid.

Pro-apartheid CP leader Andries Treurnicht said Mandela wanted "to intensify the armed struggle to prevent De Klerk from backtracking from negotiation."

Asked if he would accept an invitation to join full negotiations, he replied: "We haven't decided not to participate...but there are certain non-negotiables - our existence as a (white) nation and our claim to our land," he said in a telephone interview.

"Mr Mandela denies the reality of the white nation...We are for peace, but peace has certain conditions, one of which is recognising the variety of South Africa's peoples," he said.

Teargas

The CP advocates old-style apartheid, maintaining that separating South Africa's whites, blacks, Coloureds and Indians is the only way to keep the peace.

In Johannesburg, police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse 100 former policemen and prison warders preparing to march to police headquarters to protest against racism in the police force and prison service.

ANC trapped by Govt - Azapo

THE Azanian People's Organisation has condemned last week's historic talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said "the De Klerk regime has succeeded in tying up the ANC in the perennial structures designed to delay the struggle, and to water down solutions to our problems in this country".

Azapo, reacting to the so-called Groote Schuur Minute document, said nothing substantive had emerged from the talks, except for a series of platitudes which had only legitimised the South African Government.

Azapo said it was obvious the ANC had been trapped in a well-laid plan designed by De Klerk, Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and President George Bush of the US, with the connivance of the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and several African Heads of State.

"Why must a working group be set up to investigate the release of political prisoners. Why must the De Klerk regime be given the opportunity to review security legislation?" Azapo asked.

Azapo said these were not matters for discussion. "Why must there be a committee to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in South Africa?" *Rowden 715190*

The government stood accused of committing the most "horrendous political offences, and it is now being offered the opportunity to actually define these offences".

Azapo said it could only assume the ANC was set on a path of forging an alliance with the National Party - an alliance that had left the South African people in perplexity.

Azapo called on the ANC to put a halt to the killings in Natal.

The South African Council of Churches said, however, it had noted with great satisfaction the breakthrough made in the talks.

It said it encouraged the parties to the exploratory talks to fulfil the obligations they had made to each other and to the nation, so that real negotiations may begin. - Sapa

May 7, 1990 5

Azapo slams talks ^{11A} with govt

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) on Saturday condemned last week's talks between the government and the ANC.

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "The De Klerk regime has succeeded in tying up the ANC in the perennial structures designed to delay the struggle, and to water down solutions to our problems in this country."

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Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches said on Saturday that it had noted with great satisfaction the breakthrough made in the talks.

It said it encouraged the parties to the exploratory talks to fulfil the obligations they had made to each other and to the nation, so that real negotiations may begin.

The Conservative Party says talks on peace should be welcomed.

But, SABC radio news reported, Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that socialists regarded peace as something that was achieved through a victory for socialism. He also said the whites in South Africa were an established nation, and that this was something non-negotiable. The ANC had no place for a defined nation or group.

— Sapa

Group rights? — never, says ANC

CAP TINES 7/5/90 114

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a crowd of about 45 000 at Soccer City yesterday that the ANC would never accept the concept of group rights.

Introducing the main speakers at the meeting, ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, he said he intended to urge President F W de Klerk to "abandon the concept of group rights or minority rights without reservation".

He said he appreciated Mr De Klerk's honesty in raising the issue at the press conference after the government-ANC talks in Cape Town last week.

"This means that white South Africa does not trust us.

"We must accept fair criticism and then we must reach a position where suspicion despite colour should be disregarded," he said.

He said he thought suspicion had been overcome during the discussions with the National Party delegates in Cape Town and members should go out and convince South Africans that any

form of racism would be a recipe for disaster.

He said he had no doubt that blacks were fully behind the negotiations. He ascribed the moderate turnout at the rally to the speed at which the meeting had been organised.

Mr Slovo delivered a fiery speech to the receptive crowd giving Mr De Klerk credit for his initiatives, criticising former president Mr P W Botha and encouraging the strengthening of the ANC.

"We have been told over and over again that the door is open, there is no need to kick it down.

"Let us say De Klerk has taken a few bolts out of the door, but the master lock is still firmly in place.

FW sincere

"It must be opened — if it isn't we will have to break it down."

Mr Slovo said his party had left the recent talks with the government feeling that Mr De Klerk probably meant what he said.

"But before we get too excited it is not enough that De Klerk means what he says. The future does not only depend on one man and the few people around him."

Mr Slovo said there was still hosts of people in the police and "boere army" who treated black lives as cheaply as they did black jobs.

Mr Botha, he said, would be remembered as the man who promised to cross the Rubicon but who "never even got into a boat".

"I am not (worried) that he does not like me. It makes me feel that I did my job properly," said Mr Slovo.

Referring to people who regarded any kind of talks with the government as "treasonable", Mr Slovo said there was little in their practice that suggested they had contributed significantly to the struggle.

"We are constantly told there is a white constituency that he (Mr De Klerk) cannot ignore, who have got used to race privilege and that they need time to get over the shock."

But, Mr Slovo said, Mr Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo also had a constituency that had suffered as a result of apartheid.

"We know only one kind of democracy and that is majority rule," said Mr Slovo.

Cape Times 7/5/90

11A

Cape Times, Monday, M



MOTHER AND SON REUNION... Mr Albie Sachs, exiled ANC lawyer greets his mother Mrs Ray Edwards during an emotional meeting at D F Malan Airport on Saturday. It was the first time Mr Sachs, who lost an arm in a Maputo car-bomb blast two years ago, set foot on South African soil in 24 years.



SACHS BACK ... Mr Albie Sachs greets a supporter at D F Malan Airport on his return to Cape Town.

Sachs back on beloved mountain

Staff Reporter

EXILED ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs on Saturday indulged in a passion when he went for a four-hour walk on Table Mountain.

Shortly after his arrival at D F Malan Airport and an emotional reunion with his mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, Mr Sachs said he wanted to spend some time with her and eat a long-promised homemade chicken dinner and then climb Table Mountain.

It was his first visit to South Africa in 24 years since he left in July, 1966. Mr Sachs lost his right arm in a car-bomb blast in Maputo two years ago.

The climb started at Constantia Nek — where Mr Sachs was met by a few friends and members of the local and foreign media — and later proceeded down Kasteelspoort which Mr Sachs called "my walk".

A friend who attended the walk said Mr Sachs had a passion for Table Mountain and was "very determined and pretty energetic".

Later he was met by a welcoming party at the Rylands home of civil-rights advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Mr Sachs is on a seven-day work permit and has several speaking engagements including one at the University of the Western Cape.

Spate of PAC road deaths sparks fears

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC is worried about the spate of car crashes in which some of its senior members have been killed or hurt and the whereabouts of a leading member of its student wing.

The PAC has also accused the government of murdering one of its officials in Botswana.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng told a news conference the killing of PAC exile Mr Sam Chand and his family at their home in the Botswana border village of Sikwane last month was carried out by South African government agents.

"We are concerned . . . with the spate of accidents which are trailing our members," Mr Mothopeng said.

Mr Chand was one of three PAC leaders who have died in recent weeks, two of them in traffic accidents in South Africa.

Three weeks ago Mr Japhta Masemola, a veteran PAC leader released last year after a long imprisonment, was killed in a car crash.

Mr Ishmael Chand died in a road accident on his way to the funeral of his brother a week after the killing.

The Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) expressed concern yesterday about the whereabouts of a leading member of its national executive committee.

Paso deputy president Mr Vusi Moyeni said their secretary for legal and welfare affairs, Mr Justice Mvakali, was last seen at his house in Vosloorus on the East Rand on April 10.

"According to his parents, Justice said he was going to Durban to attend to some student matters. Since then, the organisation has consulted with all its branches nationally in a search for him. But we have heard nothing," Mr Moyeni said. — Sapa



CROSSROADS MARCH ... Supporters of Old Crossroads headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe march to Nyanga police station yesterday.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Mayor must quit, demand marchers

CPM T-115 7/5/90 *(11A)*

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 1 000 supporters of breakaway Old Crossroads headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe marched to Nyanga police station yesterday afternoon to demand the resignation of the mayor of Old Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

The march started about 1pm from Mr Nongwe's shack, clearly demarcated in section three, Old Crossroads, by an old tattered ANC flag which flies above it.

The marchers swelled their ranks from about 300 to 1 000 as they sang and danced through the streets of the squatter town.

Nyanga police said no incidents occurred thanks to the disciplined marshalling by men and women in khaki ANC uniforms.

The marchers delivered a letter to the police to be handed over to their station commander today, according to a police spokesman.

Marchers said the letter demanded answers to an earlier request to the police that Mr Ngxobongwana resign and the Old Crossroads town committee be disbanded. The marchers also wanted all housing developments in the area to be frozen until a new system of house allocation had been negotiated.

The march was part of an ongoing battle between opposing factions led by Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Nongwe. Mr Nongwe's faction alleges that the Old Crossroads town committee has defrauded residents to the order of over a million rand and that only members of Mr Ngxobongwana's faction have been allocated new houses.

Solidarity ^{CAN 7-1-8}
service for ^{1/5/90}
maimed priest

HARARE. — The Liberation Support Committee (LSC) is to hold a church service in Harare today in solidarity with Father Michael Lapsley, the Anglican priest and anti-apartheid activist who was seriously injured by a parcel bomb last week.

Organising secretary Mr Jonah Gokova said Bishop Patrick Mutume of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference was expected to lead the service.

Father Lapsley lost both hands and an eye when a bomb, contained in a parcel, ripped through his Harare home.

He lost the eye during an operation carried out on Thursday last week. His condition is reported to be improving.

Mbeki's warm Matie hello

Staff Reporter

MR Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, was warmly received by Stellenbosch University rector Professor Mike de Vries when Mr Mbeki addressed Matie students at the campus.

A visit to the university — known as the intellectual heartland of Afrikanerdom — by an ANC leader would have been considered impossible even in January this year.

It was also a special day for Prof De Vries, who celebrated his 57th birthday on Saturday, the day he met Mr Mbeki and his entourage in his office.

The talk was organised by the student affairs group Saak, the Black Students' Organisation and the Stellenbosch branch of Nusas.

Others who accompanied Mr Mbeki were Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Jacob Zuma and UDF leaders Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Amos Lingiswe.

Mr Douglas Davis, a spokesman for the rector, said it was a historic occasion and the ANC team were warmly received and Prof De Vries had admitted he had been very impressed with Mr Mbeki.

During his address Mr Mbeki said: "In the past this university was forbidden territory for some of us, but it is no longer so and we think this reflects what is happening in this country as a whole.

"We would like to see this university, with all its prestige, authority and weight, count itself among the forces producing the new South Africa and to become part of the process of change."



ANC IN MATIELAND ... Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC (centre) — followed by University of Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries (second from right) — walks hand-in-hand with Matie students on his arrival at the campus yesterday to address about 1 000 students. ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pahad is behind Mr Mbeki, on his left.

Govt

wants *Chf. Insp. 7/5/90* second

talks *(11A)* in June

Political Staff

BOOSTED by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, the government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June. The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

And the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the bill is approved Mr De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation, to allow them to return.

● **Mandela rejects group rights — Page 5**

Blacks, too, are fearful of the reality of majority rule

IT IS fashionable to speak of white fears and black expectations. Black fear is not mentioned, but it should be.

On the emotional level, solutions are simple. But reality is another thing, and some of us are scared about what will happen when the reality sets in.

It is true that blacks have been denied the privileges whites enjoyed, and a system has to be devised to address the problem. That is not going to happen overnight, and blacks — especially black youths — need to be told that.

Most black people privately harbour fears about any new government, whether it be the ANC or a PAC revival. They want guarantees that their liberties will not be tampered with.

For many years, black South Africans have been angered when their

Monday 9/5/90
NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

white countrymen compared them to people in other African states and said blacks are incapable of running a civilised society. Unfortunately our behaviour in recent years has done little to dissuade whites of this opinion.

We have been great ones for suppressing dissenting viewpoints. We still demonstrate our intolerance with the killing fields of Maritzburg, Uitenhage, and now Bekkersdal. It is this wanton death that makes many blacks, too, fear what is in store for them when majority rule arrives. It is these actions that will in the end make people run to (President F W) De Klerk instead of away from him.

The intolerance displayed by liberation movements forces people to

shout "Viva!" in public and curse in the safety of their own homes.

I wholeheartedly support liberation; I, like many, hope that we won't be betrayed by the liberation.

Many blacks who read the histories of "free" African countries realise that whites stand a better chance of surviving a black government than they do. In Africa, unless you are suicidal, you dare not criticise the government. Africa's writers are all over the world. Africa's academics are lecturing in foreign institutions because their views are not tolerated in their native lands. While glasnost and perestroika spread in Europe, repression and corruption continue in Africa.

Is there any wonder that businessmen from beyond the Limpopo privately and quickly conduct business in SA? And while they down their drinks at the Johannesburg Sun and

the Carlton, they beg us to ensure that we do not make the same mistake they did of going socialist: "You are our only hope. Our survival lies with you keeping and maintaining a healthy economy."

They whisper in our ears because, where they come from they have to put up a brave front and call for socialism at home and sanctions for SA.

Our hope in SA does not lie in toeing one line or the other, or in showing "unity" on all issues; our hope lies in tackling issues openly and without fear.

We should demand that the leaders of the liberation movements endorse the need for free, critical debate rather than pursue the vain search for unanimity.

Mathiane is assistant editor of Frontline magazine. This article is reprinted from the April edition.

REVIEW

Unit 7/14/85/PO
Fund for
maimed priest

HARARE. — A church service was held here yesterday in solidarity with Father Michael Lapsley and "all victims of apartheid violence".

After the service, held by the Liberation Support Committee, a fund was launched in the priest's honour.

One of the five speakers, committee member Ms Phyllis Naidoo, fought back tears as she read names of alleged victims, including that of her son, Ziana news agency reported. — Sapa

Sta 8/5/90 (11A)

Five SA homelands support the ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Leaders of five of South Africa's 10 self-governing and independent national states yesterday openly expressed support for the African National Congress at a report-back meeting in Johannesburg on last week's Groote Schuur indaba.

ANC executive member Steve Tshwete told pressmen the "consultative" meeting had been attended by the Chief Ministers of Lebowa, KaNgwane, Qwa-Qwa, KwaNdebele and Gazankulu. The governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, KwaZulu and Venda had not been invited to attend.

He said the meeting had been held to brief the homeland leaders on the discussions with the Government and to "explore the necessity for further consultations" with homeland leaders with a view to forming a broad political front for constitutional negotiations with the Government.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said a united front was necessary to intensify the struggle against apartheid.

Viewpoint

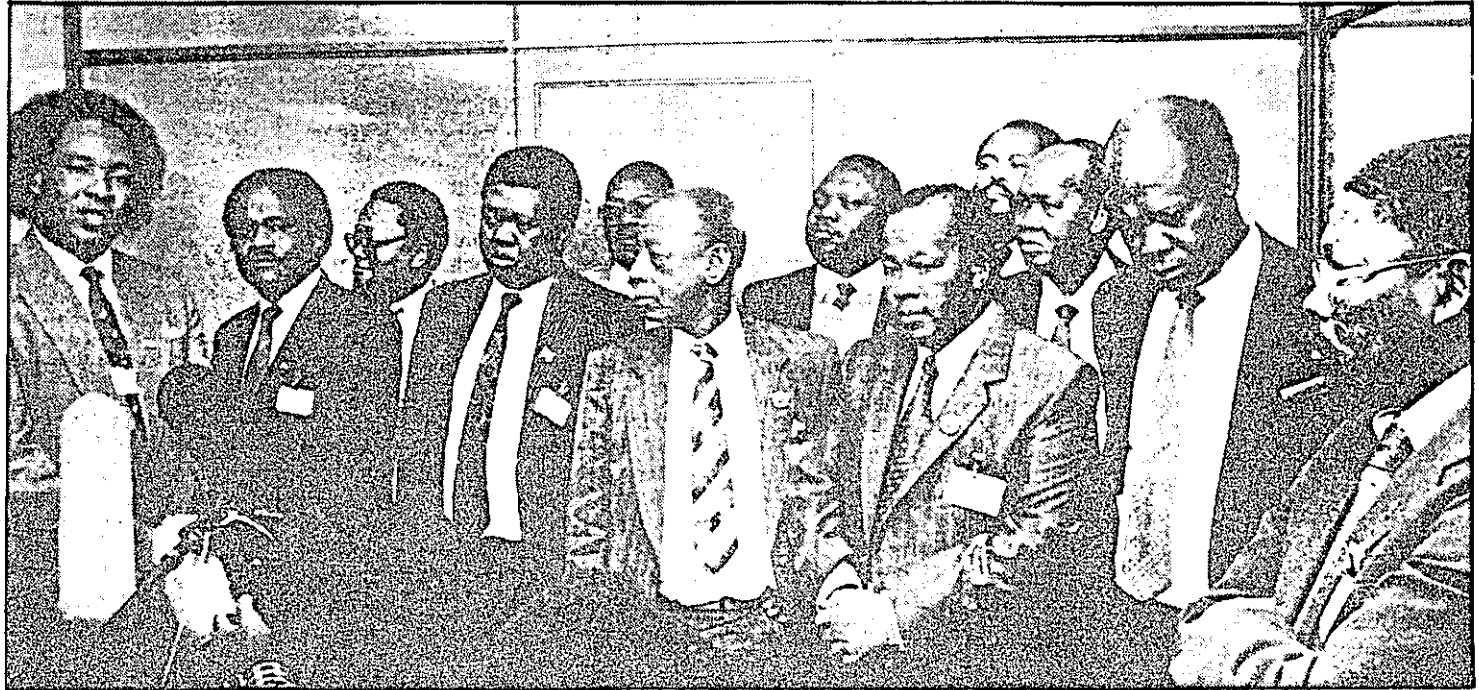
"I want to reiterate my viewpoint that I will not negotiate with the South African Government as a bantustan leader. The ANC has for many years fought for the liberation of the black man. We have only loosened the screws of apartheid and it is only fitting that these men who have sacrificed their lives be honoured for their perseverance."

He added: "It would be unwise to form alliances with anyone but the ANC. We will not negotiate with the Government in the absence of the ANC."

Gazankulu Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi said he agreed with the ANC's position on the Groote Schuur talks.

"We would have adopted the same attitude. All of us here want to work together for a new, peaceful South Africa."

Qwa-Qwa Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli said political forces should unite to achieve a non-racial democracy.



Unusual accord ... five homeland leaders express support for the ANC during a report-back meeting in Johannesburg on the Groote Schuur indaba. Among them were KwaNdebele Chief Minister Prince James Mahalangu (left), Mr Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa (second from left), Dr Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa (front row, second from right) and Gazankulu Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi (front row, right).
● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Political Reporter

Church leaders of various denominations yesterday expressed their delight with the progress made at last week's Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the African National Congress.

A broad spectrum of church and religious leaders attended a report-back meeting on the talks at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Reverend Frank Chikane,

Religious leaders delighted with talks

general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told a press conference that religious leaders from different traditions had been very concerned about political violence and fully supported the joint commitment of the Government and the ANC to put a stop to it.

"We are delighted that the ANC went to discuss the obsta-

cles in the way of negotiations. We are very encouraged by the briefing and fully support the process."

Johannesburg Chief Rabbi CHarris said religious groups had been encouraged by the talks and hoped that a non-racial democracy would be established in which "all people shall realise that we have a common

base of humanity".

Other groups represented at the report-back meeting included the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the World Conference on Religion and Peace and the Council of African Independent Churches.

288A (11A)



State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at last week's talks, the latest in a series of meetings between the Government and national leaders.



Some of the 40 000 people who turned out to hear Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo speak at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto over the weekend.

LAST week's talks were the most prominent of a series State President FW de Klerk has held with extra-parliamentary and other parties within the parliamentary fold.

When he opened the congress of the Transvaal National Party on October 21 1989, De Klerk committed his government to negotiations. He said there was not a single party or group which could claim it alone spoke for black South Africans.

He also said his government would not allow leaders of black communities who over the years had chosen the way of participation to be manoeuvred out of the negotiation process.

The right of participation by everyone was recognised and domination in any form had to be abolished, he told his party congress.

In his February 2 address De Klerk said: "Practically every leader agrees that negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part are advanced.

"Some of the excuses advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political chess game."

Ban

With that speech he also lifted the ban on the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party, making it difficult for the organisations to talk away from talks with the Government.

When he announced the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk set the ball rolling even further.

"I want to emphasise that there cannot be any further doubt now concerning the Government's sincerity to create a fair dispensation which is based on negotiation.

"I call on Mr Mandela and all interested parties to make their contribution to the creation of a positive climate for negotiation," he said.

Then, on March 30, De Klerk delivered yet another speech on the issue.

"All South Africans must be involved in determining the future of our country. The idea that the negotiation process we envisage will involve only two parties is a complete misconception.

"All leaders with proven and substantial support will be welcome at the negotiating table. There are many potential participants," he said.

De Klerk's office told *Sowetan* last week that he had reinforced his statements on negotiations by holding talks with "a wide variety of South African leaders".

On October 11 1989 he met a delegation of the South African Council of Churches, comprising Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Alan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane.

"The discussions were aimed at promoting a

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

the Afrikanerwerstandsbeveging.

The next day, the State President met a delegation of the South African Chamber of Commerce.

Future

"Talks centred mainly on constitutional reform, the interdependence of economic achievement and political advancement and the role which the business community

could play in climate of reconciliation in the community.

Then on 7 1989, De Klerk met other church leaders including Mzilikazi chairman of the Apostolic Churches, as Rev Isaac M'Association Independent

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could play in creating a climate conducive to reconciliation and negotiation in South Africa," the communique said.

Then on November 20 1989, De Klerk met another church delegation including Archbishop Mzilikazi Maziya, chairman of the Council for Apostolic and Zionist Churches, as well as the Rev Isaac Mokoena of the Association of Reformed Independent Churches.

Prior to his release from prison, Mandela visited De Klerk.

"They discussed ways to remove obstacles to the negotiation process, and Mr Mandela's role in this regard."

De Klerk met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on November 20 and 30, and again on December 30 1989.

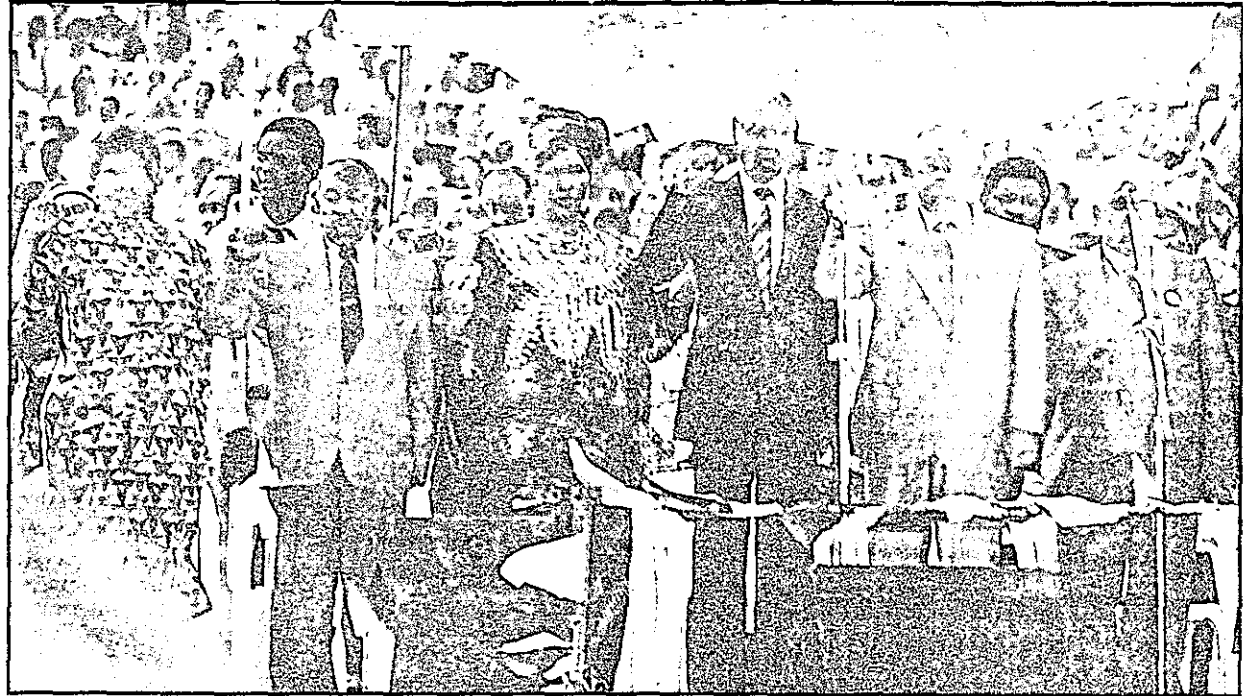
These talks centred on the envisaged summit meeting with leaders of the self-governing states

to establish a joint strategy on negotiations for a new constitution, ways to accelerate the process of negotiation and to remove obstacles.

The two met again on March 7 to discuss negotiations, and the next day De Klerk met the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Nisaniwisi, to discuss negotiations.

On April 5 Buthelezi showed up again at a meeting with the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, and House of Delegates leader Dr JN Reddy.

After this meeting De Klerk strongly condemned the ANC for trying to dictate the circumstances in which political parties should talk to one another.



African National Congress leaders briefed a Soweto crowd at the weekend about their talks with the Government last week. From left are Mr Alfred Nzo, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.



FOCUS

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

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Mandela: "We must remember in making judgement on questions of this nature that we are in totally different positions from that of the Government and other white parties of this country."

"Our organisation has been banned for the last 30 years. Experienced leaders of the organisation have been forced into exile. Other well-trained and experienced leaders of the movement have been thrown into jail and those members who have remained inside the country, have been dead."

"Therefore there was nobody to explain the policy of the organisation, to instil discipline. You must remember that many of the youth who are active today were born during the last 30 years, when the organisation was illegal and when there was nobody to explain the policy of the organisation."

Support

"If therefore any of our members were guilty of intimidation, you must judge their action against this background. Now that the organisation has been legalised, we have considered it to be our duty to stress the question of discipline, the question of tolerance and I think we are getting support from our membership."

"I therefore would urge you to look at the matter from the background which I have outlined."

"We have made it clear, time and time again, that the strategies which have adopted, will remain in place. Insofar as sanctions are concerned, quite apart from the agreement which is outlined in this paper, they will remain in place."

"We are therefore not making any new calls, nor are we appealing to the international community



NELSON MANDELA

to do anything other than the strategies on which at our invitation they are busy with at present.

"However, we hope that as a result of the agreement which we have arrived at, as well as future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions."

De Klerk: "May I just say in this regard that on this Dr Mandela and I obviously disagree. We in the Government do not believe that sanctions are justified. We sincerely believe that it is to the detriment of the people of South Africa."

"We sincerely believe that inasmuch as it ever might have been argued that it was justified - which we totally disagree with - the time has come for that to fall away."

Mandela: "...I can assure you that we have made progress on almost every aspect of the obstacles which we have identified here. As I have said at the beginning of my comment, we are closer now to one another than we were at the beginning of these discussions. I think that is what is important and that is what you should take away."

"I must tell you what I have told the State Presi-



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dent and his delegation. Twenty-seven years ago when I went to jail, I had no vote. Twenty-seven years thereafter I still have no vote. And that is due to the colour of my skin. The State President and the Government have made several statements in which they announce that they are following a new direction.

"I have not the slightest doubt that the State President means what he says. I have had for the last three days the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation. I have no doubt whatsoever about their integrity and I think in saying so, I am expressing not only my views, but the views of my delegation."

Vote

"But there reality is that I still have not vote. You can then decide whether apartheid is alive or not."

De Klerk: "Can I just say that we have also, I think, a broad consensus on the fact that before a new constitutional dispensation which will grant a vote to all South Africans can be constituted and implemented, there is general agreement that there is a need that there must be real and

fundamental negotiations about it. In that sense of the word therefore, that part of it will have to wait until we really get the negotiation process going."

Talks

"Our talks of the past three days and this document is an important step forward to move to the point where we can negotiate. From that will flow the final solution to the problem stated by Dr Mandela. In lighter vein I can say: While apartheid is going in South Africa, the anti-apartheid movements are keeping it alive. Question: "In view of what you have just said, do you think it was a mistake to wait this long to release Mr Mandela, to unban the ANC? Do you wish it could have been done maybe 10 years ago?"

De Klerk: "Well, with hindsight one could always come to many, many conclusions. Different circumstances prevailed from time to time. I am just glad that we are where we are and we look forward and not backward at this point in time."

Q: "Was the question of an interim administration or an interim government discussed? If it was, was any resolution reached on



F.W. DE KLERK

that?" De Klerk: "The talks centred solely on the question of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation and can in no way be described as constitutional talks. In that sense of the word we did not address real constitutional issues in any way whatsoever."

Q: "Has the ANC's strategy on the question of an armed struggle been changed or altered in any way by discussions of the past three days?"

Mandela: "I have pointed out that we will honour every word in this agreement. It is our document and we are, therefore, going to look very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle in the light of this agreement."

De Klerk: "...I would say that the interaction and the talks had the additional advantage of allowing people sitting around the table to get to know each other, to really form an impression as to the sincerity of people, as to what make their minds tick, as what motivates them, and in that sense of the word, I think also one would describe it as a very fruitful and a very positive experience in the

Face to face

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8/5/90 (11A)

● From page 6
sense that it has built better understanding in both directions of motivation, problems, and of why people are doing certain things.

"I also think it served to eradicate certain misunderstandings which might have existed before."

Mandela: "The important thing is that both delegations went into these talks with a spirit of letting bygones be bygones. We were therefore able to conduct these discussions without any bitterness. We were able to see the common ground between us, and it is on that that we concentrated."

"I think this is one of the reasons for the success of the discussions."

Q: "I would like to address this question to Mr. De Klerk. Having spent three days of intensive ne-

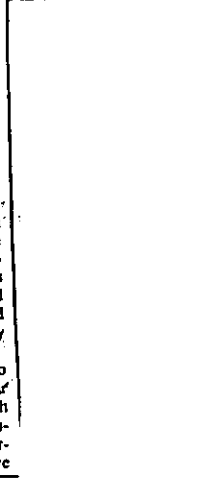
gotiations with your leading adversary, do you still believe it is important for us in this country to maintain separate groups in any future constitution?"

De Klerk: "Let me firstly say that we have won an election of the basis that we must ensure the general right to vote and the right of participation in government at all levels by all South Africans. We fought the election on that platform and we have a mandate for that."

"We also have as a party a mandate to ensure that in a new constitutional system minorities should be protected against domination and against suppression in any form."

"We have also adopted a very clear stance and I dealt with that at length in my discussions recently in Parliament, on basis that we

are not ideologically obsessed with groups, that group as a concept - if you equate that with minorities or, however, you would like to approach it - should not be on a racialistic basis.



Court told of abduction from church

CAPE TOWN 8/5/90

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rand Supreme Court yesterday heard how four youths were abducted from a Soweto Methodist church and taken to a house belonging to Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 20, was giving evidence in chief in the trial of Mr Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson, 41, of Soweto, charged with the murder of teenaged activist "Stompie" Seipei Moeketsi.

Mr Richardson is also charged with one count of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and several others of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

He has pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Mr Mono, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe were allegedly abducted with Stompie in December 1988.

Mr Mono told the court that one night in December, 1988, he had been in a diningroom of the church manse with Mr Kgase, Stompie and a friend who was visiting. Mr Mekgwe and others had been preparing food in the kitchen.

A man wearing an overcoat had entered the diningroom and ordered them into the kitchen.

Mr Mono said he did not know the man at the time, but could now identify him as one "Sledge".

In the kitchen they encountered various people, one of whom, responding to queries put by Mr Richardson, pointed out those who were later abducted.

The four were bundled forcibly into a nearby bus and taken to Mrs Mandela's house, the court heard.

— Sapa

Constable shot 'because of PAC views'

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

114
2264 8/5/90
THE WIDOW of a special constable shot dead in Crossroads believes he was killed because of his strong pro-Pan Africanist Congress views which often led to bitter exchanges with others.

Mr Mostert Ngozi, 48, who worked at the Crossroads committee offices, was gunned down in the troubled township on Saturday about 5pm.

He was shot in the stomach and head and died at the Cross-

roads police station before he could be taken to hospital.

His widow, Mrs Nokusapho Ngozi, 40, of Section Three, said her husband had been off-duty and was at a house when two men he knew asked him to accompany them to another part of the township.

She said the three went outside and a few minutes later a youth told her that her husband had been shot dead, about seven houses away from their shack.

"When we went to the place he

was lying in a pool of blood but was still alive," she said.

"He died at the police station."

Mrs Ngozi said a man was arrested. She said her husband, who supported the PAC, often quarrelled with ANC supporters. On many occasions they nearly came to blows because of their ideological differences.

She said her husband did not take sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and his rival, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, because he "despised them".

SA blamed for attack on priest

Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — South African assassins were blamed for last month's attempt to kill Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley by speakers at a service here held to show solidarity with him and all victims of apartheid violence.

Father Lapsley lost his hands and an eye in a parcel-bomb explosion at his home in central Harare on April 28. The

interior of the house was wrecked.

In a message given by his sister, Helen, to hundreds of people of all races at the service in the Anglican Cathedral, Father Lapsley said the attack had made him even more resolute in his commitment to fight apartheid as a priest, a Christian and a member of the African National Congress.

Two Catholic priests, who were expelled from South Africa like Father Lapsley, took part in the service as did the president of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Bishop Patrick Mutume.

Mrs Phyllis Naidoo, herself the victim of a parcel-bomb attack in Maseru in 1979, read a list of dead and injured opponents of apartheid and said there could be no doubt as to who was responsible.

GIFT OF SPEECH

She said Father Lapsley had recently returned to Zimbabwe from Canada and Cuba. Two days after the attack, she said, Father Lapsley had told friends: "The Boers will not win."

Bishop Mutume said Father Lapsley had lost his hands, part of his sight and part of his hearing, but as long as he had the gift of speech he would go on preaching the word of God. He described him as a champion of justice.

The Zimbabwe government has not blamed anyone for the attack.

Last week, the minister in charge of police said investigations were continuing.

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ia, Estonia

Mayor used cocaine repeatedly, says State

WASHINGTON. — Prosecutors said in court papers that a sample of Washington Mayor Mr Marion Barry's hair showed he had used cocaine repeatedly before his arrest on drug charges in January.

The government said it also planned to present nu-

Five national states backing the ANC

The Argus Correspondent

APR 6 1963 8/2/190 11A
JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of five of South Africa's 10 self-governing and independent national states have openly expressed support for the African National Congress at a report-back meeting in Johannesburg on last week's Groote Schuur talks.

ANC executive member Mr Steve Tshwete yesterday told newsmen the "consultative" meeting had been attended by the Chief Ministers of Lebowa, Kangwane, Qwa-Qwa, Kwandebele and Gazankulu.

The governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, Kwazulu and Venda had not been invited to attend.

He said the meeting had been held to brief the

homeland leaders on the discussions with the government and to "explore the necessity for further consultations" with homeland leaders with a view to forming a broad political front for constitutional negotiations with the government.

Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said a united front was necessary to intensify the struggle against apartheid.

"I want to reiterate my viewpoint that I will not negotiate with the South African government as a Bantustan leader.

"The ANC for many years has fought for the liberation of the black man.

"We have only loosened the screws of apartheid and it is only fitting that these men who have sac-

rificed their lives be honoured for their perseverance."

He added: "It would be unwise to form alliances with anyone but the ANC.

"We will not negotiate with the government in the absence of the ANC."

Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said he agreed with the ANC's position on the Groote Schuur talks.

HAS MANDATE

"We would have adopted the same attitude. All of us here want to work together for a new, peaceful South Africa."

Qwa-Qwa Chief Minister Dr Kenneth Mopeli said political forces should unite to achieve a non-racial democracy.

Kwandebele's newly elected Chief Minister, Prince James Mahlangu, said he had a mandate from his people to align his government with the ANC.

5 give backing to ANC

11A
8/5/90

From Page 1

"However, I still need to consult with the people who elected me on how to be represented in the ANC," Ramodike said.

Kwandebele leader Mr James Mahlangu said he had a mandate that the homeland should identify with the ANC.

"It is a step in the right direction and the feeling of our people is that talks with the ANC are a call for unity", he said.

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu said he supported the ANC's negotiations with the Government as being towards a new and peaceful South Africa.

"The Berlin Wall has fallen and so will the Apartheid Wall fall for a new South Africa."

QwaQwa chief minister, Dr Kenneth Mopeli, said he supported the ANC's struggle for one non-racial and democratic country.

The fifth leader at the talks was Mr Enos Mabuza, of Kangwane.

Earlier a group of religious leaders, including Christian, Muslim and Jewish clergymen, said they were hopeful for a peaceful South Africa. This was after they met the ANC for a briefing on last week's preliminary talks with the Government.

5 leaders in pact with ANC

11A
8/5/90

THE Lebowa and KwaNdebele homelands have thrown their lot behind the ANC with their leaders saying they have been mandated by "the people" to form alliances with the organisation.

Five homeland representatives, excluding KwaZulu and the "independent states" met separate delegations led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal chairman Mr Walter Sisulu at the organisation's Johannesburg offices yesterday.

Addressing the Press

By THEMBA MOLEFE

at the end of the talks on negotiations, Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said: "I am not prepared to go into any negotiations with the Government as a bantustan leader."

Sporting an ANC badge, Ramodike said it was important to intensify the struggle and not negotiate without the ANC.

He said the majority of Lebowa people supported the ANC.

From Page 2

Air Force arms 'for Inkatha to fight UDF'

Capt Tint 8/15/90

11A

PRETORIA. — Right-winger Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph told arms theft accused Mr Gene Taylor that the weapons which were stolen from Air Force headquarters were part of a secret military operation to supply Inkatha with weapons to use against the UDF, Mr Taylor claimed during a bail application yesterday.

Mr Taylor, 46, and Mr Johannes Jurgens Dempers, 30, accused of fraudulently attempting to "spring" Mr Taylor from a police station, appeared in a bail application in the Regional Court here yesterday.

Mr Taylor said he aided right-winger Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph with the theft of the weapons under the impression it was a legal military operation.

According to Mr Rudolph, it was a secret military operation to supply Inkatha with weapons to use against the UDF, Mr Taylor claimed.

He said Mr Rudolph told him the operation was ordered by a senior military officer.

Mr Rudolph told him a "highly placed military officer" had contacted him and asked him to remove the weapons from the air force safe, Mr Taylor alleged.

"I saw it as a clandestine military operation and believed that it was legal," he said.

Police had since convinced him that the arms theft was not a military operation, Mr Taylor added.

'ANC is the enemy'

Mr Taylor, who worked at a metal-products firm in Garankuwa outside Pretoria until his arrest on April 18, told the court he had given police his full co-operation and, should he be granted bail, would attend his trial.

He realised he was accused of a very serious crime, but added that he had

nitely did not agree with him on that. I would only turn to armed violence if I or my loved ones were threatened," Mr Taylor said.

To a question by counsel for the state, Mr A Ackerman, Mr Taylor said he did not find it strange that Mr Rudolph would be contacted for a military operation.

"If the Defence Force wanted to get at the ANC without the knowledge of the government, I think Mr Rudolph was the ideal man to use."

Mr Dempers, who allegedly tried to free Mr Taylor from a police station while pretending to be a member of the National Intelligence Service, said he had done this because Mr Taylor was his friend, and not for political reasons.

He added, however, that he believed Mr Taylor stole the weapons for a cause and to combat terrorism.

Mr Taylor said he had not been aware of the plan to help him escape and, anyway, he would never have agreed as he had been promised bail.

Mr Dempers, in his bail application, denied that he knew anything about the arms theft.

Asked if he was the brain behind the attempt to free Mr Taylor, he said he would rather not talk about it.

He also refused to comment on the identity and role of two other people who were allegedly involved in the attempt to free Mr Taylor.

Mr Dempers said that although he had his own political beliefs, he would not describe himself as politically active.

To a question about his reasons for trying to free his friend, Mr Dempers said he believed that if Mr Taylor was involved in the arms theft, he did not do it for his own gain, but because of his beliefs.

He shared these beliefs, which included dissatisfaction with the present political situation in the country, Mr Dempers added.

"It does not appear to me as if the interests of whites are really being

about latest increase
Councillor speaks out

PAC, ANC talk about negotiations

CONF 7-10-85 8/5/90
BY BRONWYN DAVIDS (119)

HISTORY was made at the National Muslim Conference at the weekend when key members of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress spoke on the same panel about their organisations' position on negotiations.

The conference's national convener, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, said it was quite significant to have ANC member Mr Ahmed Kathrada and PAC member Mr Barney Desai "to share a platform to debate such a contentious issue as negotiations".

Newly returned ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs was given a rousing welcome by the 750 South African and Botswana delegates when he made a special appearance to discuss the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

Mr Rasool said: "Some of the things that Albie said about the relationship between the state and religion came across as extremely fascinating to Muslims who were reassured by many of the points he made.

"He said the most realistic option was probably for a secular state related to religion in such a way that certain avenues of religious life were left to various religious communities to have autonomy over — with the state actually assisting religion in other spheres of life. He discounted a fourth option which was an atheistic state hostile to religion," said Mr Rasool.

The three-day conference brought together 143 Muslim organisations — some who had been at loggerheads for years — to discuss Muslim contribution to the formation of a new South Africa.

CAT TIPS 9/5/90

Nelson Mandela's bid to free boys

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela, while still in prison, had made a fruitless attempt to have four kidnapped youths — allegedly assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela at her Soweto home — placed in the care of his attorney, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was revealed by one of the four, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 20, when he testified in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, of Soweto, charged with murdering teenage activist, "Stompie" Moe-ketsi Seipei.

Mr Mandela had instructed his attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, to remove the four from the Mandela home, where they were allegedly being kept against their will, Mr Mono said in his evidence-in-chief.

But when Mr Ayob went to the Mandela home, Mr Richardson had refused to allow the youths to be taken away.

Mr Mono, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 30, Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, 21, and 14-year-old Stompie, were allegedly abducted in December 1988 by members of the Mandela United Football Club from a

Court told of assaults at house

Soweto Methodist Church, and taken to the Mandela home in Diepkloof Extension, Soweto.

Stompie's decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early in January last year. It has emerged in testimony that Stompie had been accused of "selling out" to police four comrades who were shot dead at Parys.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder, one of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and five of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. He was a member of the Mandela United Football Club.

Mr Mono also told the court Mr Richardson had instructed the youths not to reveal in a statement they were to make to a Johannesburg attorney, Mr Krish

Naidoo, that they had been assaulted at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Richardson, however, told them to mention in their statement that they had had a sexual relationship with the Rev Paul Verryn, who had been in charge of the Soweto Methodist Church.

They were also told by Mr Richardson to say they had been staying at Mrs Mandela's house because they objected to the sexual relationship with the priest.

In January 1989 the youths were taken to a Soweto medical practitioner, Dr Nthato Motlana, for treatment, but the doctor did not treat them for assaults allegedly inflicted on them by Mrs Mandela and the team members, Mr Mono told the court.

Dr Motlana later took the youths to Mr Naidoo's Johannesburg offices, from where the attorney and a Methodist priest, Bishop Peter Storey, took them to a meeting in Soweto.

They told the meeting about the assaults that took place on them at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Mono reiterated under cross-examination yesterday that he and the three other abducted youths had been assaulted by Mrs Mandela. — Sapa

Briefing of cadres on agenda

Mandela sets out on Africa tour today

BIDay. 9/15/90

11A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on a 12-day, six-nation tour of African countries today — hard on the heels of President F W de Klerk's departure for Europe.

Mandela is expected to brief Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres on the ANC's recent discussions with government and on decisions taken regarding their return to SA.

He will also give the ANC national executive in-depth feedback on the Cape Town talks.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Ahmed Kathrada said last night Mandela's trip was a continuation of his February tour, which took him to Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Sweden.

With regard to De Klerk's European tour, Kathrada said he could only repeat statements by Mandela and secretary general Alfred Nzo at the weekend that the ANC's strategy on the diplomatic isolation of SA had not changed.

Mandela was attempting to respond to at least some of the invitations he had received since his release, said Kathrada.

His itinerary would only be released today. However, Kathrada said Zambia was the only country Mandela would be visiting for a second time.

Sapa reports that a discussion of government's objections to the release of 200 MK cadres will be high on Mandela's agenda.

Key MK operatives are still in exile and are considered by the ANC to be essential not only to the security of the ANC leadership but also to a "new" SADF.

An ANC spokesman said the release of all political prisoners and the demand for a general amnesty to facilitate the return of

Business Day Reporter

ANC exiles were essential to the reconstruction of the ANC inside SA.

Any delay by government in lifting the state of emergency, releasing all political prisoners and granting a general amnesty to all exiles would be interpreted as a delaying strategy, the spokesman said.

Mandela's African trip — coming so soon after his previous one, and amid pressure to squeeze it in before his talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in July — is considered necessary by the ANC if it is to become fully operational in SA as an unbanned organisation before its national conference on December 16.

TANIA LEVY reports that De Klerk said at Jan Smuts Airport last night SA was in the process of taking its rightful place in the international community.

SA, which had been subject to pressure for a very long time, had an important story to tell. Although he had never believed the reasons for the pressure were sound, these reasons had fallen away.

De Klerk said he would tell European heads of state that instead of interference SA needed encouragement and constructive involvement, because South Africans would find a solution for SA.

"If we do not want poverty to take over, we need international recognition of SA's and southern Africa's economic potential," he said.

There was no doubt that close co-operation between African states lay ahead, and the southern African region represented tremendous potential for overseas trading partners.

sta 9/5/79

Azapo leaders to hold talks in Harare

The central committee of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will visit Harare this week for a three-day consultation with the Black Consciousness Movement in Zimbabwe.

Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, said yesterday that the committee would arrive in Harare on Friday.

The return of exiles to South Africa would be among the issues for discussion.

Mr Moodley said the Azanian

114 Youth Organisation would hold a rally at Medunsa in GaRankuwa on Sunday.

The Azanian Student Movement and Azapo would launch branches in Umlazi, Durban, on the same day.

These activities would reaffirm and re-state Azapo's position as a mass-based organisation entirely independent of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Moodley said. — Sapa.

~~Star~~

21A

Star 9/5/90

Constitution a problem - Sachs

CAPE TOWN — A fundamental problem in drawing up a new constitution was how to cater for the country's enormous cultural, linguistic and religious diversity while ensuring common unity and equal rights for all, ANC legal department member Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape, Mr Sachs said he had decided to make his first public speech, since his return from exile, in a "liberated zone in Cape Town".

He stressed he was not speaking as an ANC spokesman, "but just as Albie".

He said many whites had been frightened into believing that everything would be nationalised by the ANC, but this was a misconception. — Sapa.

RCU 9/5/90

Sachs tells of pain and memories of 'struggle'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

RETURNING African National Congress member and former Cape Town advocate Mr Albie Sachs says he is not ready for freedom yet because of the pain, memories and habits instilled by "the struggle".

Mr Sachs, the movement's constitutional expert, was speaking at the University of the Western Cape yesterday, his first public meeting since returning to South Africa.

A freedom song was sung and he was given a clenched fist salute. The right-hand sleeve of his jersey was empty — a reminder of the car bomb that almost claimed his life in Maputo two years ago.

He said: "I'm not ready for freedom. There's still a lot of pain and memories, a lot of the habits. We survived in the struggle because we adapted to the situation of resistance; we developed a mentality and discipline of resistance.

"We learnt how to work in the underground, how not to use telephones, how to give secret messages, how to communicate with each other."

PEOPLE DIFFERENT

Discussing white attitudes, Mr Sachs said: "You can see who still runs Cape Town. But one thing has changed... the people are different, the outlook, the relations, the confidence, the spirit.

"Even in my sojourns into white Cape Town the experience has been far more positive than I had expected."

He had encountered a sense of white liberation, the beginnings of a new kind of white role.

"This is far more positive than I had anticipated and these are some of the guarantees of a new South Africa."

He said he had decided to make his first return speech at UWC "for what you are, for what you've done, but also for what you have become".

THE presence of a Communist Party leader at last week's historic talks between the ANC and Government has triggered a flashing red light which Christians could not ignore, Die Kerkbode, official mouthpiece of the NG Kerk, warned in its latest editorial.

Die Kerkbode said peace at any cost was not acceptable. There was a price for peace which was too high to pay as certain values remained non-negotiable.

Die Kerkbode said it was grateful for progress made on the road to peace in South Africa, but warned about early euphoria.

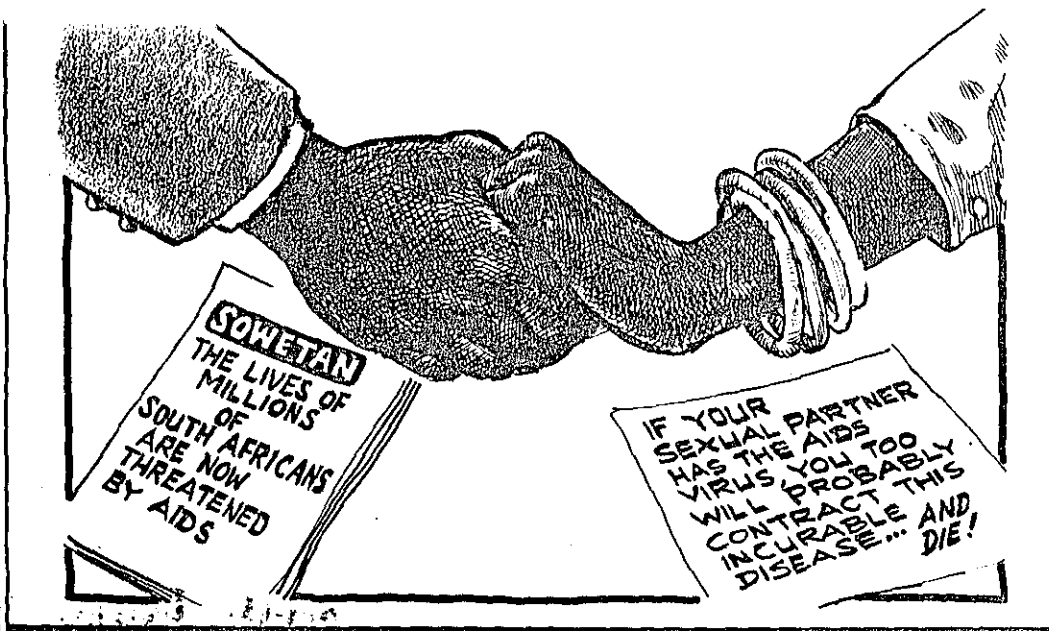
It was important that the church should state the basic Christian requirements of a new constitution.

The church and Christians remained opposed

Slovo's presence worries Kerkbode

to communism. The position of communists had recently changed drastically worldwide but communists remained atheistic and the church had to take a definite stand against atheism.

The prominent place taken by a Communist Party leader — referring to Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party — at last week's talks between the Government and the ANC has left a red light flashing that cannot be ignored, Die Kerkbode said. — Sapa



Question: Do you have a specific date by which exiles should start returning to South Africa?

Selebi: No, we don't have a deadline because quite a number of things have to be sorted out before an effective process of repatriation can be effected. There is still, for example, the question of guarantees everybody would like to have: immunity from prosecution.

Conditions do not exist today that would permit exiles to return safely. Of course the leadership of the ANC met with the South African regime last week to look at these issues. As soon as we receive the outcome of these talks we will be able to gauge the situation and make proper arrangements.

Rebuilding

We have already started preparations for the return of exiles but these are still in the teething stages in the sense that a number of issues, particularly political ones, need to be sorted out first. In this regard we have to ask ourselves, for instance, what we do with the Terrorism Act that is still in existence in South Africa. The Internal Security Act is also still in place and the question we face is whether exiles can return home while these repressive laws are still in operation.

We will also have to discuss who is going to assist the ANC with the return of an estimated 20 000 exiles. In addition, we have to consider that all South Africans now in foreign countries are not members of the ANC.

Appeal

The ANC wants all South Africans living abroad to return home. Now we also have to deal with the question of whether the ANC would have the capacity to assist with the return of all these people. We estimate that there are about 400 000 emigrants of South African origin in virtually every corner of the world. If the ANC cannot assist these people then we will have to find organisations or international agencies to assist us.

I want to stress here that the ANC will encourage every South African to return home to help with the rebuilding of a new country, especially those who have acquired special skills overseas and who now have a very important role to play in South Africa. The ANC is offering its assistance to everybody who wants to return - even those who are not part of the ANC.

Mechanics of homecoming

Sowetan 9/15/90

320 (11)

LUSAKA - The African National Congress is currently sorting out serious questions about the return of an estimated 20 000 ANC exiles from countries all over the world. In an exclusive interview with the *Africa News Organisation* in Zambia this week, the co-ordinator of the ANC's repatriation committee, Mr Jackie Selebi, explains the problems his committee has to deal with in working out an effective repatriation programme.

FOCUS

That is how serious we feel about the issue of the return of not only ANC exiles but all South Africans who left the country. We must build the country together and cannot leave it to a few people.

These are some of the most important questions the repatriation committee will have to sort out before the big homecoming starts.

Question: But what will you do with the ANC exiles once they are back in South Africa? How will you care for them - provide food, jobs and housing for so many people?

Selebi: Yes, the question of accommodation for returnees and the creation of employment are thorny issues indeed. Obviously, life back home will be different from life in exile. In exile international agencies are assisting liberation movements and they take care of our daily needs such as food and shelter.

Vanguard

The ANC itself runs projects to assist with these needs. But I doubt whether these agencies would be there inside South Africa to render further assistance. The ANC will have to sit down and see what it can do for its membership once they are back home. But it is important that we do what we can for the people of

South Africa and not only for the ANC.

Those who are in our ranks are the vanguard of the South African revolution. So they will appreciate having to experience some deprivation because it will be necessary to cater for all people. We cannot provide proper housing for returnees but the rest of our people suffer in squatter camps such as KTC, Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

Regarding job creation for returnees, you should remember that all of us have one big task and that is the building of the ANC. This does not only mean building the political structures the ANC is involved in. I imagine that the ANC will have to run projects inside South Africa.

It will have to purchase land in order to create employment for some returnees. But obviously, we will also have to employ some of them in the political structures of the ANC.

Question: Do you envisage the return of exiles after constitutional negotiations have started or once a new South African is in place?

Selebi: Exiles should return now. If conditions exist in South Africa I am sure they will even return home today. They understand that their role is to engage in the struggle. Now that there is an opening that permits people to engage in the struggle inside South Africa, I believe all of us are ready to leave now and take part in the struggle.

We are not waiting for a fur-

mula to be found and then return. We want to return as soon as possible because all forms of struggle are still in place in South Africa. We would still need to be involved in mass activity and even the armed struggle if it need be.

Question: Do you envisage a situation where ANC returnees would be placed in transit camps as had been the case in Namibia when Swapo refugees returned last year?

Selebi: Frankly speaking no decision has been made on that issue. But knowing the sort of people I am dealing with, I don't think they would want to go to a transit camp. I would also advise against transit camp because these people want to be involved in the struggle. If you put them in transit camps you are isolating them from the people and the struggle.

We would certainly prefer that people move into the regions and the structures of the ANC. Besides that, I think transit camps would be very dangerous in terms of the security situation in South Africa.

It is not like in Namibia where Untag could provide the necessary protection for returnees. With the kind of noises we hear from the racist groupings in South Africa it would be unwise to put our people into a structure which would be an easy target for the trigger-happy right wingers.

Question: Almost 200 Natal refugees are currently in Zambia in the care of the ANC. Would they also form part of your repatriation programme?

Selebi: Yes.

'Mandela could be president in

WASHINGTON - It was possible that a new government headed by President Nelson Mandela could be in power by the end of next year, according to a South African

Sowetan 915790

Govt pact'

11A
Sowetan

academic.

Dr Hendrik van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies of the University of Cape Town, made this prediction at a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington on Monday

Three years ago, Van der Merwe predicted at the Carnegie Endowment that South Africa was drifting towards negotiations between all the various groups involved in the country. He also foresaw the National Party moving to the policy positions of the Progressive Federal Party.

Speech

In his speech this week, he warned that the leaders of the NP and the ANC might come to an agreement which they would be unable to sell to their various constituencies.

President FW de Klerk

had promised he would test any agreement with the white voters, and there was a danger that he might not be able to get it through that test, he said.

Mandela was also running the risk that he would alienate the black youth and more militant elements of black society by making concessions in negotiations with the NP.

Nonetheless, Van der Merwe said he expected both sides to make major concessions.

He did not believe a future constitution for

South Africa would contain any racial protections. Such protection was possible in Zimbabwe 10 years ago, but no longer feasible in South Africa of today, he said.

Van der Merwe said the eventual true political division in South Africa would not be along racial lines but along differences over the form of economic system the country should have.

R5 000 heist in Durban

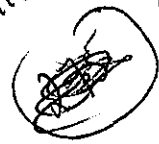
A gang of armed robbers made off with about R5 000 after holding up a Durban shopkeeper.

Police said the robbers armed with guns entered Jabula Tea Room in South Coast Road and held up Mr Rajkumar Ramruthan (60) at about 6pm on Monday night.

PAC, ANC row blamed for fatal shooting

11A

Sowetan
9/5/90



THE widow of the special constable shot dead in Crossroads on Saturday believes he was killed because of his strong pro- Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) views which often led to bitter exchanges with others.

Mr Mostert Ngozi, 48, who worked at the nearby Crossroads committee offices, was gunned down about 5pm in the troubled township on Saturday.

He was shot through the stomach and head and died at the Crossroads police station before he could be taken to hospital.

Widow

The dead man's widow, Mrs Nolusapho Ngozi, 40, of Section Three, said her husband had been off-duty and was at a house when two men he knew asked him to accompany them to another part of the township.

She said the three went outside and a few minutes later a youth told her that her husband had been shot dead; about seven houses from their shack.

"When we went to the scene he was lying in a pool of blood but was still alive. He died at the police station before he could be taken to hospital. He had holes in the

SOWETAN Correspondent

stomach and forehead," she said.

She said a man was later arrested.

Mrs Ngozi said her husband who supported the PAC often quarreled with ANC supporters.

Differences

On many occasions they nearly come to blows because of their ideological differences.

She said her husband never took sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his rival Mr Jeffrey Nongwe because he "despised them."

Mrs Ngozi was adamant that her husband's slaying was directly connected to his political views.

She said although her husband had never been a PAC member, he supported the organisation "with all his heart."

Father of five, her husband had never wanted to be a special constable but had joined the controversial force in 1986 as he had been unemployed for a long period.

He had often spoken against the force's alleged abuses, much to the dismay of some of his colleagues, she claimed.

Funeral arrangements have not been made.

Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, leader of the 14

breakaway headmen said yesterday demands by Crossroads residents that the Crossroads committee be dissolved had not been met.

However, residents who marched to the Nyanga police station on Sunday had been assured that a response to their demands would soon be available.

Azapo to see the BCMA in Harare

11A
Soweto
9/5/90

MEMBERS of Azapo's central committee will visit Harare for a three-day consultative conference with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, writes ISMAIL LAGARDIEN.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley yesterday said the meeting was intended to consolidate the movement's external membership.

Azapo and the BCMA would also discuss how to respond to the issue of the return of exiles following recent political developments in South Africa.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala is touring Europe and North America, Moodley said.

Since State of Emergency restrictions on Azapo were lifted on February 2, Azapo has successfully held two regional congresses, one in the Northern Transvaal and another in the Eastern Cape.

On Sunday, Azapo will hold a rally at Hall 2b, Medunsa, at 9am and Azapo, Azapo and Azasm will launch branches in Umlazi, Durban.

Azapo's women's

movement, Imbeleko, is to hold its annual congress in Soweto on Saturday and Sunday.

Moodley said the activities of the Black Consciousness movement "reaffirm the position that Azapo is a mass based organisation which is entirely different from the ANC and PAC."

After the recent launch of branches in Durban North West and KwaNdebele, Moodley said Azapo was looking forward to establishing structures in Northern Natal, Natal Midlands and Southern Natal.

Masemola death seen as possible faction murder

CHE Times 9/5/70
Own Correspondent *(112)*

LONDON. — The PAC may have plunged into a fresh bout of bloody feuding with founder member Mr Jafa Masemola already one of the victims, the journal Africa Confidential said yesterday.

The journal said Mr Masemola's death in a car crash, shortly after his release from 27 years in prison, when he grew close to Mr Nelson Mandela, was being investigated by the PAC and ANC as a "possible murder".

Mr Masemola had been criticised within the PAC amid speculation that he might do a political deal with Mr Mandela.

The "theory" of internal warring in the PAC was supported by the murder of PAC member Mr Sam Chand with four members of his family and a watchman when his house at Siwame, Botswana, was bombed on April 23.

Three PAC members had also been detained in Zambia after escaping from a PAC "resettlement camp" at Tabora, Tanzania. The three had been confined to the Tanzanian camp because they remained loyal to a faction founded by Mr David Sebeko, who was killed by a bomb more than 10 years ago.

PAC sources in London, who were asked to comment on the Africa Confidential claims, confirmed there was "some turmoil" and lack of proper communication between the internal and external factions.

One source said the Tanzanian government was "disturbed" by "differences" between PAC factions in the country.

Masemola death seen as possible faction murder

CAG Times 9/5/90 (11A)
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The PAC may have plunged into a fresh bout of bloody feuding with founder member Mr Jafta Masemola already one of the victims, the journal Africa Confidential said yesterday.

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Albie Sachs goes back to prison

CNT
Times
9/5/70
11A

Staff Reporter

ALBIE Sachs went back to Caledon Square police station yesterday — the place where he spent 168 days in solitary confinement in 1963.

The visit was part of a nostalgic trip through the city, to which he returned at the weekend after 24 years in exile.

Mr Sachs, who works in the ANC's legal and constitutional department, also visited District Six — where he plucked a stem of grass as a "sad memento" — Woodstock and KTC squatter camp.

At KTC he saw an ANC membership card for the first time, explaining that "in the underground we didn't have them".

The situation in the townships was the same as when he had left, he said, with workers getting up very early to go to work.

Mr Sachs said he had seen photographs of the destruction at District Six and had been prepared for the sight, but added, "this is criminal ... there is no other word for it".

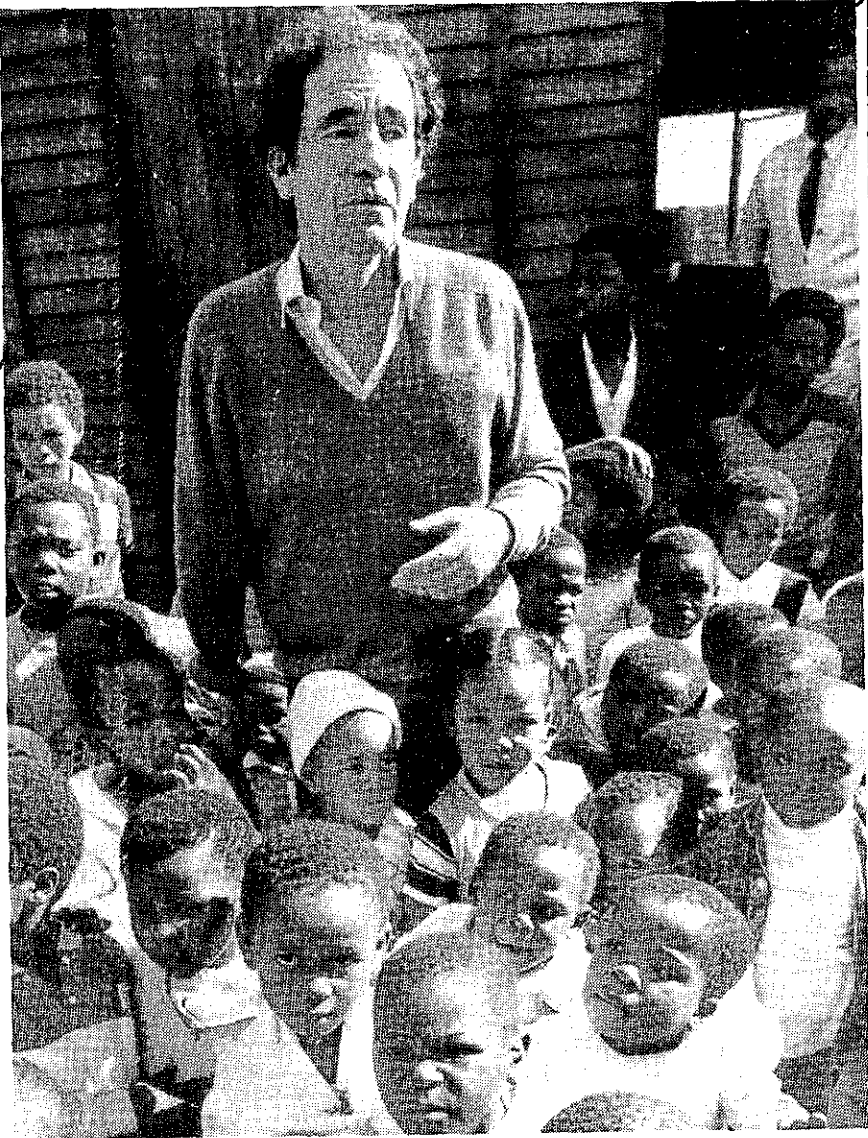
"It is difficult to accept that a whole community has been pushed out."

He compared the destruction of District Six to the amputation of his arm, saying, "my soft vengeance is freedom and democracy in South Africa ... it is happening now".

At the Grand Parade, Mr Sachs recounted his memories of ANC meetings in the sixties, when speakers had addressed crowds from the backs of trucks.

Earlier at Caledon Square a police sergeant had tried to stop the contingent accompanying him from entering the police station. Yesterday was "the first time I voluntarily entered a police station", he remarked.

The last time he was at Caledon Square was when he had been detained under the old 90-day detention law.



BIG WELCOME . . . ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs is mobbed by children on a visit to KTC yesterday. Picture: OBED ZILWA

Unity in diversity the key — Sachs

Staff Reporter

ONE of the fundamental problems in drawing up a new constitution for South Africa was how to cater for the country's enormous cultural, linguistic and religious diversity while at the same time ensuring common unity and equal rights for all, ANC legal department member Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape to a tumultuous welcome by several hundred students, Mr Sachs said the idea of a united South Africa was not a physical or territorial matter, "it is unity we want, unity of the people".

Any future constitution had to reconcile equal rights and non-racialism with the need for equal distribution of wealth, Mr Sachs said.

On nationalisation he said many whites had been frightened into believing that everything would be nationalised by the ANC, but this was a misconception.

Nationalisation was not "taking from whites but ensuring that in the future there will be equal benefits".

Principles of affirmative action should be built into the constitution and the fight for freedom should take place on an individual and national level, Mr Sachs told the students.

Maimed priest vows on rights

HARARE. — An anti-apartheid priest maimed in a parcel bomb attack in the Zimbabwean capital last week has vowed to continue fighting for human rights, the national newspaper *The Herald* said yesterday.

Father Michael Lapsley lost his right hand, right eye and most of his left hand while opening the parcel posted in South Africa nine days ago.

The Anglican priest is a member of the ANC.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is among those who have said South African rightists could have been behind the attack.

He said his resolve as a Christian and an ANC member had been strengthened after the bomb attack. — Sapa-Reuter

Pep up for Pepco

THE Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) has dropped the word "black" from its name as members felt it had a racist connotation.

This was announced at the organisation's annual meeting held at the Great Centenary Hall in Port Elizabeth last weekend.

The organisation will now be known as the Port Elizabeth People's Civic Organisation (Pepco).

Committee members came in for sharp criticism, and almost the entire executive failed to be re-elected after allegations that they had not been accountable in their contacts with the Ibhayi City Council. See LIC/5-16/5/90

The only member to be re-elected was president Henry Fazzie. (S) (11A)

The new executive members are Thozamile Magqabi (vice-chairperson), Dumile Makanda (recording secretary), Mike Tofile (secretary general), Tembi Mbiyabo (assistant secretary general), Pat Madalana (treasurer) and Jerry Sulelo (organising secretary).

Harry Kani, Mnyamezeli Shwempe and Lungile Phillips were elected as additional executive members. — PEN

ANC to register colours, symbols and logo

81504 10/1/90 (11A)

ALAN FINE

THE ANC is to register as patents its colours, logos and other symbols — to raise funds, local regional convener Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday.

Motlanthe, a former political prisoner and now a senior NUM education department official, was speaking in Johannesburg at the opening of the office from which ANC activities in the Witwatersrand/Pretoria/Vaal region will be co-ordinated.

He announced the beginning of an intensive, month-long recruiting drive in the region, starting from Monday.

The purpose of patenting "trademarks" was "to ensure that merchants cashing in

on our popularity do so with our approval" and to assist the ANC to become financially self-sufficient.

Motlanthe said ANC structures would themselves get involved in the production and distribution of ANC products. Details were not yet available.

Sapa reports that an ANC delegation led by deputy president Nelson Mandela jettied out of Lanseria Airport, between Johannesburg and Pretoria, at 5.20pm yesterday, after forgotten passports had delayed their six-nation African tour by 90 minutes.

After attending several meetings yester-

day, Mandela and his wife Winnie arrived at Lanseria without their passports.

"The delegation was already behind schedule and any further delay would have necessitated a fresh flying crew due to international flying time regulations," an airport official said.

This would have further delayed the tour by several hours so emergency travel documents were provided.

ANC spokesman and head of information Ahmed Katharada said the delegation would stop over in Lusaka before heading for Angola on Friday, and then to Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt and Libya.

● Comment: Page 6

Communists dominate ANC, claims London report

SA 10/5/88
By CHRIS WHITFIELD

(11A)

LONDON — The South African Communist Party (SACP) has taken virtually every position of influence in the ANC, according to a report published in London.

The Africa Confidential newsletter claims that earlier this year only eight of the ANC's 35 national executive committee were not members of the SACP.

It says in its May 4 edition that the unbanning of the party has exposed it to a dilemma.

Coming above ground and revealing its membership would "confirm Pretoria's well-worn accusation that the party, during Nelson Mandela's long incarceration, came to dominate the ANC".

"In effect, the party and the ANC have ceased to be two allied organisations and have become one

body with two heads," says Africa Confidential.

"All party members are also members of the ANC.

"The party uses the ANC as a pool in which to recruit the best and the brightest for membership. It is essentially a parasitic relationship."

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Chris Hani are thought to have masterminded the SACP domination of the ANC.

Before Mr Mandela's release in February, only the following of the national executive committee were not SACP members: Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise, Thomas Nkobi, Pallo Jordan, Mzwai Piliso, Ruth Mompati, Joe Nhlanhla and Jackie Molefe.

The newsletter says that "if the party were to reveal its membership, it would reveal many of the

same faces who have become known as ANC members".

It asks what black communists such as Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and Alfred Nzo would do if they had to choose between the party and the ANC.

"The real mass power-base in South Africa is with supporters of national liberation, and our guess is that shrewd politicians would choose the ANC rather than the party."

It speculates that "non-blacks" such as Joe Slovo, Reg September and Mac Maharaj, who would have little chance of cultivating a mass following in South Africa, would stay with the SACP.

"We estimate that when the chips are down, they alone will show themselves to be true Marxist-Leninists, whose first loyalty is always to the Communist Party"

VI

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8/10/5/99
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Mandela flies out on 12-day tour to brief leaders, exiles

Staff Reporter

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela left on a 12-day tour of Africa yesterday to brief exiled ANC members and African leaders on the talks his organisation held with the Government last week.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and two security guards, Mr Mandela's entourage left from Lanseria Airport about 90 minutes after their scheduled time of departure because the Mandelas had left their passports at home.

This is Mr Mandela's second African tour since his release in February.

Mr Mandela and his wife had attended several meetings, some unscheduled, during the day, and in the rush forgot about their passports.

The first stop on Mr Mandela's five-nation tour is the Zambian capital of Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

Projects

From Lusaka Mr Mandela will proceed to Angola, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt before returning home.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said Mr Mandela would hold talks with heads of state in the countries he would visit, confer with ANC members in these countries, and inspect the organisation's projects.

A Lanseria Airport official said yesterday that the ANC delegation was already behind schedule when the Mandelas arrived at the airport.

He said that any further delay would have necessitated a fresh flying crew due to international flying time regulations.

The Mandelas, according to the airport official, were issued with emergency travel documents after explaining their plight to immigration officials at the airport.

Shortly before their departure, Mrs Mandela told journalists they were "in such a hurry packing and thinking of other things" that she forgot their passports.

11A

Get PAC into talks - DP chief

Sowetan 10/5/90

11A

[scribble]

THE removal of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation should be carried out impartially, Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitutional Development Vote, he said it was important to show that stumbling blocks were not being removed merely to the satisfaction of the ANC.

There was no way the PAC could be excluded from the negotiating process and it would be a mistake not to take all possible steps to draw them into the pre-talks stage.

For example, there were about 20 000 exiled ANC supporters who had to return. Was there any indication of how many

SAPA

PAC supporters were in the same category?

It was known that over the past month there had been an informal arrangement between the ANC and the Government to liaise with the ANC before any security action was taken against possible supporters of the movement.

Positive

This was a positive development, but what of the PAC?

If there was dialogue only between the Government and the ANC, there was a risk of establishing a new security government run jointly by the NP and the ANC. This would be fatal for SA, he said.

Sowetan
10/5/90

African tour for Nelson

(11A)

A DELEGATION of the African National Congress left Johannesburg yesterday afternoon at the start of an African tour by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The delegation comprises Mandela, his wife Winnie, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and two security guards.

The flight - originally due to depart at 4pm - was delayed by the late arrival of the Mandelas, as well as the fact that they had forgotten their passports at home, officials at Lanseria airport, outside Johannesburg, said.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents and the plane eventually took off at 5.20pm.

Members of the delegation said at the airport the first stop would be Lusaka, while the delegation would leave for Angola on Friday. - Sapa.

Move to probe jailings

THE Mass Democratic Movement and the Venda Council for National Unity will set up a joint committee to define political prisoners held in the territory.

This was announced in a statement issued after a meeting between the MDM and the Council in Thohoyandou this week.

The statement said the committee would also look at ways of ensuring the speedy lifting of the state of emergency — imposed in Venda when Col Gabriel Ramushwana took over the government in a coup last month.

Tuesday's meeting followed a similar one held between the council and the ANC in Lusaka on Sunday, at which both parties agreed to further meetings.

Structures

When Ramushwana took over last month, youths supporting ANC ground structures in the area rejected him, alleging he was a "Pretoria man" brought in to save the crumbling Ravele regime.

An ANC supporter who was appointed to the new Cabinet, Headman Thivhulkawi Makumbane, had to resign after members of the Tshgisaulu Youth Congress told him the council was "an oppressive machinery of the white state".

The two meetings have raised doubts about consultation between the top ANC and MDM leadership and the grassroots structures. Many youths still reject Ramushwana and point to the state of emergency and the ban on trade unions as examples of oppression. Sapa



GUEST SPEAKER: ANC national executive committee member and Western Cape convener Reggie September was the guest speaker at a graduation ceremony at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville South last week. Here a robed September (second from left) stands with (from left) Pentech rector Franklin Sonn, Mr AP Staak of Pentech's engineering faculty, and ANC Western Cape deputy convener, Mr Trevor Manuel

THERE is "tremendous enthusiasm" for the African National Congress in the Western Cape and people are joining in their thousands, the organisation reports.

ANC branches are to be established soon in the Western Cape region, which stretches from Namaqualand to Plettenberg Bay.

Western Cape interim committee member Ms Amy Thornton said this week that the organisation's main task was to keep up with demands for membership cards.

"We have a whole new

Thousands join as ANC form branches

South 10/5 - 16/5/90

ballgame; no-one has experience of this kind of work," Thornton said.

"When the ANC was legal in the 1950s, it was not as sophisticated as it is today. There were no offices and many people were members by association and did not have membership cards.

"Our people are learning skills such as administration, structure and organi-

sation as they go along."

Thornton said people were "happily" paying their R12 annual membership fees. Most zones in the Western Cape region had met and elected interim coordinating committees.

It is expected that branches will be formed in some zones within the next few weeks.

The Manenberg region of

the ANC will sign up new members at the Moravian Creche in Manenberg Avenue between 2pm and 6pm on Sunday.

Invitations have been sent out to residents in Bonteheuwel to attend a signing-up public meeting in the Civic Centre at 3.30pm on Sunday. It is expected that a Bonteheuwel branch will be launched in two weeks' time.

Mitchells Plain zone spokesperson Logan Wort said more than 400 people attended a meeting there on Sunday.

In Namaqualand, an ANC office will be opened by next week, a spokesperson for the zone reports.

In Port Nolloth, 89 people joined the ANC last week and more than 100 are reportedly waiting on membership cards in Garies.

PE News reports that the ANC membership in the Eastern Cape already exceeds 7 000.

ANC names 'working group' (1/A)

THE ANC has named its members to serve on the working group established at last week's three-day talks with the government.

Besides proposing a definition of political offences, the working group will make recommendations on mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and immunity for exiles. Small 1215-16590

The ANC members are Jacob Zuma, Aziz Pahad, Joe Nhlahla, Matthew Phosa, Penuel Maduna and UDF national chairperson, Curnick Ndlovu.

The proceedings of the group will be confidential but its first report-back will be before May 21.

The ANC has started to report back on last week's talks.

ANC national organiser Mr Wilton Mkwayi visited Robben Island on Saturday to report back to political prisoners.

The prisoners' release is believed to have featured high on the agenda at the talks.

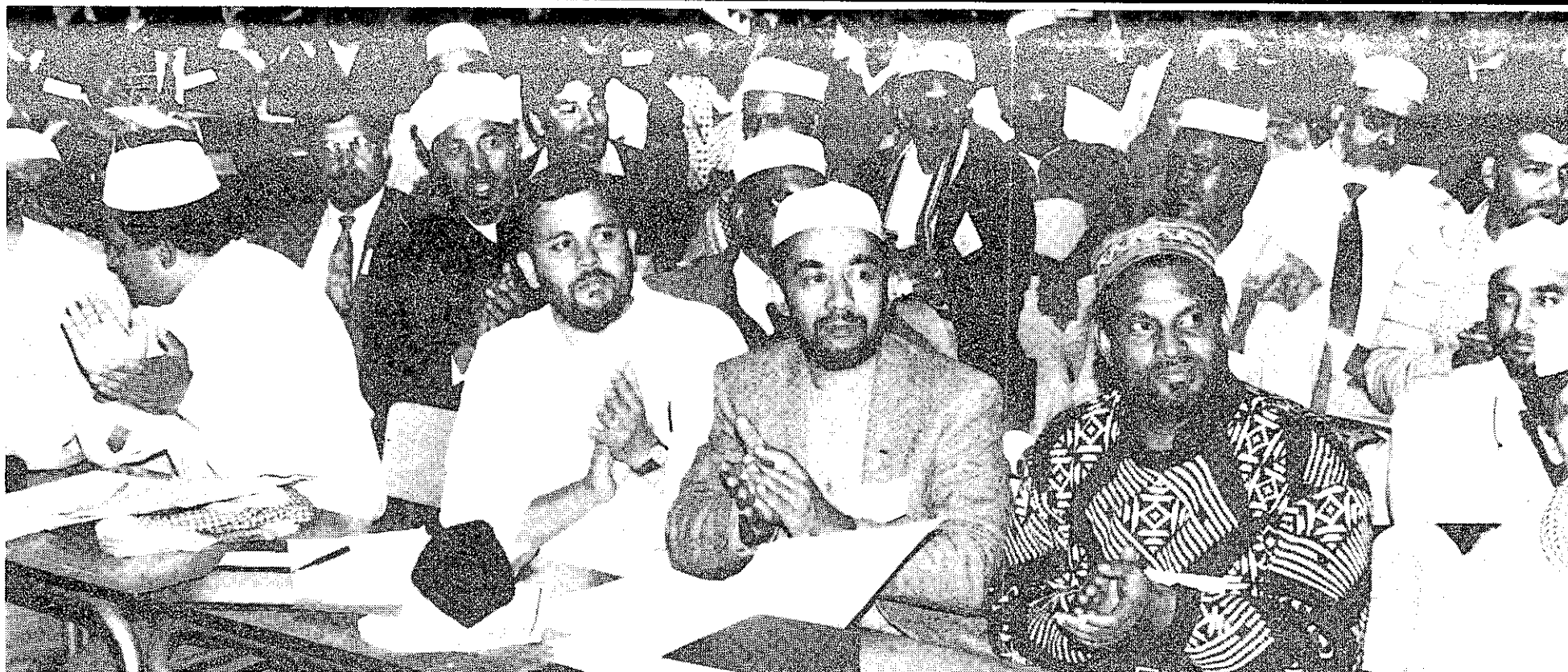
However, according to sources, releases will begin only later this

month after the working group's report is completed.

ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, on Wednesday embarked on a tour of ANC bases throughout Africa to report to cadres on the talks.

President FW de Klerk left South Africa on the same day to gain support in European capitals for the government's initiatives.

The ANC held a meeting with the UDF and Cosatu in the Western Cape last Saturday to brief them on the outcome of the talks.



Delegates at the National Muslim Conference

PICS: YUNUS MOHAMED

Muslim indaba on future

IT was, said a delegate, the Muslim version of the Conference for a Democratic Future, the meeting of organisations of vastly diverging political opinions which met in Johannesburg last December.

He was referring to the historic National Muslim Conference, held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend.

About 700 delegates and 200 observers from Muslim organisations from throughout South Africa addressed several critical issues on the theme, "Muslims in a future South Africa".

The meeting was unique as the organisers managed to draw under one roof Muslim organisations holding a diversity of religious views.

At times these seemed to diverge more widely than differences between Charterists and Africanists. Nevertheless, a spirit of goodwill and tolerance prevailed.

Negotiations

On the issue of negotiations, some delegates expressed the view that negotiations with an oppressive regime was acceptable if circumstances permitted and if the ultimate outcome was justice in the country.

Other delegates were opposed to negotiations, describing it as either irrelevant to Muslims or against the interests of "the oppressed South African (Muslim) community".

There was a general feeling that Muslims should interact with other communities to promote social justice in South Africa.

On proposals for a future constitution, several commissions deliberated on issues such as Muslim personal law, Muslim institutions, education, political rights, health and social Welfare, and the economy.

Women delegates held a special session on issues facing Muslim women in the South African society and expressed the need for representation on decision-making forums.

While the deliberations had a specific Islamic tone, political issues were dealt with as Muslims considered their role in and response to a new political dispensation.

Mr Barney Desai, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) coordinator for the Western Cape, and the African National Congress' (ANC) Mr Ahmed

Muslims from throughout South Africa met at an historic gathering in Cape Town from May 4 to 6 to exchange views on the role and position of Muslims in a new South Africa. NOEL BRUYNS reports:

Kathrada shared a platform to give their organisations' views on negotiations and the ANC's constitutional proposals.

Mr Dullah Omar appealed to Muslims to be part of the process of "deciding what kind of constitution we want".

Exiled ANC lawyer, Mr Albie Sachs, made a surprise appearance at the conference the day after his re-

turn to South Africa on Saturday and spoke about the role religion could have in an ANC constitution.

While unity was prevalent, the conference was enlivened by some radical organisations, epitomised in the Johannesburg-based al-Murabitun sect.

They are against negotiations — but not for the reasons which the PAC, for instance, entertain.

"The present situation is one of kafir (unbeliever) negotiating with kafir" — not on behalf of Islam, they argue.

They want to establish a Muslim state in South Africa and remain "uncontaminated" by the kuffar.

"It is not permissible for the Muslim to remain among the kuffar un-

less he is fighting Jihad (holy war) or actively calling them to Islam."

Al-Mubaritun delegate, Mr Abdallah Mndaweni, assured me they were "not extremists, but uncompromising".

Imam Rashied Omar said not only rightwing Christians showed "blatant religious bigotry".

"Conservative Muslims display a comparable amount of intolerance towards non-Muslims," he said.

Moulana Ebrahim Moosa, a lecturer at the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Cape Town, warned that terms such as "groups", "rights" and "minorities" had to be used with circumspection in South Africa.

"When religious people want to talk about freedom of religion (in a new constitution), this should not be misunderstood as a pretext for minority privileges," he warned.

A speaker, Mr Nazir Cassiem, addressing possibilities of an Islamic education in a post-apartheid South Africa, said immediate practical suggestions included the recognition

of matriculations from Islamic schools and the recognition of "Islamic subjects" as exemption subjects.

A future government should also be committed to allowing for the development of Islamic education at tertiary levels.

Messages of support came from throughout the world, including from the New York mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the government of Malaysia, and the South African Council of Churches.

No common plan of action, positions or resolutions were passed at the conference. It had been decided, when the conference was being planned, that it "would serve primarily as a forum for consultation and exchange of views for information and education".

It was agreed, however, that the national convening committee would investigate setting up a permanent body to carry on the work of the conference and plan further ones.



Ahmed Kathrada



Barney Desai

Religious groups must 'decide own freedoms'

THE ANC would like all religious denominations to help it write those sections of the constitution that guarantee the rights of religious communities and individual believers in a new South Africa.

This was said by ANC constitutional expert, Mr Albie Sachs, at the National Muslim Conference held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend.

"We have to start thinking about the possibility of convening a congress of religious organisations parallel to the general consultations and a constituent assembly that might be organised," Sachs said.

"As believers, our hope is that we will get together with Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and independent African sects, that you yourselves draw up a charter of religious rights and responsibilities in a new constitution."

Sachs felt there should not be a total separation between state and religion in a future South Africa.

"The reality of South Africa requires a much more active relationship between religious organisations and public power."

This did not mean the state would have the right to interfere in the area of religious observance.

"It's the right of believers to believe as they believe, and no one can tell anybody else how to believe. But there are a whole range of activities where all of us can only benefit through active collaboration," Sachs said.

Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's Western Cape coordinator, reiterated his organisation's rejection of negotiations "under the present conditions", saying that "what has not been won on the battlefield can never be won at the negotiating table".

Exercise

"We certainly do not see negotiations as another form of struggle, nor do we wish to engage in the futile exercise of building castles in the air about post-apartheid society," he said.

ANC stalwart Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who shared the platform with Desai, reported back on the "talks about talks" with the government. "We will be judging what the regime does and then decide, in consultation with our people,

whether we will proceed to the negotiating table or not — depending on the path the regime takes as a result of the talks concluded yesterday."

The ANC had not made a "sudden decision to rush to the table".

"The ANC since its foundation believed in a political solution to the problems of this country," Kathrada said.

Mr Dullah Omar, vice president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and chairperson of the Western Cape region of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), appealed to Muslims to be part of the constitution-making process.

"The ANC has done something that no liberation movement in Africa has ever done — to say to the people, it is your right to draw up a constitution. Here are our guidelines. Discuss and debate them, and decide in your forums what kind of institutions you want."

Omar said people should not accept the guidelines if there were aspects which did not suit them.

"That is why, in the process of constitution-making, Muslims — like everyone else — must participate in that debate," he said.

Shock defeat for Liverpool

By NAMEID NAVEG

LIVERPOOL, who suffered their first defeat against Matroosfontein last weekend, want to redeem themselves when they meet Norway Parks at the Athlone Stadium on Friday night.

It was a shock defeat for the league champions when the newly-promoted Matroosfontein beat them 2-1 at Westridge to head the Premier Division log.

Friday's curtain raiser will be a first-division clash between Gospelsites and Melchester of Hanover Park.

Matroosfontein will be the team to watch on Sunday when they take on Everton at Heideveld. Everton are second on the log; only a point separates them from the leaders.

Peninsula will find this weekend's clash in Grassy Park against Sea Point Swifts tough going. Swifts played to a 0-0 draw against Clarewood last week and should be in a goal-scoring mood.

Greenwood Athletic will host the luckless Strandfontein at Retreat.

Athletic caused a major upset when they thrashed the hitherto unbeaten Stephanians 2-0 in a game they dominated.

At Turfhall, Belthorn will oppose the well-knit Green Dolphin on Sunday.

Stephanians will host the youthful Clarewood at Athlone Stadium on Monday. The early game will be contested between Stellenbosch champions, Jamestown, and Wesley United, who dropped their first points when they drew against St Athens recently.

The inter-union Super League matches kick off on Saturday.

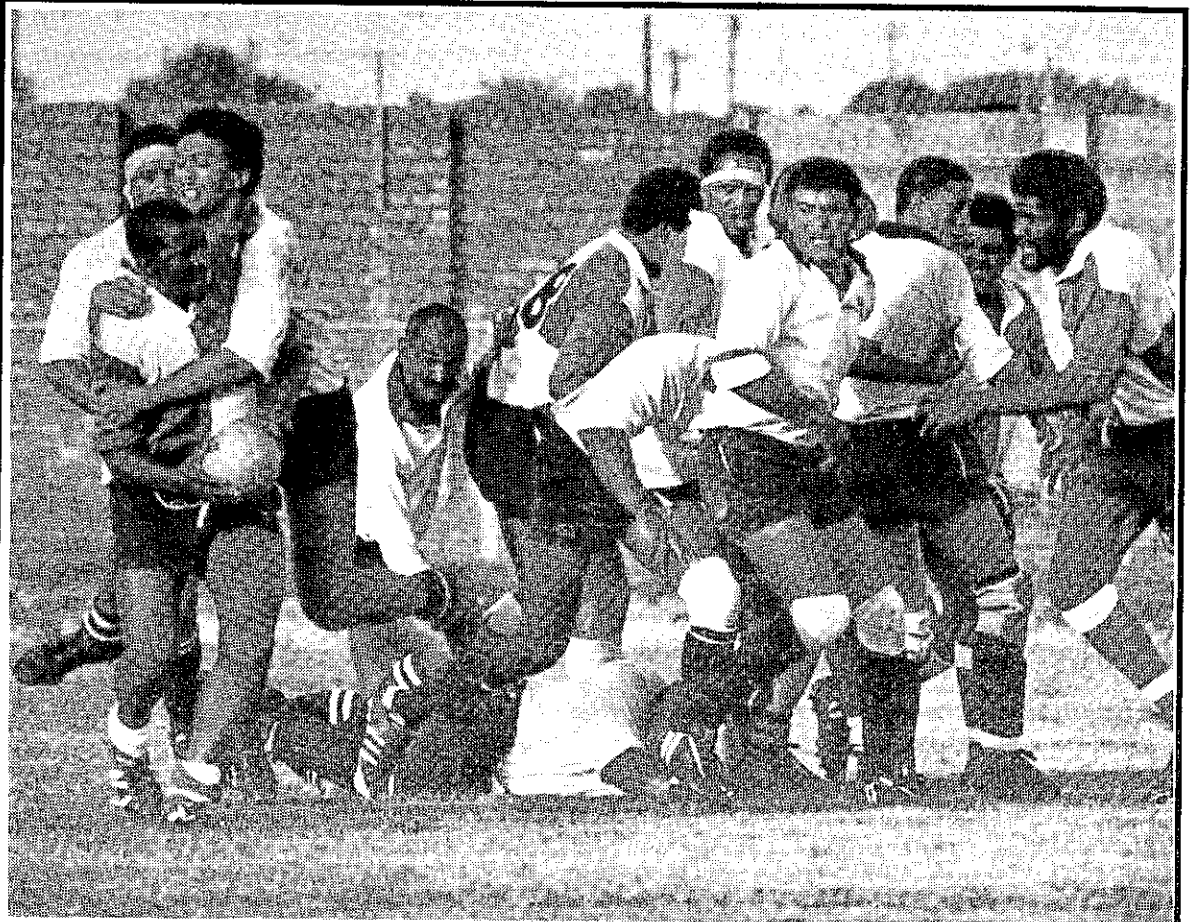
All Virginia games will therefore be played on Sunday.

Saturday May 12: William Herbert: 3pm Cape District vs Manenberg; 2pm Mitchells Plain vs Metropolitan; Rylands: 3.30pm FAWP vs Lentegeur; 2pm Central vs South Peninsula; Turfhall: 3.30pm Cape FA vs Retreat; 2pm Ocean View vs IDFA; Heideveld: 3.30pm Cape Flats vs Northerns; Kensington: 3.30pm WPFA vs Atlantis; Paarl: 3.30pm Paarl vs Woodlands.

Virginia Premier League

Sunday May 13: Grassy Park: 3.30pm Peninsula vs Sea Point Swifts; 2pm Square Hill vs St Athens; Heideveld: 3.30pm Everton vs Matroosfontein; 2pm Chelsea vs Berkley Celtic; Retreat: 3.30pm Greenwood Athletic vs Strandfontein; 2pm Bay View vs Turf United; Turfhall: 3.30pm Belthorn vs Green Dolphin; Rocklands: 3pm Aston Villa vs Double Foot Shooters; Ocean View: 3pm Ocean Spurs vs Aberdeen; 2pm Celton Spurs vs Moonlighters; Lentegeur: 3.30pm Standards vs St Elmo; Kensington: 3.30 Saxon Rovers vs Young Idols; Elsbury Park: 3.30 Trinitarians vs Blue Gum Rangers; Atlantis: 3.30pm Westfleur vs Goldburn.

Monday May 14: 8.30pm Stephanians vs Clarewood; 7pm Jamestown vs Wesley United



WP Board's Mkhusen Mhlanga tries to evade a tackle by Clive Mathee of Boland in their SA Cup encounters at Guguletu. Boland won 34-12

Boland a force to be reckoned with!

BOLAND coach Cupido Cupido had reason to smile after his side's comprehensive 34-14 win over WP Board in their opening game in Guguletu on Saturday.

"I was worried when the scores were locked at 14-all in the second half," he said.

"I knew that the Board would provide tough opposition. They certainly knocked us out of our stride with their disruptive tactics and shallow lying backs.

"However, once our forwards were able to assert themselves in the rucks and mauls, our backs were able to use

the quality possession with great effect," said Cupido.

Boland, who ran in seven tries to three, had wings Angus Lewis and John Vergotine to thank for their tally of tries. Lewis ran in four and Vergotine two, with Saru centre Ivan Jacobs completing the scoring.

Selwyn Isaacs converted only three times.

Board coach Sidwell Mzongwana had mixed feelings about his team's performance.

"It was a game of two distinct phases, with our forwards doing exceptionally well in the first half. But we faded badly

in the second half and allowed the Boland forwards to take control.

"Our backs allowed their counterparts too much latitude when first-time tackling was required. However we did manage three tries.

Mzongwana said he was heartened by the performance of WP Board's two newcomers, Yusuf Salie (wing), who scored two tries, and flanker Calvin Parker.

With two points from this game, Boland is expected to be a force in SA Cup rugby this season.

'Greek Gods' vie for position

From DUMILE MATEZA

JOHANNESBURG. — Hellenic make another visit to the Reef on Saturday to play Wits University at the Millpark Stadium.

Hellenic have not regained the form that made them one of the top league contenders last year.

They lost to Pretoria City at Eersterus in Pretoria last Sunday. In this weekend's game against the students, they will hope to salvage their position on the log.

Since tough talking Budgie Byrne abdicated — and the prolific scorer Mark Williams left for Jomo Cosmos — the "Greek Gods" are struggling to regain their winning streak away from home as they did last season.

But it should not be difficult for the players of the calibre of Reggie Jantjies, Taswald Human, John Sissons and Carlos Neves to change that situation.

Fariet de Goede and his pack of backs are able to stave off the Wits attack, led by midfielder and captain Rodney Anley. Wits, who have retained former Kaizer Chiefs striker Albert Bwalya could be difficult to beat after being held to a goalless draw by Grinaker Pubs last Sunday.

Bad patch

They have also been going through a bad patch lately. They have won only three out of 11 games. They are 12th on the log, while Hellenic are sixth.

Double Action Sundowns, whose image was dented by Moroko Swallows and Orlando Pirates, face the most unpredictable club, Fairway Stars in Phuth-

adichaba on Saturday.

Although they are only one point behind Amakhosi, they are still regarded as the Cinderella side in the league. But Sundowns, with an array of Stars such as Ernest Chirwali, Eric September and Lovemore Chafunya are likely to stem the tide.

Fairway Stars accounted for an enterprising Sharpblackpool when they beat them 1-0 at Mohlakeng in Randfontein.

On the other hand Sundowns, who lost 4-0 to Pirates, are likely to have Mark Anderson back in the team after a knee injury. Craig le Grange his replacement has been too suspect in goal against Pirates.

Victory

Stars could pull off a surprise victory. Kaizer Chiefs, in devastating form this season, face Sharpblackpool at the First National Bank Stadium on Saturday.

Since losing coach Eddie Lewis to Moroko Swallows towards the end of last season, Blackpool have never been the same. They have also lost a host of top players such as goalkeeper Nelson Castro, Benedict Lekopa and Andrew Raadsen.

But the signing of Lawrence Maake from Orlando Pirates could pay dividends as he gave a good account of himself against Kaizer Chiefs on Sunday.

Pirates, who play Superkurl Aces at KwaMhlanga in KwaNdebele will go into this match without star striker Albert Mhlangu, who is in London for the FA Cup final as part of his prize for winning the Addidas Topsport footballer of the year last season.

UWC makes a comeback

SUPER League champions UWC face a tough first match of the season when they play Hands and Hearts at the campus grounds on Saturday.

The students were last in action almost a month ago at the Top Eight competition at City Park, where they were suspended for fielding an ineligible player.

Hopefully they will have recovered from their long layoff because they are up against a fired-up Hands and Hearts side who are still unbeaten in the competition.

In spite of several injuries to key players, including their captain and Saru hooker Mervyn Samuels, the Kraaifontein team have sufficient depth in their ranks to make a strong challenge for honours.

They can still call on the services of former Saru player, Daniel "Spooky" September. A tussle with his opposite number, Irvine October, could be the highlight of the game.

October, the present Saru fullback, has a penchant for joining the backline and can add potency to this department alongside SA Cup centres, Anthony Appel and Trevor Jasper.

Tigers vs Belhar

Tigers — fresh from their surprise victory over Bellville — should be confident enough when they meet Belhar in the main game at Florida Park on Saturday.

While Belhar have shown promising form in the Grand Challenge competition, they are still without a league win. This could change if their forwards play with greater commitment and aggression.

They will certainly need this against a Tigers side led by a rejuvenated Abraham Jooste. With props "JC" Booyson and Saru player Cupido Manuel, they should at least gain their share of possession in the all-important rucks and mauls.

Belhar will look to the Frans brothers. Ronnie and Frankie and to Terence

Dean to provide them with the bulk of possession from the lineouts.

Both sides have good attacking players. Jerome Booyson, the Belhar fullback may have a crucial role to play for his side with his ability to turn defence into attack. For Tigers, wing Frankie Maarman and centre Denver Heneke, both SA Cup players, could be the danger men for Belhar.

Bellville vs Kuils River

In the remaining Super League fixture on Saturday, Bellville should return to the victory trail against Kuils River.

The latter side is in the process of team building and will do well if they can restrict Bellville's margin of victory. Bellville's problem has been the inability of their backs to show any form of cohesion.

However, they have key individuals Victor Keyster, Edmund Coenraad, Deon Keyster and Frikkie van Wyk — all talented three-quarters who could help break the try-scoring drought.

'SA emphasis should be on unity, not differences'

MSGS
10/5/90

11A

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

SOUTH Africans should be united in their South Africanism and be diverse in that there are language, cultural and religious differences, says Mr Albie Sachs.

He was speaking in an interview about some of the possible constitutional concepts in a new system. He is one of the African National Congress's constitutional experts, who returned to South Africa at the weekend after 24 years in exile.

He is director of the South African Constitution Study Centre attached to the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London. He is also a member of the constitution committee of the ANC.

Mr Sachs stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity.

Race as a factor in public life should be removed and instead there should be universal suffrage on common voters' rolls, Mr Sachs said.



Albie Sachs

In addition there should be a recognition of the cultural, religious and linguistic diversity of the country through appropriate mechanisms.

The ANC was against any concept of group voting rights. This was apartheid and meant race classification at the voting booth.

On the other hand the right to expression through groups and communities could be protected in other ways.

'What we should look for is not protection of groups but protection of interests.

"Thus we have a language interest. Everyone has a stake in this interest.

"It is not a question of protecting the Afrikaners but of protecting the right of all South Africans to use their language. This protection is much stronger than protection for one group which is then cut off from the rest of the population.

"If you protect the right of all South Africans to use their language then an attack on one language becomes an attack on all."

Mr Sachs said special protection for whites would be the worst thing for them because this would constantly focus attention on their privileged status and their self-exclusion from common South African society.

Mr Sachs said the future was likely to be decided more at the level of local government than anywhere else.

"We will need a strong centre to ensure that the revenues of the country are made available on a fair basis so that the desperately poor areas are not left to fend for themselves without any tax base.

Mr De Klerk and others had spoken of the importance of local affairs.

Provided Mr De Klerk's approach was not based simply on freezing the existing patterns of group areas and inequality but rather on creating conditions in the general context of democracy and non-racialism to encourage people at local level to get together and start rebuilding cities and rural areas there were very interesting possibilities.

These ideas were still ambiguous and Mr De Klerk was a master of "creative ambiguity."

"Let us hope the creative side is stronger than the ambiguous one," Mr Sachs said.

MDM, Venda in joint committee

APL Times 10/5/70
110 (B)

PIETERSBURG. — The Mass Democratic Movement and the Venda Council for National Unity will set up a joint committee to define political prisoners held in the territory.

This was announced in a statement issued after a meeting between the MDM and the council in Thohoyandou on Tuesday.

The statement said the committee would also look at ways of ensuring the speedy lifting of the state of emergency — imposed in Venda when Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana took over the government in a coup last month.

Tuesday's meeting followed a similar one held between the council and the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend, at which both parties agreed to further meetings.

When Colonel Ramushwana took over last month, youths supporting ANC ground structures in the area rejected him, alleging he was a "Pretoria man" brought in to save the crumbling Ravele regime.

An ANC supporter who was appointed to the new cabinet, Mr Headman Thivhulkawi Makumbane, had to resign after members of the Tshgisaulu Youth Congress told him the council was "an oppressive machinery of the white state". — Sapa

CAPR Times
Friday, May 10, 1990

Joy as ^(11A) ANC man ⁽²⁰⁾ returns home

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A senior executive member of the ANC and one of Peleton's most famous sons, Mr Steve Tshwete, returned home to a joyous welcome yesterday, five years after evading security police and going into exile.

After spending 15 years in prison on Robben Island, Mr Tshwete helped found the UDF and was chairman of its Border branch in the early 1980s.

He has been based in Lusaka, Zambia, since 1985, and was last seen when he came out of hiding to speak at a mass funeral in Duncan Village in August that year.

After flying into East London yesterday morning, Mr Tshwete went directly to Peleton, where he received a joyful welcome from singing schoolchildren before being reunited with his father and other members of his family.

Mr Tshwete will be in the region until he returns to Johannesburg on Monday.

Sachs: ANC still holds detainees

CAPE TOWN
10/5/90

11A


Staff Reporter

THE ANC had ill-treated people and there were still people in detention camps, ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Addressing about 1 000 students on "the ANC, torture and human rights" at UCT, Mr Sachs said he had cried after a visit to one of the ANC's detention camps because "it took me back to detention (in South Africa) ... detention is detention".

He did not say where the camp was, but dissident ANC guerillas said earlier this year that there were camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

The detainees had been well-fed and did not complain about being physically abused, Mr Sachs added.

Earlier this year, dissident ANC guerillas said they had been tortured in detention camps and claimed the torture was still continuing.

Mr Nelson Mandela last month admitted that some of the dissidents had been tortured but said "immediate steps were taken to discipline" those responsible.

According to a code of conduct adopted in 1985, "grave crimes", known as Section C investigations, were the responsibility of the ANC's security department, Mr Sachs said.

The code stated that all reasonable methods should be used in the investigations but torture was strictly forbidden.

Offences were divided into different

groups, depending on the gravity of the violation and were tried by a system of tribunals, he told the students.

"We tried to establish a code of legality in exile without the powers of the state."

The code of conduct covered aspects like stealing from other ANC members, driving a vehicle while drunk, and people belonging to the South African Police who had been sent to Lusaka, Angola and Mozambique to assassinate ANC leaders, Mr Sachs said.

African countries that were host to the ANC "expected us to keep our own house in order".

At an ANC national consultative conference held in 1985, the organisation's membership had been asked whether it was permissible to use violence against suspects when attacks on the leadership were imminent.

The conference decided that the ANC was "fighting for justice and freedom and that we can't use the methods the enemy was using," Mr Sachs said.

Replying to a question on amnesty for returning exiles, he said the amnesty for exiles and the return of people in ANC detention camps were interconnected.

Mr Sachs participated recently in drawing up the ANC's constitutional guidelines for a future South African government and is considered one of the organisation's legal experts.

ganised a consumer boycott to start on Monday
lia. Koni, who sustained a cut in her head, said

PAC's Benny Alexander hurt in smash

^{with a car}
BENNY Alexander, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, was seriously injured in a car accident in the Northern Cape yesterday.

A number of senior PAC officials were also hurt in the smash, which occurred about 10km from Hopetown in the Karoo.

The crash is the third serious accident in which PAC officials have been involved this month.

The organisation's president, Japhta Mase-mola, was killed in a head-on collision near Pretoria three weeks ago.

By EDDIE KOCH (11A)

PAC member Ishmael Chand died in a road accident while travelling to the funeral of his brother Sam Chand, who was assassinated with his entire family at their home in the Botswana border village of Sikwane.

A doctor at the Kimberley Hospital, where the men are being treated, said Alexander's condition was stable. The PAC does not have further details about the accident and has sent a lawyer and doctor to Kimberley assess the situation.

What role for civics in new South Africa?

South 10/15-16/1990 IIA



Dullah Omar

CIVIC organisations cannot abandon the political arena in and after the negotiations phase but must be conscious of political developments in the country and play a role consistent with the interests of the working masses.

This is the view of Advocate Dullah Omar, vice president of the United Democratic Front (Western Cape), and chairperson of the Western Cape region of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

'We need to insist that negotiations cannot proceed secretly'

"In the present period in which negotiations are dominant, it is absolutely essential that all organisations — including civics — understand what is happening and the dangers of the negotiating process," Omar said.

"We need to insist that negotiations cannot proceed secretly. No process must be allowed to by-pass our people. The people must be involved in all processes and be kept aware of what is happening.

Civic organisations have a vital role to play in safeguarding the interests of the working class both during the negotiation phase and in a post-apartheid South Africa said Advocate Dullah Omar in a paper delivered to a regional conference of civic organisations in Cape Town recently. NOEL BRUYNS reports:

"We must develop the structures to enable our people to give their leaders a mandate so that no negotiations take place behind the backs of the people.

"In this regard, civic organisations have a role to play," he said. Previously, because of the ban placed on major political organisations, civic organisations had been compelled to play several roles — including an overtly political one.

It was no accident that when the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983, a vast majority of bodies present were civic organisations.

"Our people, including our civic organisations, can be extremely proud of the role they have played in bringing about a changed situation in our country.

"Fundamentally, the regime has been compelled to abandon the strategy of apartheid as we have known it. Apartheid in this form has been defeated.

"The regime is compelled to seek an alternative form of capitalist exploitation in our country. Repression did not work. Other means of ensuring the domination of the working

masses must be sought by the regime," said Omar.

Imperialism, led by the United States and Germany, had decided to intervene directly in the political affairs of South Africa.

"It has decided that apartheid in its present form must go. It has decided to support those forces that would be prepared to assist in the maintenance of capitalist exploitation in our country."

Omar said a new alliance was arising in the ruling class.

'We must develop structures to enable people to give their leaders a mandate'

"While we have scored major victories, the adjustments being made in the ruling class will result in our facing a very powerful international ruling class which will support the forces of exploitation," he warned

The events in Eastern Europe had also influenced the situation in South Africa. Financial and material assistance for the liberation struggle would no longer be necessarily available.

There was great pressure for a negotiated settlement which would ensure the maintenance of economic interests of the major powers in the Southern African region.

"While it is true that we have scored major victories, there are great challenges ahead. Civic organisations will assume an importance as never before."

The role of civic organisation in South Africa almost paralleled that of the trade unions whose fundamental objectives were to fight for, promote and advance the interests of the working people at the workplace and issues related to this.

civic organisations must play," said Omar.

"If our people are not organised in the places where they live or are forced to live, they do not possess the necessary tool with which to pursue the struggle.

'A powerful international ruling class will support the forces of exploitation'

On the role of civic organisations in the fight for a constituent assembly, Omar said they should explain to people what a constituent assembly was and why it was needed.

"We must talk in our civic organisations about what kind of constitution we want for our country. We need to talk about how one can ensure that the interests of the working masses are protected."

Omar called civic organisations "the organs of power for our working people". They were "organs of achieving people's power today".

"In a so-called post-apartheid South Africa, civic organisations will remain organs of power of the working masses. Experience in Russia and elsewhere has proven that unless the working people protect their own interests, nobody will.

"In a new South Africa, civic organisation will also have a role to play — that of promoting and advancing the interests of the people," Omar said

It was necessary that civic organisations unite under an umbrella body, as trade unions had done under Cosatu.

"The process of forming a national civic organisation has been delayed too long. The time has come to take decisive steps and form a national civic structure.

"Time is not necessarily in our favour. Our task is to overcome division and disorganisation with utmost speed," said Omar.

'No' to open white schools

RECENTLY, the state made an apparently constructive proposal to "open" white schools to all races.

We reject this proposal as it does not address the basic issue underlying the education crisis present in South Africa: the multiplicity of ethnic education departments controlled by the tricameral Parliament.

We call for a single education department in a unified and democratic South Africa.

Furthermore, by proposing to accelerate the privatisation process in white education, the State essentially aims at increasing fees which, compared to other countries of similar status, are already embarrassingly high.

If the proposed structure were rigidly applied, it would exclude many students, effectively replacing racial discrimination with class discrimination.

The state has a responsibility to provide equal and free education for all its people, and the current proposals clearly contradict that responsibility.

We call on the state to address the fundamental irregularities in its education system by uniting the various education departments into one department committed to supplying

LETTERS

Address all letters to The Editor,
P O Box 13094, 7900 Sir Lowry Road

quality education for all.
PUPA
(PUPILS UNITED FOR PEACE AND AWARENESS)
CAPE TOWN

Comfort in hurting world

SAFELINE continues to make progress in the sad and hurting world of child-abuse. Your interest means so much to us.

It is comforting to know that our growing team of supporters and helpers keeps a faithful and concerned interest in what is taking place.

SAFELINE remains committed to being but one link in the chain of healing, and our staff — dedicated and concerned — continue in their caring involvement.

Our staff are heavily involved in casework, groups and training programmes, and their zeal and commitment has meant that we have been able at least to keep abreast of the avalanche of need facing us.

Letters, cards, telephone calls and gifts of encouragement have meant so much to us.

Thank you for the part you play!
REV BRUCE R DUNCAN
DIRECTOR, SAFELINE
BRIDGETOWN

Material on Saru needed

I AM currently busy with research on the history of the South African Rugby Union (Saru).

One of my major stumbling blocks is that the sources on this topic are very limited.

I am therefore turning to anyone who can help me with documents, letters, articles, brochures or even personal experiences which can throw more light on this subject.

Any material received will be handled on a strictly confidential basis.

DEREK T ABRAHAMS
29 BUREN LANE
7490 BELHAR

'Civic organisations are the organs of power for our working people'

But because the oppressed people lacked political rights, the trade unions were compelled to fight for political rights of their members and workers in general.

"Similarly, civic organisations need to fight for the rights of the working masses in the areas where people live. Civic issues relate to housing, facilities, amenities, recreation and generally improving the quality of life of the vast majority of our people.

'The regime has been compelled to abandon apartheid'

"That is an important role which

ANC recruits (11A)

THE African National Congress is to start a one-month recruitment drive in the PWV area from next Monday.

This was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday by the convenor of the ANC's newly established interim executive committee for the region, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe.

Seventy-seven temporary recruitment centres have been established in the area, includ-

ing Sasolburg, Carletonville, Delmas and Sebokeng. More centres are to be established in Soweto.

Anyone aged over 18 years who accepts ANC policies can join, Motlanthe said.

Soweto 10/5/90
Application forms are available at recruitment centres. Membership cards will be issued and membership fees are R12 a year or R1 a month. - Sapa.

ANC mistreated detainees - Sachs

THE African National Congress has mistreated prisoners and still holds some in detention, a member of the organisation's legal affairs department said yesterday.

"We still have people in detention, even now," said Albie Sachs, adding he visited an ANC detention centre just before returning to South Africa from exile, and was moved to tears by what he saw.

"If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC, it is not necessarily lies, but if people come back and say that is the ANC, then that is lies," Sachs told 1 000 students in a speech at the University of Cape Town.

Sachs participated recently in drawing up the ANC's constitutional guidelines for a future South African government and is considered one of the organisation's legal experts.

Tortured

Sachs did not say where the detention centre is which he recently visited, but ANC dissidents who have recently charged they were tortured have said some were in Angola and others are in Tanzania and Uganda.

Although the conditions at the detention centre were not as bad as he had feared, Sachs said he cried afterwards.

"It was just sad to see that it was happening," he said.

"When you join the ANC you don't automatically become an angel."

10/5/70
10/5/70
10/5/70

Youths held 'under guard'

Call Times 10/5/70

JOHANNESBURG. — One of the four youths allegedly kidnapped and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he and other abducted youths had not been allowed to leave the house freely.

Mr Thabiso Mono, 20, was testifying in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the murder of teenage activist James "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei, the attempted murder of Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Mr Mono told the court he and the other abducted youths had always been under guard by Mr Richardson, even when they played soccer with members of the so-called Mandela United Football Club.

He said under cross-examination that Mr Richardson had told him and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekingwe, 21, that if one of them should escape from the house, he "did not know what would happen to the other".

Mr Richardson said this after one of the four, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 30, had escaped from the Mandela home.

Mr Mono also told the court Mrs Winnie Mandela had taken him and the other youths into Johannesburg where she had bought clothes for them.

He reiterated that Mr Richardson had refused to leave the abducted youths in the care of Mr Nelson Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob. — Sapa

10/2/90
Kriel to meet
squatter leaders

Political Star

THE Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, will this morning meet a delegation of squatter leaders who have broken away from Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

This was disclosed in a statement yesterday by the Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck.

"The meeting was requested because of the continuing violence and tensions in Old Crossroads," he said.

12641 10/5/80 HA

Winnie assaulted me, says witness

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Pelo Mekgwe, 21, was kidnapped with Stompie Sepei and taken to Mrs Winnie Mandela's house where he was accused of being a police informer and having slept with the Rev Paul Verryn, the Rand Supreme Court has heard.

Mr Mekgwe was then assaulted by several people, including Mrs Mandela, he said.

Mr Mekgwe was testifying in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to four kidnappings, five assaults, the murder of Stompie and attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikaneng.

Mr Mekgwe described being kidnapped on December 29 1988 with Mr Kenny Kgase, Mr Thabiso Mono and Stompie. He said they were taken to Mrs Mandela's house where Stom-

pie was accused of being a police informer and the other three of having slept with Mr Verryn.

SWOLLEN EYES

He described an assault in which Mrs Mandela and many other people took part. The next day Stompie was taken away by Mr Richardson, Mr Mkgwe said, and when Stompie left, his eyes and face were swollen from the previous night's beating. He did not see Stompie again.

He described how the other three young men had to assist in forcing Mr Ikaneng to accompany a group of men who lived at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Richardson stabbed Mr Ikaneng in the neck, he said, then instructed them to throw him in a ditch.

Back at Mrs Mandela's

house, the three young men were warned not to speak about the stabbing.

The court has heard that the men at Mrs Mandela's house were referred to as the Mandela Soccer Team.

Mr Mekgwe said he attended a training session but the "team" did exercises and did not use a soccer ball.

Later Mr Kgase escaped. After that Mr Nelson Mandela's lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob and later Mr Krish Naidoo visited Mrs Mandela's house.

After a number of visits to both lawyers and one to Bishop Peter Storey at the Central Methodist Church, Mr Mekgwe was taken to a church in Soweto where he told people at a meeting what had happened to him, Mr Mekgwe said.

(Proceeding).

ANC still holding detainees — Sachs

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress is still holding people in detention, says the movement's constitutional expert, Mr Albie Sachs.

At the University of Cape Town yesterday he became the first member of the organisation to talk publicly in South Africa about the subject.

Mr Sachs said he had recently been involved in an inquiry and had visited detention centres.

The conditions were not as bad as he had feared, the prisoners were well fed, had not complained of physical abuse and their medical care was adequate.

"I cried... I cried afterwards. It just took me back to my own detention. It was sad to see that this was happening. Yet I knew that hit squads had sent people in to kill us. Detention is detention... It was painful. It was a side of our existence in exile that I would rather not know about," he said.

The visit and the inquiries had helped to maintain the concept that the ANC had standards. Even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

ANC members wanted to return home, Mr Sachs said. "We want to bring our standards and norms... the real ANC norms.

"If people come back and say

they have been ill-treated by the ANC they are not necessarily lies because we have ill-treated people.

"If people come back and say that is the ANC, that is a lie because we have a strong sense of justice in the organisation."

Mr Sachs said he first became aware of ANC detention camps in 1984.

Later ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo summoned him and others to Lusaka and instructed them to draft regulations dealing with the treatment of violations of the rules of the movement.

"It was clear that Oliver Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC."

At that stage the ANC had decided to hold a conference to discuss problems.

"One of the most crisp, direct and painful issues was the question of torture. Sometimes we used the word 'torture'. Other times we used the term 'intensive interrogation'.

"The point made again and again by the speakers was that the ANC was fighting for justice and freedom and it could not use the methods used by the enemy. We had our own morality.

"We tried to establish a kind of legality without having the powers of a State. I can't say we succeeded completely because problems continued and it was not possible to wipe out the abysses."



crack of dawn



Bang goes the white man's identity in Namibia. They're not allowed to call him "baas" anymore!

Syfrets Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE:

R1 600

TODAY'S INDEX:

(+) R0,17

There were no winners yesterday

If your share price total movement equals exactly R0.17 today, you are a win-

Cape Times 10/5/90
Rockman
in anti-FW
protest *11A*

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Ex-policeman Mr Gregory Rockman will speak at one of many rallies organised by Anti-Apartheid Movements (AAM) in Europe and Britain, who are coordinating a two-week campaign against President F W de Klerk's visit.

The first demonstration is planned for Paris today.

British AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said yesterday that he would write to the president of the European Commission, Mr Jacques Delors, stating the AAMs' opposition to the trip. He would also seek an urgent meeting with him.

Former police lieutenant Mr Rockman will address a rally at the Trade Union Congress hall in London on Friday May 18.

CAF 7175 10/5/90 (118)

Passports forgotten

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie left here last night on a tour of Africa, but forgot their passports at home.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents.

Their first stop is Zambia. Other stops include Angola, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Algeria and Libya.

● Full report — Page 2

ANC jets off for 6-nation African tour

Cape Town 10/15/90
JCN

JOHANNESBURG. — An ANC delegation headed by Mr Nelson Mandela jetted out of Lanseria Airport at 5.20pm yesterday at the start of an African tour by the ANC deputy president.

The delegation comprised Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and two security guards.

The flight — originally due to depart at 4pm — was delayed by the late arrival of the Mandelas, as well as the fact that they had forgotten their passports at home, officials at the country airport said.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents and the Citation jet eventually took off at 5.20pm.

"I am strengthened by the support of the people and filled with renewed hope following the recent talks with the government," Mr Mandela said as he left the airport.

Delegation members said at the airport that the first stop would be Lusaka, while the delegation would leave for Angola tomorrow.

The delegation would then take in four other African states: Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt and Libya.

"The 12-day African tour is to maintain our close links with our supporters and keep them informed. Now just when the liberation of our people is at hand, we need the support of our old friends even more," Mr Nzo said.

He said that while he hoped to be returning to South Africa shortly, it was still "early days" to think of packing his bags permanently. — Sapa

ANC: Patents pending

CAC 7-1-75 10/5/75
Own Correspondent (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is to register as patents its colours, logos and other such features as a fundraising measure, local regional convenor Mr Kgalema Motlanthe disclosed yesterday.

Mr Motlanthe, a former political prisoner and now a senior NUM education department official, was speaking in Johannesburg at the opening of the office from which the activities of the ANC's Witwatersrand/Pretoria/Vaal region are to be co-ordinated.

He announced the beginning of an intensive, month-long recruiting drive in the region starting from Monday.

He said the purpose of patenting ANC "trademarks" was "to ensure that merchants cashing in on our popularity do so with our approval" and to assist the organisation in becoming financially self-sufficient.

Women of the struggle telling their own stories

W. Mar. 11/5 - 17/5/90

LIVES of Courage: Women for a New South Africa is not a collection of political speeches. It is a book aimed to personalise the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa by telling the story of its women — political activists, trade unionists, mothers, daughters, old and young, black and white, known and unknown.

So says South African-born feminist author Diana Russell about her book, released in South Africa last month. Russell is the author of many books on women's issues, ranging from *The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective to Exposing Nuclear Phallacies*.

Lives of Courage is a collection of her interviews with 24 women, including African National Congress executive member Ruth Mompati, labour stalwart Emma Mashinini and 13-year-old Leilah Issel, a "child of the struggle". The interviews were done in 1987 and spanned some three and a half months.

The book presents a stark account of these women's experiences in the political arena, prison and detention — it includes some harrowing accounts of torture.

Russell says she tried to portray the subtleties and nuances of their fears and their thoughts while enduring repression, something achieved especially well in her interview with Elaine Mohamed, who discusses her detention and solitary confinement for seven months.

With others like Helen Joseph, this was harder to do, Russell says. "Joseph felt that what was past was past and did not want to dwell on the intricacies of her experience."

Russell was actively involved in South African politics before she left to study and settle in the United States in 1963. She participated in protest demonstrations, and was a member of the former Liberal Party and the African Resistance Movement, an underground, mainly white, group which sabotaged government property.

For the women she interviewed Russell has only praise. "South Africa presents a revolutionary situation where you find the calibre of person you do not find in a normal situation."

"The optimism of these women was tremendous. It was an inspiration — American women have so much to learn from their courage."

Russell interviewed both white and black women. "Certainly one cannot say their struggle is one and the same. From the interviews I saw, white women are not treated nearly as badly during detention."

"And for them it was their choice to participate in the struggle. If they wanted to leave they could return to their white privileges, but a

Feminist author Diana Russell has written *Lives of Courage*, a portrait in their own words of women involved in the South African struggle — like Ruth Mompati, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela. The book has just been published in South Africa. Here, Diana Russell speaks to CASSANDRA MOODLEY

black women, whether she was politically active or not, would still have to endure repressive conditions," she says.

Russell says she tried to focus the interviews on how apartheid had hurt them most, the anti-apartheid work the women had done and the consequences thereof.

Some white women talked about the "rewards" of apartheid — the richness and fulfilment they felt since their involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle, she says. Russell admits, however, that she did not pose this question to black women.

Russell says she was reluctant to ask questions on sexism and sexism in the resistance movement, for fear of being accused of addressing white bourgeois concerns — she was surprised when the women spontaneously talked about this issue.

There were those that denied sexism was a problem amongst their male comrades and there were those that said, "It is a problem and it is being neglected." Younger women were more defiant about sexism than the older women, she adds.

But Russell feels the women's struggle has to be seen as separate from the broader liberation struggle. "The South African struggle is not going to bring about women's liberation."

She feels the women's struggle has advanced here in some respects — the fact that her interviewees were ready to address the question of sexism and the lack of women leadership in the struggle — but is disappointed to find sexist language like "one man one vote" instead of "one person one vote".

But there are also advances, like the Black Sash making opposition to sexism one of its major goals.

Times have also changed since Russell interviewed these women and wrote the epilogue to her book in 1987/88. Then the women talked about revolution, about it being imminent or far away, but happening soon.

Today it seems a negotiated settlement is on the horizon — something few would have



Diana Russell ... 'The optimism of these women was tremendous. It was an inspiration'

dreamed of at that stage, but something she is sure they all support.

Most of the women she interviewed are ANC members or supporters. In retrospect, Russell says she wishes she had found representatives of other political groups, from the Pan Africanist Congress and black consciousness tendencies, and gay women and those disabled in the struggle. "But my awareness of such things did grow a great deal while making the book," she adds.

"Everything you read in the book is what I learnt — factual about the different groups, political action and the history of resistance to apartheid, and I was inspired by these women — the backbones of the struggle."

Russell says she wanted the book to touch the people in Britain and America so that they would be moved to support the anti-apartheid struggle. She did not even think of publishing in South Africa because she thought the book would be banned here.

But many people felt it was an important work for South Africans to read about the contribution of women to the struggle.

The result was that David Philip agreed to publish it, and last month Russell celebrated its release in South Africa.

'This different SA' amazes Benson

BID 1115190

11A

DANIEL FELDMAN

EXILED author, ANC supporter and an early sanctions proponent, Mary Benson has returned to find a different SA to the one she left in 1966.

"I was amazed at the integration in cinemas and other parts of the city. I was so excited to have my books published here.

"What struck me most in returning was seeing the disastrous effects of Bantu education. The government must keep pouring money into education to compensate.

"And I still become so depressed seeing the appalling township conditions such as FIC in Cape Town. It's such a monstrosity to see sprawling suburbs such as Sandton rising up against Alexandra. It's still hard for me to imagine how residents cope with daily life in the townships. Life there just suffocates human dignity," she said.

After 24 years in exile in Britain, she remains optimistic about SA's future.

"It is so important to remain positive. While it will be a very difficult transition for the ANC to switch from an exile movement to a more administrative one in SA, I am confident they can do it well.

"The generosity of many SA blacks is quite amazing. I found far more bitter race relations in the US than here. An extraordinary goodwill still remains here," she said.

Asked about the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle, she replied: "It hasn't been much of an armed struggle, just a lot of rhetoric and a few isolated acts of sabotage. And when that is compared with the violence of the state over the decades, it seems minimal.

"But the armed struggle is part of what is being discussed and hammered out now, anyway. I agree it's time for constructive and creative thinking and planning for the future."

As the first South African to testify before the UN Committee on Apartheid in 1963, she was an early proponent of sanctions. She still believes they work effectively, and credits the withdrawal of US books from SA with having a major impact



● BENSON ... back home. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

on today's political situation.

Benson was born and educated in Pretoria. She first met Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in the early 1950s, and in 1957 she became the Treason Trial Defence Fund secretary in Johannesburg. She began work as a freelance writer in 1958, and published her first book, a biography of Tshekedi Khama, in 1960. Her second book, *The African Patriots*, was the first history of the ANC.

She returned to SA in 1965 to report on the Eastern Cape political trials, but was banned and placed under house arrest. She left SA in 1966 and now lives in London. She has written biographies of Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli and is working on another novel, concerning her experiences in the US in the late 1960s.

Her latest book, the autobiography, *A Far Cry: The Making of a South African* was launched this week in SA by Penguin Books.

Top PAC man is shot dead

A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, was this week shot and killed in what is suspected to be a continuation of a feud between the organisation and a rival movement. *Sowetan 18/5/90*

Mr Gauta Ramabolo (30) a businessman and treasurer of the Botshabelo branch of the PAC, was shot in the head after two men walked into his shop on Monday night. He died instantly.

Ramabolo, a father of three, will be buried at the local cemetery tomorrow. *(11A)*

Mr Francis Manalela, a spokesman for the PAC in Botshabelo, yesterday called on liberation movements to stop fighting among themselves.

"We must reserve the energy for the enemy. We are fighting for the same goal, although we have different approaches.

"We must respect each other's autonomy. The PAC is there, it cannot be wished away. The ANC is there, it cannot be wished away," Manalela said.

He said the ideological feud had been going on since February. Members of the PAC had been harassed and intimidated by youths who did not agree with the policies of the organisation.

Star 11/5/90

11A



NEWS

Staff Reporter

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and his entourage left Lusaka yesterday for Angola, where they are being hosted by the Angolan Government, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday.

Mr Mandela left for a six-nation African tour on Wednesday — his second African tour since his release from prison in February.

Mr Kathrada said Mr Mandela and the ANC delegation

Cheers for Mandela in Angola

left Lusaka yesterday after holding talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and members of the ANC. They will be in Angola until tomorrow.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela was greeted by thousands of cheering Angolans, including Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. This is his first visit to Angola

since his release from prison on February 11.

Mr Mandela thanked the Angolans for their support of the ANC, and briefed Mr dos Santos on the ANC's historic talks with the Government last week.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting

to overthrow apartheid.

Angola is one of six frontline states vehemently opposed to South Africa's apartheid system and white minority rule, and the ANC has military bases in the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have travelled to the tomb of Agostinho Neto shortly after his arrival. Mr Neto was the guerilla leader who led Angola to independence and be-

came its first president until his death in 1979.

President dos Santos presented the ANC leader with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto, and Mr Mandela laid a wreath on Mr Neto's tomb.

Meanwhile, The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Brussels that the Socialist group in the European Parliament has set out its policies on reforms after a recent meeting with Mr Mandela in South Africa.

ANC wants a 'free and responsible' press

11/5/90
Staff Reporter

The African National Congress (ANC) did not want an uncritical press which would always sing its praises, but a free and responsible press which would not be sensational and malicious in its criticism, ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

Addressing a lunchtime gathering of journalists hosted by the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), Mr Pahad said events in Eastern Europe had shown that a sycophantic press did not help the struggle.

"We don't want journalists to be our propagandists. We have our own propaganda organs such as 'Sechaba', 'Umsebenzi' and others, and we would welcome criticism of our policies, programmes and actions. The criticism, however, must be factual and not malicious," Mr Pahad said.

Mr Pahad said if objectivity re-

ferred to reporting events "as they are and as accurately as possible", then the ANC had no problem with the concept, even though there was no journalist without any value system.

He confirmed reports that the ANC was discussing the possible founding of a daily newspaper for the broad democratic forces generally. It would not be the ANC's propaganda organ, he said.

Courageous

Mr Pahad praised the "alternative press" for the courageous role it had played during the draconian emergency regulations governing the media, saying it was largely these papers which had always tried to give the other side of the story to the Government-censored news which could be published.

The majority of journalists working for the commercial press, both foreign and South Afri-

can, had supported the National Party Government, had failed to report the truth and had distorted the reality of South African politics, according to Mr Pahad.

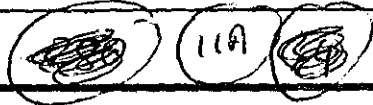
He said something would have to be done about the monopoly of the press in this country by a few giant corporations, and the Government's sole monopoly over the SABC. The ANC's view was that the press, both commercial and "alternative", had to play a role in the development of "a democratic country in which a free press can flourish".

Contrary to popular belief, Mr Pahad said, the press in South Africa was the least free in Africa.

Mr Pahad also disclosed that members of the ANC's department of information and publicity would soon be returning to South Africa to promote the organisation here.

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The Star
Finance



Business must carry out its social responsibility

By Thabo Leshilo

The business world must break with the immoral practices of the past and carry out its social responsibilities to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, the internal leader of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, said last night.

Mr Sisulu was delivering the keynote address at the 1990 Corporate Banquet of the Black Management Forum.

He said the ANC was committed to a mixed economy in which the private sector would be free to operate so long as it co-operated with the State in the sphere of social responsibility and the realisation of the Freedom Charter.

Mr Sisulu said developments in the country had made it possible to believe that a new phase, in which the process of negotiations could bring about desired fundamental change.

The conditions within which such negotiations can take place

have yet to be met. However, we hope that, following the talks between the ANC and the government, the situation will become conducive to a climate for negotiations.

He said the perspectives of the ANC had not changed and the organisation would not be diverted by anything which fell short of a "united non-racial democratic South Africa".

"We mean to bring about an integrated non-racial society in which the rights of every individual are protected," he said, adding that proponents of "group rights have enjoyed the fruits of minority group domination for too long."

He said representatives of capital in South Africa had recently also voiced support for a non-racial South Africa, but they placed great emphasis on the need to avoid concentration of political power in the hands of any one particular group.

He said that concentration of political power was only one side of the coin: "What about the existing concentration of economic power in the hands of a tiny section of the population which has developed out of the system of national oppression and exploitation of South Africans" he asked.

He said a whole range of mechanisms, of which nationalisation was one, had to be employed to diffuse such concentration of economic power.

"Just as political power must be shared by all South Africans, so must the wealth of the country."

At the same time, said Mr Sisulu, there was a need to recognise that "our potential to truly share in the economic life of the country and to reap its benefits to the fullest is limited to some extent by the low level of education and experience in managerial and technical skills of the oppressed black majority."

FIM 11/5/90 (11A)

out by its international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, in an address to the Cape Town Press Club last week:

- Remove obstacles to negotiation. This first step has already been taken with last week's meeting between the ANC and government at Groote Schuur and is progressing well;
- Determine who should be party to constitutional negotiations. All interested parties should be involved, in broad discussions which should aim at achieving consensus on how best to achieve representation at the negotiating table.

The ANC's view is that a constituent assembly, similar to that which drew up Namibia's constitution, would be the best way. It would be elected by all South Africans;

- Agree on the supervision of elections for a constituent assembly. The ANC believes it would be unfair for government, being a party to the negotiations, to supervise elections.

Another authority would have to be created to implement whatever agreements are reached during the broad discussions between the various parties;

- Form an interim government. The ANC believes this is the best way of implementing agreements in a manner that doesn't benefit or prejudice any party; and
- Establish the impartiality of the SABC.

The ANC believes the SABC will play a

NEW CONSTITUTION FIM 11/5/90

ANC's outline (11A)

A step-by-step framework within which the African National Congress (ANC) envisages constitutional change in SA was spelt

FIM 11/5/90 (11A)



Mbeki ... whites fear changes

FIM 11/5/90 (11A)

He says it's difficult to understand why President FW de Klerk is opposed to an interim government, which the ANC doesn't expect to be established immediately but at some future date. It will try to convince De Klerk of this need during negotiations.

According to Mbeki, the principal danger to the success of negotiations in the coming months is the fear of change among whites. ■

crucial role in disseminating information during elections and negotiations and cannot be controlled by a party to the negotiations as is currently the case.

Mbeki says the ANC remains opposed to a group-based system, but not to a consensus system within a democratically elected body.

Tale of two tours flips double-side coin of SA sanctions

W/Mant 1815-245790 (11A)

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk touched down in London yesterday for the final week of a trailblazing European tour which has produced much in terms of international kudos but few concrete rewards.

After 10 days of the most significant international visit ever by any Nationalist head of state, De Klerk prepared himself for his meeting with his closest European ally, British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens.

Meanwhile Nelson Mandela was winding up his 12-day African tour, which has served in part to offset some of De Klerk's diplomatic gains.

The ANC deputy president attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuya, Nigeria on Wednesday and Thursday — something no South African minister has achieved in three decades.

Mandela told ministers from 10 countries that he was "amazed at the suggestion that sanctions should be eased" and called for the international community to keep up the pressure.

No call for the immediate relaxation of sanctions is expected from the Commonwealth, while in Oslo, foreign ministers from the Nordic and frontline states agreed that "despite recent positive developments in South Africa" sanctions would not be lifted.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magre Bondevik said Pretoria had yet to give a "firm commitment" to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk's tour has seen him receive several titbits from Europe, but the real test will come at the meeting of the European Community's heads of states meeting in five weeks' time. By then the government will need to show that substantial moves towards eliminating apartheid, ending the Emergency and releasing political prisoners have been made.

De Klerk however can return home with several promises and symbolic gains in his pocket:

- Later this year Portuguese President Mario Soares will become the first Western head of state since 1948 to officially visit South Africa.

- Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva assured De Klerk that Portugal would move for the easing of sanctions at the EC meeting on June 25.

- Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said the EC would re-examine its policy towards South Africa, but stressed that further bi-



Highest award ... Nelson Mandela receives the Order of Niger from Nigeria's President Babangida

Picture: ASSOCIATED PRESS

PRESIDENT Chadli Benjedid yesterday presented African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela with Algeria's highest award in recognition of his struggle against apartheid.

Mandela was presented the Wisam al-Athir medal of distinction for his "courageous struggle to free South Africans from exploitation".

Mandela last visited Algeria in 1961 when he received military training from Algerian guerrillas fighting against France.

lateral links could not be created "because the right climate does not exist in South Africa".

- French President Francois Mitterrand said he accepted the "irreversibility of change in South Africa". He said that sanctions would be re-evaluated and relations would improve as soon as the steps outlined in the ANC-SA government "Groote Schuur Minute" were implemented.

- According to a report in the left-leaning French daily, *Libération*, French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback in Britain and Switzerland, but his team is clearly pressing for more substantial breakthroughs than have been made so far.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Wednesday that his government could not continue with the rapid pace of change in South Africa without "some reward from the international community".

He warned that without such "rewards" the white electorate would say: "De Klerk has done all these

wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying, 'very nice, step in the right direction' ... like a goose on the way to its doom."

Botha added that De Klerk and gold were South Africa's best exports, "with the only difference being that his value is going up".

Shortly before leaving Brussels yesterday De Klerk said his impression so far was that the European Community "had a broad understanding and acceptance of the dynamics in South Africa" as well as of the "irreversibility of the process" which which his government had started.

SA Institute of International Affairs director Professor John Barratt said that while De Klerk's visit might not extract much in terms of sanctions being lifted, "it has definitely enhanced his position and given him much greater international credibility".

"There's no question that this is the biggest and most significant visit by any South African president or prime minister since the days of Smuts."

Barratt added that he believed Mandela's African tour was also of considerable significance, and that it had been underplayed in the media.

Professor Peter Vale, director of the University of the Western Cape's Institute of Southern African Studies, says the past 10 days of foreign travel indicate a two-track policy on the part of the international community.

"The one track is into Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these."

11A

UDF leader predicts
lifting of emergency

9/10/77 1115190
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The state of emergency would be lifted in June when it came up for renewal, eastern Cape UDF leader Mkh-sell Jack predicted yesterday.

But he made it clear he did not altogether welcome the prospect.

It would "deliver a confusing blow to the international community" and potentially result in easing pressure on Pretoria, he told a forum at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

He was candid about ANC strategy, in particular its efforts to deny KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a seat at the negotiating table.

He said Buthelezi and his "imperialist backers" were trying to "neutralise the liberation movement" to show there was legitimate black opposition to the ANC.

Any attempt to bring him into a peace process in Natal would only lend him credibility.

"We are broadening our social base — there is a battle going on. We are even trying to break the National Party into pieces... We are drawing everybody towards us."

The ANC had been successful in enlisting the trade unions. "We managed to get into the unions and change them in the right direction."

DE KLERK AND THE MARKETS

FIM 11/5/90

The human factor

(111)

It is trite to say that the pace of change has become unprecedented. Lateral-thinking President F W de Klerk and his men, inspired perhaps by some high-road, low-road vision of the future, vault on to new political pastures while *everyone* — diehard Nats, fading socialists, liberals *et al* — struggle on behind them, trying to keep up. Or so it seems; and certainly many have not yet assimilated the major reforms initiated in February, or cannot come to terms with them.

People are not complete fools: they tend to remember that Oceania has not always been at war with Eastasia and at peace with Eurasia. Even when, as George Orwell pointed out in 1984, faithful party newspapers tell them this is so — yet sides have changed.

Equally, though, there are many genuinely perplexing elements in the processes of change. One is what might be called the national mood, which, judging by the reactions of markets, can't decide on an appropriate optimism or pessimism — or even anything in between. One week, ANC statements of position on nationalisation, the armed struggle and sanctions cause precipitate selling and emigration. The next, a jovial photograph of SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo and Foreign Minister Pik Botha outside Groote Schuur brings a touch of spring to the JSE.

We know that a week is a long time in politics — but an *era*? Should these sharp extremes really display such manic-depressive peaks and valleys? Surely the issues are in danger of being forgotten?

It is worth recording some of these issues, where they show convergence of opinion and where they do not. Assume that the major players are as at present — ANC and government. Everyone will have a vote of equal weight but there is disagreement on the protection of minorities. If there is only so much political power in a country, redistribution creates vulnerabilities and demands for safeguards. Yet protection for a minority might favour that minority if it already holds a virtual monopoly on power in terms of control of the economy and its security.

The debate on what kind of parliament we are to have has scarcely begun. The law still defines voters racially.

Gross disparities in wealth must be addressed. Here the focus of debate is on nationalisation and equality of opportunity in terms of land reform and public spending. Special funds for socio-economic redress merely scratch the surface and can be construed as charity.

Repeal of the pillars of geographic apartheid — the Group Areas Act and Land Act — will not in itself help much. Barring expropriation, residential profiles might remain un-

altered for quite a while. So any future government will inherit a growing mass of poor and miserable people. Attempts to meet the challenge through populist economic measures — in particular nationalisation — will stifle growth and be self-defeating.

Political freedom and an actual or potential share in the country's wealth require **security**. Civil war must be avoided; so must the insidious deterioration of services and the quality of life. Who controls the army, the civil service, the framework of the law (not the same thing as its officers) and the educational structures is pivotal.

That control can be shared but managing the interregnum is immensely difficult when these bodies have long been politicised — for the benefit of a minority — and have their own protected personnel and, therefore, ideological momentum. The CP knows this very well.

What De Klerk has so far done is to say to the ANC: the door is open, everything is negotiable. The ANC has not responded with as much open-handedness because it has a long memory of oppression — and because it is actually very weak, ill-organised and a little confounded by the prospect of actual power. Its ability to call down new sanctions has been radically curtailed and might be even more so after De Klerk's European tour.

Nelson Mandela's announcement this week that, in fact, no new sanctions will be summoned up might simply be anticipating the inevitable.

And perhaps — now that the antagonists have met face to face, always a humanising event — the ANC is also increasingly persuaded of government's sincerity. Whatever the case, the passing of each day locks it further into negotiations like a reluctant bride already halfway down the

aisle. The guests want to throw confetti and swig champagne, not go home in disappointment.

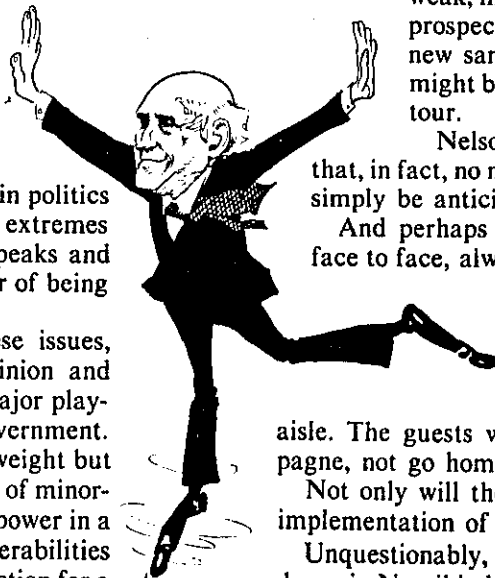
Not only will the process of negotiations be protracted, implementation of any agreements will be far more so.

Unquestionably, the relatively easy transition to independence in Namibia helped nurture the idea that some kind of solution was possible here. But, quantitatively, SA is not Namibia: there are more people, there is more wealth, so there are more problems, if not thirty-fold more.

Nonetheless, even considering those long-term issues there is sufficient evidence for guarded optimism.

Our memories may have become attenuated but, last weekend, P W Botha emerged from cover to remind us all of what kind of society he helped perpetuate.

His refusal to give support to De Klerk indicates that if he was still in power, the penalties — in forgone growth, in an intensifying sense of social entrapment — would still be awful. So much worse than the jittery mood swings of the present.



Can the workers' party pull in worker support?

JOE SLOVO jetted into South Africa last week with a load of ideas that could change the nature of the country's trade union movement.

The dramatic homecoming of the South African Communist Party secretary-general has started a vibrant debate in the labour movement.

"We are in the process of setting up an above-board organisation," Slovo said soon after he arrived.

"We hope to attract into an above-board organisation the thousands of workers and youth who have visibly expressed support for our party and for an eventual future of socialism."

Many workers and union officials have welcomed the opportunity to hand over the heavy political load that their organisations were forced to carry in the absence of a party which represented the interests of workers.

But their sense of relief is mixed with more than a tinge of anxiety.

● Can the SACP emerge from its clandestine and underground role and adopt the democratic traditions of the labour movement?

● Will the party's re-emergence open up ideological splits in the union movement, which already has a history of factionalism?

These are among the issues being debated in the ranks of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) as well as a number of smaller left-wing groups.

"One of our biggest concerns is the SACP's constitution does not fit well with the traditions of democracy and accountability that have developed in the union movement," says a member of Cosatu's South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union.

Under the party's current constitution, the general-secretary, chairman, and two others who get top votes in a secret ballot are elected every five years. They then form an electoral college that appoints the rest of the central committee, taking as their guide the votes cast in the ballot.

The SACP, responding to the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, has rejected the Stalinist past and committed itself to move in

Will the re-emergence of the Communist Party provide a political wing for the labour movement? By CASSANDRA MOODLEY and EDDIE KOCH

the direction of democratic socialism.

Slovo made it clear these principles would apply after the party sets up a legal presence in the country.

But there are other fears in the workers' movement.

The activities of a lobby of hard-line activists within Cosatu, who claim allegiance to the SACP, have led to deep ideological divisions in parts of the federation.

The Food and Allied Workers' Union, Western Cape region, for example, recently split after all officials were instructed to endorse the party's "two-stage" notion that national liberation should be achieved before the struggle for socialism begins.

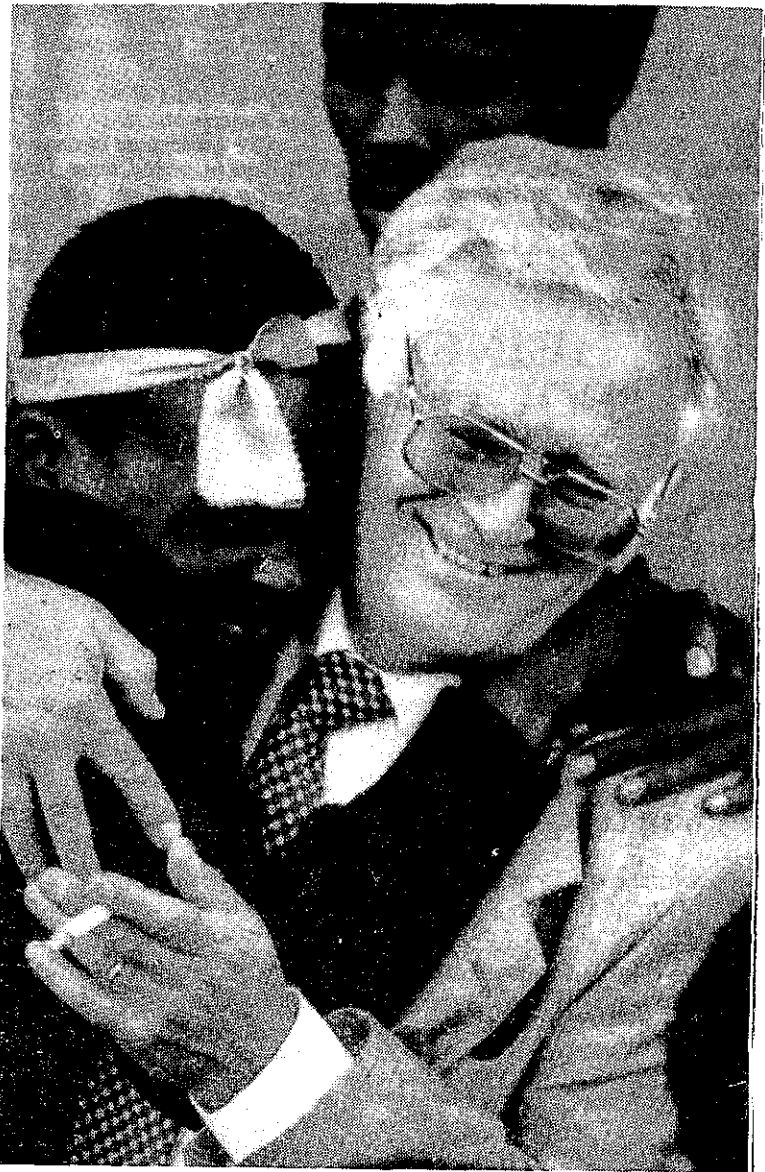
"We are not yet convinced that the party's new mood of tolerance has filtered down to its rank and file," said an official from another of Cosatu's large affiliates. "SACP cadres have developed a reputation for being the most sectarian in the labour movement on a number of key issues."

Similar sentiments were expressed by unionists in the smaller federation, Nactu, and by members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the newly-formed Workers' Organisation of South Africa (Wosa).

"Historically the SACP has not made a significant impact on the organisation of the working class. It has simply been there as a symbol of resistance for militants," said Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley.

"The trade union movement is made up of people with a range of political views. For the SACP to lead the working class it must open its ranks and allow for theories that the party holds dear to be put up for debate."

Asked if workers could find a political home in the SACP, Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said the socialist camp was already divided and a recruitment drive by the party could exacerbate these rifts.



Comrade Joe ... the SA Communist Party leader's recent arrival in South Africa has led to some interesting developments in the labour movement.

Picture: SUE KRAMER, Afrapix

"We are sceptical about the SACP because it has operated behind closed doors. But we are prepared to hold discussions with them — especially about the need to draw up a workers' charter — that will protect their rights now and in a future South Africa."

A Wosa activist said the SACP had a close and exclusive working relationship with the ANC and Cosatu.

"It has alienated itself from a substantial number of workers in the PAC, Azapo, Nactu and unaffiliated

unions. This is where we disagree with them."

Slovo replied by pointing out that although there was a formal alliance between the SACP, the ANC and Cosatu, the party believed trade union federations should retain their own identity and independence.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo told the *Weekly Mail* he was satisfied that a drive for membership by the SACP would not cause ideological splinters in the labour movement.

Mandela thanks Angola for support

LISBON. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Angola yesterday for its support of the ANC in its struggle, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

The African National Congress deputy president was addressing a rally on his first visit to Luanda.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting to overthrow apartheid, Lusa said.

Mr Mandela, on a six-nation Africa tour to discuss his groundbreaking talks with President FW de Klerk's government, was earlier welcomed by thousands of cheering Angolans.

Capt Tink 11/5/90 (11A)
President Jose Eduardo dos Santos led an unusually large reception committee of senior members of his left-wing government at Luanda airport.

He said Angola had made sacrifices in the fight against apartheid, according to Lusa. "We suffered tremendous military, political and economic pressure," he told the crowd.

But he added: "Our region has now entered a new era of peace. All the black states of the region have to prepare for the post-apartheid and post-war (era)."

He also used the occasion to attack Unita.

The rebels proclaimed a major victory this week when the Ango-

lan army withdrew from the south-eastern town of Mavinga, scene of fierce fighting since December. The Luanda government said the troops were just being redeployed.

Unita said it would use its "resounding victory" at Mavinga to promote peace negotiations and promised to put forward new concrete proposals.

It was reported from Dublin yesterday that Mr Mandela would be invited to address a special session of the Irish Dail (parliament) when he visited Ireland on July 1-3.

Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey proposed the invitation yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

'Misconduct' denied by minister

CAPL. Tim's
11/15/90

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JOHANNESBURG. — A Soweto Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verryn, yesterday denied any knowledge of sexual misconduct between himself and three of the four youths kidnapped from the church and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house.

Mr Verryn gave his evidence-in-chief in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the murder of "Stompie" Mocketi Sepei, the attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Mr Verryn testified that although he had heard reports of the sexual misconduct, he had no knowledge of the allegations.

He had also heard reports that Stompie had been an informer, but he denied he had any knowledge of this.

It had emerged in court that Mr Barend Mono, 20, Mr Gabriel Mkgwe, 21, and Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, had been accused by Mrs Mandela and members of the so-called Mandela United Football Club of sexual misconduct with Mr Verryn.

Stompie had been accused of "selling out" four comrades to police. The four had been shot dead at Parys.

Mr Verryn told the court: "After the (informer) allegations about Stompie a meeting was held, and my feeling was that a 14-year-old cannot be held responsible for the decisions of adults. We decided that Stompie should stay in the (church) house."

He did not clarify with whom he had met.

Mr Verryn said he had not stayed regularly at the church and on January 7 he had received a telephone call from the pastor of the Central Methodist Church, Mr Alan Ching, telling him Mr Kgase had escaped from the Mandela home and was with him.

The hearing continues. — Sapa

RETURN OF THE HOMESICK... WHAT DOES IT FEEL LIKE TO COME HOME AFTER DECADES IN EXILE?

A guerrilla arrives in the back of a Mercedes

The only woman among the exiles involved in the talks, Ruth Mompoti, returned to a noisy welcome from her home town.

AFRICAN National Congress national executive committee member and former Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla Ruth Mompoti this week received a tumultuous welcome when she returned to her birthplace in the northern Cape after 28 years in exile.

The conservative town of Vryburg was bustling with excitement when the ANC leader arrived on Tuesday morning.

Relatives, activists and other members of the community were waiting for her at the entrance of the town when she arrived at 8.45am after a four-hour trip from Johannesburg. She was escorted into the town by a 500m-long motorcade before going to Huhudi township 2km away.

Mompoti was returning to the area for the first time since she fled South Africa in 1962.

When she arrived in Huhudi, Mompoti struggled to fight back the tears. "It's unbelievable," she said, looking



Ruth's return ... supporters hail ANC member Ruth Mompoti outside the Huhudi home where she grew up. Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix



By The Way
THAMI MKHWANAZI

at the horizon and kissing and embracing relatives.

Along the road municipal workers in orange overalls saluted with their tools at the passengers in the motorcade, who were waving miniature ANC flags. Women at a clothing factory ululated and shouted: "Viva ANC!"

A strong contingent of uniformed policemen watched as the motorcade cruised by. A massive South African Communist Party flag fluttered above the ANC leader's car. At the head of the procession, two youths held an ANC flag high.

In the back of the Mercedes Benz, Mompoti sat with MK guerrilla Than-

di Modise — released 18 months ago after serving an eight-year sentence — with whom she had travelled from Johannesburg.

Tears welled in Mompoti's eyes when she finally arrived at the house where she had spent her formative years. The place was teeming with people, and children were sitting on trees, roofs and on top of cars around the old six-roomed building.

The crowd surged forward and children jostled for space as Mompoti disembarked. The bespectacled leader came out and clenched both her fists.

Waiting with hands outstretched was Mompoti's cousin, 60-year-old Motlalepula Seichoko, who wept uncontrollably as they embraced at the gate.

Mompoti and her entourage were then driven to the double-storey house of Fuzi Maruping, a local businessman whom Mompoti had taught many years ago.

Tea and cake were served, and Mompoti commented on the changes in Huhudi.

"The place is as drab as ever. The only change I notice is two tarred roads, one of which is uneven. Most significant, however, is the people's commitment to the struggle. I noticed this when I knew for the first time

that a Thandi Modise had joined our armed forces."

Mompoti stared through the window. A swirl of dust blew past.

There are only two tarred roads in the 100-year-old township, which has a population of 25 000. The bucket system is still in use. Flush toilets are for the few who can afford the facility. Mompoti's Pholoholo Street home is among those who use a bucket for sanitation.

By 6pm the massive St Luke's Anglican Church was bursting at the seams, with many people standing outside. Young and old from all over Vryburg, Huhudi, the coloured township of Colridge and the Bophuthatswana villages of Dryharts and Pudemoe, came in the black, green and gold ANC colours.

Then Mompoti spoke, and her many years of exile in Europe did not prevent her from addressing the people in impeccable Setswana. Mompoti gave a brief account of the deliberations during the recent meeting with the government, and the ANC's stand on the question of negotiations.

"We can never negotiate in an abnormal political climate. The ANC will not negotiate any constitutional issues with the many obstacles still intact."

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT TRUST: THE DEVELOPMENT SECTION OF THE NECC

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR :

The Education Development Trust, the development section of the NECC is committed to a non-racial, democratic education system. The Trust supports and coordinates a number of established education programmes that share its goal. It facilitates the establishment of innovative programmes that will begin to address the education challenges and needs of a post-Apartheid South Africa.

Applications are invited for the post of Director of the Education Development Trust

WE FOLLOW TWO LEADING ANC MEMBERS BACK TO THEIR HOMETOWNS

Albie goes back to jail ... just for the day

in Mat 115-17/5/90
GAYE DAVIS spends some time with newly returned ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs in his home town, Cape Town

"I'M not coming to complain, I've just come back to see how things have changed," the African National Congress' Albie Sachs told the bemused desk-sergeant at Cape Town's Caledon Square police station.

It was the first time Sachs had "voluntarily" set foot in a South African police station: the last time he was in Caledon Square was in 1964, where he served out the last of 168 days in detention.

Now he was home again, after 24 years in exile, and visiting emotional landmarks in a tour of the city where he was raised, educated and later persecuted for his political beliefs.

Against one wall of the charge-office hung a board displaying plastic models of "terrorist weapons" — hand-grenades, limpet and anti-personnel mines.

Standard items of decoration in police stations, Sachs had never seen one before: he wondered which of the devices might have been used in the Maputo car-bomb blast two years ago in which he lost his right arm and the partial sight of one eye.

And he pondered the irony at his being classified for years as a "terrorist", yet getting his first glimpse of such weapons of war in a South African police station.

A senior officer invited Sachs into his office.

"You'll know what's happened if I don't come back," Sachs quipped.

"They were more nervous than I was," he said on emerging. "But I must say my heart really beat. As you can imagine I don't feel very excited when I see bars."

As he'd walked along the corridors of the police station, near where he had been held in solitary confinement and tortured by sleep deprivation, he had realised "how important it is to demythologise the police stations of this country."

"We have to have a situation in which everybody can feel free to go to the police because the police are theirs and there to defend them."

"I'm sure in my heart there are a lot of honest police, both black and white, who can help us achieve this in a future South Africa."

Sachs's tour started on Cape Town's Grand Parade, where he had once stood in the back of a lorry to address ANC meetings — "sometimes there were only 50 or 60 of us" — usually in fierce competition with evangelical Christian groups preaching their own form of salvation.

"The only people taking notes of our speeches in those days were security policemen," he said.

His tour took him to the wasteland of what was District Six — a vibrant mixed community before the bulldozers moved in and forced the removal, under the Group Areas Act, of thousands of families during the 1960s.

"I wasn't prepared for this by the photographs," Sachs said as he surveyed the grass-covered mounds of rubble. "This is very shocking. Cape Town's amputated, like I am — there's a hole in it."

Watching construction teams working on another building for the Cape Town Technikon (a white facility which has bought up much of the land in the area) and reading the billboards advertising up-market townhouses for sale, Sachs observed: "It would be a crime of another kind if this open space was simply turned into another area for property developers or even a slick kind of non-racialism."

"The first thing to be done is that the people who lived here have to be asked what they want. Simply to convert it into a place only for the rich would be to again punish those who were moved."

Everything could be healed with the right approach, said Sachs.



'Cape Town's amputated like I am' ... Albie Sachs amid the rubble that was District Six.

Picture: BENNY GOOL, Afrapix

At Cape Town's Community Arts Project he commended students' work, saying: "When I left there was nothing. Art was for special people."

He expected a "tremendous renaissance" of South African artistic expression. "People must feel free to express this new phase we're entering into — to raise their doubts and explore the contradictions. Then we can have literature, poetry and visual art second to none in the world."

A group of workers engaged in a skills' training project at the centre gathered round Sachs.

"We're entering a new phase and we have to prepare ourselves for freedom. Are you ready for freedom?" he asked them. "Yes!" they shouted.

"Are you sure?" he asked. "We've had to survive the bombs, the teargas ... we can't walk into freedom with our heads down, we have to walk tall. I think Madiba's (ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela) smile is worth 500 AK47s."

"Just give me one AK," said one of the group.

"But we've had so much killing," Sachs chided. "We're going to be in government quite soon — not alone, but with everyone else. We must get used to the idea that we are entering the age of freedom, when the country belongs to all of us, where everyone can work and live freely."

"We are the lucky generation, we are bringing it about. I'm not saying there are no obstacles — there are terrible obstacles, and a lot of people are going to try and stop us."

In the squatter settlement of KTC, he heard from community leaders how an estimated 20 000 people had only nine water points — seven of them presently out of commission.

Surrounded by giggling children at the Sithandiwe pre-school, he learned how the community had been unable to pay the salaries of all four teachers. One remained to teach 100 children, offering her services voluntarily.

"This is the first time we see the ANC sitting with the National Party and that gives us good hope, we just get a hope that the ANC will be in power. I think things will get better then," said community leader Kenneth Tsamana.

Sachs responded: "But remember, you are ANC. ANC isn't something that's going to come from the skies and liberate everybody. That's why the vote is so important. With the vote you can get your rights."

OPPORTUNITIES AT WITS

DEPARTMENT OF BOTANY

LECTURER IN BOTANY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons in any of the following fields - Cryptogamic Botany, Ecology, Plant Systematics, Mycology, Plant Physiology and Science Education.

The successful candidate should have a particular interest in Science Education. One of the main duties of the successful incumbent will be in co-ordinating the Department of Botany's involvement in the newly created College of Science.

The successful applicant will also be expected to be involved in other undergraduate courses, supervise post-graduate students, be active in research and participate in departmental field courses.

Duties to be assumed on 1 August 1990 or as soon as possible thereafter. For further information on the Department of Botany and the vacant position contact Professor R N Pienaar on (011) 716-2251.

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN SOUTH SOTHO

Applications are invited from persons with a B.A. Honours in African Languages or a B.A. Honours in South Sotho.

An ability to teach South Sotho linguistics to undergraduate and post-graduate classes is a strong recommendation.

You will be required to teach South Sotho literature to undergraduate and post-graduate classes and South Sotho language at undergraduate level. As Senior Lecturer you will also supervise post-graduate study.

For further information contact Professor J Khumalo on (011) 716-3350.

DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

LECTURER

Applicants require a post-graduate qualification (normally a Masters degree is a prerequisite). Teaching experience, areas of specialisation, research interests and qualifications in related fields will be a consideration.

The department teaches a wide range of Western and African art topics and has an excellent slide library for departmental use. Duties include undergraduate lectures, tutorials and seminars, as well as post-graduate seminars and research supervision. A Lecturer may be appointed on a 3 year contract on a tenure track.

Duties to be assumed on 1 July 1990 or as soon as possible thereafter.

Salary:
 Senior Lecturer: R42 528 - R55 374 (or on the special merit range p.a.)
 Lecturer: R29 184 - R48 826 } plus a 10% non-pensionable allowance

Benefits: annual bonus, generous leave, medical aid, substantial financial assistance towards dependants' university study (where applicable). Pension, housing subsidy, relocation allowance (if eligible).

For further information contact the Personnel Office, or submit a detailed curriculum vitae indicating areas of specialisation and teaching experience, as well as the names and addresses of three referees to: University of the Witwatersrand, Personnel Office, P O Wits 2050 or fax (011) 403-1926 by 30 May 1990.



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

Facing the challenges of the future today



A toast for the return of Huhudi's most famous resident. African National Congress executive member Ruth Mompoti, centre, returned to the township near Vryburg this week after more than 20 years in exile. See PAGE 6 (11A) Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Mandela thanks Angola for support

NELSON MANDELA yesterday thanked the people of Angola for their support for the resistance struggle in South Africa.

Mandela, who was met at Luanda airport by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and a large reception committee of government members, said Angola had given asylum to thousands of South African refugees and had helped train ANC guerrillas.

Dos Santos said Angola had suffered "tremendous military, political and economic pressure" in its fight against apartheid. But he said the region was entering "a new era of peace".

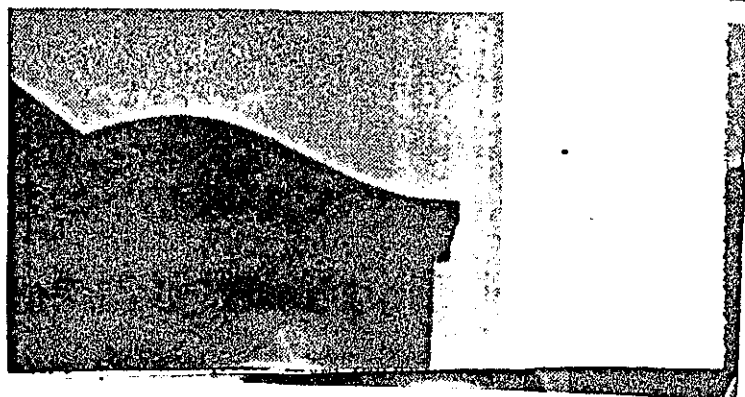
Earlier in the day, Mandela visited the tomb of Agostinho Neto, who led Angola to independence and became its first president. Neto died in 1979.

Dos Santos presented Mandela with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto.

Mandela is expected to visit Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Zambia in an African tour in which he will brief African leaders on the "talks about talks" held between the ANC and the South African government last week. — Sapa

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South Africa 11/15/90

ANC talks (11A)

GABORONE - President Quett Masire of Botswana has described recent talks between the South African government and the African National Congress, ANC, as a "major breakthrough".

Not linked (11A)
to Biko's ~~death~~

The Secretary of Health and Welfare in Qwaqwa, Dr G L Becker, yesterday said he had no connections whatsoever with the death of Steve Biko.

This follows an inaccurate report of Dr Becker's name published in *Sowetan* on Tuesday which said public servants in QwaQwa were demanding his resignation.

Sowetan wishes to apologise for any inconvenience the error may have caused Dr Becker and his department.

06/15/11
Sowetan 11/5/70

Azapo slams Venda pact

Sowetan 11/5/90 (11A) (DB)

THE agreement this week between the MDM and Venda's Council for National Unity that a committee was to be set up to define political prisoners in Venda was a tacit recognition of the "independence" of the bantustans, Azapo said yesterday.

Reacting to the meeting held on Tuesday at Thohoyandou, Azapo

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

regional publicity director for the northern Transvaal, Mr Khangale Makhado, said the committee agreed upon between FW de Klerk and the ANC in Cape Town last week should cover prisoners in Venda, "unless the MDM has decided to recognise Venda as a sovereign state".

He said the MDM meeting and another be-

tween the council and the ANC in Lusaka demonstrated not only "the present state of political confusion" within the two organisations and their grassroots supporters, but also "bore the seeds of the betrayal of the revolution and wishes of the majority of the people in Venda.

Citing the recent forced resignation from the council of headman Thivhulawi Makumbane, an ANC supporter, by members of the ANC supporting Youth Congress, Azapo said the meetings did not have the blessing of revolutionaries in the area.

"How do they justify such connivance when the military junta has banned trade unions and beat up youths protesting against such action," the statement added.

Another agreement reached between the MDM and the CNU was that ways had to be found by the joint working committee for the speedy lifting of the state of emergency.

'Stompie' trial told of Mandela team threat

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A day before four young men were taken from the Orlando West Methodist Church's manse, two of them told the Rev Paul Verryn they had been threatened with the Mandela Football Team because they had refused to wash the dishes.

This evidence was led in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday by Mr Verryn during the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to four kidnappings, five assaults with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, the murder of teenage activist "Stompie" Sepei and the attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikageng.

SHARED BEDS

Mr Verryn said he was aware of allegations of sexual misconduct at the manse but said he knew nothing about it. He said about 20 people lived in the three-bedroomed house. Every bed was shared and people also slept on the floor.

In December 1988, Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Molo, Pelo Mekgwe, Stompie and Xoliswa Fulati lived there. Mr Kgase, a cleaner at the Central Methodist Church, had no place to stay while on leave. Mr Molo and Mr Mekgwe had both been traumatised by detention and Stompie was brought to him by Mr Martin Chaskalson who did part-time work at the attorney's firm Priscilla Jana, Mr Verryn said.

He said there had been a house meeting after an allegation that Stompie was a "sell-out".

"I felt a 14-year-old could not be held responsible for decisions taken by adults. We agreed that he would not leave the house so that there would be no further suspicion."

On December 28 1988, Mr Verryn, who was on leave, called at the manse. Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe told him Miss Falati had threatened them with the Mandela Football Team. When Mr Verryn spoke to her, she confirmed she had difficulty with the two young men who resisted her discipline. He told her not to call on the team.

On January 7 last year, while still on leave, he received a telephone call and as a result went to the Central Methodist Church. There Kenneth Kgase told him a confused story of events, including an escape from Mrs Winnie Mandela's house. Mr Kgase's face was swollen, one eye was bloodshot and he had about 20 scabs on his back.

Mr Verryn said that at a community meeting in Dobsonville on January 16 last year, Mr Kgase, Mr Mono, Mr Mekgwe and Mr Ikageng gave evidence and a decision was taken that a group of community leaders would try to see Mrs Mandela.

(Proceeding)

ANC wants a free, 'responsible' press

Capl Times 11/5/90 (11A)
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress is committed to an independent press, Mr Aziz Pahad of the National Executive Committee of the ANC said yesterday.

Mr Pahad, addressing the Association of Democratic Journalists, said a free and critical press was necessary to enable democracy to flourish.

He said the South African and international press had in the past failed to report the truth and by so doing had created a curtain of ignorance around the true state of affairs.

So far, he said, few journalists had challenged the modus operandi in which they worked.

He said the ANC did not want the media blindly to accept its policies.

Journalists should not be propagandists for the ANC, Mr Pahad said, adding that the ANC encouraged constructive criticism of its policies and programmes. "They are not unchallengeable just because they are our policies," he said.

"We fight for a free and critical press — criticism must, however, be responsible." — Sapa

ANC starts drive for recruits

*(11A)
Sowetan
11/5/90*

**SOWETAN
Reporter**

THE African National Congress has launched a major recruitment drive in the PWV area which will include door-to-door canvassing for potential members.

ANC spokesman Mr Kgalema Motlanthe announced that temporary recruitment centres will open on Monday for a month.

Motlanthe said at a Press conference in Johannesburg that membership was open to all South African men and women aged over 18, irrespective of race, colour, or creed who accepted the ANC's principles, policies and programme.

Policy

Representatives of the organisation would canvass potential members and explain the policy and aims of the organisation.

Asked if the exercise would not create conflict with rival organisations, he said if the leadership's experiences on Robben Island in living with and tolerating other people's different viewpoints could be used as a yardstick he foresaw no problems.

The ANC would register its colours, emblems, and logos.

Sentences of life



Mary Benson, author of the first biography of Nelson Mandela and a history of the ANC, last month returned to visit SA after living in England for 24 years since her banning in 1965. Her autobiography was recently launched in SA (see Books)

FM: One reviewer has described your autobiography as innocent of ideology, which seems odd in view of your ANC connection.

Benson: I wrote in the introduction to the original book on the history of the ANC, *The African Patriots*, that I ended up (after research, travel around the country, and having been secretary to the Treason Trial Defence Fund), with a strong sense of involvement and very sympathetic to the ANC. But I've never really been a joiner. My white friends were in both the Communist and the Liberal parties and others were simply artists. That's just the way it's always been. I think in the discussions I had with Bram Fischer that comes out — a vague philosophical belief in the human spirit. I do find dogma very difficult to deal with, whether religious or political.

Do you have misgivings about ANC ideology, specifically its nationalisation policy?

No. As I understand it, the nationalisation issue has been thrown in quite strongly in order to provoke a rethinking and people to consider what lies behind that statement — and how much historical inequality has to be made up for. Clearly, it's going to be an extremely complicated process. But I imagine the talks on May 23 will be another contribution.

What about Mandela's own ideology?

Mandela's outlook is an absolute passion to unite people. I think all those talks he had in Victor Verster were aimed at that. It shows tremendous wisdom and generosity.

On the Island he told people that there were two sides to the struggle: the confrontation, but also the need for negotiation; and he's been saying that for years. That meant learning the language of your opponent and

reading his literature as well. I think that's all bearing fruit now, as is his passion for education.

Can Mandela unite a significant proportion of the people behind the ANC?

I would certainly think so — together with the UDF. When you think of what the UDF was in 1984, before the clampdown, the states of emergency, and of the marches that have been allowed and how well they went — if that had been the case in the early Eighties, there wouldn't have been that terrible backlash. I'm sure that he would have the greatest following. But as he said to the press recently, the ANC doesn't claim to be the only organisation and they welcome others to the conference table.

Would he make a good president?

I think wonderful. When he was young he had a hot temper and wasn't a reflective man at all. He has always had great authority. From all I've heard and seen, he's developed wonderful communication generally. And as Raymond Mhlaba has said, he really listens to people and has a lot of patience. These are wonderful qualities.

Do you have any sympathy with ensuring group or white minority rights in a new constitution, or would a Bill of Rights suffice?

I don't really know enough about those sorts of structures. But I gather that there's thought at the moment of two houses, with a senate or upper house maintaining some sort of restraint. But certainly for white fears (there has to be) something — but not group rights. That term should be dropped by the government because it's like the other forms of slogans and rhetoric that cause a block to things moving forward.

When people are anxious about the ANC and whether it's capable of the administrative functions of governing or being part of a government, they should look at all the allies it has won over the years (not just the UDF and trade unions), but in groups like Idasa, in universities and in business. There's a wide range of talent to draw on if it has to. You've been here during an historic time. What were your reactions, after long exile?

At first there was a tremendous complexity of impressions and images and meetings. I went back to my hometown, Pretoria,

which I found had become a physically dreadful city but I found that our little house was still standing there right next to the prison on Potgieter Street. How this little 1920 house had survived I don't know, but it's looking very shabby.

I felt excited by purely physical things, and since I was lucky enough to stay with friends in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, the fresh air in the morning, the light and the birds. But when in Cape Town I visited KTC and saw the real horror of those shacks going on forever. That left one speechless.

And then going to Cradock and seeing the graves of Matthew Goniwe and the others, but still the death squads haven't been dealt with. The women's leaders in Kwazakhele living in great poverty and one really felt very depressed at times.

People had all warned that when I came back I would find Johannesburg a black city, and blacks in all the banks, and so on. That didn't surprise me. Except one thought, how absolutely ludicrous that they don't have the vote, when you see the people whose country this is.

There's so much swept under the carpet. White consciousness has absolutely no real awareness that this is basically the Africans' country.

I was really very delighted to be back and that at last my books are unbanned. And to be here just at the time of those talks is amazing: history in the making, there on TV. Are you optimistic?

Yes. Ever since De Klerk made his February 2 statement it seemed to me from a distance that there was no turning back, whatever the confusion and the danger with the AWB, death squads, and so on. The crucial thing is that ordinary people living in poverty and squalor must be feeling: "When will we see any change?"

The very important thing is to remain positive, no matter what, and not to get carried away by slogans and rhetoric. Any fears about the next few years?

I suppose one is that the youth may feel that things aren't going fast or far enough. The right wing is a very obvious physical threat. Somehow, very soon, real change must happen in the lives of enough people for them to feel confident in their daily lives.

Thorny issues ~~(S)~~

Government has, for the first time, formally accepted the concept of political offences committed by members of the ANC and similar groups in trying to achieve their aims. ~~FIM 11/5/90~~

This was confirmed during this week's parliamentary debate on the Indemnity Bill by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. He agreed with the CP's Frank le Roux that the NP will participate in talks with the ANC and other groups to define what is a political offender. Le Roux argued it was a term that had up to now been rejected with contempt by the NP. Coetsee acknowledged it was a new concept.

Up to now, government argued that people jailed for politically motivated offences (such as Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues) were security prisoners. It also argued that even if crimes were politically motivated they had to be regarded as criminal and not political.

Coetsee said though no existing statute provided for "purely political offences," certain actions could now be considered as such in terms of the Bill. "Certain offences may be recognised as purely political, for instance treason directed solely against the State and not involving a common crime such as murder. In certain circumstances a common law crime, yes, even murder, may be a political offence."

He added that one of the principle factors to be considered in common law crime, "even a very serious crime," was the motive of the offender.

The Bill, supported by all parties in parliament except the CP, allows the president to grant a pardon or temporary immunity to people convicted of political offences, standing trial or awaiting trial for such offences, or suspected of such offences. It means members of the ANC and other groups can either be released from prison or return to SA without fear of prosecution to participate in

~~FIM 11/5/90~~ ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~

talks to "remove obstacles" to further negotiations. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~

It also allows for the granting of indemnity against civil actions. Government has consequently made provision in the Bill for ex gratia payments to people who may have been in a position to make civil claims against people granted indemnity.

Coetsee says an acceptable definition of political offences and political offenders will be agreed by a working group comprising members of government, the ANC and other interested parties.

The Bill provides for both temporary and permanent immunity, including immunity against civil or criminal action in any court, as well as against detention in terms of any law. People granted immunity will still be subject to other laws.

A more permanent arrangement on how to deal with alleged offenders outside SA, as well as members of organisations serving prison terms for "political" offences and the possibility of a general amnesty, will be negotiated but is unlikely to be implemented for some time.

The Bill is simply an interim measure aimed at promoting the current peace talks between government and the ANC. ■

B/Dm 11/5/90

11A



'ANC will back a free Press'

THE ANC wanted a free and critical Press in a post-apartheid SA, but one which was responsible and criticised constructively rather than maliciously, national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting organised by the Association of Democratic Journalists, he added it was difficult to talk of a free and critical Press when 98% of information flow was controlled by the state and large corporations.

"We do not want blind adherence to the ANC's policy positions. Eastern European experience showed the consequences where the Press acted as simply a mouth-piece for the ruling party," Pahad said.

It was necessary, though, for journalists to work for a common, broad acceptance of non-racialism, liberty and democracy.

He stressed that where he used terms like "constructive" and "responsible" journalism, he did not envisage state control of the Press.

Pahad believed an important point of debate was whether a formula should be devised whereby non-NP forces could make use of the SABC.

He also asked whether the "big-business-owned commercial Press" should be allowed to remain as it was, "or should we work out a way to democratise it?"

"We do not want direct state control, but need to look for ways to diversify the control of Anglo American over the Press," he said.

Another consideration would be to bring

ALAN FINE

into those newspapers journalists, including blacks, with different value systems to the dominant one, and to introduce other affirmative action programmes.

He also suggested attempts should be made to ensure editorships were determined not only in the boardrooms but by the journalists as well.



● PAHAD ... control by corporations.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

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B 10 11/5790

Whites to appear in court over killings

~~352~~ WILSON ZWANE ~~352~~

TWO white men are to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on Monday on charges of killing two black men and injuring another, police spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen said yesterday.

The two men — both in their late twenties — were arrested on Tuesday after an intensive investigation by Pretoria police.

Two black men — Simon Koba, 27, and Petrus Makena, 28, — were shot dead at point-blank range and a third man was seriously injured when four white men forced their vehicle off the road near Mamelodi last weekend.

The third man is in a serious condition at Kalafong Hospital in Mamelodi.

The victims were allegedly searched by white men, who said they were policemen, and asked if they knew about the "Wit Wolwe" before they were shot.

Van Rooyen did not believe the incident was linked to the Wit Wolwe. "There is only one Wit Wolf — Barend Strydom — and he is in prison. We have no reason to believe that there is a group of whites calling themselves Wit Wolwe." Barend "Wit Wolf" Strydom shot dead six people in Pretoria last year.

11A 352

UDF leader predicts lifting of emergency

Bloom 11/5790
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The state of emergency would be lifted in June when it came up for renewal, eastern Cape UDF leader Mkhuzeli Jack predicted yesterday.

But he made it clear he did not altogether welcome the prospect.

It would "deliver a confusing blow to the international community" and potentially result in easing pressure on Pretoria, he told a forum at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

He was candid about ANC strategy, in particular its efforts to deny KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a seat at the negotiating table.

He said Buthelezi and his "imperialist backers" were trying to "neutralise the liberation movement" to show there was legitimate black opposition to the ANC.

Any attempt to bring him into a peace process in Natal would only lend him credibility.

"We are broadening our social base — there is a battle going on. We are even trying to break the National Party into pieces... We are drawing everybody towards us."

The ANC had been successful in enlisting the trade unions. "We managed to get into the unions and change them in the right direction."

D... 11/5790

DP 'turned down ANC'

CPK 2075 12/5/90 (10) SDA
PARLIAMENT. — The Democratic Party had turned down an ANC invitation to become part of a United Patriotic Front at the negotiating table, Mr Wynand Malan (DP Randburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitution Development Budget Vote, he said the DP had turned the invitation down because it would hamper a democratic debate in a two-way confrontation with the government.

"We are democrats and we want to see the democratic process advanced," he said.

"We are not looking for a confrontational debate but one in which we can seek, really search, for answers." — Sapa

Armed struggle 'still on'

Staff Reporter

APL 7/2/90

12/5/90

(114)

adding that negotiation only strived to calm white fears and not that of blacks.

THE ANC's armed struggle would not be ended immediately and the organisation would continue to build underground structures, ANC Western Cape deputy chairman Mr Trevor Manuel said yesterday.

Mr Manuel was speaking at a lively UWC debate yesterday between himself and Azapo Western and Eastern Cape secretary Mr Mandie Mtompho on the topic: "Negotiations: The final sellout?"

Mr Manuel told about 600 students that the ANC had been responsible for grabbing the negotiation initiative by drafting the Harare declaration last year.

However, Mr Mtompho described the idea of a negotiated settlement as an "imperialistic ploy to subvert the socialist revolution in our country",

The Harare declaration concerned obstacles between the government and the ANC which were to be removed before negotiation could start, and the aim of the declaration was to create a climate for negotiation.

This declaration, Mr Manuel added, was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the only "lone voice" not in favour of the declaration was that of Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Azapo's struggle was not against apartheid but a struggle for freedom from oppression and the building of a "workers' democracy", Mr Mtompho said, adding that Azapo's aim was "to free the oppressed from FW's programme of crisis management".



Trevor Manuel



Mandie Mtompho

Exiles give Mandelas an emotional welcome

NELSON Mandela and his wife Winnie received an emotional welcome from over 200 South African political exiles at an ANC training camp in Angola on Friday.

The Mandelas both called for rank-and-file discipline when the ANC's estimated 20 000 exiles around the world eventually return home to face housing and job shortages and a lack of schooling facilities for their children.

"We feel the day we have been waiting for might be close at hand," said

Nelson Mandela, standing before militants crammed into a prefab hut at Viana, 20 kilometres outside Luanda.

"The ANC calls on you to act in a disciplined manner when you return and I must say (members) can't expect to live like millionaires - choosing mansions in whatever part of town they prefer," he said.

Mandela, who was greeted by chants of "we know you are our father" in Zulu and Sotho, gave the crowd a detailed account of his talks last week with

President FW de Klerk that produced a broad agreement to work for an end to political violence and clear the way for bringing blacks into the government.

Obviously moved by the warm reception, Mandela read the agreement in full to the crowd and later answered members' questions in a session closed to the handful of foreign journalists covering the visit.

Mandela said he believed De Klerk and the government delegation at the talks were sincerely searching for a peaceful solution, but warned: "We don't know if the delegation stands for all whites in South Africa and that's what we're worried about."

The Mandelas arrived on Thursday from Lusaka, Zambia, for their first visit to Angola. - Sapa.

ANC has prisons - Sachs

CP Correspondent

13/5/90

(45)

(11A)

ALBIE Sachs has always been known for his honesty, charm and sense of humour.

He certainly did not let his reputation down when he spoke at the University of Cape Town this week.

He also became the first ANC member, apart from deputy president Nelson Mandela, to talk in South Africa about the organisation's detention centres.

He did not say where or how many people were being detained by the ANC.

Although he had heard about these detention centres, he only visited them during the course of a recent inquiry.

Conditions were not as bad as he had expected. Detainees were well fed, received adequate medical care and had not complained to him about being physically abused, he said.

After the visit he cried because the experience took him back to his own detention by the South African Government more than 20 years ago.

"It was sad to see this happening. Yet I knew hit squads had sent persons in to kill us.

"If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC, it is not necessarily lies because we have ill-treated people.

"But if people come back and say that is the ANC - that is lies because we have a strong sense of justice in the organisation."

Sachs said the fact that an inquiry was being held showed the ANC had standards and even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

"The hardest cases, and these are cases which we have to face up to now, are those against whom there is strong suspicion - yet not strong enough for a conviction."

Sachs said ANC president Oliver Tambo had instructed him and some others in Lusaka in 1984 to draft

regulations on the question of how to treat violations of ANC rules.

These ranged from one member stealing from another to SAP members trained and sent to Lusaka, Angola and Mozambique with plans to assassinate ANC leaders.

"It was clear Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC."

There were many problems in the ANC at that stage, and the movement had decided to hold a conference to discuss them.

"One of the most painful issues was the question of torture."

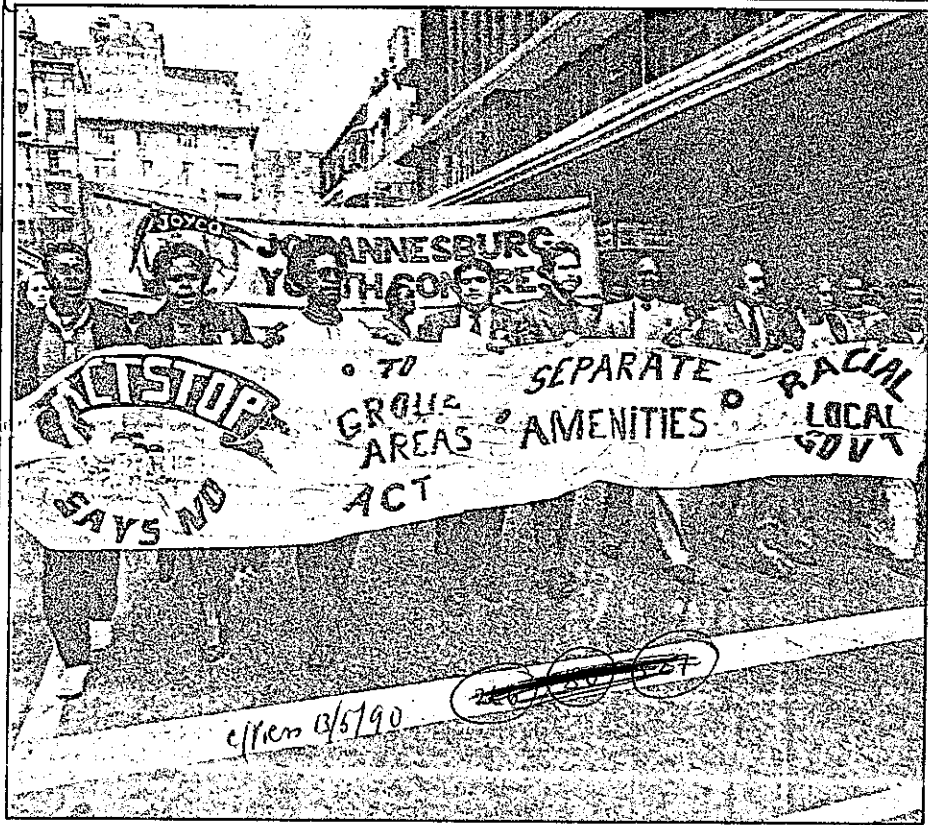
According to Sachs, ANC members repeatedly made the point that the movement was fighting for justice and freedom and could not use methods used by the enemy.

The meeting had adopted a Code of Conduct, dividing offences into different categories.

ANC GUARD IN KIDNAP DRAMA

Racial attacks on the increase

By CHARLES MOCALÉ
 (11/13/90) ~~11/13/90~~
 RIGHTWING attacks on innocent blacks have increased dramatically in recent months.
 Attacks have recently taken place in the Conservative Party-controlled towns of Boksburg, Klerksdorp, Carletonville and Welkom - and at Mamelodi township near Pretoria.
 In four incidents reported, five people have been killed and one is lying in a Pretoria hospital.
 The attacks come amid threats of a "third Boer War" by rightwing elements opposed to State President FW de Klerk's reforms. The AWB and Boerstaat Party have warned they will take over by force if the government capitulates to black rule.
 A frightening turn in the killings is that recent



ABOUT 300 members of Actstop braved the cold weather yesterday and took to the streets of Johannesburg to present a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council. Actstop members are demanding

Police informers abduct ANC delegation bodyguard

By ELIAS MALULEKE

A TOP ANC bodyguard - one of the security staff guarding delegates at last week's Grootse Schuur talks in Cape Town - was this week abducted by Askaris in a Johannesburg city centre kidnap drama.

Five black members of the Askaris - former ANC guerrillas now working for the police - pounced on the ANC's Rusty Dhladla, 28, who until last week's talks was on the South African police "wanted" list.

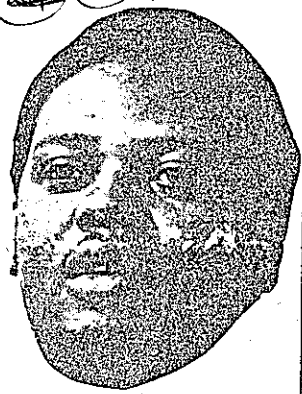
Dhladla, like other members of the ANC delegation, was given indemnity from prosecution by the government.

The trained guerrilla has since been released but his abduction caused a stir in the ANC camp and the matter has been taken up with senior police officers in Pretoria.

According to City Press sources police apologised to the ANC and plan to launch an investigation.

Police spokesman Capt EA Opperman said the incident was a misunderstanding. He said a member of the security police saw Dhladla, whom he believed was wanted.

"He had no idea the man had been granted indemnity," Opperman said. He said Dhladla was on the police



ANC's Rusty Dhladla... abducted by Askaris at gunpoint and then freed by police.

Horror assaults at people's courts

Page 3

Plot to kill Swapo officials revealed

Page 2

REDISCOVER THE CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE

URAIN

Police informers abduct ANC delegation bodyguard

By ELIAS MALULEKE

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"He had no idea the man had been granted indemnity," Opperman said.

He said Dhladla was on the police wanted list, but when it was discovered that he had indemnity he was freed.

Head of ANC intelligence, Jacob Zuma would only say: "We are looking into the matter."

Dhladla remained in the country after the Cape Town talks, taking advantage of the indemnity granted to participating delegates in terms of the agreement reached between the ANC and the government.

The abduction drama happened on Thursday night when five Askaris travelling in a grey car and wearing civilian clothes and balaclavas confronted Dhladla at the corner of Bree and Mooi Streets in central Johannesburg. He was with his cousin Percy Nkosi of Soweto.

Nkosi said his car was at a filling station in Noord Street when the grey car pulled up next to them.

"Rusty recognised one of the men as a former ANC guerrilla now working for the police," Nkosi said.

When Nkosi pulled away the other car followed and Nkosi decided to drive to a nightclub in Bree Street.

Said Nkosi: "The men parked next to our car and rushed out, guns in hand, and one of them called Rusty by name and demanded to know what he was doing in the country".



ANC's Rusty Dhladla ... abducted by Askaris at gunpoint and then freed by police.

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PERSONALITIES IN POLITICS

By Prof WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the University of Stellenbosch

FROM various sources, even the United States, serious reservations were expressed on the inclusion of the SA Communist Party's secretary-general, Joe Slovo, in the ANC's delegation which met State President FW de Klerk and members of the Cabinet at Groote Schuur.

Slovo was born in Lithuania in 1926 and emigrated to South Africa with his mother in 1936. At that time, his father, a fruiterer, was already in the country. He did not fare well in his business.

Slovo joined the SA Communist Party at the age of 16 and became involved in trade union affairs while still young. In fact, he led a strike at the age of 17.

He was dismissed after the strike which he had led for better wages and working conditions. Undoubtedly, this must have had a great influence on him.

He then joined the SA Defence



Joe Slovo ... negotiate.

Will the real Joe Slovo now stand up?

Force during the Second World War - although he was not yet 21 years old. After the war he studied law, graduating in 1950.

He practised as an advocate in Johannesburg and specialised in "political trials". Whatever can be said about him, his social awareness and involvement developed strongly during this time as a result of the circumstances in South Africa at the time.

With his wife, Ruth First, he was one of the first people to be subjected to certain limitations in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. For example, he could not be quoted in the Press.

In 1953 he formed the (underground) SA Communist Party and became a member of the Central Committee. He was very active in black politics, the well-known Defiance Campaign and the forming of new organisations. It has been alleged that he was one of the authors of the Freedom Charter.

He was one of those charged in the well-known treason trial of the 1950s. In fact, he was also a member of the defence team! The charges against him were eventually withdrawn.

Slovo formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961. Two years later he left South Africa to assist in organising the armed struggle. In 1977 he settled in Maputo from where he executed his strategy

against the SA State.

He played an important role within the SACP and ANC in the planning of political and military strategy. In 1985 he became the first white person to be elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He was also in charge of MK until 1987. After the death of Moses Mabhida in 1986 he was elected secretary-general of the SACP.

In the middle of the 1980s he gave his support to the negotiation position of the ANC and even expressed his reservations about the continuation of the armed struggle.

His position now is a rejection of the orthodox Marxist view that a revolution is a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of Socialism. It would be interesting to see how he plans to put this theoretical position into practice. The positive side of it is that it is not dogmatic-ideological.

An ironical situation has developed. For many years the SACP was a problem to the SA Government. Now it is creating a problem for the ANC. Numerous (black) church leaders who support the ANC are, for example, not happy with the ANC's links with the SACP.

My personal opinion is that the SACP will not be able to dictate to the ANC. Even Slovo will not succeed in this.

DE KLERK'S EUROPEAN SUCCESSES MAY MEAN A CUT IN ANC'S FUNDS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's dramatic advances in Europe could lead to major cuts in the ANC's funds from foreign governments.

The threat results from changing perceptions in foreign capitals of the way in which the Government and the ANC are squaring up in the search for peace. ~~SA~~ *5 Times 13/5/90*

President De Klerk's meetings this week with the heads of government of France and Greece improved SA's credibility. In Paris and Athens there was recognition that the government is genuinely and irreversibly committed to negotiations about an apartheid-free society.

By LESTER VENTER: Athens

The view from abroad is that since it was unbanned in February, the ANC should participate in the peace process on equal terms — as a political party.

And it is against SA law for a political party to receive funds from abroad.

The ANC does not disclose its source of funds, but it's known to be almost wholly reliant on foreign aid.

Diplomats said in Europe the matter was not discussed in meetings between President De Klerk and President Francois Mitterrand of France and Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece.

(11A) The issue will have to be faced before negotiations begin.

The ANC will be facing the National Party across the table — and not the Government. All parties will be on an equal footing.

The ANC has already experienced reduced international enthusiasm to fund it, and had added financial problems looming with the impending return of refugees. Numbers are not known, but they could exceed 20 000.

The ANC asked the Government at the recent Groote Schuur talks to help financially with the return of exiles — but was told Budget restraints made it impossible.

Talks may be

114 SITmes 1315190

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE next round of talks between the Government and the ANC may begin within days of President F W de Klerk's return from Europe.

Both sides said this week they were anxious to speed up the talks-about-talks phase, aimed at removing obstacles to the real negotiations.

Much will depend on the progress made by the technical committee appointed after the Groote Schuur talks to investigate the tricky problem of which ANC members in jail for various offences — including violence and terrorism — should be given amnesty.

The committee is headed by the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe, assisted by the Commissioner of Prisons, General W H Willemsse.

The ANC is represented by its chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, and its legal adviser, Mr Pennuel Maduna.

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, the committee must report by Monday, May 21.

Both Government and ANC sources said more progress was made at the first meeting than was expected. This may considerably advance the timetable for future talks.

One suggestion is that the technical committee be retained after May 21 with new instructions to draft a preliminary agenda for the next meeting.

At least one more meeting on "obstacles" — or what the ANC calls "preconditions" — will be needed to discuss the position of the remaining prisoners, the estimated 22 000 ANC members in exile across the world, and the continuation of the state of emergency.

Subsequent talks will be multi-lateral, with other major political groupings expected to join — including



ANOTHER SUCCESS... De Klerk with Constantine Mitsotakis

Timetable hinges on 'obstacles'

Inkatha, homeland and black urban leaders, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party and, if they can be persuaded, groupings on the right and left fringes like the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party.

However, the talks leading up to such a "national convention" may be the most difficult part of the process. Agreement will have to be reached on who should attend, how large each delegation should be, how it will be

constituted and whether each will have veto powers or not.

The biggest bone of contention is expected to be the ANC's insistence that an interim government be formed to rule the country while negotiations are in progress.

The Government has so far rejected this idea, stating that it will continue governing until a new constitution has been approved by the electorate and ratified by Parliament.

RECEIVED

5 Times 13/5/90

My name's on Inkatha hit list says academic

By TERRY van der WALT

EVERY night before going to bed Dr Aaron Ndlovu fills his bathtub with water in case of fire.

He might have felt silly doing so until last weekend when his precautions saved the lives of himself and his family. Vigilantes tried to set his home alight in the early hours of the morning, but the flames were doused with water from the tub.

A senior lecturer in political science at the University of Zululand, Dr Ndlovu said his name was on a hit list of people opposed to Inkatha and he faced another attack at any time.

He claimed another academic on campus was also on the list, which had grown from an initial eight names.

He said Inkatha was trying to eliminate existing and potential ANC supporters in the Mtunzini and Empangeni areas. "I understand this was made public by chiefs in the Empangeni area recently," he alleged.

The allegation was strongly denied yesterday by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Inkatha does not have a hit list. Any allegations that it does are untruthful and absurd," he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said Inkatha's strength was based on democratic and peaceful principles.

"It is the ANC which is committed to a political programme of armed struggle, ungovernability and dealing with so-called collaborators and 'sell-outs'," he said.

Surrounded

Dr Ndlovu said feelings were running high in the area and, with a meeting of Inkatha-controlled chiefs taking place in Empangeni today, there are fears of more violence and attacks.

Three other people in the area whose names appeared on the alleged hit list had been attacked in the past month, he said. One of them, an ANC stalwart, had been killed.

"Mr Gideon Mdletshe's Port Durnford kraal was surrounded by armed vigilantes and he was hacked to death," said Dr Ndlovu.

"He was one of the ANC veterans who joined Inkatha thinking it was a substitute for the ANC and then went back to the ANC when it was unbanned. That was his only crime," Dr Ndlovu said.

The home of former Cosatu regional secretary Jeremiah Ntombela was also attacked, but high fences around the property prevented serious damage.

"The home of another ANC supporter, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, was attacked and destroyed by fire, but he escaped," Dr Ndlovu said.

Talking to the Sunday Times about the hit list did not endanger his life any more than it already was, he said.

"If they are bent on eliminating me, then the world might as well know about it."

He said he had long been singled out by Inkatha as one of its chief opponents. In 1983 he was lambasted by Chief Buthelezi in the Legislative Assembly.

ANC man abducted by former comrades

C/Press 13/5/90

(11A)

■ From Page 1

Nkosi said he fled into the nightclub and the Askaris bundled Dhladla into their car and drove off at high speed.

Dhladla said: "They took me to John Vorster Square where they detained me briefly before I was taken to a building somewhere towards Pretoria."

He was questioned at length about the ANC by a police captain. When the policeman realised who he was he apologised and ordered that Dhladla be taken home immediately.

"They even served me with coffee," Dhladla said.

Dhladla said he was freed after five hours of interrogation.

After his release, Dhladla was taken to the

Soweto home where he has been living with relatives.

Dhladla said he was first threatened with death by a man called "Blondie" in the ANC camp in Lusaka before the man disappeared in 1988 to join the Askaris.

The Askaris are linked to allegations of police hit squads. The unit was at one stage allegedly headed by Brig Dirk Coetzee, who has confessed to the alleged murder of Durban lawyer Griffith Mxenge.

Dhlala, from Atteridgeville in Pretoria, fled the country to join the ANC military wing Umkonto We Sizwe in 1980. He is expected to leave tomorrow for Lusaka, where he works in the office of Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, who was also in the country for the Cape Town talks.

Those Indaba ideas have come full circle

LIKE happy days, the Indaba is here again.

However, before the hackles rise over a connection between the Indaba and happy days, let it be known: the Government has yet to agree that implementation of the Indaba proposals in Natal would make sense, and the ANC has yet to admit that the Indaba was not just an Inkatha thing.

Why the fuss, then?

At least three points are worth mentioning. First, it is clear to anyone who was involved in the Indaba experience of 1986 that the same scene is playing itself out at the national level today.

Take the attempts to get participants to the negotiation table. The details differ, but the essence is similar.

Some profess their belief in the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes and are willing to commit themselves.

Others prefer to take the

The KwaNatal experience contained useful material for South Africa's current constitution builders, says Professor Dawid van Wyk of Unisa

hard and defiant line: "We don't talk unless ... it's on our terms."

Part of the dilemma lies in the lack of a challenge to participate. And the best challenge history and the nature of politics would suggest is to have an election, ideally based on proportional representation.

Pitfalls

So far, the Government appears to be going for the Indaba principle in assembling the round table. Participation is by invitation and, furthermore, open to anyone who can convince the convenors that he or she should be present. This ap-

proach has its advantages, but also its pitfalls. A lesson from the Indaba for the national heavyweights is: Don't omit anyone who can ruin the plan.

Namibia has shown there is no sole and authentic representative of the people. Overwhelming evidence points to a plurality of political interests in South Africa that can hardly be represented by two or three players.

A related lesson is: Don't be misled into the belief that because the constitutional plan is a good one it will be accepted by those who did not participate in its framing. The Indaba had to dis-

cover that even some who shared in the process eventually denied their role because they were not altogether happy with the outcome. Imagine the feelings of those who did not participate at all!

The second reason why the Indaba can be said to be on the return is evident from the events of the last weeks.

Haunted

Like happiness, the smiles and cooing oning from Cape Town after the first formal meeting between the Government and the ANC will mean different things to different people. Whatever the

meanings, and whatever the interpretations, it is clear a pleasantly surprising discovery was made, especially by some of the "Boere": "One can talk to these guys

The Indaba had its share of hard-nosed opponents learning they could actually talk about sensitive matters quite pleasantly, especially if the setting is conducive as well — like the imposing city council chamber in Durban or the stately Grootes Schuur.

There is a third reason for the return of the Indaba.

The basic question that haunted the Indaba was how to marry the cry for universal suffrage with the need of certain groups for meaningful participation in the process of government and protection from sheer majority domination.

The same question hangs ominously over South Africa today.

The demands are quite explicit: the Government wants group participation

and protection while the ANC has made it clear in emphatic terms it will pursue every avenue to prevent groups from even being mentioned at the negotiation table.

The Government's position may explain its recent preferences, in terms more gracious than before, to the Indaba and, specifically, its two-chamber system.

A salient lesson from the Indaba, and one often missed in the effervescent, if not paranoid, debate about groups and minorities, is that groups or minorities should not be regarded as given for constitutional purposes.

Decide

In other words, it should not be said that groups or minorities are a fact and in need of participation and protection.

White South Africans, in particular, fall prey to this kind of reasoning.

They refer to ethnic experiences elsewhere and tend to speak on behalf of "all the other South African minorities", working on the assumption that what they perceive to be the other minorities feel the same.

In the Indaba, Afrikaners reached a point where they said, in so many words: "We want to be recognised as a group, regardless of how others feel."

Fears

The importance of this was fourfold — first, they were speaking for themselves only, and they demanded a solution had to be found to accommodate them; second, it was left to other groups or minorities to decide for themselves whether they wanted to be constitutionally recognised.

Third, it showed that one party claiming group participation and protection was sufficient to put the item on the agenda — to keep it off the agenda, all participants will have to be convinced.

Finally, it showed clearly that the question whether groups would be discussed at the negotiation table was not dependent on the fact that groups existed, but on the constitutional self-awareness of any such groups.

The ensuing debate, then, was not about how given groups should be protected, but about mechanisms to accommodate the fears of persons with a strong sense of group identity.

The Namibian experience underscores this point. In spite of a rich variety of ethnic groups, the overwhelming majority of Namibians felt it was unnecessary to reflect that fact in their constitution.

Agreement

The Indaba, on the other hand, concluded in 1986 that it had to do so to some extent in order to reach agreement.

Hence its well-known two-chamber system with background groups and limited vetoes, guaranteed participation in the Cabinet, cultural councils, economic advisory council, proportional representation, bill of rights and rigid constitution.

In the spirit of "let bygones be bygones", it might not be a bad idea for all concerned to dust off their personal copies of the Constitutional Proposals of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

They abound with food for constitutional thought at a time when the same old problems will have to be addressed by a new Indaba.

SKV

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11A

Malan: all races should serve

It was time consideration was given to drawing national servicemen from men and even women of all population groups, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on the defence vote, he said people of other groups stood shoulder to shoulder with "us whites" in

protecting South Africa and its security.

The stumbling blocks of the past were disappearing.

The conduct of coloured SADF members in the unrest in Natal had made him realise again that a soldier was a soldier.

General Malan said the objection raised by Mr Walter Sisulu

to the deployment of 32 Battalion in Natal was not worth the paper it was written on.

The battalion had been deployed because it was an outstandingly disciplined and neutral unit.

"In any case, the SADF will not allow anyone to prescribe to it who will be deployed where.

"What matters in the perfor-

mance of duty is not the colour of a man's skin, but his merits and preparedness to serve."

General Malan said that at this stage there was no talk or intention of increasing the period of national service again.

He hoped the increased Citizen Force and commando commitments announced last month could be speedily revised.

General Malan said the findings of the Van Loggerenberg Committee on the future of the SADF and Armscor to the end of the century, and on different forms of national service, had been referred to the SADF for further handling and investigation.

The committee had an overarching mandate to "do a positioning" of the SADF and Armscor to the year 2000.

"This committee had further established a firm base with regard to problems related to air travel. This is a matter that will be taken further, in co-operation with departments and persons concerned." — Sapa.

Close encounters

S/Times 13/5/90

(11A)

TO TALK with friends only is a party. To really negotiate you need an enemy. If there is one thing last week's historic talks at Groote Schuur should teach South Africans, it is that no lasting solution will come about if the main protagonists are not engaged in the process leading up to it.

Cosy fireside chats with those whose views are known and benign may be comforting but do not take anyone much further.

That the Government and the ANC got on together like a house on fire (pardon the expression) came as no surprise to those who have watched them from close quarters during the past months and years.

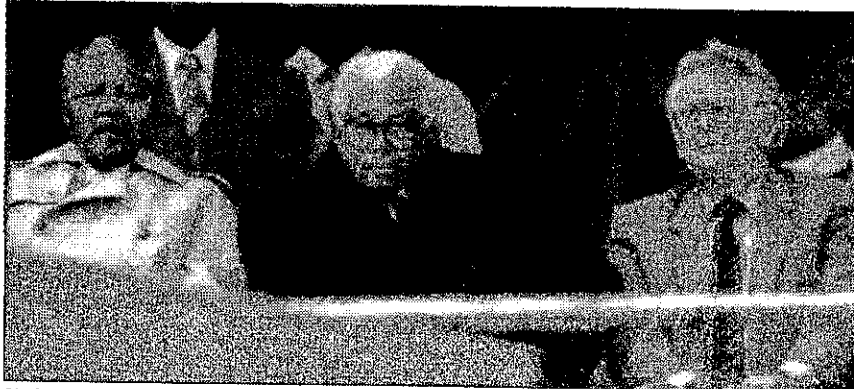
Recently, they have nudged closer than even they realised before that first handshake.

Nationalists, both. Patriotic by instinct. Former ideologues who are, on separate agendas, trying to get rid of the blinkers of policies past.

The Nats are trying to get rid of the notion that a political dispensation can only be constructed with the building blocks of legally enshrined racial groups.

The ANC is emerging into the real world where the facile slogans of nationalisation, armed struggle and isolation of the racist regime are fast becoming liabilities rather than trump cards to be played when the ante is being raised round the negotiating table.

That's why it was so critically important that Mr Joe Slovo was included in the



WON OVER... Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and tough-talking Joe Slovo

Thank goodness Joe Slovo was included in last week's talks, says Sunday Times political writer Dries van Heerden



ANC's team — in spite of the Government's own misgivings and Mr PW Botha's hindsight views delivered with less than 20/20 vision.

By all insider accounts, Mr Slovo was the toughest talker on the ANC side — and well he should have been.

Surprises

He represents a particular constituency within the ANC which is traditionally wary of any Government intentions. But in the end Mr Slovo — and with him the SA Communist Party — were won over to accept the contents of the Groote Schuur Minute.

What would the position have been had Mr Slovo stayed behind in Lusaka

while his colleagues negotiated in Cape Town? Would they have been able to sell the deal to him? Would they ever have returned from the Zambian capital for the next rounds of talks?

Two more asides on the talks: One of the surprises on the ANC side was the performance of another expected hardliner, Mr Joe Modise, commander in chief of the ANC's army, Umkonktho we Sizwe.

According to Government participants he impressed everybody, both during the formal talks and in the discussions in the corridors and round the braaivleis fires. Not bad for a former lorry driver.

Secondly: The age difference between the ANC and Government teams was too obvious not to have been noticed. Even with a youthful Miss Cheryl Carolus drafted in to represent the Western Cape and female constituencies, the average age on the ANC side of the table was 62 — Mr Walter Sisulu, 77, Dr Beyers Naude, 75, and Mr Mandela, 72, pushing up the numbers.

On the Government's side the oldest man was Dr Gerrit Viljoen, 64, and the majority were in their mid-fifties. Mr Roelf Meyer was the youngest, at a mere 43. One can only speculate on who are "yesterday's men".

The age factor may be an

unspoken, but very real, determinant of the pace of the talks yet to come. The septuagenarians in the ANC realise only too well that if there is any hope that the new South Africa will come about in their lifetime there cannot be too much stalling from their side round the negotiating table.

The first encounter turned out much better than most prophets of gloom predicted. But within the next few weeks the real issues will have to be placed on the agenda and one should expect some snags to develop.

Historic

Who will be sitting round the table when the hard negotiating starts in earnest? How will they be appointed? Should there be elections, and when? Will there be an interim government? How will a constituent assembly be made up?

What happened at Groote Schuur was historic. But, some would say, that was the easy part.

Ahead lies a long and arduous process of reaching compromises on crucial issues. Talks about armed struggle or sanctions of the state of emergency are important, but pale into insignificance against the question of how a constitution for the New South Africa should look.

The way in which former enemies became partners in discussion was heartening to see. The trust built up over three days of talks will be tested to its utmost when the difficult stages are reached.

OPINION 2

Simon Barber 11A

91 Times 13/5/90

IF, as one can only assume to be the case, Nelson Mandela's ANC wishes to maximise its power under any new constitutional arrangement, it is strange that he should be so opposed to the notion of group rights.

No better plan can be devised for the marginalisation of minority political clout.

This is the lesson not only of Zimbabwe — where the two percent white minority achieved instant irrelevance after being guaranteed 20 seats in Parliament — but of the US where minority group protections have also been entrenched.

Next year, state legislatures will set about redrawing the boundaries of congressional districts to reflect the results of the 1990 census. A major factor in how the lines are drawn will be the 1982 amendments to the 1965 Voting Rights Act and various related court decisions.

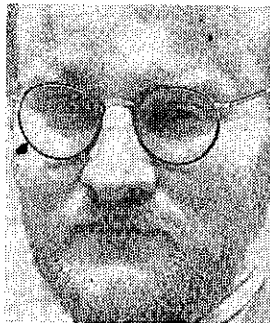
Between them, Congress and the courts have effectively determined that the redistricting must be performed in such a way as to ensure the election of "minority" legislators in equal (or greater) proportion to the overall population size of each "minority".

Dominate

On the theory that black people will vote only for black people, Hispanics for Hispanics and Aleuts for Aleuts, the desired proportionality is achieved by creating districts the majority of whose inhabitants are black, Hispanic or Aleut.

Redistricting is, of course, an intensely political business. The continued ability of the Democrats to dominate the House of Representatives is at stake. They are therefore pulling out all the stops in this year's local elections to win control of as many state legislatures as possible in order to push their maps

DATELINE WASHINGTON



ANC's backing wrong horse

down the Republicans' throats.

The Republicans, knowing their chances in most state-level contests to be slim, have developed a remarkable counter-strategy based on the minority protection rules — rules, ironically, they have previously long opposed in the name of colour-blind politics.

Motives

Their logic is this: corral out black voters who habitually vote Democrat into as many reservations as possible, and you will be left with a greater array of lily-white constituencies more

prone to vote Republican.

Democrat-prone minorities will thus win more seats in Congress while at the same time having considerably less say in its overall composition.

To this end, the Republican National Committee is energetically encouraging minorities to play the group rights game — to the point of helping equip minority activists with PCs and software that will enable them to analyse the census data and challenge any districting plan that does not give them the number of seats to which they believe themselves entitled.

Naturally, the RNC claims the highest of motives, but it is hard to disagree with one Democratic specialist who says: "The Republicans understand they won't have enough seats in the state legislatures to have a say in redistricting, so they are going to the minorities with this siren song of discrimination."

Oblige

If the Republican plan is successful, black Americans will end up with less power at national level than previously. Not only will their party be less dominant in Congress, but because, by the very means of their protection, they are isolated from the majority, they will have no pull on its candidates. White politicians, elected without their help, will owe them nothing.

Were Mandela and the ANC wise in their pursuit of total power, they would oblige President F W de Klerk in his desire for minority protections, just as the Republicans are hypocritically brilliant in their encouragement of America's black activists to pursue their own brand of group rights.

Put another way, the ANC can only lose from the truly non-racial politics Mandela professes to espouse.

Mandela due to visit Nigeria

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due in Nigeria yesterday for a four-day visit.

This is the third leg of a tour which will extend his travels outside southern Africa to Africa's most populous country, reports Sapa.

The visit comes at a difficult time for Nigeria with the atmosphere still uneasy three weeks after disaffected army officers tried to overthrow President Ibrahim Babangida.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Mandela is virtually certain to address the opening of a key meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in Nigeria this week, at which sanctions against SA will be high on the agenda.

The nine-member Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on SA

meets in the new federal capital, Abuja, on Wednesday and Thursday to discuss developments inside SA. (12/20)

The meeting, the first by the committee in six months, comes at a time when it has been revealed the European Community is considering a Dutch plan for the phased lifting of sanctions in response to expected major steps towards the elimination of apartheid.

Other issues to be discussed include the provision of assistance to "victims of apartheid". (11A)

However, given Mandela's insistence that sanctions only be lifted when irreversible changes have been made, it seems unlikely that the ministers will call for a relaxation of sanctions.

● Comment: Page 6

Court to decide on school principal

Art Times
14/5/90

(118)

Supreme Court Reporter
THE appointment of a Beaufort West principal, allegedly on a party-political basis, will be challenged in the Supreme Court today by two members of the school committee.

Mrs H Hugo, chairlady of St Matthew's Primary School committee, and Mr Mike Verveen, vice-chairman, will ask for a review of the appointment of Mr George de Vos as principal.

In papers filed at the Supreme Court, they said the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Minister of Education in the House of Representatives, had not taken all relevant factors into consideration when Mr De Vos was appointed, alternatively that Mr Hendrickse had acted in bad faith and had not considered the recommendations of the school committee, the regional chief inspector and the Director of Education, that the acting principal Mr L Duimpies be permanently appointed.

The post of principal became vacant after the death of Mr A L Smit.

Mr Steven Majiedt, instructed by Wilkinson, Joshua Gihwala and Abercrombie, will appear for Mrs Hugo and Mr Verveen. Mr R G Comrie SC and Mr C B Prest SC, instructed by the state attorney, will appear for Mr Hendrickse.

Two-chamber govt to aid minorities rejected

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu yesterday dismissed the idea of a future two-chamber government which would guarantee minority rights.

Sisulu's comments were made in response to the 12-point plan outlined by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen in Parliament on Friday to guarantee minority rights.

"Minority rights have only one meaning — apartheid," Sisulu said. "The purpose of minority rights is solely to retain power."

"I am not in principle opposed to a two-chamber system of government, but I am absolutely opposed to it in the purpose for which it was proposed. Counting 'units' or groups rather than counting heads is not democracy. We are committed to a one person, one vote government."

Viljoen said during debate on his budget vote that the NP saw itself as part of a political grouping which would seek protection of rights to benefit the entire nation. He said these rights were not special privileges intended exclusively for the benefit of the political groups seeking their protection.

"These minorities, because of their particular values and aspirations, should have a special voice in the new constitutional dispensation," he said.

The rights which the government wanted to see protected were the holding of free regular elections, a bill of individual human rights, the preserva-

DANIEL FELDMAN

tion of the free market system, the prevention of a one-party or communist dictatorship, freedom to live in particular communities and attend specific schools, the honouring of existing property rights, an independent judiciary, well-run security forces and no unjust tax systems.

Sisulu rejected several of the points, especially that own schools be run with equal state funding, saying: "We will tolerate no discrimination in any form in the schools."

Sisulu said the ANC agreed in principle with several of the points. Holding free elections, maintaining an independent judiciary and creating a bill of rights were fundamental tenets of the ANC's democratic principles, he said.

On the free-market system, Sisulu said a mixed economy combining free enterprise and nationalisation was "the ideal answer". He also said the ANC had never considered expropriation.

Viljoen said the steps were necessary to protect SA from being misled by "an unsophisticated majority vote".

However, Sisulu said: "Some blacks had the vote in SA in the 19th century, and our people always used the vote well. Majority vote is a system that works in nations around the world — there is no reason that it should not work well in SA."

100 Reef whites join ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — About 100 whites in Benoni and Springs — regarded as the heart of white conservatism on the Reef — have been signed up as ANC members, according to the ANC's internal leader for the Vaal Triangle, Mr Greg Malebo.

Mr Malebo, who launched a major recruitment drive in Tokoza yesterday, claimed that the ANC was making "real gains", particularly in the 19 townships of the East Rand. — Sapa

Modise denies failure of the armed struggle

The head of the ANC's military wing has denied that the organisation was forced to the negotiating table by a failure of the armed struggle.

In one of his first interviews in South Africa, Joe Modise, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), told The Indicator newspaper that although the ANC had always felt the problem of South Africa should be resolved peacefully, the armed struggle would be suspended only if the problems of apartheid were tackled seriously.

He said the ANC leadership and MK commanders had conducted an extensive campaign to sell the talks to their supporters.

Suspicion

He acknowledged there was suspicion in the ranks, and that cadres might embark upon "an odd action here and there" because they might not receive instructions to "act differently".

He told The Indicator editor, Ameen Akhaway, that the armed struggle had not failed:

"If the armed struggle had failed, we wouldn't have gone to Groote Schuur. The enemy would have used the force that they've been using over the years to suppress again."

He said the authorities were aware of the strength of MK and that was why they had entered into negotiations.

He added: "MK is growing, our skills are growing and we have the capacity to create real trouble for this country. But it's not in our interest. If we think that there is a better option, we'll opt for it."

He said, however, that, as far as MK was con-

cerned, "true talks have not yet taken place to address the question of armed struggle".

"The reasons that have led to the taking up of arms have not changed, they are still there intact. Initiatives have been taken by the ANC to try to revive this process of resolving this question by peaceful means."

Mr Modise, a member of the ANC delegation to the Cape Town discussions, said the armed struggle would be suspended — but not called off — if the basic problems of apartheid were addressed.

"If the question of apartheid has been resolved, then there is no need for armed struggle."

The MK chief said there had been mixed feelings within the ANC and MK about the meetings with the Government, but the organisation's leaders had been "doing a lot of political work" among members and MK cadres.

Discussions

The question of negotiations had been thoroughly canvassed in extensive discussions both inside the country and in MK camps and ANC administrative offices abroad.

Mr Modise acknowledged there had been a few ANC members who were suspicious.

"We ourselves, when we came down here, were suspicious, the other side was also suspicious of us. It was during this process that we began to realise that some of the obstacles could be overcome."

"I don't think it would be correct for me to say that one has complete trust in the other side. It is what they say and do which will get people to begin to trust in them." — Staff Reporter.

Azapo women told they should demand their rights

By Thabo Leshilo

Sexism is the root of oppression and, unless eradicated, will continue to encourage discrimination and economic exploitation, Thandeka Mgoduso of the University of South Africa's health psychology unit said in Soweto at the weekend.

Ms Mgoduso was the keynote speaker at the first national congress at Jabavu of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation, the women's wing of the Azanian People's Organisation, attended by more than 500 delegates.

She said the economic and social oppression of women was part of a social system that had enriched the few at the expense of the many.

Women were denied access to

accurate information about themselves and the nature of their oppression, she said.

She said women should refuse to be made helpless and dependent.

The abuse of women was so entrenched it had become hard to imagine an environment in which criticism and rejection of women was replaced by encouragement, appreciation and respect.

She said oppression came in two forms: external oppression, whereby laws, institutions and other social structures reinforced inequality; and internal oppression, whereby women had come to believe in their own inferiority, worthlessness and powerlessness.

Mandela urges West not to ease sanctions

LUANDA — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Western nations not to ease sanctions against South Africa.

"We have called on the international community to isolate South Africa and that is still our position," Mr Mandela told a news conference in the Angolan capital at the end of an official visit.

Asked whether he intended to run for president in any future democratic elections in South Africa, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to indicate that I have no such ambition. I will do what the ANC and the South African people require

me to do." *Star 14/5/90 (11A)*

Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to compromise with President de Klerk on several points, but demands for one person, one vote were not negotiable.

Mr Mandela pledged a Bill of Rights to "guarantee fundamental human rights to all sections of the population".

Mr Mandela is scheduled to attend the fifth meeting of the nine-member British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' committee on South Africa, which opens in Lagos tomorrow.

● PAC president Zeph Mothopeng

said in Umtata yesterday that President de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

Mr Mothopeng said Mr de Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation and had apparently warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions by the American Congress. He said President de Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force". — Sapa-Associated Press.

ANC is not negotiating yet - Sayco

11A

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE ANC was being falsely accused by certain organisations and newspapers of having entered negotiations on its own, the South African Youth Congress said at the weekend. *Sowetan 14/5/90*

In a hard-hitting statement, Sayco publicity secretary Mr Parks Mankahlana said the false impression was being created that the ANC had begun negotiations with the Government to the exclusion of other organisations.

"The Cape Town meeting did not signal the beginning of negotiations, it was merely aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations," said Mankahlana.

Churches to discuss exiles

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to hold a three-day national consultation to prepare for the return of South African exiles.

The meeting, to be held from today at Koinonia in Johannesburg, will seek to clarify the role of the church on the return of exiles, according to the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC.

Chikane said the meeting would be attended by



THE REV FRANK CHIKANE

member churches of the SACC, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, regional councils of churches and associate

members of the SACC. The Baptist Convention of South Africa and the National Baptist Convention have also been invited, he said.

He said a broader consultation involving liberation movements such as the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and the PAC would take place immediately afterwards.

Last month the SACC had a consultative meeting with the ANC in Lusaka on the issue.

South African 14/15/90

(11A)

Monday May 14 1990

Mandela thanks Nigeria

Source: 1415190
LAGOS - ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping win his release.

Mandela was speaking to thousands at the national soccer stadium in Lagos. (IA) (B)

The crowd roared, interrupting Mandela when he said: "As you know, I have been in prison for 27 years." After the roar subsided, he continued: "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release. With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria.

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of Nigeria."

He leaves Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria. - Sapa-AP.

ANC ready to lay down arms

Sowetan 14/5/90

11A *[Handwritten initials]*

MR JOE MODISE



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is prepared to suspend the armed struggle to give negotiations a chance.

This was the message delivered by MK commander Mr Joe Modise in an interview with the Lenasia, Johannesburg-based community newsletter, the *Indicator*.

Modise indicated a ceasefire might be initiated if the working group, comprising the ANC and the Government, reached agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

The working group is due to report back by May 21. Modise, who was a member of the ANC delegation at the historic talks at Grootte Schuur, warned that MK had the capacity to "create real trouble" but if there was a better alternative "we will opt for it".

He pointed out that apartheid was still in operation and this remained a major obstacle which would have to be overcome.

The ANC had always taken the view that the problems of South Africa were political and as such, should be resolved peacefully.

Positive response

Modise said the ANC had only taken up arms when its efforts talk to the white establishment failed.

"The reasons that led to the taking up of arms have not changed - they are still there," he said. "Fortunately, there has now been a positive response, hence the talks at Grootte Schuur.

"The cause of the suffering and violence in our country was largely brought about by apartheid and if this question is resolved, there is no need for armed struggle which would then fall away.

"The greater part of the violence that we are seeing here has been State-sponsored, directed against the people to defend apartheid, to force apartheid on the

From Page 1

Talks need a chance

MK prepared for ceasefire

Sowetan 14/5/90

From Page 1

people.

"So if that question is not resolved, there is no way in which the armed struggle can stop."

Asked if MK soldiers would accept a decision to call off the fighting if the negotiating process succeeded, Modise said he did not foresee any problem.

The question of nego-

tiations had been thoroughly canvassed in extensive discussions in the camps and with the cadres doing administrative work in the ANC offices.

Leadership

At each stage of the negotiations, the leadership would go back and explain every aspect. In this way, the rank and file would be kept solidly behind the movement.

Modise said MK did not have the means of

communication available to the Government with men scattered over the country.

"It is possible some of them may not get the instructions to act differently because there is an agreement and you may find the odd action here and there.

"But the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are basically disciplined and committed to the policies of the ANC and they respect its authority." - Sapa.

Compromise is out, - PAC's Shinnners

Sowetan 14/5/90

11A

THE economy must remain in the hands of the people if economic imbalances in South Africa were to be addressed, Mr Mark Shinnners, executive member of the PAC, said

By SY MAKARINGE

yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of the Azanian National Youth Unity in Diepkloof, Soweto, Shinnners said socialism was morally right and the PAC was not prepared to compromise on it.

The rally, the first in a series organised by Azanyu, was attended by more than 600 people.

Shinnners, who was convicted for treason in the marathon Bethal trial, said socialism was seen as the rotten egg by certain people but when the Government came to power it used State funds to solve the "poor white problem".

He condemned negotiations with the Government, saying the PAC

would not negotiate until the land question, among other demands, had been fully addressed.

"To be invited to the negotiation table means that we are on our knees. We refuse to be seduced by material incentives.

"At a crucial moment in our history, the oppressor is using the same method that he has been using effectively over the years, that of divide and rule. He is drawing some of us away from the struggle," Shinnners said.

He said those who dominated never sacrificed their power.

Mr Ntsie Mohloali, vice-president of Azanyu, said people who said there was competition between the PAC and the ANC were "misdirecting the struggle".

THE oppressed people should fight for the repossession of the land and its resources rather than waste energy fighting apartheid, a speaker told a Black Consciousness women's gathering in Soweto at the weekend.

Addressing the first annual congress of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation, held at the Evangelical Lutheran Church Centre in Soweto, Rose Ngwenya told delegates that even when apartheid had been scrapped, many black people would still find themselves staying in shacks, unemployed and starving.

Delegates

Imbeleko is a formation of the Azapo.

"We should not be misled by talk that when apartheid is scrapped we shall have attained true liberation," Ngwenya said.

Close to 400 delegates from branches in the

Fight for land Imbeleko head

By SONTI MASEKO

northern Transvaal, Soweto and the East Rand, the Free State and Natal attended the congress, the first since the organisation was founded in 1987.

Ngwenya urged the women to commit themselves to ending the violence in the townships. "Our immediate task as mothers, workers and revolutionaries is to make sure that there is peace in our country," she said.

The congress focused on privatisation, the Group Areas Act and negotiations.

On negotiations, Ngwenya said the Government still controlled the economy, the army, the keys to jails and



ROSE NGWENYA

ROSE NGWENYA

the jails themselves, and the oppressed needed to ask themselves first how much power they had to begin negotiating.

Delivering the keynote address, clinical psychologist Ms Thandeka Mgoduso said the liberation of women would also mean the liberation of men as the two were interlinked.

FW the real victor

Sowetan 14/5/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday.

Addressing more than 2 000 mourners at the funeral of top PAC official Synod Madlebe in Umtata, Mothopeng said De Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation.

He had apparently also

warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions under consideration by the United States Congress.

Mothopeng said De Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force".

Mr M Manqangwana, the PAC'S Queenstown representative, told the mourners that the future of black people was being decided behind closed doors. - Sapa.



● Authority forged by lonely years in jail ●

AKGUS 14/5/90
11A

Man and the myth



Entered prison an activist, emerged a legend

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THREE months ago this week, Nelson Mandela the myth became a man. He walked free from Paarl's Victor Verster Prison a hero whose imprisonment for 27 years in the cause of black liberation made him a figure of international stature.

All but neutralised as a leader, his lonely years in jail nevertheless endowed him with an authority of almost extra-human dimensions.

He entered prison a young lawyer and political activist, a rising star. He emerged a legend.

Contact broadened

The transition occurred in steps and his contact with the outside world was broadened as the day approached, but when he did finally walk free it was into a world that placed immediate and enormous demands on him.

Yet, for a man who turns 72 in July, Nelson Mandela embarked energetically on a dizzying round of politicking that has had a significant impact on South Africa.

Since that Sunday in the second week of February, he has visited a long list of African and European capitals, he has criss-crossed the country, speaking at rallies, giving scores of interviews and attending important, high-level meetings, he has addressed all the key elements of ANC policy and answered controversies.

The armed struggle and nationalisation proved touchy subjects — white reaction (and the stock market) illustrated this amply.

He has appealed for calm and rallied supporters in the struggle.

It has also been a testing time for the deputy president of the African National Congress.



Mr Nelson Mandela and Mrs Winnie Mandela salute well-wishers after his release from Victor Verster Prison on February 11 this year.

Policy compromises

From the day of his release — indeed, his very first speech — he has delicately balanced adversarial sentiments with conciliatory ones, resolute restatements of ANC policy with assurances of policy compromises to come on the road ahead. Few doubt his inspiring abilities as a leader, though most also recognise the difficulties he faced then and still faces now.

In the final analysis, Mandela the man cannot be truly judged separately from his organisation. Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan noted that when he first met him, shortly after his release, Mr Mandela "needed much more communication with other members of the ANC".

"He left the impression of being in a sense almost distanced from the political organisation and decision-making and he created the impression of being an extremely able diplomat rather than a politician."

Since then, Mr Malan believes, "the shift has been completed... he is self-confident, he looks to the future rather than the past, he is impressive, with his intellect and sense of humour".

Exploratory debate

Mr Malan has no doubt Mr Mandela will play a major role in South Africa's future.

He singles out the role Mr Mandela has already played in generating debate, particularly among the business community whose concerns have focused on a future threatened by nationalisation.

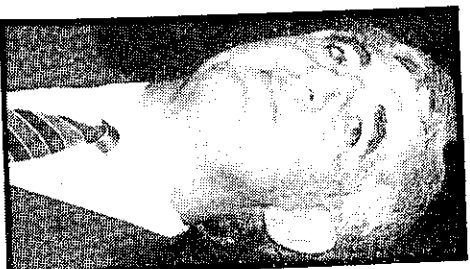
"This has had the effect of encouraging an exploratory debate on the kind of economy a future South Africa will need," Mr Malan said.

His political influence has also been highlighted, Mr Malan argues, by his capturing the homeland parties for the ANC and "to a large extent entrenching his personal power base in rural communities".

Mr Malan believes too that whites have begun to see the ANC in terms of values rather than race and that this is largely to Mr Mandela's credit.

Political scientist Professor David Welsh believes Mr Mandela "has shown himself to be a

Mr Wynand Malan... Mr Mandela is self-confident; he looks to the future rather than the past, he is impressive, with his intellect and sense of humour. There is no doubt that he will play a major role in South Africa's future. Noteworthy is the role Mr Mandela has already played in generating debate, particularly among the business community concerned by threats of nationalisation.



Mr Wynand Malan

man of immense dignity and stature" whose "lack of bitterness after decades of imprisonment is remarkable".

He said he understood that Mr Mandela himself was anxious to dispel the myth generated by his incarceration that he was "superman, or a miracle worker".

"In prison, he could make no mistakes. Free, he is fallible and mortal."

Professor Welsh added: "Clearly he is a leader of extraordinary force, but leaders require solid infrastructures within which their followers can be integrated and that is something the ANC still has to do."

Only then would Mr Mandela's call for peace and discipline "have a chance of being fully heeded".

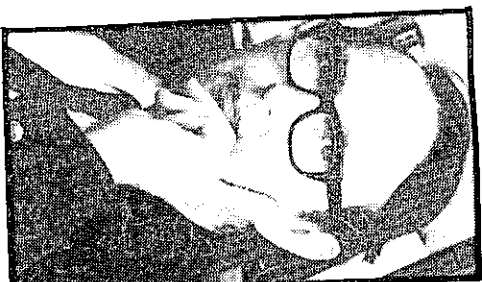
Professor Welsh saw the challenge for both Mr Mandela and President De Klerk as being "to reach out to each other and forge a historic compromise and then to have that compromise accepted by their followers".

Mr Mandela has also had an impact on the right wing — not least in providing the Conservative Party in parliament with a reason to lambaste the government.

Scores of CP questions put to ministers this session have sought answers on the minutest details of his contacts with the government and his privileges in prison.

Mr Mandela's opposition to the left, principally

Professor Welsh... "Clearly he is a leader of extraordinary force, but leaders require solid infrastructures within which their followers can be integrated and that is something the ANC still has to do." Only then will Mr Mandela's call for peace and discipline "have a chance of being fully heeded". The challenge for Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk is "to reach out and forge a historic compromise."



Dr David Welsh

the Pan Africanist Congress, appears to be in a difficult position when it comes to assessing his role.

Such is the wide respect he enjoys that while PAC spokesman are eager to pinpoint the political shortcomings of the ANC, they are loathe to appear being ungenerous in their appraisal of a man whose freedom they celebrated and whom they admire as a leader.

A former associate of the veteran ANC leader, the PAC's representative in the Western Cape Mr Barney Desai, said that, political differences aside, the PAC welcomed Mr Mandela's release because he was an important player and the PAC welcomed the release of all political prisoners.

He added that he and the PAC considered unity of the "oppressed people" to be vital.

Clear also is the respect Mr Mandela enjoys in government ranks.

His joint press conference with President De Klerk after the signing of the historic Groote Schuur Minute illustrated well the courteous approach that encouraged Mr De Klerk from their first meeting.

At this same press conference, Mr Mandela displayed his skill at being a partner and a political adversary all at once.

His confidence in raising sensitive issues loudly and clearly and without bitterness was striking.

It is possibly here that his chief impact on South African politics is most evident, and it

Mr Barney Desai... Political differences aside, the PAC welcomed Mr Mandela's release because he was an important player and the PAC welcomed the release of all political prisoners. Mr Desai and the PAC considered unity of the "oppressed people" to be vital. (PAC spokesman are loathe to appear ungenerous in their appraisal of a man whom they admire as a leader).



Mr Barney Desai

probably has as much to do with the fact of his release as with the characteristics of the man himself.

Never before February 11 has the South African political debate

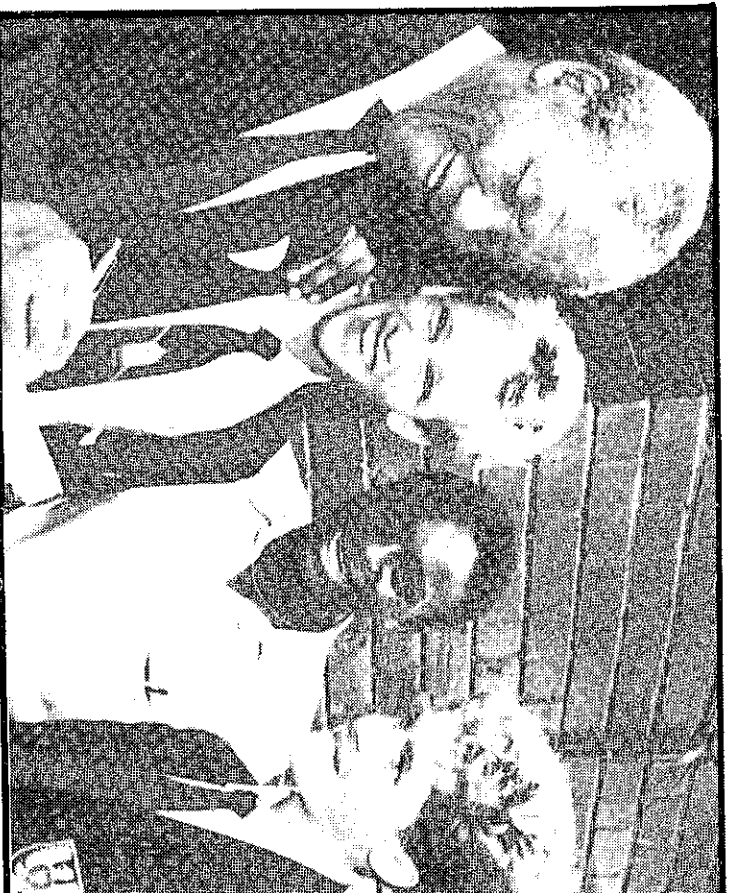
been so liberated and wide-ranging or have South Africans of all shades of opinion been so politically stimulated. (If credit is to be given, the government must claim a large measure of it.)

Some may well have been shocked at the bare-faced fact of a legendary Mandela speaking out publicly and boldly just as he chose on the pressing questions of the day... majority rule, redistribution of wealth, amnesty for exiles, but it was after all a fact and one to be reckoned with.

Mandela the man has proved quite as compelling — even if more vulnerable and fallible — as Mandela the myth.



ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo meet for the first time.



Mr Mandela signs autographs for schoolchildren who came to greet him at his Soweto home on February 20.

Anti-council
rent boycott

ALBERTON. — Tokoza township leaders warned at a meeting yesterday that talks between the government and the ANC could be jeopardised unless the government ordered the Transvaal Provincial Administration to disband "illegitimate" town councils.

They backed a rent boycott until the findings of an inquiry into maladministration and corruption in the Tokoza Town Council were made known, and called for support for the ANC.

— Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — The military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is prepared to suspend the armed struggle to give negotiations a chance.

This was the message delivered by MK commander Mr Joe Modise in an interview with the Lenasia, Johannesburg-based community newsletter, the Indicator.

Mr Modise indicated a ceasefire might be initiated if the working group, comprising the ANC and the government, reach agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

The working group is due to report back by May 21.

Mr Modise, a member of the ANC delegation at the historic talks at Groote Schuur, warned that MK had the capacity to "create real trouble" but if there was a better alternative "we will opt for it".

He pointed out that apartheid was still in operation and this remained a major obstacle to be overcome.

Rethink likely on armed struggle

The ANC had always taken the view that the problems of South Africa were political and as such, should be resolved peacefully. The ANC had only taken up arms when its efforts talk to the white establishment failed.

Asked if MK soldiers would accept a decision to call off the fighting if the negotiating process succeeded, Mr Modise said he did not foresee any problem.

"The soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are basically disciplined and committed to the policies of the ANC and they respect its authority," he said. — Sapa

Capl Tink 14/5/90
11A

Mandela thanks 'helpful' Nigeria

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LAGOS, Nigeria. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping to win his release.

Mr Mandela, who flew here from Luanda, Angola, told a crowd of thousands at the national soccer stadium: "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release. With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria.

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of Nigeria."

Mr Mandela said Nigeria had helped the black cause in many international bodies, including the United Nations. It also provided financial and material support to the ANC.

Mr Mandela, on a tour of African nations, was met by Rear-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, the second-ranking man in the country's military government, on his arrival yesterday afternoon. After the rally he was scheduled to meet the Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr Mandela is to leave Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria. — Sapa-AP

Nigeria gives Mandela highest honour

LAGOS - Nigeria yesterday awarded South African black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela one of its highest honours, praising him as the ambassador of freedom.

"Nelson Mandela is a source of inspiration for all humanity...the ambassador 'extraordinary of freedom and justice,'" said President Ibrahim Babangida, the military leader of Africa's most populous nation.

He made the 71-year-old African National Congress (ANC) deputy president a Commander of the Order of the Niger, an honour previously granted to only one foreigner, British anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston.

Accepting the award, Mandela said that he did so on behalf of the leadership of the ANC and the people of South Africa.

"No single individual

can assume the role of a hero or a messiah. Honours received must be understood as given to the organisation to which he belongs and the people he represents," he said.

He said ANC's goal - dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system of racial discrimination - required unity between progressive groups.

"Political tolerance is the spirit (which informs our) relationship with the democratic forces, and with the government," he said.

He said he had had one formal, and several informal meetings recently with South Africa's reformist president FW de Klerk. Both had insisted on dealing with issues which would bring the two sides together rather than drive them apart, Mandela said.

Mandela and his wife, Winnie, are touring seven African countries. - Sapa.

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11A

Students ask Naude and Gordimer to stay away

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Students at the University of Durban-Westville have asked author Nadine Gordimer and Dr Beyers Naude to stay away from a ceremony at which honorary degrees would have been conferred on them.

A student leader said they had made a call for a boycott of the ceremony because to do otherwise would amount to "thanking the masters of apartheid education".

Dr Naude has been an opponent of the Government for many years. He was a member of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks with the Government earlier this month.

Deferred

Miss Gordimer, too, is known as an opponent of apartheid.

The university's council chairman, Dr Yousof Minty, said yesterday the conferring of honorary degrees on Ms Gordimer and Dr Naude has been deferred.

He said the degrees would be conferred, but at a later stage, in accordance with requests from

Miss Gordimer and Dr Naude.

Both of them kept away from the university's graduation ceremony over the weekend, though according to Dr Minty they had accepted the honorary degrees two months ago.

Miss Gordimer was to be honoured with the degree of Doctor of Literature and Dr Naude with a Doctor of Theology degree.

Miss Gordimer said she and Dr Naude had received messages from the university's student representative council politely asking them, on moral grounds, not to attend the ceremony.

"I want to stress that we were never pressured to take this decision," said Miss Gordimer.

A meeting called by the SRC was attended by members of the university's Combined Staff Association, the National Education Crisis Committee, the African National Congress, the South African National Students' Congress and the Union of Democratic Staff Associations.

It was decided that Miss Gordimer and Dr Naude should be asked to stay away.



Beyers Naude . . . opponent of apartheid.



Nadine Gordimer . . . 'under no pressure'.

ANC needs local agency to help with its image IIA MD

THE ANC should be negotiating with South African advertising agencies, because its local image could do with a bit of polishing, says recently-appointed Bates Wells MD Dave Kelly.

He was responding to a statement by the ANC's chief representative in Britain, Mendi Msimang, that Saatchi & Saatchi had formally approached him — and been granted — an opportunity to present a proposal "relevant to the ANC".

Kelly felt SA adpeople had a better knowledge and understanding of the country's complex problems than overseas agencies.

There was no doubt the ANC and SA adpeople, who understood the complex local market well, should be talking to each other.

Two problems the ANC faced in SA included a lack of focus in terms of

Media Spot: SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

what it was saying and the consistency of its message, he said.

"For example, it needs to sit down and define a clear-cut message on nationalisation, through professional means." This would allow it a measure of control over what was attributed to it on the subject.

"It would also make sense for them to talk to people like ourselves, because we have done a lot of research on issues such as the black market and the general emotional environment in SA," said Kelly.

The ANC also needed to address those South Africans who felt "insecure and fearful" of the organisation

and what it was about.

"Insecurity is invariably the result of a lack of knowledge, and the ANC could do an enormous amount of good by allaying these fears."

Kelly said one of the ANC's "departure points" could be to neutralise fears in the first world component of SA, including big business.

A decision 18 months ago by Saatchi's SA affiliate Klerck and White not to take on political campaigns appears to rule out the possibility of this agency taking on an ANC campaign if Saatchi got the account. But it would not prevent Saatchi itself from placing ads in SA, or even hiring a media broker.

A Saatchi spokesman declined to comment on discussions with the ANC, which is also said to be talking to other London-based agencies.

Mandela to address US Congress

WASHINGTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will address a joint session of the US Congress next month — the highest honour US lawmakers can pay a visiting dignitary.

During his US trip Mandela would meet President George Bush at the White House, and would be feted with a tickertape parade in New York City, ANC organisers said yesterday. *bid. 15/5/90*

Mandela would visit Washington and five other cities and hold meetings with congressional leaders towards the end of

June, said a release from Fenton Communications, which represents the ANC.

Mandela is touring several African states and was yesterday in Nigeria, where President Ibrahim Babangida praised him as a source of inspiration to all humanity.

An ANC source in New York said Mandela would arrive on June 20. Details of his visit would be publicised today.

Bush invited Mandela to the US soon after his release from prison in February.

Bush has also invited President FW de Klerk to visit Washington and officials are currently arranging the dates. — Sapa-AP.

THERE has been much speculation about the meaning of the Groote Schuur meeting agreed between the South African Government and the ANC on May 4 1990. In many cases these statements have been at variance with the wording and spirit of the agreement.

It is necessary to correct such misunderstanding so that the future actions of both parties can be measured against what has actually been agreed on, and what expectations lie behind such agreement.

There has been speculation of various deals, in particular that the ANC has agreed to suspend the armed struggle in exchange for the release of political prisoners.

The ANC's approach at the talks was in conformity with its commitment to the process set out in the Harare Declaration. Within this process the question of suspension of hostilities is addressed to both sides, the ANC's people's army and that of the Government.

The agreement

Such a suspension of hostilities is to be negotiated after the removal of the obstacles identified in the Declaration. These "obstacles" refer to factors whose removal helps create a climate suitable for negotiations. Included here are the need to unconditionally release all political prisoners, including those on Death Row, lifting the state of emergency, and repeal of all security legislation.

The ANC does not, and has not, renounced any form of struggle that may advance its cause. At the same time, we do look ahead to the future phases of this process when it will be possible for both sides to suspend warfare and ultimately lay down arms entirely.

In this context, how do we interpret the agreement? The preamble refers to a "common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

The way we interpret this preamble must be seen within our understanding of violence in South Africa. In the first place, the overwhelming cause of violence is the system of apartheid which operates, inherently, through repressive means. We need only think of the violence of forced removals, eviction of so-called squatters, violent

Clearing the air on talks

Harare document guides ANC

suppression of peaceful protests, and so on.

Apartheid repression has also spawned many "unofficial" forms of violence, for example hit squads and vigilantes.

While we interpret the reference to violence and intimidation as addressed, in the first place, to the forces of apartheid and further to the right, we recognise that some of our followers have been involved in acts of indiscipline.

It is part of our duty in establishing the ANC as a mass legal presence to ensure that this does not continue and that we spread understanding of our policies by reasoning, not by any form of intimidation.

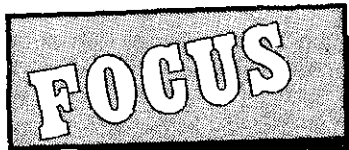
Short-sighted

This is a commitment born out of confidence in our policies and also a sense that it is both morally wrong and short-sighted to believe that followers can be won over by violence. This goal can only be won through establishing strong grassroots structures, organised on a disciplined basis.

The reference to a "commitment" to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations is nothing new, nor a compromise on the part of the ANC. The entire history of our organisation is related to attempts to seek peace.

The path of armed struggle was not chosen by us, but forced on the ANC by its banning and the violent response to our protests.

In South Africa, as in any society, whether or not a people has to resort to violent or illegal means is not determined in the first place by the oppressed, but



by the response of the oppressor to their demands.

If a non-racial democratic society can be established without further bloodshed, we would prefer that. We want peace. But we want a just peace where democracy is assured.

Flowing from this commitment, in the preamble, the Government and the ANC agreed to establish a working group, composed of ANC and Government representatives, "to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the SA situation."

The mandate includes discussing "time-scales" and advising on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to people who may have committed political offences inside or outside the country.

The working group is mandated to bear in mind the experiences in Namibia where the release of political prisoners included a process of defining who would qualify for such status. The urgency of the group's task is emphasised by the statement that it "will aim to complete its work before May 21 1990."

Immunity

Special arrangements are envisaged to enable the ANC to operate as a normal political organisation.

The agreement states that "temporary immunity from prose-

The ANC's historic meeting with the Government early this month drew a mixed reaction from the community. In this article Raymond Suttner, academic and leading member of the ANC, justifies his organisation's decision to begin talks. Tomorrow we will carry the PAC viewpoint and on Wednesday that of the Black Consciousness Movement. Meanwhile what do you, the reader, think of negotiations. Tell us in not more than 200 words. The first 10 letters will be published.

cution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and other selected members of the ANC from outside the country."

This will "enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations."

"The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation and to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency."

There are numerous factors that impact on Government decision-making and we realise that some of these may militate against implementation of this agreement.

Constituency

There are many factors in the Government's constituency that may, at some stage, cause them to hesitate in implementing the spirit of the agreement.

But our constituency demands that we ensure that the agreement be speedily implemented and thus bring us to the point where obstacles to negotiations are removed.

The agreement does not entail any limit on our normal political activities. That is why we will not relax in our struggle to free South Africa and create non-racial democracy. It is through such struggles that we force the Government to address these issues and meet our representatives.

IF NELSON Mandela proposes to be adamant in his opposition to "group rights", he may find somewhat less support from the ANC's traditional sympathisers in this country than he might expect. "Group rights" are practised here. Indeed, they are an integral part of the civil rights programme.

Black Americans, who comprise roughly the same fraction of their population as whites in SA, have successfully campaigned for a series of special protections against domination by the majority. These include electoral laws which have been interpreted by the courts to guarantee blacks proportional representation not only in the House of Representatives but in state and local legislatures and on elective judicial benches as well.

Furthermore, to call for a colour-blind or non-racial society, as Mandela does, is the mark in this country of a conservative. The civil rights community fully endorses a whole array of such race-based policies as hiring quotas and affirmative action designed as much to redress past wrongs as to protect their beneficiaries (if they may truly be so called) from present and future discrimination. Senator Jesse Helms, by contrast, regards such things as racist.

This is not the only irony in Mandela's position. The fact of the matter is that the special status accorded black Americans has tended rather to dilute their share of power than to enhance it — so much so that the Republican Party is now actively encouraging Democrat-prone blacks to demand their minority political rights to the fullest extent possible.

Next year, state legislatures will redraw the boundaries of congressional districts to reflect the findings of the 1990 population census. To combat the Democrats' natural advantage in this process — they are likely to control the majority of state governments after November's elections — the Republicans have decided to make common cause with minority activists who are seeking to

Drawing the voting lines is the first step to a new SA

B10M 15/5/90



SIMON BARBER in Washington

maximise their representation in Congress by creating as many districts as possible with black and Hispanic majorities.

By effectively segregating out voters who nearly always vote Democrat, the Republicans correctly figure that the creation of such districts will dilute Democratic strength in the surrounding constituencies, which will in turn be more likely to send Republicans to Congress. To be sure, the result will also be a larger Congressional Black Caucus. But the overall strength of the party to which its members all belong will be diminished and with it their power to promote their policies.

Another, and perhaps even more perverse effect, is that the more minority voters are separated out so that they can elect their own, the less will white politicians owe their elections to minority votes. The influence of the minority over the majority will thus be reduced. Far from having a greater say in the running of the country, blacks will become yet further marginalised.

One can only assume that SA's minorities would seek to avoid the same fate. If so, it is they, and not Mandela, who should be calling for

colour-blind politics.

The trouble, of course, is that colour-blindness in SA is a fatuously romantic idea and likely to remain so for decades, even on the most optimistic projection. For all the hopeful talk of a politics whose cleavages are principally along class and ideological lines, race and ethnicity cannot simply be wished away. The question is whether the divisions can be comprehended within a workable democratic system that does not depend on the marginalisation of whites and other minorities through entrenched privileges and protections.

Prof Donald Horowitz is of Duke University Law School is working on the last chapter of a book, *A Democratic SA?*, in which he concludes the answer may just be yes. A self-professed "Madisonian engineer", he is one of the country's leading scholars of ethnic conflict and its constitutional resolution. His thinking merits consideration by the government and the ANC.

Both, he argues, should begin by abandoning "the completely fruitless debate about majority rule". Their

point of departure should instead be to "legitimise" the self-evident but, thanks to apartheid, unspeakable fact that "SA has serious divisions" and that "you can't just cover over the divisions by saying let's all unite".

For its part, the government should commit itself to the notion of universal suffrage on a common roll, and "one man, one vote, one value". That rules out, among other things, any system that would concede a veto to any minority group, since this would effectively give the votes of different groups different values.

The trick then is to devise mechanisms that force conciliation by obliging what will inevitably be group-based parties to win support across SA's racial, ethnic and other fault lines as the price for gaining and holding power. First-past-the-post elections fail the test. Even assuming the ANC only won 40% of the overall vote, this method might still give it a majority of seats without its having to take anyone else's views into account.

List-based proportional representation fares little better. "It is not a system conducive to appeals across racial lines. Whites would never have occasion to vote for blacks and

vice versa." Conciliation would be required only if no one gained an outright majority. "But by then it's too late. The parties are locked into hardline positions and will merely paper over their differences to form a government. The government will fail at the earliest opportunity."

The goal must therefore be to lock the parties into conciliatory commitments by the time the election is over and before any government is formed. This can be achieved in several ways. One might be to adapt the Nigerian federal system which requires that a successful presidential candidate not only win a plurality of votes cast nationwide but also garner more than 25% of the poll in no fewer than 14 of the country's 21 states. The result is that "if you're a Hausa, you can't get elected on Hausa votes alone. You have to be conciliatory to others".

Another method is the so-called "alternative vote" which requires voters to rank their preferences among the candidates on offer. Losers' votes are then redistributed until one candidate has an outright majority. Assuming that no one can be sure of a first round victory, this encourages contestants to appeal to voters outside their natural constituencies to ensure they at least come in second on as many ballots as possible.

Horowitz offers neither as a panacea. What matters is that any proposed system should instil a "culture of compromise" and ultimately make for the kind of "floating majorities" that are the essence of Western majority rule. That parties in SA will continue to be racially or ethnically based is not only a given but must be accepted as legitimate. The key is to make them appeal for votes across racial and ethnic lines instead of demanding special rights and protections.

The negotiation of a system that will do this, Horowitz concludes, will take time but is rather more important than a bill of rights or an independent judiciary. Though essential, such institutions will be worthless unless SA gets its politics right first.

ANC unhappy about terms of indemnity for top members

Political Staff *AGA 3 21/5/70 119/23*
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress was far from satisfied with the government's granting of a three-month indemnity for its top 38 members, the organisation said today.

Although it welcomed the move, the period of the indemnity and the limited number of people who would benefit from it were unsatisfactory, said internal ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen granted the indemnity on the entire ANC national executive committee and four others required to take part in the working group set up by the government and the ANC during their recent talks.

Dr Viljoen made the announcement in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette at the weekend.

Asked if the 38 ANC members, including president of the organisation Mr Oliver Tambo, would come home immediately, Mr Kathrada said a decision would be taken soon.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said he would meet the ANC members involved in the working group today, and would hear from them what the implications were of the conditions of the indemnity.

The executive members who will benefit from the indemnity are:

Oliver Tambo, president, Alfred Nzo, secretary-general, Thomas Nkobi, treasurer-general, Stephen Dlamini, Chris Hani, Josiah Jele, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Stanley Mabizela, Mac Maharaj, Simon Makana, Henry Makgoti, Thabo Mbeki, Robert Nanci, Francis Meli, Sindiso Mfenyana, Joe Modise, Timothy Mokoena, Jacqueline Molefe, Ruth Mompati, Anthony Mongalo, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadimeng, Aziz Pahad, Mzwandile Piliso, Jackie Selebi, Reginald September, Gertrude Shope, Sizakele Sigxashe, Joe Slovo, James Stuart, Dan Tloome, Steve Tshwete and Jacob Zuma.

Neither Mr Sisulu nor Mr Kathrada knew who the other four people were, but they were thought to include Jill Marcus and Jeremy Cronin.



WELCOME: Mr Nelson Mandela meets Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida in Lagos. Mr Mandela is on a four-day visit to Nigeria.

Mandela showered with awards on Nigerian trip

ARGUS 15/5/90 (11A)

LAGOS. — Mr Nelson Mandela has received Nigeria's highest honour, the Great Commander of the Order of the Niger.

Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida conferred the award on Mr Mandela yesterday.

General Babangida said: "We realise and accept with a full sense of duty and responsibility that now, more than ever before, when the apartheid beast is wounded, is the time to redouble our dedication to the total destruction of that inhuman system.

"We have had no doubt, not for one single moment, that your struggle is our struggle and your victory, which must come, is also our victory."

Mr Mandela also belatedly

received a City of Glasgow award, originally issued while he was in prison.

Mr Mandela said he accepted the awards on behalf of the ANC. "No single individual can assume the role of hero, the role of Messiah, believing that he can bring about solutions overnight.

"Let me warn you immediately that it is a pleasure to be showered with a large variety of gifts, with awards by famous centres, famous institutions and famous men and women.

"But if the recipients of those gifts and honors come to believe that they are heroes, that they are Messiahs, they are likely to bring more problems than they can solve."

Mr Mandela also received an

honorary doctorate of laws degree from the University of Lagos.

Today Mr Mandela is to attend a meeting of foreign ministers of the British Commonwealth committee on South Africa.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Mr Mandela is to be showered with a ticker-tape parade in New York when he visits the United States for 10 days in June.

Other highlights in what will be a triumphal tour of the US between June 20 and 30 will include a meeting with President George Bush at the White House and an address by Mr Mandela to a joint session of Congress. — Sapa-AP.

Women activists

... and the price they pay 11A

THE price women and their families have had to pay for their activism, the difficulties they have had growing up in a racist and sexist society, the pain they have endured and the dreams they cherish for a new South Africa, have been brought together in a book by American writer Professor Diana Russell.

The book details the lives of 24 women activists, among them Ruth Mompoti, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Emma Mashinini, Shahida Issel and Helen Joseph.

It spans a diversity of races, classes and ages.

The taped interviews

**By SIZAKELE
KOOMA**

took Russell, a sociology professor at Mills College in California and author of books on rape, incest and child sexual abuse, two years - 1987 and 1988 - to compile.

From the 60 inter-

views, she selected 24 for the book *Lives of Courage*.

The women speak of their haunted existence - house arrests, bannings, imprisonment and torture - under the system of apartheid.

Their anxieties and fears for their children and of being harassed or raped in jail are echoed in the book.

Mashinini, a Soweto trade unionist, told of her six months in solitary confinement.

She said: "There was a day when I sat and thought about my family.

'Saw' body

"I saw my husband, I saw my father, I saw everybody and then I saw my baby's face.

"I wanted to recall her by name, but I had forgotten what it was."

Mompoti, an ANC national executive council member, talked of leaving her children behind when she went into exile in 1962.

They joined her in exile 10 years after she had left.

Details of life in prison - filthy blankets, lice and cockroaches and worms in half-cooked food, the martyrdoms of solitary confinement, gang rape and electric shock administered on pregnant women, are illustrated in the book.

Co-author

Dr Mamphele Ramphele, co-author of *Uprooting Poverty* and one of the well-known people who reviewed the books, said of it:

"By focusing on women as individuals and not as mothers, as wives, and as daughters, *Lives of Courage* makes a very important and valuable contribution.

"In so doing, it differs from the usual way that women are perceived in South Africa, and puts the issue of women as people on the national agenda."



Emma Mashinini was held in solitary confinement for six months.

Russell told an Idasa meeting that most of the women interviewed were not feminists, but people who cared about the sexism in this country.

They felt it had removed their power.

She said women in the struggle differed from their male counterparts and these differences were highlighted in the book.

Project

Idasa had invited her as part of their project to get women to talk about the current political situation and make contributions that would facilitate the realisation of a future South Africa desired by every South African.

Cheers as Sachs visits Sacs

Cape Times 15/5/90 Staff Reporter *11A* *CP*

ANC legal expert and car-bomb victim Mr Albie Sachs yesterday returned to his old school for the first time and was given a rousing welcome by former classmates, teachers and present pupils of South African College Schools, Sacs.

Apart from having a strong early influence on him, the Newlands school had remained uppermost in his mind whenever filling in forms overseas which asked what school he had attended, Mr Sachs told a fascinated audience.

"Can you imagine the confusion as I told them, 'Sachs from Sacs?'" he asked.

JOHANNESBURG. — A state witness in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital in January last year with a 3cm stab wound in the neck, Dr V M Breckon told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Dr Breckon gave evidence in the trial of Mr Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the alleged murder of 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, whose decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.

Mr Richardson has also pleaded not guilty to the attempted murder of Mr Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Dr Breckon told the court Mr Ikaneng received the stab wound in the left side of the neck, regarded as a dangerous area, close to the major vessels, the oesophagus and the spinal cord. Mr Ikaneng was treated for two weeks.

On Friday Mr Ikaneng told the court he was taken by a group of people led by Mr Rich-

'Stompie' trial: Doctor tells of wound

ardson to open veld in Soweto where, he said, Mr Richardson stabbed him with a garden shear blade. Later, after his assailants had left him to die, he was taken by an ambulance to Baragwanath.

Evidence given by forensic experts yesterday was that traces of blood were found on Mrs Winnie Mandela's minibus, confiscated near Jan Smuts Airport, and there were also blood traces on a Nissan vehicle and in two outside rooms at Mrs Mandela's house.

Forensic experts testified that blood traces were also found on a sjambok and a pair of shoes found by police when they raided Mrs Mandela's house in February last year.

The case continues today. — Sapa

Mandela to meet Bush next month

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is to meet President George Bush at the White House next month.

He will address a joint session of Congress — the highest honour lawmakers can pay visiting dignitaries — and hold meetings with congressional leaders.

An ANC source in New York said Mr Mandela would visit Washington and five other US cities at the end of June.

The invitation was issued by Mr Bush in a personal telephone call in February, soon after Mr Mandela was released from prison.

It is believed Mr Mandela will urge America to keep economic sanctions against South Africa.

However, the Bush administration has indicated it might be willing to ease some of the restrictions.

Mr Bush has also invited President F W de klerk to visit Washington, and officials on both sides are trying to arrange the dates. — Sapa-AP

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC officials yesterday called on President George Bush to cancel his planned meeting with President F W de Klerk on June 18 — a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrives in Washington — and to “intensify” US sanctions against Pretoria.

At a press conference here arranged by the ANC’s US lobbyists, Fenton Communications, chief ANC representative to Britain Mendi Msimang termed the meeting “a slap in the face of the ANC ... an insult”.

He called on the ANC’s US supporters to engage in “solidarity action” to protest against De Klerk’s visit, adding, “It is not too late for the State Department to take corrective measures.”

ANC fumes over FW-Bush talks

He suggested that the US administration had deliberately violated “understandings” with the ANC that Mandela would precede De Klerk in visiting the White House. (11A) (201A)

It was unclear, however, whether Msimang and two colleagues who appeared with him, chief US representative Lindiwe Mabuza and UN representative Tebogo Mafole, were following instructions from Lusaka or advice from leading anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson.

White House spokesman Alixe Glenn

To Page 2

US visit

confirmed that Bush expected to see De Klerk on June 18.

Mabuza said Mandela would arrive in New York on June 20 and expected to meet Bush between June 24 and 26. The White House said no firm date had yet been fixed.

Robinson, who is co-ordinating Mandela’s visit, said the US president’s decision to see De Klerk “the week before Nelson Mandela comes to the US is a demonstration of insensitivity of which I did not know George Bush to be capable”.

At least one prominent member of Congress has already indicated that because of the timing of De Klerk’s visit, he will not be able to give the SA leader the kind of welcome he would have liked.

Mandela’s schedule includes a ticker tape parade in New York and an appearance before a joint session of Congress — an honour most recently accorded to Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel.

From Page 1

His proposed ten-day itinerary takes in New York, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Miami, Detroit and Los Angeles where he will be feted at an “entertainment community event” and a rally in the 120 000 seat Coliseum.

Mafole said Mandela would “emphasise that there has been no change in SA” and call for sanctions to be “intensified”. He would also make an appeal for funds.

According to a Press release, the trip is being arranged with the help of “a broad range of American citizens”.

Mabuza said organisers had already raised \$250 000 to pay staff and other trip expenses. This included \$70 000 raised in donations at a single function in Los Angeles.

Mandela also intends to meet US business leaders to discuss their role in a post-apartheid SA.

Unravelling motives: old and new feuds overlap



A woman with the body of her brother-in-law in the Edendale valley.

The struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC has spread from the large urban concentrations to several rural areas. It has taken different forms.

At Table Mountain, outside Maritzburg, a traditional chief has aligned himself with the ANC. Elsewhere — and especially on the lower South Coast — it has taken the form of youth mobilisation in opposition to the chiefs.

Such a struggle inevitably overlaps with clan-based factional animosities (usually based on competition for scarce resources, followed by blood feuds), which have smouldered in parts of Natal for decades. In places they are difficult to distinguish.

When the occupants of a minibus are massacred in an ambush at mid-Illovo, is it part of the Umbumbulu faction fight (a disputed chieftaincy) or part of the urban struggles in Mpumalanga or KwaMakhuta, which are not too far away?

When Mnyavu clansmen attack and burn out the territory at Table Mountain of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, is it over their territorial dispute, which dates back to 1936, or are they fighting as Inkatha against the man who formed the ANC-affiliated Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa)?

The Killing Fields of Natal

GRAHAM LINSOTT



It might be both. It is not easy to unravel.

Chief Maphumulo (who has disappeared from public view since the attack on his territory) is an interesting and enigmatic figure.

Opposition

He was chairman of the Mpumalanga Regional Authority, an organ of the KwaZulu Government, yet had been at loggerheads for years with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He attempted to form a party in opposition to Inkatha, then won a case in the Supreme Court against the KwaZulu government, which had attempted to depose him from the chieftaincy.

He allowed large numbers of refugees from unrest areas to settle in his territory, quickly building up a youthful, radicalised population in an area that was otherwise traditional and an Inkatha stronghold.

Then came Contralesa (in associa-

The conflict between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC is sometimes difficult to distinguish from clan-based fights. In the third of a series on the Natal violence, The Star looks at this issue.

tion with the neighbouring Ximba clan) and, not too long after its formation, the attacks and the burnings. His radicalised youth fled to Maritzburg.

Today Chief Maphumulo's area is being administered by his traditional Indunas (which is not quite the same thing as by Inkatha).

Chief Maphumulo, chairman of Mpumalanga Regional Authority, chief at Table Mountain, president of Contralesa — and now in hiding — seems to provide some kind of nexus between the struggle in urban Mpumalanga and rural Table Mountain.

The lower South Coast has suddenly become a cauldron of violence.

In the previously somnolent Umzumbe district, more than 40 people died in a month of shootings and burnings. Similar incidents have happened in the townships outside Port Shepstone, where even small children have been necklaced.

A puzzling feature of this violence is the number of abatakathi (witch-doctors) who have been victims. Witch-burning has never been a feature of Zulu society, and police wonder if it might be part of a campaign to undermine anything traditional.

Rallying

Four lesser chiefs at Umzumbe have virtually given up administering their areas.

Two stronger ones are standing firm and rallying people against what, they say is a deliberate UDF/ANC campaign of violence against the institution of chieftaincy.

Dr Diliza Mji, a member of the ANC's convening committee for southern Natal, says Inkatha has reacted violently to legitimate mobi-



Diliza Mji of the ANC's southern Natal convening committee.

lisation. It has declared war on youth, he says.

Youths are liable to be shot or beaten simply for wearing T-shirts, Mr Mji says, but the tactic is counter-productive because it is winning for the ANC great numbers of people who were formerly uncommitted.

Personnel of the Inkatha Institute say there have been persistent reports of a mysterious minibus in the Umzumbe district, which is believed to have been distributing money, weapons and literature to the youth, most of whom are unemployed.

The South Coast seems to have provided the latest twist in a spiral of violence that has been halted only by the intervention in large numbers of the Defence Force.

However, Natal's "traditional" violence has not been entirely eclipsed.

Eight people died last month in a faction fight at Tugela Ferry, near Greytown (a feud first recorded in 1888). The month before, 20 died at Harding, in southern Natal, in a dispute over grazing rights.

Grappling with the new SA

The dramatic recent events culminating in the Groote Schuur talks calls to mind the observation of a Prague psychotherapist about the effects on her patients of the political upheavals in Eastern Europe.

Without being facetious in any way, she said: "The neurotics are getting worse and the psychotics are getting better."

For neurotics, whether they live in Prague or in Johannesburg, a stable order, even if it is detestable, is far preferable to change which forces one to make choices and which opens up frightening prospects if the wrong option is taken.

Psychotics, on the other hand, thrive on the prevailing mood. Where normal people tend to be guardedly pleased about positive developments, psychotics are euphoric.

The psychotics in South Africa believe there is every reason to be euphoric. To them, the talks signified a great meeting of minds.

And the press conference of Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk symbolised the graceful demise of the old order and the advent of a new era of peace and prosperity.

More depressed

The neurotics, on the other hand, had much to make them even more nervous and depressed.

The ANC delegation, with two or three exceptions, were all members of the South African Communist Party. Those who are not are firmly committed to retain the ties between the ANC and SACP. The entire organisational structure of the ANC is in SACP hands.

ANC-supporting publications continue with the rhetoric of war, depicting negotiations as yet another site for struggle on the road to full, unqualified victory.

To make matters worse for neurotics, the National Party, as the other major pillar in the negotiations structure, looks bewildered and bemused.

'Neurotics getting worse, psychotics getting better'

Only when the goals have been defined can the question of political options be addressed in seeking to solve South Africa's problems, argues Professor **HERMANN GILIOREE**, political academic from the University of Cape Town.

Having been told they will not have to face the Conservative Party in another election, most caucus members are prepared to countenance any agreements reached by the leadership.

But there does not seem to be any coherent thought about how the NP can win a constitutional referendum or how it should re-formulate its identity from a racial party to a vehicle for minorities across racial lines.

Psychotics and neurotics do not have things all wrong, but one must look for a more balanced perspective somewhere between the two extremes.

So where does South Africa stand after the Groote Schuur talks?

There is none of the personal animosity between leaders of the main antagonists which has bedevilled peace negotiations in other communal conflicts.

Equally positive is the fact that South Africa at this stage is blissfully free from any foreign intervention on behalf of one or more of the parties.

The Groote Schuur talks demonstrated a common commitment to resolve the issue as an internal South Africa affair.

It is foreign meddling which has made communal conflicts elsewhere so intractable.

On the negative side, it is clear that the parties are still far apart about the purposes and goals of negotiations and about a mutually

acceptable process to achieve these goals.

The ANC leadership at the Sowe-to rally following the talks made it quite explicit that for the movement the purpose of negotiations was to settle once and for all the issue of political power.

Only by granting the majority power would the dignity, status and honour of blacks be secured.

It is in line with this demand that Mr Mandela does not even want to have group or minority rights discussed at the negotiations.

This must be very disconcerting to the Government since Mr Mandela last year started the current process by writing to Mr P W Botha that the demand for majority rule must be reconciled with "the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks".

For the Government, on the other hand, negotiations are seen as a framework for problem-solving.

If the main problems of South Africa are a stagnant economy, low worker productivity, discrimination and massive poverty, the solution is for the Government and the ANC to sit together and shape the conditions for economic growth, social renewal and a system free of discrimination.

Due to those conflicting approaches there is also a clash over an acceptable process of negotia-

tions. If negotiations are ultimately about resolving the issue of power, the only route is a constituent assembly which will enable the majority to impose its will. If, on the other hand, negotiations are about problem-solving, both parties would do well to look at the methods proposed by Professor John Burton, a world-renowned expert on conflict resolution from Genrop Mason University currently visiting the country. Speaking at the University of Port Elizabeth's Institute for Study of Conflict Resolution, Professor Burton emphasised how important it is to ensure "that there are no proposals put forward until there has been a thorough analysis and an agreed definition of the problem". This task could be assigned to people appointed by the main adversaries.

Best options

Once there is agreement about the definition of the problem, goals can be defined such as security of identity and the practical means of development.

Only once this is done can the search begin for the most appropriate political options. The negotiations then move to details within an agreed political structure.

In Professor Burton's view, divided societies elsewhere failed to address the internal conflict by elevating power to the central issue.

The only proper way is to consider negotiations as a method for problem-solving.

At this stage, the most appropriate step for the ANC and NP to take is to appoint study commissions to come to an agreement about definitions, goals and options.

This may seem like a laborious process, but, on the other hand, the very future of the country depends on such a process being completed successfully before the final round of negotiations begins.

ANC dissidents released into care of black church

Staff Reporter

Eight dissident members of the African National Congress who were held in terms of the Internal Security Act after their return to South Africa in April were released yesterday, said a spokesman for the police in Pretoria.

The group, consisting of six men, two women and two of their children, were detained on April 24, the same day the Government tabled a Bill to grant temporary immunity and indemnity against arrest for returning exiles.

It is understood that during their detention their backgrounds were investigated.

The children were allowed to stay with their mothers during the detention.

Members of the group, including a former commander in the ANC's armed wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe — were reported to have been partici-

pants in the 1984 Mkata Shinga rebellion against the ANC in Angola.

The group had given themselves up to a South African mission in an undisclosed African state.

They returned to South Africa from Malawi and it was said at the time of their arrest they had prepared a document detailing their experiences at the hands of the ANC.

Families

It is understood that on their release yesterday they were taken into the care of a Pretoria-based black church while they sought their families.

On their arrest in South Africa, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the group would probably be "debriefed" by the Security Police and were probably arrested for their own protection.

He also said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents.

WHILE Albie Sachs was lying in a Maputo hospital recovering from the bomb blast that cost him an arm and left him partially blinded, he had three dreams — to run on Clifton beach, climb Table Mountain and attend a dance.

This week, Sachs realised one of those dreams when, back on a whistle-stop visit to Cape Town, he spent four hours on Table Mountain.

The ANC constitutional guidelines expert says the four hours were the highlight of his return.

"The most meaningful thing for me was to walk on Table Mountain again. The mountain is my area of independence; being back there was an important part of my re-engagement with Cape Town.

"Together with running on the beach and dancing, walking on the mountain symbolises my physical recovery," Sachs says.

Sachs plans to settle in Cape Town. He jokes that his return is like a hire-purchase agreement; this visit is the first instalment.

After 24 years in exile, his first impressions of the Mother City were mixed.

He was struck by Cape Town's beauty and, with the finely-honed eye of the exile, by how divided the city remains.

"My first impressions of Cape Town were that the beautiful parts were more beautiful, the poorer parts even poorer.

"I feel I have come back not to Cape Town but to group areas that together make up the composite geographical area called Cape Town," he says.

Landscape

Sachs feels that his years in exile have made him highly aware of the beauty of landscape, the quirks of personality, the richness of life — and that this is not sufficiently expressed by South African artists.

Earlier this year, he evoked a storm of debate with a paper in which he argued that the phrase, "Culture is a weapon of struggle", should be outlawed.

The widespread response to the paper delighted him.

"It is thrilling to see the debate evoked by my paper on culture. I was reacting to a certain emphasis. Now I must react to the reaction.

"I certainly did not mean our artists must exclude the struggle from their vision and write stories about love in Graaff Reinet.

"The point is that the struggle enters naturally into our vision. I would like to see artists doing more to explore fearlessly the contradictions and dynamics produced by this," says Sachs.

"In Maputo, I lived through and experienced the most extraordinary and profound situations of passion, drama, betrayal and heroism. I see almost none of this reflected in our cultural activity.

"There's a bounce and a very ANC style of humour that one recognises in life — but not in our writings.

"I was joking when I doubted whether comrades spoke about the white working class when they went to bed. I have been informed both in Cape Town and in Lusaka that this is in fact the case.

"Maybe my next paper should be about sex etiquette for serious revolutionaries."

Sachs believes the question of intimacy is important. People think revolutionaries have to be hard — which comes to mean insensitive and inhu-

A dream called home



DREAMS COME TRUE: Albie Sachs back in the Mother City PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Back in Cape Town after twenty-four years of exile, ANC legal expert Albie Sachs spoke in his personal capacity to CHIARA CARTER about a wide range of topics.

The exclusive interview covers his homecoming, the state of South African culture, politics, relationships and his idea of retribution for the blast which left him partially blinded and without an arm: *South 1015 - 111890*

man.
"We suppress our tenderness, our joy. The only emotion we allow ourselves is to shout 'viva' from time to time.

"There's a heavy puritan tradition of self-denial which confuses the importance of integrating one's personality and goals into the wider struggle.

"Sometimes you find a comrade who is quite noble in public behaviour, conducting himself as a dictator in interpersonal relations. Freedom is indivisible: we can't fight group areas, yet be autocrats in our homes," Sachs says.

"We need to loosen up a bit.
"After the bomb blast, I had my first message. I found it hard to accept what I thought was a bourgeois experience. Then I relaxed and thought: this is so agreeable, so human. It's lekker. Why should the bourgeoisie monopolise everything?"

In line with this, Sachs believes activists need to learn to smile.

"I told some comrades from Sansco that we have to learn to smile. To make our point on television, the viewers must respond to the way we look".

Sachs, too, is having to make adjustments to the recent changes in the political climate — such as learning to use the telephone.

"There is a censor in my head when I speak on the telephone. Like other activists, I am having to change from operating underground to public leadership.

"We are used to life in the underground, prison or exile — and have developed an aggressive psychology to deal with these conditions. We must prepare to move from opposition and resistance to participating actively in giving leadership in public life.

"This requires new styles of work and a new psychology. We have to fill out the space that we have opened up. Nothing was given. We have struggled for every advance. Now we need openness. We need to be open to debate and discussion and to listen to others," he says.

Sachs thinks this is part of a wider

transformation needed in South Africa.
"We need economic transformation. We also need cultural and psychological transformation.


"This is a country of complexes. We have more complexes than gold. We need to find a way of shedding complexes of inferiority and superiority. The best way is through struggle, activity and education."

Hesitancy

Sachs acknowledges the hesitancy which many people feel about the present political climate.

"I detect a strange mixture of emotions from comrades — partly very happy and partly very uneasy. This is understandable. We are in a period of transition when the initiative rests with the people.

"It is confusing because repression is still in place, inequalities in society still exist, apartheid lies heavy on the ground. Yet people are freeing themselves. We are making advances. Our leadership appears on television and speaks to the

nation with authority. 
"In the past, we had the image of the knock-out-blow style of politics; maybe this is not very useful."

"When I spoke to Sansco, I raised questions which need to be discussed more broadly.

"Are people ready for freedom or do they prefer to be angry victims of apartheid? We have created freedom and we have a right to enjoy it. Are we looking to new tasks?"

A leading ANC intellectual himself, Sachs believes intellectuals have an important role to play.

He deplores the tendency among intellectuals to become what he calls "pseudo-workers".

To illustrate the point, he tells the story of a friend who gave up leucuring to work in a canning factory — and was very bad at factory work.

"I can think of nothing more rewarding than to use one's intellectual capacities in a way that helps people free

themselves and lead better lives.

Sachs says he realised this when assassinated ANC member, Ruth First, was buried in Maputo and he reflected on her life.

"Ruth was a very sharp intellectual. She lived well, she dressed well, she demanded the highest standards of all involved in intellectual work with her.

"She felt the working people were entitled to the best in terms of ideas and experience; that it was insulting to presume that it is acceptable to present ideas in a shoddy or cliché-ridden way.

Disinformation

"Ruth demanded courage in the pursuit of truth and always felt truth was in the interests of the oppressed. It was the oppressors who needed disinformation and the oppressed who should never be afraid to explore and challenge".

Sachs believes in open discussion.

"We must talk freely among ourselves. This is part of our tradition in the ANC, which is a broad movement with a range of political traditions.

"Ideas don't just go away because we suppress them. There is often a germ of truth in an idea that is false.

"We have passed through the phase where tight discipline was the most important factor and are entering a phase where we need initiative, extensive commitment, involvement, imagination and self-confidence".

It is this building of a future South Africa that Sachs sees as his "soft vengeance" for the blast that maimed him in Maputo a year and a half ago.

"When I was in hospital recovering, I received a note from a comrade saying I would be avenged.

"It set me thinking about what we mean by vengeance. If we blow up someone else from the other side and he loses an arm and is blinded in one eye, is that going to avenge me? Is that going to make me feel better?"

"Speaking for myself, the idea of an eye for an eye, an arm for an arm, is horrific. It is not what I have spent my life fighting for. I believe in a decent, humane, democratic, free South Africa. To me, that is my vengeance.

"The victory of our ideas and values is a profound historical and personal vengeance that makes everything worthwhile."



Albie Sachs meets members of the Mascenedane Committee in KTC

PIC: BENNY GOOL

Much has changed...but much

Environment takes ro

By RODNEY PINDER

Looking back at the '76 riots

THIRTEEN years on, much has changed in South Africa, but a lot remains the same and that awful word still constricts human relationships.

Blacks are more confident now than when I first reported on South Africa in 1977, a year after the Soweto riots set change in motion. They look the whites in the eye in a way they rarely did then.

Returning after a decade, it is apparent that although race relations have eased considerably and intermingling has become commonplace in public most whites still meet blacks on a personal

level as boss and worker, master or madam and servant.

Little brass bells tinkled at table by whites still are answered with a humble "Yes, master?"

Street

Nelson Mandela, the celebrated prisoner of Robben Island in 1977, now is free and - unimaginable then - his face adorns a million pictures and T-shirts in street

markets and shops.

But he bemoans the barrier that still stands before a truly non-racial future: "The deadly weight of the terrible tradition of a 'dialogue' between master and servant..."

The white boss - "baas" in Afrikaans - still seems equally a prisoner of this unbalanced relationship, even more so as blacks become liberated.

In his select suburb, he shelters behind thick walls, razor wire and watchdogs, turning the back of his home to the overwhelmingly black world outside for fear it breaks in.

Terrified

Johannesburg, the gold rush city, was always rough, tough and frontier-like. But as crime rises with mass expectations, the white community, even more than in the '70s, shows a face terrified of murder, rape, beating or burglary.

Every home has a guard system, every purse a panic button, every car its own infra-red cordon sanitaire and the cities warble to their alarm sounds.

Prosperity is the other white face and it looks even richer than in 1977, despite punitive sanctions.

The shiny malls with their designer shops would be familiar in America. There are more BMWs, Mercedes and Rolls Royces per kerbside than in New York.

Cheap black labour still lies underneath. Even in modern cities roads are maintained by

"Afromatics" - black gangs working under the stare of a lone white boss - although in most restaurants now vacuum cleaners have replaced blacks on their knees who used to brush the carpets at the feet of white diners.

Difference

Top Hollywood movies open here about the same time as in Europe and cinemas run long American cigarette ads, the only difference in 10 years being that Americans don't smoke any more.

The state has relaxed its stranglehold on black politics - revolutionaries now appear on television and are quoted freely - but not, in Calvinistic South Africa, on sex, for any race.

The ban on "Part Of My Soul" by Winnie Mandela has been lifted as has that on Lenin's "Letters From Afar", but Playboy remains beyond the pale and it is an offence to import a T-shirt with a drawing of Mickey and Minnie Mouse "in a sexual position".

The races mingle happily around Zoo Lake in central Johannesburg whereas in 1977 it was exclusively white. The segregated park benches of petty apartheid have gone and Zoo Park looks like New York's Central Park, down to the danc-

AROUND January this year, I included gardening on my very short list of hobbies. Within a month after I started, I wanted to kick myself for being such a late starter.

I was beginning to reap the benefits. To use a pick and a spade, dirtying your hands in coming into physical contact with the soil is exciting and refreshing. Both mentally and physically.

Linking mental and manual labour lifts you up spiritually and it harmonises one's body and soul.

I'm feeling so good about it that I'm now trying to work out a way of encouraging people in my neighbourhood and everywhere else to form themselves into little groups to discuss what they can do to make their environment presentable.

I have also been encouraged by the responses I received from people who read the speech I delivered on environmental awareness at a workers' rally on Earth Day last month.

Enquiries

There were telephonic enquiries and visits from people who

with some the commu

It would unless you linkage environment the broad struggle, counter convincing to get invo

The Ni concept h working that is the speak. W knocking doors for various of the publi launch campaign transform townships lives.

His

We ourselves a we were petty diff our trade vels, you committ environm ness. Org Nafgoc, Azapo, A could ma sion on th planting t To learnt the the AN(vironmer We ex places Home ft Handicap Old Age for tree p I am call av

US plans hero's welcome

for Mandela

11A

WASHINGTON - Nelson Mandela is to be showered with a ticker-tape parade in New York when he visits the United States for 10 days next month.

Other highlights in what will be a virtual triumphant tour of the US

between June 20 and 30 will include a meeting with President George Bush at the White House and an address by Mandela to a joint session of Congress.

Details of the ANC

leader's visit to the US were to be announced at a Press conference in Washington later yesterday.

Ticker-tape parades in New York City are usually given to American

heroes, such as the first astronauts to walk on the moon. Only major international figures, such as heads of state or, more recently, the leader of Poland's Solidarity labour movement, Mr Lech Walesa, are invited to address a joint session of both houses of Congress.

Apart from New York and Washington, Mandela will be visiting four other US cities.

His visit is being organised by a diverse coalition of individuals and institutions, including heads of international unions, major city mayors, African-American leaders, religious authorities, entertainers, businessmen and many others.

A spokesman for the ANC in the US on Mon-

day said Mandela was visiting the United States to express his gratitude to the American people and the anti-apartheid movement, and to urge the country to keep up the pressure on the South African government to end the apartheid system.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk is expected in Washington just a few days before Mandela.

Although no specific date has been confirmed by either government, it is expected De Klerk will meet Bush at the White House for a working lunch on June 18.

Both De Klerk and Mandela were invited to visit Washington by Bush. De Klerk is likely to be given all the customary honours given to a head of state.

11A

Squatters angry at Kriel's failure to act

Staff Reporters

THE office of Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, is studying reported comments that conflict in Crossroads had arisen from Mr Kriel's refusal to sack the township's town committee.

Mr Kriel himself was not available for comment, but his office said he might comment later.

The allegation was made by squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, who warned that a full-scale war could develop.

He said residents were angry after the failure of their pleas to Mr Kriel and the deaths that followed.

At least three people — two special constables attached to the Crossroads police station and an unidentified woman — had been killed in violent incidents since Saturday, said Mr Nongwe.

Two other constables had been injured.

The renewed fighting followed a meeting between a number of squatter leaders and

the minister last Thursday.

One constable, identified as Mr Makwetu, was killed about 3pm on Saturday while on duty.

Mr Welile Matshoba, also a special constable, was killed on Monday while the unidentified woman was found shot dead in her shack on Saturday morning.

A man identified as Mr Ngxokhwe, an alleged supporter of the town committee, was wounded in police action on Saturday night.

Doing nothing

Mr Nongwe said their meeting with the minister had been a "disappointment" as he "seemed to be in the dark" about how the crisis in the township could be resolved.

He said the minister had declined to dissolve the committee because "there should be something in its place".

He had promised, however, to investigate allegations that the committee had been responsible for the violence on the residents.

He said Mr Kriel had also reneged on his undertaking to

stop house allocations because the committee was giving them to outsiders.

"But people from nowhere are still being allocated the houses, despite his undertaking."

Mr Nongwe said as the committee had not been elected there was no reason for its continued existence as it was doing nothing for the residents but was bringing bitterness to the community.

He said the residents were "boiling with anger" over the failure by Mr Kriel to intervene and were contemplating "driving the committee out themselves".

He said Mr Jan van Eck had been asked to arrange a last meeting with the minister.

Women rebel raiders

MAPUTO. — Witnesses have said armed women were among an estimated 50 rebels who ambushed a train near the Mozambique/South African border on Saturday, killing 18 people. — Argus Africa News Service.

ANC plans protests against FW visit

ANC 6/15 16/5/90
11A

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — United States anti-apartheid organisations are mobilising fast to mount demonstrations against President F W de Klerk's visit to the White House next month. The leaking of a date for the visit, June 18, and the fact that it will precede by only a few days a similar visit by African National Congress vice president Mr Nelson Mandela, has sparked an angry reaction in Washington and an attempt to

pressure the Bush Administration to cancel it.

The visit by Mr De Klerk only days before Mr Mandela is scheduled to tour the country was an insulting slap in the face, ANC representatives said in Washington yesterday.

The Washington Post reported on its front page that organisers of the Mandela visit were angry that Mr De Klerk would visit the White House first.

Mr Mandela arrives in the US on June 20 and will proba-

bly meet Mr Bush on June 25.

Both the State Department and the South African embassy in Washington declined to confirm any dates.

The ANC and its US supporters are, however, losing no time in organising mass opposition to Mr De Klerk's visit.

ANC representative in Britain, Mr Mendi Msimang who is in the US to help co-ordinate Mr Mandela's visit, told a press conference in Washington yesterday that a De Klerk visit

would be a very large measure colour the Mandela tour.

It was upsetting that the Bush administration, in spite of numerous appeals by Mr Mandela, should choose to precede Mr Mandela's visit with a visit by Mr De Klerk, he said.

It was a slap in the face for the ANC and Mr Mandela, he said.

"We think it is not too late for the State Department to take corrective measures," he added.

Mr Msimang said the ANC had not conveyed its displeasure to the White House or the State Department directly, but it believed that by making its feelings public its message would get through.

A spokesman for the Southern African Support Project, Ms Sandra Hill, said that if President Bush persisted with the De Klerk visit there would be broad-based public opposition, including public demonstrations.

Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, chief ANC representative in the US, said the opposition to Mr De Klerk's visit was not just a matter of the timing. There was opposition to any visit by the South African State President while apartheid remained in place.

● US government sources said there was no significance in the timing of the visits. Both sides had been consulted and the timings had to fit in with the schedules of the two men.

Celebrity status ^{1962/1970} for 'great figure of ^{11/19} century' ¹⁹⁷⁰

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela's first visit to the United States will be a high-profile celebration of what Americans perceive to be one of the greatest figures of the century.

The chief representative of the African National Congress in the US, Miss Lindiwe Mabuza, told a Press conference here yesterday, her office had been flooded with invitations from scores of cities, universities, trade unions, big business and dozens of specialist groups to receive Mr Mandela.

The ANC vice-president had agreed to spend 10 days in the US, starting on June 20, in view of the huge role the country had played in putting pressure on the South African government and because of its pivotal role in the unfolding process in South Africa, she said.

THREE OBJECTIVES

Miss Mabuza said the widest possible coalition of American organisations and individuals had been set up to help design and finance the Mandela tour. Already, R675 000 had been raised to help pay for the visit.

Chief ANC representative to the United Nations, Mr Tebogo Mafole, told the conference three objectives had been set for the Mandela tour:

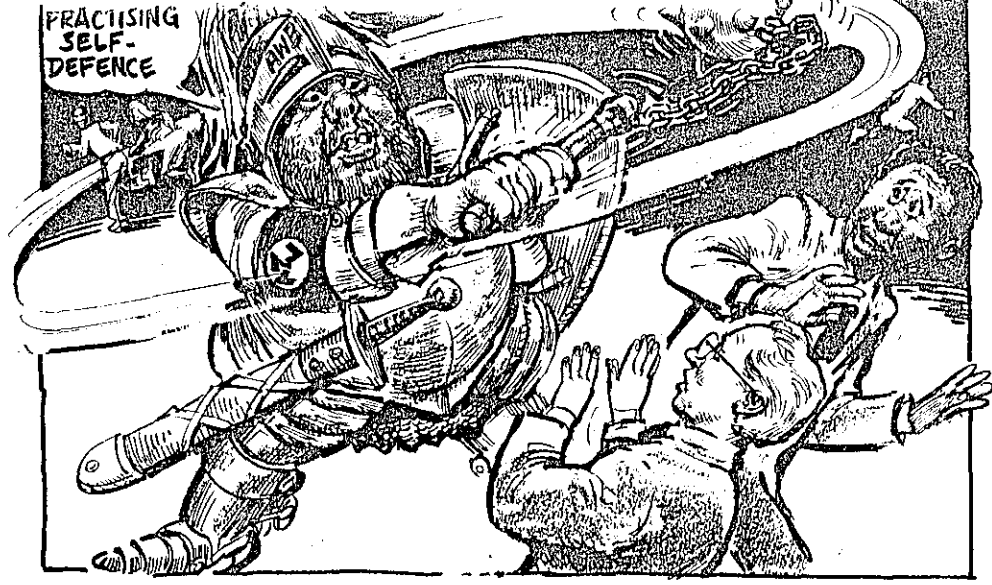
- To express gratitude to the American people for their support in the struggle against apartheid.

- To emphasise there had been no change in South Africa in spite of recent developments, so that this was the time to intensify sanctions and other pressures and not to ease them.

- To appeal to the American people for assistance in raising resources to relocate its headquarters to South Africa and to repatriate thousands of people who had been scattered all over the world because of apartheid.

According to the ANC organisers, Mr Mandela plans to use the US tour to address specialist audiences on specific issues of ANC policy in the post-apartheid society.

PRACTISING SELF-DEFENCE



THE Big White Baas has spoken again, and we the unsophisticated majority are expected once more to swallow his insult.

In the 1940s and beyond, The Big White Baas came to power in South Africa by campaigning among his flock on a crude racist ticker: "Would you let your daughter to marry a...?"

It was unthinkable that he would allow us to fraternise with him - until he needed to boost the apartheid numbers on his side. He promised to maintain "civilised standards", so he created "national councils" for those whom he "classified" "coloured" and "Indian".

He argued that the people classified "coloured" were *bruin Afrikaners* and that South Africans of Indian (and Chinese) descent had a "culture and civilisation" going back thousands of years.

The dark upstarts started asking: If that is so, why can't they have an equal vote and a say in running the country?

Boycotted

When those classified "coloured" overwhelmingly boycotted the first Coloured Persons' Representative Council elections and did not vote for the Labour Party in 1968, the Voice of the Baas, SABC, claimed they were "politically immature".

So the Baas created the tricameral Parliament. The vast majority of *bruin Afrikaners* saw red and boycotted the parliamentary elections, as did the majority of "Indians" who felt their thousands-of-years-old "civilisation" did not cater for segregated parliaments.

Virtually overnight, we have changed from "uncivilised" to "unsophisticated", just as most of us changed from *kaffir* to "native" to "plural" to "black".

Presumably, the ex-chief of the Broederbond means the white minority is sophisticated. So I checked in the dictionary.

Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines "sophisticated" as follows: "to adulterate; to falsify; to give a fashionable air of worldly wisdom to; to make (eg, a machine) highly complex and efficient."

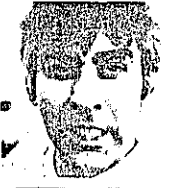
All these descriptions, no doubt, apply to the white people on whose behalf Dr Viljoen speaks.

That would mean that we the unsophisticated majority are un-

The Big White Baas has spoken again

OPINION

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA



IIA
Sowetan
16/5/90

The PAC position paper on negotiations has been held over and we today publish Ameen Akhalwaya's comment on Dr Gerrit Viljoen's remarks about 'sophisticated and unsophisticated voters'.

adulterated - that is, pure; we do not falsify; we do not give a fashionable air of wisdom to anything; and as workers whose sweat enables him to make more money so that he can become more sophisticated, the Baas probably wants to make us highly complex and efficient machines.

Sophiatown

Interestingly, the word "sophisticated" is derived from "sophia", which Chambers describes as "wisdom, divine wisdom".

Now those dark upstarts with long memories will recall that great place of wisdom, Sophiatown, a suburb on the western edge of Johannesburg.

It was teeming with "unsophisticated" humanity, with people of all shades, sizes, morals and intelligence. The Baas in his sophisticated wisdom threw all of us out, bulldozed all our houses, shanties and shops, built a spanking new all-white suburb and named it "Triomf".

It was mainly for sophisticated new immigrants arriving triumphantly from Europe.

So what happened? Instead of the sophisticated Baas having a

lasting triumph filled with sophisticated bliss, "unsophisticated" Sophiatown inhabitants such as Joe Modise left the country to take up arms against him. Modise became commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Baas' followers accused Modise's men of using sophisticated arms. They regard people such as Modise as "uncivilised" or "unsophisticated." Now they are preparing - or say they are prepared - to take up arms to ensure that such "unsophisticated" people never rule over them.

Which means that if black people take arms or strive peacefully for their democratic rights, they are "unsophisticated" or "uncivilised".

If white people take up arms or strive peacefully to ensure that black people do not get their democratic rights, they are doing so in the name of preserving "sophistication" and "civilisation".

Such is the sophistry (also derived from "sophia", and meaning, according to Chambers, "specious or fallacious" reasoning) of the Baas as he contrives to keep economic and political power while trying to give the impression that he believes everybody must have equal opportunity and a fair stake in the country.

Germans

An ANC spokesman, quoted in the *Sunday Star*, quite rightly demanded in reaction to Dr Viljoen's speech: "Did sophisticated whites vote the Nats into power? Are sophisticated whites voting for the Conservative Party? Did sophisticated Germans vote for Hitler?"

The Germans, regarded as highly sophisticated and highly ef-

ficient people, plunged the world sophisticated and unsophisticated into a murderous war because of their philosophy of racial superiority. And Hitler, it must be remembered, was voted into power by a majority.

One need only remind the Baas of all the violence and deaths caused by other "sophisticated and civilised" people in the name of preserving sophistication and civilisation.

One merely needs to watch movies to see what "sophisticated and civilised" settlers did, for example, to "unsophisticated and uncivilised" Indians in America.

Soccer violence

Today's newspapers tell us of violence among soccer fans in countries such as Britain, Holland, Germany and Yugoslavia - all in the Baas' definition, sophisticated nations.

Assaults, pitched battles with police, destruction of property - caused by people with the most sophisticated educational, economic and social systems. Heavily armed, highly sophisticated Italian police will be out in force during next month's World Cup finals to ensure that sophisticated people are not brutalised by other sophisticated people.

To turn the Baas' own crude historically-rooted question around, we should ask: "Would you let your daughter marry a sophisticated European football fan?"

Or: "Would you let your daughter marry a sophisticated man who has been voted to power by a football hooligan?"

On an equally racist note: "Would you let your daughter marry anyone from such a sophisticated 'race'?"

I was amazed to find Stompie had fled, says coach

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former coach of Mrs Winnie Mandela's football team told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he was "amazed" to find that teenage activist Stompie Seipei had disappeared overnight from the room in which he and four others were sleeping.

Mr Richardson, 41, denied he had killed Stompie when he took the witness stand yesterday.

The former coach said that on the night of January 1, he, Stompie, Mr Kenneth Kgase, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe and a member of the football team known as Slash, had gone to sleep in the room.

When they awoke Stompie was "absent", he said.

"I tried to look for him. I thought he might be in the toilet or another room, but I couldn't find him."

"We were amazed for the whole day because we did not

know where he was."

Mr Richardson denied testimony by Mr Mekgwe, Mr Mono and Mr Kgase that he had taken Stompie away the night before after the teenager was told he was being taken home.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to Stompie's murder and kidnapping the 14-year-old activist, Mr Mono, Mr Kgase and Mr Mekgwe from the Rev Paul Verryn's house and assaulting them while questioning them about alleged sexual misconduct with Mr Verryn.

He pleaded not guilty to a further count of attempted murder.

He also denied that Mrs Mandela was present when the four youths were questioned about allegations of sexual misconduct or that she assaulted them.

Mr Mono, Mr Kgase and Mr Mekgwe have all testified that they were assaulted by Mrs Mandela after she accused them of sleeping with Mr Verryn.

Mabuza pro-ANC claim

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu-Natal, Mr Enos Mabuza, was involved in promoting a pro-ANC political party in Ingwavuma, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged here yesterday.

Officially opening KwaZulu Conservation Week, Chief Buthelezi alleged that Mr Mabuza had donated a few thousand rand to the party, which was allegedly anti-Inkatha.

Reacting to the statement, Mr Mabuza said the allegations "are quite without foundation". — Sapa



JOE SLOVO: South African Communist Party leader . . . blames human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals for Stalinism.

JOE SLOVO'S thoughtful paper "Has Socialism Failed?" constitutes the first theoretical attempt by the chairman of the South African Communist Party to shed the ideological ballast of a Stalinist past.

Slovo does not go nearly far enough in coming to terms with the tyrannical system whose terror is akin to fascism as well as apartheid. By blaming human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals, Slovo fails to recognise the intrinsic causes of Stalinist tyranny.

Lenin introduced the one-party state and abolished independent unions. Celebrating a Leninist vision of the state contradicts the proclamation of democratic pluralism.

Conceiving of itself as a "vanguard party" with "moral superiority" remains incompatible with liberal equality. Even if the vanguard role is to be earned rather than imposed, as Slovo now realises, commitment *per se* is no criterion of truth or higher morality.

Peripheral issues

Slovo now claims he had his personal doubts since the mid-Fifties. However, he remained silent on the subject and the party continued to endorse Stalinist practices. When pressed as to why, the answer amounts to expediency. He said in 1988: "It became almost risky and counter-productive to battle this issue out in our party. It would have caused an enormous split and it had less and less bearing on our own work."

Such opportunism on a vital issue disproves Slovo's current claim that there has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party cannot take a principled position on Stalinist crimes for fear of a split (or more likely for fear of being denied Soviet assistance) then its internal debates on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

Slovo defines Stalinism as "socialism without democracy". He repeatedly refers to "distortions" from the top. It is pilot error, rather than the structure of the plane, that is responsible for its crash.

Slovo, like Marx, conceptualises

Joe Slovo's a Stalinist p a democrati

CAR 16/5/90

(11) 20



By **HERIBERT ADAM**

... a leading analyst of South African affairs and, with Kogila Moodley, author of "South Africa without apartheid". He is doing research at UCT.

Rather than joining ANC, the few remainers flock to the neo-Deep resentment over and security drives its the camp of those who vain restoration of a k was one of the lessons Nazi Germany.

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Neither the ANC n devised a strategy to 33% of the national w is unemployed. The u ingly represent only t

an abstract working class but the working class comprises blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled workers who live in urban and rural settings. Above all, there are employed and unemployed.

Common action

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such a self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP bases its strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apartheid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Underclass

Mere employment i almost qualifies for a "labour aristocracy ing a job is a mark of range of life-chances- to housing, medical c and pensions — deper ment.

Those millions out economy — in towns' in shacks around the huts in the countrys permanent underclia ation movements hav nise these permane lised outsiders, the u to address the relatio played and unemplo,

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ADAM

Joe Slovo's problem: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

CAM: Trip 16/5/90

11A

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Common action

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such a self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP bases its strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apartheid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superior rationality of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers flock to the neo-fascist AWW. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives its victims into the camp of those who hold out the vain restoration of a lost past. That was one of the lessons of fascism in Nazi Germany.

By building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances, the SACP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has devised a strategy to cope with the 33% of the national workforce which is unemployed. The unions increasingly represent only the employed.

Underclass

Mere employment in South Africa almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to housing, medical care, education and pensions — depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy — in township backyards, in shacks around the cities and in huts in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The liberation movements have yet to organise these permanently marginalised outsiders, the unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed people.

In Slovo's sensible, pragmatic assessment, the South African economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risking economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels".

'Off guard'

This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of co-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and union representatives sit on boards. Since such widely legitimate visions are also considered negotiable, not much of economic orthodoxy is left among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism has finally shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SACP, by its own admission, was caught "off guard" by its unbanning on February 2 1990. After preparing for 30 years for liberation, the ANC found itself unprepared.

Believing its own propaganda of a fascist, racist enemy, most exiles never took seriously the warnings about the adapting, deracialising capabilities and modernising potential of the opponent. Without an adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with doubtful and ineffective strategies.

Yet the test for the future South African democracy may not lie in the SACP's past alliances but in its internal practice of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SACP together with the endorsement of a multi-

party system and traditional liberal freedoms bodes well for South African democracy, despite the Leninist relics and a repressed Stalinist past.

Because SACP members are the major force that dominates the theoretical debates and strategies within the broad apartheid opposition, its own practice of internal democracy influences the style of the entire movement. Whether the SACP declarations for democracy should be taken at face value or treated with scepticism is best tested by the behaviour of the party itself.

Will the SACP continue placing its members into strategic political and union positions, as the secret Broederbond infiltrates influential African and government institutions?

The leader of a past Stalinist party, as Mandela's right-hand man, obsesses white South Africa. In fact, dedicated SACP members occupy most of the influential positions in the ANC and the unions as a separate vanguard underground. To reveal its secret membership, as would be normal under democratic conditions, could embarrass the SACP. It would show its dominance in the ANC. This would vindicate government propaganda.

What white South Africa has not yet understood is the recent development that turned rhetorical Stalinist ideologues into the more pragmatic and moderate force in the ANC. With a disintegrating Soviet bloc seeking peace and investment instead of world revolution, South African communists have nowhere else to go but home.

This makes them unexpected allies of Pretoria's negotiation project, whether or not they are "without a hidden agenda", as Slovo assured the government during the first Grooté Schuur talks.

Red flag

The SACP's professed socialism in the second stage depends, in Slovo's words, "on the class forces in play at that time". In practical terms this puts socialism on ice: once non-racial capitalism delivers the goods relatively colour blind, Marxist socialist parties shrink or turn into social democrats, as has been demonstrated the world over.

Because of its past radical image, the SACP leadership can entice a sceptical youth into the negotiation process. From this perspective the government should welcome the red flag rather than fear it. If anyone can prevent a latent counter-racism and make a rational, colour-blind attitude prevail, it is the ideological indoctrination in internationalist universalism by traditional Marxists. That is the historical merit of South African communists, their undemocratic Stalinism notwithstanding.

Pressure for democracy from below, particularly in the unions, may well finally force the SACP to part with the relics of Stalinism both in theory and in practice.

The self-critical Slovo account of the failure of socialism constitutes the first indication of a democratic renewal that may lay to rest Pierre van den Berghe's sceptical comment in 1989 that "South Africa, which has already spawned the world's last official racists, may also see its last Stalinists".

* Maskew Miller-Longman



ADAM

ANC calls on Bush to cancel FW meeting

11/8
CAN Trip 16/5/90

WASHINGTON. — ANC officials yesterday called on President George Bush to cancel his planned meeting with President FW de Klerk on June 18 — a week before Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in Washington.

At a press conference here the ANC's representative to Britain, Mr Mendi Msimang, said the meeting was "almost an insult to the ANC".

"We think it is not too late for the State Department to take corrective measures," Mr Msimang said. He is here to help co-ordinate Mr Mandela's US tour in late June.

"Mr De Klerk's visit before the visit of Mr Mandela does, in very large measure, colour the (Mandela) visit," Mr Msimang said. "It is upsetting that the administration, despite our continuing calls, and Mr Mandela's requests, has done this ... It is a slap in the

face."

He suggested that the US administration had deliberately violated "understandings" with the ANC that Mr Mandela would precede Mr De Klerk to the White House.

But US officials said the decision to have Mr De Klerk's visit before Mr Mandela's was dictated by the two men's schedules and did not signal a preference for either leader.

Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC representative to the US, said Mr De Klerk was being rewarded with a White House visit despite the continuation of apartheid and of violence in SA.

"Nothing has changed in SA to warrant such a visit," she said. "The changes taking place are through pressures of disinvestment and sanctions and initiatives of the ANC. It is not because of De Klerk, but he gets reward-

ed. De Klerk hasn't delivered what needs to be delivered."

In Cape Town, US embassy sources said yesterday that the order of the meetings had absolutely no significance.

"They are both busy men and they have tight schedules. We simply had to accommodate their respective programmes," an embassy source said.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that it was unclear whether Mr Msimang, Ms Mabuza and the UN representative, Mr Tebogo Mafole, were following instructions from Lusaka or advice from leading anti-apartheid activist Mr Randall Robinson.

Ms Mabuza said Mr Mandela would arrive in New York on June 20 and expected to meet Mr Bush between June 24 and 26. The White House said no firm date had yet been fixed. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa-AP

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200
200
2. Cape Times, Wednesday, May 16, 1990

Crossroads mayor: No charges

Staff Reporter

THE Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, yesterday announced that he had decided not to prosecute Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana on fraud charges.

This brings to an end a lengthy investigation involving the alleged charging of R7 monthly tithes to an estimated 9 000 Old Crossroads households over several years by the Old Crossroads committee.

Estimates of the money involved vary between R150 000 and several million rands.

Mr Rossouw said: "The evidence is very confused and self-contradictory. In the end we won't have enough evidence to achieve a standard of proof beyond reasonable doubt."

Political undercurrents also played a role in the affair, but Mr Rossouw declined to elaborate on this aspect.

He had followed up all the evidence, he said, including "evidence that came to hand lately".

This is believed to relate to two bank account numbers forwarded to his office by the Democratic Party's spokesman for black local affairs, Mr Jan van Eck.

Mr Van Eck said in Parliament that money deposited in one account was secretly transferred to another account controlled by Mr Ngxobongwana and then spent in an "entirely different way" from what was intended.

The controversy over the affair led to bloodshed in the squatter camp, including petrol-bombings and the shooting to death of residents.

CP 115-13 16/5/85 (11A)

Rebel ANC men freed

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight dissident members of the ANC, who had been held in terms of the Internal Security Act, were released last night, according to a report in the Citizen today

ANC internal information chief Mr Ahmed Kathrada told Sapa late last night that he was surprised by the report. He said a formal statement would be issued today.

The men were participants in a mutiny against the ANC in Angola in 1984 and were apparently former prisoners in the ANC's notorious Quatro prison camp.

They apparently escaped from the ANC's Dakawa camp in Tanzania. — Sapa

Church, PAC meet

A DELEGATION of church leaders of the member churches of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) met members of the executive of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) on Wednesday to discuss recent political developments and the issue of negotiations.

"This meeting follows a decision taken by church leaders at their meeting in March to consult — as extensively as possible — all organisations within the liberation movement on issues of national importance," an SACC statement said.

without access to the ballot box, the liberation movements were compelled to use force, besides other means, to end oppression.

"However, it is incomprehensible that the AWB, which has access to the vote and the available democratic procedures, should be left with impunity to resort to military tactics to preserve their interests," he said.

In the face of unchecked rightwing mobilisation, it would be difficult to per-

Religion in Focus

BY NOEL BRUYNS

suade the ANC to pursue its commitment to the possibility of suspending the armed struggle, Chikane warned.



Some of the rebel ANC exiles photographed at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday are (from left) Mr Mwezi Twala, Mr Diliza Abednigo Mthembu, Miss Nontyatyambo Yokuqala Mzimela, Mr David Makhubedu, Mr Robert Vusimuzi Shange and Miss Patricia Phatheka Sodo.

8 rebels tell of ANC torture

Sowetan 17/5/90
11A

EIGHT ANC rebels who were arrested at Jan Smuts Airport on their return to South Africa about three weeks ago said yesterday they had no quarrel with the organisation but with certain individuals in its external wing.

They spoke at a Press conference in Johannesburg where they told of being tortured by the ANC.

The returned exiles are Mr Robert Shange, Mr David Makhubedu, Miss Nontyatyambo Mzimeli and daughter Lazola (3), Mr Siphon Phungulwa, Mr Diliza Mthembu, Mr Mwezi Twala, Mr Robert

Sowetan Reporter

Shange, Mr Luthando Dyasop and Miss Patricia Sodo and daughter Lonwabo (3).

Speaking on behalf of the group, Twala said they were not afraid of reprisals from the ANC because since "we left our lives have been in danger".

He alleged that during 1979 and 1980 ANC members were sent to fight in the then Rhodesia against government forces.

Later ANC members were sent to fight Unita forces in Angola. Hundreds of people

were tortured and others killed in various ANC prison camps.

He and his group tried to get help from SA Council of Churches' general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, who allegedly visited the ANC's Dakawa prison camp last year but without success.

ANC chief of staff Mr Chris Hani had organised a firing squad which resulted in seven people being killed after a mutiny at a camp in Angola.

People were also made to push drums of water for 4km as punishment.

SADF 'opposing ANC meeting on defence'

11A
THE SADF was putting pressure on citizen force officers not to attend a planned meeting in Lusaka next week with ANC military personnel, Idasa western Cape regional director Nic Borain said yesterday. 61 Dec 17 1990

The SADF had previously turned down an invitation to send delegates to the conference, whose objectives include allowing "the contending forces to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict".

The meeting will also discuss the shape and role of a future defence force.

An SADF spokesman said last night he was unaware of any "so-called" pressure.

ALAN FINE

Borain said among the 49 delegates from SA were prominent and influential people in SADF circles. He was confident they would not withdraw from the May 23 to 27 meeting because of the alleged pressure.

The delegates included citizen force officers and troops with "recent and proud service" in the SADF, and in Angola.

Prominent former officers who had since become involved in politics included DP MP and former SA Air Force chief Bob Rogers, and the most senior woman in the SADF, Hilda Burnett.

The delegation also included senior officers in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda military and a number of academics.

Borain said Idasa had made a serious but unsuccessful effort to encourage the CP to send representatives.

The ANC was to send a 45-member delegation, which would include much of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command, including chief of staff Chris Hani. Executive members Thabo Mbeki and Joe Slovo were to join the meeting only from the second day because of the ANC meeting with up to 600 top businessmen on May 23 in Johannesburg.

US report backs claims

WASHINGTON — Yesterday's testimony about abuses of ANC dissidents is corroborated by a US Senate foreign relations committee report released in June 1988 and which the Democratic majority on the committee refused to make part of the official record.

Based on interviews with several dozen SA refugees, the report describes a pattern of "political oppression, torture and murders" at ANC camps in Angola and Tanzania throughout the previous decade.

The victims were frequently Black Consciousness supporters who fled SA after 1976, refused to join either the ANC or the PAC and were then shipped, with assistance from the UN High Commission on Refugees, to camps in Angola.

Atrocities included "at least 10 executions a year" at Quatro — Num-

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SIMON BARBER

ber 4 camp in Angola — to which dissidents were transported, often with the complicity of Tanzania which objected to the killings being carried out on its own soil.

The report was prepared by an adviser to Senator Nancy Kassebaum when she chaired the Senate Africa sub-committee, after the State Department informed Congress it could find no hard evidence the ANC was mistreating dissidents and refugees who refused to join the movement.

Among the most damning findings was the UN High Commission for Refugee's involvement. One of its "high ranking officials" in the region for much of the period in question was Zonelli Mbeki, wife of ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

06/15/89
LAC 119

MA Star 17/5/90

NEWS

ANC rebels believe in talks

By Carina le Grange

The eight African National Congress dissidents arrested three weeks ago on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport and released "unconditionally" from detention on Tuesday, yesterday said they now believed in peaceful negotiations.

At a press conference in Johannesburg they said, however, that they still retained the ideals which led them to join the ANC's armed struggle.

The group stressed no deals were made between them and the Government.

The six men, two women and two toddlers, were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act three weeks ago upon their return to South Africa from Tanzania via Malawi.

Spokesman for the group, Rodney Mueze Twala, said the group had been held in Kimberley. On their release they had been taken into the care of church leader Evangel Malamb.

Mr Twala, Mr Makhubedu, Robert Shange, Diliza Abednego Mthembu, Luthando Nicholas Dyasop and Sipho Malcolm Pungulwa, were all participants in the 1984 Mkata Shinga rebellion against the ANC in Angola. The women, each a mother of a



A group of ANC dissidents who returned to South Africa from Tanzania, including two toddlers, the day after their release from detention. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

three-year-old, are Motyatyambo Mzimeli and Patheka Patricia Sodo. They left the country in 1985.

Asked about the alleged deaths and torture after Mkata Shinga, and to name perpetrators and victims, Mr Twala said: "There were so many, we will have to compile a list."

The men told of their disillusionment at being ordered to fight wars in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Angola while they wanted to come back to South Africa to engage in the

fight for liberation. In a statement they said there was "no democracy or freedom of political opinion" and claimed their demands for a conference to sort out issues like these resulted in them being labelled mutineers and led to their consequent detention in ANC camps.

Camps were strict and "some people have been killed for smoking dagga, for going out to drink", Mr Twala said.

They denied their immediate plan was to form a political organisation but said they wanted

to form a body of parents and relatives of "comrades who died in exile and those who are missing" since they knew the names of these people. They said they had a duty to those comrades who "fell fighting for the same ideals in exile".

In the statement, the group said the ANC had no right to represent "our people in negotiations, but have to account for the crimes of genocide they have committed".

Mr Twala said later however he had had no differences with the ANC — "only with individuals within the ANC".

He said they would not align themselves with anybody, and that Dr Malamb's role was that he rendered them assistance in finding their families which they accepted.

The group also said that after they had been taken in by the UN High Commission for Refugees in Tanzania, they were imprisoned by the Tanzanian authorities during the visit to that country by Walter Sisulu after his release last year.

They decided to return to South Africa after they were warned by Tanzanian security officials to go underground during ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela's visit to avoid arrest.

ANC terrorist jailed 'in spite of negotiations'

(1A) By Celeste Louw

Sta 17/5/90

Even though the political situation in the country had changed, acts of terrorism could still not be condoned, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate said yesterday when sentencing a man to an effective three years' jail for contravening the Internal Security Act.

Vusi Mngomezulu (27) of Tembisa was sentenced to five years' jail on a charge of terrorism. Two years were conditionally suspended for five years. He was also sentenced to two years for possessing a Makarov pistol and ammunition. This sentence is to run concurrently with the five-year sentence.

The court found that Mngomezulu left South Africa when he joined the ANC in 1985. He underwent military training in Angola and returned to SA on a mission to disrupt the October 1988 municipal elections.

Sentencing Mngomezulu, magistrate P du Plessis said he could not suspend the entire sentence.

"What you have done did not become good and right because negotiations are in the air. Terrorism is still wrong and it has a terrible effect on the whole of society," Mr du Plessis said.

Evidence before the court also suggested that Mngomezulu would still be prepared to take part in the armed struggle, should it continue, the court found.

Star
17/5/90

(11A)

(11A)

Idasa 'peace mission' is to discuss army

Retired senior SADF officers, military strategists, and a wide range of people involved in the ANC's armed struggle will meet in Lusaka later this month to explore ways to end conflict in South Africa and discuss the shape of a future defence force.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA has announced that the conference, entitled "The Future of Security and Defence in SA", will be held from May 23 to 27.

Conscripts

A high-powered 45-member African National Congress delegation to the conference will include SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander-in-chief Chris Hani.

Idasa said 45 people from inside SA including conscripts who recently served in townships and Angola, senior retired SA Defence Force officers, military strategists and Citizen Force officers had confirmed they would attend the conference.

Homeland military leaders and academic advisors would also attend.

The conference was, firstly, a peace mission, said Idasa Western Cape regional director Nic Boraine. — Sapa.

11A

US visits: Mandela may go first

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senior US administration officials are discussing the possible rescheduling of President de Klerk's visit to the White House so that it could come after Mr Nelson Mandela makes his visit in late June.

There is, however, no possibility that the President's visit will be cancelled, according to US sources.

The leaking of the date of Mr de Klerk's scheduled visit, June 18, sparked an outcry in Washington this week because it precedes by only a few days a similar visit by Mr Mandela.

The African National Congress in the US described the De Klerk visit as a slap in the face for Mr Mandela and for the organisation.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, a prominent black American leader, said President Bush's invitation to Mr de Klerk had given the apartheid regime a level of credibility that brought it back into the family of nations before apartheid ended.

Because Mr de Klerk would visit the US first, Mr Mandela would be on the defensive reacting to his initiatives.

Pressure

Anti-apartheid activists and influential members of Congress have been putting pressure on the Bush administration to at least reschedule Mr de Klerk's visit until after Mr Mandela has visited the US. The ANC deputy president will visit seven US cities between June 20 and 30.

US officials say the White House is sensitive to these appeals, particularly in view of President Bush's high standing with the African American community.

They point out that no dates have been officially announced for either visit, and it was still possible that Mr Mandela would be received at the White House before Mr de Klerk.

According to the sources, the South African Government had said all along it did not mind if Mr de Klerk visited the US after Mr Mandela.

The ANC does not simply object to Mr de Klerk visiting the US before Mr Mandela — it is opposed to the President being invited to the White House while apartheid remains in place.

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NEWS

'Megastar' Mandela tour

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela's first visit to the United States will be a high profile celebration of what Americans perceive to be one of the greatest figures of the century.

The chief representative of the African National Congress in the US, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, told a press conference in Washington that her office had been flooded with invitations from scores of cities, universities, trade unions, big business and dozens of specialist groups to receive Mr Mandela.

The ANC deputy president had agreed to spend 10 days in the US, starting on June 20, in view of the huge role the country had played in putting pressure on the South African Government and because of its pivotal role in the unfolding process in South Africa, she said.

Ms Mabuza said the widest possible coalition of American organisations and individuals had been set up to help design and finance the Mandela tour. Already, \$250 000 (about R662 000) had been raised to help pay for the visit. People who had extended individual invitations, would pay for those costs.

Chief ANC representative to the United Nations, Mr Tebogo Mafole,



Mr Nelson Mandela.

told the conference three objectives had been set for the Mandela tour:

- To express gratitude to the American people for their support in the struggle against apartheid,
- To emphasise there had been no change in South Africa in spite of recent developments, so that this was the time to intensify sanctions.
- To appeal to the American people for assistance in raising resources to relocate ANC headquarters to South Africa and to repatri-

ate thousands of people.

According to the ANC organisers, Mr Mandela plans to use the US tour to address specialist audiences on specific issues of ANC policy.

The tentative itinerary for Mr Mandela, who will be travelling with a sizeable group in his own jet aircraft, is:

- New York City (June 20 to June 23) for a welcome by Governor Mario Cuomo and a ticker tape parade through Manhattan. Mr Mandela will also address a mass rally and the UN General Assembly.
- Boston (June 23) for a community event with anti-apartheid activists and a meeting with leading company directors. Mr Mandela will also visit his daughter, Maki, and her family, who live in Boston.
- Washington DC (June 24 to 26) for a meeting with President Bush, an address to a joint session of the US Congress. He will also be the guest speaker at a State Department reception, and guest of the Congressional Black Caucus and National Press Club.
- Atlanta (June 27) for an honorary degree from a consortium of black colleges and a speech at the Martin Luther King Centre.
- Miami and Detroit (June 28) for speeches to trade union groups.
- Los Angeles (June 29 and 30) for a rally, parade and civic reception.

Research shows the PAC's influence is greater than any time since Sharpeville

17/5/90
11A
THE ANC and the PAC have signed a peace accord amid signs that the PAC's influence is again on the rise.

A committee comprising six members of each organisation has been established to monitor implementation of the accord. The two organisations have agreed there must be freedom of association and expression, the right to organise and to belong to different political organisations.

The peace talks follow concern voiced by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo about strife in Transvaal and Free State townships which led to deaths and destruction of property.

Azapo's national projects organiser Muntu Myeza said Azapo, the PAC and ANC had agreed on the need to establish a "culture of democracy" and that unity among liberation movements was of prime importance.

Meanwhile, the PAC, which until now has opposed negotiations with the government on the basis that they are unlikely to lead to gains for the black majority, this week acknowledged it might participate in negotiations under certain conditions.

The PAC has always maintained that the issues of the return of the land to the African majority, a redistribution of wealth and agreement on a non-racial, democratically elected constituent assembly must precede any peace talks with the government.

However, the PAC is also intensifying the armed struggle against government targets, especially the SA Police. The external wing of the PAC last week claimed responsibility for several hand-grenade attacks on police targets.

SA Institute of Internal Affairs researcher Gary van Staden said: "If the prominence of the PAC in helping to shape South African history over the past 30 years were plotted on a graph, the resulting line would bear a strong resemblance to a roller-coaster track. From a series of peaks and valleys in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the PAC entered a period of protracted decline which was to last for some two decades. Events and developments since the first few months of 1985, however, suggest that the PAC's roller-coaster ride is not yet over and the organisation's influence may again be on the rise."

The PAC was officially launched in April 1959 after

years of tension in the ANC led to an Africanist break-away. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected first president and the philosophy of Africanism was adopted.

The main reason for the Africanist split was opposition to the role of white and communist (Marxism being seen as an "alien" philosophy, irrelevant to Africa) members of the ANC.

The "Manifesto of the Africanist Movement" was presented to the PAC's founding congress. This summarises the Africanist historical view of Africa from the mid-15th century, saying the expansion of markets caused by commercial and industrial capital resulted in the plunder and rape of Africa, which was colonised and "civilised" according to Western norms under the guise of Christian trusteeship.

It says the African people were dispossessed of their land and rights as human beings and that the concept of "multi-racialism" in the decolonising period which followed World War II was a thinly disguised mechanism for maintaining white control.

Broadly, the Africanist position has five main constitutional principles:

- The establishment of an Africanist socialist, democratic order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual;
- Universal adult suffrage on a non-racial basis;
- A unitary multi-party state which strives for the freedom of all in Africa and the consolidation of bonds of African nationhood on a pan-African basis;
- Common ownership of land and resources; and
- Individual protection guaranteed in a Bill of Rights but no minority or group guarantees.

The PAC does not define an "African" in terms of race, but in terms of culture.

Last year present PAC president Zeph Mothopeng had this to say: "We believe in non-racial democratic rule of the African people of Azania. A person must accept this. We do not look at the colour of his skin. We look at his ideas, his loyalty. For example, I say there are no 'Indian' people here, but people of eastern origin, provided they have become Africans.

"The same applies to people of European origin. A person is an African if his only loyalty is to Africa and

he accepts the non-racial democratic decisions of the African people."

Nevertheless, despite repeated statements by PAC leaders since Sobukwe claiming the organisation is not anti-white, the slogan "One Settler, One Bullet" keeps cropping up and the anti-white image persists.

While the PAC supports all forms of struggle, it has always stressed armed struggle. Until the mid 1980s (the present chairman, Johnson Mlambo was elected in 1985) the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) was generally regarded as ineffective.

Official government statistics showed that during 1986 the number of Apla insurgents or sympathisers "neutralised" (a euphemism for killed or captured) was 38, more than the combined total for the previous 10 years. During 1987, this figure rose to 85.

To put this Apla activity into perspective, the official number of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe "neutralised" in 1986 was 660 and in 1987 was 446.

Diplomatically, the PAC enjoys, along with the ANC "official liberation movement" status at the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Since 1986, the PAC has established diplomatic contact with a number of countries which previously only had contact with the ANC.

PAC attempts to gain ground inside South Africa have made significant progress in recent years. The Pan Africanist Movement was formed in December 1989 with the objective of mobilising support for the PAC and Africanism. Since the unbanning of the PAC and ANC on February 2 this year, both organisations have openly been recruiting members.

The second largest trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, which claims to represent 240 000 workers, is also regarded as supportive of the Africanist position. However, they have never reached the same level of co-ordinating activities as the ANC and Cosatu.

While both the PAC and ANC have stressed the need for unity, political observers believe that behind the rhetoric, very little is likely to be achieved at a grassroots level.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Mfanasekaya



Main players at the Vosloor

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PAC secretary for economic affairs Mfanasekaya



Main players at the Vosloorus accord – Nactu's James Mndaweni and the ANC's Cyril Jantjies.

Gqobose recently spelt out the PAC's attitude to the
-ANC: "(Despite our criticisms) the ANC of today re-
-mains an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-racist or-
-ganisation. For these reasons, it is on the side of the op-
-pressed, and it too has a role to play against the white
-minority regime. It is important to underscore this
-point. It is all the more important as both the PAC and
-the ANC should form a united front against the com-
-mon enemy."

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been
-highly critical of the PAC, which he said had been un-
-able to mount "a single mass campaign" inside the
-country.

ANC leaders generally have criticised the PAC for
-its lack of a political programme and its apparent disre-
-gard for mass-based protest actions.

As far as the Black Consciousness Movement, which
-includes Azapo, and the PAC is concerned, there is
-more common ground between the two than sharp dif-
-ferences, including a distrust of white "liberals" and
-contempt for the so-called "multi-racialism" of the
-ANC's Freedom Charter. The Azanian Manifesto,

adopted by Azapo in 1983, reflected the main princi-
-ples of the Africanist Manifesto, although Azapo draws
-heavily on Marxism-Leninism.

Van Staden's report concludes that, while the PAC
-holds greater influence in South African politics than it
-has at any time since the Sharpeville uprising in 1960 –
-when opinion polls showed it leading the ANC – it still
-trails the ANC by a very significant degree and is un-
-likely to catch up.

Its prospects of launching a "people's war" appear
-unlikely at this stage to progress beyond the "armed
-propaganda" phase, and the ability of the government's
-security forces to infiltrate and crush insurrection can-
-not be underestimated.

On the question of negotiations, Van Staden says:
-"The PAC might well find itself forced to negotiate by
-a combination of a number of factors, including the
-possibility that it could find itself out in the cold and
-watching from the sidelines while the ANC assumes
-control of the political system in South Africa. If a real
-negotiation gets under way in South Africa, the PAC
-would find itself forced to compete, whether or not its
-preconditions had been met." – ANO

Whole economic set-up is rotten - Zeph

CP/17/5/90
71A

THE PAC has been talking about a constituent assembly. If government were to say, "right, we are now allowing everybody to vote, and everybody gains representation in Parliament", will that not have the same effect as a constituent assembly?

I don't know. So far the government hasn't talked about universal franchise. It is talking about guaranteeing the rights of the minority. That means incorporating the right of the oppressor.

PAC policy on the repossession and redistribution of the land has been a major bone of contention. There seems to be very little clarity on this. How exactly would land be repossessed and redistributed, and who would determine the redistribution?

Liberation in guerrilla warfare moves silently. When people want to free themselves, they don't go about shouting how they will do it.

But the average person wants to know what this redistribution is all about? Some construe it to mean that people are going to be told: "You move out of your houses and now we are going to re-allocate these houses."

Land will be redistributed by the people who work the land; the peasants, the workers, and people who are going to be prepared and taught.

We have centres where they learn every day. We are teaching those who are willing to do it, because they will be in touch with the people.

It is not what Mothopeng says or what he wants, it is what the people say and what they want, and that will be revealed by their representatives.

There has been much controversy about Nelson Mandela's reiteration of ANC policy on the nationalisation of mines, financial institutions and monopoly industries. What, broadly, is the PAC's economic policy?

He confined it to mines and whatnot. Our economic policy is that the whole set-up is rotten. It has to be restruc-

City Press last week published an edited version of AMEEN AKHAL-WAYA's interview with PAC president Zeph Mothopeng on the beliefs and policies of the movement. Here is the second, concluding part of the interview:

ured; there must be a complete clean-up.

We are not confining our economic policy to nationalisation. We are there to see that the people get what they deserve.

I do not want to go into detail, because economics is a living science in a practical world. Its success or failure depends on its application. The premise from which I start is socialism.

We are completely socialist and we are going to continue that way.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo talk about the "unity of the oppressed". The ANC and PAC are regarded as the two major organisations of the oppressed people in South Africa. What is the common ground between them, and what is keeping them apart?

We cannot see major parties agreeing on common ground. What is important is who has support among the people and what action they take on behalf of the people.

Why must the ANC and PAC unite? Nowhere in the world has there been unity of the parties. It is a good thing but it doesn't just come about, because you'll find that some people misuse the oppressed, impose their own views as those of the oppressed.

We do not wish to collaborate with anybody unless we can have principled co-operation and collaboration. This being so difficult, we are prepared to go it alone and get what we want because we are confident that we have the African masses behind us.

Are you saying it isn't really necessary for the ANC, PAC and Azapo, or Inkatha for that matter, to achieve a joint approach on any particular issue?

To me this call for joint approach is

becoming a farce, probably because the rich man has the Press and money so he now wants to compel everybody to belong to one or another or to narrow the spectrum of differences.

Let each organisation take up its own cudgels, forget about other organisations, and do its own thing in consultation with the grassroots. These are the people that let us rule. Unfortunately, most of us have outgrown the grassroots level; we no longer even fit in.

It is being claimed in some quarters that every time there's been a flare-up in the townships, the PAC has probably instigated it because it doesn't want talks to go ahead between the NP and the ANC.



PAC president Zephania Mothopeng... 'the people must rule'.

That is a foolish statement, because PAC doesn't force anybody to do what PAC thinks is right. We have always said that if ANC want to talk to the government, let them do so. Those who want to negotiate, let them go, man, let them go and do what they want to do with the government.

If we say we allow different groups to do whatever they feel like, are we not preparing the ground for further clashes between the oppressed?

Well, there has always been machinery for liaison between organisations. Those things can be attended to by various committees of the oppressed.

What is your scenario for the country over the next five years - not what you would like to see, but what you think is going to happen?

I think this is the beginning of the real struggle. There will be a realignment between those who support genuine liberation and freedom and those who give the illusion of freedom.

There will also be a decline of the oppressor's power and authority, because the masses shall have enough opportunity to upgrade their ability to resist oppression and confront the government on an almost equal basis.

There will be a genuine rethink by the oppressors of their position because they will realise they can no longer maintain the status quo through force.

The PAC's grassroots membership will continue to grow.

When you talk about a constituent assembly and grassroots, and you suddenly find that the PAC does not have the majority, what then?

The PAC's losing is an impossibility because of the amount of organisation, effort and dedication of our forces, which will be the main agent of that change. They will command the support of the grassroots.

In any case, the PAC is a democratic organisation, so the rules of democracy - the will of the people - obtain.

SA youth head for USSR

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) is sending a five-member delegation to the Soviet Union this week to participate in an international youth seminar.

The seminar is devoted to the role of the African youth in finding solutions for the socio-economic and political problems of the continent. *scw 175 245790*

The activities of youth organisations in southern Africa under new conditions will be discussed as a separate item.

(NIA)
The delegation will be led by the head of the Sayco labour department, Norman Mashabane, and will also include Kgaogelo Lekgoro, the national organising secretary, Stephen Mbuyisa, the Eastern Transvaal regional secretary Andrew Mokone,

the general secretary of the Southern Transvaal region and Neville Naidoo, general secretary of the Western Cape region. Among other things, the delegation will familiarise itself with the activities of the youth in the Soviet Union and discuss bilateral co-operation.

Protect us, gays ask ANC

South 17/5 - 22/5/90

11A

THE African National Congress will be asked by the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga) to amend its constitutional guidelines to include protection of the rights of gay people.

At an informal meeting with ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs on Monday, Olga activists dis-

cussed their draft amendments to the guidelines.

The ANC issued its draft constitutional guidelines in August 1988 and called for feedback from inside the country.

Olga's amendments will ask that provision be made for the specific protection of lesbian and gay rights in the constitution and Bill of Rights.

Olga is also proposing that a charter of lesbian and gay rights be appended to the constitution, which will call



Albie Sachs

for the revision of legislation discriminating against lesbians and gays.

One such law makes gay and lesbian behaviour a criminal offence.

Sachs said the future constitution should not be a product of lawyers, but people most affected by a future dispensation should have a say in drawing it up.

"What has happened to lesbian and gay people is the essence of apartheid - it tried to tell people who they were, how they should behave, what their rights were," Sachs said.

"The essence of democracy is that people should be free to be what they are."

B/D am 17/5/90

ANC dissidents 'living in fear'

11A

EIGHT ANC dissidents yesterday said they feared losing their lives through victimisation.

At a media conference at a Johannesburg hotel the dissidents, who are now calling themselves the Mkata Shinga Group, said the atrocities they suffered at the hands of some of the ANC leaders while in exile made them fear for their lives.

"Our lives have always been in danger within the ANC and there is no saying we are now out of danger," Mwezi Thwala said.

The 10 dissidents — two children, six men and two women — were released from Section 29 detention under the Internal Security Act on Tuesday this week. They were detained on their arrival from Malawi at Jan Smuts Airport on April 24.

"The only way I see to secure protection is by telling all about the atrocities perpetrated by the ANC in exile," Luthando Dyasop said.

Once the truth was known about what was taking place in exile the people of SA would rally to their support, he added.

"We should not be seen as sell-outs," he said. There was concern for those who were fugitives from the ANC in exile and who were looking for ways to return to SA.

Explaining why the dissidents decided to return to SA, Thwala said the ANC in exile had become anti-democratic and had violated human rights.

"When we demanded that democ-

WILSON ZWANE

racy should prevail we were banned from political activities and incarcerated, some executed and tortured.

"That is why we feel the ANC has no mandate to represent our people in any negotiations, but has to account for the crimes of genocide it has committed," he said.

People were executed by ANC chief of staff Chris Hani, he claimed.

"When we asked him in December last year in Tanzania to whom he was accountable for the shootings of our comrades, he told us he was accountable to the people of SA, not exiles." An explanation should be demanded from the ANC for hundreds of "shallow graves" of exiles who died in Africa.

"We intend forming a committee comprising parents and relatives of comrades who died or went missing in exile. We have hundreds of names.

"We appeal to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Amnesty International, the UN and church organisations to help in the repatriation of these people," Thwala said.

He said they were not aligned to the Federation of the New Generation whose president, Evangen Malamb, had offered to help them trace their families.

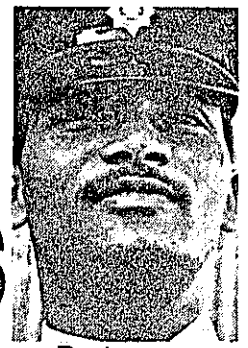
"We did not even know Malamb until he offered to help us find our relatives after our release from detention," he said.



Dissidents Patricia Sodo and Sipho Phungulwa at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Rockman leads anti-FW protests



Rockman

South 1751 - 2215790

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From GUY BERGER
LONDON. — The president of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), Mr Gregory Rockman is at the centre of British protests this week

against the visit of state president FW de Klerk.

Rockman emerged from Heathrow on Wednesday, angry at having been detained and questioned by British immigration authorities.

Rockman interrupted a meeting with South African Congress of Trade Union (Sactu) officials at his London hotel when he heard news of the sit-in by five Popcru members at the German embassy in Cape Town.

He immediately contacted Popcru

officials there for an update on the situation.

He told SOUTH: "What has happened at the embassy sit-in is a direct result of the government's reluctance to negotiate with Popcru and meet our very simple demand for an immediate and unconditional reinstatement of all dismissed members.

"It has proved to us that the government is not serious about negotiating with us or negotiating at all.

"Therefore our members felt it was necessary to stage this action."

He emphasised that the sit-in would continue until the union's demands were met.

He went straight into meetings with South African exiles from the ANC, Sactu, the International Defence and Aid Fund, and the war resisters group, Congress of South African War Resisters.

Rockman meets British groups on Friday before addressing a major protest rally at the Trade Union Council headquarters in the evening.

Complain

He and fellow Popcru executive member Randall Fortuin, a serving prison warden, are lined up for a wide range of interviews — effectively setting the media agenda just before state president FW de Klerk's visit.

They have talks scheduled with David Evans, leader of Britain's 23 700-member Prison Officers Association, as well as with Alan Eastwood, the head of the British police's staff federation.

They are even expected to be officially received by top Metropolitan police officers responsible for community and race relations in London.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement meanwhile is geared to picket the hotel hosting De Klerk and has chartered coaches to take demonstrators to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's country residence where talks are expected to take place on Saturday.

Patrick Goodenough reports from Port Elizabeth that four more warders at Port Elizabeth's St Albans Prison have been suspended while protesting against the alleged refusal by authorities to reinstate fellow members of Popcru.

The new suspension followed unsuccessful attempts by 24 Popcru warders, who themselves had earlier been suspended, to return to work at St Albans in accordance with the union's decision to end national strike action.



SIT-IN: Dismissed Popcru members occupy the West German embassy in Cape Town
PIC: BENNY GOOL

Welkom tense after mineworkers killed

South 175 - 2215790

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The Orange Free State town of Welkom is sitting on a powderkeg, following the killing of two white mineworkers at the President Steyn gold mine on Wednesday.

Tension has been mounting in the town since the killing a fortnight ago of two members of the National Union of Mineworkers by bands of rightwingers which sparked off a black consumer boycott.

NUM spokesperson, Mr Jerry Matlajawadi, expressed fear that rightwing elements would use the killing of the white mineworkers as an excuse to launch further attacks on the black community.

Wednesday's killing took place after a protest by about 3 000 mineworkers against the dismissal of a colleague.

Rightwing elements are thought to be responsible for the shooting of a man and the disappearance of three youth leaders in the Botleng township near Delmas in the Transvaal this week.

UDF sources here claimed a resident of Botleng was shot dead on Tuesday by a man wearing an Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) uniform.

A lawyer acting for several township organisations said three executive members of the Botleng Youth Congress, which is spearheading a consumer boycott in the area, were reported missing on Sunday.

Tension in the Botleng township was running high, the lawyer said.

Lutheran church minister, the Reverend Frank Muller, said several incidents of arson, looting and stoning had occurred since last weekend after an armed AWB supporter entered the township and was attacked by youths.

"The man fired and wounded one,"

he said.

In a separate incident, two youths were shot dead by police in Kroonstad's Maokeng township in what has been described as a second "Trojan Horse" ploy.

The police claimed that about 1 000 people surrounded a truck and threw stones and a petrol bomb at them.

Meanwhile, the open mobilisation of the rightwing was condemned by anti-apartheid bodies this week.

ANC national executive committee member, Mr Steve Tshwete, described the AWB's display of "fire power" last weekend as a "disturbing phenomenon".

"Their target is the ANC. This is an army being trained to attack our people."

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Rev Frank Chikane, called on the government to act against the AWB.

...one at 5am and then 6am.

'No quarrel' with ANC'

Scull 17/5 - 22/5/90 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The eight ANC dissidents released from security police custody on Wednesday said there was "no quarrel" between them and the ANC as an organisation.

"I have never had been bitter with the ANC and never had differences with it as an organisation, but with individuals in the leadership of the ANC," former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Mr Rodney Mwezi Twala, said at a press conference here.

He admitted that he had been one of the leaders in the 1984 mutiny against the ANC leadership.

Because of that, he said, he had been detained in Luanda and later transferred to the "notorious" Quatro prison camp in Angola.

The dissidents claimed they had all been imprisoned and harshly treated in the ANC's camps in Angola.



The Young Pioneers of ANC smartly dressed in their uniforms

Young Pioneers' internal wing

BY GAIL REAGON

THE South African Youth Congress (Sayco) plans to direct its attention and energy towards mobilising the very young. *South 17/5-22/5/90*

Taking a leaf from the experiences of socialist countries such as Cuba, Sayco established a Pioneers Department at its April congress.

The Pioneers programme wants to mobilise and organise children from five to 15 years of age, develop their talent and potential and instil values consistent with a post-apartheid and hopefully socialist South Africa.

Pioneers coordinator, Ms Sharon Davids, said the Young Pioneers Department's initial work would concentrate on consultation and making concrete a programme of action.

"We will have to sit with the ANC's Young Pioneers Department and work out with them how their pioneers will be integrated with ours.

"We also have to build their ideas on the future of pioneers into whatever

programme we devise," she said.

"We will not only have to raise their awareness of the inequalities of the current system, but expose them to an alternative value system," she said.

As such, the Young Pioneers will instil and encourage non-racialism, non-sexism, non-competitiveness, caring and love of their country in these children.

Promote

This presupposes fundamental changes in the nature and structure of society.

For instance, socialisation institutions such as the educational system will have to change completely to facilitate and promote these values.

Similarly, children's literature, music, movies and culture in general will also have to be changed.

At the moment the Pioneers Department is attached to Sayco, and will be guided by Sayco or the ANC Youth League. But it will hopefully be similar to the UPC in that the children will themselves be responsible for the direction and work of the organisation.

Church plans for return of exiles

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — Advanced plans were made here this week to receive home South Africa's estimated 400 000 exiles.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has offered to take responsibility for the return of exiles of all political affiliations.

This would include setting up reception structures and settlement areas.

SACC general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said this week he felt churches were "better placed to take overall responsibility for receiving exiles, irrespective of their affiliations".

He was speaking at a national consultation attended by more than 60 delegates from all over the country.

Chikane emphasised that individual liberation movements would have programmes of their own to receive their members, but church buildings would be available to all needing help.

A national coordinating structure comprising church

leaders and members representing various liberation movements, including the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), was set up in Johannesburg this week to help prepare for the return of South African exiles.

Conferences

Two national consultative conferences, the first attended by member churches of the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), regional councils of churches and associate members of the SACC, clarified the role of the church on the return of exiles.

Members of the Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN), led by the Rev Immanuel Dumeni, were invited as guests and advisors because of their practical experiences in repatriating exiles.

A broader consultation involving liberation movements such as the ANC, the

BCM and the PAC was also held. It established a coordinating structure for the activities of other groups.

Chikane said the effective resettlement of exiles made it necessary for issues such as welfare, health, education, shelter and employment to be investigated.

The consultation conference recognised that the welfare of all exiles, especially people with special needs, should receive attention.

The conference also focused on:

- The need for families receiving exiles to be prepared to incorporate them.
- The training of counsellors.
- The gravity of the shelter problem. It was felt the provision of land remained the responsibility of the government.
- Research on employment opportunities and skill profiles, which had to be undertaken immediately.

Consensus was reached on the seriousness of the education crisis and its implications for returning exiles.



Mr Horst Klindsmidt of the International Aid and Defence and Rev Frank Chikane (SACC) at the planning meeting this week

White council agrees to 'one municipality'

South 17/15 - 22/5/90

From PATRICK GOODE-
NOUGH

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mass-based community action in the small Eastern Cape town of Kirkwood has forced the white council to accept the concept of a single, non-racial local authority for the town.

A two-month-old boycott of white-owned shops has been suspended, after residents' representatives and the council agreed to set up a working committee to investigate the establishment of one municipality.

The committee, comprising six representatives from the white community and six from the township, will investigate ways of implementing a single non-racial municipality.

The campaign for "one town, one municipality" and the accompanying rejection of black local authorities has led to the resignations of nearly 100 black councillors in the Eastern Cape this year.

All seven councillors in Kirkwood's Bontrug Town Council resigned in February.

Kirkwood mayor, Mr John Erasmus,

said his council agreed unanimously to work towards one municipality for the town. Kirkwood could not afford to have three municipalities, he said.

It is not known exactly how the move to a single authority will take place.

Kirkwood Youth Congress chairperson, Mr Boy Finnis, who is on the working committee, said the community would like to see the town council dissolved and a completely new, non-racial authority established.

He said the suspension of the boycott did not mean the struggle in Kirkwood was over.

"We merely served notice on the regime that people in the rural areas are doing everything in their power to advance the struggle."

Finnis said a defiance campaign aimed at segregated facilities in Kirkwood would be launched.

The community embarked on the crippling boycott in response to the vestiges of racism still surviving in the platteland town, and to poor facilities in their areas.

A municipal swimming pool, library and sports fields are still reserved for whites.

Last week, Cape Administrator Mr

Kobus Meiring told hundreds of mayors at a conference in Port Elizabeth they should drop racism in their towns or face having their funds cut.

Finnis stressed that the agreement with the council was a victory won through community struggles, and not the result of pressure by a reforming government.

The council has also agreed to upgrade the township in consultation with the residents.

In the township, one primary school serving 700 children has no electricity, a shortage of desks, holes where windows used to be, no playing fields and 13 battling teachers.

Housing is inadequate, water is scarce and recreational facilities are non-existent.

The state's response to the crippling boycott was typical of its reaction to community action in other Eastern Cape towns.

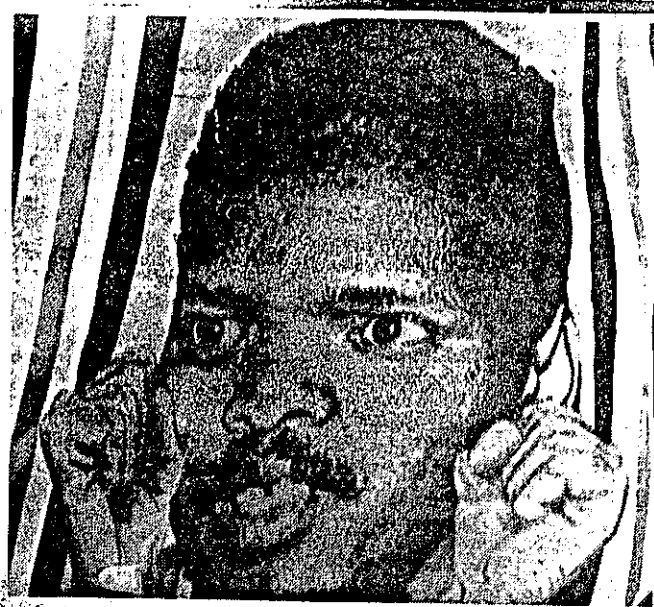
Four boycott committee members were detained, but later released.

Police action late last month in the coloured residential area of Bergsig — recently renamed Joe Slovo township by residents — led to a one-day workers' stayaway. — PEN

Negotiations are not a good strategy for liberation

11A

Soweto
17/5/90



Steve Biko set the trend for the BCM's stance on negotiations.

The ANC's historic meeting with the Government early this month has drawn a mixed reaction from the community. In this, the second part of a series on what political organisations think of these talks, the BCM forwards its view. Tomorrow we will publish the view of the PAC, and on Monday that of the newly-formed Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

WHEN the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged in 1968 under the leadership of the late Steve Biko it made its stance on negotiations very clear.

Any oppressed people who were fighting for liberation had to bargain with the oppressor "from a position of strength" - a position which could only be achieved if fundamental liberatory programmes were embarked upon by black people.

Such programmes would guide black people towards their total liberation - an aspect of which was their psychological liberation.

Bottom line

Black people had to work towards self-reliance, had to be conscientised to be able to take decisions about their own lives. In this regard, black solidarity was a means to give black people the strength required to bargain.

It is inconceivable that anyone can bargain from a position of weakness. To negotiate or bargain means that the forces negotiating must regard each other as equals and be prepared to relinquish their positions of superiority.

The degree to which solidarity or unity amongst black people is achieved will govern our strength at the negotiating table.

The most ideal position of strength would be that stage when black people could bring the oppressors to their knees and take power.

That for the BCM and Azapo

is the real bottom line. The white minority ruling class in the country has taken power illegitimately. Their government is illegitimate. Therefore, everything else they do - including their package of reforms - is illegitimate.

At that level negotiations can only take place in the context of this illegitimate Government discussing how it would hand over power to the black working class. It can be about nothing else.

We cannot negotiate with this Government about what kind of economic, political or social system we want. That can only be worked out after this Government has resigned and its constituency (white society) places itself on an equal footing with every other component in the society.

There are two sets of conditions that must exist for negotiations to be possible.

On the side of the Government - its morale and the morale of its supporters must be at its lowest. They must be on the point of raising the white flag and giving in to the popular demand for their resignation.

Exhausted

Their constituency must be so divided that there can be no cohesive force amongst white people.

The Government's war machine must be completely exhausted and there must be large areas of the country where their security forces cannot enter. In other words, black people must

"liberate" as much land as possible.

As far as we the oppressed and exploited are concerned, we should be highly conscientised (politicised), and have a tremendous sense of unity where black people are not fighting with each but acting as a unit.

All the suspicions, tribalism, the fears and mistrust within the black community must have been eliminated.

Hand in hand with that goal, the representative forces of the oppressed and exploited must have a militant programme of political action.

Bankruptcy

We believe that the present "talks about talks" have, in fact, given the De Klerk regime an extra lease on life. One only has to look at the degree to which he has had the red carpet laid down for him in European countries over the past few days.

Before February 2, South Africa was on the point of bankruptcy. It had a R6 billion international debt that it could not pay.

Because of his reform programme and his success at the Groote Schuur meeting, this Government has been able to pay that R6 billion debt with money that flooded in from overseas.

If negotiations get underway at this stage, Azapo is firmly convinced that only the De Klerk regime will come out winners.

Black people will continue to suffer unemployment, poverty and police and vigilante violence.

Despite the victories of the black people (on the factory floors and in the streets) against the nationalist regime, the recent "talks about talks" have once again strengthened their hand.

That is why Vlok can meet with right-wing racists like Eugene Terreblanche today and do the same with Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

If we go to the negotiating table now our powerlessness will have been entrenched.

Azapo believes that the priority for the broad liberation movement (the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and the trade union federations) is to meet behind closed doors and work out a strategy to ensure the collapse of the De Klerk regime.

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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The address is: The Council/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.



Moves for peace in squatter violence

ARGUS 17/5/90

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CROSSROADS and Khayelitsha councillors, blamed by squatter leaders for much of the violence in the Peninsula's black areas, are to meet Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel later this month to discuss setting up peace talks.

Mr Kriel will propose that they meet squatter leaders to try to find a way to end the conflict between them.

The announcement comes after the deaths of at least three people in violent incidents in Crossroads since Saturday.

"Weapons withdrawn"

Squatter leaders allege that much of the violence is perpetrated by councillors and their supporters in a campaign against opponents, and they claim some members of the town committee faction are using weapons provided by the Provincial Administration.

However, Mr Kriel's office said today that the Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring, had given an assurance that all weapons issued to councillors had been withdrawn "some time ago".

The new round of talks between Mr Kriel and the councillors follows a

meeting last week between him and squatter representatives under Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

It was at that meeting that the squatters backed the proposal for peace talks with the councillors on condition that both mayors of Crossroads and Lingeletu, Mr Johnson Nxgobongwana and Mr Mali Hoza, attended the meeting.

Only yesterday, however, Mr Nongwe claimed that Crossroads residents were angry at Mr Kriel's "refusal" to sack the township committee.

Mr Kriel's office has pointed out, however, that while Mr Nongwe did indeed make a plea at the start of last week's meeting for the dismissal of the councillors, he left the meeting in agreement with Mr Kriel's proposal to meet the councillors for talks.

New system

Mr Kriel had not "refused" to dismiss the councillors, but had merely pointed out that he could not summarily do so.

Until a new system of black local government was introduced, he had suggested the squatter leaders should meet the councillors and try to agree on ways to end the conflict.

A spokesman for Mr Kriel said Mr Nongwe's comments "do not reflect a true version of the meeting".

● Hout Bay's squatters, page 6.

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ANC rebels claim harsh treatment at Quatro

CAP6 Times 17/5/90 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of eight ANC rebels, called the Mkata Shinga group, yesterday claimed they had all been imprisoned and harshly treated in the ANC's Quatro prison camp in Angola.

The leader of the group, Mr Rodney Mueze Twala, formerly of Evaton in the Transvaal, said he left South Africa in 1975 to undergo military training in the Soviet Union and Angola.

Among the allegations were that:

- During 1979 and 1980 ANC members were sent to fight in Rhodesia against Ian Smith's government as well as President Robert Mugabe's forces, on the side of Joshua Nkomo's forces;

- Later ANC members were sent to fight against Unita forces in Angola;

- Hundreds of people were tortured and/or killed in various ANC prison camps;

- He and his group tried to elicit the help of the SA Council of Churches' general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, who allegedly

visited the ANC's Dakawa prison camp last year. There was no response; and

- The ANC's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, organised a firing squad which resulted in seven deaths after a mutiny at the ANC's Pango prison camp, also in Angola.

Mr Twala and his group — Mr Robert Vusumuzi Shange, Mr Diliza Abednego Mthembu and Mr David Makhubedu, all of Soweto; Mr Luthando Nicholas Dyasop of Umtata; Mr Siphiso Malcolm Pungulwa of Port Elizabeth and Mr Motyatyambo Yokuqala Mzimeli and Mr Patheka Patricia Sodo, both of Mdantsane — were all released from custody under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on Tuesday night.

They were detained on their arrival from Malawi at Jan Smuts Airport on April 24 this year.

The group later claimed to have been prisoners at the ANC's Quatro camp and subsequently the ANC's Dakawa prison camp in Tanzania from which they said they recently managed to escape — deciding to return to SA.

"We decided that what was happening in exile meant it would be better to go home and face the music. It is better to be in a South

African prison where friends and relatives can visit and at least your life is guaranteed," Mr Twala, also a claimed former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, said.

The group was introduced by the Archbishop of the World Missionary Association and president of the Federation of the New Generation, Archbishop Evangel Malamb, who together with the group faced tough questioning from a large contingent of local and foreign journalists.

Rev Malamb said he and his organisation "have followed the plight of many ANC members who want to return to SA. I managed to take them under my wings and see to their circumstances and help them to plan how they will face their new future in SA."

On their detention at Jan Smuts Airport by security police, Mr Twala said: "They had to detain us — we had been fighting against the regime. They had to see whether we had come back with intentions to continue the armed struggle."

Mr Robert Shange told the conference he no longer believed in the armed struggle.

"When people took up arms it was because they did not believe in apartheid and the

apartheid government was not prepared to talk or solve our problems.

"Now the apartheid regime is prepared to solve our problems peacefully and it is this and the unbanning of the ANC that decided us to come back home."

Mr Twala also said the group had been accused by the ANC of being "agents who needed to be rehabilitated", saying this was because they had expressed opposition to "undemocratic structures" in the ANC.

He denied they were "agents" and said he did not have problems with the ANC but rather with its leadership, with whom he differed politically.

He was still a member of the ANC, but some of the members of his group had been forcibly stripped of their membership, he said.

Outlining the background of the group and what he termed their hardship under ANC leadership, Mr Twala said: "There was no democracy. Freedom of political opinion did not exist. You had to parrot what the leaders were saying. The ANC leadership concentrated on sending us to fight in foreign countries when we wanted to come back to SA to fight."

— Sapa

Pik, Mandela plead for support

CAP 7/15/76

114
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Own Correspondent

BRUSSELS. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday appealed to Belgian parliamentarians to reward President F W de Klerk's reforms while in Nigeria Mr Nelson Mandela urged Commonwealth foreign ministers not to relax sanctions.

Mr Mandela was addressing the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuja with Common-

Sir Shridath said that despite Britain's "minimalist" approach, sanctions had forced President De Klerk to make major policy changes.

But he said the main legislative pillars of apartheid remained intact.

He predicted Mr De Klerk's tour of nine European countries to persuade the European Community to lift sanctions would fail.

Mr Mandela told the Foreign Ministers Committee he was amazed at the suggestion that sanctions should be eased.

"The unbanning of the ANC and release of some political prisoners is not what the liberation struggle is all about," Mr Mandela said. "It is about getting rid of apartheid."

He said his talks with Mr De Klerk earlier this month had done no more than begin removing obstacles to real negotiations.

Yesterday in Brussels Mr Botha said President De Klerk could not indefinitely continue his rapid pace of change without some reward from the international community.

Addressing the multi-party Belgian-South African Parliamentary Association with Mr De Klerk, Mr Botha said his president had only held the post since September.

"In that brief space of time he has taken the imagination of the world.

"(But) he cannot continue like this indefinitely at this rapid pace without some reward or some recognition which we can show to the white electorate, which is our electorate (in South Africa)."

Mr Botha said if the international community did not respond, the white electorate would start saying, "the violence has increased, Mr De Klerk has done all these wonderful things, and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying 'very nice, a step in the right direction' ... like a goose on the way to its doom."

Earlier, Mr Botha told the 60 parliamentarians that Mr De Klerk's delegation had been given an excellent reception, particularly in France, but also in Greece, Portugal and now Belgium.

In his address, Mr De Klerk said, "What has happened in South Africa deserves a fundamental re-examination of attitudes ... not half-hearted, not a shifting of goalposts ... what has happened has already changed the face of South Africa.

"We are asking you to help create an international atmosphere which will be conducive to negotiations."

He said: "There is no turning back. However vociferous the opposition may be, we are going ahead and we want to do so with the greatest possible speed.

"We are talking of weeks and months, not years." — Sapa-Reuter

JOHANNESBURG. — Police were not called in after teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei disappeared from the house of Mrs Winnie Mandela because she was not at her house at that stage, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, testified he did not call in the police then because he had decided to wait for Mrs Mandela to return home and report the matter to her.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to the murder of Stompie, the attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikaneng of Soweto, four kidnapping

Accused 'waited to tell Winnie about Stompie'

CH. Times 17/5/90 (11A)

charges and five of assault.

Stompie's decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.

Mr Richardson told the court Mrs Mandela had gone to the Free State when the four young men were removed by a group of people led by himself

from a Soweto Methodist Church and taken to Mrs Mandela's Soweto house.

Earlier evidence was that Mrs Mandela was at her house when the young men were taken there, and that she had taken part in the assaults on them.

Under cross-examination by the prosecutor,

Mr L C J Van Vuuren, Mr Richardson told the court he was concerned about Stompie's disappearance. They had searched for him unsuccessfully.

Mr Richardson admitted punching and slapping the four young men, but denied that they sustained serious injuries.

He said he had kept the young men at Mrs Mandela's house for the Rev Paul Verryn to counter allegations that the priest had homosexual relationships with the young men at his church.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

FW 'pips' ^{Cape Times}
17/1/90
Mandela to US

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Reports in the press here yesterday indicated that President F W de Klerk had stolen the march on Mr Nelson Mandela by securing a meeting with President George Bush a week before Mr Mandela.

Both the Telegraph and the Guardian said the timing of Mr De Klerk's visit had angered ANC officials.

The Telegraph report said the news was a "diplomatic triumph for the South African leader".

ANC publicity department head, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, referred the Cape Times to the ANC in Lusaka when asked whether the demand of the ANC's British representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, that President Bush cancel his meeting with Mr De Klerk carried the approval of the national executive committee. The Lusaka office could not be reached.

□□□

COPENHAGEN. — Denmark will appoint an ambassador to SA this year, but will continue sanctions, a foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday. Mr Peter Brueckner, currently number two at the Danish mission to the UN, will take on the SA post.

□□□

WASHINGTON. — Mr Randall Robinson, director of the TransAfrica group which is campaigning to block President De Klerk's visit to Washington, has been granted an SA visa, a spokesman for the SA embassy confirmed yesterday.

wealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

Both men attacked British calls for a relaxation of sanctions.

Sir Shridath said that easing sanctions now would be "to squander the moment of opportunity".

He said external pressure from all quarters was a vital complement of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Black business, ANC discuss role in struggle

Sowetan 17/5/90
IIA

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

HIGH-POWERED delegations of the African National Congress, business organisations and leaders held an important meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss the role of business in the liberation struggle.

The ANC was led by internal chairman, Mr Walter Sisulu, while Dr Sam Motsuenyane led the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce syndicate, and the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services was represented by Mr Tebello Radebe and Mr Cyprian Lebeso.

Other business leaders represented included Mr Phil Khumalo of Business Challenge, Mr Reuel Khoza director of Coordinated Marketing, Mr Eltridge Mathebula of Consumer Protection Institute.

It is understood that the leaders discussed several issues, including the report-back on "talks about talks" which the ANC held with Government representatives in Cape Town two weeks ago.

The meeting also touched on the role of black business in the liberation struggle and the nationalisation of certain sectors of the South African economy as seen by the ANC.

Spokesman

ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada yesterday confirmed that the meeting took place and discussed many issues.

Nafcoc's executive director Mr Lekota Mafasi also confirmed that the meeting took place in a "spirit of good will" and it was agreed that the parties would meet from time to time to discuss matters of common interest.

The executive director of Business Challenge, Mr Phil Khumalo, said the ANC spelt out the role of black business in the liberation struggle. It was also agreed that black business should try to create jobs for the returning exiles.

This move was clearly supported by Fabcos when it announced that it was prepared to find employment for the hundreds of returning exiles within its structures and elsewhere in the country.

Khumalo said the parties agreed on plans to accommodating the exiles when they arrived back into the country. He added that it was vital that business people should also meet leaders of other political persuasions.

Radebe said the meeting was helpful and an eye-opener. It was an indication that a lot of work still had to be done and "we are happy that we have learnt from this encounter."

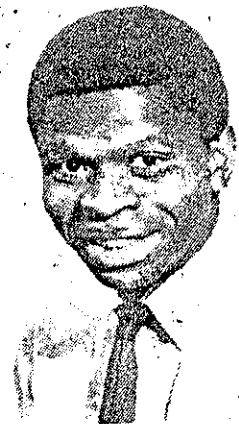
He said it was an attempt to look at a number of issues and to respond to matters which needed to be addressed. "We hope such joint meetings will take place again in the future."



**SAM
MOTSUENYANE**



WALTER SISULU



TEBELLO RADEBE

Tale of two tours flips double-side coin of SA sanctions

W/Mant 1815-245790 (11A)

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk touched down in London yesterday for the final week of a trailblazing European tour which has produced much in terms of international kudos but few concrete rewards.

After 10 days of the most significant international visit ever by any Nationalist head of state, De Klerk prepared himself for his meeting with his closest European ally, British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens.

Meanwhile Nelson Mandela was winding up his 12-day African tour, which has served in part to offset some of De Klerk's diplomatic gains.

The ANC deputy president attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuya, Nigeria on Wednesday and Thursday — something no South African minister has achieved in three decades.

Mandela told ministers from 10 countries that he was "amazed at the suggestion that sanctions should be eased" and called for the international community to keep up the pressure.

No call for the immediate relaxation of sanctions is expected from the Commonwealth, while in Oslo, foreign ministers from the Nordic and frontline states agreed that "despite recent positive developments in South Africa" sanctions would not be lifted.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magre Bondevik said Pretoria had yet to give a "firm commitment" to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk's tour has seen him receive several titbits from Europe, but the real test will come at the meeting of the European Community's heads of states meeting in five weeks' time. By then the government will need to show that substantial moves towards eliminating apartheid, ending the Emergency and releasing political prisoners have been made.

De Klerk however can return home with several promises and symbolic gains in his pocket:

- Later this year Portuguese President Mario Soares will become the first Western head of state since 1948 to officially visit South Africa.

- Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva assured De Klerk that Portugal would move for the easing of sanctions at the EC meeting on June 25.

- Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said the EC would re-examine its policy towards South Africa, but stressed that further bi-



Highest award ... Nelson Mandela receives the Order of Niger from Nigeria's President Babangida

Picture: ASSOCIATED PRESS

PRESIDENT Chadli Benjedid yesterday presented African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela with Algeria's highest award in recognition of his struggle against apartheid. Mandela was presented the Wisam al-Athir medal of distinction for his "courageous struggle to free South Africans from exploitation". Mandela last visited Algeria in 1961 when he received military training from Algerian guerrillas fighting against France.

lateral links could not be created "because the right climate does not exist in South Africa".

- French President Francois Mitterrand said he accepted the "irreversibility of change in South Africa". He said that sanctions would be re-evaluated and relations would improve as soon as the steps outlined in the ANC-SA government "Groote Schuur Minute" were implemented.

- According to a report in the left-leaning French daily, *Libération*, French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback in Britain and Switzerland, but his team is clearly pressing for more substantial breakthroughs than have been made so far.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Wednesday that his government could not continue with the rapid pace of change in South Africa without "some reward from the international community".

He warned that without such "rewards" the white electorate would say: "De Klerk has done all these

wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying, 'very nice, step in the right direction' ... like a goose on the way to its doom."

Botha added that De Klerk and gold were South Africa's best exports, "with the only difference being that his value is going up".

Shortly before leaving Brussels yesterday De Klerk said his impression so far was that the European Community "had a broad understanding and acceptance of the dynamics in South Africa" as well as of the "irreversibility of the process" which which his government had started.

SA Institute of International Affairs director Professor John Barratt said that while De Klerk's visit might not extract much in terms of sanctions being lifted, "it has definitely enhanced his position and given him much greater international credibility".

"There's no question that this is the biggest and most significant visit by any South African president or prime minister since the days of Smuts."

Barratt added that he believed Mandela's African tour was also of considerable significance, and that it had been underplayed in the media.

Professor Peter Vale, director of the University of the Western Cape's Institute of Southern African Studies, says the past 10 days of foreign travel indicate a two-track policy on the part of the international community.

"The one track is into Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these."

'Young lions' lie buried in frontline states say returnees

1119
w/ Mand 1815-24157 90
BY THANDEKA QOBULE

RETURNING African National Congress dissidents claimed in Johannesburg this week that hundreds of "young lions" of both the 1976 student rebellion and the 1985 insurrection lie buried in shallow graves in the frontline states.

According to Luthando Dyasop, one of eight dissidents who called a press conference this week, many youths who fled South Africa in 1976 died fighting in the Rhodesian war, while 1985 refugees fell in battle on the northern front, in the Benco province of Angola.

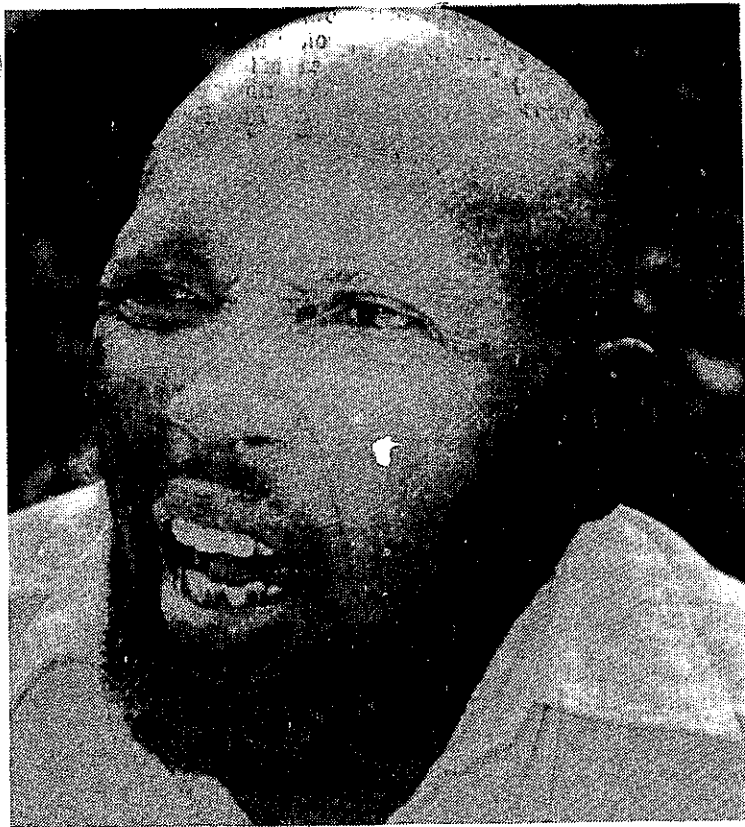
Dissident leader Rodney Twala said he believed it was the prerogative of fighters to demonstrate "internationalism" by fighting in other countries, but liberation movements had a responsibility to send its fighters to the country of the regime they were recruited to fight.

The dissidents were released this week from police custody; they had been whisked away by security policemen when they landed at Jan Smuts Airport a month ago and held in Kimberley. They said the two policemen who arrested them at Jan Smuts, a Major Naude and a Captain Van der Merwe, were the same police who had questioned them in Malawi, whence the eight had made contact with South African authorities.

At the press conference, Twala said that Umkhonto weSizwe forces fought not only against the Rhodesian army, but also against Zanla troops during the Rhodesian war. Zanla was the armed wing of Zanu-PF, which now governs Zimbabwe.

He said debate ensued between the leadership of the ANC and some rebels in ANC camps over the recruits' lack of choice about whether to fight in the frontline countries or inside South Africa.

Twala said that the eight would not be forming an organisation opposed to the ANC, but that the group



Dissident leader Rodney Twala believes liberation movements should send fighters to the country they were recruited to fight

sought to get parents of those who have died involved in the issue.

"We are aware of the names of people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa and we would like to make contact with their relatives and friends who must demand explanations from the ANC."

In their accounts this week of the 1984 rebellion at an MK camp called Pango in Angola, dissidents said after guerrillas had been disarmed by ANC authorities, only the administration and "those loyal to Tambo" were armed.

Dyasop told the *Weekly Mail* that despite the fact that they were unarmed, rebels captured the camp. "It took armed ANC cadres from another camp to recapture Pango," he said.

Dissidents alleged that the rebels were detained at Quatro camp; that they were starved, that many died of scurvy and anaemia, that electric shock torture and excessive physical labour were used as punishment. They alleged some mutineers were

beaten to death, and others were shot.

All attempts yesterday to get official comment from the ANC were unsuccessful.

Twala said the June 1985 Kabwe conference held by the ANC partly to sort out some of the problems in the camps, but also to "restrategise and reassess", was a "sham conference".

He said that although some of the issues about which the dissidents claim to be disaffected were raised, many people who wanted to attend the conference had been prevented from doing so.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela last month admitted there had been excesses in the treatment of rebels but that these had been addressed.

At the press conference, the eight dissidents were hosted by mysterious churchman, Evangel Malamb, archbishop of the World Missionary Association and president of the Federation of the New Generation.

DRAFT constitutional proposals geared to protect lesbian and gay rights are to be submitted to the African National Congress.

In a move spearheaded by the Cape Town-based Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga), country-wide canvassing will take place before the proposals are put forward.

Formed in 1987 by lesbian and gay activists involved in the mass democratic movement, Olga's aims go beyond working towards the goal of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. A major aim is to situate the lesbian and gay struggle firmly within the context of the total liberation movement.

At an Olga meeting in Mowbray this week, ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs described the ANC's response to queries regarding its position on gay and lesbian issues as one of: "We want to hear what people feel." 41404 185-24151 90

"The question of homosexuality has never been treated in any open and honest way in South Africa. The first thing to be done is to get the question out into the open and for people who stand to be affected to say for themselves what they'd like to see (in a new constitution).

"The constitution isn't the product of a few enlightened — or not so enlightened — lawyers," Sachs added.

'Olga' meets Albie to talk of a post-apartheid gay future

"People must make their own inputs."

The issue had a "special pertinence in this phase (of overcoming apartheid)". The essence of apartheid was that it tried to tell people who they were, how to behave, what their rights were. "The essence of democracy is that people should feel free to be who they are," Sachs said.

Whatever emerged in the final constitution depended "on all sorts of factors — but democracy demands there be full consultation with everyone who stands to be affected.

"There is too much fear in South Africa in general," Sachs went on. "We want people to be and feel free. This is just one more area where there appears to be oppression — it's part of our programme against discrimination and marginalisation."

Homophobia is not unknown within the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement itself — and in fact was one of the motives for starting Olga

Prejudice against gays is not unknown in the anti-apartheid movement, which is why gay activists met with Albie Sachs last week to hear an ANC view about their future.

11A GAYE DAVIS reports

in the first place, a representative said.

A 31-year-old lawyer with a 10-year history of activism, he added: "It's a reality that people are afraid of being open about their sexual orientation with comrades within organisations.

"It can affect your commitment in the sense that one gets close to people politically but not on the personal level — and thus not as a whole person.

"On the positive side, it makes a huge difference when you do come out: you think it's a barrier you can never cross but when you do, you find you can be much more relaxed

and at the same time, it opens other people's eyes."

Fear was the biggest obstacle to "coming out" — "the fear of being regarded as suddenly something different and strange", of exposing oneself to people for whom homosexuality was "completely beyond the pale", he said.

"The reality of homophobic attacks and discrimination means people remain in the closet but it also presents difficulties in terms of property rights and the law of succession. "Who we choose to make love with is just a small part," he said.

Another major inhibiting factor was the fear of careers foundering on entrenched attitudes in the workplace. "While I don't think I'd be dismissed, I feel I'd risk any chances of promotion if I came out at work," said a 33-year-old librarian. "It sounds paranoid, but it's the reality."

As a member of Olga, she no longer felt self-conscious "about who I am". It was also a "refreshing" change to mix with men without a heterosexual agenda, she said.

Like other gay and lesbian groups, Olga is fighting the dominant impression that gay people are all moneyed whites. "The issue cuts across all class and race lines," said a representative.

In fact, gay and lesbian activists in townships face an extra layer of oppression, largely because of prevailing cultural and traditional norms.

Tseko Simon Nkoli, writing in the latest issue of *Olga News*, discussed attitudes towards gays and lesbians in black communities, where homosexuality "is often not discussed. If any-

thing is mentioned, it is only condemnation or denial."

Nkoli, who chairs the Gay and Lesbian Association of the Witwatersrand (Glow) wrote: "Some say that we are perverts, others that gay men are afraid of women. We are mad, sick or 'influenced by the whites' to be gay. Others say that we are 'middle class' people and therefore to be detested.

"I deny all these statements against us ... all we want is to be accepted as normal people."

Since its affiliation, at the end of March, to the United Democratic Front, Olga has had requests from various organisations for workshops on gay and lesbian issues. "People want to know more," a representative said. "For our part, we realise the need to change the attitudes of people on the ground. It isn't enough just to have the leadership enlightened."

The organisation has been working for some time on draft constitutional proposals in response to the ANC's calls for feedback on the guidelines it published in 1988.

Consultation with other lesbian and gay groups will not be limited to those falling within the fold of the MDM, however.

Based on the premise that lesbians and gays are not only a minority group, but one with a history of oppression, Olga would like to see gay and lesbian rights given explicit expression rather than be covered by broad statements about non-discrimination and equal individual rights.

A longer-term project is a Charter of Lesbian and Gay Rights, similar to a Womens' or Workers' charter, to be appended to the constitution.

Among other things, the charter will call for the revision of all current legislation discriminating against lesbians and gays.

The draft proposals will be submitted to the ANC together with a detailed document motivating the need for their inclusion.

Deadline gets closer for the ANC and state working group

By GAYE DAVIS
Cape Town

1/19

THE working group of the government and the African National Congress held sittings in Pretoria and Durban this week as Monday's deadline for it to complete its work approached.

W/Mail 18/5-24/5/90

Established in terms of the agreement reached between the two sides at the historic "talks about talks" in Cape Town earlier this month, the working group's task is to:

- Make recommendations on a definition of political offences;
- Discuss time scales;
- To advise "on norms and mechanisms" for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to people both inside and outside South Africa.

The ANC team is being led by Jacob Zuma and includes fellow ANC national executive members Aziz Pahad and Joe Nhlanhla, as well as ANC legal department members Matthew Phosa and Penwell Maduna and United Democratic Front national chairperson, Curnick Ndlovu.

The names of the government's members in the group have not been announced, but a constitutional adviser in the department of constitutional development, SS van der Merwe, is reportedly leading the team.

"It was stated in the Groote Schuur Minute that the proceedings (of the working group) would be confidential. It follows therefore that there will be no statements emanating from the working group or about its activities," a department representative told the *Weekly Mail*.

The acting head of the ANC's department of information and publicity inside South Africa, Ahmed Kathrada, said: "Even if we knew something, we wouldn't be able to tell you." He added that the teams would first report back to their leaderships.

New Brighton ANC reopens with tears

W. M. 18/5/90 - 24/5/90
11A

AFTER a break of 37 years, African National Congress members last weekend once again crowded into the murky and dilapidated Rio Cinema in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township.

About 1 000 signed-up members — some of whom had just been recruited at the door — had come to re-launch what was one of the ANC's strongest branches.

Dewy-eyed old people huddled in the cinema's seats and reminisced about the last legal gathering there before violence in 1952 led to a municipal ban on meetings in the venue.

ANC stalwart Govan Mbeki said a squabble between a railway policeman and a resident sparked the violence in the township.

Eighteen residents were shot dead by police. Among them was the cinema owner, Rudolf Brandt, who had been "very friendly to the people", Mbeki said.

"We are coming back here today not on the basis of division by apartheid laws, but once more for a meeting of the ANC, as blacks and whites, as people of South Africa. What a change."

A murky cinema in Port Elizabeth fills with ANC supporters after a break of 37 years. Many are dewy-eyed pensioners. By PATRICK GOODENOUGH and THANDEKA QGUBULE

He said the relaunch of the ANC in New Brighton "after 37 years of apparent inactivity" was proof the government failed to stamp it out.

New Brighton set up some of the first ANC structures in South Africa. Before the government banned the organisation in 1961, the branch had had a membership of 15 000, according to Mbeki.

"We were the model then in erecting the first people's structures in South Africa, and today we're the model in setting up the first branch in the Eastern Cape," said regional convenor Benson Fihla.

Membership of the "new" New Brighton branch is approaching 8 000.

A nine-member branch executive was elected. Only people living in

New Brighton were allowed to vote.

Mbeki encouraged the newly-elected branch executive to ensure that New Brighton residents joined the ANC in their thousands, and to uphold the principles of democracy and accountability.

"Neglect or ignore the people, and there is no future. Be with the people and no army can stand in the way of the people when they have taken a decision," he said.

●Two ANC recruitment centres have been set up in central Johannesburg. According to representatives, the centres are busy.

In the East Rand thousands of people have joined and a sizeable number are unexpected white recruits.

On May 19 ANC members in Yeoville will set up a temporary recruitment centre for the day outside Checkers. Mobile recruitment centres are also planned for the Johannesburg Fleamarket while Highbrow areas like Rosebank are being looked at.

But when the *Weekly Mail* visited one of the recruitment centres at the Methodist Church in Pritchard Street, there was not a person in sight and the door was firmly bolted.

Star 18/5/90
(11A) (1)

Australia to give R30-m to ANC for apartheid victims

Australia is to give the African National Congress 15 million Australian dollars (about R30 million) over the next three years "to assist in the re-integration and development of South African victims of apartheid".

A press statement from the Australian Embassy in Pretoria said the announcement was made by the Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting on Southern Africa in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday.

Education

"The majority of the new funds will be earmarked for assistance to the ANC for humanitarian and educational activities.

"Up to 2 million Australian dollars will also be available immediately to assist with repatriation and resettlement of the exiles, estimated to number in excess of 20 000 people," Senator Evans said. — Sapa.

UDF plea to avoid hatred

Star 18/5/90

Own Correspondent

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WELKOM — The United Democratic Front has urged residents of Thabong and Bronville townships not to antagonise Welkom's white community in the wake of renewed confrontation between white and black residents.

Speaking at a consumer boycott report-back meeting in Thabong on Wednesday night, UDF spokesman Freddie Vanga said: "We embarked on the consumer boycott after our people were assaulted and killed by (white) vigilante groups in the city centre and white suburbs.

"Let us not develop racial hatred as this is against policies of the UDF and the ANC."

It is hoped the boycott, which is in its 12th day, will end on Sunday, after the Consumer Co-ordinating Committee has met the Afrikaanse Sake-komitee and Goldfields Independent Traders' Association.

South African Catering, Commercial and Allied Workers' Union spokesman David Komako said yesterday hundreds of Welkom employees had been dismissed and others given leave without pay. Many cases had been referred to the industrial court.

● A mass meeting of Thabong residents will be held on Sunday.

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Buthelezi invites ANC, UDF, Cosatu to talk

Star 18/5/90 Political Reporter (11A)

KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday issued an invitation to leaders of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu to meet him and the leadership of Inkatha to find a solution to the violence in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi, reacting to accusatory press statements allegedly made by the leaders of the three organisations, said in a statement his hand of friendship had always been extended to those who wanted to talk to him, and this policy remained.

He said statements issued simultaneously to the press by the ANC, Cosatu and students at the University of Natal attacking the KwaZulu police and himself as the homeland's Minister of Police with regard to the Natal violence were "clearly a concerted campaign" to further destabilise his government.

The ANC convenor for southern Natal, Patrick Lekota, said yesterday the ANC would renounce the armed struggle if Inkatha was disarmed and Chief Buthelezi's powers as Minister of Police were removed by the Government.

"This is only fair. We cannot expect our people to lay down their arms if they are still being attacked," he said at a meeting at the University of Natal.

Star
18/5/90 (11A)

FW hasn't done enough - Mandela

ALGIERS — Nelson Mandela told a youth rally here yesterday that it was too soon to lift economic and political sanctions on South Africa.

The African National Congress deputy president said that President de Klerk had not done enough.

"There are various countries in Europe, unfortunately even in Africa, which feel De Klerk has done enough to compel us to lift sanctions. We do not agree," Mr Mandela told thousands of cheering youths after a concert of modern Algerian music.

"However honest De Klerk may be, however much he has changed certain laws, apartheid still is the foundation of policy in South Africa. As long as that is the position, the struggle must continue."

Mr Mandela defended the socialist policies of the ANC.

"Today we are told that capitalism, under which Africa, Asia and Latin America suffered from imperialist domination, is a good economic system. We totally reject this.

"We are not going to accept any system that has caused so much misery to the people of the world."

Mr Mandela arrived on Wednesday night from Nigeria on a tour of African states.

He was decorated yesterday by President Chadli Benjedid with Algeria's highest medal.

He last visited Algeria in 1961 for military training from Algerian guerillas fighting France for independence, an experience he said had made him a man.

"President Chadli promised me that Algeria will continue to apply sanctions against South Africa. He also said Algeria was going to continue to give support to the ANC," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE concept of negotiations is quite fashionable these days. Correspondingly, its advocates have increased.

But negotiations are not a solution in themselves, but rather a method of struggle to resolve contradictions.

There is a wise adage which says: "Never oppose negotiations, but never believe in them either!" This wise adage reflects the basic truth, namely what is attainable at the negotiating table will largely depend on the relative strength of the adversaries. Negotiations have nothing to do with "integrity," "honesty" or "good faith".

In the light of this, let us examine objectively the current cry for negotiations inside apartheid South Africa. Although the cry is for negotiations, the truth is that what is being discussed is what would constitute a climate conducive to negotiations.

As far back as 1985, the Nassau Commonwealth stipulated certain conditions which the regime must meet in order to create a conducive climate. These conditions were subsequently incorporated into the August 1989 Harare Declaration and the Consensus Resolutions of the UN General Assembly Special Session of December 1989. Basically they are:

- * Unbanning of the organisations.
- * Unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees.
- * Lifting of the state of emergency.
- * Withdrawal of the regime's troops from the townships.
- * Unconditional return of political exiles.

Draconian laws

To date, the regime has partially met only one of the conditions. It has unbanned the PAC, ANC and 34 other organisations. The unbanning is partial because many draconian laws still exist to curb freedom of action. To hold a rally or a march, permission must be obtained from the regime. However, the unbanning becomes meaningless if the organisations, after mobilising their respective support, cannot contest for political power!

Whilst it is true that the regime released some political prisoners, thousands still languish in apartheid prisons.

Neither do these five conditions address the pillars of apartheid ... the regime is merely asked to withdraw its reaction to the legitimate resistance of the people. Instead of "courageously" with-

Negotiation minefield

Sowetan 18/5/90

Today the PAC's foreign secretary, GORA EBRAHIM, gives his view on negotiations. On Monday we will carry the view of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.



drawing its reaction by acceding to the conditions. De Klerk is using them to "start negotiations".

For instance, he claims he will not lift the state of emergency because of the conflict in and around Pietermaritzburg. Now he has succeeded in soliciting support from a section of the liberation movement to send more troops into Pietermaritzburg to "maintain law and order". And he has obliged by sending a force comprising former FNLA soldiers. Discredited in Angola, they have been given South African "citizenship" and unleashed on the oppressed Azanian majority.

Any form of support for the sending of additional troops to Pietermaritzburg will considerably weaken the legitimate demand for the withdrawal of apartheid troops from the townships. One cannot support increased troops on the one hand and effectively demand withdrawal on the other hand, and then claim to be successfully negotiating!

Categorisation

On the release of political prisoners, De Klerk wants to subtly use this to divide the different components of a liberation movement. He is suggesting the "categorisation" of political prisoners. The aim is to pit the political against the military wing. Any acceptance of categorising political prisoners by the national liberation movements would certainly lead to serious divisions.

The Harare Declaration, whose authorship the ANC has publicly

claimed, places the onus on the regime to implement the conditions conducive for a climate of negotiations. It is also explicit on the issue of armed struggle.

It does not call on the national liberation movement to unilaterally renounce or abandon the armed struggle ... on the contrary, it clearly stipulates that once the regime meets the five conditions and creates a conducive climate, the mutual cessation of hostilities could then be negotiated.

Responding to this, Mothopeng has declared: "The bullet cannot be abandoned until the ballot is secured to contest for power".

Constitution

The conditions set out for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations do not address the fundamental pillars of apartheid, which are:

- * The Population Registration Act.
- * The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, on which the Group Areas Act is based.
- * The Bantu Education Act.
- * The tricameral parliamentary system.
- * The bantustans.

The PAC maintains that neither the five conditions to create a conducive climate, nor the pillars of apartheid are negotiable.

The question then arises: What is there to negotiate? What should be negotiated is mechanisms to facilitate the drawing up of a new constitution. Only elected representatives can claim to have a mandate from the majority of the people to draw up a new non-racial, democratic constitution for a united Azania.

Hence the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person-one-vote election to a single-chamber Constituent Assembly.

This Assembly could claim to be truly representative and have the mandate to come up with a



new constitution. Moreover, it is the most democratic method to resolve the conflict:

The total eradication of apartheid, majority rule based on one-person-one-vote on a common voters role, national liberation and self-determination, the guarantee of individual rights to all patriotic Azanians and the establishment of a genuine non-racial, democratic and socialist Azania remains the declared objectives of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. It has put forward two methods to achieve these objectives, the Constituent Assembly and or the intensification of internal resistance including the armed struggle. The choice is simple!

De Klerk is not serious about genuine negotiations. His aim is to liquidate internal resistance, especially the armed struggle, and to undermine international isolation and sanctions.

We support talks - Cosas

POLITICAL organisations opposed to negotiations came under attack this week at the re-launch of the Congress of South African Students.

Mr Rapu Molekane, general secretary of the South African Youth Congress, told thousands of pupils at a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on Wednesday that the talks between the ANC and the Government had received massive support from structures in the

Sowetan 18/5/90
Mass Democratic Movement.

"We are not married to one form of the struggle. To negotiate is but just one of the many forms of the struggle. We know that those who are anti-negotiations, and yet say they will intensify the struggle, have no army.

"The climate for talks in South Africa has been made possible by the armed struggle waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

The "peoples' education" could only be brought about by the transfer of political power to the people. However, this could only be

achieved through discipline.

Mr Mike Dube, Cosas' publicity secretary, urged pupils to rebuild the organisation.

Apartheid still alive - Mandela

11A

ALGIERS - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Algeria on Wednesday that apartheid remained in force in South Africa despite recent reforms.

"Apartheid in South Africa is very much alive," he told reporters in Algiers who had asked his reaction to the Government's decision on Wednesday to abolish racial segregation in most

hospitals.

It was not clear from his remarks whether he was fully aware of the plan to end segregation in hospitals, the latest reform launched by President FW de Klerk.

Speaking on hospital workers, Mandela said: "The union for white workers is recognised by the Government and that of blacks is not".

White workers earned a starting salary more

than five times that of blacks.

"There are some black workers who have finished 30 years of service but are still temporary workers. That is not the position with white workers.

"There are hospitals that only receive white patients and where black patients are not allowed," he said.

Mandela, on a tour of African states, paid tribute to Algeria, where he received military training in 1961 from Algerian guerillas.

"It is the Algerian army that made of me a man," he said.

He and his wife Winnie were greeted on their arrival by youths who chanted his name and waved ANC flags.

Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali, in an airport ceremony, hailed Mandela as a freedom fighter and said talks yesterday with President Chadli Benjedid would focus on "ways to end the odious system of apartheid". Sapa-Reuter.

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Jacob Zuma, the powerful and impressive head of ANC security, has come a long way from his poverty-stricken birth in the Nkandla forests "in the intestines of Zululand" 48 years ago.

Entirely self-taught and "schooled in the struggle," Zuma is the ANC's key backroom strategist. It was he who prepared the ground for the historic Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC recently.

In this, he worked "very closely and very well" with Fanie van der Merwe, government's chief constitutional adviser. Zuma leads the ANC on the joint steering committee.

It's perhaps in the nature of his job that

Zuma won't confirm the routine description of him as chief of ANC security and intelligence. Pressed about it, he laughs and says his official position is: member of the National Executive Committee (since 1978) — adding that he works in the president's office charged with special tasks. According to Zuma, the onset of

real negotiation with Pretoria, like the lifting of sanctions, will depend on "how and whether the obstacles will be removed, which would create the right climate" (see *Current Affairs*).

It was "the impact of oppression that propelled me deep into the struggle." His father died when he very young and his mother worked as a domes-

tic servant, the sole breadwinner for five children. "I was not even allowed to be with her. I grew up in Durban. I believed that only liberation would change things."

His brother, who was active in the union movement and a member of the ANC, was a major influence. Jacob joined the ANC when he was 17 (pretending to be a year older), and became a member of the military wing in 1962.

Attempting to leave the country the next year, Zuma was apprehended at Zeerust and sent to Robben Island for 10 years. On his release, he "continued to work and organise underground." After the arrest of his friend Harry Gwala, Zuma decided to skip SA in 1975. He went to Swaziland and later served as ANC head in Mozambique.

He was involved in the Nkomati Accord, "and that's part of the reason P W Botha wrote to the Mozambicans requesting that I should be shifted out." How things have changed!

Amarnath Singh



ANC and unions call on De Klerk:

'Strip Buthelezi of police powers!'

W/Mail 18/5 - 2415790

11A

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE African National Congress and Cosatu yesterday called on the government to strip kwaZulu's chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his powers as kwaZulu's minister of police and to disband the kwaZulu Police.

The call has catapulted the Natal crisis into the forefront of government-ANC negotiations and is set to become the first serious test of the Groote Schuur "accord".

Under the slogan "disarm Buthelezi", the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions launched the offensive yesterday, claiming the only way to peace was to abolish the KZP.

Cosatu added to the pressure with a resolution backing a week-long national stayaway unless strong action is taken to end Natal violence.



Chief Buthelezi.

ANC southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota told the *Weekly Mail*: "It is our view that the government, which has provided Chief Buthelezi with a police force, must now take the responsibility to disarm him so that we may engage in open political activity."

He said both sides undertook to do what they could to end the violence.

For its part the ANC had agreed "to look hard at the question of the armed struggle". However, the government had to play its part. Not only should the South African Police be curbed, but they should also take steps to curb the "violence from kwaZulu".

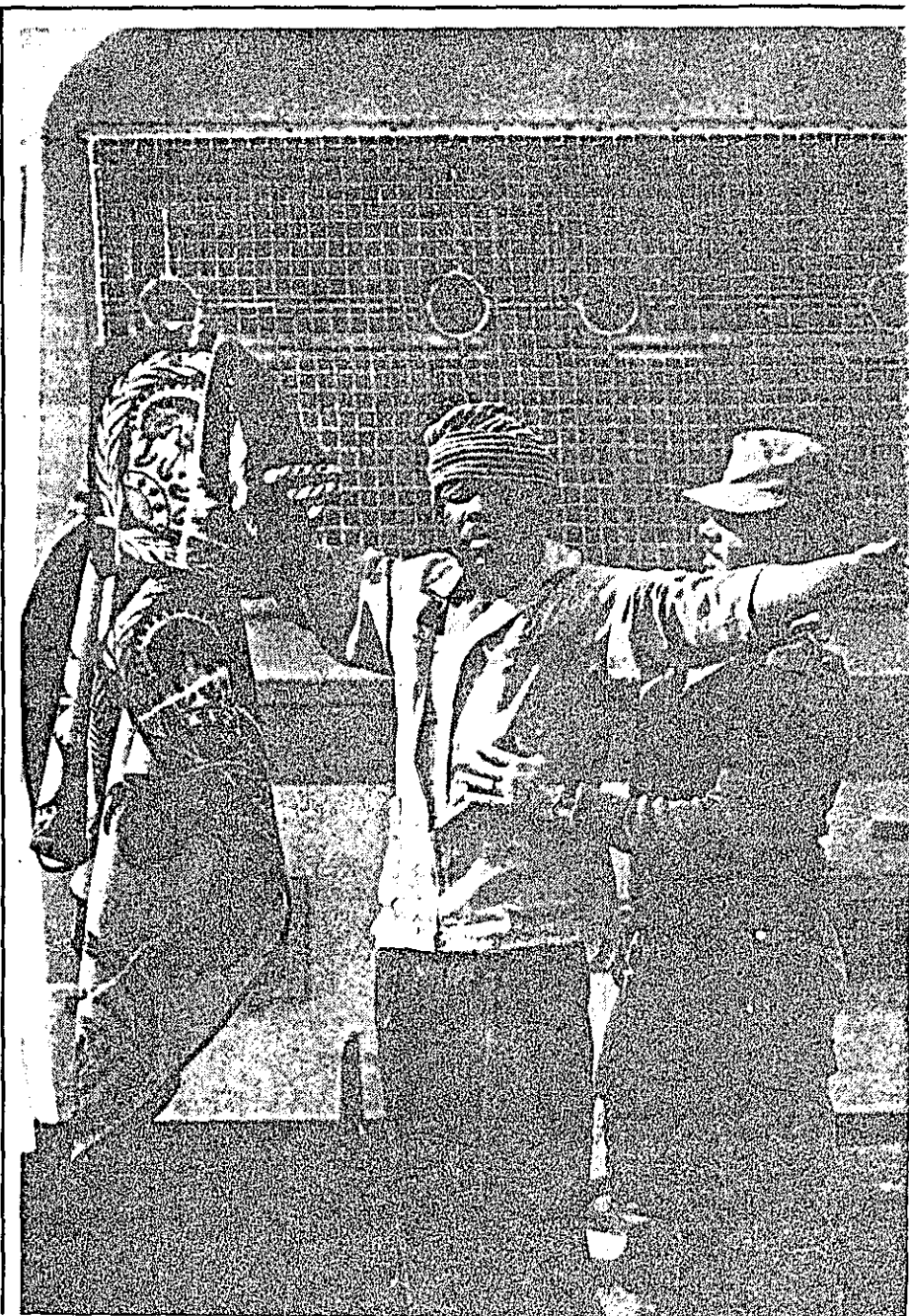
"We can play our part in holding back our people. But the government must do the same."

Lekota said the KZP was "killing our people".

Yesterday the Joint Working Committee, consisting of United Democratic Front and Cosatu members delegated to deal with ways of ending the violence, issued an edition of *Umbano*, its official mouthpiece, saying the people of Natal had "had enough of murder, rape, assassinations and plunder at the hands of the KZP, the SAP, SADF, warlords and vigilantes".

Previous attempts at organising peace talks with Buthelezi were listed, with claims he "found one excuse after another to avoid peace talks".

"What is happening in Natal is the worst na-



'Strip Buthelezi of power'

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tional crisis of our time. Only united mass action throughout South Africa can end it. We have struggled together nationally to achieve many victories. We are saying now 'let us struggle together now to end the war in Natal'."

The demands listed in *Umbumbano* are that the KZP be abolished, that an impartial peace-keeping reside in the affected areas, and for a judicial inquiry into the role of the police.

Cosatu's regional secretary Thami Mohlomi said the ANC and Cosatu were still open to peace talks with Buthelezi, but it was essential there be action "to curb the security forces". He said if there was no such action, Cosatu would organise a week-long national protest. This would be discussed by the ANC and its allies.

While the ANC complains that its members are the victims of a massive sustained onslaught by the KZP and other security forces, Inkatha is compiling a detailed dossier of their members, some senior, who have been killed by the other side.

Among these victims is prominent Inkatha member and Imbali councillor

●From PAGE 1

Jerome Mncwabe, killed on Wednesday night.

Police said he was shot by two unknown men outside his house.

Last night Buthelezi described the ANC call as a concerted campaign to to "further unsuccessfully attempt to destabilise the kwaZulu government and my leadership role".

"What they are doing is playing party political games with people's lives and I will have no part in it."

Buthelezi said he was alarmed by the threat of a stayaway which, he said, had in the past resulted in bloodshed.

"This is not democratic political action at work.

"I plead with the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and others who share their agendas to stop whipping up tensions," he said.

"Negotiate problems. Contact me personally. Walk into my office and talk about them but don't create a situation where you have to walk over bodies before you do so."

Blacks forced to support ANC, says CP's Langley

The aim of widespread intimidation in South Africa and the self-governing territories was to force blacks to support the African National Congress, Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

"The Government has committed treason and is too useless to protect these people," he said during an interpellation.

The interpellation was on whether the Government had been asked by the Namibian government to extradite certain people and what steps had been taken.

Mr Langley said the intimidation included arson, school boycotts and assaults, while 10 year-old tsotsis ran around causing havoc.

There had not been one incident since February 2 that the Government had called the ANC to account for intimidation.

"The Government reminds me of a dog that sits down and wags its tail when it sees another, bigger dog approaching."

Sapa 16/5/90 (11A) **A great step forward**

The Minister of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said Mr Langley had delivered a tirade that could be ignored.

Admittedly there was much intimidation but the present political process was aimed at getting rid of all the violence.

Replying to a statement that a leader of a self-governing territory had said all the violence had occurred since the release of Nelson Mandela, Dr van der Merwe said all those leaders had asked for Mr Mandela to be released and for the ANC to be unbanned.

The talks at Groote Schuur were a great step forward.

"We specifically discussed the matter of intimidation and violence with the ANC."

"If someone wanted me to join the CP, they would have to practise intimidation to get me to do so."

Mr Jacobus Botha (CP Wonderboom) said if he arrived with a can of petrol and a car tyre, Dr van der Merwe would soon join the CP. — Sapa.

FW triumphs in Greece

80 12/190

EC to re-examine apartheid policy, says Greek leader

PETER FABRICIUS,
ALAN DUNN and SAPA-REUTER

ATHENS — President de Klerk's swing through Europe continued yesterday with a diplomatic triumph in Greece. Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said that the European Community would re-examine its anti-apartheid policy in the light of Mr de Klerk's political reforms. "I am impressed by Mr de Klerk's programme. In the light of the most recent developments in South Africa, the European Community will re-examine its (anti-apartheid) policy," Mr Mitsotakis told a news conference. His comments, after a private meeting with Mr de Klerk, were the strongest sign yet that the EC may reconsider economic sanctions against Pretoria.

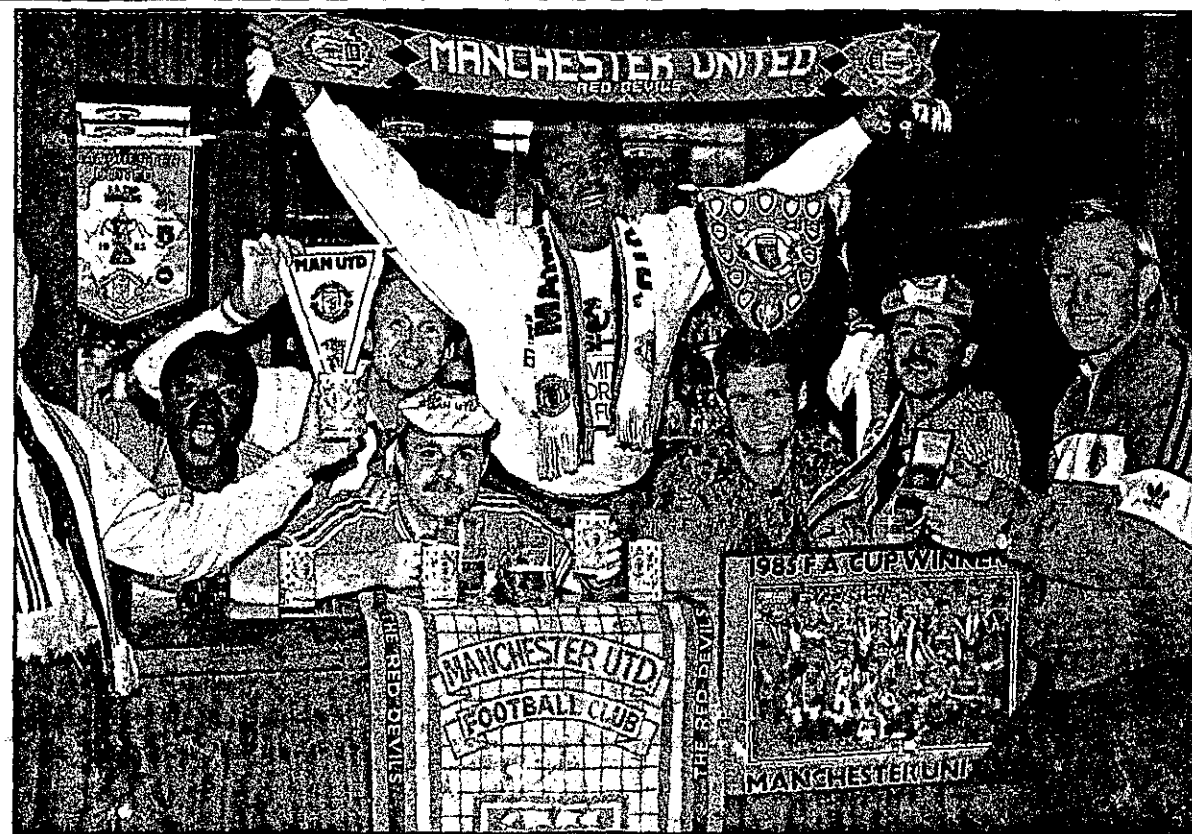
Plan to lift sanctions

This followed highly successful talks this week with President Mitterrand of France and the Dutch government's announcement on Thursday that it had drafted a plan under which the European Community would lift sanctions against South Africa in six stages. The details have already been circulated to EC Foreign Ministers, and will probably be discussed at their next meeting in Dublin on May 19. More good news from the tour yesterday was that Foreign Minister Pik Botha is to hold a surprise meeting here with his Canadian counterpart, Joe Clark.

Mr Botha will see him in an Athens hotel tomorrow night to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries. Mr Botha and Mr Clark will then have a working dinner at the hotel. Mr Botha's office would not say what the meeting with Mr Clark was about, but it is understood that it may concern Commonwealth matters.

South African delegates

The South African delegation consists of Mr Botha, his director-general Neil van Heerden, head of the



UNITED WE STAND: There's no prize for guessing who these avid fans will be supporting in today's English FA Cup Final between Manchester United and Crystal Palace. Gary Bailey, former United goalkeeper (far right), shows off the runners-up medal he won in the 1979 Cup Final as he joins the pre-match celebrations with (from left) Mike Rowbotham, a former United youth and reserves' player, and staunch supporters Bafana Shezi, Julian Kearns, Gavin Schmidt, Arthur Molisiwa, Marshall Howard and Mark Eheridge. ● See PAGES 18, 19 and 20 for Saturday Star's FA Cup Special.

Harms warns CCB witness of prosecution

STC 12/190
PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

A SENIOR member of the Civil Co-Operation Bureau could be prosecuted for obstructing the proceedings of the Harms Commission, Mr Justice Harms indicated yesterday. "Yes," Mr Justice Harms answered. Earlier, Mr Cilliers said when the commander of Special Forces, Major-General Eddie Webb, had phoned him to inquire about the files on the instructions of the commission, he had told him that either CCB managing director Mr Joe Verster or regional director Mr Staal Burger had the files. "In other words, you lied to General Webb," Mr Justice Harms said. "You knew the files were at Special Forces headquarters at the time." The commission adjourned until Monday, when the cross-examination of the CCB regional judge's statement. "It seemed as if Mr

Rugby star Dries Maritz jailed

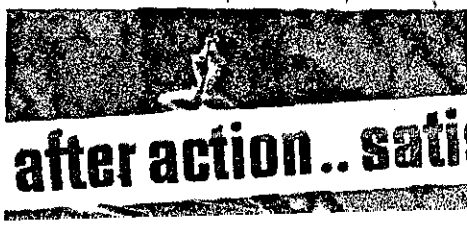
CELESTE LOUW



FORMER Transvaal rugby centre Dries Maritz was yesterday sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to an effective four years' jail for committing fraud. Maritz (33) and a co-accused, Gideon van Zyl (28) of Krugersdorp

"People who commit these type of white-collar crimes intend to make fast money at the expense of other people. You are no less despicable than car thieves," said the judge.

with a lot of potential and you can be rehabilitated. It is therefore not necessary to impose a long term of imprisonment," Mr Vertue found. He referred to Maritz's success on the rugby field, finding that it



NP excited over 'breakthrough'

Fast progress to more talks is expected

8/10/77 75/90

11A

BBB

CAPE TOWN — Boosted by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday. One MP said even the news that former president P W Botha had quit the party did not dampen the excitement over what had been achieved.

● De Klerk answers P W Botha: Page 3
● Comment: Page 8

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

Speaking at Stellenbosch University at the weekend, ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said: "It would be reasonable to make the assumption we are not very far from a process of negotiations which should involve all the political forces in the country in deciding what kind of SA we would like."

Both government and the ANC committed themselves at Groote Schuur to doing

MIKE ROBERTSON

their utmost to speedily remove obstacles in the way of full-scale negotiations.

Although some actions, like the scrapping of aspects of security legislation, will be possible only next year, senior members of government's negotiating team believe this should not prevent talks about negotiations beginning late in June or in July.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Government will then consult with other affected parties, and it is hoped that soon after De Klerk returns from Europe it will be possible to begin implementing decisions.

Agreement on what constitutes a political offence could pave the way for the largescale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain trials.

As a result of the Groote Schuur meeting, today's parliamentary business has been rescheduled and a joint sitting will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the Bill is approved De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation.

□ To Page 2

More talks

11A 20/77

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□ From Page 1

tion, to allow them to return to SA.

A government source said at the weekend there had been ready acceptance by the ANC of the need for some kind of security legislation during a period of transition. However, the ANC had suggested some valid changes.

Government, he said, had given the ANC an undertaking it would give notice as soon as possible that certain aspects of the Internal Security Act and other scarcely used legislation, like the Intimidation Act, would be amended or scrapped in the next parliamentary session.

If all goes according to schedule, another meeting between the ANC and government to ratify agreements is likely in June, opening the way to the next and far more difficult phase in the process — deciding what form the constitutional negotiating forum should take and who should attend.

In the next few weeks the ANC will also be pushing for the creation of a new structure to ensure efficient communication between it and government.

Mandela said on Friday: "Although I have been in touch with the State President as well as with other Ministers, it is always better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace."

Government sources indicated they had no serious objection to the setting up of such a structure. Since the April 5 meeting between the ANC and government, Mandela has had an almost direct line to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, and government members are pleased with the results.

Reuter reports that the CP and PAC responded coolly to the outcome of the peace talks.

The CP dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence announced by government and the ANC.

The PAC said it would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would negotiate only when the transfer of the majority of land to blacks was on the agenda.

80 3/4/90

No guarantees, says Du Plessis

It was true that the Budget indicated a new direction, but it had to be emphasised that this new direction was not without risk, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to the Budget debate he said proper management of this risk had to be done with the support of political parties who also wanted a process of peaceful transition.

Support for the Budget reflected one's political desires.

The management of wealth was as important today as ownership of wealth, and in many cases gave even more power than ownership.

It was essential that the productive capacity of the economy be not only maintained, but expanded. "With this Budget we have succeeded in taking some steps towards appropriately restructuring the economy."

Longer-term economic strategies should be not only sustainable but equitable. It was only with an equitable economic system that one could have an equitable political system.

In design and in response the Budget had brought forward very important issues, including the promotion of equal opportunity by investment in human capital. This aspect must have come as a nasty surprise to the CP, which had excelled in identifying itself as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution.

Socialism

No response to the Budget reflected the changing attitude in the country more clearly than that of the DP and its chief spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz. He wanted to give a very special word of thanks to Mr Schwarz and the DP, which had departed from years of tradition by supporting this Budget.

The Government appreciated the fact that the DP had taken a longer-term view of the interests of SA at a time which called on each South African to give of his best in the search for solutions.

Mr du Plessis said it was a misconception that apartheid was equivalent to capitalism. The opposite was true: Apartheid was equivalent to socialism.

Apartheid implied not only a centrally controlled economy, but a centrally controlled country. Apartheid dictated where one could live, work and vote.

He noted that the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, had said one could not ask for disinvestment and jobs at the same time.

This was a lesson that could be taken to heart by people not yet in Parliament.

Mr du Plessis also paid tribute to the media for their coverage of the Budget, which he said had been comprehensive and had given meaningful guidance to the public. — Sapa.



Mr du Plessis . . . apartheid equivalent to socialism.

Barend reproved for befuddling Hansard

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was lightheartedly called to order yesterday over his sound effects when he compared CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a buzzing bee.

Mr du Plessis began his reply to the Budget debate by criticising Dr Treurnicht's absence from the Chamber, saying CP members had repeatedly commented on the absence of Cabinet members during the debate.

Describing Dr Treurnicht's speech in the debate, he said the CP leader had found it fit to zoom in last week like a bee to sit on a flower.

"And then he found it fitting to leave the Chamber right after he bzz'd his bzz," he said.

"Order," said the Speaker. "The Minister is making it a bit difficult for Hansard." — Sapa.

'High interest rates still necessary'

It would not be possible to bring down inflation unless high interest rates were maintained, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to the first reading debate on the Budget, he said such interest rates were a necessary pain.

Turning to disparities in State spending, he said while this Budget was the best the Government could have done at this stage, it was reviewing its five-year fiscal plan and would look at disparities again.

The State did not see its way

clear to paying a bonus at this stage, but if ever it did, it would be directed at the elderly.

Referring to a statement that the Government's revenue was determined for it and not by it, Mr du Plessis said his colleagues regularly came to him to see how moves could be made within the Budget.

He had received no such representations from Ministers in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, to which the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hen-

drickse, interjected: "We submitted a budget and you cut it."

Turning to privatisation, Mr du Plessis said its aim was to loosen available fixed capital for the socio-economic upliftment of all South Africans; for such capital to be used more efficiently and for the tax base to be broadened.

A mechanism had also to be found to deal meaningfully with any State surpluses.

Care had to be taken not to fall into the trap of ideology, so that wrong options could be prevented. — Sapa.

Coretta King in town

Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr, made a quiet visit to SA last month where she met ANC leaders as well as churchmen who want to establish her late husband's non-violence movement in this country.

King was in SA for a weekend on a transit stop between Namibia and Zambia. She met ANC leader Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Jeff Masemola, who died a few days later. She also met Nelson and Winnie Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport as they were jetting off to London for the Wembley Stadium concert in his honour.

Later, in Zimbabwe for the independence celebration, King said the Atlanta-based King Center for Non-Violent Change had sought ways to make "a positive and constructive contribution" to the elimination of apartheid. She also said the centre was interested in finding out how best to raise funds for southern African organisations, including the ANC.

A spokesman in Atlanta, however, says the non-profit King Center is apolitical. "We are not aligned with any political system," according to Cleveland Dennard, acting CEO. "We are a non-government organisation affiliated with the United Nations."

But there are problems. The ANC is not a non-violent organisation. "Nelson Mandela tells us to throw our panga into the sea," says clergyman Joe Tshawane, director of the Martin Luther King Project SA. "But then we need something else. We are responding to the call of our leader. We are not counteracting the liberation struggle. We want to strengthen, galvanise it. There is nothing wrong with anger, but after anger what happens? It is human nature to fight back, but we must channel that energy into something fruitful."

King visited the Braamfontein building that Tshawane and his associates are negotiating to buy and turn into the Martin Luther King Transformation Centre SA, a home for non-violent-skills training. King, who is the CEO and founding president of the Atlanta centre, has not yet committed resources to the SA group. But the support is expected and SA would then become the first foreign affiliate.

"We are still refining the details," Dennard says. "We expect to work with them on training and the like."

Tshawane says when his group approached Atlanta "they strongly recommended that we get Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak to support us so as not to be seen as running against the wishes of the people."

In addition to convincing local leaders that they don't want to step on any toes, Tshawane and Tsietsi Thandekiso, general secretary of the King Project, have got to convince the troops on the ground that non-violence can work in all aspects of life. "Non-violence is sometimes taken as meaning pas-



King

sive," Thandekiso says. "People think it means do nothing. It never meant that, even in Martin Luther King's day."

"We'll come in with training. That was where Martin was strong. He not only said 'Let's go,' but also 'What are we marching for?' He didn't rush ahead; first they studied the problem."

The training will focus on leadership skills, sorely lacking in the under-

educated black youth. "They have to learn negotiating politics," Thandekiso says. "This is a sharp contrast to confrontational politics."

Tshawane says that when he shops the ideas of King around he often hears a familiar refrain: "If you use Martin Luther King in SA, adapt his ideas. Just don't transplant a US idea to SA. The struggle is different."

He agrees: "We can steal something from the Civil Rights movement and look around at our own heroes. Young people are longing for a model, someone they can aspire to be like. Apartheid meant that they were not available to us."

Maureen Sullivan

THE STOMPIE TRIAL FIM 18/5/90

The good wife

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, obviously feeling the sting of criticism about his wife, said in Nigeria on Sunday that the persecution she suffered while he was imprisoned for 27 years continues.

He told a crowd of 30 000 that Winnie "has been the victim of the most scandalous persecution by the government and its agencies. Even now, as I am talking to you, she is still being persecuted in SA."

He did not refer specifically to the murder trial of Jerry Richardson, coach of the so-called football club that acted as Winnie's bodyguards. Richardson has pleaded not guilty to killing Stompie Moeketsi Sepei, a 14-year-old activist whose body was found in a Soweto field early last year. Three men have testified in the Rand Supreme Court that Richardson and Winnie Mandela beat and whipped them, along with Stompie, at her Diepkloof Extension home in December 1988.

Taking the witness stand for the first time on Tuesday, Richardson said he did not kill Stompie Sepei. He did admit having taken part in removing the boy, along with Barend Mono, Gabriel Mekgwe and Kenneth Kgase from a Soweto Methodist church to the

FIM 18/5/90

(11A)

Jacob Zuma, the powerful and impressive head of ANC security, has come a long way from his poverty-stricken birth in the Nkandla forests "in the intestines of Zululand" 48 years ago.

Entirely self-taught and "schooled in the struggle," Zuma is the ANC's key backroom strategist. It was he who prepared the ground for the historic Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC recently.

In this, he worked "very closely and very well" with Fanie van der Merwe, government's chief constitutional adviser. Zuma leads the ANC on the joint steering committee.

It's perhaps in the nature of his job that

Zuma won't confirm the routine description of him as chief of ANC security and intelligence. Pressed about it, he laughs and says his official position is: member of the National Executive Committee (since 1978) — adding that he works in the president's office charged with special tasks. According to Zuma, the onset of real negotiation with Pretoria, like the lifting of sanctions, will depend on "how and whether the obstacles will be removed, which would create the right climate" (see *Current Affairs*).

It was "the impact of oppression that propelled me deep into the struggle." His father died when he very young and his mother worked as a domes-

tic servant, the sole breadwinner for five children. "I was not even allowed to be with her. I grew up in Durban. I believed that only liberation would change things."

His brother, who was active in the union movement and a member of the ANC, was a major influence. Jacob joined the ANC when he was 17 (pretending to be a year older), and became a member of the military wing in 1962.

Attempting to leave the country the next year, Zuma was apprehended at Zeerust and sent to Robben Island for 10 years. On his release, he "continued to work and organise underground." After the arrest of his friend Harry Gwala, Zuma decided to skip SA in 1975. He went to Swaziland and later served as ANC head in Mozambique.

He was involved in the Nkomati Accord, "and that's part of the reason P W Botha wrote to the Mozambicans requesting that I should be shifted out." How things have changed!

Amarnath Singh



ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said from Lusaka yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to meet European leaders early next month.

Mandela, who is presently touring African states, will meet EC members in Brussels on June 3, French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris on June 6, West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on June 8 and the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on June 10. He is also to meet a Swiss leader, whose name was not available. *6/10/90 18/5/90*

The dates, however, were still tentative, Sebina said.

It was expected that sanctions and government's talks with the ANC would top the agenda, Sebina said.

Mandela is also scheduled to visit Britain early in June for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Mandela to meet European leaders

WILSON ZWANE

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that an administration official yesterday said the ANC leadership in Lusaka and SA had assured the US government it had no objection to President F W de Klerk seeing President George Bush next month.

The administration sought this assurance from the ANC after its local representatives endorsed demands by anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson and the Rev Jesse Jackson that De Klerk's proposed visit be stopped.

To Page 2

Mandela

18/5/90

It was reliably learnt that the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, was instructed to back away from statements that De Klerk's visit, coming only a week before Mandela's arrival in the US, was an "insult".

However, this does not appear to have eased the election-year concerns of leading senators and congressmen, who believe they will have to take a tough line with De Klerk if he comes on June 18.

A number of key legislators have informed the White House that if De Klerk

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comes after Mandela, they will be able to give him a far warmer welcome.

Amid expectations that the state of emergency will not be fully renewed on June 12, and that Pretoria might soon accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lawmakers have indicated this welcome could include a number of concrete benefits to SA.

Nonetheless, the administration is extremely anxious not be construed as pressuring De Klerk to change his dates. He is expected in Washington on June 17-19.

From Page 1

PAC T-shirt man fired for insubordination

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
and DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporters

PENINSULAR Packaging driver Mr Chris Lewis, suspended for wearing a Pan Africanist Congress T-shirt, has been dismissed, according to a South African Chemical Workers' Union official, Mr Peter Roman.

Mr Lewis was suspended on Tuesday after the management allegedly ordered him several times to stop wearing the T-shirt.

Mr Roman said Mr Lewis was dismissed at a disciplinary hearing yesterday when he was found "guilty of refusal to obey a reasonable and lawful instruction not to wear political apparel outside the company's premises while doing deliveries to clients during working hours".

The hearing found that the worker had been "insubordinate and disrespectful" towards the director of a company to which he had delivered goods by threatening him with assault.

The dismissal letter added: "We remind you of your right to appeal against these findings should you wish to do so, failing which we will assume that you do not want to pursue the matter."

Mr Roman said not only the union, but also the PAC, of which Mr Lewis was a member, condemned this "bla-

tant intimidation in strongest term".

He said 20 company workers, also PAC members, demonstrated outside the company's Stikland premises in protest after the finding.

The union would take further steps.

Approached for comment, Peninsular Packaging director Mr Johan Venter said the issue "went far beyond the mere wearing of a T-shirt". Mr Lewis was dismissed for "gross insubordination and threatening conduct".

"It is not correct that the company is dismissing an employee merely for wearing a PAC T-shirt.

"The employee concerned has been charged and found guilty of refusal to obey a legal and lawful instruction, verbal abuse and several threats of physical assault on company management and gross insubordination."

He said that twice Mr Lewis had to be restrained from assaulting him and the factory manager.

Mr Lewis had also refused to leave the company premises when asked.

Worker dismissed
for PAC
T-shirt

Staff Reporter

A DELIVERY driver who insisted on wearing a Pan-Africanist Congress T-shirt has been fired by a Stikland packaging company.

Manager of the packaging company Mr Ger Naude said last night that the company's main reason for dismissing Mr Chris Lewis was because of "insubordination to a company director, Mr Johan Venter."

"And the second reason is the wearing of the PAC T-shirt outside the premises. We asked him several times not to wear the T-shirt," said Mr Naude.

A spokesman for the SA Chemical Workers' Union in the Western Cape, Mr Peter Roman, said the union strongly condemned the "unfair" dismissal.

CAF Times
18/5/90
11A 12

Aussies give ANC R30 million

PRETORIA — Australia is to give the ANC 15 million Australian dollars (about R30 million) over the next three years "to assist in the reintegration and development of South African victims of apartheid".

A press statement from the Australian embassy said the announcement was made by the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting on Southern Africa in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday.

"The majority of the new funds will be earmarked for humanitarian and educational activities," he said. — Sapa

Algerian president honours Mandela

APR 11/85 8/5/70 110



FRIENDLY GREETING . . . Algeria's President Chadli Benjedid greets Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday after decorating him with Algeria's highest honour.

Picture: REUTER

ALGIERS. — President Chadli Benjedid decorated ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela with Algeria's highest honour yesterday in tribute to his anti-apartheid struggle.

The Algerian news agency APS said Mr Mandela was awarded the Wisaam al-Athir (Medal of Distinction) for his "courageous struggle to free his people from exploitation and servitude".

Mr Mandela, who arrived on Wednesday night, last visited Algeria to receive military training in 1961 from Algerian guerillas fighting a war of independence against France. On arrival he said it was the Algerian army that had made him a man.

● An estimated 100 000 people marched yesterday through central Algiers, singing patriotic songs and chanting for the ruling National Liberation Front.

Proclaimed as a "national demonstration of fraternity and solidarity", the march was intended as a reply to the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front and the pro-democracy movement, which organised similar, separate demonstrations during the past month. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

FW 'has lost control of police'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk had lost control of the police force who remained "as brutal as ever", former police officer Mr Gregory Rockman said in a BBC radio interview here yesterday.

He was speaking on the eve of Mr De Klerk's visit to Britain and in the wake of this week's "Trojan horse" killing of two people by police in Maokeng.

He said there was no sign that Mr De Klerk's recent call for policemen to stay out of politics was being heeded. "It shows that Mr De Klerk is out of control of his police and they are still going on as brutal(ly) as ever before with their racism."

● The sit-in at the West German consulate by five Popcru members is under discussion by the joint government-ANC committee and a decision will be released on Monday, one of them said yesterday.

Warrant Officer Peter Loggenberg said the regional ANC representative, Mr Trevor Manuel, had contacted him to tell him this after an initial meeting with them on Wednesday.

Richardson admits murder attempt

CAT TIPS 18/5/90 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The one-time coach of the so-called Mandela United Football Club, Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, yesterday admitted he had tried to murder a Soweto man, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, but he denied murdering teenage activist "Stompie" Moketsi Seipel.

He has pleaded not guilty to the murder of Stompie, the attempted murder of Mr Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Under cross-examination Mr Richardson admitted in the Rand Supreme Court he had tried to murder Mr Ikaneng.

Earlier he had said Mr Ikaneng had tried to escape after taking football jerseys without his permission.

● Giving evidence yesterday, Ms Xoliswa Falati said one of the young men accommodated by the Reverend Paul Verryn at his Soweto Methodist Church had vowed to kill Mr Verryn because the priest had allegedly abused him sexually.

Ms Falati told the court the young man, Katiswa Cebekhulu, told her on December 29 1988 he was going to stab and kill Mr Verryn because the priest had abused him sexually one night at the church.

The trial continues. — Sapa

FW visit to US *Call Times 18/5/90* 'okayed by ANC'



From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — An official of President George Bush's administration says the ANC leadership has assured the US government that it has no objection to President F W de Klerk seeing Mr Bush next month.

The administration sought this assurance from the ANC after its local representatives endorsed demands by anti-apartheid activist Mr Randall Robinson and the Reverend Jesse Jackson that Mr De Klerk's proposed visit be stopped.

It was reliably learnt that the ANC's chief US representative, Mr Lindiwe Mabuzza, has been instructed to back away from statements that Mr De Klerk's visit, coming only a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's arrival in the US, was an "insult".

However, this does not appear to have eased the election-year concerns of leading senators and congressmen who believe they will have to take a tough line with Mr De Klerk if he comes on June 18.

A number of key legislators have informed the White House that if Mr De Klerk comes after Mr Mandela, they will be able to give him the far warmer welcome they feel he deserves.

Amid expectations that the State of Emergency will not be fully renewed on June 12 and that Pretoria may soon accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lawmakers have indicated this welcome could include a number of concrete benefits to SA.

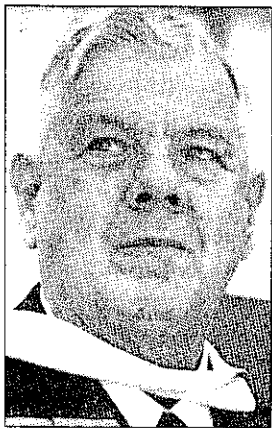
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Mandela's Merc is made

EAST LONDON. — Workers at the Mercedes-Benz plant here have completed the car they were building for ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Company spokeswoman Mrs Wendy Hoffman confirmed yesterday that the car had been completed, but said no date had been set for when it would be given to Mr Mandela.

A majority of hourly-paid workers, as well as some salaried staff, worked four hours overtime for no pay to foot the bill for the red 500SE Mercedes-Benz.



Nationalist ghosts from the past: (L to R) Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster, PW Botha ... end of a line?

far as saying the NP should opt for a name change as well — the NP should forget the notion that a white ticket can play any future role. The party, if it hopes to be a force, has to be fully multiracial. This, coupled with De Klerk's leadership, would be the only way to mobilise support."

ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki had this to say in a recent interview with the FM: "I think basically the question is: has the NP accepted the notion that it should no longer be the ruling party? That power must pass out of its hands ..."

"Has the NP accepted that outcome? I don't know. If they have we might very well be closer to a solution to the problem. Fundamental to that must be that power passes out of their hands. In any democratic setting, if tomorrow you said let all the people of SA elect a new parliament, the NP would be a very tiny minority party."

Esterhuysen has no doubt the Nationalists will eventually open membership to all races: "De Klerk has a blitzkrieg approach to problems. He has made some drastic changes and will now consolidate his position. As we move along it will become clear to all that the opening up of party ranks is imperative for survival. De Klerk is waiting for that moment."

Cillie — though apparently still uneasy about the consequences — agrees that the NP should look across colour barriers.

Such a step, for a traditionally white party, spells discomfort in the ranks. Viljoen's deputy Roelf Meyer is not prepared openly to support the idea of an open party. "I cannot pre-empt party decisions," he says. "Constitutional changes will be decided by the party organs." But, he adds, "Natural development is of course part of the new SA, which will comprise all the people of this land. And the NP wants to be part of the new SA ..."

Esterhuysen believes strongly that an alliance with the ANC is the only viable prospect for NP survival. "As far as I am con-

cerned, the ANC, together with the NP, will form part of the middle ground. That would include the majority of people in SA ... Anyone in the NP who thinks that the party could form an alliance with any group to the Right of the NP and survive is insane."

He estimates that 17m people would be eligible to vote in a new dispensation and that "anyone who thinks less than 8m of those people would support the ANC does not know black politics."

Inkatha, says Esterhuysen, is losing support daily though he foresees that a sort of political understanding could develop between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC — without the former necessarily merging with the ANC.

DP co-leader Zach de Beer agrees that SA needs a broadly based coalition government. Unlikely as it may seem, the leaders of the NP and ANC would one day be seated in one government, he recently told a DP meeting. Where would the DP stand then?

The idea of a coalition government is gaining ground — it is supported by UCT's David Welsh, for example. Esterhuysen favours a lower house based on a one-man, one-vote system and an upper house with representation on the basis of political groups. That too would mean that "the NP has to broaden its support base by opening ranks. The bottom line is a multiparty system. That

must be guaranteed in a future constitution." He believes a constitution based on the US federal system would satisfy all South Africans. ("And the Americans would buy it immediately.")

Rhodie says his centre's research indicates De Klerk enjoys significant support in all population groups — making him an excellent candidate for the presidency in a federal system.

Since De Klerk has unconditionally committed his party to negotiations, the demolition of all the pillars of apartheid must follow. The NP itself may or may not go in this process — but until then, it cannot be expected that De Klerk would relinquish power, Esterhuysen believes.

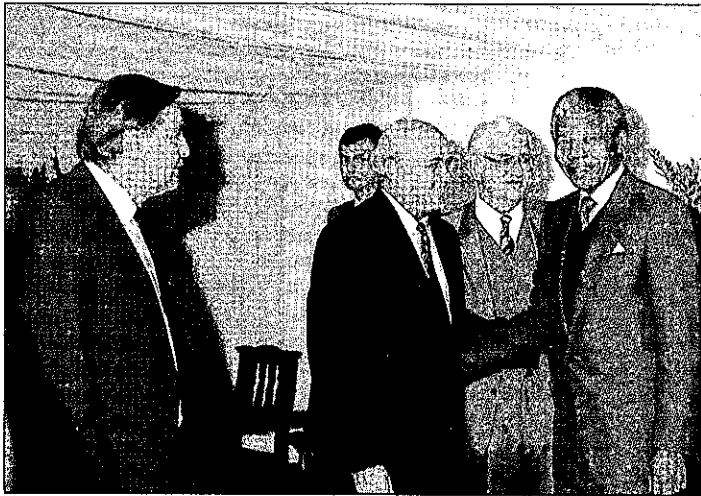
The crucial compromise would be to accept de facto leaders of political parties as representing the claims and aspirations of wider constituencies, he says.

Like Esterhuysen, we believe that a party name-change is imperative, for him and his New Nats to play a significant role in genuinely national politics. The NP has lost many of its white Afrikaner supporters and, as De Klerk continues to throw old NP ideologies overboard, will continue to do so.

The name-change would be profoundly symbolic. It would signify more than anything else the de facto emergence of a new party — one which has rid itself of inhibiting

links to past influences. In such a party, converted Nats, the majority of English-speakers and, most importantly, moderate blacks could join together to look to the future rather than dwell on the prejudices, injustices and mistakes of history.

De Klerk's actions are manifestly at variance with what his own party once stood for. While the policies of all political parties tend to vary over time, the NP has undergone a metamorphosis. It needs to give, through a new name, public recognition to this fact as well as to exorcise the past. And to prepare itself philosophically for coalition government.



New Nats and Mandela ... shuffling towards coalition

F/M 18/5/90 (1A)

A way over the chasm

■ Coalition between the NP and ANC is emerging as a serious possibility



Who could blame President F W de Klerk for being so cheerful last week when he stepped out into the French sunshine in the amiable company of Francois Mitterrand? No Nationalist leader has ever before been welcome at the Elysée Palace: F W's European tour had begun on a triumphal note.

The Europeans want him to succeed. So do most South Africans, though he obviously cannot deliver *everyone's* idea of the best possible future. As for those who oppose him . . . their potential for disruption will one day have to be met head-on.

It is appropriate to consider where De Klerk is leading us; and whether he can completely shed his inheritance of 42 years of Nat misrule in order to get us there.

In some ways, victory overseas — certainly in the short term — seems almost assured. That is a matter of convincing world leaders of his sincerity and he is scarcely lacking in that department. De Klerk seems to impress world leaders (and the ANC's Nelson Mandela), which begs the question: are we witnessing, possibly for the first time in history, a Western leader voluntarily negotiating himself out of power?

It looks that way to many Afrikaners. Long-serving Nat-watcher and confidant of the party hierarchy, Naspers chairman Piet Cillie, comments: "Recent developments are the most far-reaching ever in the history of the Afrikaner." Cillie voices concern that De Klerk may not have fully calculated the risks — or that he is not completely clear on what the end of the reform road holds in sight. "It is imperative that De Klerk's reforms result in material benefits, economic growth and peace. Continuing violence in 1977 broke John Vorster," he says.

More outspoken on the downside is Gerrit Veldhuysen, editor of the Pretoria-based *Transvaler*, flagship of the Perskor stable. Government, he feels, is not doing enough to eradicate the fears of white voters: "The people are in the dark. They believe that government itself does not have the answer. They believe that they do not know where they are going."

That's why many turn to the CP, ideological heir of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd.

Nic Rhoodie, head of the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Conflict Ana-

lysis and Management, is not overly concerned about an exodus to the CP. In *Democracy in Action*, Rhoodie says the NP is no longer seen as a tribal party; it has a high degree of viability, he feels.

Voter fears are partly due to ignorance, he says, which "leads them to interpret the crisis wrongly — as well as the claims of the ANC, (and) the pronouncements of President De Klerk."

In some ways the Afrikaner is demoralised. After all, *Die Burger*, under Cillie's editorship, endorsed Verwoerd's vision of blacks streaming back from the cities to "their" homelands. This was what Grand Apartheid was all about, giving it a tenuous moral legitimacy. But, Cillie notes wryly, it "didn't happen — we did not have the will or ability to succeed and the vision of such a policy was systematically dismantled."

The resultant about-turn which confronted Nat thinking took place in 1982 when leading Afrikaner academic Flip Smit prophetically denounced the homeland policy. "We were confronted with the idea of a united

Klerk's strong moral convictions. They could be part and parcel of his make-up as a Dopper, a member of the Potchefstroom-based Reformed Church group, he believes. "I do not think that De Klerk is just busy with fancy footwork; I think there is a strong moral commitment on his part. The fact that Nelson Mandela says he accepts De Klerk's integrity is more revolutionary than his statements on nationalisation."

Esterhuysen — who along with other influential Stellenbosch academics became an outcast towards the end of the P W Botha regime — says the difference of style between Botha and De Klerk is that of coercion and conviction. "The disappearance of the domineering personality of Botha resulted in the psychological emancipation of the political culture within the Nat caucus. Intellectuals like De Klerk's chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, are now for the first time enjoying their rightful position. The same can be said for the influential role business leaders are playing. All this is strengthening De Klerk's hand."

This seems true of the NP caucus — but what of the electorate?

To whites it may seem as if concessions are being made from one side only. Mandela has said the ANC would *reconsider* the armed struggle but De Klerk has announced that the Group Areas Act would be scrapped. Responding to Mandela's hard line on group rights — that they are not even for discussion — Nat insiders have meekly said the issue was not a sacred cow, forgetting that guarantees on group rights were precisely what De Klerk and Viljoen held out to the white minority not all that long ago.

Voters have come to understand that what is said during election rallies, congresses and in



Pik Botha, F W, Viljoen . . . reform beyond the party

SA," Cillie recalls. "The message, however, was never relayed by politicians, who often ration the truth."

One implication of accepting this failure of policy — and all that goes with it — is that the days of Afrikaner hegemony centred upon Tuynhuys might be numbered. That is what De Klerk is apparently willing to risk. While some British politicians (Enoch Powell is one) have been willing to sacrifice the highest office because of principles, such scrupulousness is not common in the NP where many have waited out their time under rulers with whom they have sometimes violently disagreed.

Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuysen attributes the change to De

parliament may differ vastly from agreements actually reached at negotiation tables. From that they can easily draw their own conclusions about the consequences of fully-fledged negotiations. In terms of sheer numbers, the NP's chances of winning an election under universal franchise must be zero. Not even protection of group rights would avert that — unless of course the group concept is a disguised form of entrenching white rule, like the tricameral parliament. De Klerk knows that would wreck the talks.

An imaginative leap seems necessary — and possible.

Esterhuysen sees no other alternative for the NP but to open its ranks. "I am sorry that they have not done so now. I would go as

Official line (2) P (11A)

The issue of ANC-held detainees, maintains its security chief Jacob Zuma (see *People*), is — as was the case with those of Swapo — a “diversion” from the real business at hand and from their role as hit-squad operatives.

However, Zuma added in a rare interview: “I’m sure that when the time comes and as the process moves, we’ll reveal who we have and explain their particular circumstances. For example, we have people in our hands who have booby-trapped hand grenades of ANC guerrillas, who participated in the gunning down of Joe Gcabe and perhaps also in the Victoria Mxenge murder. We have many spies sent by Pretoria; serious evidence of hit-squad members who’ve murdered people in and outside SA, people sent with specific tasks.”

While the organisation had generally avoided talking about the matter, Zuma said it would be naive to think there is any war where there are no casualties. The ANC had at least kept them alive: “In other guerrilla struggles such people are killed . . .

“I think people should be happy that, at the end of the day, a national liberation movement is able to produce not corpses, but people it had kept under very difficult conditions and in other people’s countries. It cannot build prisons. Look at the conditions under which our guerrillas operated. This matter becomes a diversion from looking at these people sent by the regime to spy, kill, poison. And it diverts us from the real purpose of solving our problems.”

Asked about the reported friction between Umkonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and his deputy, Chris Hani, Zuma said this was a figment of the imagination. Nor were there reservations on the part of the ANC’s armed wing about the decision to enter into

negotiations with government. (11A)
He foresaw no division on the question of ending the armed struggle, as government has demanded.

“The ANC has gone through many stages in the struggle. It always analyses the situation as new elements arise, taking appropriate decisions. These are supported in totality from the top to bottom of the organisation. I am sure that — moving from the Harare Declaration of last year — if there were any problems, they would have emerged by now. The Groote Schuur talks were an element of that declaration.”

Real constitutional negotiation, said Zuma, would depend on how and whether the obstacles to talks would be removed, which would create the correct climate. Sanctions are also going to depend on the obstacles being removed, he said.

How does the ANC view the PAC and is it concerned about losing support to the Africanists? “Not at all,” Zuma replied. “We have a history of struggle. What is the PAC? While we don’t necessarily wish to waste our time talking about the PAC, I don’t know what the PAC is doing. The ANC declared the armed struggle and fought it. The PAC also declared one but did not fight it. No one can teach the ANC about the liberation struggle.”

Zuma declined to say much about political competition with Inkatha, except that he is confident the ANC “has the majority in any part of the country.”

Amar Nath Singh

Driver fired after refusing to take off his PAC T-shirt

Star

19/5/90

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The Stikland packaging company worker who was suspended from duty for wearing a Pan Africanist Congress T-shirt has now been dismissed, a South African Chemical Workers Union official, Peter Roman said yesterday.

Chris Lewis, a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union who worked as driver for Peninsular Packaging, was suspended on Tuesday after management had allegedly ordered him on several occasions to take off his T-shirt.

A disciplinary hearing also found that the worker had been "grossly insubordinate and disrespectful" towards the director of a company to which he had delivered goods by threatening him with assault.

Approached for comment, Peninsular Packaging Director Johan Venter said that the issue "went far beyond the mere wearing of a T-shirt" but included threats of assault on himself and the company manager. Mr Lewis had to be physically restrained.

Some 20 company workers, also PAC members, demonstrated outside the company's premises in protest after the findings had been made known.

Mr Lewis has the right to appeal.

Star 19/5/90 (11A)

Ceasefire a key ANC bargaining-chip in talks, say experts

Armed struggle 'set to escalate'

THE suspension of the "armed struggle" is high on the agenda of talks between the Government and the ANC, but experts predict that as genuine negotiations proceed, violent incidents linked to guerrilla activity are likely to escalate.

"On Monday a special committee, formed at the historic Groote Schuur talks earlier this month, is expected to report to ANC and Government leaders.

It is to submit a definition of political offences, and advise on time-scales and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners — many of whom were jailed for their role in the armed struggle — and the granting of immunity from prosecution.

Ceasefire

Unkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise has indicated that a ceasefire might be initiated if this working committee, of ANC and Government members, reaches an agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

But the cessation of violence appears to be a trump card for the ANC at the negotiating table and will not easily be given up, say experts.

"Guerrilla warfare is likely to escalate in the process of bargaining," said Institute for International Affairs senior researcher Gary van Staden.

"It makes perfect sense when one realises that the suspension of violence and a stable political climate are among the major things the ANC/PAC have to offer."

President de Klerk recently warned that it was not enough for the ANC merely to end violence — it also had to end the rhetoric and preaching of armed struggle. But

PAT DEVEREAUX

ANC leaders have remained steadfast.

Asked whether the standing orders to Umkhonto guerrillas had changed in the light of the Groote Schuur talks, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said: "No ... the orders are that they must continue with their operations as best they can."

And Mr Modise has stressed that the suspension of hostilities is open to negotiation only once the conditions set out in the Harare Declaration are met.

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe was still recruiting members, but pointed out that the SADF was still taking in conscripts and even the Wit Wolwe were said to be recruiting.

In the past fortnight, police have released "unrest reports" revealing daily terrorism and sabotage attacks on police stations, policemen and local authorities.

Figures kept by Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies for the first four months of this year show a marked increase in the number of guerrilla attacks compared to the same period last year.

The head of the institute, Professor Mike Hough, told the Saturday Star this week that between January and May this year there had been at least 60 terrorism or sabotage attacks.

"Since the beginning of the year — despite the air of negotiations — the number of attacks has not abated and we have found that the renewed outbreak of violence coincides with the rise in terror incidents," Professor Hough said.

The institute's latest figures showed that from January to April this year, 57 attacks had been recorded in South Africa. An estimated 25 attacks had occurred in

Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

This brings the institute's estimated total of attacks to 82 — a monthly average of 27, compared with 18 a month last year and 27 a month in 1988.

Asked why most of the attacks were attributed to the ANC, Professor Hough said: "There are four groups more or less involved in armed struggle: the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, Gqibha (a splinter group of the PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. But the ANC has the most sophisticated guerrilla infrastructure."

He added, however, that the tendency for organisations not to claim responsibility made it difficult to compile statistics.

Unknown

"A lot of terror incidents are unknown, but the vast majority are linked to the ANC through court cases or police follow-ups. We simply index the unknown attacks as terror or sabotage attacks."

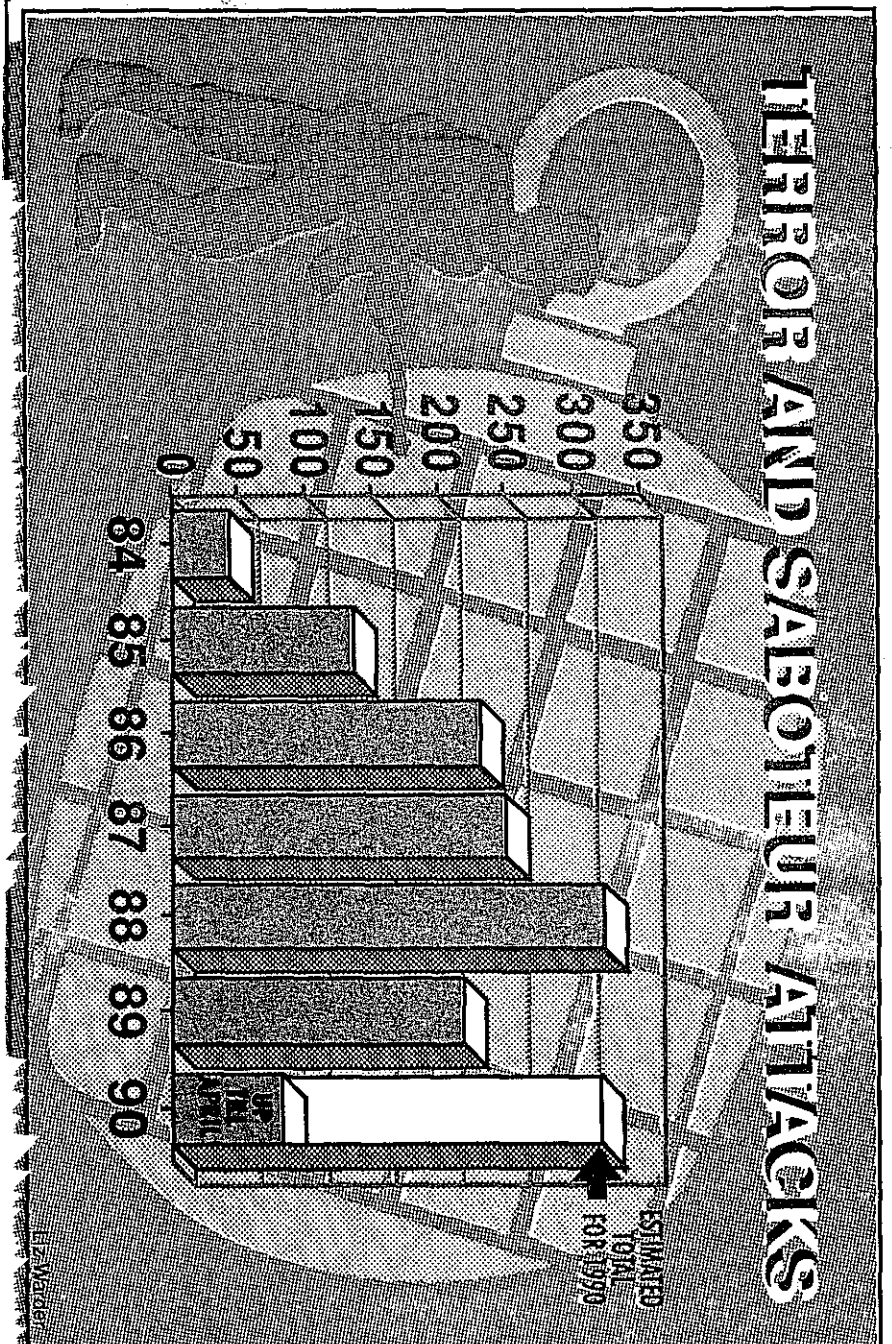
"In the past four years, the PAC is not known to have staged any attacks, while the other groups do not seem to have established themselves," he added.

The institute recorded 200 attacks in South Africa last year, with a further 13 attacks in the "independent homelands" in the first 10 months of 1989.

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said that between February 1988 and January 1989 there had been 322 attacks, compared with 249 in 1987, 230 in 1986, 136 in 1985 and 44 in 1984.

However, Mr van Staden said there were enormous discrepancies in official figures.

"We have very little idea of what is going on. There are dozens of attacks for which no one claims responsibility."



ANC exile ordered to India

TORONTO. — The Canadian government has ruled that a South African anti-apartheid activist be sent to India — a country he does not know.

Mr Mahmood Randeree, born in South Africa and now living in Winnipeg, has been a member of the ANC for the past 16 years.

He arrived in Canada last year and applied for refugee status on the grounds that he feared persecution in South Africa.

Last month a federal screening panel for refugee claimants rejected his application and decided he be

sent to India.

Aside from a five-week visit in 1988, he has never had any association with India.

"Once I get to the airport what do I do?" he asked. "It is frightening. I don't know anybody and I don't speak the language. I am shocked by the decision," he said.

If Mr Randeree fails to leave Canada by June 10 he is likely to face a deportation order.

Mr Randeree, 33, is the son of a Winnipeg physician and is working as a volunteer at the Manitoba Coalition of Organisations Against Apartheid.

He left South Africa at the age of 10 when his

parents fled for political reasons.

After completing his education in Britain and East Germany, he worked for the ANC in Tanzania from 1986 to 1989.

"My future is uncertain. I cannot return to South Africa as it is still unsafe for ANC members despite recent promises of reform," he claimed.

Mr Randeree's father, Dr Ahmod Randeree, said he expected his son to violate the departure notice.

Instead he would remain in Canada and the government would probably issue a deportation order. — Sapa

CANAL TIPS 19/5/90 (11A)

ANC fights rearguard action

W/L ARK 19/5/80
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From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRUSSELS. — The African National Congress is fighting a desperate rearguard action in Europe as President De Klerk marches across the Continent, blasting salvos at the Maginot Line of sanctions and isolation.

ANC offices across Europe have been watching his advance in dismay and putting up mostly feeble resistance to try to counter him.

"Europe is starting to give in to De Klerk on sanctions," said Mr Sisa Ngombane, deputy head of the ANC's Brussels office this week as Mr De Klerk passed through.

"Not a good sign"

"The warmth of his reception here is not a good sign for us. Governments that have been discreet about seeing him are now coming out with lavish state receptions."

He openly admits that he is extremely concerned about the apparent crumbling of the resistance of European governments.

And the will of the anti-apartheid movement also seems to be crumbling.

In France a small handful of demonstrators tried to obstruct Mr De Klerk's flying cavalcade

by releasing a barrage of balloons in ANC colours — but did so prematurely as the Press contingent passed by.

In Greece there was more substantial protest — which was hijacked by anarchists and led to arson and injury.

In Portugal the anti-apartheid movement and the ANC were invisible as usual.

In Brussels all of 26 people gathered at the European Commission's headquarters to protest against EC president Mr Jacques Delors meeting Mr De Klerk.

And even in Britain — home of the anti-apartheid movement — about the same number of demonstrators greeted Mr De Klerk as he arrived at his hotel.

By contrast Mr De Klerk has been well-received in all those countries and all their governments appear to have accepted the sincerity of his intention to carry through with reform.

And even the normally unsympathetic European Commission President Mr Jacques Delors — widely dubbed as the emerging prime minister of Europe — acknowledged that a process of "permanent evolution" towards a new society seemed to have begun in South Africa.

This was close to acceptance that the changes initiated by Mr De Klerk in South Africa

were "irreversible" — the key condition set by the EC for the lifting of sanctions.

This sort of acknowledgment is a blow to the ANC which insists that sanctions must continue until a constituent assembly is elected or even until a new constitution is implemented. The stage has now been set for tough exchanges when ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela visits Europe next month to try to repair some of the damage done to the sanctions policy.

Although many diplomats say that out of deference to him, no changes will be announced until he has been to Europe, it now seems that he will be fighting a rearguard action.

"We would like to see sanctions maintained until concrete results have been attained, until the process of change is irreversible," Mr Sisa Ngombane said.

That point would be reached when all apartheid laws had been scrapped and the mechanisms had been put in place for drafting a new constitution.

Mr Ngombane is pinning his hopes on Mr Mandela's visit to counter the De Klerk drive.

He points out that Mr Mandela will receive honours that Mr De Klerk could not hope for — such as a rare invitation by an outsider to address the European Parliament.

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ANC stays firm on sanctions

Capit Times
19/5/90

11A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC yesterday reiterated its commitment to the retention of sanctions, as President F W de Klerk prepared to discuss the issue today with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

While Mr De Klerk might be discussing the issue with European leaders, the ANC believed it was premature to consider dropping sanctions, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

"There is certainly no irreversible progress in the elimination of the apartheid system."

Mr Nzo believes a political settlement will be reached within the next five years.

Asked what time-scale he expected before negotiations ended in a settlement and a democratic system, he said that before the talks with the government he thought it would be "an impossible task to arrive at any agreement".

However, they had already agreed on the Groote Schuur Minute.

"There is a sense that people want it settled."

He said Mr De Klerk and the NP had spoken in terms of a five-year programme, but it was not certain they would stick to it. His feeling was that they would.

"I do not think it will be a protracted process."

While President De Klerk was yesterday preparing for today's talks with Mrs Thatcher, the Anti-Apartheid Movement promised a substantial demonstration by hundreds of supporters outside the Prime Minister's Chequers country house, where they will meet.

A rally featuring leading anti-apartheid speakers, including Cape Town's rebel former policeman Lt Gregory Rockman, was scheduled in London last night, and an AAM spokesman said about 300 protesters armed with banners and placards would be bussed to the entrances to Chequers this morning.

● A special committee of Commonwealth foreign ministers said in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday that they would appeal to leaders of the European Community and the world's seven richest nations not to halt sanctions against South Africa.

After a two-day meeting that ended on Thursday, the ministers agreed with appeals from South African nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Nigerian military leader President Ibrahim Babangida that President De Klerk had not done enough toward ending his country's system of legal race segregation. — Sapa

Witnesses differ about Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Conflicting evidence about Mrs Winnie Mandela's whereabouts at the time teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei disappeared was given in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, the last day of the defence case.

Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, former coach of the so-called Mandela United Football Team, has pleaded not guilty of the murder of 14-year-old Stompie, whose decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.

He has also pleaded not guilty to the attempted murder of a Soweto man, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Evidence yesterday was that Mrs Mandela was in the Free State on December 29, 1988, when Stompie, Mr Barend Mono, 20, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe, 21, and Mr Kenneth Kgase, 30, were allegedly kidnapped from the Rev Paul Verryn's Soweto church and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mrs Norah Moahluli of Brandfort, Free State, testified that Mrs Mandela arrived in Brandfort on December 29, 1988, and left again on December 31, after consulting leaders of various community projects in the area.

But political activist Ms Xoliswa Falati testified that Mrs Mandela was at her Soweto home on December 29,

1988, and that she and Mrs Mandela had taken a young man to a Soweto medical practitioner, Dr Abu-baker Asvat, for treatment the same day.

Ms Falati, who had been staying at Mr Verryn's church at the time, said Katiswa Cebekhulu had complained to her that Mr Verryn had abused him sexually.

Dr Asvat was gunned down in January last year. Ms Falati said he had been killed to destroy evidence which could prove Mr Verryn engaged in homosexuality.

When the prosecutor, Mr L C J van Vuuren, put it to her that Dr Asvat was shot dead in a robbery, Ms Falati said: "It is a vivid lie."

She also told the court that Johannesburg lawyer Mr Ismael Ayob had suggested to her last year that Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe were "sell-outs" and that Mr Nelson Mandela, then in Victor Verster Prison, wanted to have them moved from the Mandela home.

Yesterday Mr Richardson's lawyers handed in to court a letter indicating that Mrs Mandela had been advised by lawyers not to give evidence in the murder trial.

The defence closed its case and the hearing will continue on Monday. — Sapa

'Many firms criticise PAC shirt wearers'

IT WAS becoming commonplace for workers who wore Pan Africanist Congress T-shirts to be reprimanded by their companies, said the internal foreign secretary of the PAC, Mrs Patricia de Lille, in reaction to the firing of a Stikland packaging company driver.

"Many companies adopt this attitude," she said.

"We find that at these companies there are workers wearing ANC sweaters but only workers who wear PAC T-shirts are reprimanded. The PAC strongly condemns the action taken by the packaging company," said Mrs De Lille.

The PAC would "exhaust company procedures first" before taking legal action, she said.

Mr Chris Lewis was dismissed this week, following a company disciplinary hearing.

He said: "When management informed me of the dismissal, I appealed immediately. If the appeal does not work, then further steps will be taken. The matter will be taken to the Industrial Court."

Mr Lewis has also laid a charge of assault against company director Mr Johan Venter, who allegedly attacked and "verbally abused" him on Tuesday.

ANC taking census of all exiles

LONDON. — The external wing of the African National Congress, in exile since the early 1960s, is planning its return home.

It is carrying out a census of its exiled membership around the world with a view to their repatriation — and hopes the government will contribute to their eventual return to South Africa.

Secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, who has lived in exile for 26 years, told a press briefing here yesterday

CAPC - TMB 19/5/90 (11A)
that a repatriation committee was set up by the ANC in Lusaka, following legislation enabling exiles to return.

He said the ANC had raised the possibility of the government assisting with their repatriation during the first talks with the government in early May. Many, like himself, had not left of their own free will, but because of apartheid.

He said the matter was being discussed by the working group set up after the talks.



Apartheid still in place — Mandela

ALGIERS. Any government advocating immediate lifting of sanctions against South Africa either supported apartheid or was "totally ignorant", Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The African National Congress leader, ending a three-day visit to Algeria before heading to Libya, told a news conference here about his plans for an upcoming tour of Europe.

Mr Mandela said he would tell government leaders that apartheid was still in place, despite the reform initiatives of President F W de Klerk, and that Europe should make no move yet towards lifting or easing sanctions.

In apparent reference to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's policies, Mr Mandela said: "Any country that argues the time has come to lift sanctions is totally ignorant of what is going on in South Africa, or is a supporter of apartheid."

Mr Mandela declined to answer when asked whether he would meet Mrs Thatcher on his European tour in June.

He said Mr De Klerk's government was trying to take advantage of conflict among South African blacks to "eliminate members of those organisations whom the authorities regard as a threat to minority government".

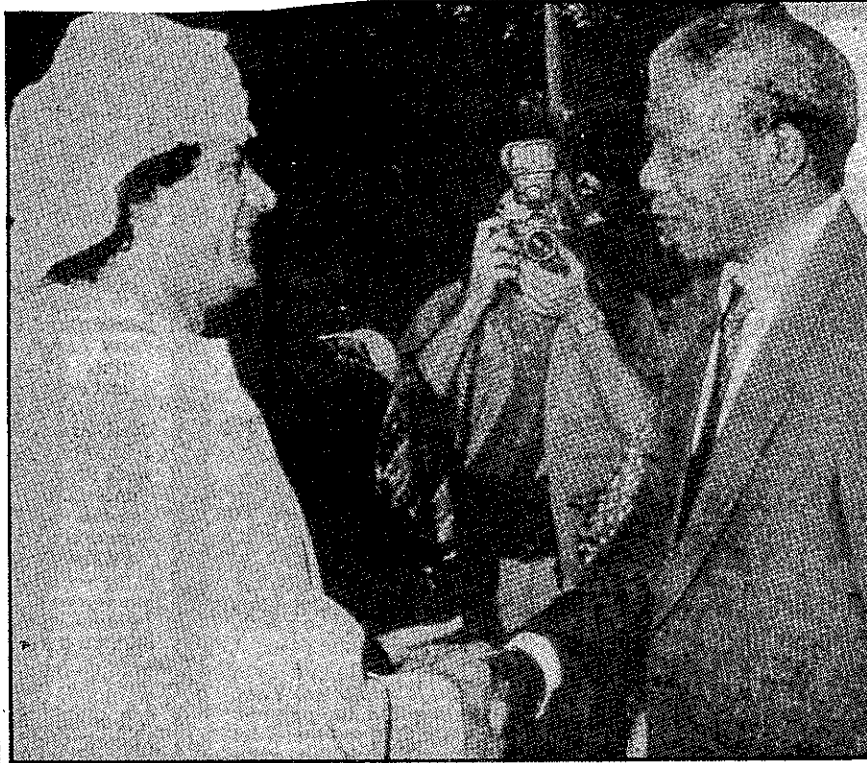
But he stressed that the ANC was prepared to make compromises in coming talks with the government on all except one basic issue — "the principle of one person, one vote".

"We are prepared to address the fears of whites that this principle will bring one-sided rule," he said. "We are prepared to guarantee the basic rights of all people, black and white."

"No one goes to a negotiating table if he is not prepared to compromise," he added.

Mr Mandela had a long meeting on Thursday with President Chadli Bendjedid in which he thanked the Algerian leader for support during his imprisonment. He was due to meet Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in Tripoli, then go to Cairo to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Mr Mandela has cancelled a visit to Kenya until further notice, citing heavy commitments in South Africa, Kenyan Foreign Minister Mr Wilso Ndolo Ayah said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter



BRIEF ENCOUNTER ... Muammar Gaddafi and Nelson Mandela meet in Tripoli

Mandela praises Gaddafi

11A SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

NELSON MANDELA yesterday praised Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi for the aid he gave for training ANC fighters involved in the armed struggle against South Africa.

Mr Mandela was in the Libyan capital Tripoli, for a day as part of his whirlwind

tour of Africa. He is expected to arrive in Cairo today before returning to Soweto later this week.

Mr Mandela, who has a grandson named after Gaddafi, said Libya's readiness to provide the ANC with military facilities was an indication of its commitment to fight for human rights in the world.

Cape Afrikaners join the ANC

CP Correspondent *L/Press 20/5/90* (11A)

EIGHT residents of the wealthy Afrikaans suburb of Welgemoed have become the first Afrikaners from Cape Town's northern suburbs to have joined the African National Congress.

Christmas Tinto, an executive member of the ANC's Western Cape branch, said more were poised to join.

Tinto, who is also the president of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, said he had talked about the ANC and its policies to 23 Afrikaners at a recent house meeting in Welgemoed.

"They wanted to know about the armed struggle. I explained to them that the ANC had been a non-violent organisation and had only decided to take up arms after it had been banned in 1960," Tinto said.

The group had told him they feared the slogan "one settler, one bullet", which was being used by Pan Africanist Congress supporters.

"I assured them that whites had nothing to fear under an ANC government. We won't stand for this sort of thing."

Three or four people at the meeting were from conservative Kraaifontein.

"They said they would like me to talk to them and their friends again. I'm waiting on them to arrange another meeting. I'll talk to anyone - even the Conservative Party - because that is the policy of the ANC."

Big talks hurdle cleared

11A

ST Times 20/5/90

THE first "obstacle" in the way of full-blown constitutional negotiations between the Government and the ANC has been cleared.

A joint working group — appointed after the recent Groote Schuur talks. — will present its report to both parties tomorrow on the release of political prisoners.

And it will be "all systems go", according to a highly placed source.

The working group — jointly led by the Government's constitutional adviser, Mr S S van der Merwe, and the Commissioner of Prisons, General H W Willemsse, the ANC's security chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, and executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad — is said to have made "remarkable progress".

The next step would be for the Government to implement the group's proposals by examining each individual case of ANC members in jail to determine who should be granted a release or amnesty in terms of the criteria laid down.

Agreed

"This process may take some time. For practical reasons, it can't be done overnight," said the source. "But at least the hardest part is finished. We agreed on the principles."

The question of releasing prisoners was considered to be the most difficult "obstacle" to negotiations as put forward by the ANC in its Harare Declaration. The remaining issues are expected to be resolved with even greater ease.

- These are:
- Amnesty for ANC per-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

sonnel in exile — estimated at 22 000 — to return to SA to participate in normal political activities.

The first step was taken yesterday when the whole National Executive of the ANC was granted indemnity from prosecution to enable them to return to SA for future negotiations.

A list of 38 senior ANC members granted indemnity in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Bill was published in an Extraordinary Government Gazette.

Included in the list is ANC president Oliver Tambo, presently recuperating in London after a stroke;

- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- A review of security legislation. The Government has undertaken to instigate a comprehensive review of laws, such as the Internal Security Act and the Intimidation Act. At the same time, the ANC is reconsidering its stance on the armed struggle.

It is expected that the ANC will agree to a temporary "suspension" of hostilities in response to Government moves on the emergency and security laws.

A formal resumption of the Groote Schuur talks is not expected within the next few weeks. There was no urgent need for this, sources on both sides said this week.

The general expectation is that the working group will be asked to continue meeting and to address practical problems which may arise.

The ANC will be involved in two important meetings with white South African interest groups this week.

Discussions

On Wednesday, more than 500 of SA's top businessmen will meet ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and the movement's top diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in Johannesburg. Mr Mandela is expected back in SA on Tuesday from his whistle-stop tour of African countries.

Later in the week an unofficial group of South African military experts will hold discussions with senior members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Among the former officers attending the Idasa-sponsored talks are the former Chief of the Air Force and DP MP for Walmer, General Bob Rogers, and former Chief of Staff (Operations), General Wally Black.

● See World Watch: Page 11

20/5/90
S Times

Deal to free SA prisoners

By DON JACOBS: Harare
11A

A DEAL to free seven South African political prisoners — including police spy Odile Harington — is apparently being negotiated by the ANC and the Zimbabwean Government.

Speculation on their imminent release, after being held for anti-ANC actions, has mounted after the arrival from Johannesburg of ANC national executive council member Jacob Zuma. Mr Zuma is said by sources to be negotiating with the Zimbabwean Government for the release of:

- Odile Harington, 29, jailed in 1987 for attempting to infiltrate the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing as a left-wing activist.
- Death row prisoners Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo, who bombed an ANC house in Bulawayo in January 1988, killing a Zambian driver.
- Barry Bawden, who



ODILE HARINGTON

assisted in the 1987 SADF raid on ANC premises in Harare.

• British ex-paratrooper Denis "Sammy" Beahan, who led an abortive attempt to rescue prisoners from Chikurubi prison in June 1988.

• Leslie Lesia, a black South African businessman held without trial for the past three years under Zimbabwe's state of emergency. State prosecutors withdrew charges that he supplied the ANC with a booby-trapped TV set which blew up, killing an official's wife.

Reports in Harare suggested President Mugabe's government might act this week, before the May 25 Africa Freedom Day holiday.

Rumours

Political observers believe the release of the Harare prisoners, particularly of convicted murderers Woods, Smith and Conjwayo, would assist the ANC's case for the release of its own cadres in prisons in South Africa.

South African Trade Mission head in Harare Nico Nel said although he had heard the rumours they had not been confirmed by Zimbabwean authorities.

"We would ask for Miss Harington to be released on humanitarian grounds."

Miss Harington's 25-year sentence was halved on appeal after the Zimbabwean Supreme Court accepted her testimony of a harrowing ordeal of torture, sexual abuse and starvation under interrogation.

Unions say no to one party state

Sunday Times Reporter
Lusaka

THE Zambian Congress of Trade Unions says it will lead a campaign to reinstate a multi-party political system.

Earlier this month, President Kenneth Kaunda announced plans for a referendum on the issue.

But ZCTU chairman-general Frederick Chiluba said the movement didn't believe a free and fair referendum would be allowed by the same authorities who had opposed a multi-party system for so long.

The ZCTU believed a one-party system was undemocratic, and wanted an end to the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, President Kaunda has accused multi-party system supporters of "holding meetings in dark corners at night to organise political parties" and warned them to desist.

Time for caution as the talks get moving

S/Times 20/5/90

11A

20/5/90

A NEGOTIATED political settlement in South Africa has become part of the standard repertoire of political leaders and activists of all shades and ideological persuasions.

For many, negotiations hold the promise of a peaceful resolution of the civil war in our country. And many more are hoping that, once the negotiation ball gets rolling, a smooth and swift transition to a new social order will be effected and normality restored in civil society.

Without wishing to pour cold water over expectations, a note of caution is necessary. The process of negotiating a settlement in our country is bound to be riddled with complexities and unforeseen difficulties.

It might prove to be a long, drawn-out process, taxing to the full the skills and resourcefulness of the negotiating partners.

Centuries of racial divisions and class conflict have left behind a legacy of mutual suspicion and distrust. South Africa is a society marked by profound

Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC's negotiating team and a member of the SA Communist Party, says the movement remains firm on its principles



inequalities — immense wealth and privilege for a minority, but widespread poverty and misery for the majority.

Any process of change that radically alters the status quo is bound to generate insecurity among the wealthy and powerful, and popular expectations and hope among the oppressed, exploited majority, thereby creating tensions and pressures at the negotiating table itself.

Therefore, each side at the negotiating table, while recognising the need for making compromises, will strive to adhere to its own objectives.

How does one approach the actual process of negotiations?

Rhetoric

On the one hand, forces to the right of the liberation movement and its allies (groups within government structures) see negotiations as a golden opportunity to feather their own nests and safeguard their material interests.

They are over-eager to proclaim the value of their strategy of participation, maintaining that President F W de Klerk has come so far because of the persuasive effect of their work.

On the other hand, forces supposedly to the left of the liberation alliance rule out the possibility of negotiation at this stage. They continue to blurt out the rhetoric of no compromise. They remain blind to the changing bal-

ance of forces internationally and nationally.

We in the African National Congress and the multi-formations of the Mass Democratic Movement are not opposed to negotiations in principle.

We see negotiations as a part of the struggle in which we must fully involve ourselves. This does not mean that the strategies and tactics we have employed up to now are abandoned or rejected.

It should also be emphasised that a willingness to be a part of the negotiating process does not mean that the liberation movement and its allies are "selling out", as is insidiously suggested by some of our adversaries to the left.

We remain firm and tenacious to our political principles, developed and refined over decades of struggle.

This is the case even as we display creative flexibility and ingenuity over tactical questions — such as negotiations — that emerge in the course of the struggle.

From our perspective, the strategic objective of a negotiated settlement is the transformation of the social order, not its reform.

The aim is to dismantle apartheid, not restructure it to make it more palatable to our oppressed and exploited people. The goal, in short, is to negotiate a transfer of power to the democratic majority.

What one does to allay white fears in the process of the democratisation of the political and social order, as

suggested by Mr Nelson Mandela, is another, separate, issue. It is a specific, practical question that does not detract from the fundamental question of transferring power to the forces of democracy.

Our approach to negotiations is cogently spelt out in the Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC on August 21 1989.

Today, this document enjoys the support of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Signing

With its adoption by the Conference for a Democratic Future in December last year, it has earned a stamp of authority that very few political documents enjoy, both nationally and internationally.

The Harare Declaration has outlined six steps to a negotiated settlement in South Africa. These are:

- Creating the climate for negotiations;
- Negotiating a suspension of hostilities between the ANC and the Government;
- Negotiating the basic principles of a new constitutional arrangement;
- Negotiating the details about the establishment of a constitutional assembly;
- Adopting the draft of a new constitution and formally signing a termination of hostilities agreement;
- Hosting a democratic general election in terms of

the new constitution.

What this suggests is that the process of negotiations might well be a protracted one, covering an increasing range of questions as it develops.

To date, we have not gone beyond step one, although important initiatives have been taken in that direction. Mr De Klerk has conceded to a few of the preconditions which would create a climate for negotiations.

It can be predicted that, while exploratory talks might well begin with the Government, the immediate focus of activity of the ANC and its allies will be to restructure their political organisation internally.

Our most pressing tasks are to consolidate the unity of the oppressed, to resolve the internecine strife in Natal and to develop a co-ordinated response to Mr De Klerk's reasonably bold initiatives.

An important step in this direction has been taken already. Mr Walter Sisulu, together with several other senior officials of the ANC released recently, has been entrusted with the responsibility of providing form and content to a legally constituted ANC operating throughout South Africa.

These developments signal that we are poised at a moment in our country's history when the prospect for a peaceful, meaningful resolution of the conflict has never been better.

The process of negotiation will most certainly throw up problems of its own, generate new contradictions, both within our own forces and with the State, and lead to new difficulties.

But let history never judge that when the liberation alliance had the opportunity of giving peace and democracy a chance it failed to do so.

● An edited extract from *Indicator SA*, published by the University of Natal.

ANC 'mistreated 8 dissidents'

EIGHT ANC dissidents released from police custody this week said they were ill-treated at ANC camps and defected because of lack of democracy.

The eight exiles were intercepted by South African authorities on arrival at Jan Smuts airport and detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

At a Press conference they said problems began when they called on the ANC for a conference to address a

Press 20/5/90 (11A)
change of strategy.

Leader Rodney Twala said trained soldiers were sent to fight in foreign countries instead of South Africa.

The eight are Robert Mueza Twala of Evaton; Robert Vusumuzi Shange of Soweto; Abednego Diliza Mthembu, of Soweto; David Makhubedu of Soweto; Luthando Dyasop of Umtata; Siphso Malcolm Pungulwa of Port Elizabeth; Notyatyambo Mzemeli; and Patheka Patricia Sodo of Mdantsane.

Racists fighting the 'blacks inside them'

ARGUS 26/5/90

11A/3000

Rightwingers have deep-rooted, unconscious fears born from a rigid Calvinist tradition which they project on to black people. Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM LIZAMORE examines the development of these fears and prejudices with which conservatives have to come to terms in a new South Africa.

WHEN Nelson Mandela — the world's most-famous prisoner — walked out of Victor Verster Prison it was also white South Africa that tasted freedom for the first time in 27 years.

To many whites, particularly the conservative English and rightwing Afrikaners, Mr Mandela had become an unconscious symbol of their fears and prejudices. While he remained in jail, it created for them a sense of security.

However, these whites did not realise that, as jailers, they had unwittingly placed themselves in captivity. While Mr Mandela — the symbol of black hopes for freedom — remained in prison, no white could truly be free.

South Africa's bondage and release, set against the background of Afrikaner nationalism, is being examined by local psycho-therapists.

Warned of Hitler

At a time when white racists are mobilising and threatening to derail moves to create a new South Africa, psychologists have turned to Carl Gustav Jung, the turn-of-the-century psycho-therapist for some insight into white racism.

Jung, who warned against the rise of Hitler and the nazis, said no person was pure and pristine. Everyone was a combination of light and darkness.

Light is perceived to indicate the rational, or the masculine side of human nature. Darkness is said to represent the emotional, or the feminine, side. Together, they make up the psyche.

If any one aspect is highlighted, for instance rationality or masculinity, it is almost certain that feelings, emotions and intuitions or femininity will be undervalued.

However, if the undervalued aspects of the psyche are repressed,

they won't go away. They will be pushed into the unconscious and start taking on a life of their own.

So, if a person strives towards rationality by ignoring those elements, the rest will clamour to be integrated into the psyche and so form a "whole" person.

If denied long enough, it will start creating psychological disturbances — sometimes with catastrophic results!

Until recently, the legislative cornerstones of apartheid were the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) the Immorality Act (1950) the Population Registration Act (1950) the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the Group Areas Act (1950).

The purpose of these acts was to ensure the existence of the "white race", "western civilisation" or "Christian civilisation" in southern Africa.

The crucial element, however, was the continued existence of the Afrikaner "volk".

The architects and enforcers of apartheid in the past refused to abolish these "cornerstones" because they believed it would be tantamount to "self-destruction".

Real threat

However, the question has to be asked... What is the real threat to existence in the sharing of a residential area, a public amenity or one's sexuality with a black person? Logic dictates there is no danger.

Psychologists say there are deep-seated unconscious forces at play in the white rightwinger's make-up, drawn from a cultural reservoir built centuries ago in Europe and eventually manifested in what is known and condemned universally as apartheid.

Dr Phillip Faber of the Cape of Good Hope Centre of Jungian Studies in Cape Town has traced



Mr Nelson Mandela ... on the road to freedom after leaving Victor Verster Prison.

certain characteristics common to the Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism.

As a contributor to an as-yet-unpublished manuscript, *Modern South Africa in Search of a Soul*, edited by Professor Graham Saayman, the former head of the

Department of Psychology at UCT, Dr Faber examines from a psychological point of view the preoccupation that Afrikaners have had with the protection of their identity.

Dr Faber believes that the pagan and religious traditions and cults of the late classical Graeco-Roman culture created a balance between the masculine and feminine with the inclusion of a number of female deities.

Feminine hell

With the advent of Christianity and a fundamentally masculine Trinity, the archetypal feminine was allowed to survive only in a subordinated form of a "neutral" virgin.

According to Jung, in patriarchal Christianity the underworld is "feminine as hell".

Perhaps the most radical denial and repudiation of the feminine were the doctrines of Calvinism, which, by means of a militant religious authoritarianism, sought to impose the law of the ancient Judaic patriarchal god, Jehovah.

"The preservation of masculine identity through 'separateness' from the archetype feminine is the basis of apartheid," says Dr Faber.

Another Jungian psychologist, Mr Mark Welman, also of UCT, refers to what Jung called the "shadow."

"In terms of Jungian psychology the person I have hated all along is not that person of a different religion or colour, it is someone inside me — my shadow. So, the racist is fighting the black man inside him," he said.

Mortal enemies

Mr Welman says you have to look at what black means to your strongly traditional Afrikaner stock. It's not simply someone of a different colour and culture, it's a symbol of everything they grow up to fear.

Everything they repress in their unconscious is projected onto "the blacks", who then become their mortal enemies.

The dark skin has unconscious connotations with negativity (including femininity) and one thing that is characteristic of Afrikaner families is that they stress masculinity, or the macho culture, to an incredible degree.

"Part of the reason why there is such irrational dislike and fear of black people is that if they (racists) had to accept blacks it would be tantamount to them believing that their masculinity would be destroyed," says Mr Welman.

However, it is vital that this black man, or shadow, be acknowledged to avoid serious psychological disturbances as seen when Fretoria mass killer Barend Strydom, unable to contain his deep-seated guilt and totally unbalanced psyche last year went on his murderous rampage, killing eight innocent black people.

It is also significant that family murderers are predominantly Afrikaners. The sense of failure and guilt is overwhelming in a culture where masculinity is stressed and where there is no release for pent-up emotions. The result: disaster.

Had to unban ANC

Mr Welman says that from a psychological point of view the African National Congress had to be unbanned.

"The more you repress something, the stronger it grows — and the more you destroy yourself."

It was vital for the Afrikaner, seen in the form of President De Klerk, to come to terms with that "shadow" locked away for so many years, first on Robben Island then in Victor Verster Prison.

The labour pains of the new South Africa could not begin until both the black man and his white oppressor were released.

In acknowledging the right of blacks to be free, the National Party government took the first steps to healing a psychologically battered country; it was also the greatest gift which a courageous and heroic people could give to their country.

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Indemnity for 38 welcomed by Sisulu

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu has welcomed government's announcement on Saturday of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile but ANC members are surprised that the indemnity only lasts until August 19.

Sisulu said: "The list includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May."

However ANC members said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Sisulu's son Max and Tito Mboweni, who are part of a 40-strong senior ANC delegation scheduled to participate in an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the amnesty list.

Colin Coleman, National Organiser of the Consultative Business Movement, conveners of the conference, said yesterday that conference organisers were consulting with government to clarify the position in the hope that the two men would be able to attend.

Acting President Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include President Oliver Tambo, Secre-

tary General Alfred Nzo, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Chris Hani, Intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the Secretary General of the SA Communist Party, Joe Slovo.

ANC Lusaka secretariat spokesman Sindiso Mfenyane, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty expired on August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African Government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to SA to strengthen the organisation.

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also, we hope, expanding it to include all ANC members," Mfenyane said.

A Justice Department spokesman said the amnesty offer should be seen as a temporary measure to satisfy "immediate requirements".

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that the ANC's external wing, in exile since the 1960s, is planning its return home.

It is carrying out a census of its exiled membership around the world.

Nzo told a Press briefing in London that the ANC had recently set up a repatriation committee. — Sapa.

IT is clear that negotiations between the Government and the ANC have already begun.

For the Government, the strategy of negotiations represents a decisive initiative to win the time and space to extract itself from the economic, social and political crisis that the system of apartheid-capitalism is in.

It is unclear what the ANC and the SACP, who support a negotiated settlement, expect to gain from negotiations. It is obvious that negotiations cannot deliver the transfer of real power from the minority to the oppressed masses.

We need not give credibility to the neo-apartheid regime by "negotiating" with them about the abolition of racist laws which they themselves put on the statute book. This is like saying "Thank you" and giving a medal to a thief who returns a valuable article which he has not only used, but broken as well.

The balance of forces is still starkly in the Government's favour. Although the regime faces a deep economic crisis, which makes it vulnerable to international pressure, power is still firmly entrenched in their hands.

Racial laws

In the past, this has engendered a false sense of stability. In recent times though, economic problems as well as mass struggles have strengthened the oppressed, overstretching the capacity of the state to rule in the old way.

While the Government is prepared to get rid of most of the racial laws on the statute books, they are not yet ready to hand over power to the majority.

The Government could reintegrate the bantustans into South Africa and may even formally introduce some form of universal franchise. But it will insist on some form of minority rights or veto for the whites. This is necessary to ensure that economic wealth and material privileges are maintained for whites.

Besides the question of majority rule, all the major social contradictions in our country, our people's screaming need for work, food, housing, education, health facilities, social security and a totally different quality of life, will not be met through a negotiated settlement.

Negotiations hold before our people the hope for peace, land, and bread. But this hope will be an illusion.

WOSA absolutely rejects any settlement which offers "universal franchise" (as proposed by De Klerk) which still

Negotiated settlement won't free workers

Sowetan 21/5/90

11A

Today the newly formed Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action gives its views on negotiations.



maintains white privileges in any form.

We support unconditionally the demand for one person one vote in a unitary non-racial South Africa/Azania. Only when ownership and democratic control of the wealth of our society is in the hands of the majority, can we tackle the fundamental problems of poverty and social inequality.

Historical experience shows that the owners and controllers of the wealth do not "negotiate" away their ruling position. The majority must seize back the wealth they have created, through class struggle.

Given the balance of forces between the masses and the state, WOSA believes that our energies in the current period should be directed at three main areas:

* Towards the building of independent, mass-based democratic structures in the unions, the workplaces, the communities, the rural areas, schools and among the

youth. This includes encouraging the labour movement to form a single federation. The union movement must be independent of political organisations, but must allow for debate and plurality of views, and involvement in the liberation struggle.

Similarly, we need to build and strengthen democratic and representative civic organisations, on the basis of street and area committees, especially around the essential class demands of housing, living conditions, amenities, services, transport and so on.

* In this period, we need to fight for reforms which strengthen the working class. WOSA says no to reforms or "deals" which weaken or demobilise the working class. We must extend all working class actions, such as strikes and demonstrations, which consolidate class consciousness.

Passivity

We say no to class demobilisation or enforced passivity for the illusion of "the national interest" or in the supposed interests of negotiations.

* Instead of negotiating with the enemy, liberation organisations should be negotiating with

each other. We must build unity in action.

The Conference for a Democratic Future experience, whatever its faults, could have been a starting point in this process. Any attempt by one party to impose its strategy on all the others, will only sharpen divisions within the liberation movement. This could lead to civil war.

Minimums

Negotiations should not be accepted or rejected in principle, but must be seen as a tactic. A truly democratic negotiation process means that there should be no secret negotiations, and that issues to be discussed must be democratically agreed upon through mass structures. "Negotiators" must be mandated and recallable by these structures.

We believe in a democratic Constituent Assembly, where all the mass and political organisations will participate on the basis of delegates from rank and file structures. Before that happens, no organisation can claim the right to negotiate with the Government on our behalf and speak in the name of all of us. A Constituent Assembly cannot be convened by the present regime.

There are basic minimums which are non-negotiable:

* One person one vote, without any restrictions.

* The immediate abolition of all racial legislation.

* The dismantling of the repressive forces and fascist groups.

* Dismantling the bantustans

* Agrarian reform that allows for redistribution and nationalisation of the big landholdings, and

* The nationalisation of the banks, mines and monopoly industries, with workers' control.

The historic weapon of the national liberation movement can only be the class struggle. There are not short cuts to liberation. The only way to destroy apartheid and achieve real democracy, is in a situation where the black working class takes both political power and control of South Africa's economic riches.

The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

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who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

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accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7317. Inquiries are welcome.

Top ANC men 11A get indemnity

Sowetan 21/5/90

IN terms of a notice in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette, 38 people have been granted indemnity from prosecution under the Indemnity Act, so they may visit South Africa.

The notice by the acting state president, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, said the indemnity would apply from Saturday until August 19.

Those granted in-

demnity include ANC president Oliver Tambo, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, and other senior ANC members, such as Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Alfred Nzo and the secretary-general of SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Viljoen said the indemnity was necessary in order to promote peaceful constitutional negotiation in South Africa.

The following people

were named in the Gazette as qualifying for the indemnity:

Jeremy Cronin, Stephen Dlamini, Chris Hani, Joe Jele, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Stanley Mabizela, Penuell Maduna, Simon Makana, Max Maharaj, Robert Manci, Henry Makgothi, Thabo Mbeki, Jill Marcus, Francis Meli, Sindiso Mfenyane, Commander of MK Joe Modise, Timothy Mkwena, Jacquelin Molefe, Ruth Mompati, Anthony

Mongalo, Joel Netshitenzhe, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkademeng, Thomas Titus Nkobi, Alfred Nzo, Aziz Pahad, Mzwai Piliso, Jackie Selebi, Reginald September, Gertrude Shope, Sizakhele Sigxashe, Joe Slovo, James Stuart, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Dan Tloome, Steve Tshwete, and Intelligence Chief Jacob Zuma.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said he welcomed the government's announcement.

ANC talks of a possible 'truce'

CAIRO — African Nationalist Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela says he is prepared to consider a truce if Pretoria takes solid steps to dismantle apartheid.

On arrival in Egypt on Saturday evening, Mr Mandela threw down his challenge to President de Klerk.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle. We are prepared to consider a truce," Mr Mandela said.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr de Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid," Mr Mandela told reporters in Cairo.

"What we demand is the right of every South African to determine his own future. As I have put it down before, 27 years ago I could not vote.

"Twenty-seven years later I still cannot vote."

Mr Mandela has said he will follow Mr de Klerk to Europe in an effort to keep economic sanctions against Pretoria in place. The Commonwealth has urged EC states not to lift them.

In London, however, an official said Britain was confident Mr de Klerk would be able to push through more major reforms.

"There will be further substantial progress on all fronts in the near future," an aide to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said after 90 minutes of talks with Mr de Klerk on Saturday.

On his arrival in Cairo, Mr Mandela met Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, and yesterday he was expected to address 13 African foreign Ministers.

● Mr Mandela yesterday met Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat, who has turned away from 42 years of armed struggle against Israel to seek negotiations with the Jewish state over the future of Israeli-held territories.

Mr Arafat, who renounced terrorism and implicitly recognised Israel in 1988, is in Cairo for talks with Mr Mubarak ahead of an emergency Arab summit in Baghdad later this month.
— Sapa-Reuter.

8/21/90

(10)

(11A)

Many Irish query Mandela visit

By Anthony Garvey, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela will be treated like a head of state by the Irish government when he visits Dublin.

But behind the official fuss, the welcoming crowds and the honours, some Irish citizens are asking hard questions about the man and his policies that would have been unthinkable even six months ago.

The three-day visit starts on July 2, a Monday, when the Irish parliament does not normally meet.

But last week there was not a murmur of dissent from any of the 140 members when Prime Minister Charles Haughey proposed that there be a special sitting that day so that Mr Mandela could address the House.

He will be the first person not holding state office to be accorded the privilege, and his address will be broadcast live by Irish television.

Previous visitors who addressed the Irish parliament have included presidents Kennedy, Reagan and Mitterrand.

But if there was apparent agreement among the politicians on the need for a special session of parliament, some members of the Irish public felt differently. In letters

to the national newspapers they queried the cost of the session and why Irish taxpayers should have to pick up the bill.

Some drew comparisons between the views of Mr Mandela — which kept him in prison for 27 years — and those of IRA members involved in the campaign of violence in Northern Ireland and Britain.

Terrorism

One correspondent asked whether Mr Mandela's "advocacy of violence and unwillingness to denounce terrorism as a means of gaining one's own way" was not the reason IRA members were now in Irish jails.

Mr Mandela's visit is at the express invitation of Mr Haughey, the current European Community president.

Two years ago, the ANC leader became the first prisoner to be accorded the freedom of Dublin. The honour was accepted on his behalf by Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, who said she hoped Mr Mandela would soon be able to sign the roll of freedom in person. Now he will be able to do so.

Waiting in the wings with another honour is the Tipperary Peace Committee, an Irish

organisation with an eye on the international scene, which has awarded Mr Mandela its Peace Prize for 1989. The previous winner was Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

But the "man of peace" accolade has also been challenged, following Mr Mandela's recent confirmation that brutality has taken place in ANC prison camps.

And Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins, who was with him when he made the admission, has been bitterly attacked for failing to condemn the brutality.

In one Irish newspaper, the Sunday Business Post, columnist Mary Ellen Synon asked how Mr Collins could continue to condemn the brutality of the IRA but not that of the ANC.

She bluntly accused him of "weaseling" when he claimed it was not necessary for him to condemn every act of violence.

She went on: "In the attitude of many Irish to killings in southern Africa, there is inherent racialism.

"When a white policeman kills a black rioter, the white man is a murderer. When a black man plants a bomb and mutilates a white man, he is a freedom fighter. When a black man tortures another black man, he is an embarrassment best ignored."

BOOK REVIEWS

FOR the first time someone has had the guts to lay bare the fruits of ideological intolerance that rocked Soweto following the disastrous Senator Edward Kennedy visit.

The parties in this newly released book are members of the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front, both committed to the black man's liberation.

What is surprising however, is that what Rian Malan has documented has been known by every journalist in Johannesburg. But in the author's words: "No newspaper that I know of printed it. Why? Because white reporters and Editors did not want to be branded racists."

Azapo's George Wauchope said black reporters on the other hand, were paralysed by fear.

After reading the 349 page book, I was amazed at the bravery of this young white boy. I also knew some of the atrocities Malan mentioned, but I always tried to rationalise why I should not write about them.

Conflicts

Although one may not agree totally with Malan, he helps the reader to fathom the conflicts in the black community.

This book should make black journalists ashamed of themselves. Drawing from his courage, black reporters should expose the other untold miseries that have been going on in the community in the name of the struggle.

The first question from the Press, of course, is why should black activists suddenly turn on one another?

In the book, Muntu Myeza said it was not only difficult for outsiders to understand why blacks were at each other's

Unravelling the conflict in the black community

MY TRAITOR'S HEART by Rian Malan (Distributed by Random Century) Reviewed by Mokgadi Pela

throats, "it is difficult for ourselves."

Malan said the rivalry between the UDF and Azapo was initially peaceful. "Then in 1985 Ted Kennedy came to South Africa at the invitation of the UDF's clerical leaders and the real trouble began.

"The Reverend Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu felt that such a visit would focus international attention on the freedom struggle.

"Azapo was incensed, it wanted to know what kind of black men, noi to mention socialists, would go to bed with a white millionaire from Boston.

"In radical circles in South Africa, this was the worst insult imaginable. There were angry confrontations, brawls and fist fights," Malan said.

A few days thereafter the feud between Azapo and UDF spread to other parts of the country.

"At the end of 1986 the Institute of Race Relations released statistics which counted only 79 perceived collaborators among 1 302 unrest fatalities, thereby wearing thin the claim that blacks who died at the hands of their brothers were all collaborators or sell-outs."

The book also recounts the tragedy of 32 black women who were

hurled alive into pits of flame in Sekhukhuniland in the Northern Transvaal.

He says this was the worst mass murder in South African history.

"The 76 youths arrested in connection with the massacre were all members or supporters of the UDF - the supposedly nonviolent movement.

"The 32 victims were suspected of using sorcery to retard the freedom struggle and were incinerated in the name of fundamental change."

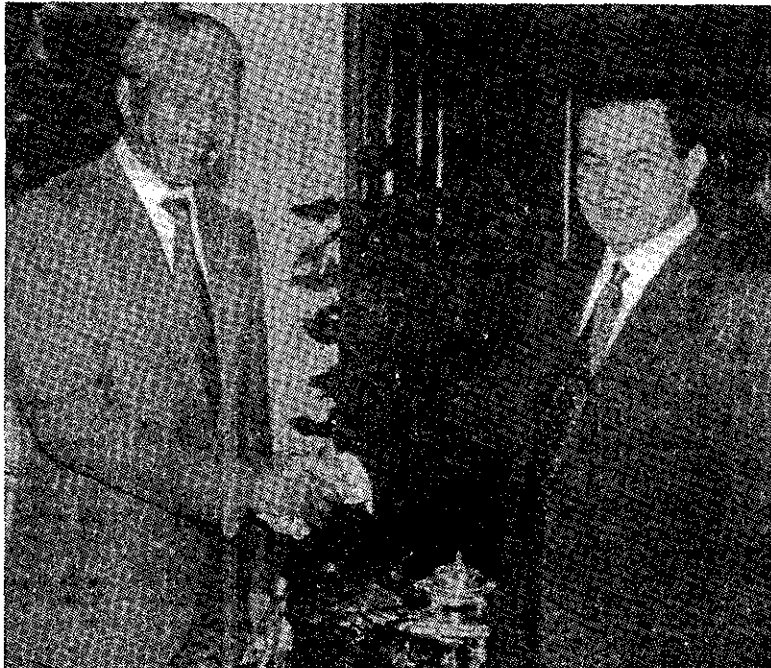
Referring to the terms "zim-zim" and "warara", he says BC followers were dubbed "zim-zim" because of the -isms in their ideological arsenal: socialism, racism, capitalism, colonialism.

Charterists were called "wararas", meaning "where-where".

"Zim-zims" said anyone who believed the UDF's nonracial doctrine was very confused. They were groping around in the dark in search of their true enemy, crying: "Where-where".

This is one book that will certainly take South Africa by storm, especially in a country whose journalists have not exhibited the bravery symbolised by their colleagues in places like Nicaragua, Afghanistan and the Middle East.

Sowetan 21/5/90 119



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo at the weekend.

Picture: REUTERS

Offer of truce by Mandela

CAIRO — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has offered the SA government a truce if it took what he called serious steps to dismantle apartheid.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle," he told reporters on arrival at Cairo airport at the weekend.

His offer appeared to be aimed at seizing the political initiative from President F W De Klerk, who is on a nine-nation tour to improve relations with European countries.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher congratulated De Klerk during a 90-minute meeting on Saturday for taking "substantial" steps in the past year toward abolishing apartheid and said she was confident further progress would be made soon.

De Klerk told a news conference in London that economic sanctions against SA were no longer relevant and described himself as a "man in a hurry" to abolish apartheid.

But Mandela in Cairo dismissed the steps as not enough.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr De Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid," Mandela said.

"What we demand is the right of every South African to determine his future. As I have put it down before, 27 years ago, I could not vote.

"Twenty-seven years later I still cannot vote," said Mandela.

On Friday Mandela was in Tripoli, and thanked Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi for training ANC fighters. *SIPAY 2115790*

He also told African economic ministers on the last day of the annual meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Africa that Africa's economic crisis could block political progress. — Sapa-Reuter.

PAC warns on aid to government

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Staff Reporter

ARG 2/5/90

THE Pan Africanist Congress has warned European governments to be "extremely cautious of giving any aid or sustenance" to the South African government.

Senior PAC member Mr Barney Desai said today his movement was concerned about rising immigration to South Africa.

The PAC was against further immigration because it would exacerbate the critical unemployment problem in the country, he said.

"Surely people are not incapable of acquiring skills if the means are put at their disposal," he said.

"When will this regime end this callous attitude which is causing near genocide for the indigenous people of this land. Or are they hell-bent on nurturing the seeds of a full-scale, bloody revolution?"

PAC to act
on firing ^{21/5/90}
of worker
over T-shirt

 Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress, Western Cape, last night strongly condemned the recent dismissal of a worker for wearing a PAC T-shirt, saying it would "not tolerate intimidatory tactics" from any quarter.

Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape co-ordinator of the PAC, said a resolution to register protest at the dismissal of the packaging-company worker had been taken at a meeting yesterday.

The PAC also noted "that apparently workers wearing T shirts of the African National Congress have not been similarly disciplined".

90-day indemnity for exiles welcomed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The internal leader of the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, has welcomed the government's announcement of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile.

"The list (released on Saturday) includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May," said Mr Sisulu.

"Any step towards the normalisation of the situation in the country is welcome," he added.

However he was personally disappointed that his son Max Sisulu, an ANC economist, was not among those included in the list.

Acting President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) Mr Chris Hani, intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Dr Viljoen said the indemnity was necessary to promote peaceful constitutional negotiation in South Africa.

Economists not included

Mr Sindiso Mfenyane, a spokesman for the ANC Lusaka secretariat, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty had been granted only until August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to South Africa to strengthen the organisation.

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also we hope expanding it to include all ANC members," Mr Mfenyane said.

He said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Mr Max Sisulu and Mr Tito Mboweni, who are scheduled to address an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the indemnity list.

In response to a question why the indemnity had been granted only until August 19, 1990, a spokesman for the Department of Justice said it was only a temporary measure to satisfy immediate requirements.

"If at a later stage it is deemed necessary, a further announcement can be made," she said.

The following people were named in the special edition of the Government Gazette as qualifying for indemnity: Jeremy Cronin, Stephen Dlamini, Chris Hani, Joe Jele, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Stanley Mabizela, Penuell Maduna, Simon Makana, Mac Maharaj, Robert Manci, Henry Makgothi, Thabo Mbeki, Gill Marcus, Francis Meli, Sindiso Mfenyane, Joe Modise, Timothy Mokwena, Jacquelin Molefe, Ruth Mompoti, Anthony Mongalo, Joel Netshitenzhe, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadimeng, Thomas Titus Nkobi, Alfred Nzo, Aziz Pahad, Mzwai Piliso, Jackie Selebi, Reginald September, Gertrude Shope, Sizakhele Sigxashe, Joe Slovo, James Stuart, Oliver Reginald Tambo, Dan Tloome, Steve Tshwete and Jacob Zuma. — Sapa

CPK Times 21/5/90

Mandela offers a truce

CAIRO. — Mr Nelson Mandela, trying to wrest the political initiative from President F W de Klerk, has offered a truce in the armed struggle if the government takes solid steps to dismantle apartheid.

On arrival in Egypt at the weekend, Mr Mandela threw down his challenge to Mr De Klerk.

"We are prepared to consider

HA a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle. We are prepared to consider a truce," Mr Mandela said.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr De Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid."

Mr Mandela also held talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. — Sapa-Reuter

SA commandos' release a govt matter Mandela

1117 B10/22/1/90
MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The release of South African commandos from Zimbabwean jails was a matter for the SA and Zimbabwean governments alone, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday after two hours of talks with President Robert Mugabe.

Mugabe did not accompany Mandela to a media conference at his State House home.

The Zimbabwean president had earlier made a statement of welcome alongside Mandela, saying Zimbabweans regarded SA's freedom as their own "because then we shall become free from apartheid and we shall also be free from acts of aggression and destabilisation".

A major topic in their discussions was expected to be the possible freeing by Mugabe of seven maximum security prisoners linked to the South African military.

Diplomatic observers believe at least a commutation of death sentences is possible for former Rhodesian security force members Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Conjwayo, who murdered a Zambian driver at an ANC house in Bulawayo in 1988.

Asked whether the release by Zimbabwe of SA nationals held for attacking the ANC was raised in yesterday's talks, Mandela initially replied: "We did not discuss the matter with the president (Mugabe) but this is a matter which has been raised by the (SA) government in the course of our

formal discussions.

"The matter is a sensitive one and it is better not to pursue it in the interest of SA nationals themselves who have been detained by the ANC."

After briefly consulting Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, he said they had not discussed those being held in Zimbabwe.

"It doesn't affect us," he said.

Sources in Harare said ANC national executive member Jacob Xuma arrived from Johannesburg and tried to get the Zimbabwean authorities to release, or at least commute the death sentences of, the anti-ANC prisoners in Chikurubi maximum security prison.

Mandela said the ANC was aware SA agents were still attacking activists in the Frontline states. Last month a New Zealand-born priest, Father Lapsley, lost his hands in a parcel bomb attack in Harare.

"It is part of the contradiction which we condemn: that while the government is talking about negotiations it continues that war against us and the neighbouring states.

"It is not clear to me whether this is because the government is unable to control its own armed forces, its own police units, or whether it has given instruction to do so, but the whole question of destabilisation is one that is likely to affect negotiations that are going on."

ANC-govt joint report submitted

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The report prepared by a joint government-ANC working group on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute was submitted to government and the ANC National Executive yesterday.

Although neither of the parties was prepared to disclose the contents of the report, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma indicated at a media conference in Johannesburg it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and exiles.

One of the major issues addressed by the working group was the definition of political offences.

The submission of the report was preceded on Saturday by the granting of a three-month indemnity to 38 ANC members in exile. Acting President and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen granted the indemnity to the ANC's full national executive committee and four others in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Act, B 10/87 22157/10

Referring to the violence in Thabong, near Welkom, in which four people died on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think this would delay talks.

However, he added the decision would depend on the treatment of the situation, although he was confident government would not repeat mistakes of the past.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement the contents of the report would not be released unless and until the government and the ANC chose to do so.

Zuma is confident about talks report

Soweto 22/5/90

NO problems were anticipated in the Government's acceptance of the working document prepared by a joint Government-ANC working committee on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute.

ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma said this at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The working group, established in terms of paragraph 1 of the Groote Schuur Minute, has completed its report.

"The report is being submitted to its principals (Government and ANC national executive) today," Zuma said.

He declined to reveal the contents of the report but indicated that it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and political exiles.

He said the amnesty for 38 ANC exiles should be seen as a first step in the process which began with the Groote Schuur Minute which took place in an "atmosphere of commitment on both sides to resolve our problems".

A statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday confirmed that the working group had completed its report and that it had been presented to the respective principals yesterday.

He said there would be no statement on the contents of the report unless and until the Government and the ANC had agreed to do so.

Mr Joe Nhlanhla, head of the ANC's department

of security and intelligence, said Mr FW de Klerk's statement certainly indicated sincerity and a recognition of the need to reach a political settlement.

Referring to the Thabong, Welkom, violence in which seven people died when police opened fire on youths on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think that this would delay talks.

"I do not anticipate that the violence in

Thabong will, as happened with Sebokeng, delay our talks because we were all aware when we participated in the Groote Schuur talks that the struggle would go on while the process of talks continued," Zuma said.

He, however, said it did depend on how everyone handled the situation.

But he was confident that the Government would not repeat mistakes of the past. - Sapa.

Soweto businessman fumes over TV film

By SY
MAKARINGE

A SOWETO businessman is fuming with rage after a TV programme, *Ingalo Yomthetho*, last week allegedly implicated him in the mysterious death of his brother, wealthy Soweto taxi owner Mr Donald Mkhwanazi of Mofolo North.

Mkhwanazi was travelling to an unknown destination with two other people in October last year when their car allegedly overturned near Kokstad.

Mkhwanazi died soon

after arrival at the King Edward Hospital. The two other occupants escaped unscathed.

Mr Archibald Mkhwanazi, owner of Ma-Africa Electrical Construction, has pleaded innocence, saying the TV programme, a Zulu version of *Police File*, created an impression that he had "arranged" the death of his brother.

In the programme, the

presenter asked people who knew Archibald Mkhwanazi's whereabouts to contact the police so that he could explain why he was on the scene of the accident immediately after it occurred, and why Donald Mkhwanazi's wife did not know of his death until a few days later.

Mr Dries Pretorius, head of TV2 and TV3, said the SABC was indemnified against such claims and referred all inquiries to compilers of the programme at Newlands Police Station.

The telephone still bugs Albie Sachs

Sowetan 22/5/90

11A

FOCUS

Anti-apartheid veteran Albie Sachs is teaching himself to talk openly on the telephone after spending 24 years in exile shadowed by South African spies.

The 55-year-old white lawyer says working for Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, Pretoria's main black opponent, has made him suspect every telephone is tapped.

Sachs is one of several leading ANC members who returned from exile this year to prepare for full political negotiations with South Africa's reformist white rulers: Amid the joy of seeing friends and relatives again, he has had problems adjusting.

"The transition from being on the run from the police, working underground...to an open style of political work, you can't just do it in a day," he said.

"I can't use the telephone. It's finished. I have a little banning order up in my throat.

"The minute I'm speaking on the phone and I want to say where I'm going to, or who I'm going to meet, or what work I'm doing, an automatic censor stops me."

"And then I say 'don't be absurd...'"

Sachs, who is divorced, trained as a lawyer in Cape Town but fled the country in 1966 after 170 days of detention in solitary confinement without charge or trial.

Outspoken

He is the ANC's leading constitutional thinker, a member of its policy-making national executive committee and an outspoken defender of civil liberties and intellectual freedom.

In a new South Africa "there will be a right to be bigoted in purely private life".

"But when it comes to excluding others from living in a house which they can afford simply because they are white or black, then that is invading their rights," Sachs said.

His fear of surveillance is well founded.

He lost his right arm and his face was badly scarred in 1988 when a bomb exploded in his car in Mozambique, where he worked for 11 years as an ANC lawyer and strategist.

He says he is not bitter about the price of his opposition to apartheid but says such attacks have created a protective secrecy among his colleagues that is becoming unnecessary.

The ANC was banned for 30 years - a period when Pretoria boasted of its ability to infiltrate the organisation - until President FW de Klerk legalised black political activity in February in a bid to break South Africa's racial deadlock.

The organisation is believed to be debating whether to agree to De Klerk's demand that it suspend its low-level guerilla campaign as part of the pre-negotiation process.

"We're moving into a different phase that requires a whole different culture of struggle," said Sachs, a tall, softly-spoken man.

"You have to present yourself on TV. It's a new kind of battle and we have to rise to the occasion. The debate is on."

Sachs, who said he was speaking in his personal capacity rather than for the ANC, suspects De Klerk's negotiating team aims to retain key aspects of apartheid that regulate education and housing according to skin colour.

More openness

"They're still clinging. It's hard to let go and yet it's so silly, because what they should be doing is accept the fundamental democratic premise and then say, 'Look, within that, we're worried about this and that,'" he said.

"Instead they're hanging on, clinging to the poles of racism and that makes it difficult to get the broad consensus and agreement that's necessary. But there's certainly been much more opening up and openness than we're accustomed to."

ANC leaders are interviewed and quoted on state and pro-Government media - something that would have been unthinkable a year

ago under De Klerk's hardline predecessor PW Botha.

Sachs and the ANC study group he directs at Britain's Commonwealth Institute are examining the constitutions of all the world's nations to prepare for the negotiations.

"We're very interested in the Nordic countries because they've managed to combine high productivity with a fair measure of equality, strong welfare systems and political freedom. But we're not setting out to copy any particular country," he said.

Sachs says visits to Cape Town's racially zoned areas since his return have shown him that apartheid is still in place.

Nordic example

After visiting a squatter camp of cardboard and corrugated iron shacks he said its black residents "have hardly any rights at all. Until they get the vote they don't stand a chance."

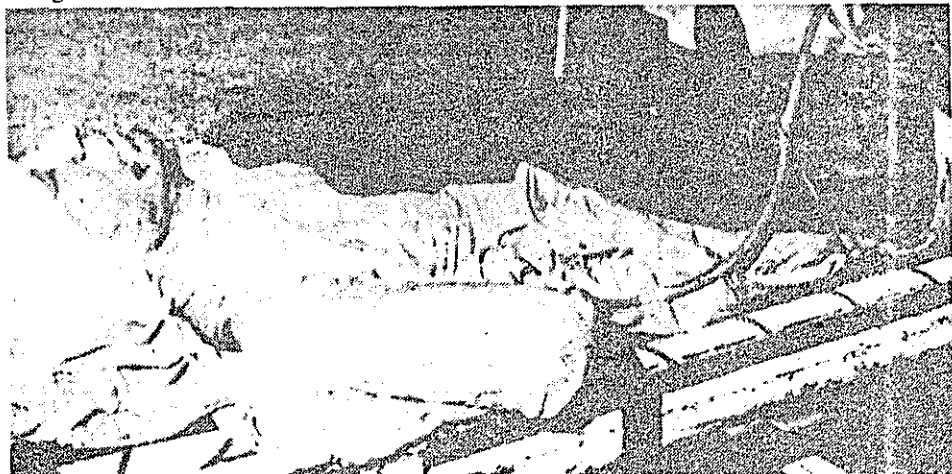
Then he drove to the lush white coastal suburb of Sea Point where he grew up, breathing "the whiffs of salt air I haven't known for 24 years. I shiver with remembered pleasure and excitement. I feel at home. But it's another country".

He says a defiantly anti-apartheid spirit exists among ordinary black people that he never noticed in the 1960s.

"That has transformed completely. People have liberated their heads," he said in a recent speech.

"Among my white friends, far from encountering fears and anxieties I'm encountering joy ... and a sense of liberation.

"At last we can feel we are free citizens in a free country." - Sapa-Reuter.



Flashback: Mr Albie Sachs after receiving treatment in Maputo Hospital for injuries sustained in a car bomb blast in Mozambique.

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Little respect for our anthem

Sowetan 22/5/90

119

By MOLEFI MIKA

I sometimes feel like hiding with embarrassment whenever our anthem - *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* - is sung at sports events.

The singing of the anthem is done with absolute disrespect and an offending manner.

In 1981 when Peter "Terror" Mathebula defended the WBA world flyweight title at Orlando Stadium it was one of the anthems sung on that sunny afternoon. Mathebula was defending against his eventual conquerer Argentinian Santos Lacias.

A contingent of black and white policemen at the fight took off their caps and stood attentive when *Die Stem* was sung. And they did likewise when the Argentinian anthem was sung.

But when *Nkosi Sikelel'* turn came most cops put on their caps and sat down.

No change

The National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) used to have this anthem sung at its finals before the 1985 soccer split.

The new National Soccer League (NSL) has been having the anthem sung at all its finals.

Is there a change of attitude towards the anthem in soccer finals? None at all.

The latest denigrating of *Nkosi Sikelel'* happened at FNB Stadium in the Castle Challenge finals on Saturday.

An appeal was made that everybody should rise before cabaret star Mara Louw led the singing.

Many stood up. Some sang while others continued to chat.

Meanwhile our police friends remained wearing their caps.

I spotted one black photographer making sign-languages to his white counter-part to remove a cap he was wearing. But his efforts were all in vain.

There was this grinning black gentleman manning the Press-box door leading to the terraces who seemingly enjoyed himself by deliberately singing the anthem out of tune. To add salt to injury he did this loudly to amuse his giggling buddies.

How do we expect our children to behave when the anthem is sung if we do not show our pride in it?

The NSL teams, many of them are black owned, need to teach their followers the importance of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. They must do this at their supporters' branch meetings.

Likewise, I think teachers must find it fit to teach our anthem in their classes - whether DET likes it or not.

One hopes sanity will prevail next time when this anthem is sung in a public gathering.

Azapo, BCMA call for consultations (11A)

A CONSULTATIVE conference involving all liberation movements should be convened urgently, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania decided in Harare at the weekend.

At a press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday to report back on the Harare meeting, Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala said the consultative conference would discuss the future of the country, "prior to any negotiations that might be entered into by all or any components of the liberation movement".

Sowetan
22/5/90 **Conference**

The conference would also discuss the "reconquest of the land, transformation of the economy and one-person one-vote elections for a constituent assembly which will draft a constitution for a liberated Azania".

In the meantime, the BCMA and Azapo agreed the struggle must be intensified in all forms. They also agreed that F W de Klerk's current negotiations package did not promise anything for the oppressed.

Mandela condemns

Welkom 'massacre'

22/5/90

By Thabo Leshilo

(11A)

The massacre of innocent people in Thabong, Welkom was inexcusable and the Government either condoned police violence or was unable to control it, deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela said when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night after his tour of Africa.

"They (the Government) cannot talk of negotiations while they kill us," said Mr Mandela, at a brief impromptu press conference.

He condemned the necklacing of former Thabong councillor, a Mr Phakati, and said the ANC did not approve of the action.

"We only approve of organised violence such as that carried out by Mkhonto We Sizwe against the Government," he said.

He said that he had, during private meetings with President F W de Klerk and at the recent meeting between the ANC and the Government, said that SA had a well-equipped police force and army which could "suppress such violence" if only the Government wanted to.

"The critical question is why they have not been able to suppress it for four and a half years."

Mr Mandela said the Government had taken advantage of differences between political organisations to crush and eliminate organisations opposed to minority white rule.

He preferred not to discuss the continued detention of seven people accused of being SA Government spies by the Zimbabwe government. The issue was "highly sensitive," he said.

He said he would ask for a report from the ANC on the situation in Welkom and would visit the strife-torn township if requested.

He described his tour as "successful beyond my wildest dreams."

After the press conference, Mr Mandela shook hands with airport cleaners who had gathered to greet him.

Black Sash vows to pursue aims

Sowetan 22/5/90

11A

[Handwritten initials]

THE Government's amnesty for 38 ANC exiles was certainly a positive move towards human rights, former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan said in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The Black Sash were celebrating their 35th anniversary as a human rights organisation.

Although the climate in South Africa had changed and many organisations such as the ANC, PAC and others which fought for the same principles were unbanned, the Black Sash would continue to pursue its aims.

but with different strategies, Duncan said.

"The amnesty and temporary indemnity of 38 ANC members, while not exactly fulfilling our expectations must nevertheless be seen as a movement in the direction of human rights," Mrs Duncan said.

Amnesty

Duncan said human rights went beyond temporary amnesty and even on the political front involved the amnesty of all political prisoners if there was to be any hope of political reconciliation in South Africa.

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Sowetan 22/5/90

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FOR five days in March 1982, Senator Jeremiah Denton's subcommittee on security and terrorism held hearings on The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa.

Denton had spent eight years in a North Vietnamese PoW camp. The experience coloured his view of the world in ways nice people considered extreme. Only one other member of the panel, also a conservative Republican, was willing to participate. The proceeding was largely ignored by the mainstream Press.

Staged with no little co-operation from Pretoria, it was, to be sure, a decidedly one-sided affair. Even so, that is not an excuse to ignore the array of damning allegations that were levelled against the ANC. It is now in a position to answer them. The sincerity of its commitment to genuine, accountable democracy may be judged on whether it is willing to do so.

The witness list included four ANC dissidents, all of whom spoke under oath.

Ephraim Mfalapitsa and Jeffrey Bosigo were ex-guerrillas grown tired of the wretched life in the camps and the ever-present fear of running afoul of the commissars. They had left to fight in the late '70s, fondly believing the show would be over in two years. Instead, they found themselves being forced to observe and participate in the execution of their own. Surrender to the police seemed preferable.

Bartholomew Hlapane was a member of the ANC's national executive and the SACP's central committee in the early '60s. Recruited to the party by Joe Slovo in 1955, he came to believe that it was "dishonestly" seeking to take over the ANC and was particularly appalled by the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which he felt betrayed the principles of Chief Albert Luthuli.

In 1966, he testified against Bram Fischer. At the Denton hearing, he named at least seven members of the

The measure of the ANC can be taken only in the open

B104M 22/5/90

(11A)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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The testimony that still merits the closest scrutiny is that of Nokonono Delphine Kave, who left the country in February 1978. She came forward seemingly of her own accord, without intervention from the SA government. If her English was slightly tortured, her soul was clearly more so. She was 28 at the time.

Her story began in Ciskei. She was Lennox Sebe's niece, but was also active as a Black Consciousness youth organiser. Her law studies at Fort Hare were interrupted by the 1976 uprising. She claimed to have been close to Steve Biko and to have carried out a number of missions for him. These related to his concern that the ANC, increasingly within the thrall of the SACP, was out to destroy his movement.

After speaking at his funeral, she became aware that she was wanted by the security police. She fled to Botswana where the immigration authorities told her she must either be a member of the ANC or the PAC. She opted for the ANC and was taken to an ANC house in Gaborone. There, to break her of her BC sympathies, she was repeatedly told that Biko

had been a CIA agent.

After several weeks she was flown to Lusaka and given a job as a Xhosa translator with Radio Freedom. Relations with her new colleagues soured rapidly, in part because of a speech she wrote criticising her uncle and other homeland leaders. This, apparently, was counter to the ANC policy of the moment. She was shunted on to Dar-es-Salaam. When she protested she wanted to resume her law studies at the University of Zambia, she was transferred once more. This time, under threat, to the Soviet Union.

By early September, she was in Kishenev, Moldavia, ostensibly for language and political instruction. She began receiving nightly visits from Soviet officials who claimed to be researching student activism in SA. Their methods included the forcible administration of injections which made her lose consciousness. In November, when she refused to attend further classes, she found herself in a psychiatric hospital.

Her treatment included deprivation of food, multiple rape — photo-

graphed by her warders — interrogation and more injections. At one point, human cadavers wrapped in plastic bags were placed in her room. She was released in December after pledging to be a good student of Marxism-Leninism and to marry one Kay Janson, a Danish communist she had met in Lusaka.

Thus "cured" of her BC tendencies, she was brought to Moscow and Patrice Lumumba University where she was introduced to a Russian named Shubin who was said to be "in charge of the armed struggle in southern Africa". He made it clear that the purge was under way within the leadership of the ANC and SACP to rid it of unreliable communist elements. Her help was needed.

"What they were trying to do," Kave told Denton, "was establish us — the youth — as a force ... to challenge the adult members of the ANC. This was the aim and they saw I might still be useful."

Shubin's remarks seemed to true, she said, because "from 1978, several anti-communist member of the ANC were killed under the direction of Reggie September. Among these were Sonwabo Mlisane who was killed in Zambia, Majubo Yekiso in Zambia, Gwentshe killed in Tanzania, Panase in Botswana, Mavuso

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Over the ANC's objections, Kave returned to Lusaka in February 1979. She stayed with Janson until March (they did not marry) when she moved to a SA Congress of Trades Unions house "along Lumumba road". Between then and June she was forced to watch a series of unspeakable atrocities.

She alleged that she was brought to the main house from her bed in a shanty out back. There she found Joe Modise, current MK chief and a participant in the recent Groote Schuur talks, Peter Masemula, also an MK official, and a Dr Randaree. They were interrogating a young man accused of spying for SA. He denied the charge. Masemula then turned to Kave and said: "You young South Africans ... you think you are going to do what you like within this ANC. Now we are going to show you."

The prisoner was stripped, placed on the table and sedated by the doctor. Modise, she said, then slit him open from chest to navel. The ritual was repeated on the following two nights. The second victim was a Zambian girl. "They were laughing while they did this."

Kave ultimately managed to get away to Canada. By the time she came before the committee, she was clearly a very disturbed young woman. Appalling things had happened, not just to her, but to very many of her generation who had refused to be indoctrinated in the ways of the ANC and the SACP.

Close to tears, she said: "I want to let the parents of these children, especially the ones that came in after 1976 ... know that there is nobody left among those people. Those who are still alive were sent for re-education in prisons in Angola. A number of our people have been killed."

And then, even more distraught: "Everybody is dead from 1976."

South Africans deserve the truth, whatever it may be. Kave may have been lying. Then again, she may not. The record must be tested.

INQUIRIES.

SA 'unable to stop violence'

HARARE. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the shooting of four blacks in Welkom showed that the government was either conniving with police violence or unable to stop it.

"It seems the government is either conniving at police excesses or is unable to deal with the situation," he commented after talks with President Robert Mugabe during a stopover at the end of an African tour.

He also accused the SA government of continuing to destabilise Zimbabwe and other neighbouring states and suggested these operations might also be taking place without official sanction.

"While the government is talking about negotiation and peace it continues to conduct war against us and against neighbouring states." — Sapa-Reuter

FOR five days in March 1982, Senator Jeremiah Denton's Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism held hearings on "The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa".

Denton had spent eight years in a North Vietnamese POW camp. The experience coloured his view of the world in ways nice people considered extreme. Only one other member of the panel, also a conservative Republican, was willing to participate. The proceedings were largely ignored by the mainstream Press.

Staged with no little co-operation from Pretoria, it was, to be sure, a decidedly one-sided affair. Even so, that is not an excuse to ignore the array of damning allegations that were levelled against the ANC. It is now in a position to answer them. The sincerity of its commitment to genuine, accountable democracy may be judged on whether it is willing to do so.

Wretched life

The witness list included four ANC dissidents, all of whom spoke under oath.

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Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

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Very disturbed

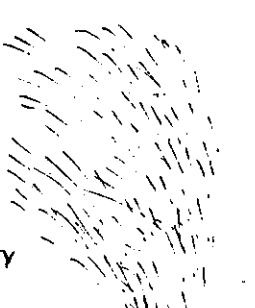
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Government, ANC team report back

THE government-ANC working group, established on May 5 in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, submitted its report to both parties yesterday.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said there would be no statement on the report's contents "unless and until" the government and the ANC agreed to one.

No problems were anticipated in the acceptance, by both sides, of the report, ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma told Sapa yesterday.

In other developments yesterday:

- Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen held talks with KwaZulu Natal Indaba representatives.

- Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the government was ready to move away from a system of local government based on colour and alternative models were being investigated.

- The government introduced a bill postponing white delimitation until 1994.

The government-ANC working group was asked to:

- Make recommendations on a defi-

inition of a political offence.

- Advise on the release of political prisoners.

- Advise on the granting of immunity for political offences.

It is understood that considerable progress has been made by the group.

Speaking during the debate on his Budget, Mr Kriel said black local authorities lacked credibility because they had no sound financial base.

He said the Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities would look at alternative models for local government and submit a report to the government.

Mr Kriel said it had been clear for some time that there had been little enthusiasm among people of colour for separate local authorities, based solely on colour.

Introducing a Constitutional Amendment Bill that will postpone a white delimitation until 1994, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said this was necessary to allow more time for the negotiation process.

- Govt to delay on delimitation —
Page 4

Cart-
Times
22/5/68

(11A)

Azapo bid for common front

JOHANNESBURG — A conference involving all anti-apartheid liberation movements should be convened urgently, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement have decided.

Azapo president Prof Jerry Mosala said in Johannesburg yesterday that the conference would seek a common position on the country's future "prior to any negotiations".

Azapo project director Mr Muntu Myeza said: "We want to avoid the trauma Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have gone through."

Top ANC team to meet SA businessmen

THE ANC and its allies are sending a powerful team of 40 to meet more than 300 of SA's top businessmen at a conference organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) taking place at a Johannesburg hotel today.

The theme of the conference, the first such contact between business and the ANC inside SA and the largest yet, is Options for an Economic Future.

Keynote speakers will be ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly.

Other ANC executive members scheduled to be present include Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Aziz Pahad and Steve Tshwete, internal officials Trevor Manuel and Terror Lekota and Lusaka-based economics department official Tito Mboweni.

The labour movement will be represent-

ALAN FINE

ed by Cosatu officials Jay Naidoo, Chris Dlamini and Sydney Mafumadi, Numsa's Alec Erwin and the NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Business leaders chairing sessions will include Murray Hofmeyr, Don Masson of Tradegro, JCI's Ken Maxwell and Neal Chapman of Southern Life.

Mboweni, who arrived in SA on Monday for his first visit since going into exile 10 years ago, said he saw the gathering as part of a process of consultation between business and the ANC.

He said the ANC wished to discuss the economic situation and how it could be improved, especially for the benefit of black people.

● Comment: Page 8

Away from the cameras, protests greet De Klerk

South 23/5 - 29/5/90

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — The strongest statement on last week's talks between State President FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came from the British public itself, remarked an ANC official.

It was summed up in the huge difference between De Klerk's reception of protests and demonstrations and the rapturous welcome given to Mr Nelson Mandela last month at Wembley, he said.

Despite assurances received by De Klerk from world leaders that sanctions would be reviewed, the demand from ordinary members of the public was for the continuation of sanctions and the isolation of apartheid until there was evidence of irreversible political change in South Africa.

While De Klerk was feted by leaders such as President Francois Mitterrand of France and President Mario Soares of Portugal, protests and demonstrations — largely unreported in the mainstream media — dogged him throughout his nine-country European tour.

Placards

In Athens, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon, groups of demonstrators chanted and held placards registering their protest against the visit.

In London, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, president of the Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Popcru), was the keynote speaker at a major rally the night before De Klerk met Thatcher at her holiday residence, Chequers.

The protest rally, also addressed by the general secretary of Eng-

land's Trade Union Conference, Mr Norman Willis, and the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, reiterated the call made by the ANC to uphold sanctions.

The theme of the three days of protest echoed the ANC's determination that sanctions remain in place "until there is irreversible progress towards ending apartheid", commented the ANC's secretary general, Alfred Nzo.

At a press briefing on the eve of De Klerk's meeting with Thatcher, Nzo said: "Sanctions were adopted as part and parcel of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid, which is still in place.

"As Nelson Mandela said, he went to prison for 27 years and came back to find he still had no vote. Therefore, it is too early to talk in terms of suspending sanctions."

Opposed

In a joint statement, the AAM expressed "deep regret" at the welcome extended to De Klerk by their governments.

"We are opposed to De Klerk's visit to Europe because we believe it confers an unacceptable degree of respectability on the head of state of the apartheid regime and because we believe it will undermine the prospect of achieving a political settlement in South Africa.

"Anti-Apartheid movements are protesting across Europe to remind the people the pillars of apartheid remain firmly intact and, in the words of Nelson Mandela, apartheid continues to kill and maim."

On the day of De Klerk's arrival in London, a leading national

newspaper ran a huge advertisement calling for the dismantling of apartheid. It was paid for by hundreds of ANC and AAM members and supporters.

The advertisement quoted Mandela as saying: "To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive. The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts."

The British government said after the Chequers talks that sanctions should be a thing of the past. UK Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, said: "I believe there has been a clear shift in the attitude of most European Community governments and there is a desire to give some encouragements to the South African government."

Begging

The EC is expected to review its sanctions policy when it meets in Dublin next month.

At a press conference after the talks, De Klerk said he had not come "hat in hand", begging for the lifting of sanctions.

He said: "I found across Europe an understanding of a new reality in South Africa and an acceptance of the sincerity of the government in aiming for the goals of a new just South Africa where all will participate in government, every person will have the right to vote and will have a vote of equal worth.

"Sanctions have become irrelevant as we have moved beyond the old agenda for South Africa," De Klerk said.

urges ANC to *Sowetan* stop talks

23/5/90

Staff Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called on the ANC to desist from holding further talks with the Government and give priority instead to a consultative conference involving all black liberation movements.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala yesterday said nothing positive had emanated from the three-day meeting between the Government and the ANC held at the beginning of this month, "except for the limited indemnity granted to some ANC people."

Decision

Mosala said Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) decided at a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe at the weekend that a consultative conference involving all components of the liberation movements was both important and urgent, before any negotiations could be entered into "by all or any components of the liberation movement."

He said it was hoped that such a conference would take place within the next two months.

Mosala said the Azapo-BCMA meeting also discussed the question of the return of exiles.

"We felt that at this stage we are not in a position to encourage our members to come back because of the limited indemnity granted to the ANC, but also because when they come back we would like to welcome them ourselves.

Agreement

"We would not want to leave that responsibility to the South African Council of Churches which is known to be anti-Black Consciousness," said Mosala.

The Azapo leader said the two organisations agreed further that nothing which had taken place in the country so far could justify any change in strategy by the liberation movements.

The struggle against apartheid therefore had to be intensified at all fronts.

Responding to Mosala's call for the ANC not to take part in more talks with the Government before the proposed consultative conference, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said if the Azapo leaders were serious about such a call they would contact the ANC directly and not through the Press.

Meeting ^{Sowetan} 23/5/90

THE Azanian Students Movement will hold its National Council at the Molemela Hotel in Rocklands, Bloemfontein from Saturday until Sunday. According to Azasm convenor Mr Jowi Seaga, buses will leave from 51 Commissioner Street in Johannesburg at 11pm on Friday. Fare is R35 per person. (11A)

The two-day meeting, will focus on the current school situation, violence sweeping the country as

well as negotiations.

About 500 delegates from its 100 branches are expected, Seaga said last night.

Mandela slams shootings

11A
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THE African National Congress would not tolerate the continuing massacre of people by police while peace negotiations were in progress, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg to report back on his African tour, Mandela said negotiations could only be fruitful if conducted in an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

"Violence makes this impossible," he said.

Commenting on the violence at Thabong, near Welkom, in which police had allegedly opened fire

on a ^{Sowetan 23/5/90} demonstrating crowd, killing eight and injuring over 40, he said it was clear President FW de Klerk was unable to control the police.

"We strongly condemn the massacre of blacks by police in the course of peaceful demonstration," he said.

Mandela also accused the Government of using the Natal conflict to eliminate those who they considered a threat.

The Government did not want the Natal violence to end as it was in its interest that it continued.

He had already suggested to De Klerk that

the reason the Government had not ended the violence was because they were using the differences between the parties to "crush the ANC".

The ANC was discussing the problems with the Government.

"We hope through discussions to curb the problems facing the country." - Sapa.

Jews give Tutu a hot reception

Sowetan 23/5/90

11A

Sowetan Foreign Service

NEW YORK - Radical Jewish activists gave Archbishop Desmond Tutu another hostile reception at a church function in Pasadena, California, on Monday.

They have not forgiven Tutu for recent statements he made in Israel declaring his support for the rights of Palestinians.

The Archbishop, who was the target of a water-bomb tossed at him by Jewish activists at the inauguration ceremony of Mr David Dinkins as New York's first black mayor in January, came in for a chorus of jeers from a similar group who had gathered outside the All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, where he had delivered a sermon.

Tutu was met with a loud chorus of jeers and shouts of, "Tell him to lay off Israel" and "Why do you hate Jews?" as he left the church.



BISHOP TUTU

Assuring his host, the Rev George Regas, rector of All Saints, that he was not angered by the protesters, Tutu told him: "Please let them say what they want to say, because in my country they are not allowed to do that."

As a result of the disturbance church officials cancelled an outdoor reception that had been planned in Tutu's honour.

In his hour-long sermon to an overflow audience, the Archbishop, who made world hunger and South Africa his twin themes, referred to those present as "God's collaborators" and said they could change the world and bring about an end to injustice and oppression.

Tour

Tutu, who is on a fund-raising tour of the United States, visited Disneyland with his wife, two daughters and three-year-old grandson.

"I think this was a tremendous inspiration from God to have this kind of place for people to come and unwind and discover how human we are when we are child-like," he said in praise of the popular Disney creation.

From PATRICK
GOODENOUGH

SUPPORT for the Labour Party (LP) in Port Elizabeth — a traditional stronghold — has collapsed, while support in the coloured community for the ANC/MDM alliance has rocketed.

This is the finding of a survey released this week by the Human Rights Trust publication, Monitor.

The revelations come as residents of the Northern Areas are voicing their anger at alleged LP indifference to a growing housing crisis.

Monitor's survey results are further borne out by a string of recent ANC meetings in the coloured areas, where hundreds are joining the organisation.

The survey, which investigated voter attitudes in the white and "coloured" communities, found 41 percent of the coloured community supported the ANC/MDM alliance.

Loyalty

Support for the LP has dropped to an all-time low of eight percent. Support for the government's National Party (NP) has increased to 31 percent, and for the Democratic Party (DP) to 19 percent.

More than 28 percent of those surveyed said they had changed their political loyalty since September 6, 1989, when the last elections were held.

Labour suffered a loss of 20,2 percent of the entire electorate, which was passed on to the ANC/MDM (8,6 percent), the NP (7,4 percent) and the DP (4,6 percent).

Seventy percent of voters who supported the

ANC gains as LP sheds weight

LP at the election have since changed loyalties.

Monitor says the blow to the LP should be seen as part of a trend away from participatory politics (involving both the former Coloured Representative Council and the House of Representatives) since 1969, when 48 percent of the coloured community voted.

The figure dropped to 37,5 percent in 1975, to 27,5 percent in 1984, and to 18 percent last year.

"Within the coloured community, the Labour Party has suffered a loss of a great deal of prestige and support. Thirty-six percent of the coloured community in this area voted in the 1984 election, and the vast majority voted Labour," says Monitor.

More coloured people voted in the four Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage seats than voted in the 21 Cape Peninsula seats in 1984. Now only 8,4 percent claim loyalty to the LP in the Port Elizabeth area.

Although the LP took almost all of the House of Representative seats in the September elections last year, only 17 percent of the coloured community believe it did well.

Eighty-seven percent believe the ANC/MDM did well by boycotting the election, while only four percent believe it did not.

"While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community, the MDM/ANC has validated itself in that communi-

ty's eyes."

Monitor observed after the September election that voting had been a considerable setback for the LP.

Monitor noted there was "a lot of support" in the coloured community for State President FW de Klerk and the government.

On the question of white opinions, the survey found De Klerk's reforms were more popular with DP voters than with NP voters, and no CP voters agreed.

The survey found between nine and 13 percent of NP voters admitted changing loyalties to the CP since the election.

About one-third of DP voters have changed loyalty, although not many have moved to the ANC/MDM alliance.



ON THE NILE: ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela meets Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yassar Arafat in Cairo. Both met with Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak. Mandela also visited Angola, Uganda, Libya, Nigeria and Algeria ^{South} 23/5 - 27/5/90

(11A)

Mandela a 'symbol of liberation' for Africa

11A

South 23/5 - 29/5/90

BY REHANA ROSSOUW
AFRICAN National Congress deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, is regarded as a symbol of liberation for the entire African continent, says Mr Ebrahim Rasool of Cape Town, who accompanied him on his trip to Africa.

During his week-long tour of six African states, Mandela was showered with gifts, awards, medals and honorary degrees which re-affirmed his status as an African leader.

"In every country we went to, a public holiday had been declared and thousands of people turned out to meet Mandela," Rasool said.

Mass rallies

"He would not only address the leaders of each country but the ordinary people as well.

"In Nigeria, Mandela addressed four mass rallies in three days as well as other gatherings."

Rasool said in every country visited, either the president, prime minister or foreign affairs minister was on the tarmac to meet Mandela when he arrived.

"He is a symbol for the entire continent. Mandela symbolises the liberation of Africa from colonialism, he belongs to them as much as he belongs to the people of South Africa, Rasool said.

"He commands respect wherever he goes but always tells people that their awards are symbolic of the respect, support and admiration they have for

the struggling people of South Africa and the ANC.

"He tells people it is natural to respect an individual for what he has given to the struggle, but when the person sees himself as important he is on the brink of disaster."

Rasool said Winnie Mandela was also in demand as a speaker, and praise songs were sung to honour her.

Mandela told all the gatherings he addressed that the struggle in Africa was one struggle.

In Angola, he thanked the people for their fierce resistance against apartheid, praising them for winning a victory at Cuito Cuanavale — which had an important effect on events inside the country.

He also thanked the people of Angola for receiving ANC members. When



FW de Klerk

other countries closed down ANC camps because of pressure from South Africa, Angola kept theirs open.

Armed struggle

In all his meetings with heads of states, governments and diplomats, Mandela briefed them on the present situation inside South Africa.

He reported on the three-day talks about talks, explained the obstacles to negotiations, replied on the issue of the armed struggle and said the ANC placed the blame for the Natal violence on the government.

On the question of sanctions, Mandela told African heads of state that — while he acknowledged the integrity and honesty of the South African State President — Mr FW de Klerk represented a government and a party which had not abandoned the policy and



Nelson Mandela

practice of apartheid.

He said sanctions and other factors had forced the government to speak to the ANC, and sanctions were the path to peace.

"All the governments who were briefed pledged support for the ANC's initiatives," Rasool said.

In Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, Mandela addressed the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, who committed themselves to continuing sanctions against South Africa.

In Egypt, he addressed the United Nations Foreign Ministers Committee and in Libya, the United Nations Committee of Economic Ministers of Third World Countries.

"People in Africa see their economic fate and the possibilities of cooperation and development tied closely to the work the ANC is doing in South Africa," Rasool said.

He said the meeting with ANC cadres in the Viana camp in Angola was the most emotional part of the trip.

About 200 members of the ANC and their families were housed at the camp.

Integrated

ANC members in exile in Angola were integrated into society, assisted in fighting Unita and many had intermarried.

He said in the context of life in Angola, ANC members were far better off than Angolans.

"The medical facilities at an ANC camp, for instance, were the best in the area."

At Viana, Winnie Mandela addressed the cadres and their families, saying she knew they all wanted to come home.

"She told them the ANC was relying on them; sending them home was tantamount to throwing down their weapons," Rasool said.

"She said the people inside the country were looking to the cadres if the negotiations failed."

Rasool said Mandela reported the process inside the country of ensuring the smooth repatriation of all exiles.

Housing, jobs and schools for their children needed to be ensured and efforts were being made to raise funds in collaboration with religious organisations.

He said the threat of prosecution had still not been cleared.

Crying

All exiles were completing census forms, which included information on the region they came from, their and their children's standard of education and their job prospects.

"Just before we left, we sang the national anthem with the cadres. Some of them and a few in our team started crying," Rasool said.

"When we left, it was only the fact that they once again stood to attention which contained the feelings in that hall.

"One cannot properly explain the emotion the exiles feel when people from inside the country come to visit them legally."

Rasool said the camp was in a good condition and consisted of prefabricated buildings.

Families of cadres were allowed to live there and most worked to earn a living, either on surrounding farms or villages or for the United Nations and other agencies.

"Many exiles have applied their skills in their host countries," Rasool said.

"An ANC exile teaches mathematics at the University of Angola and quite a few are pilots of airways in African countries.

"ANC exiles are obviously preparing skills required in a new South Africa."

South 23/5 - 29/5/90

Tuning in to the future

ONE would be forgiven for thinking the only South African leader on a recent world tour was State President FW de Klerk.

As European capitals and colourful maps flickered in pursuit of the National Party leader, the airwaves were strangely silent on an equally important African trip by the ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela.

We have come to expect this type of bias from the SABC.

The corporation is anything but impartial.

One needs no more proof than the sight of its reporters shoving microphones at striking nurses and asking: "Don't you care about your dying patients?" — and then failing to report the strikers' demands.

Control

In this period of glasnost, one would hope that the recent appointment of a task group to look into broadcasting in South Africa would address such bias.

But with more than half its members being Broederbonders, and with its contingent of military and National Intelligence Service personnel, it seems likely that the group has more strategic issues in mind.

Indeed, the Film and Allied Workers Organisation has called for an immediate halt of its activities because of its "totally unrepresentative" nature.

In appointing the broadcasting task group, however, the government has signalled the centrality of the electronic media in the politics of negotiation.

The status of the medium was also acknowledged by the ANC's spokesperson for international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, who said that control of the SABC would become a "definite problem in future negotiations between the ANC and the government".

It is clear that, as the struggle for political power sharpens, what reaches the

While people marvel at the sight of Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki on the TV set where PW Botha used to be, they rely overwhelmingly on the "enemy" to interpret the world for them, writes DON PINNOCK.

The ANC and the MDM have not prioritised the battle of the airwaves — which they should have, he warns:

constituents of the power brokers cannot be a matter of indifference.

With control of the airwaves in the hands of the government, and with about 80 percent of the press less than friendly to the aims of most people in South Africa, progressive organisations are at a terrible disadvantage in the peace process.

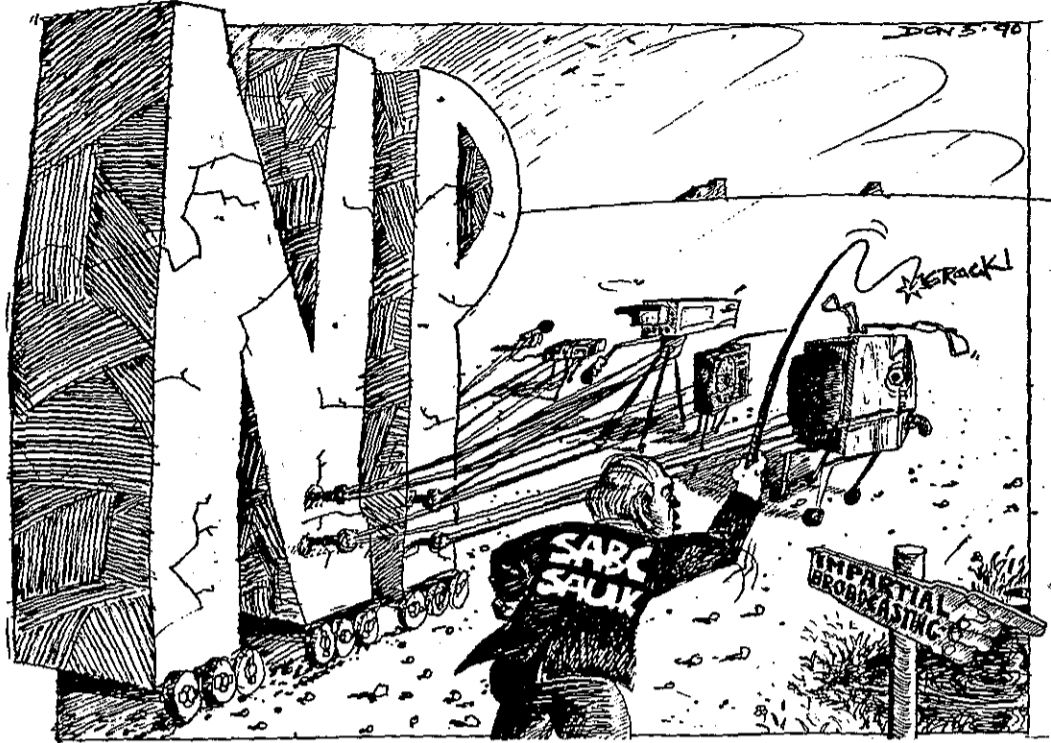
The question, "What is to be done?", is long overdue.

The answer may come from an unexpected quarter: radio.

Surprisingly, this cinderella medium is the most widespread and powerful system of communication in this country today. The reason should be obvious.

One in four adults in South Africa is functionally illiterate. If children are included, only two people out of every 10 can read. With figures like these, the written word becomes an elite form of communication.

As a medium, television fares no better — but for different reasons. With our high levels of poverty and with more than half the population in rural areas, TV sets are a long way from being standard household fittings.



A recent survey (done by the British Broadcasting Corporation) found that, at peak viewing times, only 12 percent of blacks watch TV — as opposed to 60 percent of whites.

Radio Freedom

For radio, the pattern is reversed: whites constitute six percent of listeners, while the figure for blacks is about one in three.

Nearly 90 percent of blacks in the survey rated Radio Bantu as their most important source of news, and almost as many gave it a high credibility rating.

Of these, fewer than one in 100 said they were aware of Radio Freedom, the voice of the ANC.

The unbanning of popular organisations on February 2 should have resulted in a flood of new media. But it hasn't. While people marvel at the sight of Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki on the TV set where PW Botha used to be, they rely overwhelmingly on the "enemy" to interpret the world for them.

Ordinary South Africans are in sus-

pense because they cannot keep score, they cannot register the political setbacks and the victories with any degree of accuracy.

Despite some support from the small and gallant progressive weekly papers, the ANC and the MDM have failed to make the battle of the airwaves a national strategy and will suffer the consequences in any future test of power at the ballot box.

Priority

Media is not being prioritised, and it should be.

If popular organisations are at all interested in a piece of the future, they should be considering some of the following courses of action as a high priority:

- A challenge to the SABC's monopoly of the airwaves in court. The Radio Act — which gives the Corporation total veto over licensing — is a direct contravention of the Monopolies Act (96 of 1979), which says that if a restrictive practice is found to be not in the public interest, it may be declared

illegal.

Such a case would provide the political space to question the "impartiality" of the SABC in the transitional phase of an interim government.

- The possibility of buying one of the SABC's regional radio stations. It is widely rumoured (and hotly denied by the SABC) that the corporation has plans to sell them off.

Inkatha is said to be particularly interested in Radio Port Natal. Selling off bit by bit would make sense to an SABC which fears nationalisation by an ANC-dominated government.

Imbalance

It probably would not consider the ANC, SA Communist Party or PAC as favoured clients. But it might sell to a consortium interested in evening out the imbalance of the airwaves and making a profit as well.

- Organisations should explore the possibility of using the more enlightened homelands as a base for popular radio stations.

- Although hopes might be high for a rapid transition to majority rule, and a subsequent transformation of the SABC, this may not happen for a long time.

Popular organisations should look into the establishment of a powerful medium-wave transmitter in a frontline state.

Dedicated

The ANC's Radio Freedom, for example, has always piggy-backed on the national programming of friendly states.

A dedicated, 24-hour radio station would be an important counterweight at a critical time.

Medium-wave seems the best option. It is harder to jam, and from Zimbabwe it could reach the Rand.

In the longer term, radio and TV could be the communication forms which are nationalised in the public interest. Their main function would be for education, secondly for national reconciliation, and thirdly for entertainment.

Until most South Africans can read, a future government would have less to fear from the press than it may imagine. This press could be kept in line through the courts and a Bill of Rights.

But — for now, in this crucial transitional era — South Africans feel a compelling need to be informed. If the main source of this information is to remain Radio Bantu, the peace process is likely to be in for a very rough ride.

(Don Pinnock is a lecturer in journalism at Rhodes University, Grahamstown)



ANC colours: umbrella, buttons and braid



T-shirts portraying three faces of Nelson Mandela

Radical chic in ANC colours!

11A
SOMIL
23/5-29/5/90

WITH the unbanning of the ANC earlier this year, comrade clothing came out of the realms of sub-culture and moved into the mainstream.

No longer is black, green and gold restricted to rallies and activist haunts. Instead the ANC colours have moved into the fashion fast track — in the process raking in considerable revenue for sharp entrepreneurs.

All one needs to be part of the trend is an item of clothing in the requisite colours.

T-shirts, always the staple of an activist wardrobe, are available with a variety of slogans and organisational logos.

The SACP emblem is an optional and very trendy extra.

In line with the move towards

The fashion conscious are showing their political colours this year. Comrade clothing has become the rage with the unbanning of liberation organisations. Topping the fashion stakes are the black, green and gold hues of the ANC, reports CHIARA CARTER:

healthy lifestyles, sportsgear — including a slick line in tracksuits — now come in ANC colours.

Trend

The trend does not stop at clothing.

Accessories ranging from umbrellas to buttons are readily available and the truly enthusiastic deck themselves in a combination of scarves and

badges.

The ethnic look also features in the form of beads, earrings and bangles. Again the rule is: the more, the better.

The rise of the radical chic brings with it an interesting variety of headgear.

Popular

Peaked caps and striped fezzes are popular, while the always stylish beret, preferably

at a jaunty Ché slant, is an acceptable alternative.

The military look is a definite spin-off of the trend.

Crisp khaki is essential for the aspirant cadre, while stripes and military badges round off the image.

The ready availability of political gear has made it difficult for the original proponents of the revolutionary trend to stand out from the crowd.

While some have resorted to imported struggle T-shirts, others have rediscovered the old, now rare, outfits which they used to wear inside out.

Decor

Black, green and gold are also topping the decor pops. Among articles spotted with a new coat of paint were a table (artistically uneven layers of colours), a dustbin (City Council variety) and the car of a well-known photographer.

For those who do not have the time and energy to do it themselves, there is a plethora of goods which can be bought.

Wooden AKs, spears festooned in ANC colours and flags are all highly popular, but really there is no end to the merchandise available.

From doils to duvets, the choice is yours — as long as you can afford it. With T-shirts averaging at R15, tracksuits well over R100 and a simple umbrella more than R40, the bulk of the merchandise remains beyond the reach of ordinary people. — Chiara Carter



Capping it off with ANC headgear



From PATRICK
GOODENOUGH

SUPPORT for the Labour Party (LP) in Port Elizabeth — a traditional stronghold — has collapsed, while support in the coloured community for the ANC/MDM alliance has rocketed.

This is the finding of a survey released this week by the Human Rights Trust publication, Monitor.

The revelations come as residents of the Northern Areas are voicing their anger at alleged LP indifference to a growing housing crisis.

Monitor's survey results are further borne out by a string of recent ANC meetings in the coloured areas, where hundreds are joining the organisation.

The survey, which investigated voter attitudes in the white and "coloured" communities, found 41 percent of the coloured community supported the ANC/MDM alliance.

Loyalty

Support for the LP has dropped to an all-time low of eight percent. Support for the government's National Party (NP) has increased to 31 percent, and for the Democratic Party (DP) to 19 percent.

More than 28 percent of those surveyed said they had changed their political loyalty since September 6, 1989, when the last elections were held.

Labour suffered a loss of 20,2 percent of the entire electorate, which was passed on to the ANC/MDM (8,6 percent), the NP (7,4 percent) and the DP (4,6 percent).

Seventy percent of voters who supported the

ANC gains as LP sheds weight

LP at the election have since changed loyalties.

Monitor says the blow to the LP should be seen as part of a trend away from participatory politics (involving both the former Coloured Representative Council and the House of Representatives) since 1969, when 48 percent of the coloured community voted.

The figure dropped to 37,5 percent in 1975, to 27,5 percent in 1984, and to 18 percent last year.

"Within the coloured community, the Labour Party has suffered a loss of a great deal of prestige and support. Thirty-six percent of the coloured community in this area voted in the 1984 election, and the vast majority voted Labour," says Monitor.

More coloured people voted in the four Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage seats than voted in the 21 Cape Peninsula seats in 1984. Now only 8,4 percent claim loyalty to the LP in the Port Elizabeth area.

Although the LP took almost all of the House of Representative seats in the September elections last year, only 17 percent of the coloured community believe it did well.

Eighty-seven percent believe the ANC/MDM did well by boycotting the election, while only four percent believe it did not.

"While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community, the MDM/ANC has validated itself in that communi-

ty's eyes."

Monitor observed after the September election that voting had been a considerable setback for the LP.

Monitor noted there was "a lot of support" in the coloured community for State President FW de Klerk and the government.

On the question of white opinions, the survey found De Klerk's reforms were more popular with DP voters than with NP voters, and no CP voters agreed.

The survey found between nine and 13 percent of NP voters admitted changing loyalties to the CP since the election.

About one-third of DP voters have changed loyalty, although not many have moved to the ANC/MDM alliance.

Housing

A severe housing crisis in Port Elizabeth's Northern Areas, coupled with a municipality ruling that shacks erected in the backyards of privately-owned houses must be demolished, may make thousands of people homeless this winter. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports:

PORT Elizabeth's traditionally divided local, is being mobilising shortage which biggest swing of support Labour Party to mass

A history of Labour Party class families has become

The critical housing situation in Northern Areas has been discussed African National Congress

An estimated 3 000 black people in Schaudeville may be made

Cawu congress in call for night schools

THE Western Cape region of the Construction and Allied Workers Union (Cawu) has called on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to initiate a literacy programme within the federation as a "matter of urgency".

The call was part of a resolution on education adopted by more than 150 delegates from three branches attending the Cawu regional congress in Athlone last Sunday.

African National Congress (ANC) interim committee deputy convenor in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, and regional secretary for Cosatu (W Cape), Ms

Luci Neyembe, were guest speakers at the congress — the first ever in the region.

The congress endorsed the recent meeting between the ANC and the government, noting mass pressure and other forms of struggle had forced the government to negotiate. (I/A) (F/A) (S)

It also re-endorsed the Harare Declaration, resolving to encourage Cawu members to join the ANC and to understand and popularise ANC policies and principles.

Delegates resolved to organise and consolidate members with a view to participating in the next

round of negotiations with the South African Civil Engineering Council which, they said, was formed specifically to exclude workers from decision making and wage determination in one of the country's lowest-paying industries. South 2315 - 29/5/90

The congress, with other organisations, resolved to address the educational crisis in South Africa and called for night schools as a matter of urgency. Delegates agreed to call on employers to invest in such schools and to add the price of a progressive newspaper to paypackets.

Resolutions on a national mini-

mum wage, housing and subscriptions were referred to the regional executive committee.

Support was expressed for Cosatu's policy of worker unity and mergers such as that with the South African Allied Workers' Union.

Cawu also committed itself to encouraging female participation in the union, also at leadership level, in line with its non-sexist policy.

Elected office bearers: Chairperson: Mr G Qandela; vice-chairperson: Mr E Siqwabe; treasurer: Mr C Manquina; and regional secretary: Mr L Ramtlakane.

SA problems take back seat as Mandela train prepares to roll

NEW YORK — Next month's visit to the US by Nelson Mandela is likely to throw more light on the US's own hideously intractable racial troubles than on the tortuous problem of how to get rid of apartheid.

Civil rights groups, black organisations and publicity-seeking politicians of every pigmentation across the US are already frenetically jockeying — and backbiting — for their own domestic advantage as the ANC leader's 10-day coast-to-coast sweep promises to become one of the media-hype events of the decade.

But neither the politicians nor the US public, black or white, seem much interested in the constitutional complexities with which Mandela and President F W de Klerk, due in Washington a week later, have begun to grapple.

Sensitive

After a tickertape reception on June 20 as the guest of Black New York Mayor David Dinkins, Mandela is to visit Los Angeles and Hollywood, Miami and Atlanta and Detroit, meet President George Bush and become the first black African ever to address a joint session of the Congress.

At least 85 black and anti-apartheid organisations are jostling for position, with Washington lobbyist Randall Robinson of TransAfrica and California-based singer Harry Belafonte leading the fray. Local ANC representatives are already being buffeted to and fro and occasionally sounding out of tune with the studied moderation of their leaders in Africa.

"It's being handled by

XAN SMILEY

ANC people who aren't really sensitive to our way of operation, and all kinds of isms and special interest groups and media types are jockeying for headlines," says Simeon Booker, Washington correspondent of Ebony, the world's biggest glossy black magazine which is wary of the radicalism of some of the more prominent pressure groups. Californian lobbyists have been quarrelling over who should officially be the West Coast hosts. A Hollywood gala is expected to raise \$2m, but ANC supporters are worrying that the millions to be gained from the sale of Mandela T-shirts and so on may never reach their coffers.

Some pundits fear Mandela's handlers may keep him away from taxing public television interrogations on the massively serious McNeil-Lehrer News Hour or ABC's Nightline current affairs programme anchored by Ted Koppel, one of the few big commentators well informed about SA, in favour of royal appearances in stadia and "pop" interviews with downmarket media and music stars.

"Will the handlers permit him to be exposed to anything approaching reality?" asks a former leading US strategist on Africa.

"There's an American thirst for a great black hero, a kind of Martin Luther King reborn," says Juan Williams, a leading Washington journalist who is black.

"All of this has a lot to do with the American thirst for celebrity and zero to do with the complexities of achieving an end to apartheid and getting black gov-



MANDELA... visit seen as a welcome distraction from US racial problems. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ernment in SA... Americans just prefer simplistic equations — black versus white — to the complexities out there on the ground."

For many black Americans, often insisting on the label "African American", freedom in Eastern Europe is a white man's concern; SA has become the black counterpart and Mandela the black Havel. Many think the emancipation of South Africans will come just as suddenly, while divisions among blacks — let alone among whites — are brusquely shrugged aside or simply unknown.

America's "white media", acutely sensitive to charges of being patronising, seem reluctant to delve into such muddying but important matters as ethnic and ideological rivalries within black Africa, although there is a wave of American demands for

more multiparty democracy throughout the continent.

A New York Times reporter, describing a feud between two black SA taxi companies which left 27 people dead, recently expounded 10 paragraphs before delicately arriving at the point of the story — that one firm was Xhosa and the other Zulu. The word "tribe", its alleged connotation of primitiveness deemed offensive, is rarely used.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi wins scant US coverage. According to a professor who specialises in SA, "he cooked his goose by opposing sanctions", an issue regarded in the USA almost entirely as a touchstone of anti-racist good faith.

The sharpest irony, however, is the reluctance of radical black Americans to contemplate group guarantees for white SA as a way of breaking the constitutional logjam, while in the US they are increasing efforts to seek or consolidate group rights for blacks.

The Voting Rights Act of 1982 itself allows "districting" for congressional and other seats along more or less openly racial lines, while "affirmative action" and racial quotas affect educational and professional opportunities.

A key State Department official bemoans how "one-man, one vote in a unitary state" has become a "holy grail" for most anti-apartheid activists in the US, while ironically Mandela has hinted at "structural guarantees" that might give whites some weighted constitutional reassurance.

The most radical black leaders, such as Louis Farrakhan, who has substantial support among the burgeoning black underclass,

advocate a kind of apartheid — with all-black political enclaves in the US and a back-to-Africa movement for the 500 000 black Americans in jail.

Interviewing Mandela for Ebony, Michael Cheers, now a Jackson adviser, hailed "Black Consciousness" as an example of a "striking similarity" between the ideas of black Americans and South Africans, evidently unaware that Mandela and the ANC strongly back multi-racialism against themes that encourage exclusively black solidarity.

Safest

While the anger of Farrakhan and extreme congressman Gus Savage of Chicago ("there ain't no such thing as black racism") reflect a strong minority black opinion, a bigger and potentially more bitter contest is emerging between the populist Jesse Jackson and the "New Mainstream" politics of moderate Governor Doug Wilder of Virginia, now thought to be angling for the Democratic vice-presidency in 1992 or 1996.

Under attack for doing "too little for blacks" since his election this year, Wilder's response — politically "the safest pot shot in the game", as one commentator put it — has been to urge tighter sanctions against SA.

"When you've seen Detroit/No need to see South Africa-a-a", runs a popular rap song from the 1970s. Now, it seems, a circle of fantasy has turned.

"These days we need someone like Mandela to distract us from our misery at home," explains a black Washingtonian whose son — like scores of others — is in jail for drugs offences. — Daily Telegraph.

Experts plan to link Africa, Europe

MARRAKESH — Legend says Hercules wrested Europe from Africa by creating the Straits of Gibraltar. Today, people are planning to join them together again.

Some 300 world experts met in this red-walled Moroccan city last week to study ways of joining the two continents either with a bridge or a tunnel.

The idea is the brainchild of kings Juan Carlos of Spain and Hassan of Morocco, royal patrons of Spanish and Moroccan firms that have spent 10 years studying the project.

The ancient Greek myth about Hercules and the Straits attempts to explain a geological phenomenon that created a gap 16km wide and 980m deep.

It is assumed there is a major geological fault and the rift may be unstable. Apart from the risks of a catastrophic earthquake that could flood a tunnel or cause a bridge to collapse, the biggest unknown quantity is the cost.

In 1979 it was estimated at \$1.25bn. The figure has since risen to \$5bn for a tunnel, more for a bridge.

Vicente Garcia Alvarez, vice-pres-

ident of the Spanish company SECEG, has mentioned a figure of nearly \$10bn.

A bridge is the most spectacular solution and is favoured by King Hassan. It would straddle the Straits with 10 spans of 2km each between Cape Malabata near Tangiers and Punta Paloma in Spain, where the water is 300m deep.

Fixing suspension bridge piers on the bottom presents major technical problems, so one plan is to have them floating on gigantic pontoons.

The bridge would carry road traffic and a pipeline taking Algerian natural gas to Europe, but it could be a hazard to shipping.

"The next decade will certainly see the start of work on the job," said Mohamed Kabbaj, Moroccan Minister of Equipment, who added that it would take about 10 years to complete.

But at the end of the Marrakesh conference the consensus was that it would take another 10 years to finish feasibility studies for a bridge or a tunnel. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela taken to task by ^{MGUS} ¹¹⁰ ^{23/5/90} top Nat source

By MARTIN CHALLENGOR, Political Staff

A HIGH National Party source today repudiated ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's criticism of the government and his allegations of "massacres" while peace negotiations were in progress.

Mr Mandela should, the senior NP source said, concentrate on "getting his own act together".

"Mr Mandela needs to be told his track record of controlling his own people is not good, just as his call for people to throw their pangas into the sea has not worked," the source said.

The comments came in reaction to Mr Mandela's comments on his return to South Africa yesterday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress. Mr Mandela also said that while President De Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

CONFIDENCE BEING ERODED

Senior National Party sources said today there was a widely held resistance building up among people outside the ANC "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other."

In Welkom, the NP sources said, a large number of people involved in the violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom," the sources said.

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary groundswell developing.

"These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation."

● Million dollars awaits Mandela — page 2.

ANC to ^{ARC} open in ^{23/5/10} Athlone ^{11A}

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Staff Reporter

THE Athlone branch of the African National Congress is to be officially launched at the Athlone Civic Centre on June 8.

Speakers include ANC national executive committee member Mr Reggie September, recently appointed Western Cape convenor.

The meeting will be preceded by a meeting on June 6 of ANC members to elect area leaders.

Interim convenor Mr Graeme Bloch said: "By joining the ANC Athlone residents can meet others determined to play a part in bringing about a non-racial society."

The ANC believed South Africans irrespective of race, religion or sex had a right to say how the country should be run.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

He urged Athlone residents to join the "dynamic, tried-and-tested" organisation.

"In this way one can add one's voice to the growing demand for a constituent assembly, in which all South Africans can draw up a non-racial constitution."



ANC needs peace — Carolus

ARE 43
23/5/90 (11A)

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

MOST South Africans want peace, says senior United Democratic Front member Ms Cheryl Carolus.

She was speaking last night at the first public meeting of the Observatory-Mowbray branch of the African National Congress.

"The country has been at war and the ANC recognises the need to build peace. The movement will not spurn any opportunity to build this peace.

"The power to make decisions on our lives must be transferred to the people. That is non-negotiable."

People talking of intensifying the struggle did not have the same track record as those who had died in the pursuit of freedom as had ANC members.

"IRRESPONSIBLE"

"It is irresponsible to be a warmonger."

However, the ANC was watching the government's response to events in Welkom and Sebokeng.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had met a warmonger — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche — but, the day after the meeting Mr Terre'Blanche had declared war on South Africans.

"We have to ask ourselves whether the talks about talks are going to work. We ask ourselves if the South African is serious about continuing this process."



Cheryl Carolus

'Slur against Winnie'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's reputation was being besmirched in a case which was revolving around her but in which she was not the accused so had no opportunity to defend herself, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"This is an inappropriate way of handling judicial proceedings," Mr Mandela said after his return from a seven-nation tour of African states.

He said he believed the government had deliberately created the

situation where the press was judging his wife while she was unable to defend herself.

He confirmed evidence led in the case, in which Jerry Richardson is charged with the murder of teenager Stompie Seipei and other offences, that his wife had been advised not to consult defence attorneys.

This was because it would be inadvisable to make statements on matters which could possibly be the subject of later charges against her. Asked whether he thought his wife should be charged, Mr Mandela said: "It is

not for me to tell the government what to do."

Mr Mandela said his trip had succeeded beyond expectations in terms of the warm manner in which he had been welcomed everywhere, and the material support offered to the ANC. He declined to give details of the material support.

He said he had received no information to back the widespread assumptions that Mr F W de Klerk had made any concrete breakthrough against European sanctions.

chester Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

Case 7-115 23/1/70
'Comrade' Sachs speaks

PRETORIA. — ANC lawyer and returned exile Mr Albie Sachs addressed a capacity audience of more than 400 people at the University of Pretoria yesterday, saying that "to be called a comrade at the University of Pretoria is beyond belief".

Police action threat to talks — Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference after his African tour, Mr Mandela said negotiations could be fruitful only if conducted in an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

"Violence makes this impossible."

Commenting on an incident at Thabong near Welkom in which police had allegedly opened fire on a demonstrating crowd, killing eight and injuring 40, Mr Mandela claimed President F.W. de Klerk was unable to control the police.

He said every black was regarded by the police and army as a target.

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday warned that it would send armed units into the black areas of Welkom to "defend the unarmed civilian population".

In a statement from Dar-es-Salaam, external PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwana said the killing of unarmed blacks in the town left the organisation with no alternative "but to support the struggle of the Welkom people against the racist regime".

Mr Mandela also accused the government of using the Natal conflict to eliminate those whom they considered to be a threat.

The issue of the Natal violence had been raised on many occasions on the tour, he said.

"We pointed out that the violence was originally a conflict between two political organisations — ANC and Inkatha."

Mr Mandela said he had already suggested to President De Klerk that the reason the government had not ended the violence was because they were using the differences between the parties to "crush the ANC".

Mr Mandela said the African states had accepted this analysis of the Natal conflict.

He emphasised that he considered Mr De Klerk to be honest in his attempts to curb the violence.

It was the government itself which wanted to crush the ANC and other "progressive" organisations, not Mr De Klerk, he said.

"The fact that Mr De Klerk is having difficulties straightening out these problems does not mean he is dishonest," said Mr Mandela.

He insisted that the government, with its sophisticated police force, had the capacity to solve the problem "within three or four days" if it wanted to.

Mr Mandela said the tour of Africa, during which he had visited Angola, Nigeria, Libya, Algeria and Egypt as well as stopping over at Kenya and Zimbabwe, had succeeded beyond his "wildest expectations". — Sapa

Ex-SADF members due for talks with ANC in Lusaka

LUSAKA — Former senior SA army officers head a team due to meet ANC military chiefs this week to talk about a post-apartheid army, ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said the South African team of 40 would arrive in Lusaka today for three-day talks which are due to start tomorrow.

"A post-apartheid South Africa will need an army that will defend the whole country and not only sections of it," Sebina told reporters.

He said the former army officers included an unnamed brigadier and a major-general.

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be represented by commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Chris Hani. B1 Day 23/1/90

Members of the policy making national executive committee and some junior military leaders would also attend. (11A) (2)

Sebina said the talks were organised by Idasa.

The ANC has been trying to establish contacts with the SA Defence Force as part of its strategy for a negotiated suspension of armed struggle by both sides which would give its combatants a recognised status. — Sapa-Reuters.

ANC leader has hectic agenda

Political Reporter

Star 24/5/92

(11A)

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will maintain his hectic pace this week with a series of meetings and rallies following his two-week African tour.

He was a main speaker yesterday at a landmark conference with South African business heavyweights in Johannesburg at which the country's economic future was discussed by about 400 invited delegates.

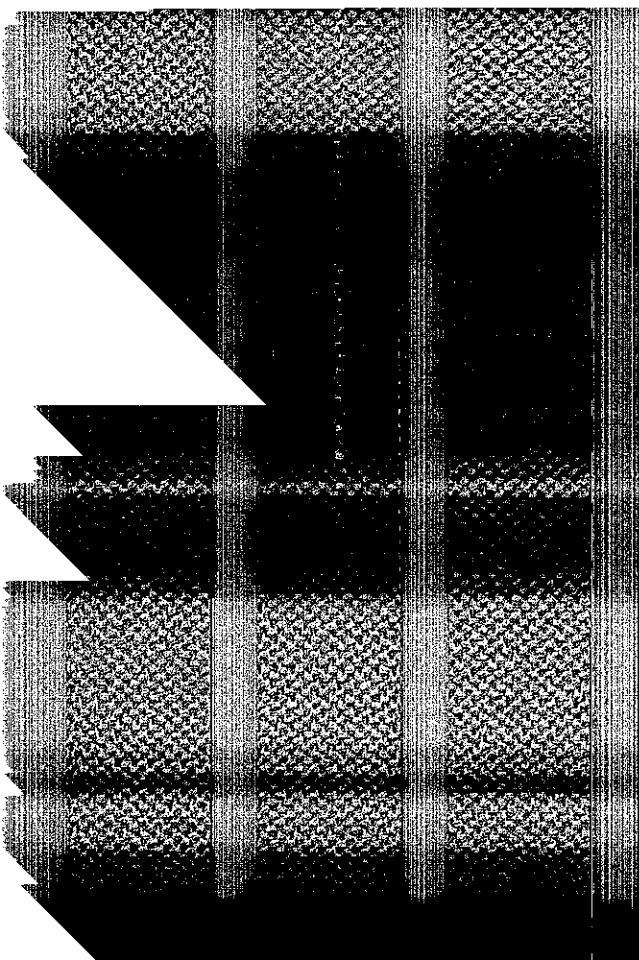
Since Mr Mandela's return from a two-week tour of seven African states, he has addressed two press conferences.

He will address two rallies at the weekend — in Atteridgeville near Pretoria on Saturday and in Kimberley on Sunday.

Today he is due to have a series of meetings, among others to arrange his pending trip to the United States and Britain.

Close aides said Mr Mandela would take a short rest next week before leaving for a tour of Belgium, West Germany, France and the Soviet Union.

Mr Mandela told The Star he was fit and getting enough rest.



The ANC's Nelson Mandela and Anglo American's Gavin Relly explored options for South Africa's economic future at the Consultative Business Movement conference in Johannesburg yesterday. © Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Economic power of few must change, Mandela tells business

Staff Reporter

While the ANC had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night.

About 40 ANC officials and 400 South African business leaders met at a landmark conference at the Carlton Hotel yesterday, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) to discuss SA's future economic policy.

ANC deputy president Mr Mandela told the conference he would not present any argument about nationalisation.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues to consider in the question of democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power," Mr Mandela said.

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crisis that afflicted many African countries.

Mr Mandela said it would be necessary to review the system of taxation.

The burden of taxation on sec-

tions of the community least capable of looking after themselves should be shifted to the corporate sector — without producing a situation of diminishing returns.

He said the abolition of multi-headed apartheid administrative structures would result in enormous savings.

Defence spending would also have to be radically reduced, and lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs.

He would fight against the creation of a "bloated and unproductive" civil service.

Crisis

Mr Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a terrible crisis. Unemployment was increasing, investment in fixed capital was decreasing and inflation was high.

"The democratic project cannot succeed unless the economy can deliver. There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains."

Anglo-American's Gavin Relly told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly held values to enable them to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would have to share ele-

ments of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience.

He said the debate about economic options had progressed from the crudities of a "capitalism versus socialism dogfight" to a recognition that South Africa had a future in a mixed economy.

"(There is a) need to get the mix right — the tax system, the efficiency and manner in which we deploy tax revenue, the country's legal and institutional framework and the need for a market-based pricing system."

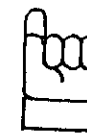
Mr Relly said instead of contemplating mechanisms such as nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as a source of wealth and job creation, with the Budget acting as an allocator of resources raised by taxation.

CBM chairman Murray Hofmeyr said the conference had not sought to achieve superficial definitive statements about SA's future, but to explore options.

"We have a very long way to go. There are areas of substantial disagreement and I am appalled at the massive problems.

"There is inevitably a degree of mistrust between business and the ANC. We identified areas of disagreement and areas of similar interest," Mr Hofmeyr said.

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'Holier-than-thou' Mandela taken to task

Political Staff

Sta 24/5/90
(11A) (20/11A)

CAPE TOWN — The National Party bluntly told ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday to stop criticising it and to get his act together.

"Your track record of controlling your own people is not good, just as your call for people to throw pangas into the sea has not worked," senior NP sources told Mr Mandela in reaction to his comments on Tuesday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress.

Mr Mandela also said that while President de Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

Senior NP sources said there was a widely-held resistance building up among people outside of the ANC, "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other hand".

In Welkom, the sources said, many people involved in the unrest violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom."

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary groundswell developing.

"These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation. There is a feeling of

impatience with his whole demeanour, with his holier-than-thou attitude."

The NP wanted to see Mr Mandela reprimanding his erring followers. He needed to distance himself from "this whole pattern of pointless political demonstrations and confrontational cycles".

While the right wing was playing a role in bringing about the political confrontation, the NP would like to see Mr Mandela use his influence to break the cycle of violence.

"He would then have a lot more credibility among people who are not ANC supporters."

The Government had been criticised for appointing a commission of inquiry "every time the police took action", the NP sources pointed out.



Undercover police cleared of 4 deaths

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A Durban magistrate found yesterday that four undercover policemen, who shot dead four men in Chesterville in June 1986, had acted in self-defence.

Presiding over the inquest, the magistrate, B J Olivier, found that the under-cover policemen arrived in Durban on June 20 that year to infiltrate an ANC cell in Chesterville.

They made contact with a comrade in a shebeen and pretended to be ANC terrorists.

They went to a nearby shack where they met the four deceased, Russell Mngomezulu (23), Mutuwenkosi Khanyile (24), Joseph Thembu (20) and Sandile Khawala (23) and others.

Grenades

Among them was a Charles Ngcobo who, according to the undercover group's information, was in possession of an AK47 and hand grenades.

The policemen thought the group had believed that they were terrorists.

They left to get help in arresting the residents of the shack.

As they left a shot was fired from the shack.

The police knew they were

dealing with potentially dangerous people, possibly trained terrorists.

Mr Olivier said he believed that when the first shot was fired, the policemen — also highly trained — acted instinctively in firing at the shack.

They did not know how many people were firing or if more than one shot had been fired at them. They did not know what type of weapons were being used against them.

The policemen were using automatic weapons and in the circumstances their firing of 67 to 88 shots was not unreasonable.

After the shooting the policemen reported the incident to the local police station.

Mr Olivier said there had been suggestions that this was a hit-squad operation.

The policemen could not have been identified by the people in the shack and could simply have returned to their base at Vlakplaas. Instead they had reported to the police.

They did not return to the shack to find out if there were survivors, or take any action to kill them.

The magistrate said: "If this was a hit squad with instructions to kill, then all I can say is that the police or the persons or-

ganising the hit squads were a bunch of fools."

Mr Olivier said one person in the shack was seriously injured, and another man was miraculously unscathed.

Mr Olivier found that the policemen thought they were under attack and acted in self-defence. He was satisfied that they had acted as any reasonable person would have done in the circumstances.

Record

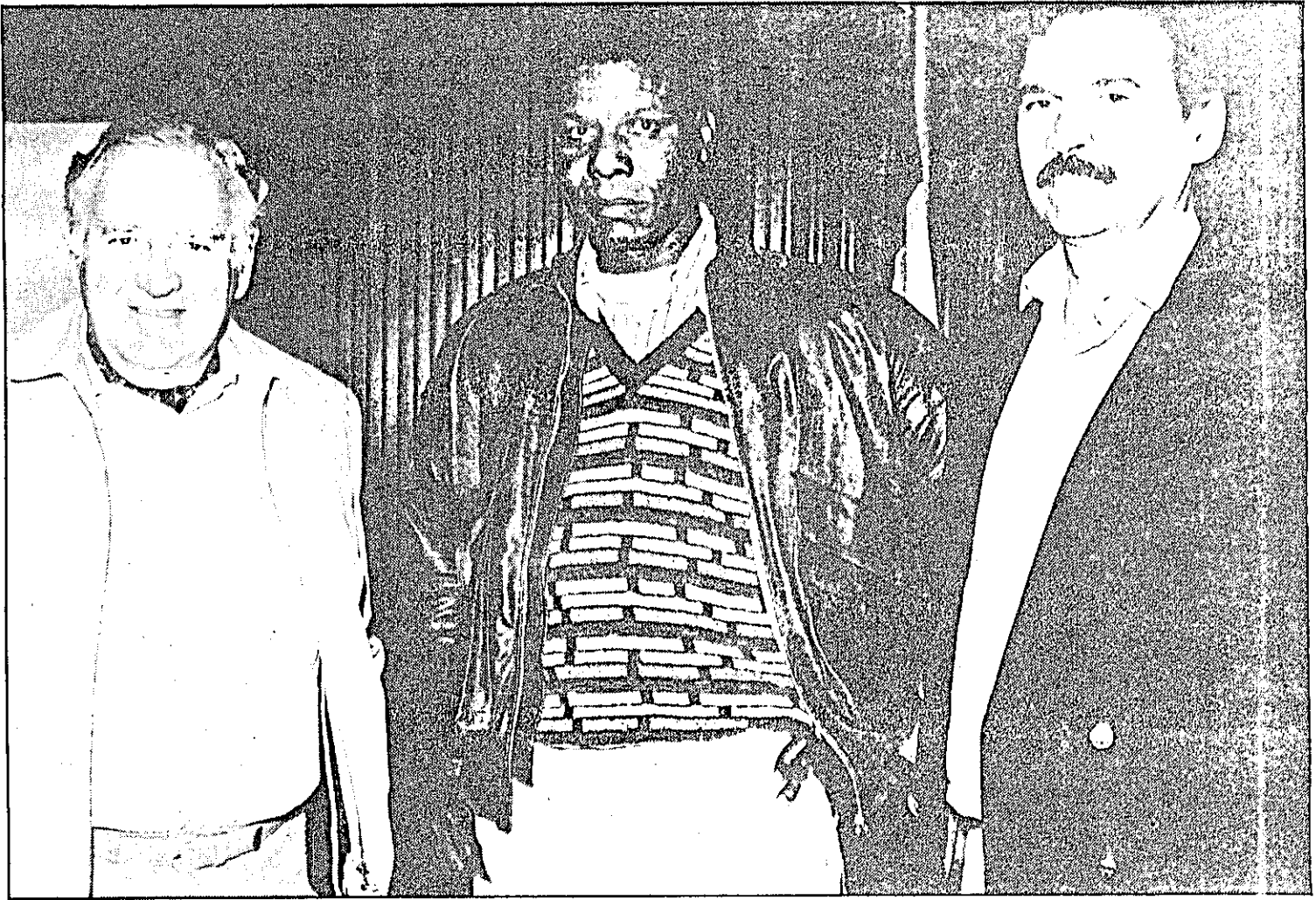
The magistrate said if he understood G Penzhorn, for the families, he was obliged to send a record to the Attorney-General to consider with a view to possible prosecution.

Mr Olivier said he understood his duty was to properly evaluate all the evidence and to make a finding in terms of the Inquest Act.

The record would in any case be sent to the Attorney-General for scrutiny.

Aggrieved parties could also make representations to the Attorney-General, especially in the light of public controversy about alleged hit squads.

Mr Olivier said the families of the deceased men were not the only issues at stake. Other parties were also involved.



Ready to leave for Lusaka . . . from left to right: General Wally Black, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda and the DP's Mr Tian van der Merwe. Picture by Stephen Davimes.

LUSAKA — A former director-general of operations in the SADF, General Wally Black, warned yesterday that political rapprochement between black and white South Africans could bog down if there was no close involvement of various armies which fought against or supported apartheid.

Speaking in an interview at Lusaka Airport, when a predominantly white 50-man delegation from South Africa arrived for talks with the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, on the future role of SADF in the country's fast-changing political climate, General Black said: "If we are going to have peace constitutionally, we have to involve the military in the talks, as they are part of the system."

Pressure groups

"Such talks will allow us to understand each other and contribute to political negotiations."

The South African delegation includes retired military officers; representatives of the Democratic Party, led by Tian

Star 24/5/90 (S) (11A)

Armies must talk, says ex-general

van der Merwe; the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), led by director Nic Borain; and several pressure groups.

General Black said that apart from the SADF and Umkhonto, the defence forces of homelands should also be made part of the military negotiations.

General Black said that though he was retired, and speaking as an individual, he welcomed the chance to talk to the ANC military wing.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the spokesmen for the 50-man team expressed disappointment at the refusal by the South African Government to send formal representatives to the talks.

Altogether six former senior SADF officers are attending the meeting. They are Major-General Black; Commodore Vic Holderness; Commodore Andrew

McMurray; the former commanding officer of the Army Women's College in George, Colonel Hilda Burnett; and Tony Mariner and David Plane, both former civilian force commanding officers from Cape Town.

Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, who welcomed the South African delegation at the airport, said the meeting had serious implications for the future of the military in South Africa.

At a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before the internal group's departure, Mr Borain said the conference had been organised for three reasons:

- It was a peace mission to enable people who had fought each other in the past to talk.
- It was to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict in South Africa and prevent tragedies

such as the one which "accompanied Swapo's return home".
● It was to start discussion about the shape and role of a future defence force, which would be "truly national in the sense that it will have to represent and reflect all sections of the population".

Mr van der Merwe and General Black both criticised the Minister of Minister, General Magnus Malan, for his rejection of the possible integration of the SADF and MK soldiers.

They said General Malan's attitude was short-sighted and dangerous to negotiations.

Short-sighted

General Black said: "The future defence force of South Africa should be a force which everyone can be proud of."

The head of the Venda military government, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, said he was planning to reincorporate his homeland into South Africa and the Venda Defence Force would form part of the new SADF. Reports by Kaizer Nyatsumba and the ANO news service.



Economic power 'must change'

11A ~~11A~~ 72645 24/5/90

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — While the African National Congress had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Mr Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night.

About 40 ANC officials and 400 South African business leaders met at a landmark conference at the Carlton Hotel yesterday, organised by the Consultive Business Movement, to discuss South Africa's future economic policy.

ANC deputy-leader Mr Mandela told the conference he would not present any argument about nationalisation.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are 'nationalisation' and 'redistribution' is mistaken.

"There are many issues to

consider in the question of democratisation and deracialisation of economic power."

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crisis that afflicted many African countries.

Mr Mandela said it would be necessary to review the system of taxation. The burden of taxation on sections of the community least capable of looking after themselves should be shifted to the corporate sector — without producing a situation of diminishing returns.

Shared values

He said defence spending would have to be reduced, which must lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs and he would fight against the creation of a "bloated and unproductive" civil service.

Anglo-American's Mr Gavin Relly, representing the business sector, told the conference that business and political

movements would have to seek a new set of jointly-held values which would enable them to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would have to share elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, cooperation and social conscience.

Mr Relly said the economic debate had progressed from a "capitalism versus socialism dogfight" to a recognition that South Africa had a future in a mixed economy.

Mr Relly said that instead of contemplating mechanisms like nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth and job creation, with the Budget acting as an allocator of resources raised through taxation.

CBM chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr said the conference accepted the need for political transformation which must be accompanied by economic changes of the same character.

Sisulu warns Maties on rise in rightwing violence



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

SIGN OF THE TIMES: Mr Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the African National Congress, signing autographs at Stellenbosch University where he addressed about 400 academics, students and workers. He also praised the Maties for their initiative in seeking talks with the African National Congress.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

RIGHTWING violence is being orchestrated by people determined to undermine the peace process in South Africa, says Mr Walter Sisulu of the African National Congress.

He warned that this was causing problems for the ANC, which was saying to its followers: "Man, we want peace."

He said at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday that the movement was worried about violence in places like Welkom.

"Violence in many cases is being orchestrated by people who do not have similar ideas as the ANC ... they are people whose interest is to undermine the process and progress."

Warning on arms

He warned that people in black townships would arm themselves just as rightwingers were building up arms.

It was difficult for blacks to own firearms in South Africa, but whites could.

"We are addressing that question," he said.

Mr Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, told more than 400 students, workers and academics that the talks earlier this month between the movement and government had been discussions to clear the way for negotiations.

"We are striving for the transfer of power to the people of South Africa. I mean, we can no longer have power in the hands of a few people or a particular group.

"We want to transfer power to the people of South Africa no matter what their colour, religion or creed."

He said there could be no turning back now.

"It is the duty of all peace-loving South Africans to contribute to this process."

Earlier, he extended a hand of friendship to the University of Stellenbosch, inviting it to join the movement in building a better future.

He said the university had played a leading role in the building of Afrikaner nationalism.

"It is, therefore, part of this history: the dark era of conflict among the people of our country; the sordid state of oppression and the denial of the majority of their basic rights."

Stellenbosch had not stood aloof from the government and its policies ... it had moulded leading "conceptive thinkers of the doctrine of apartheid".

However, the political situation in the country was changing and Matie students had in recent times shown a great deal of courage and determination to be part of the change.

"Against all odds and in spite of numerous obstacles placed in their way they were determined to make contact with the ANC in Lusaka and forge links with other democratic student organisations."

The significance of their deeds went beyond the treks to Lusaka and Dakar.

"In heeding the call of their conscience and breaking ranks with the ideology and practice of apartheid they contributed and are contributing to the collapse of the structure on which the sinister ideology is based."

Mandela's shock at Mier Bill

CAM. Times Political Staff 7/2/1990 (11) (12) (13)

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the controversial Mier legislation to be withdrawn saying "we are shocked and horrified" that the bill had again been placed on the House of Representatives order paper.

The Mier Rural Areas Bill was withdrawn from yesterday's order paper by Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse, members of his cabinet and the House's agriculture committee met a delegation from Mier, their lawyer, representatives of the Namaqualand Residents' Association, UDF, the Western Cape interim united civics structure and the Surplus Peoples Project.

Yesterday's meeting adjourned without any undertaking by Mr Hendrickse to withdraw the bill, the Mier delegation said in a statement.

The legislation provides for the sale of the remote Mier area, in the Calvinia region, but it has been strongly opposed by residents.

Earlier this year, the legislation was withdrawn from the order after Mr Mandela spoke to Mr Hendrickse.

"We wish to express our solidarity and support for your just claims in this regard," Mr Mandela said.

"Even though you are tucked away in the fringes of the Kalahari, we fully support you in your struggle.

"We call for this bill, which is aimed at dispossessing you of your birth-right, to be withdrawn."

Capital talks

ANC, big business discuss future

CMH TrifS
24/5/90 (114)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and top South African business executives met yesterday in landmark talks on how best to generate and share wealth in a post-apartheid economy.

Mr Nelson Mandela and some 50 ANC colleagues met 400 mainly white businessmen following a warning that unless the ANC reassured nervous investors it would inherit a "slum" nation, sapped by a flight of skills and capital.

The two main speakers were the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the former chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly.

Mr Mandela said after the conference that the ANC was not re-thinking its nationalisation policy.

"Our stand is exactly the same," he told a press conference.

He said, however, that the ANC was keen to explain its position on nationalisation, which is what it did yesterday at the conference.

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, joint chairman of the Consultative Business Movement which organised the conference, said the meeting had highlighted "a lot of disagreement between the business community and the ANC".

The conference yesterday was the first such meeting between the business community and the ANC in South Africa.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, international director of the ANC, said part of the discussion was "to identify problem areas".

'Basic confidence'

Another part of the process "is to see how to address those problem areas", he added. A structure was needed to address the problems.

Mr Relly said afterwards that he had "a basic confidence".

In his address, Mr Mandela said legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies was an issue to be considered in transforming the South African economy.

"One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the monopolies commission in Great Britain.

He said another issue which might have to be considered was the possibility of directors appointed by the government on to the boards of privately owned companies.

He said the reason for such a move would be "to



To page 2

LP loses ^(1/4) support in PE — report

CPM Times 24/1/90
Political Staff

A DRAMATIC loss of support for the Labour Party since the unbanning of the ANC has occurred in the LP's one-time stronghold of Port Elizabeth, according to an opinion survey conducted by the Human Rights Trust.

The survey, published in the latest edition of the Trust's magazine, Monitor, showed that support for the LP among the coloured community in Port Elizabeth had dropped to about 8%, and 70% of the people who supported the LP in last year's election in September had switched allegiances.

Labour had lost 20,2% of the electorate.

It found that 41% of coloured people in the area supported the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) alliance, while 31% said they would support the National Party and 19% the Democratic Party.

More than 28% of those surveyed said they had changed their political loyalty since last year's election.

LONDON — THE democratic tradition of the African National Congress inside South Africa is expected to win the day over its "Stalinist" tradition in exile, during the organisation's key December national conference in Cape Town — the first inside the country since its banning in 1960.

This is the view of the London publication, Africa Confidential, which reflects fairly closely Foreign Office opinion.

In a wide-ranging article on the ANC's return home, Africa Confidential says people inside South Africa would be "welcoming back a stranger which now has to live up to their expectations". And many supporters feared they would be a "colossal disappointment".

However, Africa Confidential said the ANC could transform itself into a dynamic organisation by "jettisoning its Stalinist exile baggage, which has made many leadership positions the monopoly of incompetent apparatchiks and has fed the ANC's current sluggishness".

It believed the ANC would return to "an energised constituency used to glasnost".

"In exile, opposition to or even criticism of the leadership ended the careers of many promising young cadres. Since the ANC bedrock inside the country is the Mass Democratic Movement, collisions are likely between undemocratic exile traditions and the democratic ones of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"It looks as if the democratic tradition will carry the day, mainly due to sheer numbers and skillful organisation. This worries a host of exiled apparatchiks who fear losing their positions in a revamped ANC."

Exclusive leadership

The Confidential said the organisation of the ANC in exile guaranteed the dominance of a leadership system "based on patronage". For 16 years, from the 1969 Morogoro Conference to the 1985 Kabwe meeting, the ANC held no conferences.

"This established a tradition of excluding the rank and file, a practice that became virtually an article of ANC faith. For all those years, the movement was run exclusively by its National Execu-

Key ANC talks may jettison Stalinist praxis

11A
CMI-Tinf
24/5/90

tive Committee (NEC), dominated by the SA Communist Party."

It said those who challenged the leadership, like the "Group of Eight", were "simply expelled by presidential decree". Policy became "the sole preserve of the NEC".

In the ANC there was a desire by cadres to get out of Lusaka, where, for instance, "the supply and withholding of basics was used to control members, whose monthly pocket money would not even buy a bar of soap".

This led to a stifling of unorthodoxy and to "mutual suspicion and hatred. Informers secretly reported to the leadership not only members' political leanings but personal details such as their drinking habits or sexual activities".

Loss of control

But, it said, "inside South Africa, things are different. People are not dependent on the ANC for sustenance, which removes the source of the patronage politics of exile.

"The dependency syndrome, known as *mphando*, on which exile politics turn, will be eliminated. This will weaken many leaders, such as Joe Modise, the most powerful of the leadership in maintaining the ANC system of control."

Also favouring the ANC's democratic transformation, it stated, was the sheer weight of numbers of the internal constituency. While the small numbers in exile enable maximum control, the millions inside "cannot be manipulated".

There were also "capable leaders with proven track records and powerful constituencies" inside the country.

"They are expected to give returning apparatchiks, who do not even have the support of the exile community, a run for their money at the December 1990 conference."

Democratic tradition

It noted that the undemocratic tradition was alien to the ANC until it was banned in 1960. "There is therefore no such ANC tradition inside South Africa.

"The presence on the scene of the Rivonia leadership, still steeped in the old ANC democratic tradition, will make a vital contribution.

"Thus the 30-year old Stalinist tradition will be pitted against the tradition that reigned for 48 years.

"The exile tradition is not expected to come out on top: in fact, it is not expected to survive.

"The ANC could once more don its venerable mantle and regain its image of the heroic organisation that dared to continue the struggle of the oppressed. Allegations of execution, torture and ideological manipulation that have dogged it lately could disappear along with the tradition that bred them — exile."

Africa Confidential believes the ANC will demonstrate its break with the exile past by inviting back all those expelled on ideological grounds.

While an earlier call in 1987 was largely ignored because many felt the unfair system which had made them rebel was still intact, with Nelson Mandela at the helm and with the ANC's democratic transformation on the cards, many may wish to return.

"For now," says the Confidential, "sights are fixed on the December conference. This is expected to be a watershed". — Own Correspondent

Labour Party hit by wave of defections

u/Man
25/5-21/5/90

THE days when the Labour Party could count on Port Elizabeth as an area of certain support are over, as loyalties in the large "coloured" community swing to the African National Congress, and — in surprisingly large numbers — to the government.

This is the finding of a survey released today by the Human Rights Trust's publication, *Monitor*. The survey found a dramatic decline in support for Labour in the "coloured" communities in Port Elizabeth.

The Labour Party has lost more than half of its supporters in the Port Elizabeth region to the left — and the right. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports

Fully 41 percent of the sample indicated support for the alliance between the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement. Support for Labour has dropped to an all-time low of eight percent, less

than half the 17 percent found in a *Monitor* survey last year.

Support for State President FW de Klerk and the government has increased from 8,4 to 31 percent, and for the Democratic Party, to 19 percent. Last year's survey found support for the Progressive Federal Party at 11,6 percent.

The survey findings come at a time when residents of the "coloured" Northern Areas are voicing their anger at what they see as LP indiffer-

ence in the face of a growing housing crisis.

Thousands are facing homelessness this winter, after the owners of properties on which illegal shacks stand were ordered to demolish the structures. There are over 9 000 names on a waiting list for houses, and the management committee is reported to be still dealing with families whose names were put onto the list in the mid-1970s.

The survey results are also borne out by a number of recent ANC meetings in the Northern Areas, where hundreds are joining the movement.

Says *Monitor*: "Within the coloured community, the Labour Party has suffered a great loss of prestige and support. Six years ago 36 percent of the coloured community in this area voted in the 1984 election, and the vast majority voted Labour.

"While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community," it continues, "the MDM-ANC has validated itself in that community's eyes."

Meanwhile support in the coloured community for De Klerk and the government appears to be considerable.

Of the three most popular movements in the community — the ANC-MDM, the government and the DP — it remains unclear which would be first to establish a structure to channel this support, *Monitor* points out.

"Plainly support according to opinion surveys is one thing — a mobilised core of voters is quite another."

— Pen

SADF, MK ^(11A) generals talk about peace

GENERALS of opposing armies met in Lusaka this week to talk about the possibility of a ceasefire and the merging of the South African Defence Force and Umkhonto weSizwe.

The African National Congress' army is "willing to abide by a mutually-binding ceasefire" and believes a negotiations breakthrough is possible, Umkhonto weSizwe leader Chris Hani said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting of ANC, SADF and "homeland" army members in Lusaka, Hani warned, however, that there were still obstacles to a ceasefire and that the ANC would not consider a unilateral halt to the armed struggle.

SADF Commandant Dr Jac Cilliers, a former member of the State Security Council secretariat, said the ANC did not have the capacity to run a

An extraordinary meeting between members of the SADF and the ANC's army is taking place in Lusaka.
GAVIN EVANS reports

modern defence force. This would have to be a joint venture with the SADF.

They were speaking at the start of a five-day conference on the future of the military in South Africa, organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa).

"We have repeatedly stated our preference for a less violent transition in South Africa," said Hani.

"We believe the present political initiative — a definite product of people's struggle — does offer a possibility of breakthrough. It is on this

basis that our soldiers, as political cadres of our movement, strongly support these initiatives and our negotiation concept spelt out in the Harare Declaration.

"That declaration also categorically expresses our willingness to abide by a mutually-binding ceasefire that is jointly monitored," he said.

Any call on the ANC to abandon the armed struggle unilaterally was "unfair and unrealistic", Hani said.

The ANC and MK were concerned about security force "tolerance" of right-wing vigilantes.

He said the ANC was concerned about the deployment of 32 Battalion in Natal which he described as an act of "extreme provocation".

Hani added, however, that he was not opposed to the use of conscripts and other SADF troops as an emer-

gency measure.

Regarding ANC attacks on white civilians, he stressed such action had been contrary to ANC policy.

"The way some of the comrades responded was guided more by the prevailing mood of the people around them. As a result, some of the action did not reflect policy."

Earlier, ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member John Nkadimeng reiterated the organisation's opposition to conscription.

"It is the practice of a state at war or preparing for war," he said. "We should be building more schools, not barracks; not more AK and R1 rifles but more tennis racquets and golf clubs; not more Hippos but more tractors," Nkadimeng said.

Cilliers, who for the last year has been a private researcher on security matters, said he believed there was "almost no chance of any military coup."

"Such action will not be supported by a conscript army and it is contrary to our military culture."

Cilliers said he believed the SADF had "exerted an influence beyond its mandate" but "now recognised the necessity for a cessation of hostilities while remaining opposed to integration with MK."

"And MK should not make the same mistake we made in talking of revolution and counter-revolution," he said.

"We are talking about moving towards a future common to all and we don't have to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs."

Recently retired SADF commodore, Vic Holderness, said he believed the SADF was "not as politicised as some people think."

"Politicians have to find political solutions to the country's problems and all the military forces could do was to find the breathing space for this to take place."

The conference was opened by Zambian Prime Minister Malima Masheke, who said the region was "not in peace, but in pieces", adding that the meeting could help in the reconstruction process.

Delegates to the conference include 10 NEC members, several senior MK commanders, nine senior "homeland" military officers and 20 SADF advisors and Citizen Force or retired Permanent Force officers.

Other members of the South African delegation are Venda's military leader, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, and SADF military intelligence officer Colonel Gideon Meiring.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told the delegation that the conference was "a move in the right direction because nothing can be more telling than when generals of opposing armies get together to exchange views".

Three sides of SA shown by meetings

B. 10/11/90 25/5/90
(11A) GERALD REILLY (11A)

PRETORIA — The three most visible sides of SA politics were illustrated at the weekend when tens of thousands gathered to demonstrate support for President F W de Klerk, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk assured an enthusiastic welcoming crowd at Jan Smuts Airport SA had broken the isolation barrier.

However, Mandela, who leaves for Europe next week, told a rally in Atteridgeville on Saturday he would persuade leaders there to ignore De Klerk's optimistic message.

"I am visiting Europe next week — almost every capital that he (De Klerk) has visited — and I can assure you, after I have spoken in the places that he has visited he will regret (his visit).

"The government and its apologists are trying to convince the world to leave sanctions and SA's world isolation. Sanctions are vital to force the government to abandon apartheid," Mandela said.

Treurnicht told Business Day yesterday government must heed the determination of a large section of the white population not to be constitutionally trampled on.

This was a clear message, he said, from

□ To Page 2

Meetings

B. 10/11/90 25/5/90
(11A) (11A) □ From Page 1
the volks congress at the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday.

Government had gone beyond its mandate and an early general election was justified and urgently needed to test the views of white voters.

The determination of South Africans not to allow themselves to be steam-rolled was clearly illustrated.

The congress had a message for government: move cautiously and do not betray the rights of groups. Voters would not sim-

ply lie down and take whatever was handed to them, Treurnicht said.

There was an obvious build-up of opposition to the directions in which government was moving.

Treurnicht said the Umlazi parliamentary by-election next week would be an acid test of voting reactions to government's reform plans.

- Picture: Page 3
- Comment: Page 6

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ANC is not
Star 25/5/90 (11A)
warmonger,
says Tshwete

GRAHAMSTOWN.— The ANC was not a warmonger and was willing to sign a formal ceasefire once obstacles to negotiations had been removed, senior member Steve Tshwete said in Grahamstown last night.

Addressing about 2 000 Rhodes University students, he said the ANC would do nothing to "shoot down" the initiative aimed at creating a climate for a negotiated ceasefire.

"It is important to stop the slaughter now because we will eventually have to squat on the corpses of our brothers and sisters and then negotiate a peaceful solution."

He said that although he remained convinced of the Government's sincerity in spite of their "bad track record", the ANC could not unilaterally cease hostilities. — Sapa.

Albie's advice to Afrikaners

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON,
Pretoria Bureau

The best protection for one's own language and culture lay in the blanket protection of all cultures, African National Congress constitutional law expert Albie Sachs told a University of Pretoria meeting this week.

"The worst thing Afrikaners can do is to get separate protection for Afrikaans. The best thing is to have a generalised right (to choose one's own language) so that to strike at Afrikaans is also to strike at Xhosa, Zulu, English," he told the gathering of about 400 organised by the Law Faculty's Centre for Human Rights Studies.

Beyond belief

Mr Sachs (55), who returned to SA this year after 24 years in exile, is known as the ANC's leading constitutional thinker and is a member of its national executive committee.

His appearance at Tukkies, accompanied by fellow ANC

legal expert Penuell Maduna, prompted a welcome never before seen on campus as students and visitors chanted "Viva" and "Amandla".

"To be called 'comrade' at the University of Pretoria is beyond belief," Mr Sachs said as he prepared to speak on "The right to be different and the right to be the same".

"We believe the right to be the same is the essence of the anti-apartheid struggle; we all want to be South African citizens, a free people in a free country."

But the right to be the same was not to be confused with the duty to be identical. Colonial powers had tried to mould subjects in their own image, but the ANC was not striving to create a "nonracial yuppie".

South Africa was blessed in being a multiracial, multilingual and multicultural country.

"Our people are like a single tree with many roots; some are bigger than others, but all con-

tribute to the beauty, the fragrance, the texture of the tree."

The ANC was totally against "own affairs" and racial-veto rights, he said.

"If the right to be different is to be used to entrench racial vetoes, we are totally opposed to it; Parliament simply becomes the housing for containing apartheid."

The right to be different would be contained in a bill of rights backed up by the courts.

The ANC wished for a united SA with a common loyalty and shared sense of patriotism.

Replying to a question from the floor about the alleged harsh treatment of prisoners in ANC detention camps, Mr Sachs said: "In the early Eighties we had serious problems in our organisation.

"People were being sent in to kill us with poison and bombs." (Mr Sachs lost his right arm in one such attack in Mozambique.)

"We did not know how to re-

spond. We were anxious and untrained; we did bad things."

But the organisation had discussed the issue seriously and drafted guidelines on how to deal with prisoners and the setting up of tribunals. This did not eliminate all problems, but there were "dramatic improvements", he said.

Passion

A young man asked Mr Sachs whether the ANC intended to actively resist a Boerestaat. He wanted to know whether "we will get one or whether we have to take it". Mr Sachs chided the audience for its jeering at this question.

"We can understand the passion that burns in the hearts of people fighting for their country. We are fighting for our country in a different way.

"But if we cannot solve the problem of living together in one country, we will not do it in separate countries," he said.

252 (11A) Star 25/5/90

Let's build new SA - Mandela

11A
~~205A~~

THE people who were dying in Natal and Welkom, those who were being evicted from farms in the western Transvaal and millions of the unemployed demanded solutions, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg this week.

Speaking at a conference on "Options for an economic future" at the Carlton Hotel on Wednesday, Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a crisis, investment was decreasing and inflation was high.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

There was no prospect of getting out of the morass while minority rule remained, he said.

"All of us here have an obligation to use the levers of power and influence we hold in our hands to ensure that the new day dawns now," he said.

About 40 officials of the ANC, MDM, Cosatu and 400 South African business leaders attended the conference, organised by the Consultative Business Movement to discuss the country's economic policy.

Mandela said the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few whites would have to change.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider if we discuss the question of the democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power.

"The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the

other form," he said.

The land question must be addressed. Recent actions by the State to sell land and to evict people from white farms were unhelpful.

Former Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly-held values to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would include a recognition of the elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience.



Mr Nelson Mandela



Mr Gavin Relly

ANC and CP plan
big Pretoria rallies

25/5/90 (11A)

Pretoria Bureau

Tomorrow on the 42nd anniversary of the National Party's coming to power, two organisations challenging that position from the left and the right will hold mass meetings in the capital city.

Parliamentary opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a Conservative Party rally at the Voortrekker Monument.

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will speak at an ANC mass meeting in Atteridgeville outside Pretoria.

The ANC rally, which organisers say will attract 200 000 people to the township's Super Stadium after an intensive publicity campaign in the township and surrounding areas, is due to begin at noon.

It will feature cultural events in-

cluding drum majorettes, poetry readings and drama.

Mr Mandela will speak at 2 pm in his first public appearance in the city since he gave his famous speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial in 1963.

"The ANC is returning to the citadel of apartheid," according to organiser Ronny Mamoepa.

Mr Mandela is expected to report back on his recent trip to African nations and may react to the tongue-lashing this week by the National Party on his criticism of police activities.

A giant sign proclaiming "ANC LIVES!" has been erected on Skeurberg hill to the west of the township in preparation for the rally.

● See Page 11.

Tough time predicted for Mandela

FW has 'turned tide of hostility'

Nov 25/5/90

~~FW~~

16A

Political Staff and Reuter

President de Klerk ends his 18-day tour of nine European nations in Rome today, apparently confident he has begun to turn the tide of Western hostility to Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk meets Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti before returning to South Africa. He arrives at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow morning.

Senior members of his team believe ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is likely to meet some tough resistance to ANC policies during his coming European tour.

They base this view on talks with political leaders, financiers, industrialists and opinion-formers.

But other sources are saying several European nations are waiting for Mr Mandela's visit early next month to hear at first hand his case for keeping sanctions and pressure on the South African Government.

After assessing the lobbying efforts of South Africa's two leading adversaries, European Community leaders will only decide in Dublin on June 25 whether to keep or ease pressures and sanctions.

South Africa's fate also depends on the controversial planned visits of Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to President Bush of the United States.

Strong objections have been raised in the US to Mr de Klerk seeing Mr Bush before Mr Mandela does. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria today denied any knowledge of Mr de Klerk postponing his US visit indefinitely, as reported in certain newspapers today.

One message

A spokesman for the President's Office in Cape Town, Mr Kobus Pieterse, said he had spoken to Mr de Klerk's delegation two days ago and had been told that nothing had changed and the visit was still on, although no date had been fixed.

Spokesmen in Mr de Klerk's tour team said today that whatever the EC leaders decided next month, the message everywhere the party had been was: "We understand your problems and we want you to succeed."

Regarding Mr Mandela, they believe the international community's lionisation of him will eventually play itself out, but will probably continue during Mr Mandela's forthcoming tour. But they said Mr Mandela will meet criticism over ANC talk of nationalisation and continuing the armed struggle.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today that although he could not predict what issues foreign governments would raise in their meetings with Mr Mandela, he was certain Mr Mandela would not bend under any foreign pressure.

He said a "tremendous reception" awaited Mr Mandela in Europe, and the ANC office in Johannesburg was inundated with invitations from governments, trade unions and many other bodies in those countries.

● See Page 2.

ANC is not
warmonger,
says Tshwete

GRAHAMSTOWN — The ANC was not a warmonger and was willing to sign a formal ceasefire once obstacles to negotiations had been removed, senior member Steve Tshwete said in Grahamstown last night.

Addressing about 2 000 Rhodes University students, he said the ANC would do nothing to "shoot down" the initiative aimed at creating a climate for a negotiated ceasefire.

"It is important to stop the slaughter now because we will eventually have to squat on the corpses of our brothers and sisters and then negotiate a peaceful solution."

He said that although he remained convinced of the Government's sincerity in spite of their "bad track record", the ANC could not unilaterally cease hostilities. — Sapa.

FIM 25/5/90 (11A)
generation of demands — a constituent assembly.”

Clearly, the ANC envisages a settlement modelled on the lines of the Namibian deal (see Don't privatise apartheid) and the implication is that the stumbling blocks to substantive constitutional negotiation will soon be despatched.

Meanwhile, two of the main obstacles — amnesty for political prisoners and exiles — have almost certainly been overcome, barring any hitches.

Jacob Zuma, leader of the ANC team on the Working Group set up with government in terms of what is now known as the Grootse Schuur Minute, announced on Monday that the group had completed its report on target. It was to be presented to government and the ANC executive on Monday, though no statement would be made on its contents unless both parties agreed.

It was indicated, however, that agreement had been reached on the issues of political prisoners and exiles and that no problems were foreseen in the respective parties' principals accepting it. Some 3 500 political prisoners, according to the ANC, will be affected.

NEGOTIATIONS FIM 25/5/90

Driving hard (11A)

The next stage of the ANC's pre-negotiational position bargaining will take the form of a concerted drive for "one-man, one-vote elections to a constituent assembly."

The aim of the campaign, which is due to be launched soon, is to turn up pressure on government to commit itself to these elements for a settlement, says a spokesman of the ANC's Interim Leadership Corps.

"Up to now the focus of demands has been on the preconditions. Now that they have been dealt with, the focus will be on the next

45

FIM 25/5/90 (11A)

The three-month indemnity for 38 ANC exiles (including the entire National Executive Committee), announced by government last Saturday, was a first step in a process which began with the establishment of the Working Group. The 38 are "facilitating" work on negotiations. At least three of them — Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Tito Mboweni — were expected to arrive in SA on Monday to participate in this Friday's Consultative Business Movement-ANC conference. It seems quite likely that the temporary indemnity measure, which expires in August, will be overtaken by a general amnesty agreement.

Zuma did not think that the fatal shooting by police of four youths at Thabong, near

FIM 25/5/90 (11A)

Welkom, last Sunday, would scupper talks, as did the Sebokeng shootings in April.

Amarnath Singh

MANDELA'S US VISIT

FIM 25/5/90 (11N)

Different strokes

Nelson Mandela will have to do some fancy footwork if he wants to keep his 10-day visit to the US next month from being torpedoed by outspoken dissident ANC members and his own statements.

Compared with President F W de Klerk's proficient statesmanship in Europe, Mandela's continuing harangues sound petty and mean. De Klerk seems to have won over European leaders with his reform moves and soothing talk of change; it seems Mandela does not yet have the required touch.

No doubt his media-wise supporters in the US, especially leading sanctions proponent Randall Robinson of TransAfrica and the Congressional Black Caucus, will tell him to stick to the tried-and-tested, black-and-white emotional issues. They will advise him to avoid needless mentions of his links with the PLO's Yasser Arafat and Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. Both are sworn enemies of many Americans.

"It's a long visit fraught with political danger," says Carl Nöffke, director of the Institute for American Studies at Rand Afrikaans University. "He's stepping into a political minefield. Those people organising the trip will try to get maximum media coverage with a minimum of spoken words. They will control everything, every step and every utterance of Nelson and Winnie Mandela."

There is, however, a lot to be gained. Black political leaders will play up their association with Mandela to win votes. Mandela and the ANC easily can pick up a few million dollars. TransAfrica, however, is almost totally dependent on pushing Mandela's cause and the pro-sanctions line to keep itself in business. (Robinson was recently granted a visa to visit SA and he will surely use his time here to brief Mandela on pitfalls awaiting him.)

One thing he will tell Mandela is to milk the image abroad of the ANC as a band of courageous freedom-fighters looking to oust the apartheid regime and replace it with a black democracy. That might be a tall order. After the growing number of allegations about the torture of dissidents in ANC camps in Tanzania and Angola, westerners are beginning to take a more jaundiced view.

Newsweek, a US news magazine with a circulation of 3,3m, said last month "revelations that the ANC has physically abused and even killed some of its members have undermined the organisation's stated commitment to democracy and due process."

Other influential US magazines and newspapers have echoed that line.

Last week another gaggle of returned dissidents held a press conference in Johannesburg — well attended by the international media — and detailed their allegations of abuse and executions of former ANC members. A spokesman for the group said Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's armed wing, once presided over the executions of seven dissidents in Angola.

No doubt Mandela and his handlers would like to have the whole issue behind them before the big trip. Accusations of abuse and

ethnic politics. Cuban-Americans hate anything good said about Fidel Castro. Miami's mayor and Congresswoman are Cuban-Americans who will let Mandela know that their supporters are not happy with his stated goal of visiting Havana to thank "Dr Castro" in person for his support.

"I don't think it's advisable for him to go to Miami," says Carl Nöffke.

His embrace of the PLO's Arafat is another red rag in the US. "We're brothers in suffering," Arafat told an agreeable Mandela on Sunday. In New York, centre of the American-Jewish population, Jews warn that Mandela will get a chilly — if not downright hostile — reception for that kind of comradeship.

Mandela can take a tip from Archbishop Desmond Tutu's recent visit to California where he was heckled into leaving a church reception by militant Jews angered by Tutu's appeal to Jewish leaders to speak out in support of a separate Palestinian state.

Outside of the ethnic strongholds, Mandela will find that Americans in general will abhor his comments on the much-loathed Libya, including a condemnation of the 1986 US air raids on that country.

"We consider ourselves comrades in arms," Mandela told Gaddafi on Friday. "Your readiness to provide us with the facilities of forming an army of liberation indicated your

commitment to the fight for peace and human rights in the world."

If Mandela expects to raise a hefty amount of cash, and keep his cult hero status in the US, he had better tone down the anti-West rhetoric. Americans will not be shy about telling him to peddle his policies in Sweden if he continues to step on toes he doesn't appear to know exist.

Maureen Sullivan



torture don't go down well in the US.

Mandela plans to visit seven major cities, including Washington, where he will address a joint session of Congress; and New York, where he will be feted with a ticker-tape parade, an event usually reserved for Olympic athletes and astronauts.

Instead of fawning questions about life on the outside, or even tougher questions on the ANC's voodoo economics, he could be faced with the prospect of explaining away the ANC's alleged brutal methods of keeping its cadres in line. Few will be satisfied with the war-is-hell line of argument.

Even fewer will shrug off the comments he made on his recent trip through Africa. In particular, Mandela could be wrong-footed by Cuban-Americans upset with his remarks in Angola. There he described Cuba as a country that "stands out head and shoulders above the rest . . . in its love for human rights and liberty."

When he appears in Miami — which, with surrounding areas has an 800 000-strong community of communist-hating Cuban exiles — he could get quite a lesson in US

LEADERSHIP

F/M 25/5/90 (11A)

Bringing the message home

If any reminder was needed of the serious obstacles in the way of lasting peace, it came from Welkom this week. White and black no-go areas were swiftly defined; hatred was rife; and there was loss of life and physical damage. Despite the personal intervention of the minister of police, it was the police, as usual, who were accused of firing without provocation.

Welkom, like Boksburg before it, was made the target of a black consumer boycott. Clearly, for whites in such mining communities — hit by a falling gold price, declining standards of living and insecurities over the future — reform has a harsher face than in more affluent areas. It creates enormous resentments and then the divisions between suburb and township, hostel and saloon bar grow deep indeed.

Before Sunday's "unrest" racial attacks, indeed racial murder, had made the situation virtually uncontrollable.

Meanwhile, the two most visible leaders of the nation, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have been travelling.

Obviously, De Klerk deserves every plaudit he can get in Europe — and all the better if they come with renewed access to world financial and trade markets. He is a genuine reformer and it can be reasoned that sanctions contributed to the embitterment of his predecessor. And, as obviously, Mandela has debts to pay in Africa, though it is perhaps odd that his trip coincides with De Klerk's and takes him to the embrace of Colonel Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat.

But once their travels are over, will we be any better off than before? The EC will continue to evaluate sanctions, as it was already doing, and doubtless Libya and Egypt will continue to maintain sanctions. The situation in Welkom will be neither worsened nor improved by any of this.

Mandela and De Klerk do have this in common: their popularity abroad (depending, of course, on where they are) is a great deal more visible than it is at home. Attendances at ANC rallies have plummeted and De Klerk has not appeared in conservative areas to tell his people where he intends taking them. Terrible black rivalries in Natal continue and the mood of Welkom could spread across the Free State goldfields.

The danger exists that government and the ANC will end up talking to each other — perhaps even contemplating a coalition with each other — without carrying their communities with them. This might be a risk worth taking in a country where the parties to a dispute have been clearly defined by history — where one is a colonial power, say, and the other demonstrably representative of the colonised's aspirations.

In SA, the components of the racial impasse are too diverse for such an assumption.

Perhaps the time has come for De Klerk and Mandela to apply their energies to some internal persuasion and bridge-building. The Nationalists cannot simply write off the right-wing — it is too powerful for that. The ANC cannot allow local comrades to take things into their own hands — and believe that they will fall into line later.

Joint peace initiatives at local level could have a profound psychological effect on the mood of the nation. Doubtless, if De Klerk and Mandela were to appear on the same platform in Welkom they might experience some problems; but there is no such barrier to travelling in Natal.

Meanwhile, there are far too many Welkoms waiting to happen. ■

After thirty years ANC women regroup

w/ Mand. 25/5 - 31/5/90

(11A)

THE African National Congress Women's League (AWL), banned along with the ANC 30 years ago, will be relaunched on August 9 this year.

Taking place on National Women's Day, the launch will be followed by the now-unbanned AWL's first national congress in October. This conference will be in preparation for the first ANC national conference in December.

A task force composed of the organisation's internal and external leadership has been elected to facili-

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

tate the launch. The 10-person force, led by Albertina Sisulu of the ANC Internal Leadership Corps and ANC National Executive Committee member Getrude Shope, will consult widely with women's organisations inside the country on how to set up the league.

The group was elected at an ANC women's national workshop in Lusaka three weeks ago. The workshop was attended by 50 women from outside the country and 38 from inside

the country, including the homelands.

The core will be assisted by a support group made of functionaries from women's structures in various regions, such as the Federation of Transvaal Women (Feddraw), the Western Cape-based United Women's Congress (UWCO), Natal Women's Organisation (Nawo) and the Eastern Transvaal Women's Organisation (Etwo).

The support group will engage in administrative and political support work. Two organisers from each of the ANC's 14 regions will form part of the support group. One of the two organisers will be from inside the country and the other in exile.

The task force is made of: NEC member Ruth Mompoti, Shope, ANC chief representative in Madagascar Mitta Seperepere, and Baleka Kgosietsile and Mavivi Manzini, who are based in Lusaka and Tanzania respectively, Sisulu, Feddraw president Sister Bernard Ncube, Mkhonto weSizwe guerrilla Thandi Modise, South African Communist party member Ray Alexander and Ivy Gcina from the Eastern Cape.

The significance of relaunching the league on August 9 stems from the historic march in 1956 by 20 000 South African women of all races to the Union Building in protest against the extension of the hated *dompas* to women.

The AWL has come a long way since 1960's ban. A group of ANC women were among members sent abroad to organise the ANC external mission. They regrouped over the years and finally organised themselves into the Women's Section. It was these members in exile, in consultation with internal progressive women's structures, that facilitated the revival of the AWL.



Lekota ... ANC would never negotiate above the heads of the people

Government could face a new 'patriotic front'

W/Mail 25/5 - 31/5/90

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE African National Congress is committed to forming a "patriotic front" of all forces opposed to apartheid with the aim of presenting a strong position at the negotiating table, but it will not talk to the government without consulting other resistance organisations, says ANC representative Patrick Lekota

He was responding to the call from the Black Consciousness Movement for a "consultative conference of liberation movements to discuss the future of the country, prior to any negotiations that might be entered to by all or any components of the liberation

movement".

The call comes in the wake of a two-day meeting in Harare between the Azanian Peoples' Organisation central committee and its external wing, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. The meeting criticised State President FW de Klerk's negotiation package as not being in the interests of the "oppressed".

The idea of a consultative conference has the backing of resistance organisations. National Council of

Trade Unions representative Cunningham Nguckuna said the leaders of the anti-apartheid groups needed to meet to discuss common goals and prepare for a constituent assembly.

Pan Africanist Congress representative Barney Desai said the PAC was preparing for "in-depth consultations with those people presently not involved in negotiations — this does not exclude anybody".

"Any serious-minded organisation would consider it their duty to consult with other liberation organisations before talking to the government.

"By going into negotiations (with

the state), on their own, the ANC is assuming a position which does not reflect the reality of our country," he continued.

But Lekota said the ANC would never "negotiate above the heads of the people". The ANC supported the idea of closed consultation between all opposed to apartheid, particularly liberation organisations, he said.

Organisations like the PAC and Azapo differed on the question of negotiations. However, he said that the ANC "felt obliged to inform them of moves toward the process of negotiations".

11A

Police break up Crossroads squatter march

By VUYO BAVUMA and EDWARD
MOLOINYANE, Staff Reporters

POLICE fired teargas in Crossroads to disperse about 250 people marching to the house of controversial township mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

Yesterday's march was held to protest against Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel's refusal to sack the town committee headed by Mr Ngxobongwana. Recently the Attorney-General declined to prosecute Mr Ngxobongwana for alleged misappropriation of funds.

Rival headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe organised the march.

The crowd, most of them dressed in khaki clothes and ANC T-shirts, began gathering at Mr Nongwe's house at 11am. Some carried placards demanding houses and the removal of Mr Ngxobongwana's town committee.

PEOPLE SCATTERED

Police officers told marshals the march was illegal. Seconds later police fired teargas and pandemonium broke out as people scattered. A primary school choral competition in the Crossroads community hall was briefly disrupted.

Minutes later the crowd regrouped opposite the hall and Cape Youth Congress member Mr Voli Mabuwa asked them to return to Mr Nongwe's house to "avoid possible injuries".

Attempts to contact Mr Ngxobongwana, recently returned from Ciskei after a long absence, failed.

Town committee member Mr Alfred Geli said Mr Ngxobongwana was "busy in a meeting".

● Police have confirmed using teargas yesterday to disperse a "large group" of squatters at Crossroads.

Major Reg Crewe, police liaison officer, said the group gathered illegally about 10.45am. They were warned to disperse but failed to comply.

No injuries were reported, he said.



TOWNSHIP MARCH ... Supporters of Old Crossroads breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe yesterday marched to demand the summary removal of the squatter camp's town committee and "equal housing for all". They were later teargassed by police.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Marchers teargassed in drive for equal housing

Staff Reporter

RIOT police yesterday fired teargas to disperse several hundred Old Crossroads supporters of breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe in a protest march to the local police station.

The march was to demand the resignation of the Old Crossroads town committee and "equal housing for all".

The teargassing infuriated teachers and pupils of the nearby Sebenza High School where a choir competition was being held. Teargas drifted onto the premises, disrupting proceedings. The march began at Mr Nongwe's headquarters in Old Crossroads.

At least one group of supporters, carrying banners and dressed in ANC colours, were teargassed on their way to the headquarters and three journal-

ists with them removed to the nearest police station.

Police then allowed the march to progress several hundred metres before teargassing and scattering the banner-carrying crowd.

At least one woman fell and gashed her leg while residents complained about teargas entering their homes.

Mr Nongwe said that the march was to demand equal housing for his faction, the summary removal of mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his Old Crossroads committee and the holding of open elections.

● Since early last year when Mr Nongwe broke away from the conservative central committee the squatter camp has been torn by violence between the factions.

Statements 'contradict Groote Schuur'

Magnus slams Nelson Mandela

CPA. T/11/13
25/5/90

BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has sharply criticised the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and accused him of contradicting the Groote Schuur accord.

General Malan claimed that the statements made by Mr Mandela on his recent African tour did not resemble the agreements he had made at the Groote Schuur talks earlier this month.

His comments were the strongest attack on the ANC by a cabinet minister since the accord was signed and were not in line with the generally conciliatory approach by the government towards the ANC since then.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has, for instance, praised the ANC stand against intimidation and violence.

General Malan has been ex-

traordinarily low-key ever since the Conservative and Democratic Parties demanded his resignation over the CCB affair.

He was also a notable omission from the government's negotiating team for the Groote Schuur talks.

It could not be established last night whether General Malan had the approval of either President FW de Klerk or the cabinet for his attack on Mr Mandela but it is not inconceivable that it reflected sympathy on his part for the views of his former close ally, ex-president Mr P W Botha, who recently quit the NP because of Mr De Klerk's reforms.

General Malan said Mr Mandela had committed himself to peaceful negotiations but continued to talk about the armed struggle.

A ceasefire was not on the negotiating table, but rather the achievement of peaceful solutions. (Mr Mandela had offered a truce in the armed struggle during his African tour.)

He added that the new South Africa simply could not evolve through broken agreements, the uttering of threats and continued talk of the armed struggle.

All these actions stoked a revolutionary climate.

Democracy, as he understood it, contained built-in values towards which a nation should strive.

It was more than a voting right — it was a value system which included responsibility and standards of actions.

"Democracy, in any case, does not come from the barrel of a gun or an AK-47."

General Malan said Mr Mandela maintained South Africa was destabilising Zimbabwe and other neighbouring states.

This was a "blatant untruth and redundant rhetoric, or pure irresponsibility, because South Africa is in any case not busy with destabilisation".

South Africa had, for example, lent Zimbabwe 30 railway locomotives last year, he said.

Don't privatise apartheid

FIM 2515790



Albie Sachs, the ANC's foremost legal academic, recently returned home for a visit after 24 years in exile. He stressed that this interview, with the FM's Amarnath Singh, was in his personal capacity.

FM: Is President De Klerk negotiating himself out of power?

Sachs: We have to look at SA in a whole new way. Our real task now is not who's going to be in office and who not, it's what kind of constitution we are going to have. Our task is to agree upon one that is really democratic and that will serve for generations to come.

Do you see the new constitution being worked out before elections are held, in a constituent assembly, or how?

There is no doubt that in Namibia the key moment that resolved the war and the bitterness was the holding of general elections. They gave confidence to everybody and I think the same would apply to SA. I would very strongly argue that it be a constituent assembly. It would have a mandate from the whole population and it's a procedure that can be very calming.

One of your inputs is on the ANC's Bill of Rights ...

Let me say first that to have a justiciable Bill of Rights was adopted as ANC policy in January 1986. The only role that I might have played was to help articulate the policy. One reason for the emphasis given to it is because people believed in it. But also to make clear that we felt this provided a much sounder foundation for protecting rights than concepts of groups rights.

How important does the ANC regard property rights?

This is a specific issue that has to be tackled on its own. On the one hand, you can say there is the right of people who've acquired property not to be deprived of it. On the other hand, you can say there's the right of those who've been dispossessed of their property to have access to property. The real problem of the constitution is to find some principle of fairness that acknowledges the social and economic situation in SA.

What I can see coming into a constitution (it's already in the ANC guidelines), is protection for personal and family property.

My feeling is that the less said in the constitution about property, the better. The constitution should simply establish guarantees that there is free, fair and open debate, that if the government makes a mess-up of things it can be chucked out and not decide on the specifics of economic policy and not tie future governments.

I would argue in favour of possibly constitutionalising the principle of fairness, which is not a specific political position. This would dictate that there should be remedial action to deal with past discrimination and inequality. But fairness also requires that procedures be as fair as possible, that they be governed by law.

Is there a case for entrenching minority rights? Other countries have.

As long as we've got apartheid we can never face up to what's been called the national question, which at the moment is totally dominated by white supremacy.

The key question in terms of voting rights is: should we have a non-racial voters' roll? We cannot have a population registration system. That keeps apartheid alive and we cannot permit the mobilisation of ethnicity. A non-racial democracy requires a completely non-racial electoral system.

That doesn't mean the question of ethnicity — language, religious, cultural rights — disappears. It doesn't. Once you've established basic principles of a common voters' roll and real equal rights for everybody irrespective of race and so on, then you can tackle the aspects associated with ethnicity that are recognised in many parts of the world as meriting constitutional attention.

Perhaps, instead of looking at group rights, one can look at social interests that merit protection. Take language. You establish that as a constitutional principle that operates in relation to all groups and establish appropriate mechanisms to protect it. **It seems, judging by Gerrit Viljoen's 12-point statement, that the NP is moderating its position quite remarkably.**

I wish they would really take the plunge, because ambiguity in the long run doesn't help. If we can accept clear, undiluted non-racial democracy in a basically united SA, then we can start discussing the best mechanisms for ensuring that there are no abuses, that the process of transformation is as fair as possible and involves the least disruption to the economy as possible; that the process of nation-building can proceed in the most favourable context. Get the big issue out of the way and then the mechanisms and the details will solve themselves very quickly. **Among Viljoen's 12 points is a guarantee against a communist dictator.**

The person who has been the first to demand guarantees against a communist dictator is Joe Slovo. So I'm not quite sure why Viljoen is even raising it. We're against any kind of dictator.

He also wants a protected Bill of Rights.

We're glad that he's coming round to the ANC position that goes back to 1986.

Regular elections?

We're totally in favour of that; it goes back to the Freedom Charter.

A free-market economy?

To the extent that we support a mixed economy, which means there is a free market that plays a very significant role in economic life. But we wouldn't like to see the market pitted against the national effort, or vice versa. The real problem is to find a good mix and an active collaboration between the private sector and the public sector.

Residential group rights?

If residential group rights were based on real free choice or even a kind of lottery, there would be an argument for it; I think it would be a bad argument. Fundamentally, people should be free to live where they want. What we are getting now are steps to introduce privatised apartheid, by means of so-called voluntary association to enable people living in particular neighbourhoods to establish, through restrictive covenants, zones that are really group areas by another name; and to set up schools that would be separate amenities by another name. What's the point of destroying apartheid with one hand and reintroducing it with the other hand?

An independent judiciary?

That is vital. I saw a lovely phrase the other day — "a constitution is the autobiography of a nation." We are writing our constitutional autobiography and clearly the judiciary will have a key role to play as the guardians. However, it can't simply be our present judiciary. The judiciary itself has to be transformed so that everybody feels confidence in it.

Viljoen also wants a fair tax system.

Everybody in the world wants that; fair to whom? Obviously a fair tax system is going to be fundamental, but I'm not sure the constitution can have very much to say about that. It's crazy to try and fix income tax in a constitution, that's what parliament is for.

A tax system can be a very important form of redistribution that can help minimise the degree of direct intervention in economic life that otherwise might be required. One knows all the arguments, that if you over-tax you don't leave enough for investment and discourage initiative and so on. But all these factors have to be taken into account.

Minority representation in government?

To make it a question of quotas is very wrong and will only lead to conflict. But any future government that has the interests of the country at heart will inevitably draw upon the talents, resources, skills and experiences of all the different communities. This will be something that works out in a very organic way, which is a much stronger foundation than artificial constitutions. One doesn't want to hop around from country to country, but the Ugandan, Lebanese, Cypriot experiences of trying to constitutionalise fundamental social, economic and cultural questions is not the way. The real answer is to have a strong democratic constitution, with strong guarantees of basic rights.

ANC accepts need to boost confidence

B1 Dey 25/5/90

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ALAN FINE

THE ANC had now apparently accepted that SA would have to build an economic system which attracted investment, Consultative Business Movement (CBM) co-chairman Murray Hofmeyr said yesterday.

He was commenting on Wednesday's CBM-organised conference between more than 300 top businessmen and 40 representatives of the ANC and its allies in Cosatu and the UDF.

At the meeting, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela moved the ANC further away from commitments to nationalising "the mines, banks and other monopoly industry", and emphasised the need for economic growth and investor confidence.

Broad areas of consensus between the businessmen and ANC on future economic structures were revealed in keynote speeches delivered by Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly — and later statements by the two, Hofmeyr and ANC leader Thabo Mbeki.

However, major differences clearly remained, particularly on the role of the state, and the degree to which it or market mechanisms should be allowed and encouraged to manage economic affairs.

In refining the ANC's stance on nationalisation Mandela said the question was worthy of further discussion.

But, he added, if the question of nationalising any particular industry arose, "we would prefer to entrust this to a committee of experts which will command the sup-

port of all sections of the population".

"It would be a tragedy if this was carried out without the participation of the private sector," he added at a media conference.

Relly said he did not think there should be fear at the use of the the word "nationalisation".

He said there were areas now where the state played a major investment role and there might be such areas in future.

Mandela made a strong call for government to halt its privatisation programme "until a truly representative government is in place".

Relly said business, on the whole, remained in favour of privatising those state sector businesses "with a bottom line, though there are difficult cases like transport and Eskom which need more debate".

While Mandela called for "a macro-economic indicative national plan to provide a framework within which to determine the directions of growth policy", Relly warned against repeating past mistakes where, due to state intervention, "factors of production were not priced according to relative scarcity (and) distortion took place".

Mandela argued that the concentration of economic power in white hands would have to change "if we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order".

He said the ANC was "very conscious of the critical importance of such matters in

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Confidence

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□ From Page 1

the confidence in the future of both the national and the international business communities and investors" and would not go out of its way to undermine confidence.

However, investors had to be sensitive to the fact any democratic government would respond to concerns about the unequal distribution of economic power.

Both Mandela and Relly emphasised the importance of good union/management relationships.

Mandela, apparently plugging Cosatu's anti-Barlow Rand campaign, said legislation should allow strong unions to bargain centrally. However, "questions of a living wage, job security and industrial restruc-

turing must be dealt with in the bargaining process", implicitly dismissing union demands for a national minimum wage.

Mandela said there could be no doubt that the public finances would come under enormous pressure for increased spending on such areas as education, housing, health, unemployment benefits and pensions.

However, an ANC government would fight against the creation of "a bloated and unproductive public service".

Hofmeyr said the CBM would continue arranging smaller meetings between business and the ANC/MDM groupings.

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Pretoria

● FROM PAGE 1.

Boshoff will lay a wreath on former Prime Minister Dr HF Verwoerd's grave and the Rev Mosie van den Berg will lay one on the grave of former Prime Minister JG Strijdom.

The commando will then ride to Church Square, where Professor P G Nel will lay a wreath at the statue of President Paul Kruger.

Coaches

From there the commando proceeds along Paul Kruger Street to the City Hall, where Manie Maritz and advocate Chris de Jager will lay wreaths at the Pretorius statues.

The horse commando will arrive outside the Voortrekker Monument shortly before 10 am. From there, Dr Treurnicht and the deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, will travel in two coaches to the amphitheatre.

On their arrival a mass choir will perform. Then the Rev Fred Shaw from Pretoria will read from the scriptures and the Rev Mias de Klerk of Bloemfontein will say a prayer.

Speeches

Dr Hartzenberg will welcome the crowd, who will then be entertained with an audio presentation led by Professor Nel. Money will be collected to cover the estimated R170 000 cost of staging the event.

The four provincial leaders — Jan Hoon (Cape), Cehill Pienaar (Free State), Faan Bester (Natal) and Dr Hartzenberg (Transvaal) will each deliver short

speeches and hand the freedom manifesto to Dr Treurnicht.

Dr Treurnicht will address the crowd at 12.30 pm and, immediately after his speech, say a prayer.

For the rugby faithful, there is the game between Western Province and Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld.

At Jan Smuts airport, hundreds of National Party supporters and members of the public are expected to welcome President de Klerk from his successful European tour.

He will arrive to an official welcome, including a 21-gun salute, and will be met by the acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Guests of honour include Cabinet Ministers, NP MPs, mayors and the ambassadors of the nine European countries Mr de Klerk visited.

Mr de Klerk will make his first public speech on his return at the airport.

Transport

Limited parking is available for the public at the airport. Should the parking space be insufficient, the public will be directed by the SAP and traffic officials to other parking areas: the open area on the western side bordering the parking area, the area in the vicinity of the police station on the western side and an area in front of the South African Airways administration building.

Public transport will be available for people who park in front of the administration building. Return tickets from the parking areas to the airport building will cost R1.

Sowetan 28/5/90

Enemies talk peace

Sowetan 26/5/90 (11A)

LUSAKA - Guerilla commanders of the ANC and veteran officers from their enemy, the South African army, ended an unprecedented conference in Lusaka yesterday with pledges to work for peace.

In a joint statement released in the Zambian capital after five days of talks, the two sides declared there should be a "mutually binding cessation of hostilities" as soon as possible.

Under an envisioned ceasefire agreement the

African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), would halt all guerilla attacks and sabotage while the white-led South African Defence Force would remove troops from black townships and halt search-and-kill operations.

The conference, convened to discuss the present and future role of the security forces, went ahead without the blessing

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LEFE.

Peace talks

From Page 1

ing of South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The 48 South Africans who arrived here last week to confer with their longtime guerilla foes included serving and former officers of Pretoria's military machine.

The South Africans said they had no official status, but would make recommendations privately to the Government on their return home.

Before leaving by air late yesterday the South Africans told reporters they developed genuine friendships with the guerillas at the meeting.

The ANC team included field commanders and was led by military chief Joe Modise.

One Cuban-trained ANC fighter said he was impressed with the frankness of the talks in a warm atmosphere.

"We've always told ourselves that if we ever came across an SADF man anywhere it would be a question of who was faster," said the man, who identified himself only as Duncan.

Lusaka was chosen as the venue of the conference because it is close to South Africa and is the external headquarters of the ANC, the biggest movement fighting to end apartheid.

Easing

The Lusaka meeting was the latest example of easing hostilities between South Africa's white minority that controls political and economic power and the voiceless black majority.

The ANC and other anti-apartheid movements were legalised in February.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was freed from 27 years' imprisonment for anti-Government activities, three years after the Congress was banned.

And both Mandela and President FW de Klerk, architect of reform, early this month began talks on the political future of their land.

Role

The role of the military on cracking down on activists in black townships positioned the first planned meeting.

In Lusaka, the two sides also agreed that the regular South African security forces should be halved, conscription should be stopped and the Natal-based 32 Battalion comprising Angolan mercenaries should be withdrawn.

They also concurred that once progress has been made in political discussions Umkhonto guerillas should be permitted to return home and be integrated into the existing army or demobilised.

No ceasefire until people's government rules — ANC

26/5/90

MELINDA HAM

11A

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday that it would not abandon its armed struggle against white rule in South Africa until a democratically elected government was in power.

A senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, information chief Pallo Jordan, said this on the third day of talks between the ANC's military wing and present and past members of South Africa's security forces.

The unprecedented five-day conference in the Zambian capital, where the ANC has its external headquarters, is discussing future security in South Africa in the light of the unbanning of the ANC in February.

'Emergency could be partially lifted soon'

POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency could be partially lifted within weeks, Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the DP, said yesterday.

He based this on what President F W de Klerk has been telling European leaders, and an interview the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, gave to Leadership magazine.

Mr Vlok told the publication that it was possible to have a state of emergency in certain areas, such as Natal, while lifting it in the rest of the country, and this was being considered.

The emergency regulations come up for renewal in June, shortly before a meeting of the European Community where their relations with South Africa will be discussed.

Dr Worrall also attacked Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan for accusing Nelson Mandela of contradicting the Groote Schuur Minute. "It is not for General Malan to make statements of that kind," Dr Worrall said. "It is well out of court. He was not part of the Government delegation and his position in the Cabinet and Parliament is very tenuous indeed. He was saved pressure from resigning over the CCB affair largely because he adopted a low profile."

The 48-member South African delegation comprises serving middle-rank army officers, military men from the nominally independent homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics and church leaders.

The ANC team is led by military chief Joe Modise and comprises field commanders of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Jordan, spelling out the main condition for an end to ANC warfare, said the guerrillas would accept nothing short of a democratically elected government.

Objectives

"At that point, we would consider that the objectives of our formation and the creation of the armed struggle had been met," Mr Jordan told the conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa. "Then we would terminate the armed struggle."

President de Klerk sees ongoing ANC violence as an obstacle to negotiations launched early this month on a new political order in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk legalised the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements in February, freed black activists, including ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and entered into direct talks with the ANC.

But the discussions have been overshadowed by clashes in South African urban areas between rival black factions and

Star 26/5/90

No truce

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The ANC's key demands are the release of all political prisoners and the removal of apartheid laws.

Once these had been met, Mr Jordan said, the two parties could prepare for the election of a constituent assembly in South Africa.

"Those deciding South Africa's future would then have the confidence of the majority of South Africans — black and white," Mr Jordan declared.

He envisaged that the assembly would be a transitional government, lasting about a year, to draft a new constitution and organise South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.

"This would terminate a very bitter chapter in the history of our country," he said. — Sapa-AP.

also between black activists and the police.

Mr Jordan said the ANC executive was considering the need for a third party to serve as a broker in the talks, arguing that Mr de Klerk was currently both a player and the referee. "This is a completely untenable position," he said.

He pointed to the United Nations role in steering neighbouring Namibia to independence from Pretoria, but said the ANC was making no specific proposals at this stage.

Once South Africa removed obstacles for meaningful negotiations, Mr Jordan said, the two sides could discuss a ceasefire.

TO PAGE 2.

NEWS

ANC starts branches in white areas

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

AS the times change, so will the face of politics in the new South Africa, especially for liberation movements such as the African National Congress.

The movement was outlawed in 1960 and legalised when President De Klerk made his landmark speech in parliament on February 2.

Of course, there are those who will say "the people legalised the ANC long before President De Klerk did", but that is another matter.

ANC members have been working tirelessly behind the scenes to start branches and this week the results of their labours were there for all to see when the movement held a series of public meetings in the Western Cape.

Some forays were made into white areas — in Gardens, a Democratic Party seat, Observatory-Mowbray and Stellenbosch — as the ANC seemed to be entering the party-political scene.

However, ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu denied that the movement was moving into this arena.

"For the time being I prefer the ANC to be a national liberation movement and not a political party."

Be that as it may, the majority of people at the first public meeting of the ANC Observatory-Mowbray branch on Tuesday night were white. So, too, were those who listened to internal ANC chairman Mr Sisulu when he spoke at the University of Stellenbosch on Wednesday.

The crowd of 250 people on Tuesday night was made up of "university activists", Cape Democrats members and other interested people.

What set this meeting apart from other extra-parliamentary meetings was an absence of political slogans, groups of comrades toyi-toying, aggression in the air and heavily armed police.

It was for all practical purposes a normal political meeting.

Honest answers

Charismatic ANC member Ms Cheryl Carolus, the last speaker at the meeting, as usual impressed with her honest answers.

She fielded a question on the ANC's environment policy by saying the movement had been fighting a liberation war and had not had time to formulate an environmental policy.

However, she said the ANC was concerned about the environment, adding that individual members held strong views about it.

But Barbara Hogan, who walked from prison in February this year, was the one people had come to hear because she was white and had taken the plunge to join the ANC at a time when it was a punishable offence.

She had paid her price — serving eight years of a 10-year sentence for treason.

Articulate and thinking deeply before she answered questions, she said it was her colour which prevented her from joining a Black Consciousness Organisation.

But the State clampdown on the BC movement in 1977 after the death in detention of Steve Biko was the impetus she needed to join the ANC.

"I, like those of you who are white, lived with and experienced white angst. You lived in a state of helplessness, rage, fear and frustration and experienced a sense of alienation."

During the Stellenbosch meeting, the atmosphere was much the same and a member of the audience earned Mr Sisulu's applause when he wanted to know when the movement would open a branch in Stellenbosch.

That question and the ANC's sortie into white areas, irrespective of whether they are DP, National Party or Conservative Party strongholds, is a step into the party political fray and the era of the new politics.

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NEWS

IN SEARCH OF SYMBOLS FOR ALL IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

A VAST panoply of divisive symbols occur in South Africa and the transition to peaceful democracy lies in the creation of new symbols with which all races can identify.

Symbols like the South African flag, the national anthem, monuments, cultural organisations and even buildings need to be reassessed in terms of a new South Africa embracing all cultural groups.

This view is shared by many psychologists who say the new South Africa will be born out of a determination by individuals to take responsibility for changing perceptions and new symbols will play an important part in this activity.

It was especially important that people on the extreme opposites like the AWB and the PAC started reaching out to each other.

Mr Mark Wellman of the Cape of Good Hope Centre for Jungian Studies in Cape Town said Jungians believed 40 years of apartheid had created complete polar opposites between radical whites and blacks.

"Whenever this happens you have dangerous volatile situations like in Welkom, where you have two radical extremes squaring up to each other," he said.

According to Mr Wellman the only way to diffuse this type of situation was to find symbols with which both groups could identify and which would help to bring them together.

He said nature had been suggested as a good symbol and the Reserve Bank's decision to "depoliticise" bank notes and to use wild animals instead of Jan van Riebeeck on them was a step in

Symbols play an important part in all cultures. South Africa is characterised by divisive symbols. Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM LIZAMORE examines the role of these symbols and their importance in the creation of a new South Africa.

the right direction.

"Nature will be a good symbol. It is neutral and belongs to us all," he said.

Mr Wellman said South Africa had to do away with symbols of repression.

"One of the problems with our present society is that it is filled with symbols that evoke anger."

Buildings, government vehicles, monuments, schools, all had connotations with apartheid and were resented at a very deep level. So when black people burned buildings they were in most cases really expressing anger against what they represented to them, he said.

Professor J W de Gruchy of the Department of Religious Studies at UCT agreed on the need for new symbols but also said churches and cultural groups had an important part to play in the creation of new attitudes among South Africans.

"You can't have a new nation without the development of a common culture. It is fundamental — it takes time and you have to work at it — it wont take one generation."

Churches and other religious groups had to realise that this was part of their task. "We have not just got to change the political structures but to change the whole psyche of the country, to create a new identity before we even get near to a solution."

It was however very important that leaders become aware of the power of symbols.

He pointed out that a rugby tour for instance could be divisive or help to unite people of different races. It would depend on what degree of sanction it had from the majority of South Africans.

"I believe the rugby board's decision not to have any overseas sides here is a recognition of the need to gain the support of most South Africans."

Mandela coach found guilty

CAPT TUIS 26/5/90

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JOHANNESBURG. — Former Mandela United Football Club coach Jerry Richardson was yesterday found guilty of the murder of teenage activist "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei.

He was also convicted on all other charges, including attempted murder, four kidnapping charges and five of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Judgment was handed down by Mr Justice B O'Donovan in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Justice O'Donovan also found that Mrs Winnie Mandela was, at one time, present when the four kidnapped men were assaulted by Mr Richardson and his associates at her Soweto home.

Evidence was that Stompie and three others were abducted from the Methodist Church in Soweto on December 29, 1988, and taken to Mrs Mandela's house.

There Stompie was accused of being a police informer, and accused of having sold out four comrades to police at his home town, Parys.

The other three, Mr Barend Mono, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe and Mr Kenneth Kgase, were accused of having homosexual relations with the Rev Paul Verryn at the Soweto church.

Stompie's decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto in January last year.

Mr Richardson, 41, had pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Except in a few instances, the version of state witnesses was corroborated in all respects, Mr Justice O'Donovan said in his judgment.

He rejected the evidence of Ms Xoliswa Falati and Ms Norah Moahlodi, in support of Mr Richardson.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said there was no evidence given to substantiate allegations that Mr Verryn had homosexual liaisons with the young men.

He said that although Mr Richardson testified he had only slapped and punched each of the abducted young men, this was only part of much more serious assaults. "He played a leading role throughout the episode."

Mr Richardson did not sleep in his room the night Stompie was last seen alive, and on the next day when he returned his shoes were bloodstained.

The hearing was postponed to August 6 for the defence to consult with a psychiatrist to examine Mr Richardson.

Mrs Mandela was not charged in the case, and she was not called as a witness. — Sapa

Liberation groups will confer before talking with govt

By SANDILE MEMELA *Press 27/5/90* (11A)

PLANS are being made for a consultative conference of all liberation movements in South Africa by July before they enter into serious negotiations with the government, Azapo president Jerry Mosala said this week.

The ANC had accepted the idea of holding the conference, which was being convened by Azapo, to agree on issues considered to be non-negotiable, he said.

A venue has not yet been chosen.

Priority items on the agenda will include the allocation of land, transformation of the economy, one-man one-vote and the election of a constituent assembly which will draft a constitution for a new society.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has expressed his organisation's willingness to participate in the conference and has informed ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

"Plans are under way to officially meet the PAC and other progressive organisations to finalise details," said Mosala.

Already, exploratory talks have been held with the PAC but nothing has been finalised. The second round of talks is expected to be held this week.

Other organisations to be approached include the Unity Movement, Workers' Organisation of South Africa (Wosa) and Cosatu.

Azapo first mooted the idea of a consultative conference after its annual congress at Shareworld in March.

Mosala said the meeting would only be attended by the leadership of the organisations. He said unity of purpose was imperative prior to any negotiations that might be entered into with the government.

Mobilise, says Treurnicht

ABOUT 60 000 white conservatives gathered below the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria yesterday to pledge their support for the Afrikaner's "Third Freedom Struggle" for self-determination.

The mass rally was marked by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht spelling out a 10-point plan to achieve Afrikaner independence, a 500-strong mounted commando preceding the rally and a colourful expression of Afrikaner patriotism.

The meeting coincided with an ANC rally addressed by the deputy president Nelson Mandela about 20km away in the Atteridgeville Stadium.

Concentrating on the theme of the Afrikaner *volk* being betrayed by State President FW de Klerk's reforms, Treurnicht said: "We undertake that we shall not accept the threatened destruction of our nation's freedom, but shall fight to restore that which has unjustly been taken away."

To cheers from the crowd he said: "Go and mobilise this *volk* on all terrains."

Reading from the CP Manifesto, he said the *volk* believed it had a just claim to a separate existence and survival: "We claim the right to rule ourselves in our own fatherland."

He had been asked to consider pledging a new covenant - like that taken by the Voortrekkers before the Battle of Blood River - but this was an exceptionally weighty matter which he would only consider with humility and hesitation.

Treurnicht said he could not but be angered at the betrayal of the nation for

the "sake of the new South Africa".

"Which nation will give away its position of political power to give way as a minority?" he asked, strongly criticising De Klerk for unbanning the ANC, SACP and PAC.

The ANC hated the "Boerevolk" and the "White nation" and demanded their land, but the government saw fit to negotiate with the organisation.

The State President had given foreign governments the assurance that "capitulation" was irreversible, but did it mean by this that the abdication of the white man was also irreversible, Treurnicht asked.

The apparent irreversible movement to black-majority rule had to be stopped.

He warned De Klerk not to challenge the people by standing in their way and obliging them to trample him.

"The Third Freedom Struggle has begun, and today you will say whether it was stillborn or not.

"The so-called new South Africa of enforced integration which the government is forcing on us leaves us with no option other than to defend our rights at all levels of the *volk's* existence."

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg denied claims that the CP wanted to wage war.

"We say we are a peace-loving *volk* and a democratic party. As long as there is a constitutional route to reclaim our freedom, we will follow it.

"But if the constitutional route is blocked, we will be an oppressed *volk*, and will have no option but to use the methods of an oppressed people to wrest back our freedom." - Sapa

CP/MS 27/5/90

1119

Vena acquitted of sabotage

THE former commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for the western Cape, 33-year-old Mzwandile Vena was acquitted in the Transkei Supreme Court this week on charges of sabotage and terrorism.

Vena's acquittal by Judge Davis came at the insistence of the military government. Prosecutor Johan du Toit told the court the Ministry of Justice had informed Attorney General Chris Nel that in consultation with the military council, the court has been advised to drop the charges against Vena. No further explanation was given.

Reports by CP staffers, CP correspondents, Sapa.

Friday.
Fernando Ndlovu was picked up in a minibus by several "bigger boys" on Monday night and forced to participate in a petrol-bomb attack on a "comrade's" house, according to his father Salmao Ndlovu, 46.

"The boys took advantage of the fact he spoke Shangaan and could not speak Sotho. He was caught red-handed after being used as a pawn," Ndlovu said.

The boy was caught during the attack by neighbours who took him to the police on Tuesday.

Ndlovu said he saw his son in court on Wednesday, and claimed he had been assaulted. "His face is swollen," he alleged.

Ndlovu comes from GaZankulu but has lived in Thabong township and worked on President Steyn gold mine since 1971.

Fernando appears in court again on June 15 and has been promised a Shangaan interpreter.

UDF, Cosatu and NUM representatives met in Thabong township on Thursday night to discuss the formation of the Northern Free State branch of the ANC, according to a senior Thabong activist.

Discussions focused on the appointment and election of "zonal representatives" to the ANC Regional Executive Committee.

Representatives from UDF-affiliated Thabong youth, student and women's organisations and civic associations met earlier on Thursday to discuss funeral arrangements for the 12 people killed on Sunday and Monday in police action in the township.

The dead are to be buried at a mass funeral next weekend.

of the situation in the township, according to Thabong Youth Congress president Paul Mahlatsi.

C/Pres 27/5/90 ~~27/5/90~~
THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has appealed to those in positions of authority and leadership to find solutions to the Welkom race crisis.

Directing its plea at the security forces, community organisations and vigilantes, the SACBC in the Free State and Goldfields said it had witnessed the recent violence in Welkom and Thabong with pain and sadness.

"We deeply regret the loss of life which occurred and all the suffering that has arisen as a result," the SACBC said in a statement on Friday.

"We extend our sincerest condolences to the families of all the deceased."

The SACBC called on leaders and those in positions of authority to work together to identify the causes which had "led to this angry expression of frustration".

"We appeal to the police and security forces to act with restraint and sensitivity and to bear in mind that their presence often serves to inflame, rather than defuse, the situation.

"We urgently request all organisations and structures in Welkom and Thabong to normalise the situation by maintaining discipline among their members and by avoiding provocative speech and action.

"Clearly, vigilante action only worsens the tension and should be stopped.

"It is essential that uncontrolled elements which use the existing tension for their own purposes, be brought under control by community leaders," the statement said. - Sapa

Cops plotted to frame Boesak - claim

11A 27/5/90

A PLOT of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) to lead Allan Boesak, other anti-apartheid leaders and Soviet diplomats into a trap to prove a communist conspiracy against South Africa and cause an international scandal, has been exposed.

(Handwritten scribbles)

A former agent of the NIS and the security police spilled the beans in an interview with the Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad*.

He also revealed that plans were made to lead Albertina Sisulu, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Cosatu leader Jay Naidoo into traps to prove a "communist-onslaught" against the country.

Boesak, who had two meetings with the agent, a Springbok sportsman, described the plan this week as "diabolical".

He said it could have destroyed his career in the NG Sendingkerk. "It shows to what depths the government is prepared to stoop to prove the 'total onslaught'," he said.

The plan failed because the agent became too friendly with the Russians and respected Boesak too much to betray him.

According to the plan:
 ■ Meetings between Boesak and an Oleg D Khodyref, a senior Soviet diplomat based in Lesotho, were to be arranged. The two would then be led into a trap;

■ Secret meetings were to be arranged between Jay Naidoo and other Cosatu leaders and the Soviets in Lesotho. The Co-

■ To Page 2

cl/men 27/5/90

Cops 'plotted to frame Boesak'

From Page 1

satu leaders were to be arrested when they re-entered South Africa. The agent said he met former Cosatu official Frank Meintjes twice; and

■ Meetings between the Soviets and Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Albertina Sisulu were to be set up. The agent failed to contact Sisulu but he said he met Tutu once at an airport.

Khodyref, who has strong links with the KGB, was to be used to create an international incident and an embarrass-

ment to the Soviet Union.

The agent had two meetings - in 1987 and beginning of 1988 - with Boesak in his office in Bellville. Boesak said he had no objections to meeting Khodyref in the interest of peace.

Boesak told *Vrye Weekblad* this week: "I remember him very very well. We saw each other twice. He (the agent) told me about his links with the Russians. During our first meeting we drank tea and discussed politics, church and other things. I remember well that he

asked me how I felt about whites.

"During our second meeting he directly proposed that I meet the Russian diplomat in Cape Town. He proposed the meeting in the interest of peace. He said the diplomat would influence his countrymen and government to bring peace to South Africa.

"He was very credible and I had no idea he was an agent."

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

C/P/27/5/90 ■ ■ ■ ■ (118)

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The dead are to be buried at a mass funeral next weekend.

ANC 'losing patience' with critics of talks

By CHARLES MOGALE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a veiled threat to the PAC to stop criticising negotiations with the government.

Addressing an emotional 60 000 crowd at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, he said: "There are organisations which have imaginary armies, who have not conducted a single armed struggle in this country, who criticise us for trying to secure peace. Our patience is not likely to last very long."

The crowd burst into wild applause when Mandela directed a sharp attack at Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Referring to him as a tyrant, he said: "We have another problem not far from the capital in the form of Mangope. We urge Mangope to remember the lesson of (Adolf) Hitler, who had the strongest army in the world. Hitler was buried by the people. Mangope is less than a paper tiger."

Europe will show new approach: FW

SUBSTANTIAL changes in Europe's relations with South Africa will be forthcoming, said State President FW de Klerk yesterday after returning from his 18-day nine-nation European tour.

"I expect Europe will in the months to come - maybe sooner - show this new approach," he said at Jan Smuts Airport.

He warned against expecting "dramatic" changes soon from Western Europe.

"But the road for normal relations is open. This trip has made a major contribution towards removing stumbling blocks to new relations with South Africa.

"South Africa's pride has been restored," he said.

De Klerk and his entourage were greeted by more than 1 000 people, waving South African flags, banners and wearing stickers saying "I love FW".

De Klerk, looking tired but happy, was given an enthusiastic welcome by the crowd, and a Soweto police choir sang for him. - Sapa.

■ See Page 2

PAC wife on bomb charge

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN: Sydney
THE wife of the PAC's representative to the United Nations was this week committed for trial on charges of firebombing a South African diplomat's car.

Kerry-Anne Browning, 30, allegedly firebombed the car belonging to the third secretary of the SA embassy outside his home in Canberra in 1988.

The man's young daughter lay sleeping only metres from the explosion.

Kerry-Anne, a social worker and wife of

Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, 32, was also charged with two other firebomb attacks on cars belonging to US diplomats in Australia.

She also faces one charge of threatening to attack former US ambassador to Australia Bill Lane.

At the time of the attacks her husband was the PAC representative in Australia. He was originally charged with her but the charges were dropped. ^(11A) ²⁷¹⁵¹⁹⁰

Kerry-Anne, who pleaded not guilty, was released on bail pending her trial in the Supreme Court in Canberra.

Tough Mandela slams 'enemy'

Sunday Times Reporters

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday endorsed the armed struggle as a valid means of forcing the South African Government — which he labelled "the enemy" — to the negotiating table.

The ANC deputy president was speaking to more than 50 000 singing, chanting and dancing supporters at the Super Stadium rally in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, in the shadow of a hillside with "ANC Lives" emblazoned in white painted stones.

In a hard-hitting speech that reinforced Friday's

commitment to violence from the ANC's external headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mandela said the Government had to "meet the minimum demands set out in the Harare Declaration" if it wanted the ANC to negotiate.

"Meanwhile, the struggle continues," he said — defining "the struggle" as "the campaign for the international isolation of the present racially-based Government, the mobilisation of the masses against oppression, and the armed struggle".

Mr Mandela took the opportunity to hit back at Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan who had pub-

licly attacked him for breaching the agreement reached with the Government at Groote Schuur.

"The Groote Schuur meeting was not negotiations," he said. "That meeting was called to inform the Government what the ANC sees as obstacles to negotiations.

"Without the removal of the obstacles we have identified, there is no chance of us sitting down for real negotiations with the National Party.

"It must be realised that we cannot continue to talk while you, the people we represent, are being killed."

Mr Mandela also hit out at

"apologists" for the South African Government.

"It was us who campaigned for sanctions against apartheid. How can it now be the Government which determines when sanctions will be lifted?"

He called for unity between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, at the same time warning the Conservative Party that it would "never succeed".

Directly addressing CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, whom he labelled "the Prophet of Doom", he said: "We have defeated greater men than you. You will also be defeated."

Lusaka call for 'joint' SADF

By MELINDA HAM

The ANC said yesterday its guerrillas should be integrated into the white-led South African Defence Force.

A ranking officer in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said in Lusaka that officers from the warring armies should be placed in joint control of security forces in a transition to multi-party elections.

Mr Edwin Mabitse, who fought against South African troops in southern Angola in the 1980s, was addressing former and active SADF officers on the fourth day of an unprecedented conference with the ANC in the Zambian capital.

The South African team comprises serving middle-rank officers, military men from the nominally independent black homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics and church leaders.

The ANC delegation, including field commanders, is being led by military chief Joe Modise.

Mr Mabitse, outlining what the ANC sought from an interim political settlement with Pretoria, said guerrilla commanders should be placed alongside current SADF officers in national and regional command structures.

There was no immediate reaction to the proposal from the visiting South Africans, who were invited to discuss future national security arrangements with the ANC.

The conference ends today. (11A)

SA Times 3/1/90

Editor gets the sack for Mandela remarks

11A S1 Times 27/5/70

THE editor of the SA Air Traffic Controllers' Association's monthly magazine has been fired for publishing comments about ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Writing under the pseudonym "Van" last month, ATC training officer Nigel Bridges remarked:

"The utterances of Mr Nelson Mandela and his merry gang certainly cannot fill anybody with hopes of security and serenity for their golden years."

It continued: "The Government seems to have no overall plan to put forward, and remember, there will be no peace or normality until one man, one vote becomes a reality."

He went on to question the future of ATCs under an

By ROGER MAKINGS

ANC government and the effect of inflation on pensions.

Mr Bridges has apparently resigned from the association.

However, the president of SAATCA, Mr Rob Purkiss, denied that between 15-20 members of his association had resigned because of the dismissal.

Refused

"I only know of three, but as long as I'm president, we will conduct ourselves as air traffic controllers and not politicians," he said.

"SAATCA aligns itself with the International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers which is apolitical."

Mr Purkiss read the article before its publication and asked Mr Bridges not to publish it. Mr Bridges refused.

In an editorial in the latest issue of the magazine, Mr Bridges defends his stance saying: "... the article is not of a political nature, perhaps somewhat racial, but certainly not political.

"Also, the article preponders the future of air traffic control, which can hardly be related to 'no bearing on ATC matters.'"

He added that the purpose of the column, titled Aviation Periscope, was to elicit comment and was supposed to be somewhat contentious.

Mr Bridges refused to comment on the matter, saying it was an internal affair.

ANC still backs nationalisation

By PATRICK MAFARO

27/5/90

THE ANC was not rethinking its policy of using nationalisation as an option to address inequalities, said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this week.

He was addressing a meeting between the ANC and the country's 300 top businessmen, including blacks, convened by the Consultative Business Movement.

It was the third in a series of "economic options" seminars and Mandela shared the platform with former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation Gavin Relly.

Mandela said the ANC had no blueprint that decreed which assets would be nationalised, or what form nationalisation would take.

And it would be "a tragedy" if, when democratic changes had taken place, the question of government participation was carried out unilaterally without the co-operation of the corporate sector.

"Therefore this is a question we feel should be negotiated - that there are different forms of government participation in industry," said Mandela. "All these questions will be thrashed out not only with the business sector but with the people of South Africa."

On uses and abuses of power, Mandela said: "In the political sphere, I think we all agree on a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The specific manner in which this will take place will have to be negotiated."

He said economic power was one of the thorniest issues that must be addressed. It was said that less than 10 businesses controlled almost 90 percent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and probably the total number of people on the boards of those companies was fewer than 1 000.

If South Africans were genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one, based on justice and a significant black stake in the economy, it was obvious that this concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change.

To make this change, he said, the ANC might have to consider United States anti-trust laws and such mechanics as the British Monopolies Commission.

Mandela said the ANC was firmly opposed to privatisation. It would be reasonable for the disposal of State industries to be held over until a truly representative government was in place. Privatisation could only reinforce the over-concentration of wealth in a few hands.

On land use, he said both Land Acts would have to be repealed before anything else was done.

and planning would take place among

rural people and their representatives, government, those who owned the land, and the country as a whole, in order to make land available to the masses, while ensuring necessary increases in the production of food and agricultural raw materials.

Relly, the first senior big business representative to begin dialogue with the ANC in 1985, said the debate had moved from capitalism versus socialism to a recognition that, as with all other societies in the world, the future economy would be a mixed one. However, it would depend on which sector dominated the economy - the public or private sector. He said a trade-off would have to be struck between equality and growth.

He supported the argument that economic growth was necessary - but not itself sufficient - to reduce poverty and inequality.

Evidence pointed to the need for a carefully balanced combination of State and private sector roles.

The State had an important role to play in distributing resources through transfer payments from one taxpayer to another, and through government spending on health, education and housing.

He pointed out that a balanced tax system provided for this distribution.

Relly said instead of contemplating nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth of resources raised through taxes.

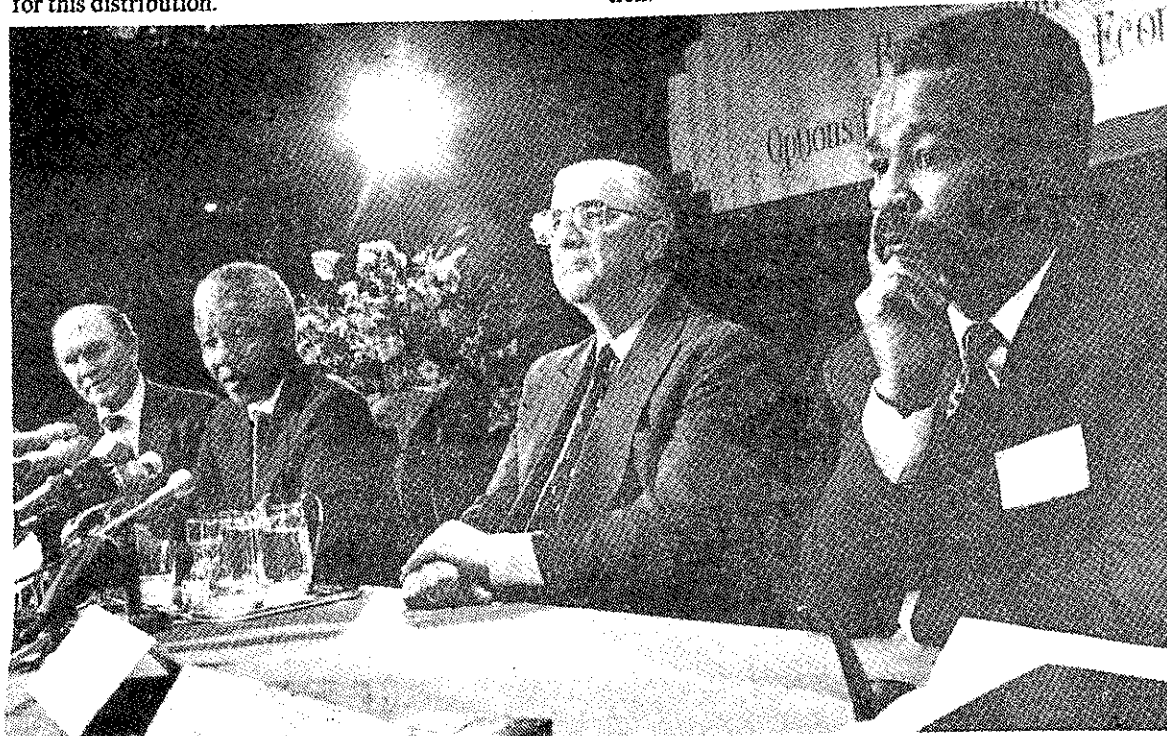
He said all countries used taxation as a redistributive mechanism and collective bargaining was another widely practised redistributive mechanism. On land distribution, he said abolition of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would not be enough to solve the problem. It would have to be supported by a system that made the land affordable.

"History shows that land reform benefits societies only when it achieves a transfer of ownership of unutilised or under-utilised land from absentee landlords or the State to efficient peasant proprietors.

"The worst thing that can be done is to transfer efficiently-farmed land to inefficient peasant cultivators. It is worth bearing in mind that only 15 percent of South Africa's land is classified as arable."

He said business was in favour of privatising those State businesses capable of producing profits.

"However, there are difficult cases like transport and Eskom, which need far more debate and investigation."



JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr (left) with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly and ANC External Affairs leader Thabo Mbeki. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

WILL South Africa, or Azania as some prefer to call it, go the same route as other African states after independence?

We don't want to suffer endless conflict like that between the MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola, or that between the Frelimo government under President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo bandits in Mozambique – or even that between President Robert Mugabe's Zanu government and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu in Zimbabwe.

As the ANC enters a new phase of preparing to negotiate with the government, political organisations to its left and right are openly showing anger at being left out in the cold.

Their disapproval of the ANC/NP negotiation process – which started with talks about talks in Cape Town recently – could easily lead to the same problems as in Angola, Mozambique or Zimbabwe.

So strong is this feeling that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has openly appealed for political tolerance among all anti-apartheid movements.

He probably raised this matter with other African

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

CP Press 27/5/90

Stop this infighting

IIA



leaders on his recent tours of African states.

The ANC is presently enjoying centre stage and appears to be stealing the limelight from other political organisations. Its leaders have talked with President de Klerk's government, much to the anger and annoyance of the PAC and Azapo.

These groups have criticised the ANC for selling out and pretending to be the sole and authentic representatives of blacks.

This may just be the beginning of worse things to come should the ANC be the next government.

One man who seems to be aware of this danger is Mandela, who this week spoke openly about his fears of dissident groups in a

post-apartheid South Africa.

As a result, Mandela held meetings with Azapo of the black consciousness movement, and privately met PAC president Zeph Mothopeng in an effort to form an alliance of all anti-apartheid groups.

These efforts are aimed at redirecting the liberation struggle towards a common enemy rather than dispersing it through infighting.

The ANC has painstakingly avoided criticising other anti-apartheid movements, Mandela told black editors in an informal meeting this week.

"I have insisted on this for the simple reason that I believe in unity in action," he said.

It is this unity that Mandela believes will give rise to an alliance of all black forces.

I could not agree more with him. There is no doubt that the ANC, being the oldest liberation movement in South Africa, has better and more organised structures than other black liberation movements.

The attendance at political rallies since the ANC was unbanned shows it has mass support.

The marches that have taken place in most major cities in an effort to force the government to dismantle petty apartheid have paid off. Some of the important results are the opening of hospitals and possibly white government schools next year.

I also agree with Mandela when he says the ANC is not the only player in the political game and that other anti-apartheid forces have contributed to the liberation struggle.

What black people want to see is a programme of action from each organisation.

We would hate to see a day when those who fought National Party rule are labelled dissidents or bandits simply because they hold different political views.

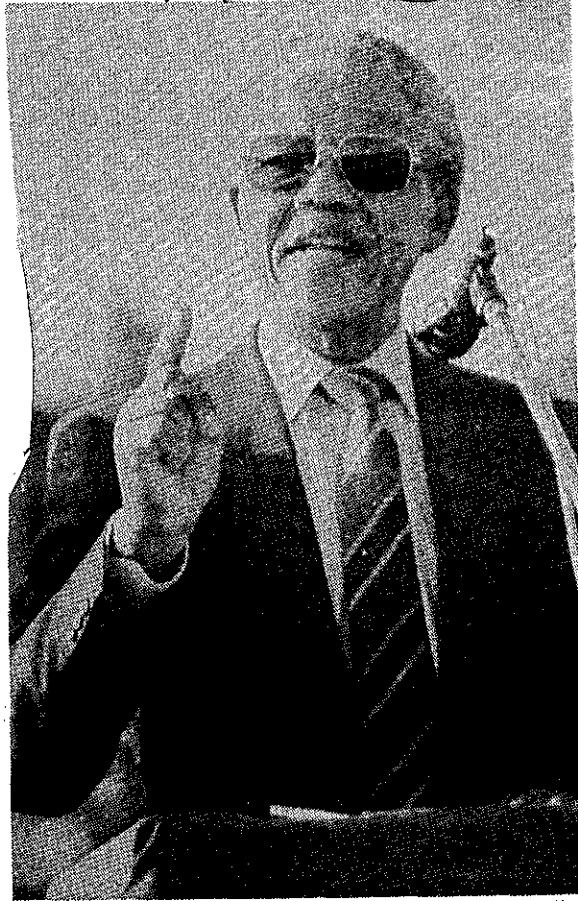
We would hate to see Itumeleng Mosala of Azapo, Mothopeng of the PAC and others who paid a heavy price for the liberation of their people forced out of parliament while others such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Hudson Ntsanwisi and other homeland and community council leaders are making laws inside parliament.

This is the time to start speaking with one voice, and the only way to do so is to form the strong alliance that Mandela is speaking about.

If we waste time by fighting each other now and in a post-apartheid era, we will be taking pressure off the NP government.

Blomay 28/5/90

(11A)



Deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing a rally in Atteridgeville on Saturday attended by an estimated 60 000 people.

Picture: REUTERS

ANC seeks integration of guerrillas into SADF

LUSAKA — ANC guerrillas should be integrated into the SADF, the organisation said on Saturday.

It spelt out this aim a day after having vowed it would not abandon its armed struggle until a democratically elected government was in power. *Bl... 23/5/90*

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) officer Edwin Mabitse said officers from the opposing sides should be placed in joint control of security forces in a transition to multiparty elections.

He was addressing former and

active SADF officers on the fourth day of their conference with the ANC in the Zambian capital.

The ANC and the 38 SA security experts held talks under the umbrella of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa). *111*

The SA team consisted of middle-ranking officers, military men from Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics and church leaders.

The ANC delegation, led by mili-

tary chief Joe Modise, included field commanders. ~~...~~

Mabitse said guerrilla commanders should be placed with SADF officers in national and regional command structures. The ANC, he said, had a "substantial" and well-trained officer corps.

But the ANC also wanted a reduction in the strength of the defence force and an end to conscription.

The talks ended yesterday, — Sapa-AP.

Redistribution the way, agree ANC, Cosatu

Staff Reporter

A post-apartheid government would seek growth through redistribution and ensure that organised workers played a key role in the economy and society, it was agreed at the recent ANC/Cosatu workshop on economic options for a future South Africa.

In a statement released after the three-day Harare workshop, which has just reached The Star, delegates also agreed that privatisation was immoral and that the Government "should not be allowed to shape our future" by selling state enterprises.

More than 60 representatives attended the workshop, which was addressed by Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo, ANC executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan and other union and political leaders. Its findings will be referred to the ANC and Cosatu for adoption as policy.

Economic reconstruction

The statement said discussion had focused on immediate issues such as the building of a mixed economy and the financing of economic reconstruction.

It was agreed that the state would have a vital role as economic agent and creator of the economic environment, although the private sector would also have a part to play.

Support was expressed for campaigns against privatisation, deregulation and the Minerals Bill. These would "seriously inhibit" the ability of a future government to realise its aims, the statement said.

Other critical areas debated included industrial restructuring and planning, agriculture, the land question, nationalisation and the relationship of worker organisations to a future government.

Stu 28/5/90 (11A) (10/11)

Mandela calls on whites to back FW

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has urged whites to support President de Klerk — while warning that he would oppose any attempts to lift sanctions on his forthcoming European trip.

At a rally on Saturday attended by about 50 000 in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had "brought absolutely nothing from Europe to South Africa".

He had only transferred the national debate on apartheid to the capitals of Europe.

"We cannot allow him to tell the world that apartheid is dead when we have no vote, when we cannot live where we choose, when innocent people are being killed by his police every day.

"I am visiting Europe next week. I will visit almost every capital he has visited and I can assure you that after I have spoken there, he will regret (having visited Europe at all)."

Courage

Although Mr de Klerk was "not strong enough" to put an end to violence and "very slow" in working for a nonracial South Africa, he had had "the courage to talk to the ANC".

"Whites who want the future of their children to be secure should support President de Klerk," Mr Mandela said.

He reacted to the criticisms of his recent statements on police violence with a blistering attack on Defence Minister Magnus Malan's "unintelligent remarks" which had left Mr Mandela "not surprised that he was considered unfit to form part of the Government delegation to meet the ANC".

Mr Mandela said he would continue to protest against the unnecessary death of even one person at the hands of "apartheid violence".

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

He denounced President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Mangope was a "little tyrant" who, like Hitler, would be defeated by the masses.

Dr Treurnicht would never succeed in his opposition to ANC and Government efforts to bring peace to South Africa; "We have defeated greater men than himself. He will also be defeated."

Struggle

On the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said that if the Government did not respond, "we will call our army again. Our strategies are going to remain in place until the whole (apartheid) structure is brought down."

However, "any form of violence against your own flesh and blood is a betrayal of the freedom struggle," he said.

"Abstain from violence, except only to defend yourself."

The four-hour rally began with "light-hearted cultural events" including a satirical address by a P W Botha impersonator. Later the stadium shook to the thunder of 50 000 people toyi-toying before being gripped by raw excitement as Mr Mandela's motorcade entered.

Some 28/5/90

National plan on returned exiles

THREE programmes of action for the repatriation of exiles have been formulated by church groups, service organisations and the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The programmes were formulated last week at a consultation between the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Muslim Judicial Council, Jews for Social Justice, the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, the PAC, the ANC, the BCM and 23 service organisations.

A National Co-ordinating Committee composed of representatives of religious groups and the liberation movements will be appointed as the policy-making body.

A task force at national and regional levels will deal with the implementation of the programme.

The general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, has been appointed to initiate these structures within two weeks in consultation with other religious bodies.

Employment and housing prospects of returning exiles were found to be good, given the country's unemployment and state of the economy.

"(It was) decided that exiles must be informed that they are returning to the realities of apartheid and not to a changed situation. The integration of exiles will be difficult in areas such as education," the groups said in a statement.

Mandela threatens pull out

By MONK NKOMO



Tight security kept a watchful eye on Nelson Mandela as his entourage paraded the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville on Saturday.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has threatened that his organisation will stop negotiations with the Government unless political prisoners, including those on death row, are immediately released.

Addressing about 60 000 people at a rally at Atteridgeville's Super Stadium on Saturday, Mandela also demanded:

- * An end to political trials;
 - * The unconditional return of about 20 000 exiles;
 - * The immediate lifting of the state of emergency;
- and

- * The pulling out of troops in black townships.

Mandela warned the Government that "we will call our army again" if the ANC's requests, aimed at bringing about peace in the country, were not met.

Mandela said the ANC was addressing the question of political unity with other political organisations, labour movements and homeland leaders. He also paid Masemola, who was killed in a car accident early this month.

He appealed to whites to support State President F W de Klerk's initiatives.

The ANC leader also warned political organisations which criticised the ANC for negotiating with the Government.

"These organisations are harming the freedom struggle by rushing to the Press to publicise our differences and strategies," he said.

Amid roaring applause from the crowd, Mandela warned Bophuthatswana's president, Mr Lucas Manyane Mangope, to stop "imposing his will on the people". He called on him to remember the German dictator Adolf Hitler, who was defeated by the power of the masses.

"Mangope must take care ... he is less than a paper tiger," said Mandela.

CA 28/5/90

(11A)

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(54)

Legal profession 'needs big change'

DURBAN — The present structure of the legal profession has to be examined and changed if it is to regain its legitimacy and represent all South Africans, says the Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Natal.

Speaking at the 13th South African Law Conference, Professor David McQuoid-Mason said of about 8 000 lawyers probably more than 80 percent were white and less than five percent black. The judiciary in the superior courts was all white.

The repeal of apartheid legislation would help restore the legitimacy of the legal system.

Land

But if the legal profession and the judiciary were to have credibility it was necessary to change their composition to reflect the broader South African community, he said.

Professor McQuoid-Mason also said some form of land re-distribution was necessary if the new South Africa was to correct current social, economic and educational imbalances.

The African National Congress's Freedom Charter said land should be re-divided among those who worked it. It also stated: "All shall have the right

to occupy land wherever they choose".

He added that the Law Commission recognised the need for the State to be able to expropriate property and the means of production, against fair compensation, and that the "objects of affirmative action" should be allowed to be taken into account when exercising such expropriation powers.

It felt that an affirmative action clause could be included in a Bill of rights, but that it should be permissive rather than mandatory.

"In social, health and educational services in South Africa the minority white population has enjoyed a much higher per capita level of resources allocation than other race groups.

"Likewise, probably 90 percent of capital and economic wealth is controlled by the whites.

"As regards the public service, almost one in four working whites is employed in the public and para-statal sector. Furthermore, since 1948 there has been an Afrikanerisation of the public service, police force, defence force and prison service with almost all top positions held by Afrikaners.

"In a new, non-racial South Africa these imbalances will have to be corrected," Professor McQuoid-Mason said.



Victims . . . Azasm members who were allegedly attacked by their rivals. From left: Sibusiso Mutha, Percival Mseleku, Khehla Gcuze, Beauty Nkabane, Rose Ngwenya, and Norman Nsibanyoni at Azapo offices in Johannesburg. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Student body resolves to intensify armed struggle

By Thabo Leshilo and
Stan Hlophe

South Africa's white minority would not willingly relinquish power but would have to be forced to do so, the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) said yesterday.

Publicity secretary Sipho Maseko said a meeting in Bloemfontein of the organisation's second highest decision-making body, the national council, had resolved that the armed struggle be intensified

and members supplement efforts of the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

On the recent spate of attacks against BC activists by rival organisations, Azasm resolved to "reserve the right to self defence and maximum retaliation (and) the right to use whichever means at our disposal".

Mr Maseko said sporadic attacks on members of the Black Consciousness

Movement and its allies by members of the Mass Democratic Movement might lead to a new wave of violence on the Reef.

His warning came in the wake of alleged attacks on six Azasm members by their rivals at the Erasmus Secondary School in Vosloosrus last week.

The alleged assailants were members of the Vosloosrus Students' Congress (Vosco). Vosco members allegedly chastised the six for their political beliefs.

11A REC 28/5/90

THAT canny old communist warhorse, Govan Mbeki, is quite right: unless we learn to trust one another, we have no hope for the future. Nor can trust survive in an atmosphere of conspiracy and deceit — the time has come to put our cards on the table.

Let's begin with the South African Communist Party.

A visiting friend from Eastern Europe — I don't have enough confidence in glasnost to identify him — sums up our dilemma in two crisp questions: What differences of policy exist between the ANC and the SACP? And if there are none, what is the purpose of the SACP?

Answers are not easy to find, because the SACP remains a conspiracy, its membership concealed, most of its leaders unknown, its activities pursued through fronts, alliances and dummy committees. Its latest policy, formulated by unelected leaders at an unknown place and at an approximately known time, is a Stalinist manifesto, qualified but not repealed by an essay written by Joe Slovo, who appears before us now as a jolly folk hero.

The difficulties of bringing the SACP into focus are compounded by a new mendacity that is replacing the mendacity of apartheid: a process that falsifies history and tortures fact in order to lay claim to the past.

It was, for example, startling to read in a local newspaper a description of the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM) as an anti-apartheid organisation that, in the '60s, attacked government property. This is mendacious myth-making.

What I remember of the ARM was that it killed an old woman and mutilated a child; that its members ratted on each other with astonishing enthusiasm; that the only coloured (and indeed non-white) member of the conspiracy received the longest prison sentence; that the leaders fled into exile; and that Alan Paton bitterly accused it of a betrayal he

In this time of trust and mendacity, let's come into the open

KEN OWEN *B/Owen 28/5/90*

could not forgive. It also broke a pylon or two, and severed some railway cables.

More recently, I have learned with fascination that one of its members, Baruch Hirson, had earlier been a Trotskyist labour organiser; and I wonder now if he was an *agent provocateur* who led a lot of silly liberal youngsters on a course of action that was bound to end, as it did, in murder?

The most daring mendacity, as all political animals over the age of 50 well know, is the current falsification of the origins of the Freedom Charter, represented as a document that welled up from the hearts of the people and was ratified by the multitudes.

The truth is very different.

The Charter was actually drawn up by a specially created body called the National Action Council of the Congress of the People. This was one of a number of so-called "co-ordinating committees" on which the (black) ANC, the Coloured People's Congress, the Indian Congress and the (white) Congress of Democrats (COD) were all equally represented. The voting arrangement, says one ANC chronicler, enabled the COD to

wield an influence "out of all proportion to its numbers".

The numbers are worth citing: ANC leaders at the time claimed a membership of about 100 000; the Indian Congress had "no more than a few thousand members" and the coloured and "European" congresses had only a few hundred members. The only figure I have been able to find for SACP membership dates from the war years: 280 members.

The COD in turn consisted overwhelmingly of communists who could call on fellow-communists in the Indian, coloured and black congresses to defeat non-communists, whether black nationalists or liberals. Thus they controlled the drafting of the Freedom Charter. The sole liberal representative, Peter Hjul, contended, according to the author Tom Lodge, that his function was "merely to endorse pre-arranged decisions". He soon quit.

Edward Feit, who made a study of the ANC before emigrating to the United States, records that the "Africanist" faction of the ANC rejected

the Freedom Charter *in toto*, so that the Charter failed to gain approval at the ANC national conference in 1955. A new conference was called for April 1956.

Let Feit take up the story: "The Charterists, by a stratagem, were able to secure ratification. They packed the conference hall with their supporters, and ensured that their credentials were not checked before the meetings..."

This manipulation of the ANC by the communists led directly to the breakaway of the Africanist faction, which formed the PAC, setting the stage for a battle that continues to this day.

But the SACP was content: the Charter, including the notorious proposals to take control of the economy, had a sufficient veneer of legitimacy to become a blueprint for the future.

Such manipulation of the Africans was not, in fact, unusual. The relationship of the SACP to the ANC has been that of a rider to a horse, ever since 1928 when (on orders from the Comintern in Moscow) the SACP adopted the theory of a two-stage revolution:

"First," as Lodge puts it, "a nation-

alist democratic revolution, involving many issues over which it would be easy to co-operate with reformist African petty-bourgeois organisations, and only then a socialist revolution." The trick was to ride black nationalism to power, and then begin another revolution.

However, the SACP had to fight to stay in the saddle, and it was the Stalinist faction which triumphed. First it defeated the Trotskyists in its own ranks, expelling S P Bunting and other founding members of the party as "rightists"; then it fought off the liberals, led by Reinalt Jones and the Ballingers; and in the end, after the Second World War, it joined battle with the Africanists.

This last battle has in recent times included the torture and murder of the 1976 Black Consciousness supporters whose dreadful fate in the ANC camps, we are told, made Albie Sachs weep.

The ANC's methods have also included assassination — Lodge says ANC agents probably killed ANC leader Tennyson Makiwane after he rebelled against the dominance exerted in exile by white and Indian communists — but its normal method is to use its concealed membership in a multiplicity of mutually supporting committees and fronts, and to operate through those fronts:

The SACP is a conspiracy, its members and most of its leaders unknown. We all know that Slovo is a communist boss, and that he admires Gorbachev as he once admired Stalin, and that he believes socialism can still work; we know that Govan Mbeki and Dan Thloome and Alfred Nzo joined the SACP long ago, before it was banned. The CIA says half the ANC leaders are members of the SACP; South African security services put the figure a bit higher.

But we know very little else about the SACP, and still less about its role within the ANC. We can see the horse, but the rider is wrapped in mendacity and deceit. Mbeki says we have no future without trust, and he is right: it is time for the SACP to come out of the shadows.



Ruth Gerhardt — "very excited" at her release.

Mandela visited 'heroine' spy Ruth

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The Argus Foreign Service ZURICH. — African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela visited spy Mrs Ruth Gerhardt in a South African prison and praised her as "a heroine of the people".

Speaking while waiting for her daughter's arrival in Zurich today, Mrs Gerhardt's mother, Mrs Lina Joehr, claimed the meeting had taken place shortly after Mr Mandela's release.

"He told her she was a heroine of the people, and that the whole truth about the struggle against apartheid would be told," she said.

But it was a tight-lipped Ruth Gerhardt, 47, who arrived 40 minutes late on the SAA flight that was bringing her from seven years in jail for treason. She left behind her husband, Dieter, jailed in 1983 for 25 years for treason arising from spying activities for the Soviet Union while he had been a naval commander at Simonstown.

"NOTHING TO SAY"

Mrs Gerhardt, who had been sentenced to 10 years on the same charge, was spirited away by her family, declining to comment.

Immediately after clearing customs, Mrs Gerhardt drove off with her mother and brother to Basel, where the family lives.

Since then the family, have refused to accept calls to Mrs Gerhardt, saying she has "nothing to say at this stage".

Before leaving prison she was allowed to speak to her husband.

She flew from Jan Smuts yesterday "very excited" and looking forward to seeing her son Gregory back in Switzerland, an attaché at the Swiss Embassy in Pretoria, Peter Eisenhut, said today.

A dual South African-Swiss citizen, Mrs Gerhardt was released at 3.30pm yesterday and taken to Jan Smuts Airport by prison officials.

Mr Eisenhut said Mrs Gerhardt left South Africa at 5.30pm yesterday on a South African Airways flight.

"IN GOOD SHAPE"

"She appeared very relaxed and very happy. She looked quite well and she told me she was looking forward to seeing her son in Switzerland.

"She just couldn't wait to see him. She had spoken to her husband before she was released.

"Mrs Gerhardt was composed, in good shape and well-dressed, and she was very excited. She had a wine-red dress on, and she was not at all tearful," said Mr Eisenhut, who was the only Swiss Embassy official at the airport to see her off.

Mrs Gerhardt's early release was announced by State President F W de Klerk during his visit to Switzerland last week, after the Swiss government had indicated it would welcome her release.

Minister to ask for probe into salvage delays

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, is to ask for a commission of inquiry into delays in the salvage operation of the Taiwanese trawler stranded near Gansbaai.

A spokesman for Mr Kotze said the minister was "very unhappy" about some of the salvage aspects. There had been unnecessary delays in the removal of marine oil from the An Hung I.

By late yesterday about half of the 60 tons of marine oil in the trawler had been removed.

Mr Kotze said he had ordered its removal on Wednesday.

"If this request had been carried out most of the fish, gill nets and oil would have been removed by now," the spokesman said.

The marine oil was expected to be removed by tomorrow.

Motorist held after man is run down twice

Staff Reporter

R4,5-m for city cancer unit 'not spent elsewhere'

Staff Reporters

THE Provincial Administration has denied allegations that delays and red tape led to R4,5 million budgeted for three new cancer unit machines for Groote Schuur Hospital being spent elsewhere.

Mr Van Heerden Heunis, public relations officer of the CPA, was responding to a report in The Argus on Friday, quoting sources at the cash-strapped hospital.

According to the sources, delays had led to the 1989-90 equipment allocation being used up before tenders could be awarded for the cancer unit machines.

"NONSENSICAL"

"The cancer unit could not lose out on an amount of R4,5 million because Groote Schuur Hospital did not make provision for such an amount in their 1989-90 budget," Mr Heunis said.

It was therefore "impossible" for the money to have been spent elsewhere. In the same way it was "nonsensical" to allege that delays and red tape had led to the "so-called loss" of R4,5 million, he said.

On June 30 last year Groote Schuur was given the go-ahead for the submission of tender documents to the office of the Tender Board on the assumption that the necessary funds were available.

"Curtailments in the total budget for hospital and health services in the present financial year had the effect that funds for the equipment were not available and therefore no tender was allocated," he said.

The administration was not aware of delays in processing tender specifications. It was untrue that

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Violence avoided as meeting moves

Staff Reporter

VIOLENCE was avoided in the Boland town of Robertson yesterday when South African Youth Congress (Sayco) leaders heeded a Paarl Riot Police prohibition and transferred their planned open-air rally to an indoor venue instead.

Mr Edward Beukes, a member of the Ashton Interim Committee who attended the rally, said the meeting, which ANC regional representative Mr Trevor Manuel addressed, had gone off without incident, even though the crowd of 800 had overflowed from the small Robertson Civic Centre.

Mr Beukes is one of six Ashton people arrested late last week. All six have been released.

The rally had been organised partly in response to an incident in Robertson on April 11 when police fired at a crowd emerging from the same hall. About 150 people were hurt on that occasion.

Mr Beukes said a meeting was due to be held today between the white Ashton Town Council and the Ashton Interim Committee.

Grievances include: Lack of electricity and tar roads; bad street lighting; the absence of recreational facilities, a library and a swimming pool; and a tremendous housing shortage which led to up to 18 people sleeping in a single one-bedroom house.

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Mandela vows to scupper tour gains

Political Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA vowed at the weekend to scupper President FW de Klerk's drive to ease South Africa's international isolation and make him "regret" his nine-nation tour of Europe.

But SA diplomats believe that Mr Mandela may be in for some surprises when he begins his own European tour later this week as he is likely to be critically questioned by political and business leaders about the ANC's continued commitment to armed struggle and nationalisation.

Diplomats also point out that the President has been inundated with invitations to visit other countries and that further visits to Africa, Israel, Holland, Eastern Europe and North America are on the cards.

After earlier welcoming Mr De Klerk's European tour, on Saturday Mr Mandela vowed to torpedo efforts by Mr De Klerk to urge Europe to rethink policy towards SA and accept Pretoria's commitment to "fundamental reform".

Mr Mandela told a rally at Atteridgeville: "I am visiting Europe next week. I am visiting almost every capital he visited, and I can assure you that after I have spoken there he will regret his visit to Europe."

Mr Mandela said that sanctions and other pressures were designed to force the government to abandon apartheid and had to be applied "until the whole structure of apartheid is brought down".

SA diplomats believe Mr Mandela will get a good reception in Europe and that the process of "lionising" him was far from complete.

But they believe it will not be all plain sailing for the ANC leader, particularly during his contacts with business leaders who are considering investing in SA.

During his European tour, Mr De Klerk said he did not see himself in conflict with Mr Mandela on the sanctions debate.

Rather, given the changes that had already taken place and the government commitment to eliminate apartheid, sanctions "simply do not make sense anymore".

● SA officials accompanying Mr De Klerk on his tour said that because he had carried out the reforms he promised during his visit to Europe last year, European leaders regarded what he said this time around as credible.

While officials were cautious about making predictions, they were adamant that "positive things are going to happen for SA."

Don't panic, ^{cont. Jan 28/85 190 84} pleads Gorbachev

MOSCOW. — President Mikhail Gorbachev, seeking to stem frantic buying nationwide because of planned price hikes, appealed to the Soviet people yesterday "not to give in to panic" and accept a transition to a market economy.

Mr Gorbachev, speaking on the evening television news, called the movement toward the market "a new revolution" without which the country cannot end its economic decline.

"I appeal to you, dear comrades, not to give in to panic," Mr Gorbachev said. "Don't give in to panic. Let's look at this soberly and realistically."

Meanwhile in the troubled republic of Armenia, militants attacked soldiers yesterday at the main train station in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, and at least six people were killed and 11 injured in the fighting, Soviet media and Armenians said. — UPI and Sapa-Reuter

● Gorbachev faces flak — Page 5

CMT T. 7/5 28/5/90

11A

LUSAKA. — ANC guerilla commanders and veteran officers from their enemy of 30 years, the S A Defence Force, ended an unprecedented conference here yesterday with pledges to work for peace.

In a joint statement released in the Zambian capital after five days of talks, the two sides declared there should be a "mutually binding cessation of hostilities" as soon as possible.

Under an envisioned ceasefire agreement the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), would halt all guerilla attacks and sabotage while the SADF would remove troops from black townships and halt search-and-kill operations.

The conference, convened to discuss the present and future role of the security forces, went ahead without the blessing of Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

ANC, SADF pledge 'peace'

The 48 South Africans who arrived here last week to confer with their longtime guerilla foes included serving and former officers of Pretoria's military machine.

The South Africans said they had no official status, but would make recommendations privately to the government on their return home.

Before leaving by air late yesterday the South Africans told reporters they developed genuine friendships with the guerillas at the meeting.

The ANC team included field commanders and was led by military chief Mr Joe Modise.

One Cuban-trained ANC fighter said he was impressed with the frankness of the

talks in a warm atmosphere.

In Lusaka, the two sides also agreed that the regular South African security forces should be halved, conscription should be stopped and the Natal-based 32 battalion comprising Angolan mercenaries should be withdrawn.

A new restructured army of conventional troops and former guerrillas should be non-partisan, accountable to parliament and recruited and promoted on the basis of merit alone, the statement said.

● The ANC aims was spelled out a day after the ANC Congress vowed it would not abandon its armed struggle until a democratically-elected government was in power.

ANC, Azapo clash leaves 7 wounded

SEVEN members of the ANC's Maokeng branch, near Kroonstad, were hospitalised with gaping wounds yesterday following bitter internecine fighting between ANC supporters and Azapo in the township earlier in the day.

Three of the men, Michael Gqozo, Meshack Mookhosi and Vincent Twapa, are reported to be receiving intensive care treatment, with the rest in general wards.

The police public relations spokesman in Pretoria, Major Reg Crewe, confirmed the heavy fighting, but said they had not heard of any deaths.

"Two large groups of

By NEIL LEWIS

armed black men clashed in the area. Seven people were injured, three seriously. We have as yet not heard of any deaths," said Crewe.

According to Mr Stofel Mofokeng of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, which is recruiting on behalf of the ANC, the strife began last Friday.

Anger

Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot dead during unrest earlier in the week.

"It seems they (Azapo supporters) wanted to be a part of it, but were denied that by the organisers. They then began attack-

ing our members."

However, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley denied Azapo was prohibited from being at the ceremony.

"The Maokeng Women's Organisation invited all organisations to attend the night vigil for the two students. When we went, ANC members hijacked proceedings and chased out those who wore Azapo T-shirts."

Meanwhile, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, last night appealed to ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the general secretary of Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe to personally intervene in the fighting. - Sapa

Mandela takes a week off

Star
29/5/90 By Kaizer Nyatumba (11A)

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela was admitted to the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg on Sunday for "a day or two", a hospital spokesman confirmed today.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada told The Star yesterday that Mr Mandela had gone to the clinic "for a routine check-up".

Mr Kathrada said today that Mr Mandela's stay in hospital was "nothing sudden" as the ANC leader's check-up had been pre-arranged.

"It's the type of check-up which started when we were still in prison, not only with him but also with those of us who were old.

"Media people who wanted to set up appointments with Mr Mandela for this week will remember that we specifically wanted to keep this period open," Mr Kathrada said.

There was a possibility that Mr Mandela would come out of the clinic today. Mr Kathrada said a member of the Mandela family had told him Mr Mandela wanted to go home yesterday.

A spokesman for Park Lane Clinic, Dr Gordon Cohen, yesterday declined to disclose any details, saying Mr Mandela was not suffering from anything serious.

"He is well and just fine, he will be here for probably a day or two," said Dr Cohen.

In an interview today, Dr Cohen said Mr Mandela's condition remained unchanged. He could not confirm that Mr Mandela would be discharged from the clinic today.

Last night, the Mandela family released a statement saying: "The Mandela family wishes to thank everyone here and abroad who has expressed concern over Mr Mandela's busy and tight programme. It is with pleasure that we announce that Mr Mandela will now take a week-long holiday away from his schedule.

"During this time, he will relax with his family and also undergo thorough routine medical check-ups and tests, and may be rested at various medical institutions in the process. This break has been conveniently and deliberately timed to precede the Mandelas' on-coming American and European tours which are likely to be very busy."

● Sapa reports that the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, said last night that Mr Mandela had undergone minor prostate surgery yesterday. He added that Mr Mandela's own view was that "he wouldn't even spend the night in hospital".

Mr Mandela had his prostate gland removed in a prison hospital in 1985.

golden egg

were absolutely amazed by the results of our research, which certainly puts the monster forward as one of the main tourist attractions of Scotland."

A large number of visitors said the the main reason for their visit to the Highlands was to spot the monster. More than 20 percent placed Nessie at the top of their holiday priorities, and another 16 percent said it was at least one of the reasons they had decided to visit the area.

About 2 million people visit Loch Ness each year, and according to the survey at least 25 percent of them hope to spot the giant creature as it emerges from the murky waters.

By Mike Sparto for his favour

Jan 29/5/90

Negotiations the only way

South Africa's fate will be decided not in the battlefield but around a negotiating table whether people like it or not, says the director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for African Studies, Eugene Nyati.

In a paper delivered at a two-day Nafcoc economic conference in Port Edward recently, Mr Nyati said this country appeared "destined for some sort of a negotiated outcome".

Blacks, he said, would seek to achieve through negotiations what their organisations had failed to achieve through the armed struggle.

As negotiations seemed more and more inevitable, creative and well-thought out alternatives were needed to apply pressure on Pretoria, and the ability to adapt and exploit a rapidly changing domestic and international environment would be indispensable.

Mr Nyati, a major commentator on sub-Saharan African affairs and black South African politics, said anti-apartheid organisations would have to cast aside their "party-de-

Despite objections from both the Right and the extreme Left, South Africa's political problems will be solved through negotiations, according to the director of the Centre for African Studies, Eugene Nyati. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

financed parochialism and rigidity" in the interests of reaching greater consensus and building collective pressure "in the cause of the oppressed majority".

He believed the majority of blacks were not opposed to a negotiated settlement as long as their objective of political and economic equality and justice in a unitary South Africa was not compromised.

Blacks therefore had every reason to demand an assurance from the African National Congress and other pro-negotiations organisations that this principle would remain sacred.

"Similarly," said Mr Nyati, "for those opposed to a negotiation strategy, the Pan Africanist Congress and others, the majority deserve some clarity as to what alternative approaches they intend employing to bring about the desired out-

come."
Mr Nyati prefaced his speech with the observation that the National Party Government had finally come to terms with the inevitability of the demise of white political dominance over the black majority. A number of factors, including sanctions, domestic and international pressure, had forced the Government to the negotiating table.

While the NP was willing to give up political dominance which had led to South Africa's pariah status in the international community, it was still bent on retaining control of the economy, he said.

"The prospect of black political majority rule," said Mr Nyati, "will tend to unify whites across party lines in resistance to radical transformation."

"While most will pronounce

themselves in favour of change, it is doubtful how many will be prepared to sacrifice for it."

Mr Nyati said black organisations had to accept that there would "remain a multiplicity of political parties and formations within the oppressed", and that this was not in itself a bad thing.

"Indeed," Mr Nyati added, "if handled with tolerance and maturity, such diversity could enrich our emerging democracy."

He welcomed the intense economic debate which has been stirred by the ANC's nationalisation and the Government's privatisation policies. This new trend, he said, had to be encouraged and reinforced.

"Ultimately, we should all understand that until such a time that a future political and economic dispensation substantively changes the material circumstances and therefore secures the position of the black majority, the oppressed will have reason to feel short-changed and hence bitter."

Sts 29/5/90 (11A)

ANC men wounded in fight with Azapo

Seven members of the ANC's Maokeng branch, near Kroonstad, were wounded and admitted to hospital yesterday after fighting between ANC supporters and Azapo in the township.

Three of the men, Michael Gqozo, Meshack Moekhetsi and Vincent Twapa, are reported to be in intensive care.

The police public relations spokesman in Pretoria, Major Reg Crewe, confirmed the heavy fighting.

According to Stoffel Mofokeng of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, which is recruiting on behalf of the ANC, the strife began on Friday last week when Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot dead during unrest earlier in the week.

"It seems they (Azapo supporters) wanted to be a part of it, but were denied that by the organisers. They then began attacking our members. The attacks took place throughout the weekend and ended this morning ...," said Mr Mofokeng.

However, Azapo's publicity secretary, Strini Moodley, denied Azapo was prohibited from being at the ceremony.

Mr Moodley named three of his organisation's members injured in the violence. — Sapa.

7



Nelson Mandela (left) and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi back call.

Run for peace call to Comrades

11A
[Signature]

SOWETAN Correspondents

BOTH the African National Congress and the KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have given their support to a campaign urging runners in Thursday's Comrades Marathon to wear a white ribbon or arm band as a symbolic call for peace in Natal's strife-torn townships.

Sowetan 29/5/90

A spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, which is organising the campaign, said yesterday that support would also be sought from the National Party and the Conservative

Party.

Those who have already signified their support include the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal, Mr Paddy Kearney, director of Diakonia, and Mr Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party MP.

Father Martin Moore-Corry, the Catholic priest in the troubled Ntuzuma township near Durban, will be among those running and who will be wearing a white armband has said he will be running for peace to return to the townships - "and I urge everyone else to follow suit".

Seven hurt in Azapo, ANC township clash

11A

TIM COHEN

SEVEN people were injured, three seriously, in the Free State township of Maokeng near Kroonstad yesterday morning after a clash between large groups of local ANC and Azapo members, a police spokesman said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the clash followed four separate weekend attacks on Azapo members.

But the ANC recruiting officer in the area Stoffel Mofokeng said the strife began on Friday when Azapo supporters attacked ANC supporters at a vigil for youths allegedly killed in clashes with police earlier in the week. *B. D. M. 2/1/89*

Mofokeng said the Azapo supporters were angry at not being invited to take part in the vigil.

"They then began attacking our members. The attacks took place throughout the weekend and ended this morning," said Mofokeng, who is also a member of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee.

Moodley claimed that local ANC members "hijacked" the night vigil, which was organised by the Maokeng Woman's Organisation in memory of the two youths.

He said Azapo members at the vigil were chased out of the building, and the organisation's local chairman Mzimkhulu Ndweni was blinded after being attacked with pangas and knives.

At the weekend three other Azapo members were attacked by the same group of ANC members, either in the street or at their homes, he said.

Moodley decried what he described as "the ANC's current strategy of intimidation" which he said was an indication of what the future might hold.

Every American will hear Mandela, says US activist

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Before African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela concluded his planned American tour, every American would have had a chance to hear the ANC leader's views on a number of vital issues, US anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson said last week.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Robinson, who arrived in South Africa last Wednesday to help plan Mr Mandela's American itinerary, said the US national reception committee, which he would head, would make sure Mr Mandela's views were heard by as many Americans as possible.

He is director of TransAfrica, a Washington-based lobby group.

He left South Africa on Saturday after holding meetings with Mr Mandela, ANC leader

Ahmed Kathrada, members of the ANC's department of information and publicity in Johannesburg and US ambassador William Swing on Friday.

Mr Robinson said little had changed since his last brief visit to South Africa in 1976 when, en route to Lesotho with a congressional delegation, they stopped here for a day.

"The central elements of apartheid are still very much in place," Mr Robinson said.

However, he said he was "guardedly optimistic" about the country's political future, and that TransAfrica supported the ANC in its attempts to reach a negotiated settlement.

His organisation would strive to sustain US economic sanctions against South Africa until there had been "irreversible progress made by the Government".

Star
29/7/90

11A

ANC, Azapo clash

SEVEN people were injured, three seriously, in the Free State township of Maokeng yesterday morning in a bloody clash between groups of local ANC and Azapo members.

Police spokesman Major Reg Crewe confirmed the heavy fighting.

According to the ANC's Mr Stoffel Mofokeng, the strife began last Friday when Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot

dead during unrest.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, denied this and said the mob leaders "are apparently tsotsi elements ... who now have the right to wear ANC T-shirts".

● The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, yesterday called on Mr Walter Sisulu, internal ANC leader, and Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of Azapo, to intervene. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

ANC Times 29/5/90 11:40

Mandela goes to hospital

CAPT TIPS 29/5/90

(S) (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has been hospitalised in a private clinic here, apparently with a prostate problem, SATV said last night.

Mr Mandela, 71, who underwent prostate surgery several years ago, was hospitalised on Sunday night and he was visited yesterday by his wife Winnie, the report said.

"There is no problem whatsoever. Mr Mandela is in the clinic for a check-up," ANC publicity secretary Mr Ahmed Kathrada said by telephone. "This one is a major test and that is why he entered the

clinic." His staying in the clinic overnight did not necessarily mean that he was unwell, said Mr Kathrada.

Meanwhile, a family spokesman said Mr Mandela will take a week's holiday before leaving on his visits to Europe and the United States.

During his break he will undergo thorough routine medical check-ups and tests and may rest at various medical institutions.

He will also relax in Soweto with his family, said the spokesman, who declined

to be named.

"The Mandela family wishes to thank everyone here and abroad who have expressed concern over Mr Mandela's busy and tight programme."

Mr Mandela is expected to arrive in the US around June 20 for visits to Washington, New York and several other cities.

Congressional sources said yesterday Mr Mandela would address a joint session of Congress on June 26. He leaves for Botswana on June 4 before flying to Paris. — Sapa and UPI



Mr Nelson Mandela

Mandela attacked by top DP men

AKG 29/5/90

11A

TWO senior Democratic Party members have criticised the stance of African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela on sanctions and South Africa's isolation.

Speaking at Pretoria's Atteridgeville township on Saturday, Mr Mandela was reported to have said President De Klerk would regret his visit to Europe after his (Mr Mandela's) tour of Europe next week.

Mr Mandela was further reported to have said: "The government and its apologists are trying to convince the world to leave sanctions and South Africa's world isolation."

Addressing a municipal by-election meeting in Boksburg last night, Dr Denis Worrall said he believed Mr Mandela underestimated the moral case against apartheid and the determination of a majority of South Africans — black and white — to address the injustices of the past, to rectify the deficiencies of the present and to build together a new nonracial democratic South Africa.

Speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) called on Mr Mandela to re-think sanctions.

He added that he joined millions of South Africans in tribute to President De Klerk on his overseas trip.

If Europe now accepted that the process of change was irreversible and would lead to a universal franchise in a nonracial multiparty democracy, "then South Africa should also accept that is an irreversible process".

He did not think it presumptuous to ask Mr Mandela: "Is this not a time for you also to make a gesture? Why don't you tell the world now to let go of sanctions?"

If he was wrong about President De Klerk's intentions, nothing would stop Mr Mandela from asking for sanctions to be reimposed, Mr Schwarz said.

But if he was right about President De Klerk, people were going jobless and hungry unnecessarily — "and why should they?" — Political Staff and Sapa.

Parliament and Politics



Mr Harry Schwarz

Call on Mandela for sanctions gesture

Political Staff

MR Harry Schwarz, a long-time friend of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday called on him to "let go of sanctions" and questioned if this was the time to seek support for the "armed struggle".

Mr Schwarz, the Democratic Party's chief finance spokesman, who was one of the defence counsel in the Rivonia trial, said that if Europe accepted that change was irreversible and that it would lead to a universal franchise in a non-racial democracy in reasonable time, then South Africans should also accept it.

"Mr Mandela has correctly said he still

has no vote, but, if he accepts the sincerity and integrity of the State President, then he knows he will have a vote," said Mr Schwarz, speaking in the House of Assembly.

He wondered if it was not time for a "gesture" by Mr Mandela, who is about to embark on another foreign tour.

"Tell the world to let go of sanctions," said Mr Schwarz.

"Help your own people to get work and improve their living standards.

"If we are wrong, and the process is halted or reversed, nothing will stop you from asking again for sanctions or stop them from being reimposed.

"But, if we are right, then people are going jobless and hungry for no purpose."

If Mr Mandela took such a step it would undoubtedly immeasurably hasten the process of negotiation, and the process of getting Mr Mandela his vote, he said.

● Mr De Klerk's personality and approach to people and problems would have left world leaders with the impression that what he said, he meant, and would do as he promised, Mr Schwarz said.

Mr Schwarz said he joined millions of South Africans in congratulating Mr De Klerk on the success of his visit to Europe.

— Sapa



Mr Nelson Mandela

'All own 'Slowly, slowly' tie for T12

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Offt 7/16/90
7/15/90

Remove Crossroads mayor — call

Political Staff

THE mayor and town committee of Crossroads should be removed from office or at the very least suspended until the commission of inquiry into the area had reported, Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

The irregularities and corruption in Crossroads, the disaster in the allocation of new houses by the town committee and its attempts to physically prevent residents from attending political rallies necessitated this.

The town committee had violently interfered in Crossroads schools and had vetoed requests by opponents of the mayor to hold peaceful protest marches; and murder charges had been laid not only against members of the committee but also the secretary or town clerk of the area.

"It should be clear to even the most uninformed person that this town committee and its mayor should either be removed from office or at the very least suspended pending an independent inquiry," Mr Van Eck said during the Planning and Provincial Affairs Vote.

"Failure to do so can and will only be seen as evidence that the government condones the actions by this town committee."



**Winnie
mum on
Mandela
operation**

Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday declined to comment on the operation her husband, Nelson Mandela, underwent at Johannesburg's Park Lane clinic on Monday.

Sowetan 30/5/90
"I have no permission to tell you," Mrs Mandela said after spending more than five hours with her husband.

The hospital's general man-

ager, Dr Gordon Cohen (right), confirmed earlier in the day that the ANC leader had undergone "a minor operation" on Monday.

Mr Mandela would be spending "a couple of days" in the clinic, he added.

The ANC leader was initially admitted to hospital on Sunday evening for a routine check-up. - Sapa.

Jewish leaders deplore US attack on Tutu

CINCINNATI - A group of American Jewish leaders "deplored" a recent protest against Archbishop Desmond Tutu by members of a militant Jewish group in California.

In a joint statement issued after a meeting between the archbishop and the leaders in Cincinnati on Monday, the Jewish leaders also distanced themselves from allegations that Archbishop Tutu was anti-Semitic.

They said they shared his concern that he was being unfairly targetted on the issue.

A copy of the statement was released by the Archbishop's office following

discussions between Archbishop Tutu, leaders of the Cincinnati Jewish community and some national Jewish leaders in the United States.

In the statement, the Jewish leaders said they had expressed their belief that Archbishop Tutu's criticism of Israel was "assymetric".

Tutu said his criticism of certain Israeli Government policies was aimed at that Government and not at Jews.

"Jewish community leaders and Archbishop Tutu differed on whether comparisons could be drawn between the policies of the South African and Israeli governments," the statement said. - Sapa

SADF officers, MK in stormy session

Army conference moots integration

South Africa 30/5/90

11A

LUSAKA - In a sombre and emotionally-charged closing session of the four-day military conference on Sunday of retired officers of the SADF and the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), integration of MK and not absorption into the SADF featured strongly among final recommendations.

"Delegates expressed support for MK to return to South Africa as soon as negotiations permitted and on the need for the eventual integration of the SADF, the 'homeland' armies, MK and any other military forces to form a new defence force in South Africa," a communique said in part.

"There was an argument for integration, not absorption," ANC political secretary in the office of the president, Edwin

Mabitse, said.

The conference, the first ever to bring together the opposing forces, was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

It dealt with the theme, "The Future of the Military and Defence in South Africa" and came up with the suggestion that the future South African army be named the "National Defence Force".

Among the 46 delegates from South Africa were seven active SADF Citizen Force officers and a member of the police and prison union, Popcru, insiders said.

In the final communique it was significantly said that although there was general agreement on various issues, "differences emerged over questions such as the future of units like 32 Battalion, the armed struggle, the roles of the SADF and MK and the military-industrial complex (in South Africa)."

However, "the majority of the delegates agreed that 32 Battalion should be withdrawn immediately from Natal, and that its disbanding should be investigated," the communique said.

The 32 Battalion is an SADF unit composed mostly of former Angolans and is known for the brutality and ruthlessness it has meted out on innocent victims in Angola and Namibia, on Pretoria's orders, ex-

Special report

plained ANC spokesman, Tom Sebina.

Dr Simon Baynham, chief researcher at the Africa Institute of South Africa, said the MK, which he termed "a guerilla army of very small military presence," has a major impact on the domestic scene, especially in political mobilisation.

ANC's Mabitse echoed and countered this stance at the same time by saying: "We (MK) are inferior in numbers, not in efficiency. We are resilient, intelligent and self-sustaining."

Baynham believes that political attitudes of both MK and SADF could be meshed when the current 100 000-strong SADF army, which with mobilisation could reach 400 000, were made "leaner and meaner".

Trim

"Demobilisation of the SADF should trim it to about two-thirds of its present structure. By that we are talking of 60 000 to 65 000," he said.

The conference talked about "demilitarising and disarming South Africa", which they said had three million licensed firearms in the possession of one million people.

A retired SADF commandant and arms consultant and currently a researcher for an arms manufacturing company in South Africa, Dr Jacobus Cilliers, said: "Integration (of the army) is likely to begin next year when negotia-

tions, which I believe will start this year, are underway."

The vocal Cilliers, who is only 34 and served in the SADF for 14 years, said he was not obliged to report the deliberations of the conference to the South African Government, but would definitely present a report to the arms manufacturers.

"After all, it is unofficially known that there will be a reduction in arms production in the coming future," he added.

During the discussions, which Mabitse described as "difficult because it is a conference of soldiers," the issues agreed on were:

- * Negotiation of a mutually binding cessation of hostilities between the contending military forces;

- * The ending or phasing out of military conscription;

- * A smaller defence force oriented towards protecting South Africa's territorial integrity;

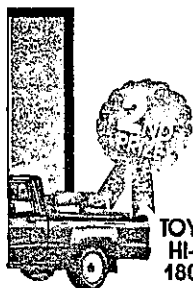
- * The ceasing of Nuremberg-type trials but not exonerating people from prosecution of future atrocities committed; and,

- * The transition (or integration) being managed by South Africans.

It was also agreed that a future defence force should be accountable to parliament, should be politically non-partisan, non-racial in nature and should recruit and promote on merit alone.



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(11A) 

Security police beat me, schoolboy claims

By Janet Heard

The Alexandra branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has accused security police stationed in nearby Kew of "harassing and beating up" its members.

It cited the case of a 16-year-old schoolboy who alleged he was beaten up by plainclothes security policemen in 15th Avenue while he was walking to school on Monday.

Mike Ndlovu, a Std 7 pupil and a member of Alexandra's Cosas branch, visited The Star yesterday wearing a patch over his left eye.

He said six men travelling in a white Husky Kombi approached him while he was walking to school at about 6.45 am. He recognised two as being security policemen.

Eye bled

"They stopped me and, without saying anything, removed an ANC badge I was wearing.

"They then started to beat me with their hands. My left eye began to bleed and they left me.

"I went to the Alexandra Clinic for treatment."

A police spokesman confirmed that a charge of assault had been laid at the Alexandra police station. It would be investigated, he said.

In a statement, Lolo Kekana, president of the local Cosas branch, alleged that a number of other Cosas members, including Mike Maele and Mishak Kunene, had been beaten up by



Mike Ndlovu (16) of Alexandra claims he was beaten up by security police on Monday.

● Picture by John Hogg.

members of the security branch over the past few weeks and in some cases had to go to hospital.

"We are very concerned that these senseless actions are being carried out by people ... who claim to be maintaining law and order in the country," he said.

Obed Bapela, publicity secretary of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO), said there appeared to be an increase in incidents of harassment, intimidation and interrogation carried out by certain members of the security police.

"We appeal to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to stop this reign of terror. We are shocked that this type of action continues under the present political climate of negotiations."

Azaso to come alive again

11A
Sowetan
30/5/90

THE Azanian Students Organisation is to be relaunched in August as a Black Consciousness organisation catering for black students at tertiary institutions.

This resolution was taken at the national council of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) held at Molemela Hotel in Bloemfontein at the weekend. It was attended by about 250 delegates from all over the country.

Mr Siphon Maseko, Azasm publicity secretary, told *Sowetan* yesterday the relaunch of Azaso would take place at the Azasm congress on August 4 and 5. As from that congress, Azasm will continue to exist, but primarily for black primary and high school students.

Maseko said the relaunch of Azaso was to get it back into the BCM fold - where it belongs. Azaso in 1983 abandoned black consciousness thinking and moved into the Charterist camp. Later it changed its name to the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), which is now a UDF affiliate.

He said delegates at the council had noted that there was a need for maximum political direction of black students in Azania to realise their aspirations as part of the black community.

Disastrous slogan

"Azaso will fully participate in the advancement of the black working class struggle for an anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist and socialist Azania. Again, it will play the role of reasserting the positive self-identity of black students at tertiary level," he said.

On the ongoing "education crisis", the council noted that the disastrous slogan "liberation now, education later", as well as the DET's intransigence in meeting basic demands, have contributed greatly to the present school impasse.

It was resolved that alternative education could only be achieved in a transformed society which is socialist. Furthermore, it was resolved to intensify the "back-to-school campaign" by emphasising the importance of education and engaging parents, teachers and students in consultations before the crisis becomes uncontrollable.

On negotiations, it was resolved that organisations that negotiate now, negotiate only for their membership and not for the oppressed, exploited black majority.

ANC, Azapo agree to 'ceasefire'

(11A)

Sowetan
30/5/90

A "ceasefire" between the ANC and Azapo was called late Monday night following bitter internecine fighting between the two political groups on Monday which left seven injured.

One of the injured, Mr Meshack Mocketse of the Maokeng Youth Congress, who was reportedly stabbed four times in the fighting, said yesterday ANC and Azapo supporters had held a meeting on Monday night where the decision to call a ceasefire between the two groups had been made.

Mocketse said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu was in Kroonstad yesterday "to defuse the situation" but had been forced to postpone the visit until Sunday.

He will address the Maokeng residents on Sunday at the Maokeng stadium.- Sapa

Aid to ANC NA

WAYS of co-ordinating aid to the ANC of South Africa from donor agencies and church bodies have been discussed at a meeting in Harare at which the military commander of the ANC, Mr Joe Modise, was present.

The repatriation of exiled South Africans was one subject under review.

Modise said the meeting had gone a long way to streamline humanitarian aid to the liberation group.

SOWETO 30/5/90

Soweto
30/5/90
11A

DET is attacked

THE Azanian Students Movement has rejected claims by the Department of Education and Training that schools were being disrupted because of political interference by "certain organisations".

The claim was made this week by the DET's Northern Transvaal regional director, Mr Job Schoeman, who warned the department may be forced to close down schools at which people in authority were intimidated and prevented from taking control.

"The claim that schools are disrupted solely by political interference smacks of complete ignorance," Azasm spokesman Mr Siphon Maseko said yesterday.

He accused the DET of "sectarianism", displayed by the department in trying to resolve the education crisis.



It was a historic moment at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday when the African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the National Party shared a platform. From left: Penwell Maduna (ANC), Tony Leon (DP) and Glen Babb (NP).

Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Historic Wits meeting free from disruptions

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The African National Congress, Democratic Party and National Party yesterday shared a platform for the first time at the University of the Witwatersrand without disruption.

"Let me just savour the moment ... Can you all hear me? That means I'm not being shouted down," nominated National Party MP Glen Babb said to laughter from about 300 students.

Mr Babb was the first Nationalist to receive a hearing at the university in nearly 10 years.

He debated the country's con-

stitutional options with Houghton's Democratic Party MP Tony Leon and Penwell Maduna, a recently returned exile and member of the African National Congress constitutional planning committee.

All three speakers received warm applause for their eight-minute policy statements, then answered questions from the floor.

No new constitutional wisdoms or shifts in party policies emanated.

Mr Leon spelt out the DP's preference for a geographical federation, an option which Mr Maduna regarded as concealed racism.

He proposed the ANC policy of a non-racial democracy in a unitary state.

Mr Babb emphasised the need for minority protection and said the NP's latest concept of groups "allowing them to define themselves" was a significant shift away from racially defined groups.

All three agreed that the devolution of power was a healthy way in which to ensure grassroots participation in democratic politics.

The lunch-hour debate, organised by the Wits Debating Union, was a rather merry affair.

Mr Babb's remark on the disadvantages of majority rule —

"We want to prevent the bad guys from taking over the structures that have been put there" — was met with laughter.

More controversial was his remark that more blacks supported President de Klerk's new policies than whites supported the ANC.

Mr Leon summed up the remarkable event: "The decent atmosphere in which the meeting is being conducted provides much hope for the changing South Africa."

After the meeting, groups of students hotly debated their visions of a new constitution with the speakers.

Why we talk to ANC - De Klerk

The Government was negotiating with the ANC to ensure that as many people as possible bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Answering a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg), he said it was in South Africa's interests that there be as many moderate people seeking peaceful solutions as possible.

Since becoming President, he had met Nelson Mandela in his office twice before Mr Mandela's release.

On both occasions Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had

been present.

No discussion had taken place during these meetings on South Africa's constitutional future apart from broad, general statements on general policy.

From the Government's side, all discussions thus far had been directed at reaching a clear commitment to seeking peaceful solutions before negotiation on South Africa's constitutional future could take place.

It was known that former President P W Botha had met Mr Mandela before September 6 last year, with certain results.

Mr de Klerk reiterated that it was not the Government's aim to deliver the whites to oppression and black domination.

Asked about Mr Mandela's attitude to violence, he said it had been known after Mr Mandela's meeting with Mr Botha that he had forsworn violence.

He (Mr de Klerk) had also obtained this impression, and it was also contained in the Groote Schuur Minute released after the recent talks between the Government and the ANC. — Sapa.

Peace focus of talks

A CONFERENCE of all political organisations opposed to violence will be held in Natal in July to win support for the peace initiatives now in progress.

The publicity secretary of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Parks Mankafana, said at

a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the meeting will be held in the strife-torn area of Maritzburg.

He said the conference also aimed to "nationally and internationally isolate Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his "warlords" to

make him a "social outcast".

Also to be discussed was the "apartheid violence" by right-wingers and death squads, including security forces.

The conference is one of several activities in June 1990 as the "Month of the Youth".

The theme for the programme of action will be "Organisation, discipline and action for power and peace", he said.

Activities have been lined up from June 3 to June 26.

11A

11A
20/10/90

ANC 'repeating NP's mistakes'

Unless the Government told the public the black man had the same aspirations as the white man, the NP policy of 40 years ago would still apply, Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Amendment Bill, he said SA was beyond dealing with things on paper.

"We have to ensure we don't make the same mistakes in 1990 as in 1948, but we haven't got 40 years now. We need a major market system.

The NP had come into power on policies that were not very different from the ANC's policies now.

"The ANC are making the same mistakes that you made". — Sapa.

ANC to launch W Cape branches

THE first African National Congress branches in the Western Cape are to be launched in June.

The launches are the culmination of weeks of preparation and door-to-door work by ANC members in the region.

In terms of the organisation's constitution, branches can be formed in areas where there are more than 100 members.

The Athlone branch will be launched on June 8 at the Athlone Civic Centre, where top ANC leadership including the Western

^{South} Cape convenor, Mr Reg September, are expected to speak.

The Grassy Park branch has signed up 150 members so far and is launching on June 3 at the Civic Centre.

Members in the area will be signing up more people before the launch.

Two Mitchells Plain branches will also be launched publicly in Woodlands on June 10 and in Strandfontein on June 17.

There is widespread interest in the ANC in white areas of Cape

Town, members report.

Following a successful meeting in Observatory last week, ANC members in Claremont are holding an information meeting to inform residents of their plans to launch a branch soon.

Membership forms will be available at the meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre on June 6.

ANC members will answer questions on the constitution and policy of the organisation.

11A



THE GENERALS: Former SADF Major-General Wally Black and Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani at the historic Lusaka conference

PICS: RASHID LOMBARD

South 30 15-6/6/90

'Sworn enemies' embrace

By LAURIE NATHAN

LUSAKA. — South African soldiers, used to meeting at different ends of a firefight, met under different circumstances at an extraordinary conference here.

Once sworn enemies, members of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and South Africans with links to the SADF, discussed and argued for five days over the post-apartheid security of the country.

Among those present at the historic talks were Umkhonto's chief of staff, Chris Hani, ANC NEC members Pallo Jordan and Thabo Mbeki, and "wanted" ANC guerilla, Hein Grosskopf.

Others were Major-General Wally Black, former director-general: operations at SADF headquarters, Commodore Vic Holderness, former chief of staff, Naval Command West, and Colonel GT Madikiza, acting chief of staff of the Transkei Defence Force.

Broad consensus was reached on issues including:

- the negotiation of a mutually-binding cessation of hostilities;
- the ending or phasing out of the present system of military conscription.

● Report — Pages 10, 23



CADRE AND COMMODORE: Most wanted ANC cadre Hein Grosskopf listens to former SA Navy Chief of Staff Commodore Vic Holderness

He replied that the responsibility for health services should be centrally sanctioned.

Sachs urges 'culture of debate'

South 3015-6/6/90

11A

WHILE racism in a future South Africa should be countered in people's daily lives, when it became "fighting talk" action would have to be taken, believes ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth, Sachs gave some insight into the ANC's views on the present and a constitution for South Africa.

Examples

He said features of systems in Scandinavian countries could offer examples to constitution-builders in South Africa.

Countries like Sweden were democratic, boasted a strong trade union movement and had an advanced state welfare system which guaranteed education, housing and health care.

They had also been poor countries in the not too distant past, "with millions of people leaving Sweden, for example, because of hunger", he said.

Although Scandinavian countries, and some in southern Africa, could offer helpful examples, Sachs believed the only model for South Africa was South Africa itself.

While group rights were not on the ANC's agenda — the concept perpetuated apartheid and, if insisted upon, would lead the country along a "very stormy road" — language and cultural rights could be protected. Sachs said a possibility could be the establishment of elected councils to deal with language rights.

The Law Commission's Bill of Rights proposals corresponded with the ANC's position on just two points — they rejected the concept of group rights and acknowledged all other rights were meaningless without the right to vote.

Sachs stressed the importance of taking "the constituent assembly route" to a new South Africa. In Namibia the war ended when elections were held for the country's constituent assembly, which had a "calming effect" on society.

He said there should be debates and discussions at grassroots level on the development of people's demands for constitutional goals.

The whole society should contribute to the drawing up of a new constitution. Workers' and women's charters would have to be attached to the constitution.

A charter of "religious rights, freedoms and responsibilities" should be drawn up, and land rights, encompassing rights of tenants, landowners and workers, should be investigated.

Encourage

Sachs said a culture of debate around a future constitution should be encouraged, and groups like the PAC - which should be allowed what he called "the right to be wrong" - had to be drawn into that debate.

He encouraged lawyers of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers to move from their present "defensive role" to one in which they use their skills to work for a new constitution. — PEN

ANC attacks Maokeng violence

THE ANC yesterday denounced the political violence that rocked Maokeng township, near Kroonstad, earlier this week as the work of "political opportunists and cliques who raise our flags and banners and then terrorise supporters of legitimate political organisations". (11A)

Azapo, one of the organisations involved, immediately welcomed the "fact that the ANC has set the record straight" after having joined local ANC officials in a call for a ceasefire on Monday night.

Seven people were injured, three seriously, when bitter internecine violence erupted on Monday between alleged supporters of the ANC and Azapo. (22)

This came after fights broke out on Saturday, when people also claiming to be ANC members allegedly "hijacked" a funeral vigil for two Maokeng youths.

ANC organiser for the northern Free State region Chris Ravuku, said yesterday: "We understand that at this funeral

some people claiming to be our members hijacked it for their own narrow ends and began fighting with other legitimate political organisations."

He said the ANC was only due to launch branches in the Free State on Saturday. Therefore any groups claiming to recruit or represent the organisation did not have a mandate. B1004 3015/90

One of the injured in Monday's fighting, Meshack Moeketse of the Maokeng Youth Congress, said yesterday ANC and Azapo supporters had held a meeting on Monday night where the decision to call a ceasefire between the two groups had been made.

Moeketse, who was stabbed four times in the fighting, said: "It was decided that those injured would not report the situation to the police as they should not be involved in community affairs."

Moeketse said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu would address Maokeng residents on Sunday. — Sapa.

Mandela's European trip delayed a day

TIM COHEN

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, resting after a "minor operation", will leave for Europe on June 4, a day later than planned, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said after visiting Mandela at Park Lane Clinic yesterday.

The clinic's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, said yesterday a problem identified during a routine check-up on Sunday resulted in Mandela having "minor surgery" on Monday. Cohen said he was under general anaesthetic for about 20 minutes.

Cohen declined to specify what the surgery involved, but said the problem would have no effect on Mandela's long-term health. *Monday 30/5/90*

Mandela was up and about but would remain at the clinic for "a few days".

Sapa reports Mandela is expected to pay a fleeting visit to Gaborone on the morning of June 4 for a meeting with Botswana's President Quett Masire. He will later hold a rally at the National Stadium.

● Picture: Page 2

SA 'must create its own law'

It is time to stop highlighting the colonial origins of our law, lawyer and writer Albie Sachs told a group of colleagues at a meeting organised recently by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Discussing the future of the legal profession in South Africa, Mr Sachs, a member of the African National Congress's constitutional committee and former dean of the law school at the University of Mozambique, said an important future issue would be the creation of a real South African law.

This would incorporate elements of African law which up to now had been sidelined and had had to "creep in through the back door" though it was the law of the majority of people in the country.

Much of African jurisprudence constituted an important reservoir of justice, said Mr Sachs, and these areas had to be explored and developed.

South Africanising the law would be impossible, however, without South Africanising the judiciary.

African jurisprudence 'a reservoir of justice'

Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee, recently told lawyers from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies about his views of a future South African legal system. **PAT SCHWARTZ** reports.

"Everybody must feel when they go into a court that they are going into a South African court as South Africans."

Attitudes to the language used in court had to change.

"If we make English and Afrikaans the only languages people can use it is assuming that the courts are restricted to a certain view, a certain culture."

"We can have a language of record but I believe everybody should be free to use their own language in court. If the magistrate doesn't un-

derstand, it's the magistrate's problem, not the litigant's, and the magistrate can have an interpreter."

Magistrates and judges would have to be drawn from all sections of the community and once that happened, said Mr Sachs, judges themselves would help to re-formulate the law.

He spoke of lay participation in the administration of justice as in England, where magistrates are drawn from the community, and of the need for the introduction of non-racial juries.

The legal profession in the post-apartheid South Africa would, he believed, function within the frame work of a written constitution which would provide a point of reference, enshrine fundamental law and "add a new dimension to legal life in this country".

"Hardly anybody has begun to appreciate what it means to live under a constitution," he said. "If we have a constitution it will be operative and significant. It will affect the way lawyers practise. Everything will be evaluated in terms of its constitutionality and it will be the great achievement of our generation to have introduced constitutionality to South Africa."

Significant

Really significant constitutions, said Mr Sachs, were not those left behind by some previous authority but documents created through struggles and in which people had enshrined their ideals and goals.

The constitution would be an important document used by ordinary people to achieve their rights and law in South Africa would be a law that would relate to the constitution. There would be a new system of political rights and guarantees, freedoms of expression and assembly, a Bill of Rights that would have to be upheld by the courts and other institutions, and a whole new framework of legal operation.

"We don't have to start from scratch. We have the foundations of a truly South African profession serving South African law before a South African judiciary."

But the profession would have to be deracialised. In the 24 years since he had left the country, said Mr Sachs, the ratio of black lawyers to white had barely increased and still stood at below 10 percent.

"The obstacle to blacks entering the profession isn't just money, it's a sense of not being welcome. That's not something that statute has prevented. You cannot put the blame on the Government or the National Party, but on the profession for not seeing it as an issue."

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Mandela 'very well' after op

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is "very well" after minor surgery in a Johannesburg clinic and will leave for Europe on June 4.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada told The Star last night Mr Mandela would leave on his trip only one day later than planned.

"I spent an hour in the clinic visiting him today and he was very, very well.

"He underwent minor surgery this week, but I cannot confirm what sort of surgery.

"He is in good spirits, but will remain in hospital definitely until Thursday. He needs a good rest now," Mr Kathrada said.

He said Mr Mandela would visit Botswana en route to Europe. He will arrive in Gaborone early on June 4 and meet President Masire.

Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, said last night that he would have already left the clinic if it were not for the crowds waiting at his Soweto home.

He would possibly be home by the weekend, she said after a 20-minute visit to her husband.

When pressed for details of the operation she would only say: "It is such a minor thing, but it is privileged information."

The general manager of the clinic has denied Mr Mandela had undergone an operation related to his bladder.

Dr Gordon Cohen was reacting to an earlier independent radio report which claimed the ANC deputy president had been operated on to correct a "cystic condition related to his bladder".

"It is absolutely not that," Dr Cohen said. — Staff Reporter-Sapa.

Sayco to call for AWB to be disarmed

CHP Trip 30/5/80

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's largest youth organisation, the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), is to demand that the government disarm the AWB, Inkatha, the KwaZulu Police and right-wing vigilante factions.

In particular, they said at a press conference here yesterday, they would call on the government to take away "police powers" from KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba said they would be taking the Groote Schuur Minute to every family in their communities and simultaneously demand that government does not renege on the public undertakings made at the recent historic meeting.

"What is taking place in South Africa is civil war," he said. "People have been put apart by hostile apartheid."

Should the government fail to meet these demands, it would have to allow the "racially oppressed people of this country" to possess firearms for defence purposes and consequently revise all laws governing the purchase and ownership of weapons.

However, Sayco's calls and announcements were made at a time when "peace no longer is distant but a reality within our grasp".

Mr Mokaba said no one in this country should be allowed to own a gun on the basis of race and that, through the ANC, Sayco was party to the Groote Schuur agreement and therefore stood firmly against intimidation.

A solution for the country lay in reconciliation and peace, he said.

"We therefore call for the disarmament of those who, on an ethnic racial basis, are trying to steer this country into war." — Sapa

**'Surprise' at
attack by
Mandela**

MABOPANE. — Mr Nelson Mandela's stinging attack on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the Pretoria rally at the weekend is unlikely to affect the homeland's effort to meet the ANC.

In reaction to the tongue-lashing, the office of the president in Mmabatho said the attack "did cause some surprise".

It added: "We are a country which has... an attitude of peace, goodwill, harmony and good relationships with our neighbours and organisations of goodwill who are working towards stability and freedom in the sub-continent." — Sapa

Ruth Gerhardt



'My hopes and fears', Soviet spy Ruth's first interview ...

AP64 30/5/90 11A

From BOB TILLEY, The Argus Foreign Service

MUNICH. — Soviet spy Ruth Gerhardt has spoken for the first time about her imprisonment in South Africa.

She was knitting in her cell in Pretoria Central Prison when she heard on the radio that President De Klerk had announced in Switzerland that she was to be freed.

"I haven't knitted a stitch since," she said, speaking for the first time publicly, two days after returning to Switzerland after serving 7½ years of a 10-year sentence.

Between President De Klerk's announcement and her release she had several meetings with her husband, also in Pretoria Central.

But because of the "sensitivity" of Dieter Gerhardt's situation in South Africa Mrs Gerhardt declined to discuss their activities before their arrest.

"Decent farewell"

She added: "In looking back, I don't know if my husband and I always used the right methods in our aim of removing apartheid."

In an exclusive interview from Basle where she is settling back into her life, Mrs Gerhardt said she and her husband had had "a very decent farewell".

"My husband was euphoric about my release. It's given him new hope and I think he was really grateful that I could come home to our son."

The Gerhardts' son, Gregory, is 13 and lived with family friends in Basle during his parents' imprisonment.

"He came to South Africa twice to visit me, but it was too much. It was a terrifying experience, both for me and for him."

Mrs Gerhardt said that apart from those visits the highest point of her prison stay was the surprise call in March from Mr Nelson Mandela.

"It was fantastic, the most unbelievably impressive, moving, comforting visit of all my time in prison," she said. "He gave me a lot of encouragement, support and an assurance that we weren't going to languish very much longer in jail."

"No animosity"

Mrs Gerhardt said she had left South Africa "with no hard feelings" against the authorities. "I have no sense of outrage. I want no animosity."

Her treatment in prison had been "correct" — but, she added with a laugh: "A prison is a prison, you know."

She praised President De Klerk, saying he had shown "tremendous courage in confronting the truth about South Africa and confronting his white constituency".

Mrs Gerhardt said she was particularly worried about "what is happening on the right wing".

Her great fear, she said, was that civil war would break out if apartheid were not dismantled fast enough.

She welcomed moves now being made to end apartheid and said: "I'm pleased that conditions are moving in the right direction, although from my viewpoint much too slowly."

"Know-how"

"I hope for an acceleration and further development of this process, which will lead to a peaceful and democratic co-existence of all South African people."

Mrs Gerhardt said she had begun a bachelor of arts course in prison.

"I have a lot of ideas. South Africa needs a great deal of know-how in educational training, which has been non-existent for blacks."

ANC, Azapo 'ceasefire'

cut 7/23/90 (118)
JOHANNESBURG. — A "ceasefire" between the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation was called late on Monday night following bitter internecine fighting between the two political groups on Monday which left seven injured.

One of the injured, Mr Meshack Moeketse of the Maokeng Youth Congress, who was reportedly stabbed four times in the fighting, told Sapa yesterday that ANC and Azapo supporters decided that "those injured would not report the situation to the police as they should not be involved in community affairs".

Mr Moeketse said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu was due to come to Kroonstad yesterday "to defuse the situation" but had been forced to postpone the visit until Sunday.

He will address the Maokeng residents on Sunday at the Maokeng stadium. — Sapa

FW 'no' to US

CMT Tunk
30/5/90

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night postponed his visit to the United States indefinitely.

The major reason is the controversy sparked by plans for him to see President George Bush a week before ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

No new date has been set for a visit to the

White House but it appears unlikely this year.

The congressional programme and elections now appear to make a visit unlikely until early next year although September has not yet been formally ruled out.

Diplomatic sources said last night that calling off the US visit also meant that trips being considered to African and other European countries were also likely to go by the board.

It also emerged yesterday that President De Klerk had extended invitations to most

of the European heads of state on his recent tour to visit South Africa. So far only President Mario Soares of Portugal has accepted.

Diplomats also noted that former President Ronald Reagan had a standing invitation to visit South Africa and that such a formality was likely to be extended to President Bush once Mr De Klerk had finally made a visit to the White House.

Government sources said the ANC had indicated that it was not opposed to Mr De Klerk's visiting Washington — either before or after Mr Mandela.

The postponement was attributed to a "US-instigated action" by politicians bent on furthering their domestic careers by whipping up controversy about the visit.

Mr Randall Robinson of Trans-Africa and the Rev Jesse Jackson had been arguing that it would be "an insult" for Mr De Klerk to see Mr Bush before Mr Mandela, and a partial boycott of meetings between Mr De Klerk and members of the US Congress was on the cards.

But Mr Mandela himself said last week that it made no difference to him who met Mr Bush first. That prompted Foreign Af-

fairs Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday to blame the entire diplomatic affair on the US activists and suggest they were "dragging the ANC by the ears".

Yesterday the 71-year-old Mr Mandela was resting in a Johannesburg clinic after minor surgery and a medical examination in advance of a trip to Europe and an eight-city US tour early next month.

The clinic's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, said yesterday that Mr Mandela was

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P. T.O.

Mandela's world tour itinerary revealed

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Kaizer Nyatumba

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, still recuperating from a minor operation in a Johannesburg hospital this week, will leave on Monday for the most extensive international tour undertaken by a South African politician.

His six-week tour of Europe, the United States, Canada and several African countries could have a major impact on international relations towards South Africa.

Mr Mandela's scheduled itinerary for the 13-nation tour was released yesterday.

Of particular significance will be his visit to Europe, only weeks after President de Klerk's nine-nation tour during which several European states suggested the lifting of some punitive measures against South Africa.

The ANC leader's visit to West Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Italy, France and the Republic of Ireland could have a major impact on the European Community's pending re-evaluation of sanctions on South Africa.

Audience

Included in his list of appointments are meetings with British Premier Margaret Thatcher, President Hillery of the Republic of Ireland and President Mitterrand of France. He has also been granted an audience with Pope John Paul II in Rome.

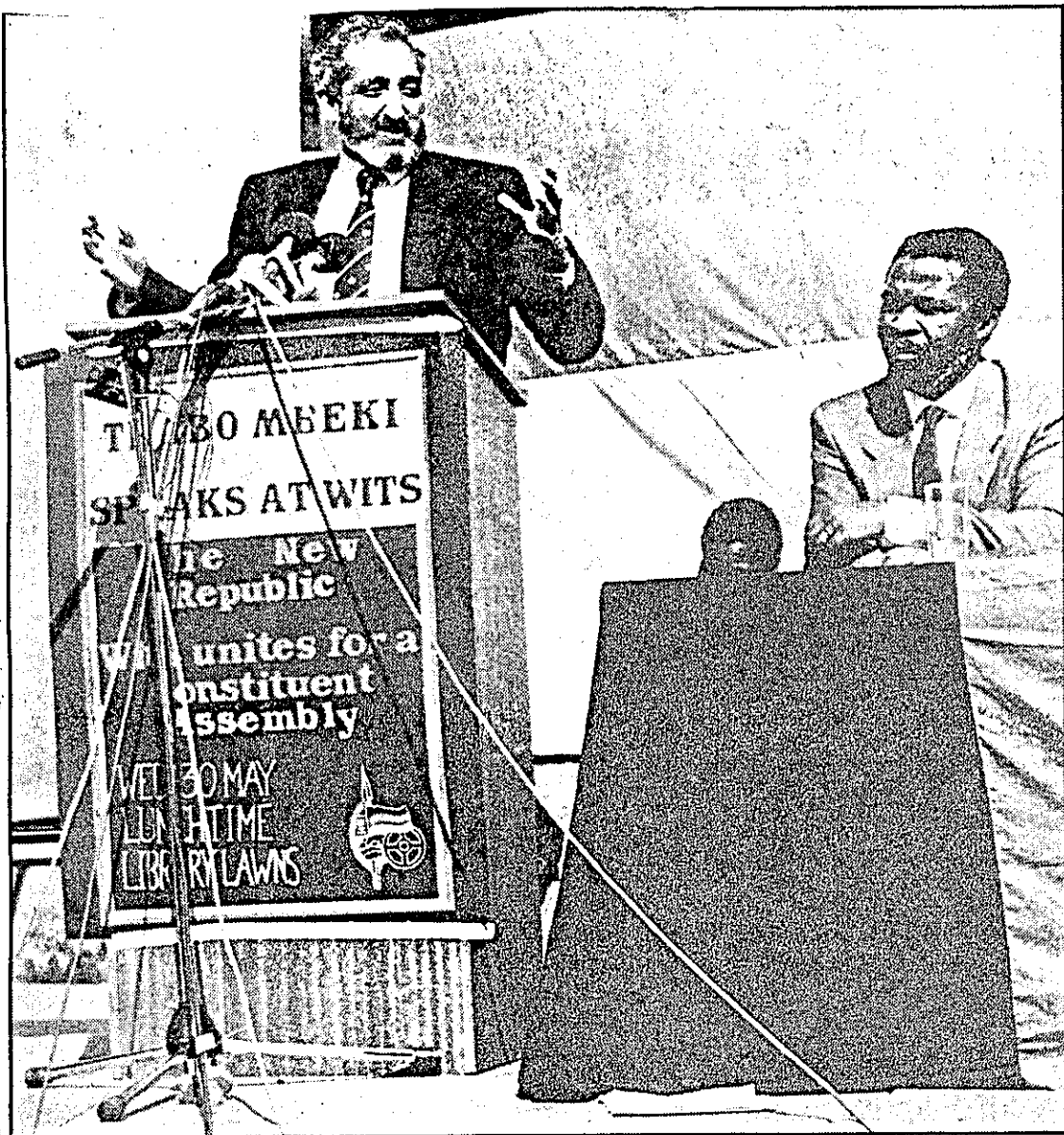
He is scheduled to address the European Community and European Parliament in Strasbourg on June 13 and 14, and is due to return home on his 73rd birthday, July 18.

His 10-day red carpet visit to the US is regarded as the media event of the year, with US sources saying he will receive the largest reception organised for a non-American.

● Park Lane Clinic general manager Dr Gordon Cohen said yesterday that Mr Mandela was fine and recuperating well after his minor operation on Monday.

Last night a statement signed by Mr Mandela and Dr Cohen denied that the ANC leader had undergone treatment for cancer of the colon, after a claim to this effect had been brought to Dr Cohen's attention.

attention to those killed during ad-



Rejecting a republic . . . ANC executive members Aziz Pahad and Thabo Mbeki (seated).

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Addressing white fears was central to the struggle for a non-racial democracy because these fears "and the need for one million licensed gun-owners" were the direct results of the immoral and undemocratic apartheid system, ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

He was speaking at an anti-Republic Day protest at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr Mbeki said whites should be drawn into the debate on a new dispensation and should be encouraged to exercise their democratic rights.

ANC executive member Aziz Pahad said the concept of a Boerestaat was unacceptable to the ANC, which was striving for a united, non-racial democracy.

Str 31/5/90 (11A) (19)

ANC will not accept Boerestaat — Mbeki

Mr Mbeki stressed the need for the establishment of a constituent assembly which should be elected by all South Africans on a one man, one vote basis.

Negotiations could not proceed unless the negotiators were mandated by their supporters and thus accountable to their constituencies.

To applause from a crowd of about 6 000 students, academics

and university workers, he said: "Treurnicht says the CP has more support than Mr de Klerk; the PAC claims it has the majority support in Soweto; Inkatha says it is the most formidable black force in the country. We say 'let the people decide, let's settle the great numbers-debate for once and for all'."

An interim government acceptable to all South Africans should rule the country during the transitional phase.

Mr Mbeki rejected President de Klerk's suggestion of a white referendum to test support for a new constitution, saying all South Africans should take part in such a referendum.

Mr Pahad said there would be no need for "a massive military machine" or forced conscription in a new South Africa.

US tour fears on Mandela's health

CAL TINF 31/5/90 (119) 307

WASHINGTON. — The organisers of Mr Nelson Mandela's American tour fear that the hectic schedule could put too much strain on his health.

However, the general manager of the private clinic in which he is recuperating said yesterday that the ANC vice-president would be fit to travel to Africa, Europe and America.

Yesterday Mr Mandela and the clinic's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, issued a statement denying rumours that he had undergone treatment for cancer of the colon.

It said he had been admitted "for a condition neither of long-term consequence nor in any way related to malignancy".

Mr Mandela is due to visit 13 countries in a six-week tour starting next Wednesday. The ANC said yesterday,

however, that his programme might be altered during the tour.

US tour organisers in the US are suggesting that instead of visiting eight cities, Mr Mandela should limit himself to New York and Washington.

Their concerns are shared by the State Department which has quietly been urging Mr Mandela to cut back on public appearances and rely upon television and the press instead.

The appeal has thus far gone unheeded by local ANC representatives.

US tour co-ordinator Mr Roger Wilkins said anti-apartheid groups were demanding time with Mr Mandela without much thought for his physical well-being. He was trying to persuade them that "we are talking about a human being, not an ambulatory photo opportunity". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

It's blacks who are the victims of black politics

CAPL
Km 13
3/15/90

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By JOHN KANE-BERMAN
South African Institute of Race
Relations executive director

AS THE new South Africa dawns, several ANC leaders have gone out of their way to reassure whites. "We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots," said Mr Nelson Mandela a few days after his release. "Whites need have no fears," echoed Mr Walter Sisulu at the end of April.

But what about blacks? The vast majority of deaths in political violence this year is in black-on-black violence. This violence, more or less concentrated in Natal over the past two years, is now flaring up elsewhere.

Thus in 1985, 1986 and 1987 deaths in Natal averaged around 10% of the total. In 1988 Natal's share jumped to 79% and last year to 91%. In the first three months of this year Natal's share dropped back to 72%.

Areas which saw little or no political disturbance last year have flared up in 1990, notably the Orange Free State, several Transvaal homelands, and the Ciskei.

'People's war'

The white Press writes page after page about right-wing hit squads but, with the exception of Natal, much black-on-black violence is barely reported. Even necklacings are hardly reported, not to mention brutality meted out by people's courts. Newspapers that have strongly opposed government pressures on themselves to conform seem much less concerned about the far more powerful pressures for conformity that exist in anti-government circles in black townships.

Several members of the government have tended almost to pooh-pooh calls for continued "armed struggle" as "rhetoric", but this hardly squares with the facts. Even on a narrow definition of the term, "armed struggle" has been increasing.

However, political violence means a great deal more than insurgency attacks.

Mr Mandela said, after the Groote Schuur talks, that his organisation would look "very hard and earnestly" into the armed struggle. The Press has widely interpreted this as effectively promising at least to suspend it.

But will the suspension include a suspension of what was once called the "people's war"? In a broadcast on Radio Freedom in 1986 the ANC defined the "total aggregate of a people's war" to include rent strikes, bus boycotts, mass marches, barricades, stay-at-homes, strikes, militant demonstrations and the creation of people's courts, not to mention the use of petrol bombs and the like. People's war was also seen as encompassing strategies to "overthrow puppets" on township councils.

Councillors

Is this still the strategy? In December last year the "conference for a democratic future" passed a resolution calling on "our people and organisations to mobilise our forces to organise and intensify the struggle".

The "dismantling of puppet structures of local government" was specified as an objective, along with the initiation of "a process leading to the dismantling of all bantustans".

Is it then coincidence that there has been political violence in most of the homelands this year? Is it coincidence that in the Transvaal in particular there has been a renewed spate of resignations of black town councillors which the Transvaal Provin-

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Is it then coincidence that there has been political violence in most of the homelands this year? Is it coincidence that in the Transvaal in particular there has been a renewed spate of resignations of black town councillors which the Transvaal Provincial Administration has blamed on pressure that includes intimidation and violence?

"They live behind barbed wire. Their cars are petrol bombed, their houses stoned. Some have suffered gruesome deaths at the hands of angry mobs," reported one newspaper.

Few people have clean hands when it comes to violence in South Africa, whether one is talking about assassination squads on the Right or people carrying out necklace executions on the Left.

UDF and Azapo

As far as the police are concerned, the fact that no one was brought to justice for either the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 or the killings in Soweto on June 16 1976, no doubt created the impression that they could act with impunity.

In Natal it is obvious that supporters on each side of the conflict have blood on their hands.

One of the striking aspects of the renewed violence outside Natal this year is that the name of the UDF or its affiliates crops up more extensively than that of any other organisation. In Bekkersdal, a township on the West Rand, it has been fighting with Azapo. The UDF has also been involved in conflict with Azapo in Natal. In kwaNobuhle, a township outside Uitenhage, there have been years of feuding between UDF supporters and Africanists. Deaths in conflict between the UDF on the one hand and Azapo or the Africanists on the other, amounted to 18 in the three years 1987 to 1989, a figure which jumped to 26 in the first three months of this year. The UDF has also been involved in conflict with Azapo in Natal and elsewhere.

'One will'?

For some time now other black groups have been accusing the UDF of attacking them. In April, Azapo said the UDF was attacking its supporters "everywhere in the country". In March Azapo alleged that "the Charterist movement leadership does nothing to dispel the legitimate black fear that it is grossly intolerant of political persuasions different from its own".

The UDF has denied all this but some of the talk in the UDF camp is spine-chilling. "We are committed to a multi-party system but would rather not have to have one because everyone supports us," a regional official said recently. He predicted that the new South Africa would probably have its own Unitas and Renamos, because not everyone could be expected to fall in with the new constitution.

Another prominent figure in that camp recently said that "community strategies are an expression of the will of the people". Only totalitarians think "the people" have only one will.

The ANC denies that it ever claimed to be the only representative of black South Africans. Perhaps not in so many words, but presumably the reference in the so-called Harare Declaration to the "liberation movement" in the singular was not simply a question of sloppy grammar.

Independent

ANC officials now appear to accept that there will be people other than themselves and the South African government at the constitutional negotiating table but they appear to be working for a two-sided negotiation table. The intention is apparently that the government and its supporters will sit on the one side and the ANC and its allies on the other.

Excluded is the possibility that black organisations may wish to sit at the table independently of both the government and the ANC.

It is to be hoped that any attempt by anybody to dictate either the shape of the negotiating table or where the various parties should sit will be strongly resisted by the government. This is an issue on which it should make no compromises.

Russians because he was devoted to South Africa and he knew the dangers apartheid created.

"I also grew to love his country and its people and to respect and adore Afrikaners, who are fantastic people. When he told me what he was doing, I did not hesitate to help my husband.

Ecstatic and vibrant after being reunited with her 13-year-old son Gregory in her home town of Basle, Switzerland, she said she hoped her 55-year-old husband would be released in an expected amnesty for political prisoners.

Former Simon's Town naval base commander Gerhardt, who was a close confidant of members of the cabinet, is serving life.

American and British intelligence said after his trial that he had been one of the most damaging Soviet spies operating anywhere in the world.

But Ruth Gerhardt dismissed as propaganda the image of her husband as a hardline communist monster — even suggesting he never had an allegiance to communism.

"I hope the nightmare will soon be over for all South Africans and for my family," she told me. "We have all suffered. But President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela have the support of nearly all South Africans. There is goodwill and reason for optimism."

In her impeccable, almost unaccented English, she said she had been on a "complete high" since returning to Switzerland and "getting to know my child again".

Mrs Gerhardt, a multilingual legal secretary, said CIA-inspired reports that she had been a lifetime Kremlin agent, deliberately supplied to Gerhardt to maintain his pose as a family man, was completely untrue.

She said she was a "total innocent" when she met Gerhardt.

"It was some time after that that he told me what he could and we agreed to work as one for the cause of South Africa.

"The strain we lived through was too terrible to discuss in one conversation. I was a mother and I knew I was often going very close to death. We knew we could be caught at any time.

"My fear continued after our arrest. We had to accept state lawyers. We could not put the case I am now telling you. I was certain my husband would be sentenced to death.

"He took all the blame he could to lessen my sentence. I am deeply grateful his life was spared.

"We were always properly treated in prison, where we met many amazing and brave people, including good prison staff.

"I do not regret what has happened. I am guilty only in that my son has been without a mother and my old mother has not had me to care for her.

● The Gerhardts' son Gregory said he wanted his father to know that having his mother back had made his life "much happier" and that he hoped his father would also be coming to Switzerland soon.

He also wanted his father to know he loved and respected him and understood what he had done.



Mrs Ruth Gerhardt

WINTER PROMOTION — Cash only

Why we spied — Ruth Gerhardt speaks

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Navy tailor Dieter Gerhardt's wife and collaborator Ruth yesterday said they had become Soviet spies because of their devotion to South Africa and its people. In the first extended interview since her release from Pretoria Central on Sunday after seven years in prison, she said: "We hated and questioned what we had to do. But we have no regrets or guilt."

She added vehemently: "We acted in the only way we knew how, in the interests of all South Africans — rather than for the Soviets." Swiss-born Mrs Gerhardt, 47, said she knew she was being freed "at precisely 4.45pm exactly a week ago" while listening to Radio

South Africa in her prison cell with "yellow political prisoner" Sue Westcott. President F W de Klerk in Berne at the time, said in an interview that she would be released within days. The words ended her more than 13 years of "hell" when she "lived at the very heart of the military power of apartheid", posing as a courier — but at the same time acting as a counter of the most sensitive stolen secrets she took to her Soviet military intelligence (GRU) contact, Major Mikhail Nikolayev (later trapped in Zurich and jailed for three years). Mrs Gerhardt, who studied music history in prison, said excitedly: "It was typical of the courage and humanity President De Klerk has been showing."

"For me, it was a divine and magical moment. It was glorious to know I would soon be with my beautiful son and my mother who is 79. I felt sad that I was leaving my brave friends — but my joy was total. In March Nelson Mandela visited me and my husband in prison. I think of Mr Mandela like I do about great music and architecture. He is wonderful and relaxing although he is a mesmerising giant of a man. "When we saw him he was more than just a light at the end of the tunnel. He was like the sun at the end of the tunnel. We knew our lives would change and we knew it would be good for South Africa. "Then suddenly last week it was happening. I was out and now I am in Switzerland. Here I

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WINTER PROMOTION — Cash only

THE ANC has scoffed at suggestions of a military coup by disenchanted white rightwingers, describing their threats as "just the fear of a few radical elements who find it difficult to accept change".

Joe Nhlanhla, head of the movement's department of security and intelligence, said only "desperate elements" would think of such an act.

"It would be hopeless. They wouldn't get any international backing," said Nhlanhla.

He was responding to reports that a rightwing military coup or mutiny may be in the offing as State President FW de Klerk strides towards a "new" South Africa.

Coup

Lately, the official opposition Conservative Party has claimed there is a massive resistance in the SADF to De Klerk's reform programme.

The National Party and the Democratic Party have warned rightwingers may be planning a coup or mutiny.

Nhlanhla said there could be no attempt of a coup by

a rightwing group or a section of the army.

"There is a general feeling in South Africa today that the status quo cannot remain any longer, that the stability in the country can only be brought about by the introduction of universal suffrage.

"It is only a small minority who want to maintain the status quo."

A confident Nhlanhla expressed confidence that the process leading to majority rule was now irreversible.

He said the repercussion of a military coup would be too disastrous for South Africa.

"Not only will there be bloodshed, but the country will be isolated to such an extent that it wouldn't be able to recover from such a foolish act."

He said South Africa at the moment was trying hard to enter into a situation of "non-isolation".

"Western countries will definitely refuse to support such a coup. Besides, instability won't be in the interest of the people as a whole.

"There is a realisation deeper and deeper that a democratic, non-racial South Africa is not far off. I am optimistic that sooner than we think, a situation like that obtained in Namibia will prevail in this country."

'One death that can be avoided means a lot' — ANC security chief

South 30/5 - 6/6/90 (11A)



JOE NHLANHLA: head of the ANC's department of security and intelligence

PIC:ELMOND JIYANE

The ANC's security and intelligence chief, Joe Nhlanhla, says Umkhonto we Sizwe has achieved its goal by bringing South Africa to a point where peace is possible. He is optimistic that South Africa will be free "sooner than we think", dismissing the activities of the right wing.

Nhlanhla spoke to MONO BADELA in Johannesburg:

But he said more pace would have to be exerted to be able to resolve the problems facing the country. A national constituent assembly was fundamental.

The South African government had been involved in Namibia reaching that stage, "so they cannot say it is not suitable for South Africa".

Nhlanhla said the main function of his department was to protect the ANC leadership and its membership.

"Our intelligence and security is de-

fensive in nature — gathering information to protect our interests. We have no hit squads."

On the issue of dissidents who have recently arrived in South Africa, Nhlanhla said their return to South Africa meant "a lot of good for the movement".

"They themselves admit they played a leading role in a mutiny in 1984. The ANC did not throw them out into the wilderness. They were given an oppor-

tunity to rehabilitate themselves.

"Many of them were helped with scholarships to study in places such as Sweden after they had been transferred to Tanzania. This is an indication of the humanistic policy of the ANC.

"They are our people who have been deceived and used by the enemy. Some of them have been held for participating in assassinations and spying."

Nhlanhla said among those were some who had been given specific instruc-

tions to assassinate members of the ANC's national executive committee — including president Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Modise and Jacob Zuma.

Some of them had been members of the hit squads.

He said no government could tolerate mutineers. Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the "army of the future" was well disciplined.

Nhlanhla grew up in the movement. He was a leader of the ANC Youth League while studying at Kilnerton Institution.

Mandela

He was detained with ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, during the first state of emergency in 1960.

Nhlanhla left the country on foot for Botswana in April 1964 and joined MK. He later studied Economics and National Planning in Moscow.

He was chief representative of the ANC in the Middle East and in Egypt from 1973 to 1978, the ANC's administrative secretary from 1978 to 1983, and secretary of the ANC's political military committee from 1983 to 1987.

After the reorganisation of the ANC's structures in 1988, he was chosen to head the department of security and intelligence.

His mother and brother from Alexandra were at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport when Nhlanhla and other delegates of the movement arrived from Cape Town after the historic talks with the government at the beginning of May.

"It was nice to touch home ground after 26 years. When I landed at the airport, I felt as if I had never left South Africa. Even after so many years we refused to be exiled.

Matchbox

"Our minds are in South Africa all the time. But being physically here meant a lot to me."

He said South Africa had not changed much except that the Johannesburg city centre had been improved.

"But, in the meantime, the matchbox homes are still there. Alexandra is still the same Alex I left nearly 30 years ago. The same can be said about other black townships elsewhere."

On negotiations, Nhlanhla said it was a "very serious and important part of the struggle.

"All countries that have attained their freedom and independence had to go through negotiations."

He said it would be irresponsible for the ANC not to accept the opportunity of negotiating the resolution of problems.

"One death that can be avoided means a lot. We will do our best to avoid any further loss of life. We hope to have a mutually-agreed cessation of fire."

Nhlanhla said there was no purpose in continuing with the fight when a negotiated settlement could be reached. The armed struggle was to ensure that a democratic and majority rule was achieved.

"The armed struggle has played its role and brought us to a point where a peaceful solution is possible. No leader can say we have got to die more," Nhlanhla said.

Let's bury the hatchet

S I Times 2715190

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By MARK STANSFIELD
SUPERSPY Olivia Forsyth came out of hiding this week to hold out an olive branch to the woman who savagely beat her in a horror ANC prison camp in Angola.

"I turned 30 on Sunday and feel it's time for all South Africans to bury the hatchet," said the mellow Olivia, who had earlier vowed never to forgive her tormentor. "It's time to forgive and forget."

Last week, Olivia refused to meet Molyatambo Mzimele, who had served as her wardress in the notorious Quatro prison camp.

Relief

"I refused to meet her because I wanted to remain in the background. But I now realise that, in the spirit of reconciliation in South Africa, it's time all of us started forgiving and forgetting and building towards a better future."

"I did not know the meeting would be about forgiveness... of course I forgive her for what she did — after all, I'm a Christian first and foremost and it would be very un-Christian to hold a grudge, no matter what the circumstances," she said.

Superspy Olivia is willing to forgive her prison torturer



RELIEF... her actions have weighed heavily on Molyatambo Mzimele's mind

Miss Mzimele breathed a sigh of relief at the news.

"What happened in Quatro has weighed heavily on my mind," she said.

Olivia said, "I was still terribly bitter about my treatment at Quatro when I arrived back in South Africa. I told some friends and I guess they felt I still held a grudge against those who tortured and beat me."

She said she should have stepped for-

ward to speak on her own behalf last week instead of allowing a "close friend" to speak for her.

Olivia now spends her spare time doing stained-glass work and looking after husband Kham.

Her business interests lie "in the property market" she said, "but I don't want to say too much about that now."

More important, Olivia said, was what was happening in South Africa.

"In a sense, Molyatambo is also a victim of circumstance."

"Many young people were misled into believing our country's problems could be solved with bombs and through the barrel of a rifle. They saw military training with the ANC as a way to get even."

"I believe they were very misguided — violence is not the solution... it's absurd to hold grudges in this day and age. This is

the era of reconciliation in South Africa.

"The time has come for all of us to bury the hatchet. It would be insane for me to hold a grudge against Molyatambo while President F. W. de Klerk sits smiling at Mr Nelson Mandela at a conference table and is busy releasing people like Ruth Gerhardt (the Soviet spy)."

"We have started a process and all of us must contribute positively towards it because if it succeeds there will be a bright future for all."

"European countries seem to have a better perception of what is happening and may be keener to re-invest — but they will still adopt a wait-and-see attitude."

"It's vital that negotiations succeed. We will be in competition with Eastern Europe for investment... if there were to be a socialist system adopted here I think we would lose out."

New era

"Socialism is dead, but it may take some people a long time to realise this."

"Re-distribution of wealth is necessary to correct imbalances, but the ANC doesn't seem to realise the policies of socialism and nationalisation are not the answers," she said.

Olivia, once a Security Police spy who infiltrated liberal-thinking student organisations and was sent to Zambia to infiltrate the ANC's ranks, has radically altered her perceptions about the struggle for the hearts and minds of South Africans.

"This is a new era. I did what I did because the ANC was engaged in an all-out armed insurrection. Nothing justifies using bombs on innocent people."

"We are now looking for new solutions to this country's problems... even the young people who left this country for training in the ANC's ranks can play a part. Molyatambo is one of those people."

"I was lucky in a sense because I had the unique opportunity to see the struggle from both sides."

Stronger

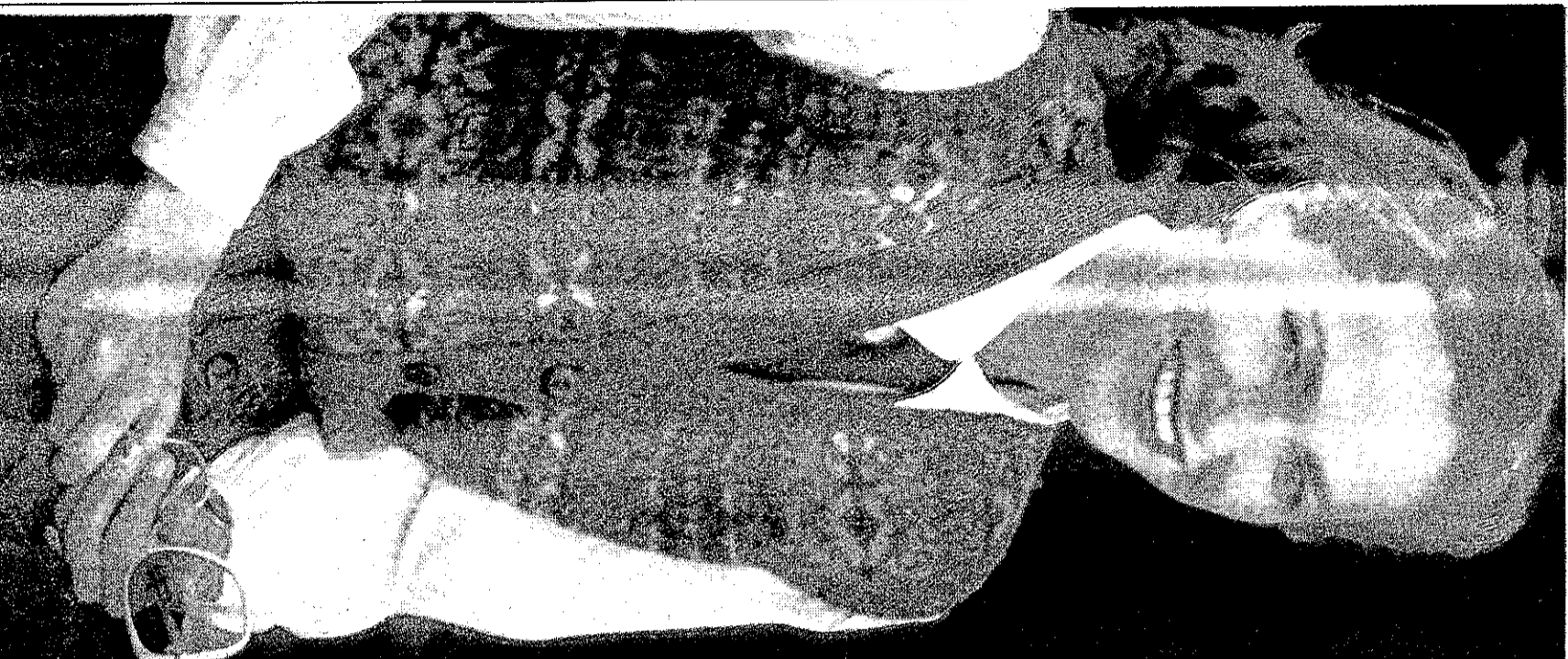
"Many of those youngsters who left the country didn't want to come back and fight. I saw them... lonely young men and women who were terribly homesick."

"All they wanted to do after a couple of months of living under extreme hardship was to come back to their families and do normal things, like go to the movies."

"The things that happened to me outside the country, have given me a stronger Christian conviction. That means forgiveness."

"The current political climate should encourage people to stay on in this country."

"I am optimistic about the future and I look forward to bringing up kids in the new South Africa," she said.



A NEW ERA... Olivia Forsyth who says it's absurd to hold grudges in this day and age. Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

IF THE Democratic Party still aspires to be the standard bearer of liberalism, its leaders had better start speaking out. The Nationalists and the ANC are discovering a great deal of common ground, and they are already shaping the future with scant regard for some of the basic principles of a free society.

Gerrit Viljoen's 12 points for the protection of minority rights, and Walter Sisulu's response to them, illuminate the dangers.

At the top of Viljoen's list is the demand that "an unsophisticated majority vote" must not be permitted to dump the country into a one-party state or into a (communist) dictatorship. English voters will know what he means: their fate has been determined for 40 years largely by the unsophisticated rural supporters of the National Party, easily roused to xenophobia, and insatiable in their demands on the public purse.

The disabilities that may be inflicted by the majority on a minority, even a voting minority, are familiar: censorship and other attacks on cultural values, favouritism in judicial appointments, assaults on academic freedom, bureaucratic control of schools and the abuse of teachers, exclusion from government appointments and state contracts, discriminatory use of public funds, propagandistic misuse of radio, television and schools. The list is endless.

Nevertheless, there is no escape from one man, one vote, or from majority rule. The need for a universal franchise is precisely that clever, sophisticated people are less to be trusted than unsophisticated people, if only because they are more adept at serving their own interests, and more likely to indulge in sophisticated forms of evil. The only realistic defence against cleverness is to give every person a vote with which to punish the sophisticates who cheat, lie, steal and otherwise abuse their power.

Sisulu, given his proletarian beliefs, replied to Viljoen with aston-

Cry out against the tyranny of the majority

KEN OWEN

ishing mildness: "We believe in a multi-party system," he said. But when Viljoen dared to suggest (Point 12) that minorities should be represented in (all?) state bodies, including presumably the Cabinet, Sisulu was blunt: "We believe in a democratic system in which people elected on the basis of one man, one vote administer the country in the interests of the people as a whole."

The implication is distressing. Having endured the whims and oppressions of an Afrikaner electoral majority for the past 40 years, we seem destined now to endure the whims and oppressions of a black electoral majority.

This is where the liberals come in. At least, it is where they should come in, if only they could tear themselves from the demanding task of explaining their own relevance. They know that majority rule is inescapable, but it requires also that the power of the state, which is the power to oppress, be subjected to every possible curb and restraint.

Viljoen did touch on the problem. His second point was a demand for assurance against arbitrary abolition or amendment of a bill of rights. Sisulu replied blandly, "The ANC has no intention of abolishing a bill of rights."

That's nice. It implies that the ANC and the Nationalists are already agreed that there shall be a bill of rights. But can Sisulu speak for, say, the PAC, if fortune should bring a PAC majority to power? Can he, indeed, speak for some of his Communist Party colleagues? After the benign Augustus comes the evil Caligula, and what good will assurances do when Mandela is replaced by some beastly little thug who learned his politics in the Ukraine?

Every true liberal, noting the danger, will demand at least that the bill of rights be justiciable so that it will serve as the yardstick against which an independent judiciary may measure all laws and all actions of the new government — like the American constitution, or the German "basic law" — and strike down those laws with which the majority tries to oppress the minorities.

Both Viljoen and Sisulu do accept (Point 10) an independent judiciary, but we have seen how the appointment of a Chief Justice like Mr Justice L C Steyn can distort and twist

even so great a legal system as our unique combination of Roman Dutch and British law, and how executive-minded judges can make the courts instruments of the oppressive will of the majority.

An independent judiciary, in short, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the safety of minorities; a justiciable constitution is essential and it is a pity that neither Viljoen nor Sisulu speaks of it.

Viljoen demands a free market system (Point 4), security of title and an assurance against arbitrary expropriation without compensation (Point 8); Sisulu wants a mixed economy that will include state-owned industry, and he concedes security of title, with the proviso that the white minority cannot continue to hold 85% of the land.

Land reform is clearly a political necessity, and it may not be a bad thing, provided that compensation is not paid according to corrupt formula by which the Nationalists robbed black and coloured people of their property. Nor is there any need to be alarmed by the prospect of state-owned enterprises which are useful instruments of political patronage. They offer a way to be corrupt without looking corrupt, and appearances do matter.

The danger, however, is that one thing will lead to another: inefficient state enterprises will pre-empt scarce capital resources, often wildly as the Post Office and Eskom have done, and they will lobby for the state to protect them against competition, or to crush competitors and control suppliers. Such is the totalitarian imperative of socialism; only a saint could resist it.

Then come the tricky ones: Viljoen wants to secure the right for people who so desire to live in their own communities, and he wants private schools to receive equal government assistance; Sisulu rejects any race-based schooling, and says tartly that in a free society everybody lives where he pleases.

The result must be deadlock, unless both men can be persuaded to accept the liberal answer: let the market determine residential patterns (as it has long determined the pattern of English and Afrikaans communities), and let those who don't like the public school system run their own schools, at their own cost. Just keep the bureaucrats out of it.

The DP represents mainly English voters who have learned to survive the tyranny of an Afrikaner electoral majority and who will no doubt learn to survive the tyranny of a black electoral majority. They have not wielded power since 1910, and they cannot hope ever to wield power in this country.

But their experience as electoral underdogs has taught them a lesson which they can offer, as their unique contribution to the new South Africa, to the grander folk of the new South Africa: the power of the majority is a monster that destroys those who oppose it, and corrupts those who possess it.

The principal problem of making a constitution is not to secure some piffing advantage, like closed suburbs or subsidised schools, nor is it to secure control of assets; it is to tame the power to do evil. That is the cause which the DP, if it seeks relevance, should take up vociferously, and soon.

FORGIVENESS!

S1 Times 20/5/90

A FORMER ANC prison wardress — now granted amnesty in South Africa — told this week how she savagely beat up police spy Olivia Forsyth. And she sent a plea to Olivia: "Forgive me, please. I was FORCED to beat you up so badly."

But an embittered Olivia, now a housewife, refused to forgive the jailer who assaulted her in the ANC horror camp Quatro in Angola. She angrily refused to meet Motyatyambo Mzimeli, 24, her former jailer.

"Face to face with the woman who tortured me? Never! I may lose control and end up hitting her."

INTERVIEW!

says the ex-spy who was savagely beaten

By MARK STANSFIELD

On her release in Johannesburg this week she admitted beating Miss Forsyth senseless in the ANC prison camp in October, 1986.

"I don't blame her; I hit her rather hard," said the tearful wardress.

"I just wanted to say I'm sorry for what happened. Responding through a close friend, Olivia said: 'She treated me very badly... she may have changed sides but I will never forget, nor forgive, what she did to me.'"

Miss Forsyth — who last year revealed she was Security Police Agent RS 407 and infiltrated the ANC — has since quit the police force and has married a policeman. She is planning to start a family soon.

But her ex-wardress insisted on relaying a message to her one-time adversary:

"Tell Tandaki (the name Olivia Forsyth was given at Quatro Camp, where she was interned for seven months) that if she won't meet me, I at least ask her forgiveness for what happened."

the ANC had such camps when I arrived there in October 1986. It was a horrible place... dirty, smelly. A place where there was only misery and hardship for the people who were put there.

"At Quatro I was made a warder and was forced to guard both male and female prisoners. Then came the white woman we called Tandaki (Olivia Forsyth).

"One day the camp commander called me over and told me that I was to interrogate the white woman.

"He locked me inside Olivia's cell and stood outside

while I was forced to beat her up. I hit her with my hands and fists... I tried not to do it too hard. Olivia just started at me and said nothing.

"The commander called me outside again and said: 'When I tell you to beat someone up, don't play with them, so I had to go back inside the cell and hit Olivia again.

"This time — because my own life was on the line — I did not play. I really beat her up," she said. "I was told that if I did not obey I, too, would become a prisoner. Tell Tandaki that's why I did it — to protect myself.

"Thank God I became pregnant soon after that and was forced to go to Tanzania to have my child. I would have gone as mad as some of the prisoners if I had stayed at Quatro Camp," she said.

In an earlier interview soon after she was freed, Olivia Forsyth said:

"The seven months at Quatro were a nightmare. I was held in a dark, damp overcrowded cell 24 hours a day.

"We were allowed two minutes to get rid of our refuse and for even those precious two minutes of fresh air we paid a heavy price... we ran a gamblet of taunts and beatings. I was always bruised."



REPENTANT... Motyatyambo Mzimeli, who tortured prisoners at the ANC's notorious Quatro Camp in Angola. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY



EMBITTERED... former police lieutenant Olivia Forsyth, now a housewife married to a policeman

Smuggled

"Tell her I never wanted to hit her ... I was ordered to beat her up by my superiors."

"She must realise what happened. I had orders — I would have been in trouble myself if I had refused," said the slightly-built woman who looks more like a hospital nurse than a club-wielding prison camp torturer.

Miss Mzimeli, seven other ex-ANC members and two young children fled from an ANC camp in Tanzania a few months ago.

This week they were reunited with their families for the first time since they were smuggled out of SA to undergo ANC military training.

The group have now distanced themselves from the ANC and plan to form an opposition political group which they say will be more democratic than the ANC.

Miss Mzimeli left South Africa in 1985 as an "immigrant" 19-year-old school pupil.

After military training my comrades were sent to East Germany, but I was ordered to report to Quatro Camp in Angola.

"I was not even aware that

ANC exiles sent on 'shoe shopping' missions to SA

S Times 2nd Sept 1986 (1/4)

EXILED ANC cadres regu- larly infiltrated the Johannesburg area — with orders from their commanders to buy fancy shoes and other luxury goods unobtainable in the Frontline states.

Their main "target" was a men's clothing store in downtown Jeppe Street.

This was revealed by eight ANC dissidents freed in Johannesburg this week.

The six men, two women and two young children — held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since their arrival at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport three weeks ago — were unconditionally released from detention.

They are the third group of dissidents to come out of hiding with remarkable tales of life in ANC camps north of the Limpopo.

It was a common thing for us to be ordered to go into South Africa to buy shoes at a shop in Germiston or Dexters (Men's Wear) shop in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, and re-

turn," said Patricia Soto.

"It was crazy and put our lives at risk. All of us were unhappy about this."

Mr Muzee Tswala, leader of the 1984 mutiny within the ANC ranks, said: "We all believed that we would be trained for three months and then sent back into South Africa."

"It was much later that we realised we never would be sent back into South Africa

— except to buy luxury items for our commanders.

"Commanders in the Frontline states drive luxury stolen cars and dress in the latest fashions the Western world has to offer," he said.

The group have been allowed to return to their families.

"I don't think there will be any problems ... I just hope they accept us back," Mr Tswala said.

Research shows the PAC's influence is greater than any time since Sharpeville

17/5/90
11A
THE ANC and the PAC have signed a peace accord and signs that the PAC's influence is again on the rise.

A committee comprising six members of each organisation has been established to monitor implementation of the accord. The two organisations have agreed there must be freedom of association and expression, the right to organise and to belong to different political organisations.

The peace talks follow concern voiced by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo about strife in Transvaal and Free State townships which led to deaths and destruction of property.

Azapo's national projects organiser Muntu Myeza said Azapo, the PAC and ANC had agreed on the need to establish a "culture of democracy" and that unity among liberation movements was of prime importance.

Meanwhile, the PAC, which until now has opposed negotiations with the government on the basis that they are unlikely to lead to gains for the black majority, this week acknowledged it might participate in negotiations under certain conditions.

The PAC has always maintained that the issues of the return of the land to the African majority, a redistribution of wealth and agreement on a non-racial, democratically elected constituent assembly must precede any peace talks with the government.

However, the PAC is also intensifying the armed struggle against government targets, especially the SA Police. The external wing of the PAC last week claimed responsibility for several hand-grenade attacks on police targets.

SA Institute of Internal Affairs researcher Gary van Staden said: "If the prominence of the PAC in helping to shape South African history over the past 30 years were plotted on a graph, the resulting line would bear a strong resemblance to a roller-coaster track. From a series of peaks and valleys in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the PAC entered a period of protracted decline which was to last for some two decades. Events and developments since the first few months of 1985, however, suggest that the PAC's roller-coaster ride is not yet over and the organisation's influence may again be on the rise."

The PAC was officially launched in April 1959 after

years of tension in the ANC led to an Africanist breakaway. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected first president and the philosophy of Africanism was adopted.

The main reason for the Africanist split was opposition to the role of white and communist (Marxism being seen as an "alien" philosophy, irrelevant to Africa) members of the ANC.

The "Manifesto of the Africanist Movement" was presented to the PAC's founding congress. This summarises the Africanist historical view of Africa from the mid-15th century, saying the expansion of markets caused by commercial and industrial capital resulted in the plunder and rape of Africa, which was colonised and "civilised" according to Western norms under the guise of Christian trusteeship.

It says the African people were dispossessed of their land and rights as human beings and that the concept of "multi-racialism" in the decolonising period which followed World War II was a thinly disguised mechanism for maintaining white control.

Broadly, the Africanist position has five main constitutional principles:

- The establishment of an Africanist socialist, democratic order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual;

- Universal adult suffrage on a non-racial basis;

- A unitary multi-party state which strives for the freedom of all in Africa and the consolidation of bonds of African nationhood on a pan-African basis;

- Common ownership of land and resources; and

- Individual protection guaranteed in a Bill of Rights but no minority or group guarantees.

The PAC does not define an "African" in terms of race, but in terms of culture.

Last year present PAC president Zeph Mopheng had this to say: "We believe in non-racial democratic rule of the African people of Azania. A person must accept this. We do not look at the colour of his skin. We look at his ideas, his loyalty. For example, I say there are no 'Indian' people here, but people of eastern origin, provided they have become Africans."

"The same applies to people of European origin. A person is an African if his only loyalty is to Africa and

he accepts the non-racial democratic decisions of the African people."

Nevertheless, despite repeated statements by PAC leaders since Sobukwe claiming the organisation is not anti-white, the slogan "One Settler, One Bullet" keeps cropping up and the anti-white image persists.

While the PAC supports all forms of struggle, it has always stressed armed struggle. Until the mid 1980s (the present chairman, Johnson Mlambo was elected in 1985) the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) was generally regarded as ineffective.

Official government statistics showed that during 1986 the number of Apla insurgents or sympathisers "neutralised" (a euphemism for killed or captured) was 38, more than the combined total for the previous 10 years. During 1987, this figure rose to 85.

To put this Apla activity into perspective, the official number of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe "neutralised" in 1986 was 660 and in 1987 was 446.

Diplomatically, the PAC enjoys, along with the ANC "official liberation movement" status at the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Since 1986, the PAC has established diplomatic contact with a number of countries which previously only had contact with the ANC.

PAC attempts to gain ground inside South Africa have made significant progress in recent years. The Pan Africanist Movement was formed in December 1989 with the objective of mobilising support for the PAC and Africanism. Since the unbanning of the PAC and ANC on February 2 this year, both organisations have openly been recruiting members.

The second largest trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, which claims to represent 240 000 workers, is also regarded as supportive of the Africanist position. However, they have never reached the same level of co-ordinating activities as the ANC and Cosatu.

While both the PAC and ANC have stressed the need for unity, political observers believe that behind the rhetoric, very little is likely to be achieved at a grassroots level.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Mfanasekaya



Main players at the Vosloorus accord - Nactu's James Mndaweni and the ANC's Cyril Jantjies.

Gqobose recently spelt out the PAC's attitude to the ANC: "(Despite our criticisms) the ANC of today remains an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-racist organisation. For these reasons, it is on the side of the oppressed, and it too has a role to play against the white minority regime. It is important to underscore this point. It is all the more important as both the PAC and the ANC should form a united front against the common enemy."

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been highly critical of the PAC, which he said had been unable to mount "a single mass campaign" inside the country.

ANC leaders generally have criticised the PAC for its lack of a political programme and its apparent disregard for mass-based protest actions.

As far as the Black Consciousness Movement, which includes Azapo, and the PAC is concerned, there is more common ground between the two than sharp differences, including a distrust of white "liberals" and contempt for the so-called "multi-racialism" of the ANC's Freedom Charter. The Azanian Manifesto,

adopted by Azapo in 1983, reflected the main principles of the Africanist Manifesto, although Azapo draws heavily on Marxism-Leninism.

Van Staden's report concludes that, while the PAC holds greater influence in South African politics than it has at any time since the Sharpeville uprising in 1960 - when opinion polls showed it leading the ANC - it still trails the ANC by a very significant degree and is unlikely to catch up.

Its prospects of launching a "people's war" appear unlikely at this stage to progress beyond the "armed propaganda" phase, and the ability of the government's security forces to infiltrate and crush insurrection cannot be underestimated.

On the question of negotiations, Van Staden says: "The PAC might well find itself forced to negotiate by a combination of a number of factors, including the possibility that it could find itself out in the cold and watching from the sidelines while the ANC assumes control of the political system in South Africa. If a real negotiation gets under way in South Africa, the PAC would find itself forced to compete, whether or not its preconditions had been met." - ANO



● **Three months of freedom**

11/15/90 11A

Mandela

Walking a tightrope in quest for a free SA

By **ANDREA WEISS**, Staff Reporter

THERE is an image which keeps recurring when people talk about Nelson Mandela; it's an image which might offend but which nevertheless seems to have taken root in public perception of the man who was once the world's most famous prisoner.

A Khayelitsha high school student puts it succinctly: "It's just like the story of Jesus. He was prepared to die for his nation."

The student did not wish himself or his school to be named, proving that although South African political life is opening up, many South Africans are not yet convinced of their freedom to speak.

Whether you view Mandela as saviour or pariah depends largely upon the political company you keep and is an indication of the tightrope the ANC's deputy president is having to walk in his quest for a free South Africa.

Common fare

Three months into his freedom, Mandela's face, voice and public manner have become common fare on television and in the newspapers. But is the man living up to the mythical reputation created by his long imprisonment?

Township opinion is divided.

Pan African Student's Organisation (Paso) whose views run something like this.

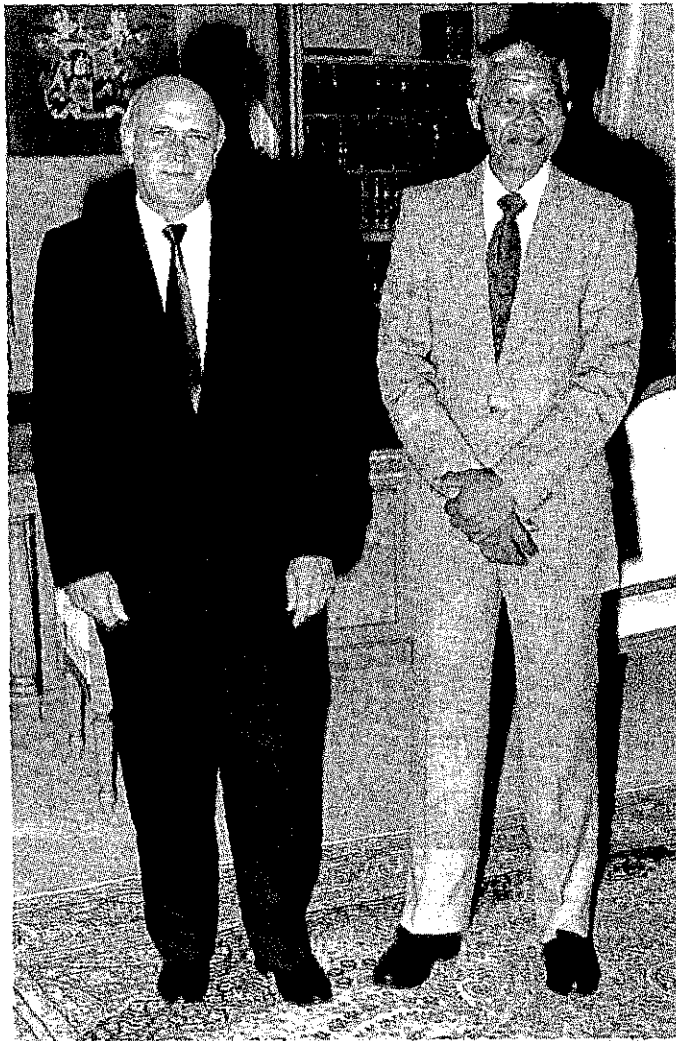
The ANC has no business talking to the government because there should be no negotiation, rather a "transfer of power" to the majority.

The PAC view on Mandela was explained thus: "The PAC does not believe the release of Nelson Mandela is the ushering in of a new era because the struggle for liberation cannot be waged by one man. People should arm themselves and free themselves."

Scepticism

Mandela's status is ascribed to the build-up given to him by the "liberal white Press" and he is criticised for "failing to bring sanity in Natal" and for sitting down to talks with the government.

Voicing the scepticism of less politicised people, domestic worker Miss Zanele Makaluza said: "I don't think he is going to do what he said he was going to in jail. I think maybe the state will pay him some money so he can just talk about it but not do all those things. Maybe people have bought him and said he must not do all those things he promised. Everybody likes money."



The historic official picture of President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela issued on the day before his release from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl



Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, in the motor car carrying them from the prison to the Grand Parade, Cape Town, after his release.

The Khayelitsha student, a member of the Township Students' Congress (Tosco) and of his school's Student Representative Council, echoes the ANC's official line:

"I did not think things would change as soon as Mandela was released. Rome was not built in one day."

Mandela had not disappointed because in his three months of freedom "he has tried to bring peace to the people" and called for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the lifting of the State of Emergency.

"The meeting between the ANC and the government was right because they were not going to negotiate but to remove stumbling blocks towards negotiation. Since the ANC was formed they have tried to negotiate with the ruling government. Now the government is willing to negotiate because of pressure from the people."

'Too old'

His expectation for the time it would take before changes began to show was "six to eight months".

Did anything shock him when he first saw Mandela?

The answer reminds how much time has been lost: "When I saw pictures of him before, he was fatter. I find that he is too old now."

The split between the ANC and the opposing PAC was put by this student to be approximately 75 percent — 25 percent at his school. Tosco's opposition comes from the

Far from the townships there is another viewpoint.

Mossel Bay's Conservative Party mayor Mr Johan Oosthuizen was not easily drawn on the subject but when pushed described Mandela as being "no other colour".

"He is still the same man he was 28 years ago. He said so himself. It is exactly as we forecast. Look what is happening in Maritzburg, Mpumalanga and other places; at what happened on the Parade when he was released. In almost every town, the people are taking part in 'peace marches'," he said.

Sincerity

"My leaders will give you more information. I don't think I need to say more than that."

By contrast, the reaction of Bergvliet mother of two Mrs Many Kruger has been one of pleasant surprise.

"I would say that because of the whole stigma attached to him, I thought of him as a criminal even though I might have felt it was unfair that he was imprisoned for so long. His education, sincerity and dedication to his cause have made us rethink and admire him. One has to admire him and I think one has a certain amount of confidence in him."

"He obviously is working for the good of his people and what he believes in. It is very clear that he has to sit on the fence to a certain extent and has to try and appease both sides."

"What he said was so true that 'Yes, the government had come a long way but he still

didn't have the vote'. Obviously for him that is the bottom line but for people in our situation there is the age-old fear of what happens if the majority can vote."

A University of Cape Town student was more jaundiced: "My impression is that initially he made an extremely good impression and the way he presented himself was very refreshing, but unfortunately now that he has been exposed to the world of politics again he has sunk to political rhetoric."

In the business world, Mandela's name is music to some people's ears.

Fruit exporter and chairman of the Decidious Fruit Board Mr Leo Fine commented: "The market has improved tremendously and pressure has been lifted. We have a direct benefit. Marketing is way ahead of last year. It is a better season and a better business climate."

"How much Mr Mandela or Mr De Klerk has to do with this I am not sure."

Commenting on Mandela's call for sustained sanctions, Mr Fine said: "Obviously we have been fighting sanctions ever since they have been imposed. In effect, Mr Mandela's remarks have not had as much effect as the release and Mr De Klerk's speech."

"In practical terms, things have changed fairly dramatically."

Mr Colin McCarthy, director of the Cape Chamber of

Industries, felt there was an improved "quality of debate" on the political scene.

But Mandela's statements on nationalisation had created a degree of uncertainty.

"Like apartheid, nationalisation is a word which has different meanings to different people. It's a catchphrase. We are not sure sure what ANC means by nationalisation."

Nervousness

Mr McCarthy pointed out that nervousness on nationalisation did the economy no good.

"We need investment from outside for South Africa to grow. It is not going to come from a socialist country and a capitalist country will only invest if it can get an adequate return."

Many in the ANC accepted this view but others were looking for an immediate increment, Mr McCarthy said.

"I think Nelson Mandela has lived up to expectations. What has happened in the three months since his release has been good. Now he's out in the open he is no longer a mystical figure in a semi godlike state."

"Now the man is having to put money where his mouth is and to be understood and misunderstood like all politicians."

"He was a symbol. By releasing him he has been changed from a symbol into a man."

Pictures that tell the Mandela story

Nelson Mandela and the Rise of the ANC, compiled and edited by Jurgen Schadeberg (Jonathan Ball and Ad. Donker Publishers).

AMONG the plethora of books on Nelson Mandela since his release from prison, none quite so emotively captures the atmosphere and drama of his life's work, and of the events which shaped his career, as does this extraordinary volume of photographs taken by some of South Africa's most talented newspaper and magazine photographers.

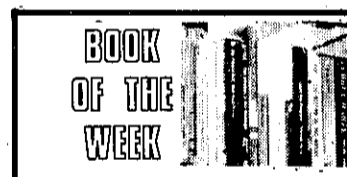
Compiled by Berlin-born Jurgen Schadeberg, the first photographer appointed to the staff of *Drum* magazine, the book contains a wealth of picture material drawn mainly from the pages of *Drum*, but also from other sources, as well as historical photographs of the earliest years of the ANC.

The text — concise and un-

obtrusive in what is essentially an illustrated history — includes words by prominent figures in the ANC, and there are forewords by Walter Sisulu and Helen Joseph, and an introduction by the entrepreneur who gave life to *Drum*, Mr J R A Bailey.

The photographs, invariably chosen more for their evocative news value than their artistic excellence — but many of them combining both — trace the origins of the momentous happenings we are now witnessing in South Africa; the haphazard and confused passage of events which, looked at in retrospect, have a relentless logic about them which perhaps escaped many of us at the time.

Thus one looks with nostalgia at the moving photographs of the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s, the first Treason Trial and other far-off events and one recognises the foundations upon which today's ANC was built.



With the incomparable power to move, which is the hallmark of a good news photograph, it is possible to comprehend the definitive ANC story with a new and arresting clarity; to decipher the often diaphanous threads which run with a relentless logic from those turbulent years right through to the present.

Many of the photographs demonstrate how long the struggle for recognition has raged. A class photograph taken at a school in England at the turn of the century shows a solitary black face — that of R W Msimang, one of the lawyers who founded the ANC. Another, taken at the Lovedale School in the Eastern Cape in the early years of the century shows a dapper Z K Mathews. There is an official

photograph of the 1914 ANC delegation to England to protest against the Land Act, and one of Sol Plaatje, first organising secretary of the ANC.

But what unites this eclectic collection most forcefully are the photographs of Nelson Mandela, first as the president of the ANC youth wing in his early years as a leader, and thereafter in his diverse roles right up to the present. With him are seen the panoply of activists of yesteryear; the dignified Albert Luthuli, the fiery Ruth First, the youthful Oliver Tambo, and many others down the years.

There are some unexpected glimpses of the past — Dr D F Malan in full cry, the crumpled dead at Sharpeville, an occasional newspaper front page, and shots of the many demonstrations and campaigns down the years, which serve to give a tight context to what is undoubtedly one of the most enthralling political histories of our time.

Maaika Theunissen

PAC bids high ^(11A) but its bluff may be called

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The PAC is intent on outbidding the ANC — a strategy that seems to be working in the short-term. However, reports GAVIN EVANS, at some stage the Africanists will have to declare all their cards.

In politics, as in poker, bluffing is part of the game.

When you've lost a few rounds and have yet another low hand, you may have to take a chance and bid big. But if someone calls your bluff you face a difficult choice. You can either raise the stakes and risk losing everything, or you can fold and hope you'll be dealt a hand that really counts.

Outbidding the African National Congress is the play being made by the Pan Africanist Congress — and there's little doubt that, in the short term, it's reaping rewards.

But unlike poker, South African politics is a game where few players are inclined to fold. Like everyone else the PAC had better be sure they're playing with a full deck when the time comes to show their hand.

Having excluded themselves from at least the opening round of the negotiation process, the PAC faces a prickly dilemma.

"They can continue trying to outbid the ANC only until the negotiations reach the point of bargaining for power," says South African Institute of International Relations researcher Gary van Staden. "At that point they face two choices — they can try and prevent a settlement from being implemented, but they simply don't have the muscle to achieve this, or they can enter the negotiation process and lose all the advantages of their outbidding position."

For the moment the PAC is bidding high in the hope that the talks between the government, the ANC and other parties will fail to deliver the goods.

The information officer of the PAC's internal wing, Benny Ntoele, said the organisation would stay out of negotiations until the government gives way on the issues of one person one vote in a unitary South Africa and the return of the land to the African people.

The ANC counters: this is precisely why they are entering negotiations.

Ntoele says the PAC view is based on the belief that the present constitution is illegal because it excludes the African majority.

"We believe we should not be negotiating these things, therefore we will only negotiate when they are already there. When these things are reached then we will be prepared to negotiate how to go on with the constituent assembly."

For the moment rejecting negotiations is the easy option. However, the PAC will face the problem of how to achieve its goals without talking to the enemies.

While the ANC has stated it will suspend the armed struggle once the obstacles spelt out in the Harare Declaration have been removed, the PAC has given no such indication.

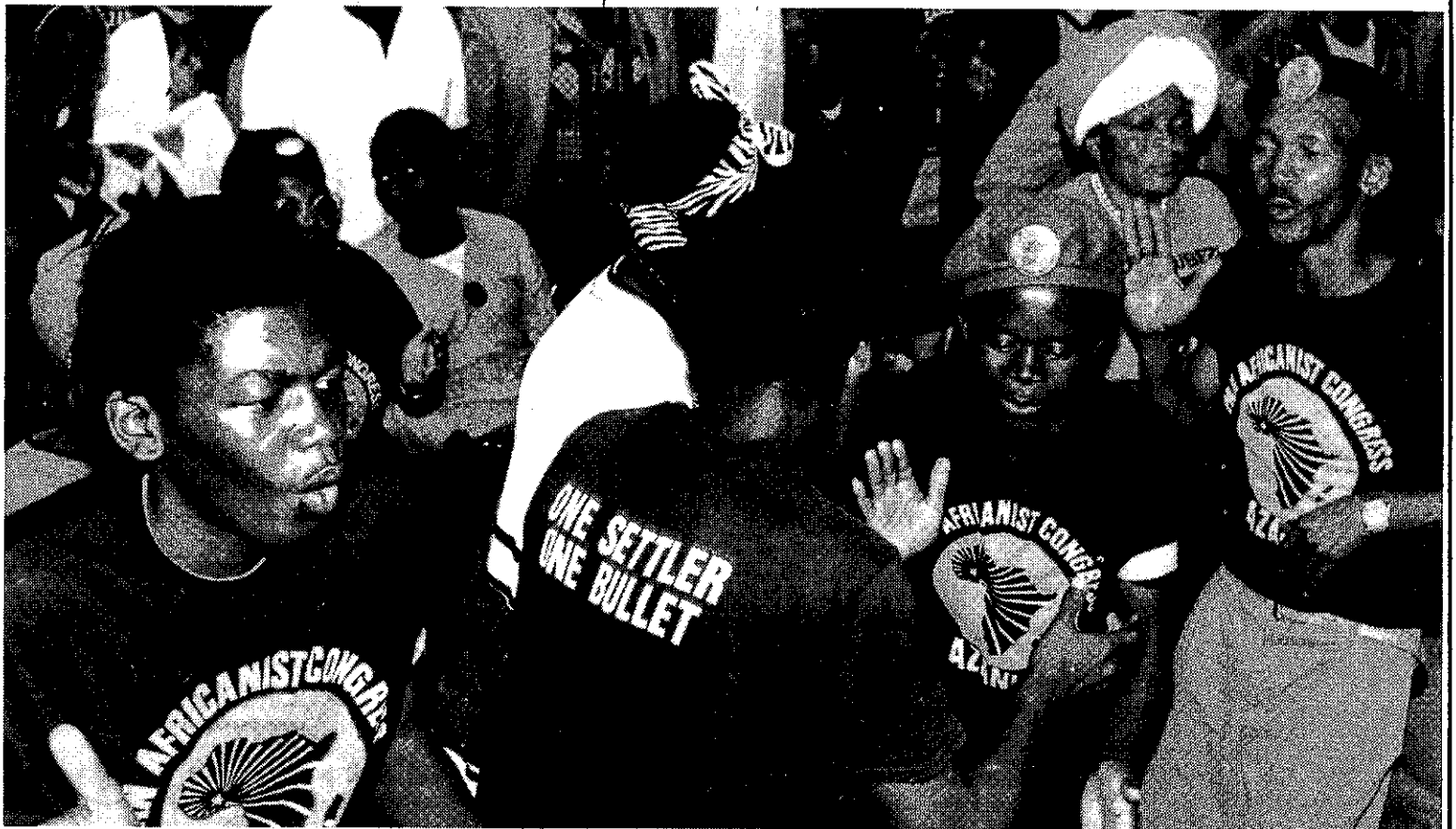
But there is little evidence of the PAC's armed contribution since the decline of the PAC-linked Poqo movement in the early 1960s.

A favourite analogy used by PAC supporters is that of the changing fortunes of Zanu and Zapu in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence. They point out that Zapu received the bulk of international attention but Zanu won most of the spoils when it came to elections.

The difference is that at the height of the war Zanu had up to 60 000 guerrillas and had established a huge presence in the east. Zapu had half the number of active insurgents and controlled far less land.

Neither the PAC nor the ANC can claim this level of military success, but indications are the ANC has been the more active.

In January last year PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo said the central



Wearing a slogan that 'has no place in our organisation' ... PAC members at a recent Mitchell's Plain rally

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

committee had "resolved to intensify the struggle on all fronts — especially the armed front". The PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, claimed responsibility for several attacks on policemen but, says Van Staden, "there is little independent verification of this".

According to government and independent sources, the ANC has averaged around 250 attacks a year over the past four years. The organisation has a policy of only acknowledging individual attacks under exceptional circumstances.

Van Staden says comparative figures indicate that Apla's presence does not match that of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. In 1987, for example, 85 Apla insurgents were killed or captured, compared with 446 from Umkhonto.

"The fact that insurgents are killed or captured and tried doesn't mean they succeeded in carrying out attacks. Many of the PAC members were captured as they were crossing the border, possibly indicating leaks in their security," said Van Staden.

If the ANC suspends its armed struggle the PAC will probably face the end of support from the frontline states and further afield.

A portent of what might lie ahead came recently when Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, once a strong PAC supporter, gave his backing to the ANC-inspired Harare Declaration and provided a head of state-type reception for the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela.

Over the past five years, however, the PAC has improved its international connections and image.

The divisions, corruption and open conflicts, which characterised the PAC in its first two decades in exile, were checked when former Robben Island prisoner Mlambo was elected chairman of the organisation.

Since then, Mlambo, who served 20 years in prison during the PAC's "bad years" of John Pokela's leadership, has rebuilt the movement into a force which provides a counter to the ANC in several Western and African countries.

Van Staden points out that since the mid-1980s the PAC has "begun to move out of the small brother thing" and has set up a number of new diplomatic offices. "But I'm not sure this can be translated into support which is concrete and goes beyond the level of lip service."

Although Mlambo's leadership has improved the movement's cohesion, it has certainly not been free of the tensions endemic to exiled groups.

The most recent upset is the formation of a breakaway faction, led by AB Ngcobo, which has come out in

favour of talks with the government.

"The time has come, 30 years after the Sharpeville massacre, for direct talks to resolve the stalemate situation in South Africa," said a statement signed by members of the PAC "National Working Committee of the National Executive Committee". The group has no links with the exiled or the internal leadership.

Despite the PAC's armed struggle rhetoric, observers agree that the key to the movement's success will be its capacity to organise in the country.

Ntoele would not reveal the PAC's internal strategies and programmes but said the focus would be on "educating the masses about our standpoints on negotiations and other issues" and on recruiting members.

The success of the recruitment drive was "exceeding expectations" but Ntoele didn't know how many members they had and would not say in which areas the PAC was strongest.

Pretoria, the Vaal Triangle, parts of Soweto, the Western Cape and Umtata appear to be the areas of the greatest PAC presence.

Human Rights Trust director Rory Riordan said there was "virtually no sign of PAC growth" in the Eastern Cape or Border region.

"There are a few individuals in Port Elizabeth. In Uitenhage you have the ama-Afrika group which is not PAC and was set up by the state. This region is ANC country and it seems to be the same in the Border where they have very little, if any, base."

He said a recent PAC rally in Umtata had attracted a few hundred people.

However, there are signs of growing support in the Western Cape.

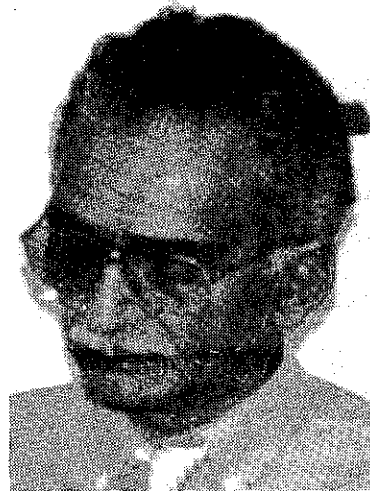
PAC regional co-ordinator Barney Desai, who has returned from exile, said they recruited 800 members after a rally in Guguletu, 400 after a Mitchell's Plain rally and several hundred after a rally in Langa which was attended by more than 4 000 people.

The PAC has set up its Western Cape head offices in Salt River. It has three branches in Cape Town and one in Stellenbosch. Support for the organisation is particularly strong in the Muslim community, he said.

Desai said he did not know their total membership in the region but said it was "growing fast".

"I wouldn't say we have majority support in the Western Cape, that would be premature. It's well known we don't have the resources of the ANC so we will have to depend on what we get from our own people. Our reach is limited but we're expanding all the time."

There are conflicting reports of the



PAC regional co-ordinator Barney Desai

extent of the PAC's standing in the PWV, but a picture of pockets of support is emerging.

United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Patrick Lekota said there was no substance to reports that the ANC was losing support to the PAC on the Reef.

"In the past eight months or so the ANC has hosted public rallies in that region the size of which the PAC has come nowhere near."

Kehla Shubane, of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits Business School, says: "While the numbers of people who have attended ANC rallies is not translatable directly into support for the organisation, it is a guide to the sort of support the organisation is likely to command once it starts enlisting members."

In most areas of the country the PAC appears to have struggled to attract large numbers to its public events — even the funeral of Jeff Masemola drew a relatively small crowd of about 5 000.

Van Staden says there are signs of PAC growth but argues that if an election was held tomorrow "at best they would get 15 percent of the vote. Relative to its position a year ago the PAC presence has expanded significantly, but in no area can it be said to be greater than that of the ANC."

Shubane argues that the "pool of political experience" is located in the ANC, as are "virtually all the symbols of black resistance". In this respect the ANC enjoys a considerable advantage over its rival.

Unlike Mlambo and the PAC's ailing 76-year-old president, Zeph Mothopeng, ANC leaders like Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo have become household names. Similarly the PAC has produced few substitutes to the songs, *toyi-toyi* and other symbols of the ANC.

A familiar PAC slogan was "One Settler, One Bullet". But, says Desai: "This slogan has no place in our organisation. It is not a serious proposition and is certainly not our policy."

He said their definition of Africans included whites and "everyone else with loyalty to this country who is committed to majority rule".

One difficulty facing the PAC is that, unlike the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement, its drive towards establishing structures of internal support came late in the day.

In contrast to organisations within the ANC/UDF tradition, the Pan Africanist Movement — which was recently transformed into the PAC internal wing — was launched only five months ago. In the interim many PAC supporters linked up with the black consciousness Azanian People's Movement but have since rejoined the Africanist camp now that the PAC has been relaunched.

This may have contributed the tensions between Africanists and black consciousness supporters. The two have placed themselves on the left of the ANC and are competing for the same constituency.

With its higher profile, better resources and longer history the PAC appears to have the edge on the BCM. Outside the PAC, Africanists have few organisational vehicles with which to build grassroots support.

Movements with a strong Africanist presence include the Azanian Youth Unity, the African Women's Organisation and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Nactu, which claims over 150 000 members, is the most powerful of these but cannot be said to be an exclusively Africanist stronghold.

Nactu general-secretary Cunningham Ngcukana, who is also a PAC member, said there was a "wide spread of political ideas within Nactu, including the PAC, BCM, ANC and some Inkahta members". However, there were no clear signs of a growth in PAC support among workers.

Overall, as Shubane puts it, the PAC appears "weaker than the ANC but has a potential for growth."

"That potential would only be transformed if it were turned into existing support at ground level."

This seems to be patchy but steadily increasing.

Consolidation will also depend on the PAC's ability to show that the ANC was mistaken in agreeing to enter negotiations with the government.

If the two sides reach an agreement which leads to "free and fair" elections the PAC might be forced to play a hand devoid of aces.

Sachs is right, but we cultural workers HAVE done innovative work

ALBIE SACHS' paper has been welcomed by three different constituencies and has sent tremors through a fourth.

Firstly, it has pleased many mandarins who craft sharp lines, who have been affronted by the crackle and din outside the imperial hotel on defiance day.

Alongside the above, there have been welcome sighs from another constituency — for many years they have carried out a guerrilla book-war against the former: a more radical intelligentsia argued both for political art and standards. This intellectual formation of the new left, based at universities, had a significant influence on literary studies, but had very little impact on the aesthetic models generated by practitioners in the arts and literature.

Frank Meintjies identifies a series of writers, performers and artists from Njabulo Ndebele to yours truly, who have for some time argued for internal criteria and standards within the grassroots energy of oppositional and/or resistance formations.

Fourthly, among cultural workers who saw their contribution as a "weapon" in a variety of contexts, responses to Sachs' paper have been ambiguous and inchoate. Some such is the National Cultural Desk's response, as reported by Phil Molefe in the *Weekly Mail*, and similar has been the talk in all contexts I have been involved in.

Many cultural workers are wondering whether their work has been "wrong", "banal" or "devoid of real content", and such re-examination can be very fruitful. Yet Sachs' piece is frustrating because at no stage does it undertake a thorough critique of the main exponents of these "theories" and "practices".

Having been caught between the third and the fourth responses around me, and having been stimulated by both sighs and confusions, I need to enter the fray in defence of some of our frayed elbows.

Sachs' worries are very well-founded: the quality of much revolutionary art has been poor; the functionalism of T-shirt designs and posters lacked the playfulness of the imagination; the drab slogans and half-baked lines created on many occasions an emotional impasse; to defend these for their necessity at a specific historic moment must not be confused with a defence of craft.

Nevertheless, he is treading a difficult path when he decries the presence of oppression in its ugliness through people's works: "Our rulers stalk every page and haunt every picture," in which "everything is obsessed with the oppressors and the trauma they have imposed." However provocative and accurate, he is also being simplistic: indeed, it is through the struggle to comprehend this ugliness, this grief, that hope and more complex emotions could be articulated.

Most commentators on cultural affairs have strange relationships to the grassroots energy that has engulfed us through oral modes and performance-genres. Here, in this crackle and din, the fixity of a canvas, a line on a page, a record that can be replayed, gets unhinged to roll over into a continuum of sound and gesture — usually away from the critics' senses (therefore, distant and inaccessible).

My work in these performance contexts leads me to claim, to deaf ears usually too, that major formal innovations are being achieved in poetry, choir work, dance and the theatrical arts; these innovations, I add, are also affecting scripts whilst at the same time these innovators are learning from scribes in exciting new ways; these innovations, I keep on repeating, have been brought about by the coincidence of creativity and social mobilisation.

In Natal, like in many other places, grassroots creators have known how fragile their bodies were and how they got broken in jail; how they got pierced real easy by spears; how they got shattered real easy in the townships and stunted by the muck we eat and breathe — they knew all along that their only "aesthetic weapons" had been their bodies and what their brains remembered or remade into stories; through these, a physical, grotesque, humorous, emotional, extreme theatre of sound and gesture emerged whose zest and dynamism captivates and surprises. The insistence on quality without a careful examination of the internal criteria that make up such works is regrettable.

Nevertheless, we must all concur with Sachs

The debate engendered by Albie Sachs' paper on resistance continues. The *Weekly Mail* presents here an edited version of a talk given on the subject by writer and Cosaw (Natal) executive member ARI SITAS.

when he pleads: "Let us write better poems, let us make better films ..." We must take up the challenge, echo the sentiment and ask ourselves how?

We need to move from the surface to a more substantive analysis. We know that artists abstract in their own peculiar way from a complex structure of impulses — impulses that are pressing onto the core of their imagination. Such impulses originate from apprenticeships under other creators, from direct experience, from schooling, from, in short, a whole range of stimuli that affect our consciousness and in many cases our "bio-structure", our nerve-cells creating also unconscious blockages which prohibit expressivity of many kinds.

For example, my class, my status, my colour, has much to do with what I draw from to compose my lines, whether it would be Rimbaud, Celan, Neruda, Cesaire, Dikobe, Bachman or Qabula. The way I relate to aesthetic elites and, depending on my aesthetic capacities or my ability, to my craft, I could transform these stimuli to something that approximates works of art. I know from my educational range I could try to change my aesthetic vocabulary.

Most grassroots creators are creating under different conditions and hardships. It is precisely this that shifts the focus from creativity to cultural work: we have come to know that unless conditions for creativity are transformed there is no way that such aesthetic freedom can be entertained. That is why in the labour movement, through the Congress of South African Trade Unions locals, through projects like the Culture and Working Life Project, and increasingly through the Congress of South African Writers and many more, we have been struggling to change those conditions, in a nutshell: as cultural workers.

We have enjoyed a lot of diversity in writing and performing styles. In our events migrant workers lament their conditions in a variety of tongues, next to novelists struggling with their commas; youth sloganising next to lyrical poets; saints and sinners trying to boogie.

We have been trained to appreciate Sifiso Mkame's paintings full of awesome images, but we have also learnt to appreciate the eclectic naivety of a decorator like Zungu. We have listened to the lines of Qabula but also to the lines of Mlungisi Mkhize, and the differences are enormous. This has been one of our strengths.

We realised that despite our differences there were common sensibilities: from the mine and farm to the intellectual's office. From all quarters an attempt was made to come to terms with our experience of a South Africa in turmoil; moving towards a revolutionary new future. And we knew, to quote Qabula that "the dying donkey/ still kicked final hard blows".

In this context the best work developed around five principles (despite the way they were presented):

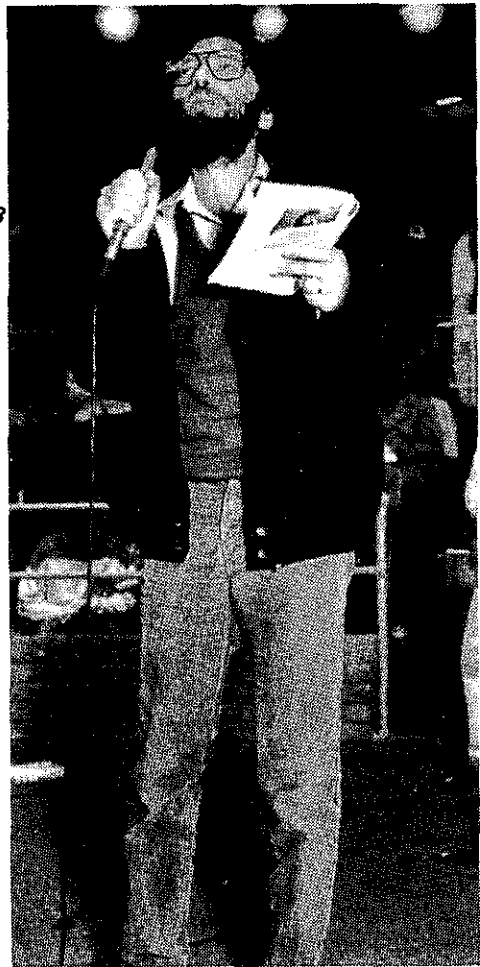
- It was marked by a principle of hope, of redemption, of freedom.
- It was haunted by the spectre of death — it was a funerary craft full of obituaries and sounds of transcendence.
- It asserted defiance and in its rhythms and gestures it was defiant.
- It assumed a total familiarity with the people, but tried to reach them in unfamiliar ways.
- It was self-critical.

Furthermore, within our organisations we have also witnessed many creative struggles by individuals, by women, by collectives, by township youth and by workers.

We have worked with individuals who are searching to find themselves, to discover a new identity beyond the roles society has imposed on them.

We find in our midst the struggle of groups, however defined, who are demanding recognition and a place for reconquering the dignity denied them by years of segregationism and domination.

Groups for example, like the editorial collec-



Ari Sitas: 'marked by a principle of hope'

tive of the Zulu journal *Injula*, made up of shop-stewards, grassroots and scholarly intellectuals, who were convinced that there was something of value in the Zulu language and their history to be preserved and be made a central concern for liberation politics. Similar sentiments are echoed by Mpondo women, street-cleaners, who are trying to connect with broader processes through their local traditions, poems, gestures and songs.

There are also in our organisations the voices of militant youth, of workers, demanding in a multitude of styles and voices a new South Africa, both democratic and socialist.

Cosaw, the Theatre Alliance of Natal, musicians and photographers' associations, etc, are organisations made up of all these struggles, their noises and aspirations. It is our duty to create the space and the possibilities for their fulfilment.

Irony as SAP guard 'enemies' at the historic Cape Town talks

By CHARLES MOGALE in Cape Town

NOT too long ago the security forces could have shot them on sight, but this week South Africa's most wanted men came home to red carpet treatment.

In a remarkably ironic twist of events, it was the SAP who threw an impenetrable cordon of security around ANC diehards — among them Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo.

And the government itself will pick up the tab for the ANC delegation's five-star hotel accommodation. The government, the ANC and the hotel management would not say how much the stay would cost, but it is estimated this will come to about R10 000 a day — and about R70 000 for the week.

"The rooms are shared by two or three people," an ANC spokeswoman said. She would not release further details.

The ANC convenor for the southern Natal region and Press liaison officer for the talks, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said at the hotel that in the past ANC members had "slept on cement floors and eaten meagre meals", but in this instance the government had offered to pay.

The hotel charges R240 a day for an ordinary room, breakfast included.

Ignoring the chances that ANC executives occupy any of the eight luxury suites, the cost of the 31 rooms would come to R7 440 a day. If 60 dinners a night — each costing R40 — were included that would add another R2 400, making a daily total of R9 840.

Access to the delegation in the Lord Charles Hotel was out, thanks to the SAP. Inside the hotel — according to rumours — Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants, armed to the teeth, took charge.

The government reception of the ANC, while lauded internationally, caused a stir from several quarters in South Africa. The PAC criticised the ANC for selling out by agreeing to talks.

"... As far as they are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that (negotiation) table", said PAC western Cape representative Barney Desai.

"We would like to see the government meeting some of our preconditions, such as the scrapping of the Land Acts, and Population Registration Act, and security laws that are all inconsistent with human rights," he said.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht turned the agriculture debate in Parliament around to the talks, to lay ground for his party's walk out, which had been planned earlier.

Treurnicht flanked by his party members, said the government had turned its back on the mandate it got from the electorate not to discuss with "people who have caused the death of thousands of people".

Treurnicht said State President FW de Klerk and his government had no legal right to give "ANC terrorists indemnity against prosecution or to prevent the police from acting against them". He demanded an election.

Back to the talks held at Groote Schuur, a moni-



The combined government and ANC delegations posed outside the Groote Schuur buildings where the talks were being held

ment to colonialism and home of former state presidents, both teams went in emphasising reconciliation. De Klerk said when he addressed more than 200 journalists gathered in the garden: "This (the talks) is part of an essential process in creating the right climate for meaningful negotiation. The government wishes this to happen as soon as possible and is consequently approaching the talks with utmost earnestness."

Mandela, leading the ANC was also conciliatory, but spoke tough: "The solution we seek should not be based on any of the inhuman follies which have led our country into the destructive crisis in which it is now immersed. The pace at which we move, to arrive at a just solution should be informed by the fact that the black masses of our country demand and expect fundamental change now and not tomorrow. The people as a whole want the peace and stability which can only come

about as a result of the total abolition of the apartheid system.

After the first round of talks on Wednesday, sources said both sides had shown a willingness to solve problems rather than perpetuate them. At the suggestion of the government, the thorny issue of violence (armed struggle and state violence) was left to the end of the programme. On the same day there were additions to both delegations.

The government added director general of the National Intelligence Services Neil Barnard, his deputy MJ Louw, Security Police Chief Lt-Gen Basie Smit, Commissioner of Prisons Lt-Gen WH Willemsse and constitutional advisor Fanie Van Der Merwe.

The ANC added head of intelligence Jacob Zuma, UDF national chairman Curnick Ndlovu, and ANC lawyer Matthews Phosa and exile Penwell Madona.

On the second day, Thursday, hordes of journalists were turned back from the ANC's hotel after waiting patiently for hours for promised interviews with members of the ANC delegation. Lekota told the newsmen the talks had taken an unexpected turn and there would be an inevitable delay. The interviews had to be postponed.

After the session De Klerk and Mandela expressed satisfaction at the progress achieved. Not much was revealed.

However, speaking at a Press Club lunch in Cape Town on Thursday, ANC international affairs expert Thabo Mbeki said both sides recognised that the talks should have taken place "many years ago".

It was also recognised, he said, that movement forward was not only necessary but possible.

Press 6/5/90 (11A)



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, Weekend Argus.
President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's expressions leave no one in any doubt about the success of their three-day talks about talks at Groote Schuur as they face journalists at the Press conference afterwards.

Albie Sachs comes home

BY DON HOLLIDAY
 Weekend Argus Reporter

AFTER 24 years in exile, ANC legal expert Mr Albie Sachs flew into Cape Town today to an emotional welcome by his mother and a small group of old friends.

The man who lost his right arm and was seriously injured by a car bomb blast in Maputo in 1988 said he was "overjoyed to be back in my beloved Cape Town".

Hugging his tearful mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, in the airport arrival hall, he told journalists his immediate plans were to climb Table Mountain and to taste the roast chicken his mother had promised him several years ago.

Mr Sachs went into exile in 1966 after several periods of detention and being banned and restricted for political activities.

He is on an unofficial visit, which he described as "a working, cultural, constitutional and family visit".

"I wanted to come back to a free South Africa. We are not free yet but we are getting there. We are freeing ourselves.

"Apartheid is still here but the attitudes of people are changing and that is important.

"It is wonderful to be back in Cape Town and to see my mother, my old comrades and, of course, Table Mountain."



Returning ANC exile Mr Albie Sachs hugs his tearful mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, on his arrival at D F Malan Airport today.

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As the ANC holds the public's attention, the PAC claims it has far wider support among the masses and steadfastly refuses to enter into compromises. Weekend Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE tries to find out whether there is truth in the rumours that Langa has become a PAC stronghold.

In search of the PAC

WE turned to leave after talking to some youngsters outside a café, having failed to break through their defensive reserve and to coax them into saying whether their loyalties lay with the African National Congress or the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

But then, perhaps convinced at the last moment that we were bona fide journalists, they declared themselves. "Izwe lethu," they said, giving the open palm salute of the PAC. Assuming our ignorance, they themselves gave the appropriate response: "i-Afrika."

We were in Langa to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC, talk which had thickened during the course of the discussions at Groote Schuur between government and ANC delegations led by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

TO label Langa a PAC stronghold would, on the evidence of our trip, be premature. There were, however, definite signs of a PAC presence. It served as a reminder that it there in 1960 that the PAC leader, Mr Philip Kgosana, then 18, led 30 000 blacks in a march on Caledon Square in the heart of Cape Town.

From the café we went in search of Mr Bantombu Langa, a Langa-based member of the PAC national executive. He was not there. Our search, however, led us to a headmaster who must remain anonymous. We started to talk to him about the PAC.

Slowly he, too, identified himself as a PAC man, dropping first one hint and then another. "Japhtha Masemola (the PAC leader who was killed in a car smash recently) didn't compromise with anyone, not even Mandela," he said.

"They (the ANC) won't win over the youngsters."

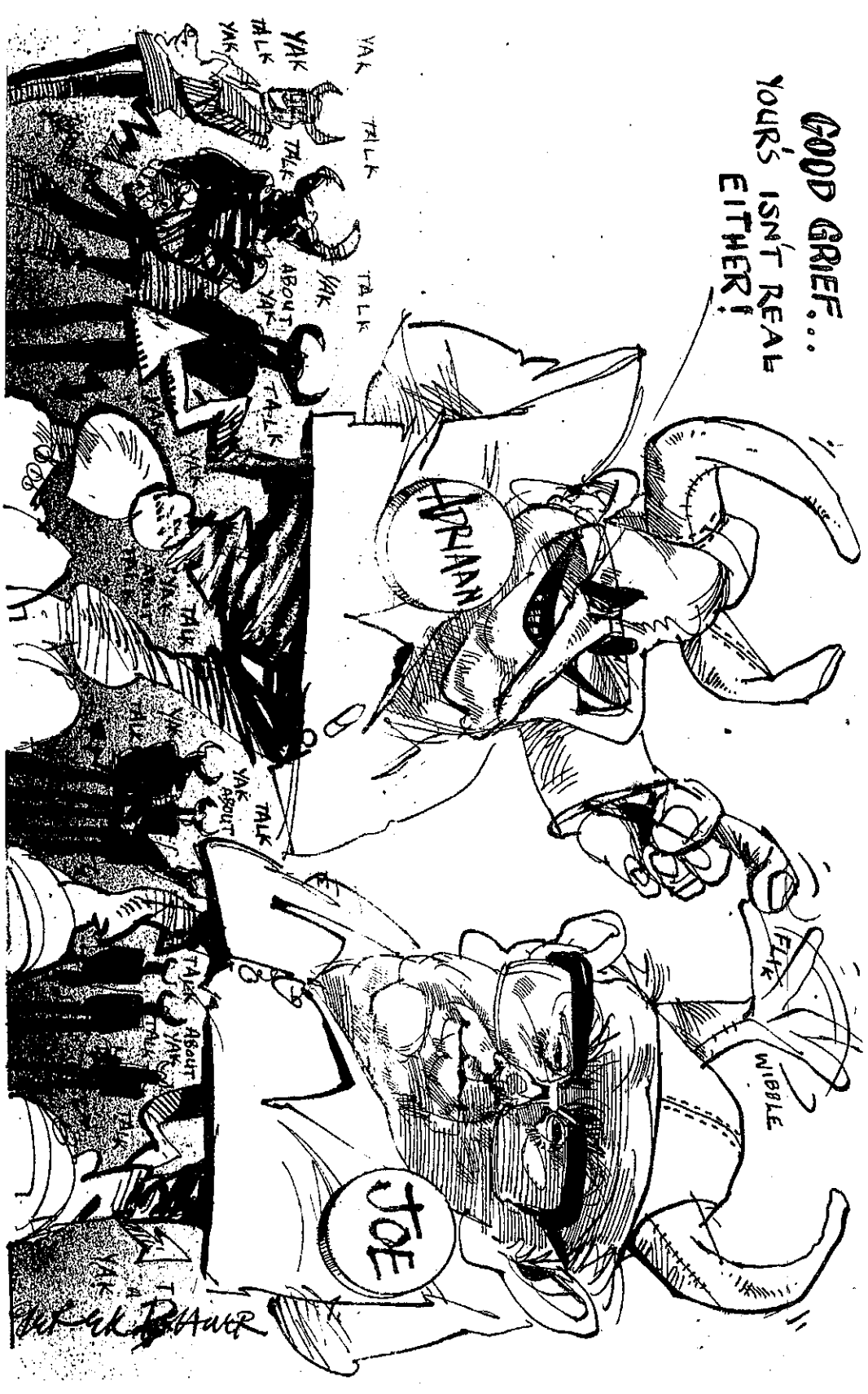
LATER, as we walked to his office, we asked him why the PAC did not organise large rallies like the ANC, thus allowing observers to deduce that the ANC was the dominant force in the black community. He replied: "The PAC keeps quiet. We know we are the multitudes."

Whether it was a manifestation of supreme confidence or a capacity for self-illusion was unclear to us as we left.

On the walls outside the school, PAC graffiti dominated. "Pogo", one writer had scribbled, reminding township residents of the underground movement which had briefly challenged white power in the early 1960s after the banning of the PAC.

"Kill the oppressor, not the oppressed," exhorted a poster, signing off with "PAC of Azania". FROM the school we headed towards outer Langa, encountering extreme poverty

GODD GRIEF...
YOUR'S ISN'T REAL
EITHER!



'We keep quiet. We know we are the multitudes'

was a ghetto within a ghetto. Our impression — I was accompanied by colleagues from Ireland and Sweden — was that these people were uncommitted politically. They would be won over by the best organised of the rival congresses.

Our car meandered back, passing through a better off section of Langa. To use the label "suburb" would be to euphemise and distort what we saw. One slogan had been overlaid on events. "Free Mandela, Viva ANC", it said. Another proclaimed: "PAC for victory. No compromise. One settler, one bullet."

Later we talked to Mr Kweide Mkalipi, a senior member of the PAC and a prison graduate. Mr Mkalipi served a 21-year prison sentence on Robben Island, rubbing shoulders there with Mr Mandela.

Mr Mkalipi spoke warmly of Mr Mandela, asking us to pass on his regards, while disagreeing

yet ripe for talks.

He did, however, agree with one point which is rapidly emerging as a central ANC demand: representatives at the negotiating table should be chosen in a one man, one vote election.

There should be no compromise on that, Mr Mkalipi said, warning that Mr De Klerk and his ruling National Party planned to create space at the table for people "set up by the system".

HE was in favour of the idea mooted by Mr Thabo Mbeki, of the ANC: the election of a constituent assembly on the Namibian model to draw up a new constitution for South Africa. "That is what the PAC is saying," he said.

Mr Mkalipi, like the Langa headmaster, was confident that the PAC would emerge as the dominant force after one man, one vote elections. He blamed the Press for the failure of the PAC to capture the foreground, accusing the Press of

favour of the ANC.

Mr Mkalipi was concerned about another matter: the sudden spate of road accidents involving PAC men.

He mentioned the death of Mr Masemola, a stalwart of the PAC, the death of two delegates en route home from the PAC's Bloemfontein conference a few weeks ago, and the death of Mr Ishmael Chand while driving to the funeral of his PAC brother, Mr Sam Chand, in Botswana, and an accident in which PAC general secretary Benny Alexander, luckily escaped serious injury.

These accidents should be seen in the context of the murder of Mr Sam Chand and his entire family by unknown assassins in Botswana last month. The killing was blamed on "apartheid agents" by Mr Ephraim Gora, the PAC secretary for external affairs. Mr Mkalipi said: "My fear is that a hidden war