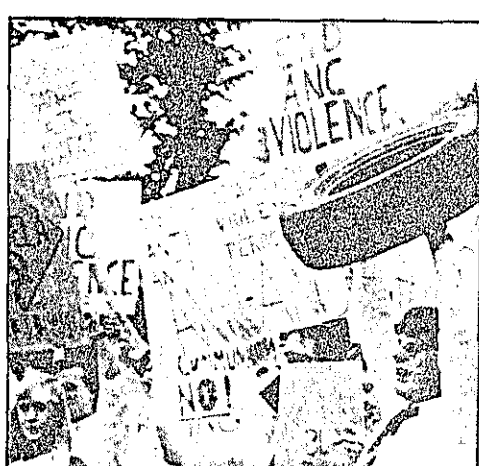


BLACK POLITICS — 1990

JULY,

# MANDELA'S MORNING



AFTER

THE AMERICAN WAY... on his US tour. Nelson Mandela meets with presidents (left), goes strolling with police chiefs (centre) and even faces demos (right)

NELSON MANDELA'S royal progress across America has stirred the hearts of millions of blacks and a great many whites but he has disappointed those who wanted to know how he intends to solve the South African conundrum — or how Americans can help him solve it.

## From Washington, Xan Smiley reports on the regal passage through America of an ANC miracle-maker who also turns out to be mortal



Beyond singer Harry Belafonte's proclamation that Mr Mandela is "one of the greatest leaders in the history of the world" is the slowly dawning realisation that the re-creation of a post-apartheid South Africa — where blacks have the main say and whites are genuinely guaranteed civil and political rights — is fraught with appalling complications, whatever Mr Mandela's greatness and however craftily President De Klerk persuades his white brethren to surrender untrammelled power.

### Belief

At the back of American minds, too, is the gnawing knowledge that their own racial problems, in a far more homogeneous society than South Africa's, are very far from solved and that blueprints for harmony vary widely in the US. How much messier in the ethnic kaleidoscope of South Africa?

Mr Mandela has provided America with a much needed fantasy figure, an authentic black hero, both an antidote and a rebuke to its own unforgiving ghettos.

But he and his African National Congress, beyond general protestations of belief in democracy and justice, may have missed a key chance to explain what sort of South Africa they envisage.

Mr Mandela has shown himself an accomplished politician on the stump, but he has been carefully shielded from almost any rigorous inquisition — probably to his own and the ANC's cost.

The blare and the glitter, the media overkill and showbiz razzmatazz, the genuine emotion and the aura of sainthood bestowed on him, have all blurred the reality of the horrible knot which he and Mr De Klerk have begun trying to untangle.

"He might have spent less time and energy making black America feel good and taken more trouble to convince the American president that the ANC are democrats", said one expert close to the administration, which remains suspicious of the preponderance of communists — excluding Mr Mandela — within the ANC leadership.

For sure, in all but the most jaundiced eyes, Mr Mandela has cut an impressive figure: supremely dignified and unembittered, proud yet humble, humorous but no scorer of cheap

laughs, articulate and quick-witted, though sometimes a shade ponderous and legalistic in delivery.

Eschewing the teleprompters and speechcards that American politicians rely on, he speaks clearly and cogently without notes. His syntax — in a language that is not his mother tongue — is more precise than President Bush's.

Above all, his immense proven courage and steely will have shone through his personality. For all the gentleness of his smile, it is obvious he is a canny operator who cannot be pushed around. He enjoys a natural kingliness.

S Times 11/190  
Option

When he had the nerve, in front of the White House, to scold Mr Bush for being "misinformed" about the ANC's attitude towards violence, he managed to sound more honest than rude.

The ANC argument that America has given aid to guerrillas in Afghanistan and Nicaragua — so why chide the ANC for resorting to arms? — was hard for the administration to rebut.

Mr Mandela's insistence on keeping "armed struggle" as an option until changes are "irreversible" seemed tough and shrewd rather than bloodthirsty —

though bound to increase the scepticism on Washington's hard right.

But white Americans have been unable to spot a shred of anti-white feeling — by every account, both before and after his 27 years in prison, his devotion to non-racialism has been utterly genuine.

Only Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, with her clenched-fist Harlem threat to "go out and fight the white man" if talks break down, struck an ugly racial note. Nelson never assails whites. His enemy is always apartheid.

It was tactically a big error, then, that Mr Mandela allowed his American hosts to run his tour essentially as a black American celebration, with a touch of Hollywood fund-raising and a bare two days' power-broking in Washington.

Mr Mandela would have gained far more political points had he been allowed to preach to the less convinced cohorts of white Middle America.

For, apart from Mr Mandela's own symbol of courage, nobody seems to know what the ANC really stands for. When the far less glamorous Mr De Klerk comes to explain his awkward political position and to tout complex constitutional possibilities, he may well spark a more worthwhile

debate and gain a more thoughtful response in Congress.

During the 12-day extravaganza, Mr Mandela was barely required to spell out his beliefs or his constitutional ideas, which will be so critical in upcoming negotiations.

At a ceremonial joint session of the two houses of Congress he invoked Jefferson, Lincoln and Washington and fulsomely praised the glory of the American constitution, its bill of rights and the independence of the judiciary.

Earlier he declared that the ANC had no fixed ideology and a politically diverse membership. He promised a multi-party system, a mixed economy — "but we have no blueprint as to the makeup of that mix" — and a proper return on foreign businessmen's investment. All pretty mild, capitalistic stuff.

### Hostile

On the rare occasions when interviewers such as ABC's Ted Koppel — the only major TV figure well-informed on South Africa — were able to put tough questions, Mr Mandela tended, in the time-honoured tradition of Africa, where the idea of an unpartisan Press remains alien, to treat the professional interrogator as personally hostile.

The relentless repetition of the keep-on-sanctions theme was also off-beam. Mr Bush has made it clear that he will lift them only when Mr De Klerk meets the conditions laid down by Congress when it imposed sanctions in 1986.

More significant was Mr Mandela's refusal to "wash

our dirty linen in a foreign country" when asked, in a television message from Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to "ring up and say hello".

Mr Mandela's repeated assertion that the "black-on-black" factional and tribal killings in Natal are entirely the fault of the Government also seemed hollow. While chastising the Government for not lifting the state of emergency across the country, he is also demanding that it deploy more soldiers to keep factions in Natal apart.

The reluctance of liberal white and most of black America even to mention the gigantic issue of African tribalism — for fear of accusations of paternalism or racism or lack of Afrosolidarity — is a severe impediment to any serious political discussion of Africa.

The ethnic-tribal topic is especially relevant because the question of group rights is at the centre of negotiations over the emerging South African constitution.

The irony is that, while Mr Mandela and the ANC are still committed to "one person, one vote in a unitary state", America is strongly federal, with an "undemocratic" bias in favour of less populous states, and enshrines separate racially-defined group-rights in law — to wit, affirmative action, racial quotas in various profes-

sions and colleges and the amended Civil Rights Act which allows electoral districts to be drawn specifically so that certain racial groups can be guaranteed representation.

The conversion of the ANC, and its allied SA Communist Party, to multi-partyism is recent. Again, detailed discussion of this subject, now rife throughout Africa, went unheard.

### Probing

America is genuinely shocked by apartheid. But Americans are also more wedded to the idea that multi-party democracy is the only route to prosperity as well as liberty.

As they begin to seek out the latest news on Africa, they are equally shocked to discover that, though a handful of African leaders have voluntarily stepped down, not a single one — except in Mauritius — has ever been peacefully removed from power by the ballot box since independent nations emerged on the continent 30 years ago.

Why, they may ask, should Mr Mandela or the ANC and its Communist Party friends break that mould? It is that sort of probing question which Mr Mandela might have magisterially answered — had he been given the chance.

□ Xan Smiley is a correspondent of the London Sunday Telegraph

# Simon Barber

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**C**REDIT is due to President George Bush and his Secretary of State James Baker for their handling of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. They refused to get swept up by the tidal wave. Albeit politely, they were even prepared to use the word "no".

Credit is also due to Mr Mandela for his reaction. With Jesse Jackson, Randall Robinson and company itching for an opportunity to savage the US administration — Robinson has already been insisting that, on SA, Mr Bush is merely Ronald Reagan warmed up — a lesser man might have been tempted to egg them on. Instead, he thanked the President for his support.

Mr Bush is a remarkable politician. Not even his announcement (on the day of the Mandela visit, as it happened) that he was ready to break his central 1988 campaign pledge and raise taxes is likely to dent his sturdy popularity. The manner in which he welcomed the ANC leader was a small but good example of how he does it.

**T**HE standard procedure would have been for Mr Bush and his guest to make a few anodyne remarks before getting down to business. The meat is generally left for departure statements. Mr Bush reversed things, according Mr Mandela the honour of a welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn and then using it to make publicly almost all the major points he intended to deliver later in private.

Stripped to its essentials, his technique was to offer Mr Mandela a slice of all-American apple pie and challenge him to reject it.

Contrary to the ill-chosen words of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, there was going to be no tilt towards the ANC. President F W de Klerk deserved applause,

## DATELINE WASHINGTON



## Mandela beats about the Bush — in vain

too. "We here in America walk in solidarity with all South Africans who seek, through non-violent means, democracy, human rights and freedom."

Therefore, if it expected full US solidarity, the ANC had to renounce violence and commit itself to "the concept of free markets and a productive private sector". It had also to demonstrate a convincing belief in multi-party democracy.

Finally, the organisation was making a big mistake if it believed that it could dictate US policy. The president was firm in his support for the US corporate presence. As for the

comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act, its maintenance or easing was the responsibility of the administration and Congress, and not to be commanded by the ANC.

Mr Mandela was evidently taken aback. Hitherto, he had encountered nothing but fawning pushovers like New York's mayor David Dinkins and governor Mario Cuomo.

**H**IS initial response was to get cute and accuse the free world's leader of being improperly briefed. He was about to learn that the put-down might have been more correctly applied to himself.

In private, Messrs Bush and Baker asked tough questions and spelt out clearly where they stood. They were not overly impressed by the calibre of the ANC delegation. This had an effect. Mr Mandela emerged clearly concluding that it would be wiser to accommodate these men than call in the cavalry of sycophants.

In subsequent remarks he sought to reassure them where he could, and where he could not — the armed struggle was not entirely his to renounce, after all — he tried to show a willingness to meet them half-way.

**T**HE most obvious demonstration of this came in his speech to Congress the next day. The president had been especially adamant that the idea of a constituent assembly effectively replacing the SA Government while it drafted a new constitution was a non-starter.

Mandela told Congress the issue of how a constitution was to be drawn up should now be seen as negotiable.

After months of timorous indirection on SA, it looks as if the Bush administration is finally getting back into the game.

# Mandela's tour a triumph

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By NEVILLE JONES

NELSON MANDELA wound up his American tour as he began it - charming huge, rapturous crowds with his message of freedom for South Africa and his tough calls for stepped-up sanctions.

Travelling through California on the final leg of his 12-day tour, the ANC leader addressed tens of thousands at outdoor stadiums in Los Angeles and Oakland.

Earlier in the week, Mandela became only the third private citizen in over 200 years to address a joint session of the United States Congress.

Invoking the names of American revolutionary heroes George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, Mandela told Congress: "You have given us the power to join hands with people of conscience to fight for the victory of democracy and human rights throughout the world.

"You merged with our own people to make it possible for us to emerge from the darkness of the prison cell," said Mandela, who was constantly interrupted by applause. "We count on you to persist in your noble endeavor to emancipate our people from the larger prison that is apartheid South Africa."

Mandela's warm reception on Capitol Hill seemed a clear indication that Congress is in no mood to relax the package of sanctions imposed against South Africa in 1986, regardless of the wishes of President George Bush, who met Mandela on Monday.

When a Bush administration official suggested on a

TV news show that the president might be willing to lift some of the sanctions as progress was made towards negotiations in South Africa, he was even rebuked by a powerful member of his own Republican Party.

"To dangle a sanction here or a sanction there doesn't really make much sense," said Senator Richard Lugar, who is the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee. "As it turns out, the anti-apartheid legislation was crafted quite wisely, with specific criteria for lifting sanctions. Let's keep our policy stable."



Nelson and Winnie Mandela wave to a capacity crowd at Georgia Tech's Bobby Dobb Stadium in Atlanta this week. Applauding at left is former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young.

# THE STAYAWAY: PLEA FOR PEACE

Star 1/7/90

## Zambian arrested after coup is foiled

**CP Correspondents**  
A ZAMBIAN army lieutenant was captured by fellow soldiers after he announced on State radio yesterday that President Kenneth Kaunda had been toppled in a coup after five days of anti-government violence.  
The officer, who identified himself in repeated broadcasts as Lt Mwamba Luchembe, of the Signals Corps, was escorted from Radio Zambia's studio on the outskirts of the capital about 90 minutes later, Sapa reports.  
"I wanted to take over the government but Kaunda's puppets are stopping me," he said, pointing to the soldiers surrounding him.  
Political observers in Lusaka told the African News Organisation (ANO) the short-lived coup was an indication of Zambia's political tension and turbulence.  
An unidentified army officer broad-



## Political tension over national protest week

**By S'BU MNGADI and CONNIE MOLUSI**  
PEACE is the watchword for tomorrow's controversial stayaway. Amid continuing tension between supporters of the ANC/Cosatu/UDF alliance - which called the stayaway - and those of rival political organisations and trade unions, some parties yesterday pledged to adhere to a South Africa Council of Churches nine-point code of conduct.  
The stayaway is part of the alliance's "week of national protest action" to force the government to end the continued fighting in Natal.  
Before going into a briefing session with captains of commerce and industry in Durban yesterday, Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the ANC would not tolerate intimidation of workers who wished to go to work tomorrow.  
"We want the protest to be dignified and peaceful. We are therefore calling for discipline from everyone."  
The protest action has been condemned by the PAC, Nactu, Azapo, Inkatha and big business.  
They feel the stayaway is divisive and will increase confrontation. They favour dialogue between the ANC and Inkatha.  
Buthelezi told a KwaZulu Police passing-out parade in Ulundi on Thursday there had never been a stayaway that had not been forced on people and that it was "criminal to mount the kind of programme which will inevitably degenerate into a violent programme".  
At a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the intention of the protest was to press State President FW de Klerk to end the war in Natal.  
Naidoo said the State had the capacity to end the conflict if it could find the political will. "The national mass action is designed to encourage it to find that will."  
The ANC has called on the PAC "even at this late stage, to withdraw its opposition to the mass ac-

## Landlord's thugs beat us up, say flat tenants

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## Join our Spring School

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## Spotlight on the July

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The ANC has called on the PAC "even at this late stage, to withdraw its opposition to the mass action and contribute towards pressing the regime to end the violence in Natal".

Most employers said they would apply the "no work, no pay" policy, but questioned why they were victimised by stayaways.

Spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry Ken Mason said any absenteeism not negotiated with employers would be regarded as an unpaid holiday.

The Natal Chamber of Industry, the SA Chamber of Business and big business in general feared the stayaway would cost hundreds of millions of rands in lost production.

The fighting in Natal has cost about 5 000 lives since 1982.

When tension over the proposed stayaway threatened to erupt into violence, the SACC this week drew up a code of conduct for political behaviour.

It was signed by the ANC, Nactu, Inkatha and the Natal Chamber of Commerce, among others.

The points of principle are:

- Those who choose to stay away from work must be allowed to do so without interference;
- Organisers of marches or other protest actions must publicly declare their plans. (This will facilitate monitoring of such action);
- Those who choose to take part in such marches or other protest actions

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## Stayaway peace plea

■ From Page 1

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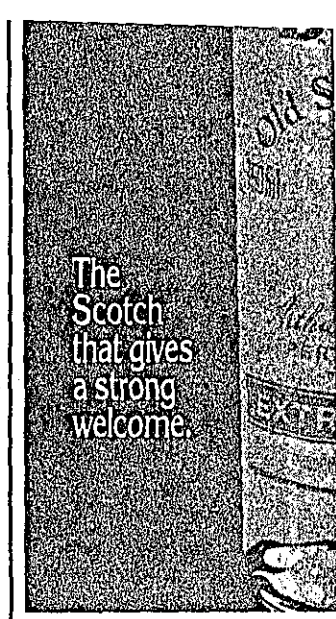
■ Those who choose not to take part in such actions must not be forced to do so;

■ Organisers of any protest action must ensure that it is peaceful;

■ All organisations must condemn attacks on people's homes and families

as criminal behaviour;

■ The security forces must uphold the right of people to protest peacefully and must not interfere with meetings, marches, rallies and stayaways. Their duty is to protect all people equally, both those who take part in such protest action, and those who choose not to.



The Scotch that gives a strong welcome.

# Honoured ANC leader feted as he takes America by storm

CLP/MS 11/7/90

11A (33)

The legislation states that no sanctions can be lifted until the SA government releases all political prisoners, lifts the state of emergency, and "makes substantial progress towards dismantling apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy".

During his speech before Congress, Mandela turned normally jaded politicians into unabashed cheerleaders, with

legislators from both parties swarming to greet him as he made his way from the packed chamber.

Although legislators from all racial groups voiced emotion about his message, the speech clearly had special meaning for the 24 black congressmen, many of whom have been in the forefront of the US anti-apartheid movement.

Ronald Dellums of

California, a firebrand who has called for more extreme action to fight apartheid, simply called it "a remarkable day in this chamber". Kweisi Mfume of Maryland proudly wore a multi-coloured embroidered African sash over the left shoulder of his business suit as he listened to the speech.

"Right on," several black Congressmen shouted when Mandela

cited the contribution of black Americans like John Brown, WEB Du-Bois, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Martin Luther King to the struggle for human rights worldwide.

Black supporters, who crammed the normally moribund spectators' gallery, stood and cheered for three-and-a-half minutes before order could be restored.

On Wednesday, Mandela flew from Washington to Atlanta, where he laid a wreath at the grave of assassinated civil rights leader King.

The only sour note of

the tour was sounded in Miami on Thursday when about 100 Cuban-Americans protested against Mandela's recent praise for Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Police had to be called in to keep the Cubans apart from a group of several thousand who had gathered to hail Mandela.

Earlier in the week Miami officials, bowing to pressure from the city's large and politically-powerful Cuban community, refused to issue an official welcome to the ANC leader, who was given red-carpet tre-

atment at each of the other seven stops on his tour.

Mandela himself seemed unfazed by the controversy, going ahead with a speech to a convention of trade unionists.

■ Meanwhile, Soviet Jew dissident and former political prisoner Nathan "Anatoli" Shadransky, whose release was rumoured a few years ago to be part of an East-West deal with South Africa to free Nelson Mandela, met the elderly ANC leader in Los Angeles on Friday evening.

At a Press conference

after the meeting, Shadransky said a good relationship had been established during their half-hour meeting, which he hoped was a prelude to serious dialogue between the ANC and the Jewish community, although they had agreed to differ on political issues relating to Israel.

The ANC deputy president, nearing the end of his US tour, has angered the American Jewish community with his support of the Palestine Liberation Organisation's leader Yasser Arafat, as a fellow "freedom fighter" who assisted his organisation.

# Inkatha, ANC to meet?

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While Inkatha and ANC leaders continue to delay peace talks, lower echelons of these organisations on the East Rand have allegedly "secretly" planned talks for today on the violence in their areas and in Natal.

Inkatha spokesman Petros Madide confirmed that Inkatha and the ANC would hold talks at Benoni municipal offices (Sheba council) at 2pm today.

He said the main aim of the talks was to find a way of ending the Natal violence.

Madide said he did not know who would attend the talks, or if Cosatu and the UDF would participate.

ANC information officer Ahmed Kathrada and ANC East Rand organiser Greg Malebo said they had not heard about the planned talks. - Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by  
K Siblya, headlines and sub-editing  
by K Naldoo, both of 2 Herb Street,  
New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.



# Winnie: The fly in the ANC ointment

STimes 11/190 (11A)

KING Solomon would have had sympathy for Mr Nelson Mandela. It is quite obvious from his Book of Proverbs that he had trouble in his harem. "A nagging woman is like water dripping on a roof," he wrote.

But, then, Solomon had 400 wives. Mr Mandela only has Winnie.

This week, again, the walking, talking lightning-rod of political controversy stole some of the headlines from her celebrated husband.

While he was out smooth-talking American congressmen and canvassing financial aid for the ANC she threatened "to return to the bush" to fight the white regime. In doing so, she neglected to give an account of her past experiences "in the bush", adventures that have hitherto gone unrecorded.

And while Mr Mandela was soliciting aid for the

educational upliftment of his followers, she blurted out that black schools were legitimate military targets.

One way and another, the "Winnie Factor" is fast developing into a headache for the ANC.

It is one thing having her parade her somewhat unorthodox personal opinions while she merely has the status of an opposition politician's wife. But if it ever comes to the stage where she starts measuring the curtains at, say, Libertas, her personal conduct will become a matter of pro-

found public interest.

Future voters, black as much as white, have an intense concern with the political influences exercised on leaders within their intimate circle. They like to know what mothers of their nation are up to.

Long regarded in some circles as an "unguided missile", there are increasing worries that Mrs Mandela's bellicose remarks could jeopardise ANC efforts to broaden its international support base and draw moderate South Africans into its fold.

## Dries van Heerden looks at the firebrand at the side of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on his grand tour of Europe and the United States

The ANC's problems with Mrs Mandela have a long history. However, senior figures in the movement were reluctant to express their misgivings because of her surname and because of the high regard in which her long-jailed husband was held.

In private conversations they have not been as reticent. Irritation towards her boils over easily and is not infrequently expressed by drawing pointed comparisons with the family of Mr Mandela's fellow Robben Island prisoner, Mr Walter Sisulu.

### Muzzle

"You know what is so good about Walter," ANC people would point out. "During all the time that he was in jail his wife (Albertina) and his children behaved impeccably and were active in the struggle.

"And then..." they would sigh, "... there is Winnie and Zinzi (a Mandela daughter)."

In April 1986 the ANC leadership did try to muzzle her after her now notorious remark — recorded on videotape — about achieving liberation through the use of boxes of matches and burning tyres.

This week she insisted that her remarks about necklacing were quoted out of context, but one is left to wonder what context could conceivably have made such a statement sound reasonable.

Nevertheless, for a few months it seemed as if the ANC had effectively gagged the stormy petrel in its midst.

That was until the Stompie Moeketsi case hit the headlines.

The Mandela United soccer team, which also served as Mrs Mandela's personal bodyguard, had for a long time been a source of concern.

Reports abounded that the track-suited young men threw their weight around and that they had become a law unto themselves in Soweto.

The Stompie case revealed many uncomfortable facts about the "football team" that lived so closely to the Mandela family.

A 14-year-old boy was abducted and severely assaulted by members of the Mandela XI. His bruised and battered body punctured with stab wounds was later found in Soweto. In a sensational trial, "coach" Jerry Richardson was found guilty of murder.

But of even more concern to the ANC was the finding of Mr Justice B O'Donovan that Mrs Mandela was present on the night four ab-

ducted youths were assaulted and tortured at her home in Diepkloof.

Long before judgment was delivered, the ANC-allied Mass Democratic Movement tried to put some distance between itself and the "Mother of the Nation".

It accused Mrs Mandela of abusing the trust placed in her, of violating the "spirit and ethos" of the democratic movement and called on Sowetans to disassociate themselves from Mrs Mandela while re-affirming their "unqualified support" for her husband.

### Guilty

Mr Mandela himself was quick to come to the support of his wife. He accused the authorities of "persecuting" her.

But the attempts at damage control may have come too late. Mrs Mandela's remarks during the American tour suggest that her fiery spirit has been anything but subdued.

In male-dominated South African politics there is no great tradition of strong women rising to political prominence. In white politics it took 80 years for the first woman to be promoted to the Cabinet.

The spouses of political leaders tend to play a supportive role in the background. There is no tradition of strong-willed women acting as the power behind the

throne. No Eleanor Roosevelts, Edith Wilsons or Evita Perons — let alone Margaret Thatchers, Indira Gandhis or Golda Meirs.

In a sense, Mrs Winnie Mandela has tried to break out of this mould. In the 28 years her husband spent in detention she kept a high profile which led to numerous run-ins with the authorities.

The 56-year-old Winnie Madikizela was the country's first black medical social work-

er when she met the ANC's rising star in 1957.

Recently divorced from his first wife Evelyn, he fell in love with the beautiful firebrand and married her soon afterwards. Three months later she was arrested for the first time for her role in the anti-pass campaign.

In 1959 she was arrested, charged and found not guilty under the Terrorism Act but the Government banned her and restricted her movements to the Orlando township.

### Lively

In the 60s and 70s she was charged on numerous occasions with contravening her banning order, and in 1977 she was banished to the Phakahlale township near Brandfort in the Free State.

It was a hard school for a lively, vivacious woman.

And it is a paradox of the new politics in South Africa that these days it is the ANC hierarchy — rather than the authorities — who are seeking ways to keep her quiet.



Winnie Mandela ... back to the bush?

# Man shot at ANC rally

ALEXANDRA community leaders last night called for a full investigation into the fatal shooting of an 18-year-old youth by a policeman at an ANC rally.

A former detainee, Mr Meshack Kunene, of Alexandra, died at the Alexandra clinic where he was taken after being shot.

Police liaison officer Henriette Bester confirmed the incident, claiming the youth was shot when a policeman reacted in self-defence.

She said a policeman saw a man smoking dagga near the stadium and arrested him.

"The man resisted arrest and started shouting," she

By VICTOR KHUPISO

said. About 1 000 spectators came out of the stadium, climbed over fences and threw bricks and stones at the police.

"A policeman, in self-defence while his life was in danger, fired a shot, killing an attacker."

The incident took place outside the stadium and had nothing to do with the rally, she said. Several policemen were injured and a police vehicle damaged.

At a press conference after the rally members of community organisations called

for an immediate investigation into the shooting. *31 Times 11/7/90*

They said Mr Kunene had been threatened by a particular policeman and that his family had been told to tell him to stop his activities.

At the rally, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo slated the Government for not doing enough to bring right-wing fugitive Piet Skler Rudolph to book. *1/1*

"They claim to have the best police force in the world, but they can't bring him to justice," he said on his first visit back to his home town of Alexandra.

He urged President De Klerk to disarm the right-wing "for the sake of peace" and warned there was no chance of the ANC halting the armed struggle if the Government failed to do this.

"The State allows whites to have arms and bases -- not to defend the country, but to kill innocent blacks. So the ANC has to defend itself," he said.

At a media conference Mr Nzo made it clear that disputes between the Government and the ANC over the term "political prisoner" were in the offing.

According to Mr Nzo, the Government defined political prisoners as members of banned organisations or those convicted of politically motivated acts.

He said: "The ANC definition of political prisoners includes thousands of so-called security prisoners."

# Nelson flies into storm over links with IRA

SITimes 11/7/90 (11A)

A SENIOR member of the Irish Republican Army, recently convicted on terrorism charges, met secretly with top ANC leaders in Harare last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela will fly into London tomorrow amid a growing storm over ANC links with the IRA and public calls on him to denounce the organisation.

The Sunday Telegraph in London reports today that the convicted IRA quartermaster, Nicholas Mullen, met ANC officials in Zimbabwe last year shortly before Mrs Thatcher's visit to Harare.

British and Zimbabwean security services monitored Mullen's movements constantly and he was subsequently detained by South African police when he tried to enter the country on false papers.

## Deported

He was deported to Britain where he was arrested immediately on arrival at Heathrow.

Mullen, 41, was jailed last month for 30 years after being found guilty of assisting an IRA active service unit with accommodation, cars and false driving licences.

As a quartermaster, he arranged codes, transport to and from attacks, and vital storage of IRA equipment and weapons.

In London it is believed that the ANC could be embarrassed by the revelations.

A senior ANC member reportedly flew from Britain to the US last week to brief Mr Mandela on the risks to his diplomatic strategy, if he does not issue an unqualified statement dissociating the ANC from any

## SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

hint of support for the IRA.

His embracing of Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, Pres Fidel Castro of Cuba and PLO leader Jasser Arafat caused a furore in the US, where his stance damaged his public standing.

ANC leaders have always denied any contact with the IRA, and ANC president Oliver Tambo has specifically condemned anyone forging links with the terror organisation.

# 2 000 at funeral of Azanla man killed in clash

Staff Reporter

About 2 000 Black Consciousness activists from all over the country gathered in the Port Elizabeth township of Zwidene on Saturday for the burial of Mzwandile Mcoseli, who died in a skirmish with the Bophuthatswana Defence Force on June 17.

A former member of the PE branch of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Mcoseli (34) left the country in 1986 and joined the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the armed wing of the exiled Black Consciousness

Movement of Azania.

An Azanla spokesman claimed that its cadres had killed five members of the BDF in the clash.

The BDF confirmed a "contact with two men armed with Russian-made weapons" in Ramatlabana, near the Botswana border.

The highly emotional funeral service, held at the Daku Community Hall, was addressed by the Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, trade unionist Siphon Radebe and former deputy president of the Azanian Student Movement, Thami Mcerwa.

# Winnie wins them over during Mandela US tour

*12645 2/7/90*  
**The Argus Foreign Service**

WASHINGTON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela emerged as a powerful figure in her own right during her husband's tour of the United States, signalling she is back in favour with the American public.

Only last year, the wife of the deputy-president of the African National Congress was the subject of heavy negative publicity in the United States following the fatal beating of a youth in her home.

Almost everywhere she went, the crowds demanded that she also speak (once she joked that her husband got annoyed when she spoke after him and that she would be in trouble when they returned to their hotel).

Generally, Mrs Mandela's brief remarks were in harsher language than that used by her husband. On several occasions, she talked about going back to the bush to fight the whites if negotiations broke down.

However, if Mrs Mandela

*114*  
talked like a hardened warrior, her image was quite the opposite, to judge from the many newspaper articles and television commentaries about her.

She was frequently described as beautiful, serene, peaceful, calm and humble.

Certainly, she played the role of Mr Mandela's demure, supporting wife.

Her outfits caused something of a stir in America and may have started a whole new fashion among her legions of admirers.

Mrs Mandela frequently appeared in African-style dresses and head wraps. On other occasions, she dressed smartly in bright Western-style gowns or suits.



Mourners with the coffin of stage and screen actor Bingo Bentley during his funeral service at Eyethu Cinema, Soweto, yesterday. Pic: VELI NHLAPO

# Mandela is over-publicised

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was the "most over-publicised politician in world media" and, with the ANC, had to come to grips with reality,

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said on Saturday.

Addressing the 78th anniversary parade of the SA Defence Force in Pretoria, Malan said the Government acted in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute, but questioned the seriousness of the ANC's commitment to eventual negotiations.

(Mr Mandela's) statements on economic policy and his adherence to the so-called struggle,

*Sowetan 2/7/90*  
**says Malan**

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be it armed or in whatever form, contradicts the spirit and content of the Groote Schuur Minute," Malan said.

Referring to the SADF's role in ensuring internal security, Malan said it was not the SADF's task to help one group against another.

Neither was it the SADF's task to make political peace, as this was a purely political initiative.

The Defence Force

could try and stabilise a conflict situation so it became conducive to talks.

"Leaders have a great responsibility in this regard, and should take the initiative," he said.

"In this connection, a few words on Mr Mandela who trots the globe.

"In the Groote Schuur Minute of May 4 he and his ANC agreed on a common commitment towards resolving the existing climate of violence and intimidation, as well as to work for stability, and therefore a climate for eventual negotiations."

## Contents

But, according to Malan, the ANC leader was outside of the country and made statements which contradicted the spirit and contents of the Groote Schuur Minute.

Two questions came to the minds of the majority of people who favoured a peaceful process.

"Is it perhaps a case of using the process towards negotiations as a continuation of the so-called armed struggle, (or) is it the objective to use negotiations as a cloak to replace the existing order by an ANC regime?"

- Sapa.

# Disunity story not being told

Sowetan 2/7/90

## in US - SA newsman

DETROIT - THE American impression that Mr Nelson Mandela represented the majority of the oppressed masses in South Africa was false and needed to be corrected, a South African journalist wrote in an article for *The Detroit News*.

Themba Molefe, a senior political reporter with *Sowetan*, wrote the article for the newspaper while Mandela and the ANC delegation was in Detroit.

Molefe is currently working for *The Detroit News* under a fellowship from the Alfred Friendly

### Sowetan Foreign Service

Press foundation in Washington DC.

"I fail to understand why US foreign correspondents based in Johannesburg neglected or failed to tell their country the real story of black disunity, of bombs being hurled into people's homes while they and their children sleep because of intolerance of each other's political affiliations," Molefe wrote.

"Why is it not being said in the United States that the ANC is one of three mainstream liberation movements?"

### Focus

"The other two are the Pan African Congress (PAC), whose president is Zephania Mothopeng, and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), led by social scientist Dr Itumeleng Mosala.

"Members of these

three mainstream groups are the focus of one of the most scandalous examples of inter-organisational violence in black history, and Mandela and my colleagues know about it. Many have been maimed or left homeless in bizarre attacks," he said.

He added that shortly before Mandela left South Africa in early June, four families - including two women in their 60s and a nine-month-old baby - in the East Rand township of Vosloorus were killed in

chilling AK-47 automatic rifle and grenade attacks on homes in what was later described as ongoing ANC/PAC conflict.

A week earlier, seven people were wounded and one killed in alleged ANC/Azapo fighting.

"However, US journalists in South Africa did not tell this story:

"That the masses are divided in that country and that Mandela is not the saviour of all black South Africans.

"That is not being said here," Molefe said.

**T**HE ANC has been discussing, in darkest secrecy, a set of options put forward by one Robert Davies, a British Marxist, to gain control of the post-apartheid economy. As a blueprint, it is remarkable more for the duplicity it proposes than for originality.

The Davies plan (dated December 18 1989) was one of several which have come to me from the inner circles of the ANC, where economist Max Sisulu (trained, I believe, in East Bloc economics) is leading the struggle to define the "mix" of the mixed economy which the ANC envisages.

Davies himself studied and lectured at Rhodes but has been based in Maputo for more than a decade, and contributes to the work of the so-called "core group" of the ANC's department of economics and planning (DEP).

**T**o convey the flavour of recent economic debate in the ANC, I can do no better than quote from his paper, "Dealing with Monopoly Capital in a Mixed Economy", in which he sets out very plainly the ANC's true motive for its persistent assault on what it calls "conglomerates" and "monopolies".

"A move of this nature," he says, referring to breaking up the conglomerates, "would in the first instance be directed at changing the balance of power. It would be aimed at consolidating political power ... the aim, in short would be to generate a greater isolation among the agents of capital in accordance with the well established principles of divide and rule."

However, the ANC has recognised that it cannot, in these post-*glasnost* times, launch a direct assault on private enterprise. As Davies says, an attempt to nationalise the economy without compensation would, at the very least, "provoke a major flight of capital and skilled labour power", and it would "draw a hostile response from imperialism", which

# Guess what the ANC is plotting to do to the capitalists

KEN OWEN

is the quaint ANC name for democracies like Britain, the United States and West Germany.

Besides, after observing the consequences elsewhere in Africa, the ANC truly fears the political effects of nationalisation. "Can we honestly say that on day one we will be able to replace all the skills, the entire skilled strata, with skilled managers, planners and workers of our own?"

The problems of Day One have exercised the minds of other ANC economists. Laurence Harris, for example, has proposed suspending the financial markets and tightening exchange controls until further changes can be made. Like Davies, he recognises the difficulty of a frontal assault on capitalism.

But the lust for power will not be stilled. Of necessity, therefore, the ANC's planners are cast back on stealth and cunning. They envisage a long-term struggle for "incremental changes" towards control of economic enterprises, a struggle in which the trade unions are assigned a special role.

One of the purposes of the trade union demand to gain greater access

to, and participation in, management decisions, says Davies, is to "incrementally change the balance of forces within (those) enterprises". The same purpose underlies the demands for union representation on the boards of companies. Labour, in short, is assigned the role of a fifth column.

**S**uch strategies are intended to avoid the adverse consequences of a frontal attack. Davies explains how to put a benign gloss on the campaign: "If confiscation or compulsory purchase were resorted to, criteria could be developed which would not necessarily be seen as anti-capitalist as such but as discriminating between different capitals.

"For example, parts of the state sector privatised by the apartheid regime could be re-nationalised on unfavourable terms. This could be explained as restoring the status quo ante, and it may even be worth considering announcing this in advance as part of a campaign against the regime's current privatisation programme." That, I assume, explains

the attacks on privatisation; they lay a basis for later "confiscation or compulsory purchase".

Davies proposes also that arguments used by private enterprise should be turned against business. For example, business often argues that it maximises wealth on behalf of "stakeholders", which may include employees, creditors, and suppliers as well as shareholders.

Davies sees a gap for the workers: "Those who defend this proposition," he says, "may find it difficult to argue why boards (of directors) should not include representatives of 'stakeholders' other than shareholders."

Similarly, he notes that where spokesmen for business acknowledge the severe concentration of ownership in South Africa, that admission can be turned against them.

The six options which he outlines for the ANC are: to nationalise most of the economy without compensation; to nationalise only the commanding heights of the economy in order to control the rest; to use anti-trust legislation against business in order to "divide and rule"; to seek representation on boards of directors for government officials, work-

ers and community representatives; to use the state's power in the markets (as a buyer, for example) to favour smaller enterprises; to use workers' organisations and trade union action to achieve "eventual" control.

Except for the first option, Davies observes, all these methods can be used together, complementing each other, in what he calls the "major ideological struggle (that) has already begun in earnest".

The Davies paper drew a response from another ANC economist, Vella Pillay, who recalled that the "core group" had in November posed the question: "Who are likely to be the most inveterate of our enemies, and who our potential (or temporary) friends within and among the so-called 'fractions' of capital in SA?" (Davies promised an answer by March-April 1990, but that answer has not so far come to me; if it does, I shall pass it on.)

Pillay thinks Davies too moderate. He complains that Davies leaves too much space for private sector business to operate on its own, while the state builds up an alternative productive system beside it, and says this won't work.

Instead, Pillay wants full-scale planning. The state "is duty bound to pursue a longer-term planning role in steering the national economy in a predetermined direction designed (a) to change the balance of forces in the national economy and (b) to provide the most favourable conditions for the reconstruction of the economy."

**I**f you can thread your way through that jargon you will discern, no doubt, that the ANC is trying to decide between a Marxist soft line, and a Marxist hard line: Davies, the soft-liner, offers the conquest of the private sector by the gradual and stealthy extension of control; Pillay seems to offer a more direct route. Either way, the aim is to establish control of economic life in South Africa.

I thought you'd like to know.

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~~scribble~~



Revealed: a cordial President-to-President call to report on Mandela talks

# WHY BUSH PHONED FW

S/Times  
11/7/90

11A  
2/2/91



GEORGE BUSH  
Straight talking

## SERETSE SON TO WED FARMER'S DAUGHTER



By LESTER VENTER  
and SIMON BARBER

PRESIDENT George Bush made a "very cordial" telephone call to President F W de Klerk after his meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, it was disclosed yesterday.

It was clear from the call that the ANC leader had endured some remarkably straight-talking from the US President during their three-hour meeting in the White House on Monday.

Mr Bush told Mr De Klerk he firmly rejected proposals by Mr Mandela that all American initiatives towards South Africa be vetted in advance by the ANC.

President Bush's Wednesday call to the Union Buildings — apparently designed to emphasise Washington's wish to be a non-partisan broker in South African affairs — lasted 30 minutes.

After giving a detailed account of his meeting with Mr Mandela, President Bush urged President De Klerk to visit Washington as soon as he could.

The drift of the conversation between the two presidents — some details of which were disclosed to the Sunday Times by diplomatic sources — suggests Mr Mandela's ecstatic public reception in the US was not quite matched by the cooler, straight-talking session with President Bush.

### Informed

In the President-to-President call, Mr Bush said:

EXCLUSIVE: THE SUNDAY TIMES TALKS TO HEIN GROSSKOPF

## ANC's Afrikaner soldier says: I want to go home



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# Bush phones F W on talks

□ From Page 1

er Brent Scowcroft, were disappointed by Mr. Mandela and his delegation.

The ANC leader was "dogmatic", too "liberation-struggle minded" and evasive on key issues on violence, economic models and commitment to true multi-party democracy.

Moreover, Mr. Mandela's somewhat imperious contention — at the welcoming ceremony on the White House lawn — that Mr. Bush had not been properly briefed did not go down well.

Though Mr. Mandela put a positive spin on his meeting with the President, Mr. Bush later described himself as "irritable" and admitted he had not had a good day.

One source said: "Mr. Mandela did not achieve nearly the same level of success with the US Government as he did with the American public."

Some American analysts have also been irritated by what they see as ANC foot-dragging, especially in its delayed response — to July 10 — on joint working group proposals to release political prisoners.

They feel the delay may have been deliberate so that Mr. Mandela would be able to claim on his US tour that "the pillars of apartheid are still standing" — an argument that would have been undercut overseas by a wholesale release of prisoners.

There is also concern that the ANC has not done all it could to help end the violence in Natal where the Government has been compelled to retain the state of emergency — once again providing fodder for Mr. Mandela's arguments.

By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

FOR some Americans, it seems, Nelson Mandela stopped walking on water this week and sank to the muddy bottom of mere mortality.

The loveable "moral leader of the world" is now seen, in the words of one commentator, as "a very militant, aggressive, tough guy."

It's not that Mandela has changed, but the perception of him — and perception is everything in the United States — definitely has.

After the ecstatic media coverage afforded the road show in New York, Washington's newspapers were much more sober, even irreverent.

The conservative Washington Times suggested tongue-in-cheek that while Mr Mandela was in the capital he should "go to the 9.30 Club to hear that hot new skinhead group, Dead Baby in a Blender," and that he should go to the Department of Motor Vehicles and wait in line for a driver's licence.

"The advantage is that by the time he's through, he will be President of South Africa," the Times chortled.

Winnie and Nelson Mandela also found themselves sharing the limelight

# The Mandela road show is running into a bumpy patch

with Mayor Marion Barry, whose alleged sexual and drug-related antics were being recounted in a local courtroom even as Mr Mandela was addressing Congress and lecturing the President.

On Tuesday night, people who had paid \$1 000 (R2 600) to shake Mandela's hand at a rally found themselves shunted aside when Barry decided to make a surprise appearance on the podium, clad in the by-now obligatory Kente scarf and brandishing a clenched fist.

They were not the only ones disappointed. A hastily arranged rally at lunchtime on Tuesday at Washington's Freedom Plaza fell flat when spectators gathered in the noonday sun had to be satisfied with a glimpse of their hero as his limo sped

from the Capitol to the Madison Hotel.

"I think I saw his grey hair," one stalwart boasted.

Wednesday's wreath-laying at Martin Luther King Jun's grave in Atlanta was attended not just by the invited, but also by a small clutch of Ku Klux Klansmen, who wanted to show that they were not impressed.

The International Freedom Foundation, a rightwing think-tank, ran a full-page ad in the Atlanta Constitution comparing King's words on non-violence with Mandela's words on violence.

"Mr Mandela," the ad trumpeted, "heed Dr King's advice!"

People gathered on the parade route waited not so patiently for Mandela, who was two hours late because, reportedly, Mrs Mandela

had yet to finish her lunch.

As the parched crowd waited in the heat, an activist exhorted them not to drink Coca-Cola, Seven-Up or Pepsi because these were all distributed in South Africa.

The nadir, however, was Miami, hotbed of anti-Castro feeling and retirement haven for Jewish America. No official greeting delegations here, no keys to the city. Just a cold shoulder by five Cuban-American mayors, including Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez.

A battle almost broke out between Mandela groupies and protesters carrying signs that read: "Mr Mandela, do you know how many people your friend Castro has killed just for asking for the right to speak as you are here?"

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STARS ... actor Danny Glover and Nelson Mandela embrace at the ANC's Los Angeles dinner



But Miami was just a stopover for the Mandela circus. Almost before he could say "Amandla," Mandela was heading for Detroit aboard a plane chartered from that captain of industry Donald Trump.

By week's end the Mandela machine had reached Los Angeles, where a R2 600-a-plate dinner with Hollywood stars and a concert attended by 78 000 people raised around R3-million for the African National Congress.

The concert was Mr

Mandela's second-last major public appearance of a breakneck eight-city tour of the United States.

At the fundraising dinner there was an emotional moment when former world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali and Mr Mandela embraced, each somewhat awed at meeting the other. *5/17/79*

Stars such as Harry Belafonte, Sydney Poitier, Diana Ross, Richard Dreyfuss, Gregory Peck, Danny Glover, Quincy Jones, Cicely

Tyson and Jane Fonda were at the bash.

Mr Mandela's message to Los Angeles was familiar: maintain sanctions until apartheid has gone, keep the pressure up even though a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic system is near.

"We shall establish an order on the southern tip of Africa which is democratic and humane in nature.

"In that new South Africa the great divide between our people will collapse... there will be neither whites nor blacks, just South Africans, free and proud."

Mr Mandela and his delegation was due to leave Los Angeles early yesterday for Oakland, near San Francisco.

From Oakland, the 71-year-old leader will fly directly to the Irish capital Dublin, where he will be the guest of Prime Minister Charles Haughey's government.

Mr Mandela's extensive Irish itinerary is expected to be severely shortened to allow him as much rest as possible before meeting British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher early next week in London.

# Mandela pledges to aid American Indians

OAKLAND — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who arrived in Ireland yesterday, capped a 10-day visit to the US by telling a roaring crowd on Saturday that he would return in October to take up the cause of the American Indian.

Mandela said he had received letters describing the conditions of the American Indians, "and I can assure you they have left me very disturbed", he said.

He had wanted to inspect the conditions himself, but his schedule was very tight.

In Dublin yesterday afternoon, Mandela was given a red carpet welcome by Irish Premier Charles Haughey and the Irish

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Anti-Apartheid Movement as he began the second last leg of his tour.

Mandela's Dublin visit would be of particular significance to him, aides said, because it was the city where the EC heads of state agreed last week to maintain sanctions against SA.

Mandela, plagued by itinerary problems throughout his 11-day US tour, had a "schedule conflict" in Oakland on Saturday that left 2 500 well-heeled supporters in the lurch.

They had paid up to \$2 500 a plate to attend a sumptuous dinner at which Mandela and his wife, Winnie, were to have

been guests of honour. (11A)

But Mandela had to leave for Ireland, via Canada, earlier than expected, and he could not attend.

"Oh dear," said one jewel-bedecked woman as she waited outside the Oakland Convention Centre ballroom. "What a disappointment."

Mandela had hoped to raise \$1m from his Oakland stops for the ANC treasury. He raised \$1.7m on Friday in Los Angeles. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● Picture: Page 2

# Handbook gives details for new members of ANC

ARGUS 2/7/80  
11A

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has published an 89-page document on its history and policies, giving details of how people can join the organisation.

*Joining the ANC: An introductory handbook*, comes two weeks after the release of an 88-page document on negotiations. Several similar policy documents are expected to be released in the near future.

The ANC's latest document gives the organisation's history since its formation in Bloemfontein in 1912, outlines its policies, discusses the Freedom Charter which was adopted in Kliptown in June 1955, and gives reasons for the organisation's adoption of the

armed struggle after all legal avenues of protest were closed to it when it was banned in 1960.

The document, aimed primarily at people interested in joining the ANC, looks at the organisation before and after its unbanning on February 2.

It concludes that the legal "breathing space" the organisation was given imposed great responsibility on it to organise massively and maintain discipline among its members.

"These changes," said the document, "also mean that negotiations are now more than just a possibility, they have become a matter of practical politics. The democratic movement needs to build on the Organisation of African Unity (Harare) Declaration

initiative and keep this initiative in our hands."

The document said any South African over 18 could join the ANC.

"The main qualities expected of a member are personal integrity and willingness to work for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which all forms of national and racial oppression will be eliminated."

Also included in the document are the 35-year-old Freedom Charter, the manifesto of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Constitutional Guidelines, the Harare Declaration, the ANC's interim constitutional framework and the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

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# Bungling Billy, the worst actor in the SAP

If the South African Police had an award for the loudest actor among their staff, it would have to go to spy Billy van Zyl.

I met Billy for the first time in Gaborone, Botswana, in September 1985. I was then chief sub-editor on the bi-weekly *Botswana Guardian*, and Billy ran the photographic department for the paper.

There was a lot wrong with the arrangement.

I learned that Billy had resigned from full time employment at the paper to go freelance, although he operated on company premises. He had a small darkroom from where he developed and printed pictures for the paper and could do other private jobs.

I was told he had accepted a large cut in his income to "freelance" and I remember asking him once if it was not plain stupid to earn less but still be at the paper's beck and call.

From the outset, Billy's attitude to me was more like: "You and me are professional journalists. We have been through the mill, (both having worked for the *Eastern Province Herald* in Port Elizabeth at different times) let us work together and show these locals what good journalism is all about."

That was not to be. When the paper moved to Botswana Road, Billy decided he would operate from home because there was no room for him at the new building. He took

with him his old-time lackey, Ben Phetabosigo, a Motswana fellow duped senseless by the wily Van Zyl.

Ben, an office worker-turned-photographer, would literally shake with fury at those who, like me, questioned the bona fides of Van Zyl on the side. If anyone believed in Van Zyl, it was Ben. He worked for him, and was loyal to the man on and off duty.

When I saw Billy's mansion, I was taken aback. By Botswana standards, it was almost palatial. He rented the house from the parents of colleague Rampholo Molefe, and shared it with a bad-tempered, pint-sized white woman he lovingly referred to as "my wife",

William "Billy" van Zyl, the 28-year-old South African security policeman who allegedly infiltrated the ANC, has been released from the organisation's Quattro Prison in Angola. Before his arrest, he worked as a photographer in Gaborone, Botswana. CHARLES MOGALE, former editor of the *Botswana Guardian*, recalls his memories of the man shunned by many of his colleagues, and suspected by even his boss at the *Guardian*.



although they were not married.

They had two vicious dogs, and I remember Billy's "wife" scolding me for driving up their driveway without permission. My explanation that I merely wanted to see if Billy was in the darkroom at the back, fell on deaf ears. I could not leave the car

because of the dogs.

I asked Billy again how he could afford the house on the pittance I knew he was earning from the *Guardian*, pay Phetabosigo, and still maintain his extravagant lifestyle - expensive photographic equipment and all.

His answer, as usual, was a helpless shrug of the

shoulders.

The more I got to know of Billy, the more apparent it became that he did not need the *Guardian* job to survive. He walked in and out of the office, accepted as a staff member, though shunned by many.

On some occasions, he would make a hopeless attempt to throw a tantrum,

as if to say: "I'm just a normal guy."

One day we nearly came to blows after I had asked him about a picture he had given to me long ago. All I did was ask if he had the picture, and in return he blabbered about me trying to make him catch the flak for my own forgetfulness.

Everybody seemed to have a hunch he was a South African spy, but it was nothing you could put your finger on.

The refugee community shunned Billy, and many were amazed Ben Phetabosigo could worship the ground he walked on.

On several occasions, Billy, out of the blue,

would launch a scathing attack on the "boere". He never made a secret of his

being an Afrikaner, but his vitriolic attacks on his white countrymen were often unwarranted and out of the context of our discussions.

It was as if he was inviting comment from his listeners, a transparent and irritating ploy which made many South Africans, especially exiles, uncomfortable in his company.

William Jones, owner of the *Guardian*, was always suspicious of Billy. Jones was a shrewd businessman of unquestionable integrity, and it was not surprising he dropped Billy from his payroll. The two had running battles from time to time.

One day, when I was then editor of the *Guardian*, Billy's name came up

during a meeting I had with Jones. At that time, the Billy-Ben duo had contracted out of the *Guardian*, but had offered to help us out if the need arose.

"I wonder if he will find time to do any work between spying for South Africa," Jones said with a sneer. In fact, I do not remember Jones saying one thing nice about Billy, and vice versa.

In spite of losing the *Guardian* contract, Billy continued to loll in luxury, running his "photographic" business from home until he left the country in 1986.

The revelation that he is a spy - and a low ranking constable in the SAP - is not going to shock many.

Except Ben Phetabosigo.

# ANC plan ignores the basics

It's a recipe for economic ruin, says expert

By LUIS EMILIANO

**M**ANY of the Third World countries that championed socialism and the corporate State since the 1940s are still paying for their mistakes.

Instead of creating a stable business environment that encourages private investment and export-led growth, most have created inward-oriented economies - discouraging exports and foreign investment.

Many Latin American countries are finding it difficult to get rid of vast and corrupt bureaucracies running unproductive public enterprises.

There are some basic economic principles that should be considered for a successful macro-economic programme. All of these rely on pragmatism: What has and what has not worked?

■ First principle: Do not transfer resources from those who produce to those who consume.

This will only make everybody worse off, leading to less production, less total consumption, less enthusiasm to work hard, to save and to invest those hard-earned savings.

■ Second principle: Do not try to replicate the market mechanism of demand, supply and price with central planning.

This always leads to sectoral imbalances and losses in productivity, and consequently to lower economic growth and balance of payments problems. The market has proved to be the most efficient mechanism to signal to producers what and how much to produce and to consumers what and how much to consume.

Any distortions to the efficient working of the market have proven costly to the overall standard of living. That is why Eastern Europe is moving away from central planning to free markets. This is a hard-won lesson that should not be forgotten.

■ Third principle: A successful long-term deal between capital and labour has to be based



Nelson  
gets  
human  
rights  
award

Nelson Mandela receives the Martin Luther King Jr. International Freedom award from King's widow Coretta Scott King during a ceremony at the Big Bethal AME Church in Atlanta this week. Mandela is the first recipient of the award.  
■ PIC1 AP

THE ANC's economic blueprint ignores

to provide the necessary foster mismanagement, inflation, lower economic

alone what works and concentrate on what does

What has and what not worked.

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■ Third principle: A successful long-term deal between capital and labour has to be based on a win-win situation.

A deal where one party wins while the other loses does not last long. Thus, equity policies should not take from productive capital, but should provide everyone with better opportunities to work and profit, thus financing consumption from productivity gains.

There are a couple of specific issues in the ANC's economic blueprint that I would like to refer to. These are the roles of planning, the private and public sectors, fiscal policies and agricultural reform.

The ANC's economic blueprint proposes "... over-all macro-economic planning and co-ordination in which the State would involve mass-based organisations in planning ..."

That may read well on paper, but in practice it leads to economic chaos. In all successful developed countries this type of planning has not been a contributing factor. However, in all experiences of failed economic policies this planning strategy has been a determining factor.

The decline of several countries has its origin in trying to go against the realities of the market. Many countries nationalised public utilities, commercial and industrial concerns, established communal farms and set up vast import-substitution schemes, only to see these concerns lose money and contribute to inflation, public indebtedness and foreign exchange scarcity.

The best role for the State is not to direct economic activity through central planning but to regulate it to avoid unfair business practices and

**THE ANC's economic blueprint ignores basic premises of economic efficiency and is full of old socialist and populist ideas that are being left behind everywhere else in the world, says LUIS EMILIANO, a Mexican economist specialising in Third World development. Emiliano, who was in South Africa recently, wrote an open letter to City Press to "share some ideas in the hope that I may help to prevent the repetition of those policy errors we committed in Latin America"**

open economic system, the market should determine the optimum size of an industry – not a bureaucracy. The ANC's proposals would lead to protective trade barriers, higher prices for consumers, less overall employment and lower economic growth.

Private enterprise is generally more productive and a better manager than the public sector for the simple reason that private businessmen have more to lose than public managers.

Therefore, it is with profound consternation that I find in the ANC blueprint proposals such as:

■ "... the State should assume the leading role in the restructuring of the economy ..."

■ "... the financing of a unified economy should fall on domestic savings ..."

■ "... nationalisation should be an existing part of the economic reconstruction programme ..."

■ "... the government should be prepared as a matter of fundamental principle to re-nationalise privatised State assets and set up new State corporations where necessary ..."

To reverse the process of privatisation of nationalised companies is a step backwards. Re-nationalisation and new nationalisation would only

to provide the necessary economic incentives to achieve a self-sustaining process of economic growth.

The economic blueprint proposes that "... where feasible, a policy of dismemberment of (industrial) conglomerates into units would be pursued ..."

However, in an

foster mismanagement, inflation, lower economic growth and balance of payment difficulties.

In the context of a mixed economy the measures of performance in public enterprises become more political than economic. Management is appointed on political merit and managers become less concerned with the efficient running of their industries and more with politics.

Furthermore, the idea of collective ownership – as suggested in the economic blueprint – is a vehicle for waste and inefficiency. There are very few examples of efficient collective ventures and quite a lot of failures.

The State should be the provider of last resort; it should supply those goods and services that the private sector cannot provide, such as public goods and services – defence, domestic security, public education, housing, and so on.

The purpose of taxation is to finance public expenditure and investment. Some taxes reduce consumption, while others reduce investment, eventually reducing future output.

In terms of the ultimate policy objective of economic development, taxes should induce productive investment, not prevent it. The tax load should rely more on incomes and consumption than on productive investment such as corporations, as proposed by the ANC.

Property alleviation and long-term productive employment can only be sustained through productive investments. Public investment over and above the required expenditure on infrastructure and public goods should be avoided at all costs.

The development of the agricultural sector is particularly difficult, as proven by the experiences of the Soviet Union, China, Mexico and India, to name a few countries. Thus, any policy destined to increase agricultural production should leave

alone what works and concentrate on what does not.

Only through raising productivity is the economy going to ensure an adequate food supply at affordable prices and avoid the famines suffered elsewhere in Africa. Taking away land from productive owners to give to less-productive farmers will lead to a decline in agricultural investment and output, higher food imports and balance of payments problems.

The ANC has to forget about unionisation of production, formation of rural co-operatives and so-called grass-roots participation. These ideas have not worked before, are not working now and will not work in future.

The purpose of agricultural development is to raise the productivity of those who produce less, not to lower the productivity of those who produce more to the level of those who produce less. To deliberately make everybody worse off because of the existence of inequalities is not rational and is a self-defeating policy choice.

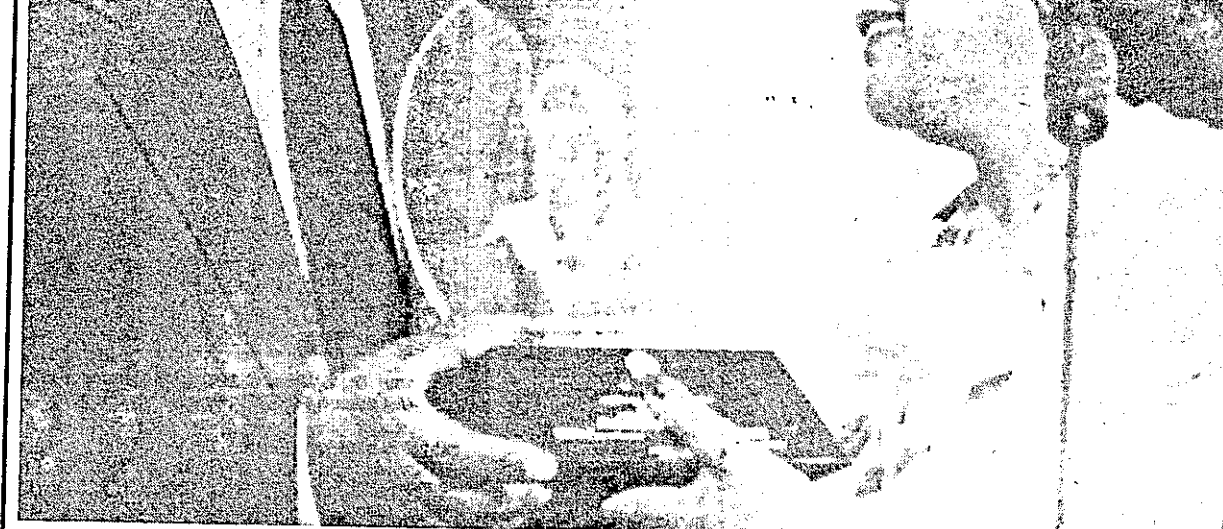
The State is not a better manager than the private sector, thus it should not compete against private enterprise. It should foster competition among the units of the private sector to strengthen the domestic economy.

South Africa has a long and conciliatory road ahead. It has achieved levels of productivity which are the envy of many other developing countries and there is no reason it should not achieve higher productivity levels and standards of living by dismantling apartheid, which after all is a barrier to free labour movement and economic development.

But in order to build a better and fairer South Africa efficient and proven economic policies should be implemented. As the ANC's economic blueprint stands presently, it is a recipe for disaster.

**Nelson Mandela receives the Martin Luther King Jr. International Freedom award from King's widow Coretta Scott King during a ceremony at the Big Bethal AME Church in Atlanta this week. Mandela is the first recipient of the award.**

■ Pic: AP





**Exiled Selebi looks at the past, present and future**

# 'Prepare for power with education'

11A

Struggle  
2/7/90

By SY MAKARINGE

**PERHAPS** the most traumatic and painful experience for any exile is to learn of the death of close relatives and know full well that your chances of coming back to bury them, or pay your last respects, are not only remote but non-existent.

This is exactly what happened to Mr Jackie Selebi, a former Orlando West High School teacher, who fled the country to join the external mission of the African National Congress 10 years ago.

Selebi is a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and secretary of its youth section.

He is on a short visit to South Africa and is still trying to come to grips with the death of his mother and sister.

His mother, Mrs Reah Selebi, died in 1980, a few months after he left the country.

The family was struck by another tragedy when Selebi's sister Eva passed away three years later.

"I was sad, extremely sad. There was no way I could come back to bury them," Selebi said in an interview at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters last week.

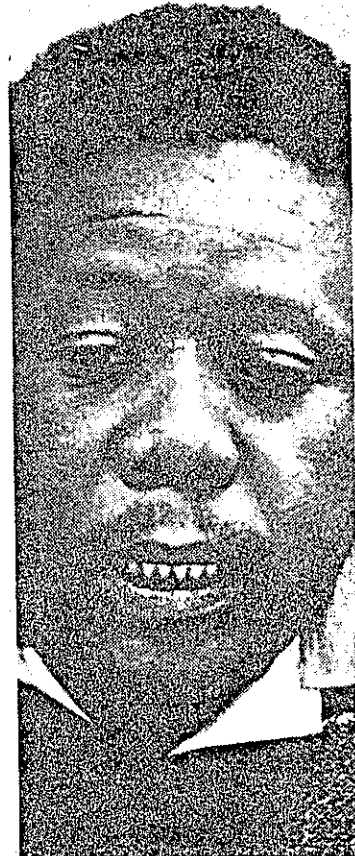
With the tragedies now behind him, Selebi said he was happy to be back home after so many years.

"Everybody who goes into exile has an anxiety. You don't know where you are going to. You don't know the people who are going to receive you. You are expecting the worst.

## Hardships

"I found a family in the ANC. The ANC became my family. The ANC became my father. They played an important role and made the hardships and difficulties of exile life bearable," he said.

Selebi had his teaching career



Jackie Selebi

cut short in 1975 when the Department of Bantu Education expelled him from his post at Orlando West High for "pumping black students with politics."

A former regional secretary of the South African Students Organisation, a Black Consciousness grouping, Selebi was detained several times and spent months in prison with the late Percy Qoboza, former editor of *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers, and other activists.

"Fortunately prison became another university. Those 10 months we spent at Modderbee Prison made us re-evaluate our successes and failures.

"We looked at the policies we were pursuing, strategies and tactics that we deployed. And I think that when one left the prison it was very clear which direction



one had to follow," he said.

Asked why he abandoned his black consciousness beliefs, Selebi said it was a matter of political development.

"In the first place as you grow up you see the problem as a problem between blacks and whites. But as your political education deepens you begin to realise that the problem is between you and the system.

## System

"This is not a matter of colour, it's a matter of the system. My enemy is not the colour of the man's skin, it's what he stands for," he said.

He said after working as an underground operative for the ANC for a few years, he decided to skip the country as things became very difficult.

In exile, he was elected a member of the ANC's national youth secretariat in 1982. He taught briefly at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College before he was asked to represent the ANC at the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Hungary where he spent four years.

He came back into the country last week to have consultations with the internal wing of the ANC and to set up structures that will receive ANC's exiles.

On the present situation in black education, Selebi said the problem was essentially the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training.

"It's absolutely important that we must prepare ourselves for power. When we say 'Amandla Ngawethu', directly translated we mean that we have the power to change this country.

"If we are to prepare ourselves for power, we must be literate. We

are calling on our young people to go back to school. But we ought to say, in the same vein, to the older generation: create the conditions for learning," he said.

He said during his days as a teacher, it was important to go "to those classrooms", because it enabled him to give some form of education.

## Struggle

"Even the barest minimum is better than nothing because we're not going to struggle forever. We are going to have to exercise power.

"Power needs us to prepare ourselves today," Selebi said.

On the role of the youth Selebi said their struggle had been very vital in the shifting of the balance of forces. He said they must continue to struggle and part of their tactics now must be to eradicate crime in their communities.

"Those anti-crime committees that had been set up must be developed so that we can continue with the work of the revolution," he said.

He said he disagreed with the way in which issues were dealt with at the so-called people's courts.

"I'm all for the setting up of the organs of people's power. I might not agree with the methods used but the principle remains correct," he said.

He said they must be set up in such a way that crime was prevented, not expanded.

Another task facing the youth was the reception of exiles.

"If the Tanzanians, the Zambians and the Angolans could receive them, give them shelter and food, our people can do more. We want to see everybody involved in receiving all exiles.

They must be integrated into society so that they feel their sacrifices appreciated," he said.

Selebi is unmarried and says: "I'm married to the ANC."

# SHOW

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# OF

*Sowetan 2/7/90*  
**Cops, army on  
lookout as week  
of protest starts**

# FORCE

**Musician  
Dudu  
Phukwana  
is dead  
- Page 3**

**ANC's  
Jackie  
Selebi  
speaks  
- Page 6**

THE South African Police, backed by the army, will be out in full force this week to ensure the safety of anyone who ignores the call by the ANC and affiliates for a national stayaway and protest action.

Fears are also mounting that the stayaway will lead to further strife between black political rivals as PAC, Inkatha, Nactu and Azapo have urged their members to ignore the call.

● To Page 2

## Cops, army prepare for stayaway

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111

● From Page 1

"Any person wishing to go to work should not be hindered," Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said in a statement on Saturday in Pretoria.

"I therefore wish to give the assurance to those wishing to go to work that the Government will do all in its power to ensure their safety and that of their homes, families and belongings.

"The police, backed by the Defence Force, will be out in full force to maintain law and order and to protect those wishing to go to work," Vlok said.

The ANC and Cosatu have called for a national stayaway and protest action, starting today, against violence in Natal.

According to Vlok, "the reasons given for, and the aims of the stayaway are also incorrect, unconvincing and unattainable".

"The Government is not responsible for the violence in Natal," he maintained.

Vlok said it had "become clear that there is a real threat of serious confrontation with ensuing violence erupting between various parties and their supporters" during this week's planned protest actions.

"It, for instance, now appears that the ANC/Cosatu/UDF alliance, which is responsible for organising the stayaway, will bring it in direct confrontation with the PAC, Nactu, Inkatha, Azapo, and certain organisations who have called on their members to ignore the stayaway.

"Incitement and intimidation of innocent workers...to obey the call for the stayaway have already started," Vlok claimed.

"This in itself could lead to renewed violence and bloodshed. Should this happen the responsibility will surely rest with the organisers," he said.

"Intimidation is a serious and abhorrent crime and is against the laws of the land. The Government and the ANC have committed themselves during the Groote Schuur talks (in Cape Town in May) to eradicate it.- Sapa

*Sowetan 2/7/90*

# ANC overseas campaign figure could top R25m

11A

## Mandela ends US tour with aid call

OAKLAND - The United States could provide the massive foreign resources which would be required to develop South Africa's economy in the post-apartheid society, ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela said before he left California at the weekend.

At his final Press conference at the end of his 10-day tour of the United States, Mandela said: "I have indicated in my speeches and Press interviews we are going to require large resources in order to develop our economy.

"Our economy at present is not performing well with regard to employment and maximum production.

"If we are going to get our economy to perform in a healthy manner we must get massive resources and you can give us these resources.

### Sowetan Correspondent

"You have already given us massive assistance during the course of our visit. You can double and treble that in a post-apartheid society,"

he said.

Mandela tour organisers were keeping mum on just how much had been raised during the eight-city tour.

National tour coordinator Mr Roger Wilkins said in an inter-

view on board the Mandela aircraft on Saturday he was not prepared to talk about a total until he had received the cheques.

"You can add all the figures that have been

promised and talked about as well as I can," he said.

Cities which are said to have raised more than R5 million during the tour were New York and Los

Angeles.

Organisers in Atlanta and Detroit claimed to have passed the R2,5 million mark.

Estimates of the total receipts for the tour have varied between R20 million and R25 million.



Mandela

1113

## Dhlomo offers services for peace talks in Natal

BIP am

PETER DELMAR 217190.

OSCAR DHLOMO, who left his office as Inkatha secretary general at the weekend, has made himself available for possible PAC-brokered talks to end the violence between Inkatha and UDF/ANC supporters.

In an interview at the weekend, he ruled out the possibility that he would become involved with any specific political organisation or alliance.

Among ANC members, particularly in Natal, Dhlomo has probably the best standing of the Inkatha leadership.

His political future has been clouded in uncertainty and speculation since he announced his resignation from Inkatha and the KwaZulu cabinet on June 1.

He said he would seek a role in which he could promote national reconciliation and multiparty democracy.

"My negotiation skills will be available to anyone who wants them. I will not align myself with any political party. I would wish to be in a position where I'm accessible and can talk to all political parties."

Dhlomo said he was uncertain whether he would have a role to play in negotiations per se, as the government seemed to envisage only political groups taking part.

He also ruled out speculation that he might accept a South African ambassadorial post, saying he did not believe he could represent the present SA government.

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11A

# Ireland welcomes Mandela



## SANCTIONS

Mr Nelson Mandela raises his fist as he addresses a crowd on the last day of his US tour.

Picture: REUTER

DUBLIN. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was given a red-carpet welcome here yesterday afternoon by Ireland's Foreign Minister, Mr Gerard Collins, and the Irish Anti-apartheid Movement at the start of the second-last leg of his overseas tour.

Although Ireland's capital city was gearing up to welcome back the country's highly successful football team from Italy later in the day, Dubliners were more than willing to make it a double celebration.

A red carpet awaited a fairly fit-looking Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie.

Mr Mandela will meet Irish Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey this morning, and at noon will address a special sitting of the Dail (parliament).

He declined to answer any questions on the ANC's attitude to IRA violence, following a call on Saturday by a British Conservative Party MP for him to do so. Mr Mandela will be grilled on this issue when he addresses an all-party meeting on Southern Africa in the House of Commons when he arrives in London tomorrow. He also faces a press conference here today.

The 71-year-old ANC leader's schedule was once again running late, following his departure from Oakland, near San Francisco, on Saturday, at the end of his 12-day

## US Indians get pledge

MR Nelson Mandela ended a whirlwind US tour vowing to return in October to visit American Indians and help them in their struggle.

He told a packed rally at the Oakland Coliseum he had received letters describing the conditions of the American Indians and "I can assure you they have left me very disturbed".

"I can assure the leaders of the Indian community that I will return in October with the permission of my organization which I am sure I will get.

"I will visit the Indian areas of this country and get a briefing from the Indian community. We will exchange views as to what I can do to help them in their struggle."

tour of the United States.

After the intensive security, glitz and glamour and thousands of people waiting hours just get a glimpse of him in the US, the Irish reception was much more relaxed and informal.

Mr Mandela managed to pull off the unusual feat in his 13-day tour of being the first African revolutionary celebrated by the US mainstream and the black ghetto.

Sharing a platform with President

George Bush in Washington and addressing a joint meeting of Congress, many believe he attained a unique stature in America that will make it impossible for politicians to ignore his reverberating cry to "keep the pressure on".

"I have a feeling the snowball will keep rolling," said Mr Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers, who organised one of the most successful rallies of the tour in Detroit.

By influencing the schedule for the lifting of sanctions, Mr Mandela may have a powerful weapon against the government of President F W de Klerk.

The fine points of ANC policy took a back seat to the adulation Mr Mandela aroused during his coast-to-coast tour.

His message was deceptively simple: One person, one vote, the eradication of apartheid and economic sanctions until these goals had been achieved.

Wittingly or unwittingly, he left the impression that he was the future leader of South Africa and that the ANC was a shadow government, despite considerable consternation over his expressions of support for Mr Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organisation and Cuba's President Fidel Castro. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

# Stayaway split

114  
CAPL  
TIGIS  
2/7/90

## But ANC vows there will be no intimidation

Staff Reporters

THE ANC yesterday told workers in the Western Cape they would not be "intimidated or threatened" in any way if they did not take part in today's mass stayaway.

The undertaking, made by South African Youth Congress (Sayco) president Mr Peter Makaba at an ANC rally at Athlone Stadium yesterday, came as police warned they would be on full alert against any violence.

The ANC said at the weekend that the mass actions to protest against the continued killings in strife-torn Natal townships would be peaceful, and that those opposed to it had nothing to fear.

It called on its members to observe the code of conduct drawn up by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

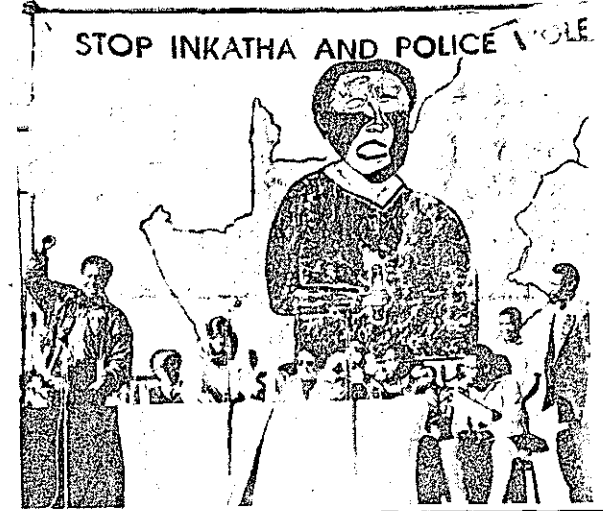
However, the proposed stayaway threatens to expose new violence among a black opposition arguing bitterly over its merits.

The stayaway, intended as the first day of a "week of action" aimed at emphasising the violence in Natal, has split black movements who disagree on its potential to end conflict — and on one side has temporarily united sworn enemies.

The ANC, the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) endorse the stayaway call, saying that only such decisive action will force Pretoria to take real steps toward stemming a virtual Zulu civil war in strife-torn Natal.

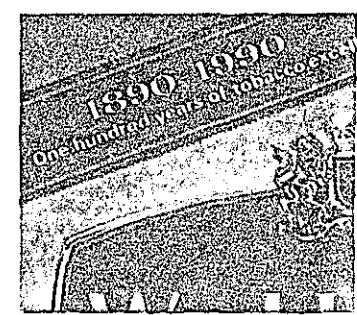
But opposing the call are the PAC, Azapo, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and Inkatha — usually scorned as a government-stooge group by the PAC and Azapo. The groups have cited precedents of murderous intimidation caused by past politically motivated actions.

The ANC has also warned that negotiations could



**RALLY . . .** About 2 000 people attended a meeting in Athlone yesterday to rally support for today's stayaway. Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was to have spoken at the rally but was unable to attend because a meeting he was to have addressed in Port Elizabeth was postponed. Mr Hani is expected to arrive here today. Picture:

BENNY GOOL



P.T.O.

CHC  
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2/7/90  
11A

# PAC: No point in ANC deal

DAR ES SALAAM. —  
The leader of the Pan  
Africanist Congress  
(PAC) said there was no  
prospect of uniting with  
its rival, the African  
National Congress  
(ANC).

"We are not uniting  
the political organisa-  
tions," PAC leader Mr  
Zeph Mothopeng told re-  
porters at the weekend.

The Organisation of  
African Unity has been  
trying to heal the 30-  
year-old rift between the  
two groups.

Mr Mothopeng main-  
tained deep differences  
still existed. — Sapa-  
Reuter





By KEN OWEN

Ken Owen's 2/7/90

1111

# ANC plans the conquest of the private sector

THE ANC has been discussing, in darkest secrecy, a set of options put forward by one Robert Davies, a British Marxist, to gain control of the post-apartheid economy. As a blueprint, it is remarkable more for the duplicity it proposes than for originality.

The Davies plan (dated December 18, 1989) was one of several which have come to me from the inner circles of the ANC, where economist Max Sisulu (trained, I believe, in East Bloc economics) is leading the struggle to define the "mix" of the mixed economy which the ANC envisages.

Davies himself studied and lectured at Rhodes but has been based in Maputo for more than a decade, and contributes to work of the so-called "core group" of the ANC's department of economics and planning (DEP).

To convey the flavour of recent economic debate in the ANC, I can do no better than quote from his paper, "Dealing with Monopoly Capital in a Mixed Economy", in which he sets out very plainly the ANC's true motive for its persistent assault on what it calls "conglomerates" and "monopolies".

"A move of this nature," he says, referring to breaking up the conglomerates, "would in the first instance be directed at changing the balance of power. It would be aimed at consolidating political power... the aim, in short, would be to generate a greater isolation among the agents of capital in accordance with the well-established principles of divide and rule."

However, the ANC has recognised that it cannot, in these post-glasnost times, launch a direct assault on private enterprise. As Davies says, an attempt to nationalise the economy without compensation would, at the very least, "provoke a major flight of capital and skilled labour power", and it would "draw a hostile response from imperialism", which is the quaint ANC name for democracies like Britain, the United States and West Germany.

Besides, after observing the consequences elsewhere in Africa, the ANC truly fears the political effects of nationalisation. "Can we honestly say that on day one we will be able to replace all the

skills, the entire skilled strata, with skilled managers, planners and workers of our own?"

The problems of Day One have exercised the minds of other ANC economists. Laurence Harris, for example, has proposed suspending the financial markets and tightening exchange controls until further changes can be made. Like Davies, he recognises the difficulty of a frontal assault on capitalism.

But the lust for power will not be stilled. Of necessity, therefore, the ANC's planners are cast back on stealth and cunning. They envisage a long-term struggle for "incremental changes" towards control of economic enterprises, a struggle in which the trade unions are assigned a special role.

One of the purposes of the trade union demand to gain greater access to, and participation in, management decisions, says Davies, is to "incrementally change the balance of forces within (those) enterprises". The same purpose underlies the demands for union representation on the boards of companies.

Labour, in short, is assigned the role of a fifth column.

Such strategies are intended to avoid the adverse consequences of a frontal attack. Davies explains how to put a benign gloss on the campaign: "If confiscation or compulsory purchase were resorted to, criteria could be developed which would not necessarily be seen as anti-capitalist as such but as discriminating between different capitals.

"For example, parts of the state sector privatised by the apartheid regime could be re-nationalised on unfavourable terms. This could be explained as restoring the status quo ante, and it may even be worth considering announcing this in advance as part of a campaign against the regime's current privatisation programme." That, I assume, explains the attacks on privatisation; they lay a basis for later "confiscation or compulsory purchase".

Davies proposes also that arguments used by private enterprise should be turned against business. For example, business often argues that it maximises wealth on behalf of "stakeholders", which may include employees, creditors, and suppliers as well as shareholders.

Davies sees a gap for the workers: "Those who defend this proposition," he says, "may find it difficult to argue why boards (of directors) should not include representatives of 'stakeholders' other than shareholders."

Similarly, he notes that where spokesmen for business acknowledge the severe concentration of ownership in South Africa, that admission can be turned against them.

The six options which he outlines for the ANC are: to nationalise most of the economy without compensation; to nationalise only the commanding heights of the economy in order to control the rest; to use anti-trust legislation against business in order to "divide and rule"; to seek representation on boards of directors for government officials, workers and community representatives; to use the state's power in the markets (as a buyer, for example) to favour smaller enterprises; to use workers' organisations and trade union action to achieve "eventual" control.

Except for the first option, Davies observes, all these methods can be used together, complementing each other, in what he calls the "major ideological struggle (that) has already begun in earnest".

The Davies paper drew a response from another ANC economist, Vella Pillay, who recalled that the "core group" had in November posed the question: "Who are likely to be the most inveterate of our enemies, and who our potential (or temporary) friends within and among the so-called 'fractions' of capital in SA?" (Davies promised an answer by March-April, 1990, but that answer has not so far come to me; if it does, I shall pass it on.)

Pillay thinks Davies too moderate. He complains that Davies leaves too much space for private sector business to operate on its own, while the state builds up an alternative productive system beside it, and says this won't work.

Instead, Pillay wants fullscale planning. The state "is duty bound to pursue a longer-term planning role in steering the national economy in a predetermined direction designed (a) to change the balance of forces in the national economy and (b) to provide the most favourable conditions for the reconstruction of the economy".

If you can thread your way through that jargon you will discern, no doubt, that the ANC is trying to decide between a Marxist soft line, and a Marxist hard line. Davies, the soft-liner, offers the conquest of the private sector by the gradual and stealthy extension of control; Pillay seems to offer a more direct route. Either way, the aim is to establish control of economic life in South Africa. I thought you'd like to know.

ence the naming of Glebe load. In 1909 it was demarcated for public use and recreation in terms of the Rondebosch Church Land's Act, and has been used for this purpose ever since.

To allow any development whatsoever on Rondebosch Common would be a most retrogressive step negating a historical site and resulting in the loss of a priceless natural amenity, thereby degrading the quality of life of the residents of this suburb of Cape Town. It must be accepted that a certain degree of management is essential, however. The invasion of the common by alien plants such as acacias, vines, broom and particularly tikuyu grass must be checked. Litter must be cleared periodically and the pathways require maintenance. This responsibility should not devolve entirely upon the municipality. All users of the common should play their part by not littering or defiling it in any way. We should be prepared to remonstrate with those who do.

We can also assist by weeding out alien invaders we find in our walks and reducing excessive trampling of the veld by keeping to established footpaths. Those who value the common must also be prepared to assist in its conservation by being ever vigilant to threats to its survival and making their voices heard in the right quarters.

# ANC leader plans a return trip for Indians

Star 2/7/90  
By David Braub,  
The Star Bureau

SAN FRANCISCO — Nelson Mandela is to return to the United States in October to inspect the appalling living conditions of American Indians and see what he can do to help.

The deputy president of the African National Congress made the surprise announcement at the last stop on his tour of the US, only hours before he flew to Ireland on Saturday.

Until that point, Mr Mandela had said throughout the US that he and the ANC did not have the time to become involved in the internal problems of other countries.

## Appeal

Only a few days ago, ANC officials travelling with Mr Mandela said it would be extremely unlikely that Mr Mandela would return to the US before next year, because of his pressing commitments at home and invitations to visit so many other countries.

Mr Mandela said in his speech on Saturday he would return to visit American Indian communities "with the permission of my organisation, which I am sure I will get".

His decision to immerse himself in the

plight of the American Indians followed an urgent appeal for support by a group of Indians only a few hours before he was due to leave the US.

● Mr Mandela left the United States after a tumultuous 10-day "Freedom Tour" with the words: "I feel like an old battery that has been recharged."

"Let me tell you that, despite my 71 years, at the end of this visit I feel like a young man of 35," he told 50 000 cheering people at the Coliseum stadium in San Francisco on Saturday.

At the airport for his departure, Mr Mandela stepped into his 16-seat chartered jet, then disembarked again especially to thank the members of the Oakland traffic police who had escorted him about the city.

● Thousands of people who had paid between R270 and R27 000 a plate to hear Mr Mandela speak at a dinner on the last night of his US tour were disappointed when he did not show up because of his departure for Ireland.

US tour organisers said the cancellation of Mr Mandela's appearance had nothing to do with Mr Mandela's health or his feeling tired. It was because he had engagements in Ireland.

## 'Getting to know you' will be aim

2/7/90 The Star Bureau (114)

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will press ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela to modify his constitutional demands when they meet in London on Wednesday.

She will place less emphasis on the differences between them and concentrate on "getting to know the man and how he works", said an aide.

There was no time to arrange a meeting when Mr Mandela first requested it, but he appealed to her to avoid any moves to weaken sanctions at the European Community summit in Dublin last week.

The circumstances leading to their telephone talk took Downing Street by surprise. Charles Powell, the Prime Minister's foreign affairs adviser, was

in bed when his telephone rang just after midnight.

It took him a while to realise that he was talking to Mr Mandela himself, who was calling from Kent, where he was staying on his way to the US.

Mr Mandela asked to see Mrs Thatcher before he left Britain the next morning. Mr Powell explained that it would be impossible because she was at her weekend home.

But he suggested an early morning telephone call. It was perhaps this unusual introduction that ensures that the two are determined that this week's meeting will be cordial.

The sanctions issue and the ANC's continued endorsement of violent protest are expected to be played down.

Star 2/7/90 (11A) (100)

# Dublin greets Mandela with football songs

By Esmare van der Merwe

DUBLIN — African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela received a red-carpet welcome yesterday in an Irish capital vibrating with Mandela and World Cup fever.

Reading the mood of the thousands who gathered to greet him — and to celebrate Ireland's performance in the World Cup — Mr Mandela said: "Congratulations to the Irish football team on their fine performance in the course of the matches for the World Cup. I should be allowed to believe they did so magnificently because they knew that I was with them."

Ireland was rejoicing despite a 1-0 World Cup defeat by Italy on Saturday.

The 8 000-strong crowd, which gathered to hear Mr Mandela speak at the only public appearance of his two-day visit, roared their approval, waved ANC and Irish flags and burst into Irish football songs.

Before the Mansion House rally Mr Mandela received the freedom of Dublin bestowed on him two years ago while still in prison.

Dublin Mayor Sean Haughey, the son of Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, said the city was the first world capital to have honoured the ANC leader in this way.

Mr Sean Haughey praised the "splen-

did way" in which Mr Mandela had been expressing the aspirations of South Africa's blacks during his six-week international tour.

Presenting Mr Mandela with a crystal globe, he remarked: "In effect, you have the whole world in your hands."

Mr Mandela responded: "The day is not far off when we shall confer the freedom of South Africa on some of your distinguished sons and daughters."

## Liquidated

At the rally he thanked the Irish government and people for their support for the ANC.

He said: "Let us all maintain pressure on the apartheid system until victory has been achieved. Sanctions and other forms of pressure must remain in place until the apartheid crime against humanity has finally been liquidated."

"We must thank your Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (Gerry Collins) for expressing the will of the people of Ireland so firmly by supporting the maintenance of sanctions at the Dublin summit."

Mr Mandela arrived at Dublin airport yesterday afternoon, five hours later than expected. He looked well after his 10-day tour of eight US cities. He will meet the Prime Minister today and address the Irish parliament.



# Crowds ready to welcome 'hero' Mandela

*Argus  
17/7/90  
NA*

## The Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Hundreds are expected to flock to Jan Smuts Airport here tomorrow to welcome African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela when he flies in from his six-week, 13-nation tour.

Mr Mandela, who took Europe and the United States by storm, returns a hero in the eyes of many of his followers. Tomorrow is his 72nd birthday, the first he will celebrate outside prison walls in 27 years.

During his trip he received a hero's welcome wherever he went, held meetings with heads of states, addressed gatherings, received honours and raised funds for the ANC.

In the United States he spoke to a joint sitting of the US Congress.

### TAKE A REST

A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg said Mr Mandela would arrive from Mozambique at 3.20pm tomorrow.

Many had phoned the organisation's office to say they wished to welcome Mr Mandela at the airport, so it was expected hundreds would flock there.

Mr Mandela would hold a Press conference at the airport soon after his arrival.

He would attend to ANC business in South Africa and take a rest before any further international trips were planned.

"The rest of the world has invited him to visit but our concern at the moment is that he gets back and takes a rest."

● A National Union of Metalworkers spokesman said that on Sunday Mr Mandela would be given a fire-engine red 500 SE Mercedes Benz, specially built for him in March, Sapa reports.

"It will be a very important occasion for the workers and the long-struggling, peace-loving oppressed and exploited masses at large."

### VICTORY OF PEACE

● Mr Mandela yesterday urged rival factions in Mozambique's 14-year civil war to reach a peaceful settlement before the end of the year. The Argus Correspondent reports from Maputo.

He told a rally the ANC would like to return to Mozambique this year to celebrate the "victory of peace".

A negotiated settlement in South Africa would help Mozambique end its devastating war.

"We will do anything in our power to help end the destabilisation of Mozambique by anyone within our country."

# Thatcher plans to get to know Mandela

AMG 2/7/90 (117)

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LONDON. — Mrs Thatcher will press Mr Nelson Mandela to modify his constitutional demands when they meet this week in London.

She will ignore the differences between them and concentrate instead on "getting to know the man and how he works", according to a Thatcher aide.

Their meeting on Wednesday, followed by a working lunch, will build on a surprise telephone conversation between them two weeks ago, when Mr Mandela asked to see the Prime Minister at short notice.

There was no time to arrange a meeting then, but he appealed to her to avoid any moves to weaken sanctions at the European summit in Dublin

last week.

The circumstances leading to their half-hour talks took Downing Street by surprise. Mr Charles Powell, the Prime Minister's foreign affairs adviser, was in bed when the telephone rang at midnight.

It took him a while to realise that he was talking not to an aide, but to Mr Mandela himself, who was telephoning from Kent, where he was staying on his way to the United States.

Mr Mandela asked to see Mrs Thatcher before he left Britain at 10 the following morning. Mr Powell explained that it would be impossible as the Prime Minister was at Chequers, her weekend home. But he suggested an early morning telephone call.

It was perhaps this unusual introduction that ensured that the two got on well and are de-

termined that this week's meeting — their first — will be cordial. The sanctions issue and the ANC's continued endorsement of violent protest will be played down.

The Thatcher-Mandela meeting is seen by both sides as an important step on the road to a peaceful settlement.

Mrs Thatcher's influence with President FW de Klerk has helped break the political deadlock, and she will tell Mr Mandela that continued progress towards democracy should be rewarded by a gradual relaxation of sanctions.

She expects the European Community ban on iron and steel and Krugerrand imports to be lifted before long.

Mr Mandela arrived in Ireland yesterday, where he will receive the freedom of the city of Dublin before flying to London tomorrow.

## Mandela will return to US to help Indians

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
OAKLAND (San Francisco). — Mr Nelson Mandela is to return to the United States in October to inspect the living conditions of American Indians and see what he can do to help them.

He made the surprise announcement at the last stop on his tour of the United States, only hours before he flew to Ireland on Saturday.

Until that point Mr Mandela had said throughout the US he and the ANC did not have the time to become involved in the internal problems of other countries.

Only a few days ago ANC officials travelling with Mr Mandela said it would be extremely unlikely that Mr Mandela would return to the US before next year, owing to his commitments at home and to invitations to visit so many other countries.

Mr Mandela said in his speech on Saturday that he would return to visit American Indian communities "with the permission of my organisation, which I am sure I will get".

His decision to immerse himself in the plight of the American Indians followed an urgent appeal for support by a group of Indians a few hours before he was due to leave the US.

### "A BOMBSHELL"

San Francisco television commentators later described Mr Mandela's announcement as a bombshell.

A Californian anthropologist, Mr David Peri, an American Indian, was delighted, however.

He said Mr Mandela would find the Indian reservations in California strongly reminiscent of South Africa's black townships.

(119) ~~ARGUS~~  
Irish roll  
out red <sup>ARGUS</sup> 2/7/90  
carpet for  
ANC chief

The Argus Foreign Service

DUBLIN. — Nelson Mandela was given a red-carpet welcome in an Irish capital vibrant with Mandela and World Cup fever.

Reading the mood of the thousands who gathered on the streets yesterday to greet him and celebrate Ireland's performance in the World Cup in spite of a 1-0 defeat by Italy on Saturday, Mr Mandela quipped: "Congratulations to the Irish football team on their fine performance in the course of the matches for the World Cup.

"I should be allowed to believe that they did so magnificently because they knew that I was among them playing."

The 8 000-strong crowd which gathered to hear Mr Mandela speak at his only public appearance during his two-day visit roared their approval and waved ANC and Irish flags at a rally at Mansion House.

Before the rally, Mr Mandela accepted the freedom of Dublin, bestowed on him two years ago while still in jail.

Dublin Mayor Mr Sean Haughey, the son of Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, said the city was the first to have honoured the ANC leader in this way.

Mr Mandela thanked the Irish government and people for their support.

"Let us all maintain pressure on the apartheid system until victory has been achieved.

"Sanctions and other forms of pressure must remain until the apartheid crime against humanity has finally been liquidated."

He was greeted by Foreign Minister Mr Gerry Collins on behalf of Mr Charles Haughey, who had flown to Italy for the World Cup match and to hand over the EC presidency to Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti.

Mr Mandela is to meet Mr Haughey today and will address the Irish parliament.

# Power transfer is still ANC's main objective

Sowetan  
21/7/90  
119

THE ANC welcomed the changes that had taken place in South Africa, but the central objective still remained the transfer of power from the racist minority to the majority of the people.

This was said by ANC director of information and publicity Mr Pallo Jordan in Bellville in the Cape yesterday.

Delivering the keynote address at the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's workshop on "peoples education", Jordan said it was not the Government's goodwill which was responsible for the recent unbannings and changes in the country.

These had happened because of the mass struggle of the people.

He said the Government, in spite of changes, was still trying to maintain its grip on power and it was up to the masses to unite to force further change.

This referred to education as well.

The struggle was still as relevant today as when the first changes were announced.

Jordan said it was the youth of the country who on June 16 1976 had

given their lives to voice their dissatisfaction with the education system and had given support to "people's education for people's power".

He conceded that a stable and growing national economy was required to bring about further changes but said the purposes of economic growth must not jeopardise the purposes of equity.

Education for all should be expedited and programmes had to be devised to improve the education of the working class, especially in the rural areas where studies showed rural women had the highest number of illiterates. - Sapa.



# City stayaway

ARGUS 2/7/90 (11A) (165)

Township stations deserted as thousands of workers heed ANC call

How they  
 saved  
 Hassie'  
 seal

SAWYER  
 reporter  
 "E" the seal, found  
 up and exhausted on  
 a beach, has been  
 returned to Seal Island.  
 Rescuers were the Na-  
 tional Rescue Institute and  
 Society for Prevention of  
 Cruelty to Animals.  
 The seal earned the  
 "Hassie" from SPCA and  
 staff for being a rather  
 partner in its release.  
 SPCA spokesman Mr Keith  
 said the seal, about four  
 years old, was found early on  
 Monday morning.  
 "The seal was not injured, but  
 appeared distressed and may have  
 been ill," said Mr Goudie.  
 "It was unusual for seals to  
 be seen at Fish Hoek, but the  
 seal was probably confused and  
 needed rest.  
 "The seal was as distressed, tired  
 and needed food. We gave her a  
 vitamin B12 and asked her to  
 return to station 16 at Strand-  
 take her back," he



Picture: BRENTON GEACH  
 The Argus.

**FREEDOM:** SPCA senior in-  
 spector Aloudien Toefy  
 about to release the seal,  
 dubbed "Hassie" for its  
 lack of fear.

**Staff Reporters and Sapa**  
**POLICE** gathered in force at virtually  
 deserted township railway stations as  
 thousands of workers appeared to  
 heed the African National Congress  
 call for a stayaway protest against  
 the continuing violence in Natal.

The controversial stayaway, called by the  
 ANC and the Congress of South African  
 Trade Unions (Cosatu) to force the government to  
 intervene in the conflict in Natal, has been  
 snubbed by some organisations in the black  
 community, including the Pan Africanist Con-  
 gress and Inkatha.

At some stations this morning police far out-  
 numbered commuters.

The normally packed peak-hour morning trains  
 on the Khayelitsha line were virtually empty to-  
 day, said a regular commuter.

This was confirmed by Spoornet spokesman Mr  
 Brian Lotter, who said trains on the Khayelitsha  
 line were running at about 30 percent capacity.  
 Other lines were normal and trains were on time.

The stayaway had not been felt at Rex True-  
 form, Cape Town's biggest clothing factory, a  
 spokesman said early today.

City Tramways spokesman Mr Bob Krause said  
 it would take time to survey passenger figures for  
 the company's 900 routes. He was unable to give  
 any figures.

Mr Jan Kotze, the general manager of one of  
 Cape Town's biggest dairies, said they had ar-  
 ranged previously for their staff to work yesterday  
 and take off today.

The production manager of the Good Hope Bak-  
 ery reported an 80 percent stayaway.

Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher  
 said no reports of intimidation had been received  
 this morning. He warned that police would act  
 firmly against intimidators.

"We'll keep a low profile and not act if every-  
 thing is peaceful, but we won't stand for any chaos  
 or intimidation," he said.



**YAHOOO!** England's Gary Lineker cele-  
 brates his match-winning penalty kick in  
 extra time which gave England a 3-2 vic-  
 tory over Cameroon in the World Cup  
 quarter-finals last night.  
 ● Full report, page 14.

## Divers search for tourist

**Argus Africa News Service**  
**MBABANE.** — The body of a tourist who  
 slipped over a waterfall at a Swaziland  
 beauty spot almost a week ago has still not  
 been recovered.

Scuba divers and rescue workers have  
 been searching since Tuesday for 18-year-old  
 Ryan King, from Abilene, Texas, but believe  
 his body is wedged in a crevice among huge  
 boulders below the Mantenga Falls, an  
 American embassy spokeswoman said today.

Mr King was posing for a photograph on  
 the lip of the falls when he slipped. He was  
 on a Christian youth fellowship tour of south-  
 ern Africa.

City shivers as temperature

**TABLE PLACE**  
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deserted township railway stations as thousands of workers appeared to heed the African National Congress call for a stayaway protest against the continuing violence in Natal.

The controversial stayaway, called by the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to force the government to intervene in the conflict in Natal, has been snubbed by some organisations in the black community, including the Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha.

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Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher said no reports of intimidation had been received this morning. He warned that police would act firmly against intimidators.

"We'll keep a low profile and not act if everything is peaceful, but we won't stand for any chaos or intimidation," he said.

In Durban, it was reported that trains from black areas were only half-full.

Most Putco bus drivers in Soweto arrived for work today.

Yesterday, Inkatha supporters staged an anti-stayaway rally in Soweto.

Inkatha's West Rand leader, Mr Themba Khosa, claimed that more than 5 000 Inkatha supporters armed with shields and sticks had arrived at a Soweto rally. A Soweto police spokesman said only 150 had taken part.

The South African Chamber of Business and the employers' organisation, Saccola, said employers had indicated that they would adopt a "no work, no pay" policy.

### "Mass Action" week

Yesterday, the ANC and Inkatha agreed at community level to resolve the conflict between the two organisations.

Community representatives of the two organisations met in Wattville near Benoni in an attempt to iron out differences that have led to tension between the ANC and Inkatha on the eve of the "Week of National Mass Action" organised by ANC affiliates to protest against the violence in Natal.

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## Unity not likely - PAC

DAR ES SALAAM - PAC president Mr. Zeph Mothopeng on Saturday said there was no prospect of uniting with ANC. *Sowetan* NA

"We are not uniting the political organisations," Mothopeng said. *2/7/90*

The Organisation of African Unity has been trying to heal the 30-year-old rift between the two groups, which were both unbanned in February by State President FW de Klerk. But Mothopeng said deep differences existed.

- Sapa-Reuter.

# Mandela's IRA blunder condemned by UK press

Argus 3/7/80 (11A) (10)  
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela appears to have made his first major diplomatic blunder and has brought down on his head the wrath of the British media, which has largely championed his tour so far.

His call yesterday for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to begin talks with the Irish Republican Army without first demanding a commitment to end violence, as was done with Rhodesia, has been greeted with trumpeting headlines and a clutch of hostile leading articles.

Even Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock, a strong supporter of Mr Mandela, distanced himself, saying the ANC leader should not be mistaken about the IRA being "a bunch of murderous terrorists".

## "MIND OWN BUSINESS"

Leading newspapers' reactions range from dismay — "It is a pity that Nelson Mandela yesterday fell into the trap of supposing that a fruitful analogy can be drawn between Northern Ireland and Southern Africa," began the Independent — to dismissive anger, such as the Daily Express's blunt: "Mind your own business, Mr Mandela."

The Express accuses him of "tragic insensitivity" just a few days after the murder of two policemen on the beat and the bombing of the Carlton Club in London.

It adds: "Whereas the ANC might attempt to justify violence by pointing to the lack of a democratic vote (in South Africa), the IRA can make no such claim. It rejects the ballot box, where it has no chance at all, in favour of bombs and bullets.

"Even if Mr Mandela were better informed about Northern Ireland, however, it is still doubtful that the people of Britain would welcome his intervention. He should stick to his (problems) and leave us to grapple with our own," The Express said.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Self-confessed "death squad" policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee, who has defected to the ANC, has embarrassed his new comrades by claiming that a senior cadre, Mr Sizwe Kondile, was killed by the South African security police, according to the journal Africa Confidential.

The journal claimed yesterday that when Mr Kondile disappeared from Maseru in Lesotho in 1981 the ANC denounced him as a traitor, and members who had been close to him suffered serious consequences.

But Mr Coetzee alleges that Mr Kondile was seized by South African

agents. He claims that he suffered brain damage during torture and that the security police then killed him and burned his body.

Africa Confidential reports that Mr Kondile, a brilliant graduate of Fort Hare university and son of Port Elizabeth lawyer Mr Dumile Kondile, disappeared from Maseru in a car stolen from the wife of Mr Chris Hanu, leader of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Kondile had been close to Mr Hanu, but when he disappeared ANC operatives inside South Africa were

told he had defected to Pretoria and were warned about his "supposed treachery".

The journal claims that Mr Kondile's family in the Eastern Cape were ostracised on the orders of Mr Hanu, that ANC security compiled a pamphlet entitled "Death to Traitors" and that his friends were investigated.

Africa Confidential reports that among friends of Mr Kondile who suffered were Mr Thozamile Botha, a Port Elizabeth trade unionist, and Mr Vusi Ximiya.

CAP-T/14/15 3/7/90 (114) ~~114~~  
**Coetzee embarrasses ANC**

# Mellet, 'Terror', call for 'new centre'

JOHANNESBURG. — Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet and ANC leader Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, in the first public meeting between the police and the ANC, called last night for a new centre in South African politics.

They shared a platform here with DP spokesman on security Mr Tiaan van der Merwe at a panel discussion titled "Violence — Our Common Concern", organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and attended by more than 100 people.

CRP 1/9/90 3/7/90  
"It is correct what Brig Mellet said here. A new day is dawning in SA, and we have to find a new (political) centre," said Mr Lekota, who is the ANC's regional organiser in southern Natal.

He warned, however, that a new political centre should not come from only one side.

"We need a new balance in SA. We must not look to the past with an eye to accusing each other, but to building on it," Mr Lekota said.

Brig Mellet said South Africans "must not be naive — there will

always be political differences".

"But we must try to find narrow sidelines, and a broad centre," he said, comparing the political situation in SA to a sports field.

Brig Mellet said South Africans "have got so much to go for. But we can destroy it if we keep on trying to find solutions through the barrel of the gun, or acts of violence.

"Whether it comes from the police, or the people we should be protecting — let's forget the past."

Mr Lekota said "political solutions

must be given priority", not violence.

He said that since the ANC was allowed to hold its first public rally in February this year, the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "has toned down its activities".

"In public we are not saying it, but practice shows it," Mr Lekota maintained. "In fact we are unarmed at present."

Addressing the situation in Natal, including the stayaway, Mr Lekota called for the police and SA Defence Force to leave the troubled region. — Sapa

# ANC must renounce violence Meyer

*Carl Trips 3/7/90*

*(11/1)* *(11/1)* *(11/1)*

PRETORIA. — The ANC would have to renounce violence before all exiles could return home and all political prisoners be released, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In an interview here, Mr Meyer said these obstacles to negotiations raised by the ANC could not be removed unless the ANC committed itself to peaceful solutions.

Also, negotiations for a new political dispensation could not go ahead unless the ANC renounced violence and played its part in removing the obstacles, he said.

The government had accepted the recommendations of the report by a joint government/ANC working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and was awaiting the ANC's response, Mr Meyer said.

The government wanted to begin the talks to structure the agenda for negotiations early next year and would not wait forever.

Mr Meyer said the ANC's rhetoric on armed struggle was encouraging the right wing's rhetoric on violence.

The right wing should stop this nonsense about violence and bring their proposals on a new constitution to the government, Mr Meyer said.

If they did not do so, they would exclude themselves from the democratic process. While the PAC had stated its opposition to a negotiated settlement, he was optimistic the organisation would soon change its mind, Mr Meyer said.

There would be little sympathy for the gaining of political power through violent means and the PAC could find itself with little choice but to commit itself to negotiations.



# ANC, DP and police call for end to violence

The Argus Correspondent

11A  
3/7/90  
[Handwritten initials]

JOHANNESBURG. — Leading representatives of the African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the police have emphasised the need to find common ground to combat violence in the country at an historic meeting organised by the Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg.

Sharing the platform for the first time last night were Brigadier Leon Mellet of the SAP, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Southern Natal convener, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, the DP's national chairman.

In his address Mr Van der Merwe said South Africans needed hope, political leadership and statesmanship as never before.

"They need an indication that there is something better ahead of us, they need an indication that their sacrifices have been worthwhile — they do not need more war rhetoric," he said.

The greatest threats to peace in the country were exaggerated expectations combined with the climate of fear and uncertainty, both of which were open to exploitation by politicians.

Organisations from across the political spectrum, including rightwing groups, needed to be drawn into the process of managing security in this country and of developing a culture of joint responsibility, he said.

Mr Lekota said South Africans deserved something better than what was happening today.

"The kind of blood-letting that is happening in this country should never have been allowed to come to pass," he said.

### "No confidence in SAP"

Referring to the conflict in Natal, Mr Lekota said the violence was rooted in the apartheid system. He repeated the ANC's call for the disbanding of the Kwazulu police, which he described as "the armed wing of Inkatha".

He called on the government to consult the ANC before allowing police to intervene further in Natal.

"Over the years the SAP has been seen in the black community as a police force that is not for us — but there to protect the white community.

"The masses of the people on the ground have no confidence in the SAP but if people on our side were seen to be part of the steps taken, that confidence could be created."

Brigadier Mellet appealed for a common understanding to help the police in their fight against a common enemy — crime.

"We need the support of the public — we need the goodwill that is out there to assist us," he said, adding that between 80 and 90 percent of people in South Africa were law-abiding.



**S**HORTLY before Nelson Mandela hit New York, George Will, America's most elegant political columnist and baseball writer, predicted the ANC deputy president would be a fad as passing as his 10-day triumphal progress through the country. Now that the caravan has moved on, even Mandela himself seems to have recognised just how fleeting the US attention span can be. He has vowed to return in October.

His intention, he suggested at his farewell performance in Oakland, was that those who could not touch the hem of his raiment on this occasion — American Indians, in particular — should have a second chance.

This concern for the plight of the country's indigenes, shared so often in years past by apartheid's apologists, was odd. It implied a desire to rummage through America's private laundry basket. This was something Mandela had previously vowed he would never do, if only to make his highly selective views on "Brother" Col Gaddafi and other US demons seem less hypocritical.

**H**e cannot have helped noticing, however, that it was the very contents of the laundry basket that made his welcome here so rapturous and enabled him to enrich the ANC by millions of dollars. The whole ghastly mess of US racial grievance and its politicisation was his ally. Without it, he would not have strode the continent like a colossus.

The Rev Jesse Jackson likes to say "keep hope alive", when actually he means "long live hopelessness, victimhood and white guilt". These are the sources of his fame and power. Mandela has evidently learned the Jackson lesson well. To remain an American hero, bending US policy to his will and US wallets to his cause, he perhaps figures that he too must "keep hope alive".

Without "hope", he would soon fade from a national consciousness that lives entirely in the present tense. Were that to happen, his utility to the ANC — or, to be more optimistic, his capacity to hold its "multi-

# Mandela may find popularity is not the same as power

*0 10 am 31/11/90*

*I/A*

SIMON BARBER in Washington

formations" together as he sets out down the road of compromise — would be diminished.

Trouble is, America is bored of "hope" and will as easily be bored by Mandela if he returns to the well too often. Note, please, where the Jacksons and Randall Robinsons stand in the greater order of US politics: in the headlines, maybe, but ultimately on the margins. Were they serious players, they would not be obliged to devote so much of their energy to a distant land, which, as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen has noted, is of no strategic or national security concern to the US.

In the real world — the world in which the real decisions are taken — Mandela had little impact here. Let us not begrudge him the thrill of meeting actors like Robert de Niro and Eddie Murphy or of shaking the battered hand of Smokin' Joe Frazier — but, come now, do these men really make national policy? The service at Riverside Church, a veritable Tweetoring Kerk of the failed left, was deeply moving, though what did it move that mattered?

The businessmen who cheered him at the World Trade Centre in New York were not the captains of indus-

try, most of whom were shunned because of ties, however tenuous, with SA. Few had any real interest in, let alone knowledge of, the place. Many were the trendy purveyors of boutique development finance. Others came for the privilege of being able to drop a famous name over lunch at Le Cirque.

So Arthur Krim, CE of Loews Corp and former head of Orion Pictures, gave him a dinner at which each guest paid \$2 500 for an hour in the Presence. Does Wall Street leap to attention and salute when Krim speaks? No. He is more famous for lavishing money on losing causes like Democratic Party presidential candidates.

**C**ongress counts, and to the innocent observer Mandela's address to the joint session was a smashing success, all but ensuring that sanctions would remain on long after the conditions set out by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act were met. That is certainly how most of the US Press has played it, proof, if any were needed, that the analysis is flawed.

Many of the ovations — as when

Mandela called for the continuance of sanctions — were set off by a relatively small clique who obliged the somnolent or merely embarrassed to join in. And, truth be told, the applause was noticeably more restrained than when Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel spoke in the same forum. The chamber was fuller on those occasions, too; the chance to honour two men who threw off communism topped members' agendas. While harbouring no particular animosity for Mandela, many had better things to do last Tuesday.

Secretary of State James Baker, having seen the ANC delegation the previous afternoon, was absent from the ranks of cabinet members in attendance. Vice-President Dan Quayle had the right, as president of the Senate, to sit behind Mandela on the podium with House Speaker Tom Foley. He stayed away, too.

The majority of those who did attend would privately draw a firm distinction about who it was they came to see. They were there out of respect for a man who had spent the best years of his life in jail for opposing apartheid and was now ready to negotiate its end, not as a mark of special esteem for his organisation or its historic methods or its loyalty

to the likes of Yasser Ararat and Fidel Castro.

Mandela's suggestion that the ANC be allowed to direct US policy towards SA was met with silence. He had made the same request to President George Bush during the welcoming ceremony outside the White House 24 hours earlier. It had sunk like a lead balloon then, and did again before the legislative branch. Unless he was embarked on some Machiavellian strategy to demonstrate the limits of their authority to his followers, these remarks were among the most foolish of his visit.

As capricious as it may sometimes seem, Washington does not, by nature, submit very lightly to taking orders, least of all from people who say the wrong thing about its most neuralgia-inducing enemies and remain committed (publicly at least) to the use of violence against a government credibly committed to negotiation.

**B**ush and his top advisers were not alone in their generally negative response to Mandela and his team. There is now sufficient unease in Congress to warrant serious consideration of any administration proposal to modify existing sanctions should the conditions be met. Indeed, to oppose such modification would be to risk charges of surrendering sovereignty to a foreign power, and a suspect one at that.

Mandela may have raised the ANC and its local charities a lot of money (though how much is left after the various middlemen have taken their cut is open to question). He certainly enjoyed extraordinary public adulation. He did not, however, convince the powers that be. If he is statesman of SA's wishes, he would be wise to use that fact to impress a little sweet reason on his followers instead of coming back to try again.

Now, more than ever, moderates like Senators David Boren and Richard Lugar are joining Bush in wanting President F W de Klerk to stop by and put his case. They do not believe Mandela's claim that the ANC is the only organisation that can "help" De Klerk. They want to help him too, and they need his assistance.

## ANC and Inkatha sign peace pact in Benoni

By SY MAKARINGE



LEADERS of the ANC and Inkatha in Wattville, Benoni, have signed a peace pact in a bid to prevent internecine violence between members of the two organisations. *Benoni 3/7/90*

The pact was signed at a meeting in Benoni on Sunday following rumours that Inkatha members living in Wattville had planned to attack local leaders of the ANC to retaliate against alleged "slandorous attacks" made on president of Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The "slandorous attacks" were allegedly made by members of the ANC, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Youth Congress.

It was resolved at the meeting that supporters of the two movements refrain from making provocative statements against each other, exercise political tolerance and refuse to allow external antagonism "to bedevil communal peace".

The groups also agreed to meet periodically "to prevent possible conflicts" in future.

THE PAC and Azapo have come under fire from the ANC for their attitude towards yesterday's stayaway protest against the violence in Natal.

The two organisations, together with Nactu and Inkatha, have not given their support to the stayaway called by the UDF, ANC and Cosatu.

On Sunday at a meeting at Athlone Stadium in Cape Town, senior ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala said he knew of no PAC activities in Natal.

He knew of individuals who were members of Azapo but there was no

# ANC slams PAC, Azapo over lack of support

# Stayaway row looms

**Sowetan Reporter**

"organisation like Azapo" in Natal.

Earlier, South African Youth Congress president Mr Peter Mokaba assured workers who planned to go to work yesterday that they had nothing to fear.

"We'll show that the youth are militant and

radical but disciplined. We do not want the police to defend anyone because we will not attack anyone.

## Attack

"We won't attack our people in the townships - if they to go to work we'll let them go," he said.

He also criticised the PAC. "We are not

worried that the PAC are not participating."

But he wanted to know how many members the PAC had. "We have the numbers. Where do they come from?"

The ANC did not want to compete with the PAC or even fight it because that would serve no purpose.

"We must see who seizes power first. Why must the PAC live in opposition to the people and not the enemy?"

He said the stayaway was intended to save lives. "Because we are revolutionaries we are going to embark on this action."

The people of Natal had been murdered over a period of years.

"No liberation movement worth its salt can stand by while its people are being murdered." He alleged the involvement of "vigilante forces" of the "apartheid puppet" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

## Enemy

The organisers of the stayaway had been told that their action was inappropriate. "No liberation movements ask the enemy how to fight him," he said.

If the business community wanted to stop the

*Sowetan 3/7/90*

11A  
11A

# Mothopeng is hailed

DAR-es-Salaam - The militant PAC slogan "One Settler, One Bullet" reverberated once again last weekend when jubilant cadres of the movement's armed forces hailed their president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

Mothopeng was addressing hundreds of PAC cadres, mostly members of the movement's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in Dar es Salaam on Sunday. *Sowetan 3/7/90*

The crowd welcomed the ageing leader who was in the Tanzanian capital at the weekend for consultations with the movement in exile and for talks with the leader of that country, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

The PAC president was also scheduled to meet Julius Nyerere.

# R50 Vaal library fee hits black students

THE Vereeniging Town Council is charging residents living outside the area a R50 membership

**By SONTI MASEKO**

cially" to use the reference section of the library.

*Sowetan 3/7/90*

# for change - Mandela

DUBLIN - The promise of change in South Africa to democracy should not be mistaken for change itself, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told the Irish parliament in Dublin yesterday.

It appeared that South Africa was heading for a negotiated settlement but apartheid remained in place and nobody could guarantee the process of negotiations would inevitably lead to democracy, as there were many whites prepared to cause a bloodbath to protect the system, he warned.

Mandela, who has developed a heavy cold over the past two days, was making an historic address as the first political leader who was not a head of a state or a political party, to a special session of both houses of parliament.

Earlier in the day, he held talks with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, after calling on President Patrick Hillary.

In his address, speaking slowly due to

his illness, Mandela reiterated his acceptance of the integrity of President FW de Klerk and his colleagues and their commitment to change.

"Despite this, we should not mistake the promise of change for change itself.

"The reality is that the system of apartheid continues.

## Racist system

"Our country continues to be ruled by a white minority regime and all the fundamental features of the South African racist system remain unchanged.

After meeting more Irish politicians for talks in the afternoon and a rest period before a reception in the Dublin Castle, Mandela was scheduled to leave last night for London.

There he will meet British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd today and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher tomorrow, marking the end of his overseas tour. - Sapa.

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# Karen at last meets her 'pop star' Nelson

*Call Times 3/7/90*  
DUBLIN. — Karen Gearon spent almost three years on an anti-apartheid strike here. Her reward finally came on Sunday when she met Mr Nelson Mandela.

"It didn't matter what we went through. It didn't matter that I lost my job because Nelson Mandela has been here now," she said after an emotional meeting with the ANC deputy president.

Miss Gearon was one of 11 employees at a Dublin supermarket who launched one of the world's longest anti-apartheid strikes in 1984 when refusing to handle South African fruit and vegetables. The campaign led to Ireland imposing an import ban.

Miss Gearon told The Irish Times: "It was like having a famous pop star near you and to me he was my idol — my pop star." — Sapa-Reuter

# R750 m COST

Capl T-15 3/7/90 (HA)  
**Cosatu:**  
**A massive**  
**show of**  
**support**

**MORE THAN R750m** in lost productivity could result from yesterday's ANC/UDF/Cosatu stayaway, heeded by hundreds of thousands of workers across the country, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said yesterday.

A Sacob spokesman said all participants in the economy would suffer the consequences of the stayaway which varied sharply from region to region.

Three bombings, infighting and threats, intimidation and a work stayaway of up to 100% marked yesterday's one-day national strike.

The stayaway -- called by the ANC and Cosatu to spur the government to sharper measures to end the six year long conflict in Natal -- drew strong support in Natal, Vaal Triangle, Eastern Transvaal and Eastern Cape where businesses were paralysed.

The call was less effective in the Western Cape, where absenteeism of 15% to 20% was recorded.

The stayaway was opposed by the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the National Council of Trade Unions, rivals to the ANC.

Last night the ANC and Cosatu claimed "a massive show of support" with more than half of businesses in the Durban metropolitan region closed.

"More than three million people heeded our call," Mr Popo Molefe, UDF publicity secretary, said.

"This is a message to the government that the people want the warlords in KwaZulu stopped."

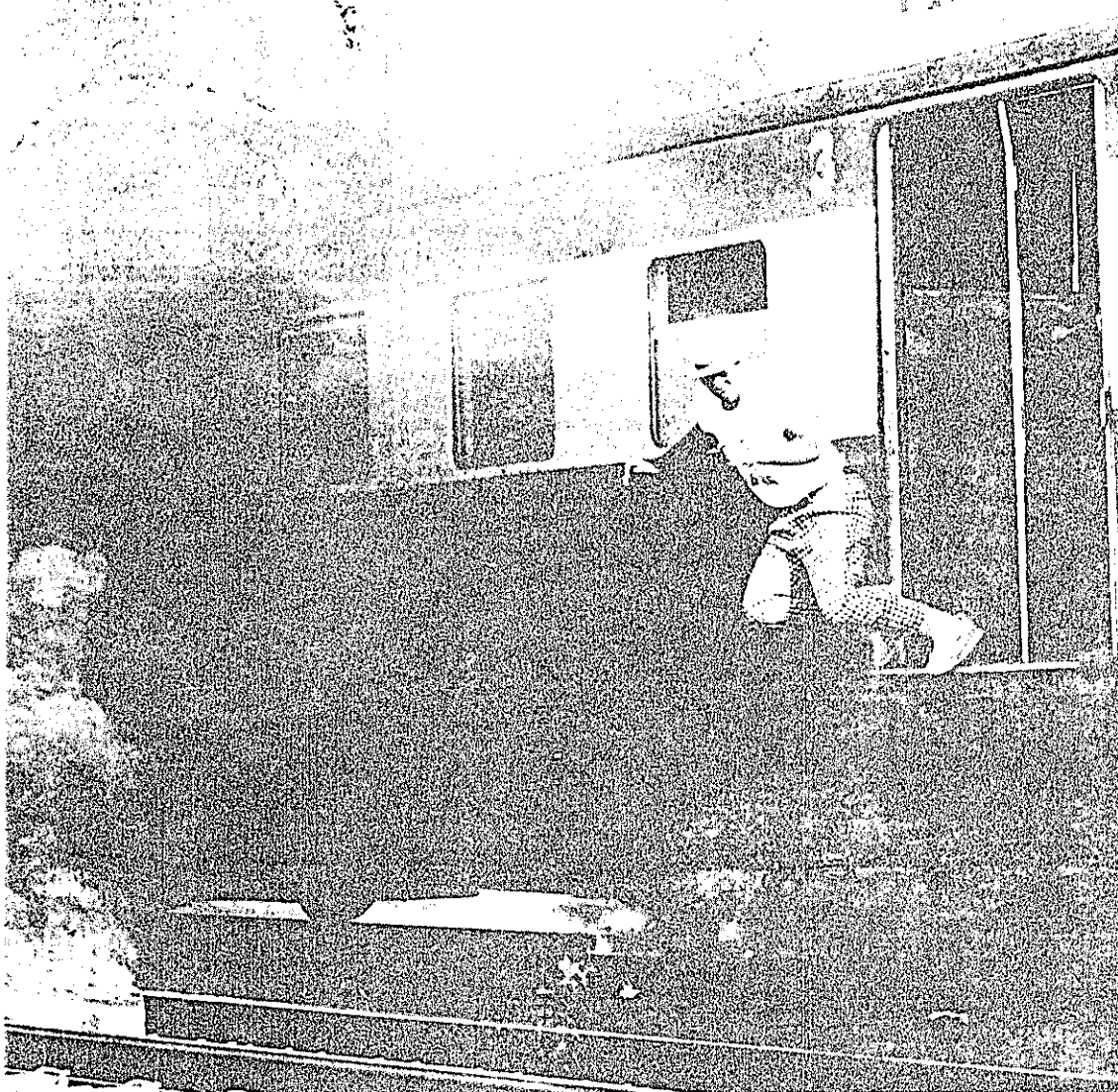
Cosatu yesterday questioned the grassroots support of rival organisations, while political observers claimed that the success of the stayaway showed massive extra-parliamentary support for the ANC.

In a surprise dissension, UDF president Mr Archie Gumede is reported to have withdrawn his support for the action. He could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The ANC call was also slammed yesterday by KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, who said: "The stayaway has clearly exacerbated tensions in the region."

Two explosive devices ripped through residence of the National Party councillor in Turfontein, Mr Jan Burgers, and the home of the late Lt-Col A C Sibonyani in Kagiso. No-one was injured.

Police explosives experts were called to a Braam-



**ESCAPING THE DANGER . . .** A panic-stricken passenger, fearing for his safety, jumps from a moving train as it approaches Nonkqubela railway station, Khayelitsha, shortly after it sliced through a pile of burning tyres placed on the railway line. Witnesses said the screams of terrified passengers could be heard some distance from the train as it entered the pall of black smoke.  
Picture: OBED ZILWA

745 3/7/90  
From page 1

# Stayaway

fontein service station shortly before midnight last night after an unexploded limpet mine was found under the handle of one of the petrol pumps.

Limpet mines also exploded at the Dube and Kathlehong railway stations, and a Soweto passenger train was set alight.

Earlier the home of an activist was bombed in Kagiso township near Krugersdorp.

The target of the blast, Mr Serge Mokonyane, secretary of the Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation, said the blast "comes after numerous threats" from rival organisations including PAC over the stayaway.

● In Cape Town police supported by troops controlled Khayelitsha in a day which saw police in a van narrowly miss being petrol-bombed. Burning tyre barricades blocked roads and a railway line, and police fired teargas at stone-throwers during sporadic clashes.

Youths also stopped mini-bus taxis in Nyanga and ordered drivers to unload passengers. Langa, Guguletu and Crossroads were calm with minimal police presence.

A large section of Lansdowne Road Extension was littered with rocks and partly burnt tyres.

Shortly after several police vehicles had gathered at a huge burning barricade, a petrol bomb was flung, narrowly missing one of the vans. Police set off in pursuit of the perpetrators and three shotgun blasts were heard shortly after. It is not known if anyone was hurt.

Cosatu estimated that between 10% and 15% of all workers in the Western Cape heeded the stayaway call.

Mr Colin McCarthy, executive director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said he doubted whether many factories were "more than 20% affected".

Dr Stanley Evans, town clerk of Cape Town, reported that the municipality had experienced a 12.5% stayaway. Spoornet, also a large employer with 14 000 staff, said attendances were down between 40% and 80%.

Mr Bob Krause, PRO for City Tramways, said his firm's buses had carried only 40% of their usual load from the black townships, but in coloured and white areas taken together, "we carried 80%". — Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents and Sapa

JUST before Nelson Mandela hit New York George Will, America's most elegant political columnist and baseball writer, predicted the ANC deputy president would be a fad as passing as his 10-day triumphal progress through the country. Now that the caravan has moved on, even Mandela himself seems to have recognised just how fleeting the US attention span can be.

He has vowed to return in October. His intention, he suggested at his farewell performance in Oakland, was that those who could not touch the hem of his raiment on this occasion — American Indians, in particular — should have a second chance.

This concern for the plight of the country's indigenes, shared so often in years past by apartheid's apologists, was odd. It implied a desire to rummage through America's private laundry basket. This was something Mandela had vowed he would never do, if only to make his highly selective views on "Brother" Colonel Gaddafi and other US demons seem less hypocritical.

**American hero**

He cannot have helped noticing, however, that it was the very contents of the laundry basket that made his welcome here so rapturous and enabled him to enrich the ANC by millions of dollars. The whole ghastly mess of US racial grievance and its politicisation was his ally. Without it, he would not have strode the continent like a colossus.

The Rev Jesse Jackson likes to say "keep hope alive" when he means "long live hopelessness, victimhood and white guilt". These are the sources of his fame and power. Mandela has evidently learned the Jackson lesson well. To remain an American hero, bending US policy to his will and US wallets to his cause, he perhaps figures that he too must "keep hope alive".

Without "hope" he would soon fade from a national consciousness that lives entirely in the present tense. Were that to happen, his use to the



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

# Mandela should skip the second coming

CAPE TOWN 3/7/90  
IIA

ANC — or, to be more optimistic, his capacity to hold its "multiformations" together as he sets out down the road of compromise — would be diminished. Trouble is, America is bored by "hope" and will as easily be bored by Mandela if he returns to the well too often.

Note, please, where the Jacksons and Randall Robinsons stand in the greater order of US politics: in the headlines, maybe, but ultimately on the margins. Were they serious players they would not be obliged to devote so much of their energy to a distant land which, as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen has noted, is of no strategic or national security concern to America.

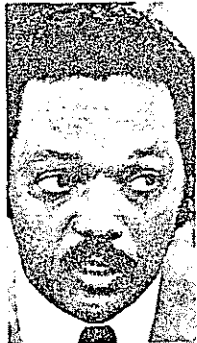
**Mostly shunned**

In the real world — the world in which the real decisions are taken — Mandela had little impact. Let us not begrudge him the thrill of meeting Robert De Niro and Eddie Murphy or of shaking the battered hand of Smokin' Joe Fra-

zier — but do these men really make national policy? The service at Riverside Church, a veritable Tweeting Kerk of the failed Left, was deeply moving, though what, exactly, did it move that mattered? The businessmen who cheered him at the World Trade Centre in New York were not the captains of industry, most of whom were shunned because of ties, however tenuous, with South Africa. Few had any real interest in, let alone knowledge of, the place. Others came for the privilege of being able to drop a famous name over lunch.

**More restrained**

So Arthur Krim, the chief executive officer of Loews Corporation and former head of Orion Pictures, gave him a dinner at which each guest paid \$2 500 for an hour in the Presence. Does Wall Street leap to attention and salute when Krim speaks? No. He is more famous for lavishing money on losing causes such as Democratic presidential candidates.



**JESSE JACKSON:** "Keep hope alive" when he means "long live hopelessness, victimhood, white guilt".

Congress counts, and to the innocent observer Mandela's address to the joint session was a smashing success, all but ensuring sanctions would remain long after the conditions set out by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act were met. That is certainly how most of the US Press has played it: proof that the analysis is flawed.

Many of the ovations — as when Mandela called for the continuance of sanctions — were set off by a relatively small claque which obliged the somnolent or merely embarrassed to join in. And the applause was noticeably more restrained than when Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel spoke in the same forum. The chamber was fuller on those occasions, too; the chance to honour two men who threw off communism topped members' agendas. While harbouring no particular animosity for Mandela, many had better things to do on Tuesday.

Secretary of State James Baker, having seen the ANC delegation the previous day, was absent from the ranks of Cabinet members.

Vice-President Dan Quayle had the right, as president of the Senate, to sit behind Mandela. He, too, stayed away.

Most of those who did attend would privately draw a firm distinction about who it was they came to see. They were there out of respect for a man who had spent the



**DAY QUAYLE:** As vice-president he had the right to sit behind Mandela. However, he stayed away.

best years of his life in jail for opposing apartheid and was now ready to negotiate its end, not as a mark of special esteem for his organisation or its historic methods or its loyalty to the likes of Arafat and Castro.

**Wrong thing**

His suggestion that the ANC be allowed to direct US policy toward South Africa was met with silence. He had made the same request to President Bush during the welcome outside the White House 24 hours earlier. It sank like a lead balloon then and did again before the legislative branch. Un-



**HERMAN COHEN:** The Assistant Secretary of State who noted SA was of no strategic concern to the US.

less he was embarked on some Machiavellian strategy to demonstrate the limits of their authority to his followers, these remarks were among the most foolish of his visit.

Capricious as it may sometimes seem, Washington does not, by nature, submit very lightly to taking orders, least of all from people who say the wrong thing about its most neuralgia-inducing enemies and remain committed (publicly at least) to the use of violence against a government committed to negotiation.

Bush and his top advisers were not alone in their generally negative



**JAMES BAKER:** The Secretary of State who was absent from the ranks of Cabinet members.

response to Mandela and his team. There is now sufficient unease in Congress to warrant serious consideration of any administration proposal to modify existing sanctions should the conditions be met. Indeed, to oppose such modification would be to risk charges of surrendering sovereignty to a foreign power, and a suspect one at that.

**Sweet reason**

Mandela may have raised the ANC and its local charities a lot of money (though how much is left after the various middlemen have taken their cut is open to question). He certainly



**RICHARD LUGAR:** A moderate Senator who wants President De Klerk to come state his case.

enjoyed extraordinary public adulation. He did not, however, convince the powers-that-be.

If he is statesman of South Africa's wishes, he would be wise to use that fact to impress a little sweet reason on his followers instead of coming back to try again.

Now, more than ever, moderates such as Senators David Boren and Richard Lugar are joining Bush in wanting President De Klerk to stop by and put his case. They do not believe Mandela's claim that the ANC is the only organisation that can "help" De Klerk. They want to help him, too, and need his assistance.

**LETTERS**

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

## Property owners have a prior right to an unobstructed view

From W A KING (Muzzenberg):

I REFER to the Cape Times of June 7.

Surely a prospective buyer of a property which has a view would consult the town plan to see if the property in front of his is classified as "single residential" with a height restriction or not?

He would be a fool to choose a mountain site

with magnificent sea views when he knows that the owner of the property in front of him is permitted to put up a 10-storey block of flats.

He should rather buy a plot on the flat without a view and where the building costs would be halved.

Is Mr Riley (City Planner) suggesting that when application is made to have a height restriction lifted from two storeys to 10, or a

property?

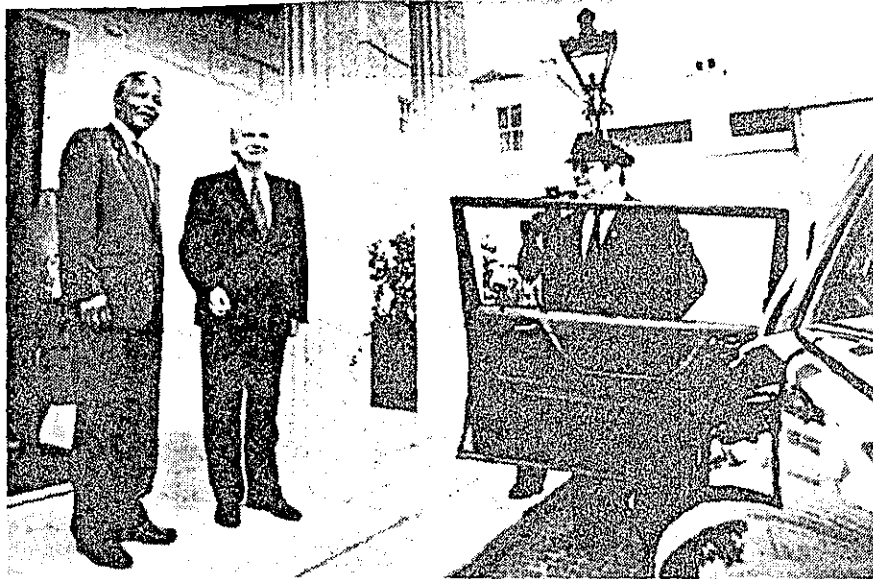
There is a very clear requirement under our law that an owner may use his land only with due regard to his neighbour's rights and it is not only a servitude which would limit this in the absence of legislation.

Legislation exists in the classification of the properties as stipulated in the town plan and no owner may exceed these limitations without the consent of the council to an application to an

be the application of the developers of the Cinnabar block of flats in Muzzenberg, which would have blotted out the view of the sea of, as was said at the time, only one property. The objections were so well argued that the developers had to buy that one owner out before the amendment to the town plan was granted.

The possession of a view is a valuable asset and to willfully deprive an owner of an asset





DUBLIN VISIT . . . Mr Nelson Mandela (left) meets Irish President Dr Patrick Hillery at his residence in Phoenix Park, Dublin.

Picture: REUTERS

*copy Times 3/7/80*

## Sanctions promise by Mandela

Own Correspondent *11A*

DUBLIN. — The ANC is willing to hold joint discussions with the government on sanctions — probably starting soon after his return to South Africa later this month, ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

And he promised the ANC would review its sanctions policy immediately it was convinced profound and irreversible changes had been made.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was "even more concerned than the government" about sanctions, because they were "destroying the economy" and

blacks were the first to suffer through the loss of jobs.

But, he said, with the ANC having called for sanctions to be maintained until there had been fundamental change, the international community was obliged to consult with it about when this had been achieved.

Addressing a press conference in Dublin Castle after meeting Irish Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey, Mr Mandela said President F W de Klerk had urged at their meeting before he left a month ago, that they should "meet as soon as I return".

The reason, Mr Mandela said, was that "sanctions are biting".

# US bid to air video 'revealing Winnie's support of terror'

By David Braun  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A US media monitoring organisation is launching a nationwide effort to get television networks to air a video tape that reveals "terrorist activities" endorsed by Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The Washington-based group, Accuracy in Media (AIM), said at a press conference yesterday it would also be offering the tape to television personality Phil Donahue and urge him to air it "in order to correct false information aired during the hour-long appearance of Winnie Mandela on his programme".

In the programme referred to, recorded while Mrs Mandela was visiting New York with Mr Nelson Mandela, she claimed her statement endorsing necklacing at a 1986 rally in Soweto was quoted out of context.

She told Mr Donahue: "As far as necklacing is concerned, no sane human being would condone that method of eliminating any opponent. It is brutal and barbaric and to my knowledge, no one has ever, ever given the green light or stamp of approval to that method of elimination."

Mrs Mandela said what she had been trying to say in 1986

was that the children had been so oppressed and had met up with so much violence from the Government that they had resorted to that form of method of eliminating their enemies, and that was not the form of method approved by the ANC.

"No sane person would ever, ever approve that. It was quoted completely out of context."

AIM has put together a 12-minute video tape which interviews South African blacks on why people had been necklaced (in one case a woman who was killed because she chose to go to a church service rather than a political rally), and gruesome footage of necklacings.

The video tape then shows Mrs Mandela at the 1986 rally saying: "With our necklaces we will liberate this country."

In a separate report put out by AIM, Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement with the death of the 14-year-old beaten to death in her home was detailed.

The report said: "It is unthinkable that anyone who has condoned, much less encouraged, such atrocities would be welcomed in this country, honoured by high officials, cheered at mass gatherings, and escape any critical comment by our ever-vigilant media."

# Doubt over police claims and Comrade Joe report

Copy 71-48 2/7/90  
(119) (85)

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

DOUBT has been cast on the details of government and police claims about an SACP/ANC insurrection plot.

Police claimed SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo was present at the conference in Tongaat on May 19 and 20, purported to be a key meeting in setting up the plot, but it has emerged that the "Comrade Joe" referred to in computer print-out minutes of the meeting found by police was a senior party official, Mr Joe Magusa.

The police were today digesting the counter-claims made yesterday by Mr Slovo.

Speaking at the relaunch of the SACP in Johannesburg, Mr Slovo accused the police of "lying" on three counts.

He said entries in his passport proved he was not at the meeting in Tongaat, but in Lusaka.

He said it was also untrue that he had said a ceasefire between the government and the ANC would not be binding on the SACP.

It was also not true that the so-called Operation Vula was an SACP plot. It was, in fact, an ANC underground building project, including the preparation of arms caches, dating from 1987.

## ENDORSED SENTIMENTS?

He told yesterday's rally that there was no mention of arms deliveries in the Tongaat minutes.

A briefing document leaked from the police on Friday ascribes the quote identified in the minutes as coming from a "Comrade Joe" to SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo.

The police document says this shows the willingness of Mr Slovo and others "to misuse the negotiation process to organise a national uprising" in South Africa.

However, government sources said the question of whether Mr Slovo was at the Tongaat meeting or not was a technical one.

The point was, did he or did he not endorse the sentiments expressed at the meeting?

Released police documents purporting to be printouts of computer minutes of the Tongaat meeting, register plans to establish an underground military network to continue the armed struggle in case negotiations fail.

Government sources acknowledged today that although the computer printout minutes of the Tongaat meeting quote "Comrade Joe" extensively, it was possible that this was a pseudonym for someone other than Mr Slovo.

● Re-launch of the South African Communist Party, page 11.

*'The war of Boere liberation is in progress ... it's just a matter of when the war of weapons is declared'*

304A



Call to arms ...  
Piet 'Skiet'  
Rudolph (left)  
and Robert van  
Tonder

# Far right warns of a new 'Boer War'

w/ Mail 20/4 - 26/4/90

By IVOR POWELL  
and GAVIN EVANS

THE rightwing counter-revolution has begun.

This is the view being expressed by the white far-right in the wake of this week's raid on an Air Force headquarters arsenal, allegedly masterminded by Boererstaat Party deputy leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

State-of-the-art R5 rifles, shotguns, a light machine gun, sophisticated night sights and ammunition were taken.

Rudolph, who allegedly phoned the *Pretoria News* yesterday while on the run from police, said: "I have now crossed the Rubicon. The boere now have a chance to arm themselves. We are now going for the ANC's throat."

The heist came in the wake of repeated calls from Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche for whites to buy arms in preparation for the coming "boere-vryheidsoorlog" (boere freedom war).

While Conservative Party spokesmen have strongly condemned the theft, organisations further to the

**THE  
OTHER WAR**  
Is there any hope  
of peace in Natal?  
PAGE 4

right of the CP are warning that if negotiations between the government and the African National Congress continue, a "new Boer War" will follow.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais warned yesterday that "feelings are running high among the whites and throughout the country whites are organising themselves in preparation for a civil war."

"FW de Klerk has already capitulated. Further moves towards political power for blacks may have disastrous consequences," he said.

Marais told the *Weekly Mail* he had already been approached by a number of civilian groups organising themselves into heavily-armed vigilante commandos in the style of Welkom's Blanke Veiligheid. Soon, he claims, these will be operating countrywide.

"The war of Boere liberation has long been in progress. Whites are organising and arming themselves. It's just a question of when the war of weapons is declared."

This week AWB chief Eugene Terreblanche, speaking in Krugersdorp, reiterated his call for "a million



Homecoming, according to Plan ... looking more like conventional soldiers than guerrillas, the last combatants of Swapo's military wing, Plan, returned home from Angola this week atop a Stalin Orgar

## US company clinches film rights to Mandela book

Own Correspondent

A Los Angeles-based company has won the rights to make a multi-million dollar movie based on Professor Fatima Meer's book on the Mandela family, "Higher than Hope".

Top black actor and Oscar award nominee Morgan Freeman, who was seen on South African screens in the movie "Driving Miss Daisy", is to play Nelson Mandela.

Controversial television talk show personality and actress, Oprah Winfrey, has been approached to play Winnie Mandela, and her acceptance is being eagerly awaited, according to Hope Holiday, whose company clinched the deal in London recently.

Speaking from her Los Angeles home in a transatlantic telephone call, Mrs Holiday, who is a regular visitor to South Africa and has relatives here,

said she was very proud that her company's representatives had tied up the deal for the movie rights.

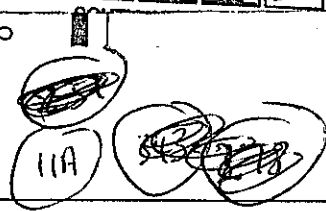
Mrs Holiday has produced movies such as "Rage to Kill", "Code Name Vengeance" and "Space Mutiny". Her latest effort, "Return to Justice", is to be released shortly.

Mrs Holiday said she met Professor Meer in February this year in Durban when they were introduced by the United States Consul-General, Tex Harris.

Professor Meer said in Durban yesterday that Mr Mandela had accepted the arrangement, and it was the only movie about his family and himself to which he had so far consented.

She said she would be a consultant to the movie-makers.

"We want to make sure that the movie will be made as we want it, and to make sure that the political message is not deflected," said Professor Meer.



3/7/90

NEWS

# ANC, police break ice on SA violence

By Guy Jepson

Leading representatives of the ANC, SA Police and Democratic Party stressed the need to find common ground to combat violence at an historic public meeting in Johannesburg last night.

The event was organised by the Five Freedoms Forum.

Sharing the platform for the first time were Brigadier Leon Mellet, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's press secretary; Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Southern Natal convenor; and Tian van der Merwe, the DP's national chairman.

In his address Mr van der Merwe said South Africans needed hope, political leadership and statesmanship as never before.

"They need an indication that there is something better ahead of us; they need an indication that their sacrifices have been worthwhile — they do not need more war rhetoric," he said.

Organisations from across the spec-

trum, including right-wing groups, needed to be drawn into a process of managing security and of developing a culture of joint responsibility.

Mr Lekota said the present violence in South Africa "should never have been allowed to come to pass".

He said the violence in Natal was rooted in apartheid. He repeated the ANC's call for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police, which he described as "the armed wing of Inkatha".

He called on the Government to consult the ANC before allowing police to intervene further in Natal.

"Over the years the SAP has been seen in the black community as a police force that is not for us — but there to protect the white community.

"The masses of the people on the ground have no confidence in the SAP, but if people on our side were seen to be part of the steps taken, that confidence could be created."

Brigadier Mellet appealed for a common understanding to assist the police in their fight against crime.

Sta 3/7/90

IRA

Bad advice blamed for 'hold peace talks' call

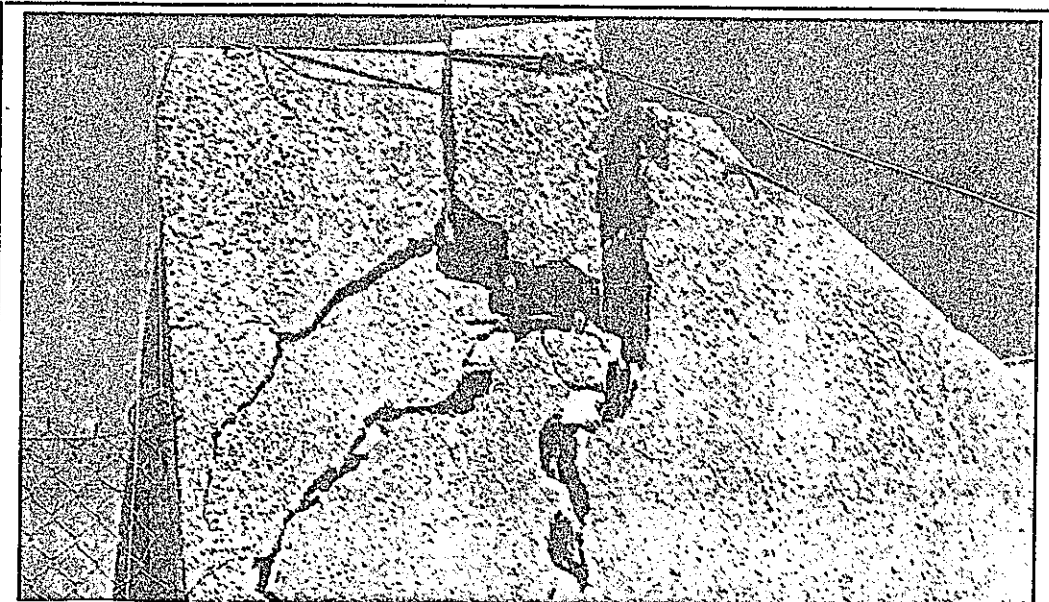
# Mandela stirs storm over IRA

London

On the eve of his crucial meeting with the British Prime Minister, Nelson Mandela is facing a storm over his suggestion that the British government should talk to the IRA without the movement first abandoning violence.

His remarks, made in Dublin before he was due to fly to London last night, have embarrassed his friends and created an awkwardness which both Downing Street and the African National Congress were hoping to avoid before tomorrow's sensitive meeting with Margaret Thatcher.

Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs all condemned Mr Mandela's suggestion of talks with the IRA, but there seems to be an acceptance that it was made because of bad advice rather than any desire to



## Officer dies saving two children

East Rand Bureau

A young Germiston traffic officer died yesterday while saving the lives of two primary schoolchildren at a pedestrian crossing.

Rian Mollentze (25) of Boksburg was escorting the children across Linton Jones Street when he saw a truck approach at speed.

He managed to push the children out of the way before he was knocked down by the vehicle.

A fire department spokesman said the accident happened shortly before school started.

"The officer held the children the hand, but was unable to get of the way of the truck in time. prevented a tragedy in the line duty," said the spokesman.

Mr Mollentze's father Herman the family was deeply shocked by tragedy. "But I am very proud of son," he added.

The funeral will take place at Old Apostolic Church in Lilianton Boksburg at 11 am on Thursday.

Police are investigating a charge of culpable homicide against driver of the truck.

## Explosion at second city councillor's home

Sta 3/7/90

226

The only person to interpret his words favourably was Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein spokesman. He welcomed the ANC leader's remarks and said that he was "prepared to co-operate and to engage in talks".

Speaking at a news conference in Dublin with the Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, Mr Mandela was careful not to endorse the IRA and denied there had been meetings between it and the ANC.

But asked persistently for his views on Northern Ireland, he said: "I would like to see the British government and the IRA adopt precisely the line we have taken. There's nothing better than opposites sitting down to resolve problems by peaceful means."

## Rhodesian experience

Pointing to the Rhodesian experience, he said: "The British government, without insisting that anyone should lay down their arms, got involved and was able to press people to conclude a peace agreement.

That is a precedent which should not just apply to African political organisations fighting a white government. It is a principle that should be applied in similar situations."

Asked if he was aware that the IRA commanded only a small minority of support, Mr Mandela replied: "That's not the issue. The issue is that people are slaughtering one another when they could sit down and discuss the problems in a peaceful manner."

Asked whether he might be taken for a supporter of the IRA's "armed struggle", he answered: "I am stating what I believe in."

Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader said Mr Mandela may have been "extremely badly advised" about the IRA. He would raise the matter when they met.

"As a friend, I owe it to him to say that the Provisional IRA are a bunch of murderous gangsters. Nothing more, nothing less."

## Contacts dossier

By contrast, Downing Street sought to play down the remarks, suggesting that Mr Mandela may have been speaking to his own constituency, seeking to justify the refusal of the ANC to renounce violence.

Mrs Thatcher does not appear to believe allegations by a Tory MP that the ANC has had a regular and long-standing relationship with the IRA.

Andrew Hunter, MP for Basingstoke, said he had lodged a dossier containing contact details with the Prime Minister but no action has been taken, and sources in Whitehall said yesterday that the allegations were not on the agenda of the Downing Street meeting tomorrow.

In a further television interview last night Mr Mandela said his words had been distorted.

"I do not get involved in what is going on in other countries," he said. "What concerns me is the general principle — it is senseless to me to continue, for years, the killing of one another when a dispute could be settled by talking." — The Independent News Service and The Star Bureau.

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## Mandela urges IRA, Britain to hold talks

DUBLIN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Britain and the IRA to get around the negotiating table and stop the slaughter in Northern Ireland.

"People are slaughtering each other when they could sit down and address the problems in a peaceful manner," Mandela told a news conference at Dublin Castle.

Mandela, picking his words carefully on such a delicate issue before flying to London for tomorrow's talks with British leader Margaret Thatcher, pointed out that talks started in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, while fighting was still going on there. 810 am 317190

11A He said the only way of resolving the Northern Ireland conflict was for the various groups to sit down and talk.

KIN BENTLEY reports that Mandela told the Press conference the ANC had no links with the IRA, which has been involved in a spate of attacks in the UK and Europe in recent months.

What he would like to see, he said, was Britain and the IRA adopting the line the ANC had taken with the SA government. "There is nothing better than opponents sitting down to resolve problems in a peaceful way." — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 2

# Mandela's IRA blunder

1964 (Cont. from page 1)  
3/7/90

The Daily Mail also makes the distinction between an organisation fighting for the rights of the majority who do not have the vote and an organisation which has access to the ballot box but refuses to use it. "Nelson Mandela will not, or cannot, grasp such distinctions," it says.

After long years of captivity, his view of the world "seems to be caught in some kind of time warp. Castro, the ageing communist dictator of Cuba, is still a hero to him. Mr Mandela still seems to see all the world's terrorists and their backers through the same sentimental haze."

But, while the paper "refuses to regard him as a plaster saint", the Mail emphasises he is welcome in Britain "warts and all". Who knows, it speculates, perhaps after all the adulation he has received so far, he might find "the more astringent approach of Downing Street more refreshing".

Today warns that by refusing to condemn the IRA, Mr Mandela risks losing much of the wide support he has in Britain.

"If it is legitimate for the IRA to pursue its aims through the barrel of a gun, there is no reason why it should be any the less so for white South Africans or his own political rivals in the Zulu Inkatha movement," Today says.

The Independent added that Mr Mandela's remarks amounted to "a cry to legitimise murder as an instrument of democratic politics". It adds: "Any democrat who proposes unconditional talks with the IRA has either been badly advised or has difficult colleagues to please. Mr Mandela may suffer from a mixture of these problems."

## "PREDICTABLE"

Only one newspaper, the Guardian, sees Mr Mandela as embroiled in a "predictable" media row.

It said that, from a standpoint redolent with colonial history, it was right to say that from Cyprus to Kenya, never mind Rhodesia, British governments had long negotiated with opponents who indulged in terror.

But that did not mean Mr Mandela and his advisers were not "deeply foolish" to get into the argument.

But all that mattered less than the pressures being placed on an ageing and sick Mr Mandela. "Questions about the use of the morass of ANC committees are making of their leader and greatest resource should be asked more insistently," the Guardian said.

# ANC pledge on peace 'vital' (11A)

THE ANC had to renounce violence before all exiles could return home and all political prisoners could be released, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In an interview in Pretoria, Meyer said these obstacles to negotiations, raised by the ANC, could not be removed unless the ANC committed itself to peaceful solutions. 6:00am 317190

The ANC had to play its part in removing the obstacles, he said.

Government had accepted the recommendations of the report prepared by a joint government/ANC working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and was awaiting the ANC's response, Meyer said.

The ANC had said it would respond by July 10 but Meyer said he did not expect it to have reached a decision by then.

Meyer said he suspected the ANC could have a problem with the time frame for the release of political prisoners and the

EDYTH BULBRING

return of exiles proposed in the report.

But government felt it could not release all political prisoners and allow the return of exiles en masse until the ANC committed itself to peaceful solutions.

He warned that government wanted to begin the talks to structure the agenda for negotiations early next year and would not wait forever.

The agenda for talks was not only in the hands of government, but also dictated by the response of extra-parliamentary groupings.

Meyer said the ANC's rhetoric on armed struggle was encouraging the right wing's rhetoric on violence.

The right wing should bring its proposals on a new constitution to government or it would exclude itself from the democratic process, Meyer said.

There would be little sympathy for the

To Page 2

ANC 6:00am 317190

gaining of political power through violent means and the PAC, which had stated its opposition to a negotiated settlement, could find itself with little choice but to commit itself to negotiations, Meyer said.

Regarding the violence in Natal, Meyer said a meeting between ANC deputy presi-

(11A)

From Page 1

dent Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be crucial to ending the violence.

He said he was tired of the attitude that the violence was the fault of government, implicit in the call for the stayaway.

Cap T. v. S. 4/7/90 (11A)

# R18m raised for ANC on US tour

**NEW YORK.** — Mr Nelson Mandela raised more than \$7 million (about R18,2m) for the African National Congress in his eight-city US tour, and Americans paid millions more involuntarily — in tax dollars for his police protection.

While no total for donations was available from national organisers of the 11-day trip that ended on Saturday, spokesmen in each

city had rough counts as of Monday. Many said money was still coming in.

Similarly, no sum of government costs for Mr Mandela's protection was available. In New York City alone, municipal expenses were put at \$2,6m (R6,76). Another big spender was the US State Department, which oversaw security.

Fund-raising was a focus of Mr Mandela's tour and he called for

help at events ranging from stadium rallies to celebrity cocktail parties.

He fell considerably short of fund-raising goals in some cities but far exceeded them in others.

In Boston, planners raised only about half the million dollars they sought. In New York, donors may double their \$1-million goal.

Organisers said expenses were low and most of the cash should reach the ANC. — Sapa-AP

# Mandela 'hopes' to ease differences

CAN. TIMES 4/7/90

11A

LONDON. — On the eve of his important meeting today with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Mr Nelson Mandela expressed the hope that they would be able to overcome their differences through discussion.

The ANC deputy president held what were described as full and friendly talks here yesterday with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd, but it was clear they disagreed on the issues of sanctions against South Africa and the ANC's refusal to renounce the armed struggle.

The British premier branded the organisation as "terrorist" a few years ago and banned her ministers from making any contact with it, but invited Mr Mandela to meet her when he was released in February.

Mr Hurd and Mr Mandela emerged briefly outside Mr Hurd's official residence after 90 minutes of discussions — the first top-level meeting between the ANC and the British government.

The sensitive issue of Mr Mandela's remarks in Dublin on Monday, that the British government and the Irish Republican Army should sit down and negotiate a peaceful settlement for Northern Ireland, had also been discussed.

Mr Mandela reiterated that he had only been speaking generally against all violence and had not expressed any opinion about the Northern Ireland conflict itself.

Mr Hurd said: "We expressed our views and very strong feeling that the IRA are rejects of a political system which failed to convince the electorate and turned to murder and destruction."

He described their talks as full and friendly, with Mr Mandela laying out the ANC's views on the situation in South Africa and the prospects for further progress towards a settlement with President F W de Klerk's government.

"We touched on things where our views did not coincide . . . but I emphasised we are anxious to do everything we can, without interfering in South Africa's affairs, to help forward the process between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk.

"It is very important to us that this process should continue." — Own Correspondent, Sapa



AFTER TALKS . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd after their talks yesterday.

## Strenuous agenda reduced

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — As the Nelson Mandela world tour enters its last stage, his rigorous London itinerary has been trimmed, a senior ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela cancelled a meeting with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, which went ahead with other members of the ANC national executive committee.

And yesterday morning, after he kicked off with a 7.30am meeting with black community leaders, Mr Mandela's meeting with Social Liberal Democrat leaders Mr Paddy Ashdown and Sir David Steel was reduced to a photo-call.

# Upsurge in unrest

CM- Timp  
4/7/90

11A

**THREE** days into the ANC's week of protest, an upsurge in violent incidents and allegations of widespread intimidation has been reported.

While police were the targets in numerous stoning and petrol-bomb incidents countrywide on Monday during the stayaway call, the Cape was rocked by a series of flare-ups in Khayelitsha and the Boland towns of Ashton, Robertson and Montagu.

Intimidation to enforce the stayaway had also been rife in townships, according to Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet.

He said petrol bombs were thrown at buses in various areas and eight limpet mines were placed on railway lines or at stations serving black commuters in the Johannesburg area alone.

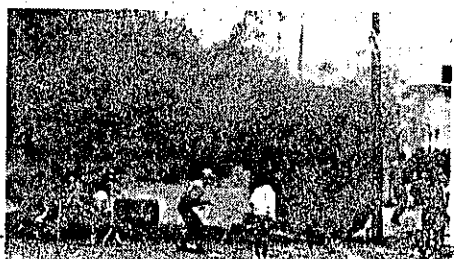
Last night ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu shifted blame for Monday's incidents away from the stayaway call, saying that "the violence had come from various quarters".

He said the incidents were "minimal for action on such a scale".

In Kroonstad the police single quarters were stoned and extensively damaged. Tearsmoke was used to disperse the group of attackers and a black man was arrested.

In some of the incidents recorded by police on Monday:

● A man was attacked by a group in Durban who hacked him to death with pangas. Police



## **BOLAND UNREST: Cops and ANC talk — PAGE 4**

dispersed the group with pistol and shotgun fire. A man was wounded and arrested.

● Two KwaZulu policemen were killed and houses belonging to two other KwaZulu policemen were reduced to ashes during weekend attacks on KwaZulu Police at Umlazi, south of Durban.

● In Virginia, OFS, a mine personnel manager was fatally stabbed during an illegal meeting by about 1 000 miners.

Yesterday Brig Mellet said residents in black areas were intimidated into heeding the Monday's stayaway call.

They were warned, he said, "sometimes with a smile", by members of street committees that they would have their houses burnt or their

families necklaced if they went to work.

Soweto residents who had turned on their lights on Monday morning in preparation for going to work had their houses stoned.

"Vicious intimidation is being used to force the will of some people on to others," Brig Mellet said.

He also confirmed that Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok was preparing tough legislation aimed at rooting out intimidation on the left and the right which will be introduced in Parliament early next year.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC had ordered its members to abide by the SA Council of Churches' code of conduct during the stayaway — and added that there had been attacks on ANC members.

"Two of our activists were bombed in Kagiso, Krugersdorp... and at a meeting addressed by Mr Alfred Nzo (near Pretoria) a man was shot dead and the police were provocative," he said.

"Relationships between the oppressed people and the ruling class" created the situation in which police were attacked, Mr Sisulu said.

As the armed struggle had not yet been suspended, some attacks could have been carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe, he added.

Mr Sisulu said that while the ANC spoke out against violence and had succeeded in rooting it out within the liberation movement, the government had to deal firmly with its own police force, with the right wing, and with vigilantes.



# Tired Mandela cancels meetings



**PRE-TALKS GREETING:** African National Congress deputy-leader Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd before their talks in London.

## 'Only ANC could help FW survive right onslaught'

**Special Correspondent**

LONDON. — The African National Congress was the "only organisation in the entire world" which could help President De Klerk survive the onslaught from the political right, Mr Nelson Mandela last night told millions of British television viewers.

"If you want to destroy the position of Mr De Klerk, you must ease sanctions on the grounds that you are helping him. That is one thing that would sink him," the ANC deputy-leader said during his only interview in Britain.

He argued that the rightwing was accusing Mr De Klerk of bowing to international pressure in his quest for a new, nonracial constitution. The right wing, already accusing Mr De Klerk of selling out the Afrikaners, would "go to town" if punitive measures were to be eased in an effort to encourage political reform.

"That type of approach helps the rightwing to strengthen this propaganda. We (the government and the ANC) are addressing this matter. It is better left to us, not to the international community."

Mr Mandela fielded critical questions from three British journalists — presenter Donald MacCormick, The Times editor Simon Jenkins and journalist Anthony Sampson — on the BBC's programme, *Newsnight*.

He said it was "very likely" the government and the ANC would agree on the cessation of violence before the end of the year since they had agreed on removing the obstacles to negotiations.

From ESMARÉ van der MERWE, Political Staff  
LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela, fatigued and with a cold, has cancelled several appointments on the last leg of his exhausting overseas tour.

In Britain at the invitation of the government, he cancelled a few appointments to rest, including meetings with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, ANC officials here and a private meeting with business leaders.

He also held brief talks with leaders of the Social Liberal Democrats at the House of Commons. Commenting on the meeting, SLD leader Mr Paddy Ashdown stayed clear of the row caused by Mr Mandela's remarks on the IRA.

He said he was pleased that Mr Mandela had used his two-day visit to stress his commitment to a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

"His call for a Bill of Rights, a multiparty democracy and decentralised government will find ready echoes all round the world.

"As Mr Mandela has said, apartheid has not yet been abolished and no changes are yet irreversible. In welcoming recent progress we should remember that difficult negotiations lie ahead. Pressure should be maintained through sanctions as long as they are needed."

Mr Mandela will leave Britain tonight to visit four African countries. He is expected in South Africa on July 18, his 72nd birthday.

## Bid to defuse IRA controversy

**Special Correspondent**

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has repeatedly tried to defuse the controversy sparked by his call on the British government to enter into talks with the Irish Republican Army.

The ANC deputy president twice clarified his remarks made in Dublin on Monday, saying he had never expressed an opinion on the Northern Ireland conflict but stood by the principle that differences should be resolved through talks.

Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd, after a 90-minute meeting with Mr Mandela, said he had briefed the ANC leader on "our strong feeling that the IRA are the rejects of a political system". It had chosen to turn to "murder and destruction" after failing to win support in free democratic elections in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Mr Mandela's remarks, which caused a storm among British politicians and infuriated the media, sparked angry scenes at the House of Commons yesterday when he addressed the All-Party Parliamentary Group on South Africa.

The ANC leader first delivered his prepared speech. Then he said he wanted to "put the record straight".

"I made no comments about the IRA nor the government. What I did was to point out that our approach as the ANC is that all conflict, wherever in the world, should be settled peacefully.

"This is the stand of my organisation."

## Indians welcome Mandela's offer in their 'struggle'

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — American Indian leaders have expressed surprise that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has shown an interest in their status and position, but have nevertheless welcomed his attention.

Mr Mandela announced at the end of his tour of the United States at the weekend that he would return in October to investigate the circumstances in which American Indians found themselves and to see how he could help with their "struggle".

He made the announcement after representatives of Indians in California tried to meet him on Saturday.

Mr Mandela was moved by their gifts and a letter in which they detailed their conditions.

## ANC's 'amendments' unanswered

**Special Correspondent**

LONDON. — The African National Congress's leadership has suggested several amendments to the report of the joint working group between the government and itself, but has not received any response.

A senior spokesman for the ANC's London office disclosed this yesterday.

Ms Frene Ginwala strongly criticised the government for accusing the ANC of "dragging its

feel" on the report, which contains suggestions on how the obstacles to negotiations could be removed.

"We have not made it public up to now that the National Executive Committee has sent in amendments to the report. But you can quote me on it, since the government is now going around and attacking us," Ms Ginwala said.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Dublin on Monday that he had discussed the

working group's report with President De Klerk during a meeting a day before leaving on his six-week international tour.

Both of them were satisfied with the report, he told journalists during his visit to Ireland.

Asked to comment, Ms Ginwala looked surprised and said: "Well, he is an individual. The NEC felt some changes should be made."

She declined to reveal the nature of the proposals made by the NEC.

# Top Azapo man dies in OFS car smash

JOHANNESBURG. — The projects co-ordinator of Azapo, Mr Muntu Myeza, 40, was killed in a car accident outside Bloemfontein on Monday night.

His wife, Mrs Thandi Myeza, said yesterday that he was a founder member of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) with the late Steve Biko in the 1970s. He was also acting president of the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1973, after Biko's banning.

Mr Myeza was convicted in 1976 of organising nationwide celebrations for the Frelimo victory in

Mozambique and spent six years on Robben Island.

On his release he joined Azapo and was later elected publicity secretary, a position he held until April this year, when he was elected projects co-ordinator.

He was closely involved with the Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian Students' Movement and the BCM of Azania.

Azapo general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, who was sentenced with Mr Myeza, said his colleague's death was "shocking and unbelievable".

BCM Azania publicity and in-

formation secretary Mr Vuyisile Qunta said from Harare yesterday that the movement was "dismayed" at the death of "one of the most seasoned revolutionaries in the younger generation".

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said: "Although we were in different organisational camps, we recognise the fact that Myeza made an important contribution to the struggle for national liberation, self-determination and socialism."

Azapo is expected to hold a media conference today to announce funeral arrangements. — Sapa

CAH 7915 4/7/90 114



**T**O HAVE a productive dialogue it is important to minimise ideological rhetoric. You may have grounds for complaint about ours. But you must also examine your own. You might then concede that your choice of future economic options is at least partly influenced by sectional rather than national interests.

For example, it may well be that in our imperfect world — the world we will inherit after a major transformation — the profit motive continues to be a way of generating growth. But, to put it at its lowest, it must surely be conceded that the interests of society as a whole and the uncontrolled generation of private profit do not always lie happily together. This is not a Marxist cliché but an essential ingredient of post-Keynesian economics.

In case you misunderstand what follows, let me say at once that we in the ANC and the SA Communist Party believe the private sector must remain a vital part of a post-apartheid economy.

**W**e fully understand your preference for the private profit incentive as the prime economic mechanism for the creation of wealth. If we leave out the way wealth is apportioned, it must be conceded that the profit mechanism has, historically, played a part in generating both private and social wealth. And without wishing to sound patronising, I do not doubt the sincerity of your belief (immortalised in the words of Henry Ford) that "what is good for Ford is good for the country". But we cannot be blamed for suspecting that there is a degree of confusion in some minds between pure self-interest and the social good.

This confusion encourages a rationalisation which unduly conflates the protection of private vested interests with the interests of the whole community. This, in turn, provides the trigger for the ideological rhetoric to which I alluded. Let me touch on a few categories.

Firstly, the growth rate is too often addressed by you as a thing in itself, ignoring the way the social cake is apportioned. Of course, the rate of economic growth determines the amount that can be milked off for

# Rhetoric from both sides is obscuring the economic debate

An open letter to business from JOE SLOVO

social purposes. But, for the racially disadvantaged, an impressive growth rate is not an impressive statistic if its fruits continue to be appropriated in the same old way.

It is correctly said that for the economy to regain its health and to even begin to develop the capacity to address our serious social problems, a minimum annual growth rate of between 5% and 6% is needed.

From 1964 to 1975 we achieved precisely this. Yet there was no meaningful narrowing of the social and economic gap between white and black. The little narrowing that did take place was greater during the 1980s economic downswing due to struggle and not economic factors.

All this is not intended to downplay the imperative to assure maximum growth. But we do not go along with the thesis that economic development on its own will, in time, somehow naturally erode the inherited racial divide. Without some form of participation in, and control of, the economy by a state committed to the correction of racial imbalances, there can be no beneficial link between growth and real social benefit for the disadvantaged.

The second category of ideological rhetoric is the redistribution of wealth. We want to make clear that, contrary to current media mythology, we do not believe in the "dead cow" approach — whereby we kill the cow, cut it up in equal portions, shutting our minds to the reality that

when we have gorged ourselves there will be no cow left to reproduce or to milk.

At the other extreme, some of you spread the fallacy that distribution and redistribution of wealth must be left completely to market forces. No state can be, or has been, neutral in this area even in the so-called models of "free market" economies. Massive state intervention laid the basis of the post-war economies of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan including large-scale land confiscations.

In SA the post-1910 period was punctuated by state economic and fiscal devices to redistribute wealth and land in favour of poor whites and to open space to the Afrikaner middle sections in the upper echelons of the economy. Nationalised industries and parastatals were created partly for this purpose. Now it appears that the sauce which was good for that goose is not so good for the gander.

Now that process is being hastily adjusted through selling off the state silver to the private (overwhelmingly white) sector. You must, at the very least, bear with our suspicion that this is being done to diminish the capacity of a post-apartheid state to intervene effectively to redress some of the economic imbalances.

A note of welcome realism was

struck by Gavin Relly when, in 1986, he went on record as accepting the likelihood of some form of mixed economy with "a measure of state planning and intervention" because "there is quite justifiable emphasis on the part of black South Africans on a more equitable distribution of wealth to compensate for the errors of omission and commission of the apartheid era".

If, then, we all agree that there is an apartheid debt to be paid by those who have benefited from what Sam-pie Terreblanche has called "legalised group plundering", the question is: How is this debt to be paid? The answers we hear on your side are confusing. We are told that the resources needed to address inequality require a dramatic increase in the growth rate which some of you claim will be impeded by large-scale state intervention. Instead, the device of taxation and other fiscal measures are prescribed as a means of beginning the process of correcting the imbalance.

But then we are warned the existing tax base is inadequate to generate the necessary resources. And recently we have been asked to accept a dispensation which will entrench fiscal constraints into a future constitution to prevent what Minister (Gerrit) Vijoer rather insultingly called "the unsophisticated majority" from ruining the "free market system" by "an unjust tax system".

It seems very much like "heads I win and tails you lose". We are presumably expected to be satisfied with devices such as the latest budget for social spending where whites were allocated R2 300 a head, coloureds and Indians R1 000 and Africans R420. The additional R3bn fund is little more than a hiccup.

Democracy is a third concept which lends itself to ideological rhetoric. If democracy means anything it surely means that those who exercise power must be subject to some form of democratic control. So the question you must ask is: To whom should the economic estate be answerable? Only to itself? Much of the rhetoric which accompanies the debate on your side suggests that in a post-apartheid SA there should not be the kind of democratic control over the economy by elected representatives which you say you accept for every other area of social life.

In addressing the restructuring of our economy we are conscious of the need to minimise damage to growth. But we also insist on the need to begin the process of redressing imbalances. The real question for us is: How is wealth to be more fairly distributed without ignoring the problem of how it is to be created?

There is no magic formula on either side of the debate. All concerned must sit down and discuss the complexities of this problem. But one thing is certain: neither the unbridled market economy nor the commandist centralised economy which ignores market forces will lead to an acceptable outcome. Perhaps if we understood one another better we might find more common areas than our rhetoric sometimes seems to suggest.

Our own starting point is that without a meaningful stake by a future state in levels of ownership and control of the engine which drives our economy, the process of correcting racial imbalances will be retarded or will stall completely. It is the precise mechanism of such state intervention which continues to lend itself to being refined both in the interests of economic growth and to a fair distribution of its fruits.

□ Slovo is general secretary of the SA Communist Party.

# 75 mine hospital staff to lose jobs

SEVENTY-FIVE Rand Mutual Hospital workers will lose their jobs, the Chamber of Mines said in a statement yesterday.

The Chamber said this was due to a decline in the number of patients.

It quoted Mr KC Mourant, general manager of the 640-bed hospital, as saying the daily average number of patients had fallen from 540 to 300 since 1986.

About 12 000 workers are threatened by retrenchments as companies struggle to keep the mines profitable in the face of the fluctuating gold price.

The Chamber cited the drop in the industry's workforce, improvement in the injury rate and upgrading of

regional mine hospitals as factors in the hospital's decision.

But the National Union of Mineworkers says the death and injury toll in the mines is too high and unacceptable.

It said recently 238 mineworkers had died and 3 939 others had been injured in accidents since January this year.

The Chamber said: "Consultations are planned with the National Union of Mineworkers which has been informed of the intended retrenchments."

Spokesmen for the union were not immediately available for comment.

The hospital employs about 750 people. - Sapa.



MUNTU MYEZA

**Myeza dies**

AN executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Muntu Myeza, was killed in a car accident on Monday, a family spokesman said yesterday.

Myeza, who was a founder-member of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, died in the Free State.

Sowetan 4/7/90

Sowetan 4/7/90

# Fight racism, UK blacks told

Sowetan 4/7/90

IRA

**LONDON - Nelson Mandela was mobbed by supporters yesterday after meeting leaders of Britain's black community and urging them to fight racism and apartheid.**

They clustered around Mandela as he left the hotel where he began the official programme of his two-day visit to London.

"Racism has no place in the last decade of this century. We must double and redouble our efforts to defeat the forces of racism and apartheid wherever they may be,"

Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, told the black leaders.

Mandela stirred controversy on Monday during a visit to Ireland, when he said in answer to questions that Britain should negotiate with the Irish Republican Army to settle the Northern Ireland conflict.

## **Refuses to talk**

Britain refuses to talk to the IRA, branding it a terrorist group that represents a small minority.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who narrowly survived an IRA bomb in 1984, was expected to

reiterate this to Mandela when they meet tomorrow.

Their meeting will reflect the turnaround in British policy since 1987, when Thatcher publicly branded the ANC "a typical terrorist organisation".

She also said at the time: "I have never seen anyone from the ANC, PLO or IRA, nor will I have any truck with those organisations."

Mandela is expected to press Thatcher to accept his view that only the ANC can say when economic sanctions against South Africa should be lifted. - Sapa-AP.

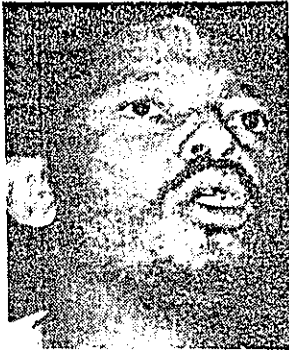
# SAP, ANC and DP plead on violence

Sowetan 4/7/90 (SAPS) (III) (South)

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

**LEADING** representatives of the ANC, SAP and Democratic Party stressed the need to find the common ground necessary to combat violence in the country at a meeting organised by the Five Freedom's Forum in Johannesburg on Monday night.

Sharing the platform for the first time were



**TERROR LEKOTA**

Brigadier Leon Mellet of the SAP, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convener, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, the DP's national chairman.

Van der Merwe said South Africans needed hope, political leadership and statesmanship as never before.

"They need an indication that there is something better ahead of us; they need an indication that their sacrifices have been worthwhile, and they do not need more war rhetoric," he said.

The greatest threat to peace in the country were exaggerated expectations combined with the prevailing climate of fear and uncertainty, both of which were open to exploitation by politicians.

Lekota said South Africans deserved something better than what was happening today.

"The kind of bloodletting that is happening in this country should never have been allowed to come to pass," he said.

Referring to the conflict in Natal, Lekota said

the ongoing violence was rooted in the apartheid system.

He repeated the ANC's call for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police which he described as "the armed wing of Inkatha".

He called on the Government to consult the ANC before allowing police to intervene further in Natal.

Mellet appealed for a common understanding to assist the police in their fight a common enemy - crime.

"We need the support of the public. we need the goodwill that is out there to assist us," he said, adding that there were between 80 and 90 percent of law-abiding people in South Africa.

# Jockeying for advantage

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela may be having some success in persuading foreign governments to keep anti-apartheid sanctions in force for the present, but he may also be complicating the negotiating process at home in the future.

By the same token, President de Klerk may feel he is strengthening his hand for negotiations by trying to form an alliance against the ANC among existing homeland and parliamentary groups supporting his reform initiatives, but some of his partners could prove an embarrassment when the chips are down.

There is short-term sense in the tactics of both key political figures. ANC supporters expect their leaders to keep up the pressure on the Government. Nationalists expect the Government to treat the ANC as its main adversary and to contest the ANC blueprint for the future.

But, down the line, when negotiations start getting anywhere, there must also be the expectation that the National Party and the ANC will together hold the centre ground — against the PAC, Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement on the Left, and against the Conservative Party, HNP, AWB and other extremist splinters on the Right.

In the light of that logical eventuality, in which the Nationalists and the ANC could well emerge as coalition partners, it can be asked if present ANC and Nationalist tactics are not shortsighted? The answer is probably both yes and no.

Are the present African National Congress and National Party tactics in the run-up to negotiations shortsighted? The answer is probably both yes and no, writes **Political Editor JOHN PATTEN.**

Mr Mandela's pro-sanctions campaign, for instance, helps to perpetuate the destructive image the ANC has long been given in white eyes. So does his continued commitment to the armed struggle, as also does the ANC's decision to keep nationalisation on the agenda.

These policy stances serve to embarrass the NP in being seen to be willing to negotiate with the ANC. In fact, some see these policies as playing into the hands of the Conservative Party, which is already supremely confident that any test of white opinion — whether at an election or a referendum — would see the Government defeated.

If the ANC took a less hostile and destructive stance, it could be argued that there would be far greater white acceptance of the Government's decision to meet and negotiate with the ANC. The Government would then be more likely to win a white referendum or election on giving full political rights to all groups in the new South Africa.

But that is only one view of the effect of the ANC's pressure tactics ahead of a settlement. While abandoning these policies may conceivably help the NP, the effect on the ANC would certainly be the opposite.

In the eyes of the ANC's black adherents, abandonment of such pressure before the final eradication of apartheid would look very much like capitulation without guarantees. The ANC could lose its dominant position in black politics if it were to make such a decision, appearing weak and submissive to the white ruling party just when its supporters believe their negotiating position is strongest.

The PAC could quickly overtake the ANC as the real mass movement championing black rights if the perception were to take hold that the ANC was not standing up to the Government.

As for the Government turning for an alliance to homeland leaders and politicians from other parties engaged in the tricameral system, this may be seen in one sense as mustering strength to confront the ANC in formal talks.

The National Party badly needs to get into a multiracial alliance of parties with agreed basic principles — such as free enterprise, and a free press, support for multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary and other tenets of Western democracy. Such a charter can then

be measured against the ANC charter. But the plan has a big downside. It may help to make the Nationalist-led bloc look multiracial, and it may help to maintain the ANC in the "enemy" camp where so many whites would like it to stay, but such a tactic may not help the Government's ultimate credibility.

Many homeland leaders the Government is now trying to woo into alliance are already on the brink of throwing in their lot with the ANC, and for very good reason — the people they lead support the ANC, and by joining the ANC homeland leaders can distance themselves from the apartheid system under which they came to power.

If, instead, they join the Government alliance, they would appear to remain part of the apartheid system at their political and possibly even physical peril.

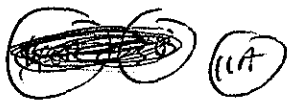
## Credibility

Homeland leaders generally do not have a high political credibility. And the same applies also to Indian and coloured politicians taking part in the tricameral system. There is a strong belief that the real coloured and Indian leaders reside outside the system.

So, on both the ANC side and on the Government's, there is reason in the stances they take and groups they befriend, but there must also be an undercurrent of awareness that the very tactics they are now following could make the negotiation stage more difficult to reach.

Once negotiation begins, moreover, it will be vitally important to ensure that the adversarial style adopted in the run-up to negotiation disappears and that compromise and sympathetic addressing of problem areas from any quarter should take its place.

The time will come for that transition. Meanwhile, both main parties to the future negotiations are trying to ensure they remain leaders of their particular constituencies — even if some damage to the speed of the pre-negotiation phase is done.



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# ANC upset by Gumede 'opposition'

## Political Staff

The African National Congress (ANC) has expressed its disapproval of United Democratic Front (UDF) co-president Archie Gumede's public opposition to the national stayaway on Monday, Mr Gumede has confirmed.

Mr Gumede said the stayaway, called jointly by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the UDF, and endorsed by the ANC, was not necessary because not all efforts had been made to resolve the situation in Natal through discussions.

## Isolate

The stayaway was meant to isolate KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and to call on the Government to control the violence.

Mr Gumede said he held to his view that the best way to handle the demands made on the Government to intervene in the Natal violence was "first to have discussion then, if they are not successful, to hold a stayaway".

Said Mr Gumede: "It is the duty of the State to protect its people and this responsibility must be brought to their notice. If they don't respond to talk, then further action should be

taken.

"I would not have opted for the stayaway before discussing the matter with them first."

Mr Gumede revealed that UDF publicity secretary and ANC southern Natal convenor Patrick "Terror" Lekota phoned him on Monday to express his approval of Mr Gumede's public opposition to the stayaway.

He said Mr Lekota told him he would get in touch with him again, "and I took it he was going to consult with others."

Anger, he said, was behind the organising of the stayaway, and he did not think acting out of anger was good. He, who lived in the Durban area, was well-positioned to study the situation.

"There was a good response to the call for a stayaway, but it remains to be seen whether it will create a situation where no lives will be lost (in future). If the purpose of the stayaway was not to stop the violence and the loss of human lives, then what was it for?" the UDF leader asked.

However, he said, despite the difference in opinion with the ANC, the matter was "minor" and was not to be construed as any major split between the two organisations' affiliation.

Mr Lekota, who was reported to be in Johannesburg for a meeting, could not be reached for comment.

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The mutilated Greenpeace has also offered to  
International Group

# The real politic: Taking Mandela beyond the latest US fad

REV 4/7/80 (11A)

There was something peculiarly saddening — infuriating even — about the reception accorded Nelson Mandela in the United States last week.

There he was being compared not only with Moses and George Washington and Martin Luther King, but even Jesus Christ — while being propelled about in a bullet-proof Mandela-mobile to the cheers of hundreds of thousands, specially manufactured ticker tape raining down on him, and a choir exultantly singing the Hallelujah Chorus to America's latest Messiah.

Yes, it was on the one hand an explosion of this country's idealism at its best, a quintessentially American outpouring of goodwill and optimism for the future.

But it also showed a less heartening, more quixotic side: its political immaturity and isolationism, and its naive fondness and fads for glitzy international celebrities from far away, little-understood countries. Corazon Aquino one year, Lech Waleska the next, then Mikhail Gorbachev — and now, Nelson Mandela.

Such people become flavours of the month here, and just about every American suddenly acts as though they have known of them and supported them all their lives. But then, inevitably, disillusion sets in.

The simplified prism through which

Nelson Mandela was possibly just the flavour of the month in the United States, where there is a naive fondness for celebrities from little-understood countries, writes **ANDREW STEPHEN** of The Observer.

America sees the rest of the world distorts perceptions. In the celebrities' own countries, life soon appears more complicated than Americans realised; the celebrities assume mortal rather than Hollywood proportions, and their superstardom fades away.

I say all this because Mandela's eight-city, 12-day tour here was of the utmost importance for him — and hence South Africa. His success depends on transforming his Hollywood persona into that of a real-life politician, a flawed human being like the rest of us who is willing to grasp nettles that will be unwelcome to US leaders and people alike.

He knows perhaps more than anyone, after all, the might of the US — both in the past and in the future. It had the power to have him imprisoned as a result of a CIA tip-off 28 years ago, and through trade con-

tinued to help sustain apartheid more than any other country. Then a miracle happened in the mid-'80s and the US woke up to the realities of apartheid.

Yet Mandela's very honesty and integrity, his unfamiliarity with the importance of the 30-second TV bite directed by the image-makers could itself hasten the process of disillusionment with him: an alarming commentary, if ever there was one, on the state of how opinion is formed here.

It is only in the last three days, for example, that Americans began to learn what Mandela actually believes. It has been a shock to many that — notably unlike Martin Luther King — he still believes in violence. Americans can be remarkably blithe about this when the violence seems far away — a New York street corner next to City Hall has just officially been named after Joseph Doherty, wanted in Britain for the murder of a soldier in Northern Ireland — but are terrified by the prospect of it affecting them.

Then there is his courtship of Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro, and Muammar Gaddafi — hate figures here, the direct mirror-images of those feted exotic superstars from abroad.

The Zionist lobby here is already beginning a campaign against Mandela's Arafat

connections — he has already seen him three times since his release, more than other international figure — and it was no coincidence that George Bush severed relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation on the day that Mandela's Canadian Air Force jet touched down.

Mandela made no bones about why he champions such an unlikely trio: "They are placing resources at our disposal to win the struggle," he said simply — a clear warning to Bush of the ANC's need for massive funding.

And the way Castro and Gaddafi run their own countries? "We have no time to look into the internal affairs of other countries."

Like his words on nationalisation — another horror word here — this was not a reply the image-makers would have recommended. Much more of this kind of thing and Mandela will be forgotten by America as quickly as he was discovered.

The superstardom, the Mandela mania of souvenir T-shirts and mugs, is still awash throughout this country; but soon the *real-politik*, the hard talk from the Bushes and the Bakers that bears no relation to the Hollywood glitz, will begin. And then we will learn how much of a hero Nelson Mandela really is to America.

# Only we can save De Klerk from the Right - Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe

LONDON — The ANC was the "only organisation in the entire world" which could help President de Klerk survive the onslaught from the political Right, Nelson Mandela last night told millions of British television viewers.

"If you want to destroy the position of Mr de Klerk, you must ease sanctions on the grounds that you are helping

him. That is one thing that would sink him," the ANC deputy leader said during his only interview in Britain.

He argued that the right wing was accusing Mr de Klerk of bowing to international pressure in his quest for a new non-racial constitution.

The right wing, already accusing Mr de Klerk of selling out the Afrikaners, would "go to town" if punitive measures were

to be eased in an effort to encourage political reform.

"That type of approach helps the right wing to strengthen this propaganda. We (the Government and the ANC) are addressing this matter. It is better left to us, not to the international community.

"Where a government establishes channels of communication between itself and the

masses of the people who are oppressed, there is no need to resort to violence. But where the government bans political organisations, intensifies oppression, the people are entitled to resort to violence to defend themselves."

He added: "Once the Government agrees to remove the obstacles to negotiations we will consider the cessation of hostility. We will consider a truce."



2/ 4/7/90

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## Tributes to Azapo leader, 'a soldier in liberation struggle'

By Stan Hlophe

Azapo's projects co-ordinator and former publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza (40), was killed in an accident while returning home to Diepkloof from Bloemfontein on Monday night.

A Black Consciousness stalwart, Mr Myeza was detained several times and spent six years on Robben Island.

Azapo's senior leader, Khehla Mthembu, said: "We are shattered by his death. People of his calibre are needed in this country particularly now when we are building for the future."



Muntu Myeza ... killed while returning home.

"Considering the efforts and sacrifice Muntu has put into the struggle and freedom of his people, I just can't believe it."

Mr Myeza recently held talks with ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela about defusing inter-organisational violence.

He is survived by his wife, Thandi, and three sons.

Tributes from PAC and ANC spokesmen described him as "a soldier and stalwart in the liberation struggle".

PAC member Mark Shinnars said: "What a shock. Many people will not believe his death. We have lost a dedicated soldier for the struggle and for his people."

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said he regretted to hear of Mr Myeza's death at a time when he was playing such an important role.

"I knew him very well as we were together for years on Robben Island.

"I was fond of him and he was fond of me.

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## Vlok's threat will mobilise SA youth, says Sayco

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday condemned Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's threat to pass legislation to make it easier for the courts to prove intimidation.

Sayco further warned that this move could spark unprecedented mass action, especially among the youth, throughout the country.

Sayco publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana said that the introduction of "more repressive laws" had the potential to sabotage the peace initiative of the people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress (ANC).

"It is disturbing," said Mr Mankahlana, "that this threat comes at a time when our people are demanding that a climate for free political activity be created so that genuine negotiations can begin. We view this as an attempt by the Government to deny the liberation movement space to consult its constituency, the masses of our country."

## News in brief



# Big row over Mandela

IRA  
Sovietan  
4/1/79

LONDON - Mr Nelson Mandela appears to have made his first major diplomatic blunder - and has brought down on his head the combined wrath of the British media who have largely championed his tour so far.

His call on Monday for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to begin talks with the IRA without first demanding a commitment to end violence, as was done with Rhodesia, has been greeted with trumpeting headlines and a clutch of hostile leading articles.

These range from dismay: "It is a pity that Nelson Mandela yesterday fell into the trap of supposing that a fruitful analogy can be drawn between Northern Ireland and southern Africa," began the Independent's, to dismissive anger, such as the Daily Express' blunt "Mind your own business, Mr Mandela".

The Express goes on to accuse the ANC leader of "tragic insensitivity" just a few days after the murder of two beat policemen and the bombing of the Carlton Club in London. - Foreign staff.

## ANC to pressurise govt on proposal

PETER DELMAR (11)

THE ANC is preparing a massive propaganda and education programme aimed at pressurising government to accept its proposal of a constituent assembly elected on a universal voters' roll.

According to ANC NEC member Ronnie Kasrils, the organisation is expecting to encounter its "biggest problem with (President F W) de Klerk" over the issue.

Education and propaganda efforts would be geared towards educating ANC supporters about the concept of a constituent assembly and what it entailed and thereby mobilising support for what was a difficult concept for most people to grasp, he said. 6/24/79

De Klerk last week rejected the ANC's proposal that a constituent assembly be elected before the adoption of a new constitution.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said the organisation was convinced a constituent assembly was the most democratic way of establishing the political wishes of the voters, although the organisation had not yet formulated any principles on the form a constituent assembly should take.

Meanwhile, the ANC is planning to launch its own monthly journal in the near future.

According to ANC spokesman Joel Nchitanzhe it is anticipated that the journal — the name of which has not yet been decided upon — will circulate about 10 000 to 20 000 copies initially and will feature mostly politics.

# 'Sanctions over in 2 years'

By ESMARE van der MERWE  
Political Reporter

AR60  
5/7/90

LONDON. — The need for sanctions against South Africa would fall away within two years at the most, Mr Nelson Mandela told influential businessmen.

And he assured the international world that nationalisation would be considered only if no other option was available to ensure the upliftment of the impoverished black community and an equitable redistribution of wealth.

The ANC deputy president yesterday outlined his views on the economy in a speech to the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) on the last day of his visit to Britain.

His call for the maintenance of sanctions seemed to have fallen on deaf ears.

CBI chairman Mr Brian Corby made it clear that the organisation was opposed to sanctions because punitive measures delayed reform and undermined black advancement.

But he welcomed as "quite reassuring" Mr Mandela's remarks that the ANC wanted to ensure stability in a post-apartheid society to boost the confidence of foreign investors.

Although the British government had already lifted many sanctions unilaterally, including the ban on new investment, Mr Mandela urged industry to maintain sanctions to eradicate apartheid.

"We are aware of the damage which has been done by sanctions and we do not want our economy to be reduced to ashes," he said.

● Mandela meets Thatcher — page 19.

# Hopes high ANC-govt talks will end 'armed struggle'

By DESMOND BLOW

THE ANC and the South African government enter talks in Pretoria tomorrow with high hopes of ending the "armed struggle".

The ANC delegation, led by Nelson Mandela, comprises ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo, Umkhonto we Sizwe's Joe Modise and ANC director of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki.

The government delegation, headed by President De Klerk, comprises Foreign Affairs Minister Fik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and other officials.

The ANC has already indicated it will present proposals to end its armed struggle.

Major issues to be discussed include the release of all political prisoners and the return of thousands of exiles.

Mandela said in Durban this week continued political violence in Natal and KwaZulu would also be raised.

The talks will review the progress of the provisions of the Groote Schuur Minute.

There is a positive spirit in ANC circles that tomorrow's meeting will be successful and there is talk that a meeting will be held before the end of the year in which all political parties will participate to iron out a new constitution.

The talks were nearly disrupted by an alleged "Red plot" and Chris Hani's hardline stance on the armed struggle.

Mandela and De Klerk this week came out with enhanced reputations as leaders who would not allow anything to divert them from a negotiated settlement.

The dispute over Joe Slovo's inclusion in the ANC team was settled amicably.

Mandela said he had misunderstood De Klerk to mean he did not want Slovo at the talks, when all the State President had done was voice his concern at allegations police had made against Slovo.

Mandela said the so-called "Red plot" and the detention of several ANC and SACP members would be discussed at tomorrow's talks.

Adriaan Vlok this week rejected allegations the police were trying to sabotage negotiations by misrepresenting facts about the alleged SACP plot to seize power.

He said he was satisfied the information police had given to De Klerk and the Cabinet was "correct".

The ANC's National Executive Committee this week said they were concerned about the continuing detention of people under the Internal Security Act.

The NEC said such actions seriously undermined efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiations and demonstrated little had changed with respect to civil liberties. Such arrests should stop and detainees should be released immediately and unconditionally.

# ANC 'can't urge end to violence'

114



CANC Times  
5/7/80

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC's continued emphasis on the need for armed struggle made it impossible for it to urge with any conviction the end to violence in Natal or anywhere else, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Writing in Idasa's newsletter about the "messages" South Africans needed to hear from the ANC and the government, Dr Boraine said the most important area in which clarity was needed was the whole question of violence.

So long as the ANC continued to emphasise the need for the continuation of armed struggle, it was impossible for it to urge with any conviction the end to violence in Natal or anywhere else.

Dr Boraine said that although the ANC was pressured by the demands of establishing itself internally, it had a responsibility to contradict the prevailing perception that it did not have the same sense of urgency as demonstrated by President F W de Klerk.

On sanctions, Dr Boraine said it might be understandable that Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC had to take a tough attitude but the ANC ought to be "much clearer" on a timetable for lifting sanctions, particularly the

sanctions on new investment.

Turning to Mr De Klerk, Dr Boraine said the government needed to present whites with a vision of the future. The government had to use all its resources to break down fears and help white South Africans understand that there was life for them, too, beyond apartheid.

Responding to Dr Boraine, ANC national executive council member Mr Mac Maharaj said last night that for the ANC to cease using violence an equivalent gesture was needed from the South African state. "Apartheid violence" continued in South Africa and the government had not disbanded the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Mr Maharaj said the armed struggle and sanctions were instruments used by the ANC to exert pressure on the state. "If we called off both sanctions and the armed struggle what would we have left when the security laws are still in force?"

He said Dr Boraine's comments had unfairly created the impression that the ANC was dragging its feet when it came to negotiations.

However, the ANC had pursued the course of negotiation before its banning in 1960 and once it had been unbanned. Mr Mandela had corresponded with and met Mr P W Botha and Mr F W de Klerk while he was in prison in a bid to further negotiations, he said.

If you want to see the other side of Nelson Mandela, ask him about his relationship with Buthelezi.

And if you want to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's temper and political intolerance, ask him about the ANC. You will most certainly get a clear picture of what is in store for us in the future.

Forget about the political power players in today's game and those who are fervently working towards a new South Africa.

Forget about the PAC and Azapo's stand against talks and negotiations with the government.

Forget about President De Klerk's guts in trying to dismantle apartheid.

Forget about the rightwing elements' lunacy and ox-wagon mentality.

Also, forget about the Democratic Party's claim to liberal values and their fight against communism.

The fight for political survival will involve Zeph Mothopeng's PAC, Buthelezi's Inkatha and to a lesser extent Itumeleng Mo-

MY WAY

c/press 5/8/90

With Khulu Sibiyi

(11A) ~~(11A)~~

# Why not talk to the others



sala's Azapo.

Before getting into details, let's look at tomorrow's second round of talks between the ANC and the government.

Once again, the world will be holding its breath for the outcome of the talks, which among others, will focus on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and last week's wild allegations by the police of a possible SACP insurrection.

While Mandela and the ANC seem to be in control of the situation, the PAC,

Azapo and Inkatha are waiting like hawks to make capital out of possible failure of the talks.

Mandela, as the leader of the ANC, may have won part of the battle by talking and getting a mandate from community councillors, homeland leaders and the business sector - but the real war is still in the hands of the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

As one observer puts it: "Mandela has been speaking to devil incarnates and not the real movements."

Since his release, he has spoken to all homeland

leaders, except Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

While overseas he described the two leaders as the only two remaining homeland stooges of the government. He has held talks with Umsa president Tom Boya and spoke proudly of him. He has also held talks with members of the Conservative Party.

Why not with Buthelezi, they ask? While in New York his answer was: "I

do not think it correct of me to wash our dirty linen in a foreign country."

Whatever differences Mandela may have with Buthelezi, he will have to talk to him at some stage.

As for the PAC and Azapo, there is no doubt the majority of people see the organisations as necessary devils in the future politics of this country.

They may not command the numbers the ANC have, but as one observer puts it, the two will be the watchdogs of the people, "and there will be no way the ANC will sell the people to the government by agreeing to everything".

It is therefore imperative for the ANC to go the whole hog and talk to Azapo, Inkatha and the PAC.

The ANC should have this in mind tomorrow when they plan the next round of talks with the government. While their claims of large membership and support cannot be doubted, they should remember the three organisations cannot be wished away.



Call Telex 5/7/90 (1112)

Cape Times, Thurs

# Azapo to probe death of key official

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Azapo's national organiser — Mr Lusiba Ntloko — and lawyers are on their way to Bloemfontein to investigate the death of Azapo's projects co-ordinator, in apparently mysterious circumstances.

Azapo spokesman Dr Gomefomo Mokae said yesterday that Mr Muntu Myeza had telephoned his wife at 8.30pm from Bloemfontein to say he would be staying in the city overnight on Monday.

On Tuesday morning his body was discovered in his car, 14km from Bloemfontein. It had apparently ploughed through two fields, and was found in a donga.

Dr Mokae said information indicated

the car was not damaged to the extent one might have expected in such an accident. Why Mr Myeza had changed his mind about staying over in Bloemfontein was to be questioned.

Fourteen kilometres was also not far enough for the driver to have grown tired, Dr Mokae pointed out.

Mr Myeza was involved in the recent Conference for a Democratic Future. He was a founder with Steve Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement and was incarcerated on Robben Island.

Funeral arrangements will be disclosed today.

● The death of Mr Myeza is the latest in a series of casualties within the ranks of the non-Charterist anti-apartheid movements.

The Black Health and Allied Workers Union of SA noted yesterday in a statement: "It was Japhta Masemola of the PAC before and now it is Muntu Myeza of Azapo."

It was also senior PAC stalwart Mr Sam Chand in an explosion in Botswana, and his brother, who died in a car accident on his way to the funeral. Pan African Movement representative Mr Benny Alexander narrowly escaped injury in a car accident a week after Mr Masemola's death. — Sapa



**BUSINESS IS ON . . .** ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher on his arrival at 10 Downing Street yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

*CAP- TIMES 5/7/90 (11A) (C)*

# UK waits on the Mandelas

**LONDON.** — Both Mandelas have kept their British audiences waiting.

Mr Nelson Mandela kept the cream of British business waiting yesterday for more than half-an-hour. But he had a good excuse — his speech was caught in London traffic.

And on Tuesday Mrs Winnie Mandela had to apologise for a mix-up in her itinerary which caused her to arrive three hours late at an east London school to find 500 pupils, dignitaries and teachers had gone home.

At his meeting with the Confed-

eration of British Industry, CBI president Sir Brian Corby invited Mr Mandela to the lectern, but he remained seated. Sir Brian then told the business leaders that Mr Mandela's speech hadn't arrived because of the traffic.

Some of the audience laughed, though one banker said: "Are these the guys who want to run the country? I wonder if he knows how much some of these people charge for a half-hour of their time."

Less than 10 minutes later, the speech arrived, printed on very

large sheets of paper. Mr Mandela explained he'd lost his spectacles and was wearing Winnie's, so he wasn't sure how his speech would go. This time there was widespread laughter and he got through the speech with ease.

Mrs Mandela, meanwhile, who had been due at Daneford Boys' School in Bethnal Green at 9am on Tuesday, finally arrived at midday because she had accompanied her husband to parliament. She returned two hours later, by which time staff had hastily reassembled the welcoming party. — Sapa-AP and Own Correspondent

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# Mandela and Thatcher establish rapport, agree to keep in touch

LONDON — Yesterday's meeting between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was a success and allowed the two leaders to establish a personal rapport, a spokesman for No 10 Downing Street said. "They had a very good exchange," said Thatcher's spokesman. "The objective of establishing a personal relationship and rapport was fully achieved," he said. Mandela said after the three-hour meeting that Thatcher was a woman he "could do business with", in spite of their dis-

agreements over sanctions and his organization's adherence to the armed struggle. Speaking joyfully at a Press conference to mark the end of his overseas tour before heading back home through Africa, Mandela borrowed a phrase from Thatcher's own lexicon, who used it when she first met Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Asked as he rose to leave if Thatcher was a woman he could do business with, he replied: "Yes, I am already doing business with her."

"The Prime Minister told him that Northern Ireland had the vote and a small minority didn't like the results of a democracy, and they chose to use bullets and bombs. She said we don't talk to people who are terrorists," the spokesman said.

● Picture: Page 3

Sanctions were raised as a "secondary issue". Thatcher and British business oppose sanctions and want those imposed by the European Community to be relaxed as a reward for President F.W. de Klerk's ex-

forms. The broader issue of the way ahead, of all the things that must be taken into consideration, including the changes in apartheid laws, the economy and the importance of flexibility were discussed, the spokesman said. He said Mandela and Thatcher expressed their respect for De Klerk. About 300 anti-apartheid demonstrators who back sanctions demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's residence at No 10 Downing Street, chanting as Mandela's limousine went through the gates blocking off the street.

A British government source said Mandela made a late night call to Thatcher in mid-June saying he was very worried about the attitude of European countries which were gradually easing sanctions. Mandela urged Thatcher "not to push it" over lifting sanctions and she replied that she was very concerned about "you and the ANC and what are you doing about giving up the armed struggle". Speaking on Tuesday night, Mandela said it would be over by the end of the year.



11A

# I see an early govt role for Mandela — Slabbert

GRAHAMSTOWN — The man who forged contacts between South Africa's white establishment and the ANC believes Nelson Mandela could be helping to run the country by September.

But Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert said Mr Mandela would then have to abandon the ANC's long-standing armed struggle.

"Mandela and (President F W) De Klerk have not in any meaningful sense begun to share responsibility for transition ... That still lies with De Klerk.

"But Mandela knows he has to come in some time ... The question is when. I wouldn't be surprised if we have some sort of joint responsibility beginning to emerge by August or September," Mr Slabbert said.

Mr Slabbert said Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk would have to begin working together soon to give legitimacy to the white leader's proposed transition from white domination to democracy and to ensure a black voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Mandela's participation would signal to governments and investors abroad that the transition could be smooth and that they could ease sanctions which have stifled economic growth.

## Critical issue

"The critical issue here is that Mandela and De Klerk have to agree the process of transition is irreversible. De Klerk says now it is, and Mandela does not agree," Mr Slabbert said.

"If Mandela says it is irreversible, it immediately has consequences for the ANC's stand on the armed struggle and sanctions. You can't come in and share responsibility ... and keep up the armed struggle ... and sanctions," he said.

The United Nations, the European Community and other apartheid foes have said Mr de Klerk's reforms must pass the point of no return before sanctions are lifted.

Mr Mandela, now in London as part of a six-week world tour, insists that sanctions and the ANC's armed struggle against apartheid must continue until then.

Mr Slabbert said Mr de Klerk had gone too far to turn back and regain white support he has lost as a result of his apartheid reforms.

"He has effectively destroyed his own conventional political base. The National Party as we have known it is finished," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 'Phoenix' Winnie climbing back up popularity polls

CALL tip 5/7/90 11A



By DAVID WILLERS

LIKE that of Richard Nixon, the rehabilitation of Mrs Winnie Mandela, one-time fallen first lady, continues apace.

It was clear from the outset that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela thoroughly disliked criticism of his wife.

He made his disapproval known and little has been written about her since his prison doors swung open in February. But now she is in the news again, speaking to audiences in New York and elsewhere, drawing big crowds and inviting outraged editorials in the South African Press.

The intriguing thing about Mrs Mandela is, however, not so much the appeal of her latest headline-grabbing message about schools being legitimate military targets and a threat to go back to the bush to fight the "white man" (sic) if negotiations fail, but the fact that she appears to have lost little of her feisty political charisma.

## Bad news

This is astonishing indeed, because little more than a year ago she was almost universally discredited as a ruined black Evita, a has-been "mother of the nation" bent on violent self-destruction, particularly after the Stompie Moketsi Seipei episode.

Stompie Moketsi Seipei was a 14-year-old

Soweto activist said to have been beaten up in Mrs Mandela's home shortly before his murder. The Stompie affair was celebrated in much purple prose abroad, with the London Independent likening Mrs Mandela to a Lady Macbeth figure, "an individual essentially heroic and noble who, misled by ambition and certain weaknesses of character, sets off a chain of reactions leading down the path to perdition".

The boy's death was bad news for Mrs Mandela, coming as it did on the heels of her repudiation by the ANC for her infamous "necklace" comment, which she now feels was taken out of context; and many believed she would never recover her reputation.

Today, however, a dark shadow glued to the side of her Promethean husband, hugely feted abroad, she is less a fallen first lady than a political phoenix, whose ability to step into her husband's shoes were he to be run over by the proverbial number 10 bus should not be underestimated.

The analogues are obvious with Evita Perón, Benazir Bhutto, Indira Gandhi, Cory Aquino, even Madame Mao (a less successful example, admittedly).

In virtually all these examples the magic of the name, rather than any specific policy, became a powerful rallying symbol for the masses caught up in a fragmented political situation.



**RISING FROM THE ASHES...** After stumbling over Stompie, matches and other verbal displays, Winnie Mandela has largely regained her cachet as 'Mother of the Nation'.

South Africa, too, is adrift in dangerous waters. The objective of the ANC hitherto has been to destabilise the country. Now that Mr Mandela is seeking to stabilise matters, the ANC's problem is that it has not yet properly established itself structurally and in the event of a major crisis, such as Mr Mandela's unexpected demise, in conjunction with the ongoing civil conflict in the townships, the ANC may yet have to rely on the Mandela name to provide leadership and discipline.

Mrs Mandela has a number of assets going for her which others do not have. For a start she is vocally a more radical person than other ANC leaders, notably the Chris Hanis and Govan and Thabo Mbekis who could presumably aspire to filling their leader's shoes.

The "young lions" respect her revolutionary credentials, which are impeccable by the standards with which these things are judged.

Banned for 20 years, detained without trial for almost three of those years, much of it in solitary confinement, she had the courage to publicly endorse the ANC within South Africa.

## Walking flag

On her return from "exile" in Brandfort to Soweto she gained a reputation for being politically tough in township makhotla (unofficial court) proceedings.

The comrades flocked to her banner for leadership during the 1985/86 period when, on the instructions of the ANC abroad, they tried to make the townships ungovernable.

As some observers saw it, she became a sort of walking ANC flag, em-

pathising with the impatience of the youth and forgiving them their excesses, apparently condoning necklacing just when the external ANC leadership, alarmed by hostile international reaction, was frantically distancing itself from the practice.

The Stompie saga was the last straw as far as the UDF and Cosatu were concerned. They excommunicated Winnie, accusing her of "violating the spirit and ethos of the democratic movement", to the huge delight of the government-supporting Press which revelled in her discomfiture.

As the papers saw it, Mrs Mandela had become the victim of an almost unbearable contradiction between an image of herself as a superhuman anti-apartheid fighter on the one hand and a woman prey to ambition and desire on the other.

She had also failed to adjust to the new realities of mass democratic action, a lonely veteran of the political Sixties, boosted by the media, and "treated like a queen until she began to act like one".

All this may now change. The queen has got her king by her side and, in the African context, she can now expect enormous traditional support for her reborn role as 'Mother of the Nation'.

## Erratic behaviour

Her other circumstances are also propitious. She is relatively young (only 56) and so could mount a challenge to other "youngsters" such as Mr Thabo Mbeki, long regarded as an eventual successor to Mr Mandela.

Mr Mbeki, moreover, is

a longstanding member of the South African Communist Party (as are most other members of the ANC central committee), whereas it would be surprising indeed if Mrs Mandela were to suddenly reveal herself as a closet communist.

For this reason she could, *in extremis*, become a more palatable choice for businessmen abroad who understand that the pressures she has had to cope with would cause erratic behaviour in the most balanced of individuals. They might have misgivings about her style but would probably prefer an unabashed capitalist, "Nigeria style", to the austere socialism of her political peers.

Her shopping forays in downtown New York and her Soweto house-building ambitions are the stuff of legend; she is a revolutionary who epitomises consumer Africa.

Only a year ago people were asking whether Mr Mandela would divorce his wife to keep the potent Mandela symbol intact, or if he would support her in her darkest hour. An activist was quoted as saying: "She hasn't got a friend in the world now. Even her husband's mighty reputation couldn't help her."

How quickly circumstances change. There can today be no question of Mr Mandela's support for his wife. The only question now is whether this will translate into a countrywide loyalty towards her.

It is not impossible. Mrs Mandela's African name is Nomzamo, which means a "trial in life" in Xhosa. Her greatest trial may yet lie ahead.

# The tributes pour in for BC's Myeza

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

SEVERAL organisations have expressed shock and sadness at the death of executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation Mr Muntu Myeza. (11A)

Myeza (40) died in a car accident about 14km from Bloemfontein on Monday. He was on his way back to Johannesburg from an Azapo central committee meeting in Cape Town. Sowetan 5/7/90

The general secretary of Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, who was jailed for six years on Robben Island with Myeza, said the news of the death was "shocking and unbelievable".

The publicity and information secretary of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mr Vuyisile Qunta, said from Harare the organisation was dismayed at the death of one of the most seasoned revolutionaries in the young generation.

The South African Youth Congress called on all political organisations, irrespective of ideological persuasions, to honour "this gallant fighter in a dignified fashion".

Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Parks Mankahlana, said: "To us in the Mass Democratic Movement, Comrade Myeza shall always be remembered and revered for the role he played in the efforts to bring together organisations that are opposed to apartheid.

"The illustrious contributions that he made at the Conference For a Democratic Future and in subsequent

## Many groups honour Azapo's Muntu Myeza

(11A)  
Sowetan 5/7/90

● From Page 1

discussions with leaders of the MDM and the ANC earned him a place among the finest patriots and fighters for freedom.

The general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Benny Alexander, said: "Although we were in different organisational camps we recognised the fact that Myeza made an important contribution to the struggle for national liberation, self-determination and socialism."

The African National Congress said it was shocked and saddened by Myeza's death.

"His untimely death is all the more tragic as he has been personally involved in ongoing discussions to bring about a bet-

ter understanding between Azapo and the ANC, in which his contributions has been positive and invaluable," the ANC said.

President of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa Sandra Nagfaal said: "Comrade Myeza, though a committed Black Consciousness cadre, was always preaching unity in diversity and tolerance among black organisations.

### Robbed

"Death has robbed not only the Myeza family, Azapo and the BCMA of their member but the entire black community in this country and humanity in general is all the more poorer by his tragic passing," she said.

The Azanian Youth Organisation said Myeza's death was a loss

to the revolution more so in "this unfolding period in the struggle for the repossession of Azania".

The general secretary of Numsa, Mr Moses Mayekiso, said: "It was unfortunate to lose such a good leader. Myeza's death has opened a gap in the liberation movement especially at this time when leadership qualities of his calibre are needed."

Azasm publicity secretary Siphon Maseko said: "He was a towering intellectual and physical giant. He sustained the BCM from the formative stages of Saso and the BPC, the trial of the Black Consciousness philosophy and the Viva Frelimo rallies.

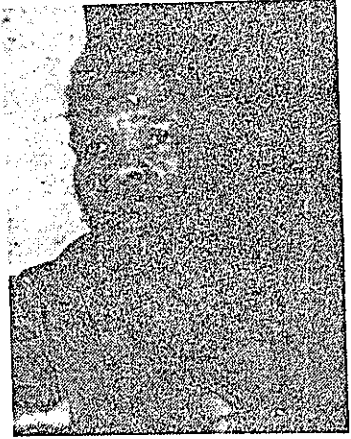
Funeral arrangements have not yet been made and a post-mortem is due to be conducted today.

# Tragedy stills Azapo's 'Wind of Force'

# MUNTU MYEZA

**FOCUS**

## Prison could not kill his fiery spirit



Muntu Myeza

By MOKGADI PELA, MATHATHA TSEDU and MIKE TISSONG

During the funeral of former Azapo health secretary Dr Abu-Baker Asvat last year, Muntu Myeza said the irony of life was that valuable people often died too early while others lived too long and even defeated heart attacks and strokes.

A little more than a year after burying Asvat, who was gunned down by thugs in his surgery in Soweto, Myeza (40) was killed tragically in a car accident in the Free State on Monday night.

And so another valuable life was taken.

The death of the robust Myeza, who was once a boxer in his student days at the University of Zululand at Ngoye, has shocked many.

The loquacious Myeza - and he would appreciate this grand terminology - was the longest serving member of Azapo's central committee and served in the post of publicity secretary for a number of successive terms. He had a superb command of the English language.

Myeza was contemplating writing a book following several requests by readers of his published articles and pressure from black consciousness activists.

### Position

He also served Azapo as general secretary and projects coordinator, a position he was elected to early this year.

Muntu, the laughing giant to those who knew him, had a biting tongue for those he considered sell-outs in the struggle for black emancipation. This forthrightness brought with it attacks by people who attended meetings he was scheduled to address, with the

specific purpose of disrupting his talk.

His house was petrol-bombed in 1986 with little damage being done. He served on the Diepkloof Residents Committee and was also a member of the governing board of the Northern Transvaal Advice Office (NTAO).

An orator, he could be expected to bring both tears and laughter once in full flight in front of a microphone. This made him a speaker much in demand during national days of commemoration and other meetings.

He was a guest speaker at Nactu's last congress and, on June 16 this year, he spoke in Durban after the local branch of Azapo insisted he speak in Natal.

### Founder

He was also invited to speak abroad. One of the invitations was to the all-black Howard University in Washington DC. He could not honour the invitation because he was consistently refused a passport.

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, who was a founder member of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early 1970s with Steve Biko, Strini Moodley, Harry Nengwekhulu and Myeza, was shocked when he heard the news.

Nefolovhodwe, who is Azapo's general secretary, said: "Muntu and I were so close from our student days.

"Although he was at the University of Zululand at Ngoye while I was at the University of the North, both of us were deeply involved in the BC movement, particularly the South African Students Organisation.

"Muntu served as acting Saso president in 1973 before I took over the post. We were detained after organising rallies in celebration of Frelimo's victory over Portuguese colonialism and after a long, long trial - we were detained for a long time and then sat through about 18 months in court

- we were sentenced to six years on Robben Island.

"His death hurts me terribly."

On the island, Myeza met many who had been serving sentences since the 1960s, including PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

When Masemola died in a car accident in April this year, Muntu was moved emotionally and wrote in *Sowetan*: "We differed and we agreed. I would like to think we agreed more than we differed. Sometimes I ask myself whether it would have been better for you to stay in prison and live or get out of jail and die. So long Bra Jeff."

### Released

When Mandela was released in February this year, Muntu was part of the Azapo delegation that went to see him. He related later how on first seeing Mandela in a suit, he had teased the old man by asking: "Where are your khakis, I almost did not recognise you."

To which Mandela responded: "When the Sayco delegation came to see me in prison, I had my khakis. They were all in suits. The next delegation came in khakis and I was in a suit. This continued until I decided I would just put on suits."

Tributes and condolences flooded the *Sowetan* on Tuesday night after news of Myeza's death was heard.

### Shattered

Exiled BCMA publicity and information secretary, Mr Vuyiswa Qunta, said in a statement that the death of "one of the most seasoned revolutionaries of the younger generation" was "shattering".

"Comrade Muntu came out of prison still full of fire and served Azapo for many years. He defended the organisation with his life during the crisis in the mid '80s.

"His passing comes at a critical time in the Azanian liberation

struggle. His life will be a lasting inspiration for all patriots in our country," Qunta added.

Azapo political commissar, Tshepo Sibusi, said Muntu's untimely death was a loss to the Azanian revolution.

### Inspiration

"It is in his words and deeds that we in Azapo will forever draw inspiration. It needs to be added that Muntu was not only a superb politician, he was much more than that.

"He could impart understanding and he could do that with an economy of words.

"After every meeting with Muntu, one felt as though he could go on a mountain top and shout to the whole world saying, come and meet this remarkable young man, you will find the right balance again."

In an article Myeza wrote for the *Sowetan's* leader page in 1987, he said: "The force of change is not to be found in the sleek cocktail parties, the comfort of suburbia or in endless seminars and symposia arranged in the high-rise rarified atmosphere of the so-called 'island of peace'.

### Change

"Change lies in the streets of the ghettos prowled by ugly monsters.

"It lies in the hungry stomachs of workers who have nowhere to turn to. Change lies in the heart and minds of children who have learnt too many things too soon.

"Change lies in the anguish and torment of families torn apart by jail and migratory labour. That is the force of change that the white elections ignore.

"That is the force that is so potent, so misunderstood and yet so tenacious and consistent. It is this force that is equally unstoppable which the whites ignore at their peril.

"This force is black people."

This force was also Muntu Myeza.

# Ceasefire is likely - ANC

Sqwetan 577140

11A

LONDON - A ceasefire between the African National Congress and the South African Government was "very likely" before the end of the year, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said on

Tuesday night.

He was speaking in a BBC television interview on the eve of his first meeting in London yesterday with British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Mandela had explained in the panel interview that the ANC was prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities once all the obstacles to real negotiations with the SA Government had been

removed.

Asked "would that ceasefire be this year still?" Mandela said: "Very likely...because we have agreed to the removal of the obstacles to negotiations". - Sapa.

PEEP

25 YEARS

LOW PRICE

MID-WINTER

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

PEEP is a large, stylized, textured word. To its right, '25 YEARS' is written in a similar textured font. Below 'PEEP', the words 'LOW PRICE' and 'MID-WINTER' are stacked in bold, textured letters. On the right side, there is a circular logo with a woman's face inside and the text 'MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE' around it. The background of the advertisement has a textured, dotted appearance.



# Thatcher welcomes Mandela to 10 Downing

# Hello Maggie

South Africa 5/7/90

11A

**LONDON - ANC leader Nelson Mandela was greeted at the door of No 10 Downing Street yesterday by British Premier Margaret Thatcher.**

This was their first meeting since Thatcher's invitation on his release in February to come to England for talks on the South African situation.

Earlier in the morning, the ANC deputy president addressed British business leaders and asked them to have investor confidence in post-apartheid South Africa, although they should maintain isolation of South Africa in the meantime, only providing aid to the ANC to re-establish itself in the country and to repatriate exiles.

Traditionally, only VIP visitors to Downing Street are greeted on arrival at the door by the Prime Minister

Thatcher - an indication of the importance Thatcher attaches to Mandela's visit.

Official sources said, however, Thatcher, who maintains strongly that President FW de Klerk should receive some form of international "reward" for his reforms so far, would be strongly urging Mandela to renounce the ANC's armed struggle.

On the sanctions issue - the Prime Minister has always opposed such measures against South Africa as counter-productive, and Mandela has urged the Western world in his four-week tour to maintain them - the two were expected to agree to disagree.

Mandela has, however, said he is confident his meeting with Thatcher will serve to narrow gaps in their respective approaches to South Africa's problems.

## Meeting

Yesterday's meeting formally amounts to a breaking of the ice in strained relations between the ANC and the British Government, following Thatcher's branding of the organisation three years ago as "terrorist".

Mandela said in France on June 7 at the beginning of his European tour that the ANC was keen to improve relations with the British Government, in recogni-



British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher greets ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela as he arrives at No 10 Downing Street in London yesterday before holding talks with her. Picture by Associated Press

● To Page 2

ARLIE PARKERS

P.T.O.

# Thatcher, Mandela ease strained relations



● From Page 1

tion of Britain's important historic and present ties with South Africa.

"Why should we clash?" he said at the time in response to a question. "We can differ and still be friends."

In his address to business leaders at the Con-

federation of British Industry, Mandela said "the message we bring to you today is a simple one.

"It is that we look forward to the time when you will join hands with our people to form a partnership of freedom and prosperity for the people of South Africa and the United Kingdom."

British business interest in South Africa was substantial, both in terms of trade as well as direct and indirect investment.

"This very fact imposes on all of us an obligation to keep up our dialogue and provides us with the basis for a shared hope for, and a deep interest in the smooth transition of our country to a full democracy with a



THATCHER

thriving and advanced economy," he said.

Outlining the struggle against apartheid and for freedom, he said: "The

international community has also made an important contribution to this struggle, not least through the imposition of economic and other sanctions.

"We believe and trust that you will agree with us, that since we have not as yet achieved the democratic transformation we all desire, then pressure must be maintained ... to bring about this result." - Sapa.

Overton 5/1/76

11A

# Death <sup>(11A)</sup> of BC <sup>(#)</sup> leader

Soull 577-1117190

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo's projects coordinator and former publicity secretary, Muntu Myeza, 40, was killed in a car accident while returning home to Diepkloof, Soweto, from Bloemfontein on Monday.

A Black Consciousness stalwart, Myeza was detained several times and spent six years on Robben Island.

His death has shocked activists in organisations such as Azapo, Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement with which he had been involved.

Azapo's senior leader, Kehla Mthembu, said: "We are shattered by his death. People of his calibre are needed in this country.

## Defusing

Mr Myeza recently held talks with the ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela about defusing inter-organisational violence.

ANC leader, Walter Sisulu said he regretted to hear of Myeza's death at a time when he was playing such an important role.

"I knew him very well as we were together for years on Robben Island. I was fond of him and he was fond of me."

Myeza is survived by his wife, Thandi, and three sons.

He was a founder member of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s with the late Steve Biko and others.

# 'I can do business with Maggie'

From SUE LEEMAN  
Argus Foreign Service  
in London



MR Nelson Mandela declared yesterday that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was someone he could, and would, do business with — spurning suggestions that the two leaders have until now been engaged in a mini Cold War.

After a "cordial" Downing Street meeting which ran to three hours — more than an hour longer than expected — he said the pair's differences, notably sanctions and the armed struggle, had been played down as they looked for common ground.

In this mood of consensus-seeking, they had started a "process of communication" and would remain in "close contact", he said.

"I came away full of strength and hope."

In an exceptionally lengthy statement, Downing Street said warmly that "the objective of establishing a personal

relationship and rapport was fully achieved".

Mr Mandela had expressed the hope that he and Mr F W de Klerk could one day visit Mrs Thatcher together.

Sanctions, said the statement, had been "a secondary issue" at the talks, and much of the discussion had focused on the economy, with Mrs Thatcher stressing free market principles and the need for foreign investment — and decrying nationalisation.

Mr Mandela was insistent that state participation was an option, although he said there was also a need to involve the business community both domestically and through foreign firms.

This was the first time the two had met and a smiling



SHAKE ON IT: Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mandela shake hands outside No 10 Downing Street.

Mrs Thatcher was waiting on Downing Street's pavement around noon to greet a tired-looking Mr Mandela.

She was clearly prepared to overlook his remarks earlier in the week about the need for warring parties such as

Britain the IRA to talk to one another, so keen was she to meet the headline-getting ANC deputy president.

The meeting began with a 50-minute dissertation from Mr Mandela, followed by a 30-minute address by Mrs Thatcher and a working lunch.

Mr Mandela, who described the atmosphere as "cordial", called Mrs Thatcher a genuine "enemy of apartheid", who deserved praise for helping secure his release.

"I, from the outset, pointed out that we have a common approach which we can use in order to seek solutions in regard to our country.

"There were a number of points on which we did not see eye to eye completely, like the question of sanctions and the use of violence as a method of political action and our views on economic questions were not altogether similar."

But, well aware of each other's views on these matters, they had not debated them at length, he said.

"We made progress and I went away with the distinct impression that the Prime Minister is prepared to exchange views with us on South Africa's problems. We will keep in close contact in which I will brief her on the developments in the country."

He put to Mrs Thatcher the plea for resources he has made elsewhere, and although he had no firm undertaking from her, he was heartened by the attention she paid to this issue, he said.

Mr Mandela denied reports of a rift between the two leaders. "We have taken different positions on certain points, but there was never any enmity."

Downing Street said Mrs Thatcher, who once branded the ANC a "typical terrorist organisation", had been left in no doubt "that Mr Mandela wants a peaceful and negotiated outcome (in South Africa).

"He appreciated the Prime Minister's efforts to secure his release ... and accepted

her determination to get rid of apartheid."

"Both (Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mandela) expressed their mutual respect for Mr De Klerk and said the differences between them were not important. They agreed the main object was to "get rid of apartheid."

At a news conference Mr Mandela said: "We go back feeling we have the full support of the international community."

During his six-week tour, Mr Mandela was treated like an elder statesman of South African politics — a public relations coup for a man representing a revolutionary organisation once shunned for its violent tactics.

Until recently Britain had ruled out contact with the ANC, calling it a terrorist group.

Mr Mandela, savouring the widespread support for his anti-apartheid cause gained during his tour of Europe and the United States, left London yesterday bound for Crete. He was expected to fly on to Uganda on today.



LEFT: A young pupil's plea for peace during yesterday's march in the city. RIGHT: Marchers on their way to hand over a list of their demands. ● Report — Page 2

CAP 717 27/7/90 (119)

Pictures: STEWART COLMAN

Sault  
5/7-11/7/90

# Mandela inspires Britain's blacks

EB  
11A

From GUY BERGER

LONDON — In a speech that gave inspiration to leaders of Britain's black community, Nelson Mandela told 250 of their leaders on Tuesday that racism had no place in the last decade of this century.

Pledging that the ANC was a faithful friend to anti-racist fighters, black and white, he told his audience that "we are also conscious of the fact that in you we have fellow freedom fighters."

While in prison, he and his comrades had "endeavoured to follow as closely as possible your own battles against racism and injustice."

Striking a chord with his audience, many of whom came from across Britain to the meeting, he declared: "From your experience, as well as ours, we know only too well how racism distorts human relations."

The audience — consisting of black MPs, lawyers, mayors, councillors, pressure groups and community associations

— was clearly moved by Mandela's expression of solidarity with them.

The black British experience is not as harsh as South Africa's, but is still marred by widespread racism.

Although Britain has anti-racist laws, its black citizens still routinely run into prejudice, discrimination, and abuse — not least by Britain's newspapers.

Just last month, the government made it possible for white parents to withdraw their children from schools with a majority of black pupils.

The month before, leading Conservative Party rightwinger Norman Tebbit fanned the flames of prejudice by accusing black emigrants of not being loyal to their adopted home. They "failed the cricket test", he claimed.

In his speech, Mandela appealed to Britain's black activists "to play your full part" in the "noble" Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) at what was a critical moment.

Until recently the AAM has been made up largely of white activists, with black

Britons either cynical about this or too busy in local struggles.

The ANC deputy president explained that "after nearly 80 years of struggle, we are at the point at which it is possible to visualise negotiations leading to a South Africa that will be united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist."

"We do not doubt the integrity of De Klerk and his colleagues.

"Nevertheless, since apartheid is still in place, sanctions should be maintained until there is profound and irreversible change."

Later in the day, Dan Thea, a leading black member of the AAM described Mandela's speech to some 500 AAM activists who had been disappointed by the cancellation of a speech to them by the ANC leader.

He evoked loud cheers when he said Mandela's early morning engagement with black community leaders meant that, for once, "black activists can feel they came first."



FACE TO FACE: Nelson Mandela meets Margaret Thatcher

South 517-1117190

# Mandela hopeful after talks with Thatcher

LONDON. — Nelson Mandela came out of Wednesday's three-hour meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "full of hope".

"I left with the impression that the Prime Minister was prepared to exchange views on the problems confronting us," he said.

But on the questions of sanctions, violence as a political tactic and the economy the two "did not see eye to eye".

"I accept she is an enemy of apartheid," Mandela said.

Fielding questions on sanctions at a press conference after the meeting, Mandela gave no sign that any new agreement had been reached.

"Mrs Thatcher stated her position, which is well known. We stated ours. But we had points of agreement on which we concentrated.

"We have started the process of consultation. That is what is important."

Mandela said he had found on his tour that backing for sanctions went "beyond our wildest dreams.

"We have received support from those countries that were keen that sanctions be reviewed. Our appeal for resources has been equally as successful and in some respects also went beyond our expectations."

The row that greeted Mandela's first public statement in Britain — his alleged call for the British government to talk to the IRA — has subsided.

S (with handwritten scribbles and numbers)

## Rail workers in demo over dismissal

THOUSANDS of rail workers marched to the Spoornet headquarters central Cape Town Wednesday to protest against the dismissal of a worker.

They marched from

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# ANC starts mobilising for Women's Charter

After 25 years in exile ANC women's leader Gertrude Shope is back to lead a national campaign for a Women's Charter.

"This will be one of the first campaigns of the ANC's Women's League," said Shope.

Shope, one of the 12 key members of the ANC Women's League who returned to South Africa recently, is helping to popularise and rebuild the ANC Women's League before its national launch on August 9.

Shope and Albertina Sisulu are co-conveners of the newly-appointed executive committee of the ANC Women's League.

"We are here to facilitate the launch of the Women's League and to help women in the liberation struggle."

She said the 10-person interim committee had already started with its task. "We hope the regional structures of the League will have been launched before August 9, the date of the national launch."

## Charter

Delegates to the launch will present demands of women which will be incorporated into the Women's Charter. These will be ratified and adopted at an inaugural conference to be held inside the country from October 26 to 28.

Hundreds of ANC Women's League members are expected to converge into the country from Lusaka and elsewhere for the launch.

The decision to rebuild the ANC Women's League was discussed recently at a workshop in Lusaka, attended by women from both inside and outside the country.

Women from the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedraw), UDF and MDM participated in the workshop which was held in Lusaka from May 3 to 6.

*The plight of women in rural areas and the many outmoded traditions which rule their lives are among the many issues confronting the ANC Women's League which will be launched nationally next month. Gertrude Shope, co-convenor of the League, spoke to MONO BADELA in Johannesburg:*

Issues such as culture and tradition of women (irrespective of colour) will be discussed at the launch.

Participants will discuss what kind of traditions detrimental to women should be phased out and which should be introduced during the post-apartheid period.

"We will also look at the situation of our sisters in the rural areas. We feel it will not help us if we fight for equality with men when our sisters in the rural areas are not liberated.

## Target

"We therefore launched a Malibongwe Trust Fund — specifically for educating our women in the rural areas.

"Each region should supply the names of two women to be trained to help run projects," Shope said. This would help women in rural areas to be able to read and write.

"We have set ourselves the target of enrolling at least 500 000 members by the time of our national conference," she said.

Women would be able to have a dual membership with other organisations.

The Interim Leadership Core will be backed and supported by a support group which will visit the various regions.

Shope appealed to pupils boycotting classes to go back to the classroom. She said, although the children had lost a lot educationally, they had gained experience in day-to-day life.

"We are now trying to ensure they go back to school because we are looking at a generation that is going to be very broad-minded but, unfortunately, without the know-how to run their country

when the time comes," she said.

"We very much appreciate what they have done all the time and salute them for that," Shope said.

"For them to have a better world tomorrow, they should gain know-how, just as they gained the political experience."

She said the appeal was directed to members of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Gertrude Shope was born in Johannesburg and completed her schooling and primary teachers course in Harare. She completed her domestic science course in St Hilda College in Natal.

Shope joined the ANC at the end of 1954, and later became chairperson of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) branch of Central Western Jabavu in Soweto.

## Activist

She was elected Transvaal provincial secretary of FSAW in 1965 until she left the country the next year.

She is married to Mark Shope, an activist in the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) who was detained during the 1960 state of emergency.

He subsequently left the country early in 1966. His wife followed him. She initially lived in Lobatsi in Botswana and later stayed with her husband, who was working with the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

In 1971, Shope moved to Tanzania. Later she moved to Lusaka, Zambia, where she worked at the ANC's offices.



WOMAN ON THE MOVE: Gertrude Shope

PIC: CECIL SOLS

She was appointed chief representative of the ANC in Zambia in 1974. In 1978, Shope moved to Nigeria.

member of the ANC national executive committee.

By 1981 she became the head of the ANC Women's section and made a

As head of the Women's Section, Shope is responsible for contacts with international women's organisations.

*Stayaway a success — but not for black unity*

South 517-117190

AN estimated three million workers throughout the country heeded the call for a national stayaway to

WHILE Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC have



# Agree to differ

## Germany shoots through to final

TURIN. — West Germany reached the World Cup final for the third successive time with a dramatic 4-3 penalty shootout triumph over England yesterday.

Goalkeeper Bodo Illgner saved a spot kick from Stuart Pearce — then Chris Waddle shot over the bar to put the Germans through.

Andreas Brehme opened the scoring with a 60th-minute goal from a free kick just outside the England penalty area, but Gary Lineker snatched an 81st minute equaliser to force extra time.

Twice winners West Germany face reigning champions Argentina, who defeated Italy on penalties in their semi-final, in Rome on Sunday.

England conceded a free kick 30 metres from goal. West German skipper Lothar Matthaus knocked the ball sideways to Brehme, whose powerful shot took a deflection off Paul Parker and looped over goalkeeper Peter Shilton into the net.

### MATCH REPORT

See BACK PAGE

England's leveller came when Parker broke on the right wing and sent a long cross into the middle. Klaus Augenthaler and Guido Buchwald got tangled in each other's way, failed to clear and the ball ran loose to Lineker. Thomas Berthold also failed to stop the English striker, whose shot beat the outstretched reach of Illgner for his fourth goal of the tournament.

There were few other scoring opportunities in a finely balanced match full of skilful soccer, of which the German team had the better for longer periods.

West Germany had more of the possession in an evenly matched first half in which neither team could break the other's solid defence, but dominated after the break.

Rudi Voeller, back after his one-match suspension, went off injured after 39 minutes following a tackle by Des Walker. He was replaced by Karlheinz Riedle. — Sapa-Reuters, UPI



BUSINESS IS ON ... ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher on his arrival at 10 Downing Street yesterday.

CHA TALKS 5/7/90 (11A)

## Leaders walk away from friends

From KIN BENTLEY and Sapa

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela told British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher after their historic first meeting at 10 Downing Street yesterday that he hoped the time would come when he and President F W de Klerk could see her together.

In talks which lasted just over three hours, the two agreed to keep in touch on further political developments in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said Mrs Thatcher was a woman he could do business with, in spite of their disagreements over sanctions against South Africa and his organisation's adherence to the armed struggle.

He said he "accepted that she is an enemy of apartheid", but said there were a number of issues on which they "did not see eye to eye completely", including sanctions, the use of violence as a method of political action, and economic questions.

"But we made progress, and I went away with the distinct impression that the Prime Minister was prepared to exchange views with us on the problems confronting us in South Africa."

Earlier in the day, with his schedule already running late again, Mr Mandela held out hope to assembled British business captains when he hinted that a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems could be reached within months, and that there would then be no need for sanctions.

Making clear he was encouraged by recent talks with Mr De



### IDASA MAN SLAMS ANC ON VIOLENCE

See PAGE 7

Klerk, and optimistic about the next round of preliminary negotiations, he said: "All we are saying to the international community is give us a few months, if not a year or two, to resolve this question among ourselves."

Economic sanctions against South Africa should, however, remain for the time being.

Mr Mandela's noon meeting and lunch with Mrs Thatcher was scheduled to last for two hours, but extended to 3pm — taken as a signal they had a wide-ranging and intensive discussion — while a meeting with opposition Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock was postponed.

In further indications of the importance Mrs Thatcher attached to Mr Mandela's visit, she welcomed him warmly at the door to Number 10 Downing Street on his arrival and appeared again with him when he left.

As Mr Mandela departed he told the Prime Minister: "I hope the time will come when both Mr De Klerk and myself will see you together."

Downing Street officials said the meeting was very courteous and friendly, with a good exchange of views.

"The objective of establishing a personal relationship and rapport was fully achieved."

Mr Mandela commented at the press conference that "the Prime Minister was warm and gentle, and the discussions took place in a cordial atmosphere."

"It was a productive meeting and we are very encouraged."

But Mr Mandela came away committed to the retention of sanctions until apartheid was "dismantled in its totality" and the vote "extended to every South African so that all have the right to determine our own affairs".

Mrs Thatcher declined to comment personally after the meeting, which many had expected to be tough given their differences on so many issues, including Mr Mandela's call for the UK government to talk unconditionally with the IRA. This seems hardly to have been mentioned.

The Downing Street spokesman said Mrs Thatcher invited Mr Mandela to express his views fully. He spoke for about 50 minutes, whereafter she spoke for about 30 minutes.

**I see an**  
*skw 5/7/90*  
**early govt**  
**role for** (NA)  
**Mandela** (20/4/90)  
**- Slabbert**

**GRAHAMSTOWN** — The man who forged contacts between South Africa's white establishment and the ANC believes Nelson Mandela could be helping to run the country by September.

But Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert said Mr Mandela would then have to abandon the ANC's long-standing armed struggle.

"Mandela and (President F W) De Klerk have not in any meaningful sense begun to share responsibility for transition ... That still lies with De Klerk.

"But Mandela knows he has to come in some time ... The question is when. I wouldn't be surprised if we have some sort of joint responsibility beginning to emerge by August or September," Mr Slabbert said.

Mr Slabbert said Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk would have to begin working together soon to give legitimacy to the white leader's proposed transition from white domination to democracy and to ensure a black voice in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mr Mandela's participation would signal to governments and investors abroad that the transition could be smooth and that they could ease sanctions which have stifled economic growth.

**Critical issue**

"The critical issue here is that Mandela and De Klerk have to agree the process of transition is irreversible. De Klerk says now it is, and Mandela does not agree," Mr Slabbert said.

"If Mandela says it is irreversible, it immediately has consequences for the ANC's stand on the armed struggle and sanctions. You can't come in and share responsibility ... and keep up the armed struggle ... and sanctions," he said.

The United Nations, the European Community and other apartheid foes have said Mr de Klerk's reforms must pass the point of no return before sanctions are lifted.

Mr Mandela, now in London as part of a six-week world tour, insists that sanctions and the ANC's armed struggle against apartheid must continue until then.

Mr Slabbert said Mr de Klerk had gone too far to turn back and regain white support he has lost as a result of his apartheid reforms.

"He has effectively destroyed his own conventional political base. The National Party as we have known it is finished," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Azapo probes Myeza's death

GOMOLEMO MOKAE

THE Azanian People's Organisation's national organiser Lusiba Ntloko and lawyers are in Bloemfontein to investigate the death of a senior member of the organisation, in apparently mysterious circumstances.

*goweitein 517190*  
Azapo spokesman Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday that Mr Muntu Myeza had telephoned his wife at 8.30pm from Bloemfontein to say he would be staying in the city overnight on Monday.

## Found in a donga

On Tuesday morning his body was discovered in his car, 14km from Bloemfontein. It had apparently ploughed through two fields, and was found in a donga.

Myeza was the organisation's projects co-ordinator.

Mokae said information Azapo already had in its possession indicated the car was not damaged to the extent one might have expected in such an accident.

Why Myeza had changed his mind about staying over in Bloemfontein was to be questioned.

Fourteen kilometres was also not far enough for the driver to have grown tired, Mokae pointed out. - Sapa.



**MOURNED:** Legendary alto-saxophonist Dudu Pokwana who died in London last weekend **PIC: RASHID LOMBARD**

South  
5-11/7/90

# Acclaimed SA jazzman dies

(L.A.) (SA)

**INTERNATIONALLY-** acclaimed South African saxophonist and a member of the famous Blue Notes jazz band, Dudu Pokwana, died here last weekend after 26 years in exile.

The death of the 62-year-old alto-saxophonist, born in Walmer Port Elizabeth, has come as a shock to jazz lovers still mourning the death of band leader Chris McGregor who died in France about a month ago.

The Blue Notes left South Africa in 1964. Three other band members, Nick Moyoke, Johnny Dyani, and Mongezi Feza died in

exile.

Drummer Louis Moholo is the only surviving Blue Note member.

Pokwana's wife Barbara said Dudu, who had suffered from diabetes, died three days after undergoing major surgery.

She said his body would be cremated in London and his ashes would be buried in Port Elizabeth.

Dudu started his music career as a six-year-old playing piano. As a teenager he borrowed a saxophone from his idol Nick Moyake and taught himself the instrument

which in 1963 won him the Best Jazz Saxophonist of the Year award at a Johannesburg jazz festival.

Pokwana was a member of the African National Congress (ANC) cultural desk in London.

Pokwana leaves his wife and two daughters.

# Plans laid for ANC bank

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Plans are being laid by the ANC and the Rockefeller Foundation to establish a South African development bank that would raise "billions" of dollars to fund the "reconstruction" of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Rockefeller president Mr Peter

Goldmark first raised the idea with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at a meeting with US businessmen in New York last month.

Mr Mandela expressed interest and Mr Goldmark flew to London with African-American Institute vice-president Mr Frank Ferrari for follow-up talks on Tuesday.

As for the scale of the enterprise, he said that "in order to make an

impact, we'd have to be talking about billions". However, South Africa would not see a penny until "a just government is elected".

A Downing Street spokesman confirmed yesterday that no new money was promised to the ANC by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher when she met Mr Mandela on Wednesday, it is reported from London.

Although Mr Mandela said after

the meeting that Mrs Thatcher had given him "a good hearing" in regard to his request for resources, it appears the British government did not dig into its pockets.

According to reports here yesterday, the improved relationship between Mr Mandela and Mrs Thatcher was "sealed with a promise of R44 000 to help the ANC re-establish itself in South Africa".

But Downing Street confirmed

that the only money going from the UK government to "various black organisations" in South Africa was R330 000, announced by a Foreign Office minister on June 13.

● UPI reports that Mr Mandela arrived in Uganda yesterday for a three-day stay, after which he will attend an Organisation of African Unity summit in Ethiopia. He will then travel to Kenya before flying back to South Africa.

# A ceasefire — but no real 'talks truce' yet

11A  
[scribble]

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6/1/90

**T**HE word "ceasefire" hangs tangibly in the air as African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela looks toward home and to continuing the process set in motion at the Groote Schuur talks.

With Mandela's statement in London that a ceasefire could be concluded within months, the process of settlement seems poised to shift from the first phase of "removing obstacles to talks" into the phase of negotiations-proper.

The ceasefire is pivotal to this. But Mandela's acceptance of the fact is not a meek concession; it is the bell that starts round one of the fight contest.

"It is clear that the government is trying to foist a unilateral ceasefire on us — but it's an absolute non-starter," says ANC national executive member and former Umkhonto weSizwe intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils.

The South African war might be a different kind of war. The forces may be ill-matched and assorted. But the ANC is clear: in return for suspending the operations of MK it expects a clearly defined and enforceable restrictions on the government's armed forces and their auxiliary forces.

"To ask the ANC unilaterally to end its use of armed struggle just defies the reality of our situation. And to expect that the ANC, in agreeing to a suspension of hostilities, can speak on behalf of the millions in this country in terms of the every day conflicts that take place is also to fly in the face of reality," says Kasrils.

The "struggle", he says, involves two sets of opponents. At its core are the two historically defined principals — the National Party government and the ANC. Around this core are ranged "the major forces — the oppressed exploited people who suffer from apartheid and the broad-based democratic forces, on the one hand, and the forces

*First there were talk about talks. Now there is talk about a ceasefire to arrange talks about a truce. MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils discusses round one in the negotiations process.*

**By JO-ANNE COLLINGE**



**Ronnie Kasrils, Umkhonto weSizwe's intelligence chief**

of racism on the other.

"We on the side of the ANC believe that once the conflict between us and the government is truly resolved, then we can begin — and only begin — to lay the basis by which real peace can come to this country."

Referring to the pattern in Vietnam and Lebanon, Kasrils stresses the fragility of a ceasefire and its dependence on the success of the political process. It is no more than a breathing space to allow "talks about a real truce to take place". And it is all the ANC is considering right now.

As the Harare Declaration makes clear, the full termination of hostilities is a much more distant prospect. It belongs to the time when "a new constitution has been agreed on and we are sure that we have the basis for a democratic non-racial South Africa," says Kasrils.

"A ceasefire depends very much on the ongoing talks. If those talks break down, then hostilities resume. We cannot assume that once negotiations take place — after all they're about everything we've been struggling for, about the aspirations of our people and putting an end to the evil of apartheid — that those negotiations are going to immediately act as an open sesame into the new order."

Under such circumstances, insists Kasrils, "we cannot simply say that our armed struggle must come to an end; that we are turning our swords into ploughshares; that all our trained combatants — be they in bases abroad, or in underground combat formations in this country — are going to immediately become civilians. We will maintain our Umkhonto weSizwe.

"In the same period we are not expecting that the South African Defence Force will dissolve and the South African Police will go home."

Then what is the ANC prepared to offer? And what will it demand of a minority government with its army and police force still fully operational?

Says Kasrils — by way of preliminary comment: "It's complicated precisely because we're dealing with an unconventional war placed in the con-

text of a people's struggle."

The ANC cannot not be held responsible for a total end to the use of force by "an entire oppressed and struggling people", argues Kasrils.

"When we talk about the suspension of hostilities we can only do so from the point of view of our own armed force. Umkhonto weSizwe is an army that has always placed itself under the leadership of the political vanguard and combatants know that they are serving political goals."

He argues that MK has claimed few civilian lives when compared with other guerrilla forces and that incidents of indiscipline have been the exception.

But the ANC has no power and no desire to curtail defensive actions of people under attack by pro-apartheid forces.

"We cannot talk about striking workers who suddenly find themselves under savage attack not defending themselves. We cannot talk about people in Natal being chopped to pieces by warlords not defending themselves. Nor can we talk about demonstrators being attacked by police, who seem to be on a frolic of violence, not defending themselves."

To eliminate this conflict, the ANC needs to tackle it at the root by binding the government into the ceasefire, Kasrils says. "The government has got to show the utmost seriousness in controlling forces which are in some cases directly under its command — such as the police and the kwaZulu Police — as well as those which have come to the fore within the context of often bitter struggles, the warlords and vigilante groups."

Says Kasrils, the link between vigilantes and state armed forces is so well established that the government can assume direct responsibility for ending their activities.

Likewise, the ceasefire would have to put an end to the death squads and the Civil Co-operation Bureau, "virtually the forces of a state-within-a-state falling, as they do, under the direct control of Military Intelligence and the Security Police.

"They've left their trail in size 12 boots wherever they've gone and if the government is serious about negotiations, as we want to believe it is, then it's going to have to take these evil forces by the scruff of the neck and deal with them in such a way that they no longer harm people."

While the government can by no stretch of the imagination be held accountable for the actions of the "lunatic" right-wing, it can be held accountable for controlling these forces and must be made to do so through consistent use of criminal law, the ANC argues.

To effect this the armed forces "will have to be put in order", says Kasrils. This means: "If there are generals and police brigadiers who can't or don't want to control their forces then they must be sacked and replaced by fair-minded individuals more in step with the current phase."

The complex terms of such an unconventional ceasefire will make heavy demands on a monitoring force. The ANC has a preference for an internal joint monitoring force.

For its part it would seek to contribute a disciplined force combining elements from MK, from the emerging defence units in black residential areas, from the corps of marshals in the broad democratic movement.

Kasrils rejects the idea that participation in a joint monitoring force is tantamount to co-option. He points out the monitoring force will not supplant the police and army; it will not patrol the people. For the ANC, it would be there in the first instance to police the police.

He acknowledges the responsibility of the ANC to consult about the implementation of a ceasefire with other groups, such as the United Democratic Front, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Although preconditions for negotiation might not yet have been met to the letter, to the release of the last prisoner and to the return of the final exile, Kasrils suggests: "The possibilities of moving on to the next stage are there — possibilities are like a river gathering strength, the current beginning to flow.

"I believe that on the government side there is a problem about the release of all combatants of MK before we reach a suspension of hostilities. Once we find we are dealing with people who are being serious and honest about a situation, then there will be reciprocity and there won't be a Chinese Wall between (the phases of) preconditions and negotiations."

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# Uganda at standstill as Mandela arrives

AKGall 6/7/80

From ESMARE  
VAN DER MERWE  
Special Correspondent

KAMPALA. — Uganda came to a standstill as thousands of people welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela as he arrived on an official visit.

The ANC deputy president's first visit to the country coincided with the arrival of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe yesterday and preparations for the arrival today of President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique.

Mr Mandela and Mr Mugabe were given red-carpet receptions by Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the man widely tipped to take over the chairmanship of the Organisation for African Unity at a summit in Addis Ababa next week.

## AFRICAN LEG

Government sources said the four would travel together to Ethiopia where Mr Mandela will address the OAU.

The ANC leader yesterday started the African leg of his

six-week tour which included North America and Europe. He will visit Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Mozambique.

Thousands of people lined the 30km route to the capital to catch a glimpse of Mr Mandela, who smilingly acknowledged their applause from an open-top six-door luxury car. He was accompanied by Mr Museveni with heavily armed soldiers in attendance.

The first of several welcoming banners spread across the road was that of Coca-Cola, whose products had been boycotted by the ANC delegation in the US in protest against the company's continued investment in South Africa.

Mr Mandela had lunch with Mr Museveni, then retreated to the State House to rest before attending a private dinner.

He will meet the president for talks and lunch today, and Mr Mugabe and Mr Chissano tomorrow before addressing a joint rally with them.

Mr Mandela is expected to brief them on political developments in South Africa and report back on his trip.



# Fabcos group meets ANC to examine 'burning issues'

HIGH-powered delegations of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services and the African National Congress met in Johannesburg this week to discuss a wide range of subjects in the emergence of an apartheid-free South Africa. (IA) (S)

The one-day consultation, which was chaired by Fabcos projects coordinator, Mr Tebello Radebe, marked an important milestone as delegations shared views on some of the burning issues, including forming a joint commission whose task it will be to examine points of mutual concern. Sowetan 1/17/90

The Fabcos delegation consisted of Ms Nonia Rampomane, president of National Black Consumer Union; Mr

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Simon Kgaobesele and Mr Ken Dlamini, both executive members of South African Taverners Association; Mr Kehla Lukhele, president of the National Stokvel Association of South Africa, and Mr David Moshapalo, managing director of SATA marketing.

The ANC delegation consisted of top officials from the liberation movement's economic desk in the form of Mr Tito Mboweni and Ms Vivian Menamin.

The parties, in a joint statement, said their discussion was "frank and formal" as it discussed important economic and other matters in the changing South Africa.

## 200 groups expected at PAC talks

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE Pan Africanist Congress hopes to bring together resistance organisations across the political spectrum this weekend when it will host a two-day "Conference of the Oppressed" at the Shareworld complex in Johannesburg.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng cut short his African tour yesterday so that he could deliver the keynote address at the conference.

The meeting will focus on the negotiations question. PAC vice president Clarence Makwetu stressed that the PAC had not changed its positions on negotiations — there could be no negotiations until there was one person one vote in a unitary state, a redistribution of land and a constituent assembly was formed.

At the conference the PAC will present this view and its stand on other current issues like the armed struggle and "political tolerance" between resistance organisations.

Makwetu also pointed out that the meeting was not to create a united front but to provide a forum for discussion. PAC views would be open to suggestion and criticism.

"It is more important for the oppressed to discuss among themselves before discussions with the government begin."

More than 200 political, labour business, culture, religious and sports organisations are expected to attend, the PAC said.

The African National Congress was apparently still considering its attendance yesterday and the Azanian People's Organisation said it had not received an official invitation.

Asked if organisations like the Black Sash and Five Freedoms Forum were invited, Makwetu said: "The conference is for the oppressed only and does not include organisations which are merely fighting oppression."

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KEN Owen's column, Guess what the ANC is planning to do to the capitalists (Business Day, July 2), contains an undercurrent of Cold War politics, meant to make business people and ordinary white folk look under every bed for ANC "reds".

It makes me wonder whether Owen is interested in the promotion of open debate which could contribute positively to the resolution of conflict in SA.

Rob Davies wrote the paper titled Dealing with Monopoly Capital in a Mixed Economy. This was intended as an internal ANC discussion paper. It is atrocious to suggest it is an ANC "blueprint" discussed in "darkest secrecy". The Department of Economics and Planning (DEP) asked Davies to study and make suggestions on the question of conglomerates. Once he had submitted his paper it was distributed for discussion.

This is normal practice within the DEP. The opinions in such commissioned papers are those of the authors — albeit influenced by the general perspectives of the ANC. They are part of the democratic processes within the ANC to formulate policy.

Owen says our discussions take place in "darkest secrecy". This

# No secret agendas or plots

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## TITO MBOWENI

touches on how the ANC should go about its own business. The ANC is an independent organisation and has its own rules.

There are issues which are discussed within the ANC without going to the Press, as is the case with any other organisation, — business or other — including Business Day. I do not think that our internal discussions imply secret agendas where we "plot" the future of "capitalists".

Our opinions about conglomerates are not secret. They are in the published document containing the outcome of our Harare discussions — a discussion document, not a blueprint.

The insinuation that our internal discussions are some kind of conspiracy is completely unfounded. If our discussions were conspiratorial, why would we be publishing our views?

Our movement is thinking about how to build a truly national economy which benefits the entire population, not just the white people.

At the moment — and this point

has to be made — the economy benefits (in the main) white people. We have to contend with this fact.

There is a great danger that people like Owen are contributing further to the fears that white folks have about a future economy. Allegations of secret agendas are designed to create a general mistrust of public ANC positions and thus undermine our thrust towards a truly democratic society and economy.

Owen has presented the ANC Core Group of Economists as "hard-core radicals" bent on causing chaos. This is not so. The group is composed of representatives of ANC economists spread around the world.

It would be too costly to bring all ANC economists to all our meetings. So in each region where there are ANC economists there are co-ordinators who communicate with head-

quarters in Lusaka. It has nothing to do with so-called "inner circles" that Owen talks about.

The ANC is proposing that a future economy should be a mixed one. The discussions within the DEP and the movement as a whole have been about the type of mix.

Various opinions have been expressed about this question including those of Davies and Vella Pillay (for both of whom Owen seems to have special hatred). These discussions will produce further proposals for consideration by the national executive committee and conference.

If there are strong opinions, these reflect the seriousness of the debate in our movement, which is rooted in the economic and political aspirations of the oppressed black people.

We have publicly proposed that the mixed economy should be characterised by a public sector, private sector, co-operatives and small family-size enterprises.

Property for personal use and con-

sumption shall be constitutionally protected. Nobody is going to take away your houses, cars, personal savings, microwaves or clothes."

We have said we intend to create a climate in which those who invest would get a fair return and should have no fear that their properties would be confiscated.

We have made it public that we do not envisage any centrally planned commandist economy. The economic planning that we are discussing has to be open and democratic. This could, for instance, be indicative rather than commandist planning.

People committed to a future democratic society should refrain from taking advantage of, and deepening, the real fears that white people may have.

Ken Owen would serve the country better by contributing to this debate rather than by creating scare scenarios in the minds of business people and white folk about the ANC.

This is what the ANC's DEP is thinking about. I thought you would like to know.

Mbweni is deputy head of the ANC's Department of Economics and Planning.

## LETTERS

THE ANC has made clear its determination to play a role in the planning of future arts festivals in Grahamstown. It expects many of the festival's fundamental notions about arts and culture will have to change to accommodate, and fully represent, all the peoples of SA.

ANC Arts and Culture secretary Barbara Masekela said in a lecture delivered in Grahamstown yesterday that the ANC delegation had come to participate in debate about events such as the Grahamstown Arts Festival, to "bring our political perspectives to bear" on the course the festival would take in the future, and to develop a new and unique national aesthetic.

Her address received a standing ovation from a capacity audience in the 1820 Settler's Monument.

Despite many questions from the floor, she could not totally allay fears that the ANC would diminish the festival's accent on classical drama, music and dance.

While many South Africans valued the classics and these events would not be cancelled, she said, "successive representatives of the minority ideology have sought to entrench white domination through the denial and distortion of black culture".

She did not give an absolute assur-

# ANC defines its cultural role

21 Dec 1990

## The Standard Bank Arts Festival in Grahamstown

ance that cultural bodies organised by the ANC would promote "art for art's sake" and attempt to further the aims of cultural organisations or individuals who did not further the aims of a new SA.

"The cultures of the ruling English and Afrikaner groups have, in a grotesque inversion of their real representation in the populace, been presented as the most important central core of SA culture.

"The vibrant and diverse cultures of the majority — where they have been granted any recognition at all — have been presented as primitive ethnological curiosities or side attractions on the fringes of arts festivals," she said.

She conceded that protest and resistance from the white community had also been suppressed, but criticised those who had given themselves "the title of 'cultural experts' but who have not yet learned about nine-tenths of our nation's culture".

She said it was disturbing that culture was becoming a matter of own affairs, subject to individualistic

whims and fancies, indifferent to social responsibility.

"These chasms, this fragmentation, are eroding the foundations of the unitary culture we seek to build," Masekela said, but in her plea for cultural unity, or People's Culture, she said that views of English and Afrikaans-based cultures were a valid part of SA culture.

"But a part; not the sun around which the whole cultural universe revolves," she said.

The ANC policy contrasted with the "Eurocentrism" of the old hegemony, she said, which saw SA culture in terms of the emulation of models originated outside the continent.

She said that by aiming at an ersatz European high culture, SA was ignoring its own rich heritage.

"The culture of English-speakers

— the voice of Grahamstown 1820 — has been the most exclusive and resistant to genuine national influences," she said.

"Afrikaans, by contrast, has since the age of the oorlams, taken more gift-words, more nuances of musical harmony and phrasing, and more patterns of life and production from the soil of Africa.

"We have a national tradition of Afrikaans writers — and yet there is a dialectical tension between black writers and the Afrikaans language."

"The same struggle is being waged — and will need to be intensified — in relation to English, because the struggle for liberation is a struggle in and for language as much as on any other terrain," she said.

She emphasised that literacy programmes were vital, and called for a re-evaluation of notions of cultural work and cultural programmes.

Funding and institutions had been concentrated in the centres of white dominated metropolises and tended to draw resources and talent away from where the majority lived.

This trend needed to be reversed

not only by abolishing apartheid with its residential zoning, but by diffusing money and expertise to the black residential and rural areas.

She said the ANC was totally against censorship. "We do not want a situation where there is the fear of anyone not being heard. But we are against the promotion of racism and chauvinism. We would like to see an SA where everyone has the right to speak even if they differ.

"Those who wish to speak on behalf of SA's people must be part of structures which can join with them in shaping and giving mandate to their message, so that when it reaches the ears of the world, it truly represents us as a nation."

The policy of the cultural boycott was still valid, and would remain so for as long as apartheid persisted, she said, and it was a pathway to allow the representative, democratic culture of the people out to the world.

Masekela said afterwards that exiles had been greatly inspired by the work of artists in the country. "Culture is as important as any other discipline and can be a vehicle through which the people of SA can reach conciliation."

JOHN MICHELL

Specialist mining fund Guardbank Resources Fund, which focuses on investments in mining and natural resources, had a difficult six months with the overall increase in its unit price restrained to 2.6%. The rise of

# Government fears ANC may demand new preconditions for talks

GOVERNMENT is closely monitoring possible signs of a move by the ANC to introduce new preconditions — related to Natal, the police, right-wing violence and the hit squad issue — into the negotiating process, government sources said yesterday.

This follows statements by senior ANC officials Walter Sisulu, Raymond Suttner and Alfred Nzo, in which they linked the future of constitutional negotiations to these matters.

Sisulu told a media conference yesterday government's failure to take decisive action against right-wing terrorism was threatening future negotiations.

On Wednesday night Sapa reported ANC political education department head Raymond Suttner as saying that the ANC was prepared to begin negotiations only when it had a full report on CCB activities, and as long as the Natal violence continued the ANC would not negotiate.

In contrast, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed optimism in London that the negotiation process would proceed quickly.

Asked for clarity, ANC spokesman Mohammed Valli Moosa said it would be confusing to describe the ANC's stance on violence as "a precondition to negotiations in the sense of what we have put down on

ALAN FINE and  
PETER DELMAR

paper in the Harare Declaration".

However, the escalation of violence went against the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute and would have to be addressed before negotiations.

Government sources said yesterday they were attempting to discover the meaning of these developments.

A serious concern was that the ANC would like to elevate the question of Natal violence to a new precondition for negotiations as a means of intensifying pressure on Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthelezi and Inkatha.

On the CCB, sources said the ANC would be unwise to press President F W de Klerk while the Harms Commission was still considering the question.

Regarding right-wing violence, there was a view that the ANC was expressing a legitimate concern — one which was equally worrying to government.

Sisulu said yesterday the Harms Commission had been "sabotaged" and the ANC and its affiliates could be forced to rely on the Press rather than the judicial machinery to expose "violence and corruption in the repressive forces".

Government handling of the right wing

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did not indicate it was dealing with a "grave crisis facing the country".

He also said government should appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to test ANC claims that the police and SADF were a "major problem" in the violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC and its allies are in the process of preparing for a major peace conference on the Natal war next month to which all parties committed to regional peace will be invited.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said Inkatha would not be invited unless it made a clear commitment to peace.

MANDELA FIM 6/7/90

**IFF's butt**

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After weathering the storm of abuse that followed his embraces of the leaders of Libya, Cuba and the PLO, Nelson Mandela now faces a row over the ANC's alleged links with the IRA, a group reviled by the British politicians he visited this week.

In Dublin, Mandela called for negotiations between the IRA and British govern-

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FIM 6/7/90

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ment to end what he termed the "mutual slaughter." His remarks landed him in the doghouse with just about everyone — including bitter rivals PM Margaret Thatcher and Labour opposition leader Neil Kinnock, a big Mandela supporter.

One group that has been dogging Mandela on his choice of friends is the International Freedom Foundation, a US free-market foreign policy think-tank with offices in SA, London and Hamburg. It says it has been investigating the possibility that the IRA, in co-operation with Zimbabwe-based elements of the ANC's military wing, MK, intended to assassinate Thatcher during her visit to Zimbabwe in March 1989.

The ANC denies the allegations. "It's absolutely unfounded," says Joel Netshitenzhe, an ANC spokesman in Johannesburg. "We would never do that. It's an attempt to smear the name of the ANC and ruin the trip."

The foundation has detailed a long-standing relationship between the IRA and ANC that includes similar military training experience in Libya. The foundation's list also mentions a 1987 exhibition in Londonderry called "South Africa/Ireland: One Struggle" which the group says depicted "IRA and ANC terrorists side by side, facing a common enemy and united by their AK47 rifles."

The most serious allegation, however, deals with a mysterious figure, whom the foundation calls a convicted IRA "fix-it" man. It

adds that he visited Zimbabwe at least three times in the six months before Thatcher's visit and bought a house in Harare less than 1 km from the route she was to follow and only minutes from ANC safe houses.

The foundation also says this man, whom it believes was admitted to the country under false pretences, had at least four meetings with leading ANC and MK officials.

"His role as a reconnaissance and logistics specialist for IRA operational units," the foundation concludes, "can only raise greater suspicion that his activities in Zimbabwe were of a sinister nature, activities which clearly drew on the assistance of local ANC contacts — contacts developed through many years of co-operation between the ANC and the IRA."

The foundation does not say why the alleged assassination plan was not carried out.

Netshitenzhe says he is not aware of any connection between the IRA and ANC. He adds that this is just another in a long line of "campaigns against the movement" by the foundation which he called "supportive of the SA government."

Marc Gordon, head of the foundation's London office, says it has no links with any government and gets its money from private contributors. "If you deal in southern Africa, and you take a stance that's not pro-ANC, then you're called a puppet by some elements," he adds.

According to its latest annual report, the

non-profit organisation, founded in 1987 by a former political appointee of President Ronald Reagan, last year received US\$1.9m in contributions from individuals, foundations and corporations around the world. In the past year it supported attempts to oust the governments of Panama and Nicaragua.

The foundation has dogged Mandela's heels since his release from prison in February. When he went to London for a concert it ran ads in London newspapers questioning his commitment to peace in Natal under the headline "While Nero fiddled ... Rome burned."

In Washington, Atlanta and Miami the organisation placed newspaper ads that quoted Mandela on his admiration for Fidel Castro and contrasted his call for the continuation of the armed struggle with the non-violence stances of eastern European leaders Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa, and assassinated American civil rights hero Martin Luther King.

"We have been calling for (Mandela's) release so we can openly challenge him," says Russell Crystal, executive director of the foundation's SA office.

He adds that the Washington office received phone calls from people critical of its US ads but shrugs off these as the cost of opening up the debate. "We were genuinely trying to put some reality into the situation. There were people using language such as 'messiah' and 'pope'."

Maurcen Sullivan

# Rockefeller plan to aid 'free' SA

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**NEW YORK -** The Rockefeller Foundation's president said he had followed up on an idea broached during Nelson Mandela's US tour by forming a

group to determine how to bring international investment to a free South Africa.

Mandela and several other African National Congress officials met in

London on Tuesday with foundation president Peter Goldmark.

They continued discussions on plans for a bank to channel public and private money into South Africa once that country's apartheid system is abolished.

Goldmark made the proposal at a June 22 meeting Mandela had with business leaders during his visit to New York.

He likened the idea to the Marshall Plan to help war-ravaged Europe 40 years ago, and to current efforts to help Eastern European economies recover from communism.

"He didn't let any grass grow under his feet on this one," Goldmark said this week.

Goldmark said he would work with ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki and treasurer Thomas Nkobi "to design a structure through which that business interest can be channeled."

He said investment would be sought from governments as well as private industry.

"They are going to lead the effort," he said, referring to the ANC. The Rockefeller Foundation will help with the actual mechanics of setting up an organization. - Sapa-

# Mabe was killed for his beliefs'

**JOHANNESBURG** — Tributes have poured in for prominent South African journalist Mr Sam Mabe, who was shot dead under mysterious circumstances in Soweto on Wednesday night.

Mr Mabe, assistant editor of the Sowetan newspaper, was a member of the PAC.

PAC's legal affairs spokesman, Mr Phillip Dlamini, claimed yesterday that he was assassinated for his Pan Africanist beliefs.

"We will not allow our members to be killed in this way."

He said Mr Mabe was regarded as one of the organisation's "think-tanks", although he did not hold any specific position in the

organisation. *Capt TMF 6/7/90*

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said two gunmen approached Mr Mabe's car in Jabulani at 10pm and fired shots with a .45mm pistol through the window before fleeing on foot.

It remained unclear where Mr Mabe had been before the shooting.

UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said Mr Mabe's death "has filled us with a deep sense of shock and we wish to convey to you (the media) our condolences on the death of one of your colleagues".

A member of the ANC's internal leadership corps, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa,

said Mr Mabe's death "makes a mockery of the Grootte Schuur Minute in which the ANC and the government committed themselves to ending violence and promoting freedom of speech".

Mr Mabe was a courageous trade unionist who had always striven to assist the black community, Mrs Sandra Nagfaal, president of the Media Workers Association said.

Mr Mabe was the deputy president of Mwasa.

The SA Union of Journalists and media council paid tribute to Mr Mabe. — Sapa



## Sisulu 'gagged' Gumede

JOHANNESBURG. — Internal ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said last night that he took responsibility for the "gagging" of Mr Archie Gumede, United Democratic Front co-president.

Mr Gumede was quoted in a Johannesburg newspaper as saying he had been gagged by the UDF and the ANC because he had publicly voiced his disagreement over Monday's national stayaway.

Mr Sisulu said he had spoken to Mr Gumede on Wednesday and expressed the disappointment about the involvement of the press in a

purely domestic matter.

"I told him we will have to exchange views on the manner in which he went to the press and that until such time as we have had a chance to talk he should refrain from discussing the issue in the press," Mr Sisulu said.

He said the difference of opinion between Mr Gumede and the ANC-UDF alliance was in no way a "division in the ranks".

He added that the decision on the stayaway had been democratically canvassed, therefore it had not been appropriate for Mr Gu-

mede to have gone to the press without consulting his colleagues.

He said the democratic character of all ANC decisions allowed for a difference of opinion on strategy, but that once the decision was taken the participants were morally obliged to abide by that decision.

However, he had no doubt that when he and Mr Gumede got together the controversy arising out of Mr Gumede's press statements would be amicably resolved. — Sapa

# ANC 'recognises sincerity of De Klerk'

By Stan Hlophe

The struggle by the majority of the South African people, coupled with the pressure exerted by the international community, has secured the release of many imprisoned leaders and the unbanning of anti-apartheid organisations, said ANC cultural spokesman Barbara Masekela.

Speaking at the Grahamstown Festival, she said it was against that background the ANC had recognised the sincerity of President F W de Klerk.

But most repressive and discriminatory laws still remained on South Africa's statute books. Even in the short time exiles had been back in their homeland, they had

seen that the appalling conditions under which the black people lived and laboured "impelled them to take up the struggle again".

"Through our day-to-day work and through the gatherings we have initiated — most notably 'culture and resistance' in Gaborone in 1982, and Casa in Amsterdam in 1987, we have supported South African artists who have been developing the voices and images of challenge and resistance.

"During our stay abroad, we have been sustained by the international community, and we have introduced them to the vibrant richness of South African culture," she added.

● See Tonight!

## Police reject

## ANC criticism

Star  
6/11/79 By Craig Kotze (119)

Police rejected ANC criticism yesterday that the SAP was using violence against activists and said it was the force's duty to protect the lives and property of all South Africans.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman was reacting to an attack by veteran ANC leader Wakter Sisulu, who said police attacks on activists had increased.

Sisulu put <sup>(118)</sup>  
5/7/90  
gag on Gumede

Internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu said last night that he took responsibility for the "gagging" of UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

He said he had expressed his disappointment to Mr Gumede on Wednesday about the involvement of the press in a domestic matter.

He said the difference of opinion between Mr Gumede and the ANC-UDF alliance was not a "division in the ranks".

He said the decision on the stayaway had been taken democratically and Mr Gumede should not have gone to the press without consulting his colleagues. He was sure the matter would be resolved amicably. — Sapa.

# Myeza's death a mystery, says Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, Political Staff

Mystery still surrounds the death on Monday of Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) projects co-ordinator Muntu Myeza, according to the organisation's publicity secretary, Strini Moodley.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Moodley said an investigation by Azapo's team — consisting of Mr Myeza's family, the organisation's legal representatives and its national organiser Lusiba Ntloko — that went to the scene of the accident in Bloemfontein, revealed no evidence of any tyre or skid marks indicating where the car had veered off the road.

"Police have informed us that there was no evidence of tyre burst," he said.

He said investigations showed that Mr Myeza's car veered off the N1 across the lane of oncoming traffic about 40 km outside Bloemfontein, near the town of Glen. The car then sped along a trackless stretch of land for approximately 64 m before crashing into an iron fence pole.

The vehicle then flew over an embankment on the side of a corrugated road under the highway and smashed against the opposite embankment before it fell on its roof.

For most of the 64 m the car travelled on trackless ground — covered by very tall grass — (and) there appeared to be no disturbance of grass except for the point of collision at the fence where it hit the iron pole," he said.

Mr Myeza, who was "an excellent driver", had had a full night's sleep at his home on Sunday night after flying back from an Azapo central committee meeting in Cape Town.

He drove to Bloemfontein on Monday morning and phoned his wife from there around 8 pm to say he had completed his work and would be driving back to Johannesburg on the same night.

"On the facts available we cannot accept that Comrade Muntu fell asleep at the wheel only 40 km outside Bloemfontein. We are nowhere nearer to understanding his death. However, we do not rule out the possibility of foul play," said Mr Moodley.

He told journalists a post-mortem examination on Mr Myeza had been conducted yesterday by a team of pathologists. Results were not yet available.

Azapo has also instructed assessors to inspect the damages on the car and determine how the accident had occurred.

# Alleged ANC hit squad held

By Craig Kotze

A suspected ANC hit squad of four insurgents, linked to the murder or planned murder of Inkatha "warlords" and other members of the movement, has been arrested in Natal.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced today that two of the suspects were being held in connection with the murder of several Inkatha members and a policeman, and a large number of armed robberies and car thefts.

Mr Vlok was speaking at the opening of a new police college in Paarl only hours after another group of suspected insurgents last night attacked a police station in the Eastern Transvaal, killing a policeman.

One of the attackers was killed in the firefight at the Emthonjeni

Star 6/7/90 station near Machadodorp, police said.

Mr Vlok said the hit squad consisted of two insurgents trained outside the country, one internally trained insurgent and a collaborator. They were arrested near Durban recently.

Mr Vlok said they had admitted that their instructions had been to eliminate Inkatha members in Natal.

Police seized two hand grenades when making the arrests and the group had pointed out an arms cache where an AK-47 rifle and a large amount of ammunition was found.

Mr Vlok also said terror incidents had increased dramatically this month, with nine incidents already reported — an average of almost two a day. In June, 34 incidents were reported, about one a

day. Fifteen of the June attacks were against police.

He said the orders of the externally trained ANC members were:

- To eliminate Inkatha "warlords" and to create underground structures.

- To train other members in military skills.

At Machadodorp, police said three men armed with AK-47 rifles and Skorpion machine pistols attacked the Emthonjeni police station. They opened fire through the windows.

Two policemen fled, but two others returned fire with a pistol and sub-machinegun. One of the policemen was killed, as was the attacker with the Skorpion machinepistol.

The surviving gunmen fled in a red Toyota Cressida.

No arrests have been made.

# 'Give back the land'

FM 6/7/90

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Benny Alexander (34) was born in Kimberley, where he matriculated. He was a founder member of the Black Health & Allied Workers' Union in 1983 and became the first general secretary of the internal

wing of the Pan Africanist Congress on March 10. He spoke to the FM's Amarnath Singh.

**FM:** What are the principal ideological differences between the PAC and ANC?

**Alexander:** We have identified the SA social formation as a settler colonialist one. Hence, fundamental to the PAC is the return of the land in order to have self-determination and national liberation. The ANC regards the system as one that's unfair and undemocratic, so as far as they are concerned, the issue is one of civil liberties. How realistic is it to call for the return of the land before talks can begin?

It's not unrealistic. We have put forward a mechanism for the transfer of power: a constituent assembly based on one person, one

vote on a common voters' roll in a unitary State — without any checks and balances for minorities. It is particularly the last aspect that will ensure a proper transfer of power. Would you regard the ANC as the premier liberation organisation in the land?

No, we regard ourselves as the premier liberation organisation in the land. On what evidence?

The mere fact that pro-ANC research institutions are suppressing all the results of national opinion polls. In any alleged transitional period anywhere in the world, a new opinion poll every second week is a common phenomenon. The absence of such polls here is a very stark phenomenon, but whenever one does come through, it is always with the additives "alarming, disturbing."

Why then is this not translated into something we can see?

Because of the absence of resources. The ANC's bussing in of people is proof of their access to resources, not of their superiority. Do you accept that Nelson Mandela is the principal leader of the people?

No. The principal leader of the people is Zeph Motopheng.

The PAC seems to have moved from outright rejection of negotiations earlier this year to

acceptance, provided government accepts the principle of majority rule.

We've always put forward the three conditions: Return of the land; majority rule; and a constituent assembly as the mechanism. These three items are, in principle, non-negotiable. Once the government accepts them in principle, there's no reason why we cannot talk. But we do not believe the government can agree to that — and that's why we say for the foreseeable future, negotiations with the government are out of the question.

How then do you see the transfer of power ever taking place?

We stand by the dictum of chairman Mao Zedong, that you cannot win at the negotiating table what you've not already won on the battlefield. As such, our task is to intensify the struggle until the cost for turning their back on the PAC becomes so ghastly to contemplate that they will call a face-saving conference at which to give us what we have already won on the battlefield.

But there's no evidence, as there was with the ANC, of a PAC armed struggle.

The PAC is not claiming responsibility for any armed activities, but clearly there is an armed struggle going on. The ANC has in

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effect ceased fighting and yet fighting is continuing all over the country.

You believe in hardline socialism, but doesn't its overthrow elsewhere cause you any doubt?

The events in eastern Europe confirm the correctness of the PAC's position. The PAC believes in democratic centralism as opposed to bureaucratic centralism.

What about the matter of central state control of the economy?

There is no economy in the world where the State is absolutely not involved. In this country, we must understand how the (economic) cake came about. It came about through dispossession, aside from the question of exploitation. Through foreign colonial wars, the cake was grabbed away from the indigenous people, who are now trying to grab it back.

Thus the call for nationalisation is not so much a call for a certain mode (of economic relations), but a call for the correction of a historical injustice.

As far the PAC is concerned we are going to nationalise all the key industries.

How do you plan to pay for it?

We are going to confiscate without compensation — we'd be lying to say we are going to compensate when we know we don't have the money to compensate . . .

We are not going to nationalise boerewors trolleys and so on. This is not because we are for a mixed economy. There will be enough room for initiative, provided it is not accom-

panied by exploitation.

How do you define socialism?

Our founder president, Robert Sobukwe, said that social equality is meaningless unless it is accompanied by equality of income. He also said that we stand for a planned economy within the context of a political democracy. We do not believe that totalitarianism is inherent in a system of planned economy. Those statements guide our outlook.

Do you still abide by the slogan "one settler, one bullet"?

That's a slogan of the PAC's external mission and of its military wing.

You dissociate yourselves from it?

No. We are working very well with the external mission. We don't dissociate from anything it does. But the question of military jurisdiction is with the PAC external wing.

Why have the PAC offered to mediate in the Natal conflict?

There are three main areas where the majority of the African people live — Transkei, KwaZulu and northern Transvaal. Already we have done very well in Transkei and northern Transvaal. If our programmes in Natal go well, then we will unquestionably have the majority behind us. Therefore we cannot embroil our Natal programmes, which are going so well, in this violence.

It's suspected that the PAC hopes negotiations will implode so you can capitalise on it.

We say that the PAC is growing by the

strength of its arguments, not by default of the ANC. However, there is no way negotiation can be regarded as a panacea for all our social malaise. Therefore, it is bound to fail. In order to implement your economic policies you must control State political power to such an absolute degree that you are able to implement it without obstructions.

The whites won't allow us to control the government, let alone the State. President De Klerk recently made it very clear on national television that a constituent assembly is out. He wants to co-opt people into the current system which he insists is legitimate. You don't have the military means to take on this government or to force a stalemate?

People's war, not nuclear energy, is the greatest military discovery this century; and people's war can make anybody fall because it is based on the principle that it is men, not machines, that make history.

The PAC's structures are still intact. Our president has gone to the Arab countries and some African states and they all say their support for the PAC is still very strong.

The ANC military support has all collapsed. It cannot turn back and fight any more; some of the communist parties that supported it no longer exist.

Do you see the SA Communist Party as potential future allies?

No. They are not even communists; they're liberal quacks whom we feel should disband and join the Democratic Party.

# What was the point?



Now that the ANC has shown it can mobilise support, by whatever means, for a national stayaway, the question remains: just what effect has Monday's political mass action had on the stated intention of ending the violence in Natal?

Taken at face value, the combined ANC, UDF, Cosatu and SA Youth Congress call for the stayaway was made to support demands aimed at ending the violence and as part of a campaign to "isolate" KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Some of these demands — that the state "disarm" the KwaZulu police and strip Buthelezi of his powers as KwaZulu Minister of Police — are so unrealistic that they were no doubt ruled out long before Monday's stayaway. It's hard to believe that mass democratic movement leaders could seriously believe the State President would even consider such demands.

As for lifting the State of Emergency in Natal, many people would like to see it go — once the violence has subsided. The ANC and (particularly in Natal) the UDF should remember that while it is probably an impossible task to determine who is responsible for the violence, to a greater or lesser extent they are party to that violence and part of the reason why the emergency is still in place.

The remaining demands — that government appoint a commission of inquiry into the violence and that "warlords" be arrested and convicted — do at least warrant serious consideration. But these demands were originally made some time ago by other organisations and have been a continuing concern, which the authorities are well aware of.

As for the "partisan" behaviour of the KwaZulu police, evidence does seem to exist of their frequent siding with Inkatha. But this, too, is an old issue which right now is before the Supreme Court. Whatever the complaints against some individual policemen, the force as a whole is badly needed to cover an already grossly underpoliced area.

To argue that the entire police force should be disarmed because of the alleged actions of some individual members is as ludicrous as suggesting the ANC or UDF or Cosatu be banned because of the actions of some of their members.

More seriously, however, is what the stayaway has actually done to bring a troubled province any closer to peace. At this stage, it appears that, if anything, the divi-



Gumedo

sions which the stayaway caused among political groups across the spectrum will only increase the level of violence and make peace negotiations just that much harder to reach.

Calling on the State to stop the violence is fine. But, as has been shown time and again, increased and, if possible, even more effective policing is only a temporary solution.

The warring parties will have to sort out their own differences before anything like a permanent solution can be found and towards that end the stayaway has contributed nothing. What it has done is make even an extreme group like the PAC sound reasonable (something they probably couldn't have achieved on their own), with its response that the stayaway would only increase the conflict and that the two groups should be talking to each other. Monday's exercise might just add a few members to the PAC's ranks at the expense of the ANC.

Besides claims that the stayaway call was only made after wide consultation and with grassroots support, it has widened splits in the ANC's regional leadership in Natal. Archie Gumedo criticised the stayaway, later to be rapped over the knuckles by other ANC leaders for speaking out of turn.

As usual, commerce and industry bore the brunt of Monday's protest. With losses resulting from the stayaway estimated to be around R750m (R100m in Natal alone), business must now be getting more than a

little fed up with having to foot the bill for the latest ANC show of strength.

If the stayaway was meant also to force the business community to become more involved in settling the violence it probably didn't work. What it did do is make further inroads into the level of business confidence and for marginal concerns, probably pushed them closer to shutting down.

The ANC's claim that "the people" showed massive support for its call is also open to debate. Intimidation aside, with both the public and informal transport systems hardly working on Monday, even the most willing workers would have found it difficult to go to work.

For those less willing, a national stayaway call (in winter) is the perfect excuse to take a day off from the factory, regardless of political convictions.

With about 3m people not at work on Monday, lost wages must run high. Employers have adopted the usual policy of "no work, no pay."

If the stayaway was a test by the ANC to see how much support could be mustered, it is playing a dangerous game. Mass action is a potent weapon, which if misused could backfire badly. In the weeks to come, the organisers of this week's stayaway might find out what it has cost them in terms of lost support, from workers and employers alike.

Shaun Harris

## BOLAND OBJECT LESSON

FIM 6/7/90

If there's a lesson to be learnt from the continued violence in three small Boland towns this week it is that government decisions to scrap apartheid must be implemented without delay.

Ashton has been troubled by racial strife for months but it flared anew last week when blacks protested at the continued racial segregation of municipal facilities including the public library.

The white-controlled town council claims it has agreed to open all facilities but not until scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act comes into force in October.

Government decided to delay the scrapping to allow local authorities to make the necessary arrangements for the "orderly" opening of facilities. But many black communities see the delay as simply reluctance to move away from apartheid.

Protests in Ashton led to police action

including the use of teargas, shotguns and rubber bullets against protestors who moved into the town centre.

After the damage to race relations had been done, the council announced the immediate opening of all facilities, but demonstrations in the Boland towns are continuing in protest against police behaviour during the earlier community action.

At the weekend protests spread to nearby Robertson and Montagu where blacks also demanded the immediate opening of all civic amenities and reduction of rents.

A recently completed R500 000 post office in Robertson was destroyed by fire on Sunday night and police used shotguns and teargas against groups of youths who barricaded streets with burning tyres.

The ANC has sent senior officials to the area to try to mediate.



## Oh, Geronimo!

The subjects on which Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock agree could be described in detail in large letters on a small postage stamp — with space to spare. It is thus one of Nelson Mandela's greatest achievements since his release to have added to their number, with his suggestion that Britain should negotiate with the Irish Republican Army — an organisation best known for massacring civilians and blowing up teenage trainee army musicians.

Following hard on the heels of his endorsement in the US of the ANC's unsavoury links with the PLO, Muammar Gaddafi and Fidel Castro, this attests to Mandela's bravery but says little for his sense of diplomacy, or even — some would say — his appreciation of justice and human dignity.

Such behaviour, contrasting uncomfortably with his normal air of statesmanlike reasonableness, makes one wonder which is the real Mandela. Expressing approval for these gangs of assassins must surely rule out of court the suggestion that he be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

It is, of course, no bad thing for world leaders to be made to realise that the ANC is no knight in shining armour possessing the sole right to the moral high ground, but (however just its cause) an ambitious group, hungry and

unscrupulous in its quest for political power. More immediately to the point, though, is how SA should react.

At the very least, we must bear in mind that anyone with such bedfellows has a different definition of democracy to anything we — or Margaret Thatcher and Neil Kinnock — would recognise. This is relevant not only to how talks with the ANC should be conducted, it also underlines — as we have pointed out before — the danger of treating negotiation as a purely NP-ANC affair.

Post-apartheid SA must not just be carved up by these two (neither of which has any great credentials in democracy and human rights). Even less must it be dictated holus-bolus by an ANC, the extent of whose real power and influence has yet to be proved. It must rest on a broad consensus.

The views of the PAC may be even less democratic (see *Currents*, p52-53), but it would be folly to alienate it further by excluding it from the process. Equally, it would be crazy for the DP to allow its unique voice to be swallowed up by an NP so recently converted to the cause of reform. Nor must the business community let its interests go by default.

As for Mandela, he's apparently offered to solve the American Indian problem. Perhaps we should let him try. ■

(11A)

Star 6/7/90

NEWS

# Socialism is far from buried — Slovo

By Guy Jepson

Socialism is far from buried in spite of major setbacks resulting from "criminal excesses in the name of socialism", Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said last night.

Addressing about 1 000 students at a rally at Wits University organised by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), Mr Slovo said socialists needed to re-evaluate

their position in the light of the crisis in Eastern Bloc countries.

"There are many questions that need to be asked and answered. A lot of wreaths are being prepared for socialism. Thatcher and Bush, De Klerk, the Financial Mail and Business Day, they're all queueing up to pronounce socialism as finally dead," Mr Slovo said.

But the body over which critics presided, one "tragically weakened by criminal excesses committed in the name of socialism", was not true socialism.

"Socialism in essence is a system which aims at eliminating the exploitation of one person by another, a system in which one person cannot live off the labour of another."

The full realisation of socialism depended on a process of socialising the means of production, a process which could not be achieved without the full democratic participation of producers and the unleashing of the full creativity of the individual.

Socialism was not bureaucratic central planning as opposed to the free market.

"The essence of socialism is not the plan per se, socialism is a transitional phase on the way to communism in which the means of production are increasingly owned and controlled socially and in which the working class is politically and economically empowered."

Mr Slovo said existing socialist countries had seriously erred in eliminating the market mechanism from the economy.

"Socialism is not just, as it has been regarded in some of the descriptions, 'the absence of the mar-

ket'; it is also not essentially a one-party state in which the Communist Party proclaims by edict that it is the vanguard of the whole society."

He added that the future of socialism in South Africa was enhanced by the country's relatively advanced economic base, powerful, politically conscious industrial working class and colonial legacy.

These factors made it unlikely that the oppressed would settle for long with a government which substituted "exploiting white faces" with "exploiting black faces".

NELSON Mandela's praise for Margaret Thatcher's role in resisting South African racist policies yesterday left anti-apartheid activists in Britain confused and dismayed.

In making his peace with Thatcher, Mandela set aside past ANC accusations that she has been an apologist, even protector, of South African leaders.

His statement that there has never been "any enmity or quarrel" between the ANC and the British government also undercut a view expressed by Britain's Anti Apartheid Movement (AAM) that Thatcher and her ministers have been consistently hostile to the organisation.

Even as the three-hour meeting between the two was taking place at 10 Downing Street the AAM was submitting a 5 000 word memorandum to the all-party Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons. In it the Thatcher government's policies on

# Mandela's sweet talk angers AAM

w/ Mail 6/7/90

South Africa were fiercely assailed for prolonging apartheid.

Britain's contribution to the encouraging developments taking place in South Africa, the memorandum said, "has been minimal".

The Foreign Affairs Committee, engaged in a study of British interests throughout Southern Africa, is due to visit states here in October.

On Tuesday, one day before his session with Thatcher, Mandela — at short notice — cancelled an appearance due before hundreds of members of the AAM's National Committee assembled from all parts of Britain. His entourage explained that exhaustion had overwhelmed him and he needed rest before his encounter with the prime minister.

*Mandela praises Thatcher's contribution to the South African struggle — and the anti-apartheid movement is dismayed.* **ARTHUR GAVSHON reports**

Mandela nevertheless found time soon after the cancellation to appear before a group of British editors and television executives (a meeting from which South African correspondents were excluded); and later he addressed a dinner party of bankers and businessmen which was perhaps, a reflection of his priorities.

There was speculation the failure to show up before AAM delegates and workers in advance of seeing Thatcher

was a politically deliberate decision despite his gruelling schedule.

One of the documents distributed at the AAM gathering listed a programme for the intensification of sanctions focussing on new pressure on Britain to halt gold, jewellery and uranium imports. Mandela told the British editors and businessmen he hoped the sanctions campaign could be phased out after progress in ANC talks with De Klerk.

Some of the criticisms of Thatcher's stand on apartheid in the AAM memorandum contrasted sharply with the tone of Mandela's laudatory observations about the role the British leader has played in South Africa's struggle.

Among those AAM criticisms: Britain has been alone in expressing reserva-

tions to the United Nations declaration on South Africa issued last December. It defined conditions needed to create for negotiations; basic principles for a new constitution, including provision for a non-racial voter's roll; the necessity for repealing the Internal Security Act.

The Thatcher's government's backing for the international sanctions campaign has been weakest of any of South Africa major trading partners not only on the economic level but also in relation to the arms embargo.

Britain regards De Klerk rather than the ANC and the worldwide anti-apartheid movement as the key to change in South Africa.

For his part on this issue Mandela said yesterday: "I accept that she (Thatcher) is an enemy of apartheid and all kinds of racism.

"Our differences are in the methods used to dismantle apartheid."

# Sam Mabe murder: robbery or assassination?

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

SAM MABE'S column in the *Sowetan* this week was about death and funerals. It appeared in the newspaper on Wednesday.

Before the night was out, the respected journalist and Pan Africanist Congress member was gunned down by two men in Jabulani, Soweto.

None of his possessions have been reported missing, but police suspect robbery was the motive.

However, the PAC yesterday claimed Mabe was killed for his Africanist beliefs.

He was regarded as one of the organisation's "think-tanks", although he did not hold any specific position, a PAC representative said.

Mabe was assistant editor for the *Sowetan*. His colleague, Thami Mazwai, said: "At this stage, anything is possible — assassination by the right wing or the left wing — it's difficult to tell."

Soweto police public relations officer Lieutenant G Marimuthoo said that, according to witnesses, Mabe was attacked in his car outside house 1714 in



Sam Mabe ... gunned down in Jabulani

Jabulani at 10pm by two men, after dropping off two passengers.

Marimuthoo said: "A shot was fired through the car window with a 45mm pistol. When a second shot was fired, witnesses appeared and the two assai-

lants fled."

Mabe sustained two wounds in the neck and was certified dead on arrival at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto.

A spent cartridge was found outside the car and a bullet inside. Police are still conducting investigations, but they suspect attempted car theft.

The killers have not been identified and no arrests have been made. Mabe is survived by his wife, Latisa, and three children.

Mazwai said he would ask the family to look into pursuing an independent investigation.

The Media Workers' Association of South Africa, of which Mabe was deputy president, referred to his killing as an assassination and hailed him as a "courageous trade unionist and journalist who always strived to assist black workers". Messages poured in from the Media Council, the South African Union of Journalists and other organisations.

Media Council chairman Jan Steyn said: "We have seen growing evidence of assaults and intimidation directed against the voices of freedom, such as the bombing of *Die Vrye Weekblad*."

# The accident that killed Myeza is still a mystery

W/In Mail 617-97190  
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

(11A) (100)

AN investigative team set up by the Azanian People's Organisation to investigate the death of black consciousness leader Muntu Myeza reported yesterday that certain circumstances surrounding his death remained unexplained, and they would continue investigations.

The team of legal representatives, Azapo central committee members and family representatives, which flew to Bloemfontein on Wednesday morning, did not dismiss the possibility of foul play.

Myeza, Azapo projects co-ordinator, was involved in an accident on Monday night outside Bloemfontein.

Investigations show that: "Myeza's car veered off the N1 across the lane of on-coming traffic, sped along a trackless stretch of land adjacent to the highway for approximately 64 metres before colliding with an iron pole.

"The car then flew over an embankment near a corrugated road under the highway, and hit the opposite embankment before it fell on its roof."

This occurred near the town of Glen, 40 km outside Bloemfontein on Monday night. He had phoned his wife at about 8 pm from Bloemfontein airport where he had completed a business appointment.

He was only discovered at seven the next morning, three metres from the wrecked car by a young girl, Theresa Manchu. Apparently, Manchu had found him alive — his eyes were closed but he was still moving.

The ambulance picked him up at 7.30 am but he was certified dead on arrival at the hospital.

However, mysteries remain: There are no tyre or skid marks indicating where the car veered off the road and according to the police there was no evidence of a tyre burst.

The trackless ground along which the car would have sped out of control was covered by very tall grass but there was no disturbance in this tall grass except near the fence where the car collided with the pole.

Azapo also could not accept that Myeza would have fallen asleep at the wheel as he did not appear tired before he left. Bloemfontein police said yesterday that they were investi-

## Mugabe joins Mandela in Uganda

<sup>W/ Mail 6/7-8/7/90</sup>  
KAMPALA: Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe arrived in Uganda yesterday for a three-day state visit, a few hours after African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela touched down from London.

Mugabe, Mandela and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, who is expected today, will hold a rally tomorrow.

Mugabe has already found agreement

among the leaders that recent changes in South Africa are insufficient to justify relaxation of international pressure against the country. (1A) (2A)

●Diplomatic sources here say Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni is lobbying for support to succeed Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity at its summit next week.— Sapa

## Gumede gagged for press comment

(118) *Amal 6/7/90*  
THE African National Congress has gagged Archie Gumede, the United Democratic Front's Natal president who publicly opposed Monday's national stayaway.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said last night that he took responsibility for silencing Gumede.

Sisulu said he had spoken to Gumede on Wednesday and expressed disappointment about the involvement of the press in a "purely domestic" matter.

"I told him we would have to exchange views on the manner in which he went to the press and that until such time, he should refrain from discussing the issue in the press."

Gumede's criticism of the stayaway was published in last Monday's edition of *The Daily Mail*. He warned that the action was "unwise" and said the staya-

way was a "first class recipe for intransigence on the part of (kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosothu) Buthelezi and the state, and a first class recipe for the continued killing of people".

Gumede, who called for dialogue with Buthelezi rather than isolation, added: "I can't see that you can achieve this (isolation) in Natal where Buthelezi has a genuine constituency."

Last night Sisulu said the difference of opinion between Gumede and the ANC/UDF alliance did not signal any division in the ranks.

"We spent three days debating the campaign against the war in Natal and everyone was allowed to submit his views. When I spoke to Archie he said he had not had the time to put his full position across in the three minutes speakers were allowed."

# Myeza: Foul play probe



ITUMELENG MOSALA

By MOKGADI PELA

AZAPO and the Myeza family yesterday said they did not rule out the possibility of foul play in the death of Azapo executive member Mr Muntu Myeza who died in a car crash on Monday night.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said: "Anybody who thinks that only God is at work, is a fool."

He said the tentative date of the funeral was Saturday July 14. *Sowetan 6/7/90*

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said Myeza was a good driver and the type of accident he was involved in, did not correspond with his driving abilities.

"No evidence was found by our team that went to Bloemfontein (the family, Azapo and legal representatives) of any tyre or skid marks indicating where the car veered off the road. Police informed us there was no evidence of a tyre burst.

"Most of the 64 metres that the car travelled on trackless ground is covered by very tall grass and there appeared to be no disturbance of grass except for the point of collision.

"The car hit a pole and then flew over an embankment on the side of a corrugated road. It smashed against the opposite embankment and overturned," Moodley said.

Myeza was discovered alive at 7am the following day by a young girl, Theresa Manchu.

"Theresa ran back to the farmhouse and summoned help. The ambulance arrived at 7.30am. Comrade Muntu was rushed to hospital but was certified dead on arrival."



# Mandela heads for Uganda

LONDON - Nelson Mandela flew out of Britain by private plane on Wednesday night, winding up a tour of the United States and West

Europe. (11A)

A spokesman for London's Heathrow airport said Mandela left for the island of Crete, where he was expected to make a short stop before flying on to Uganda.

Mandela had been due

to fly out earlier on a British Airways flight to Frankfurt but his engagements ran behind schedule. Sowetan 6/7/90

Mandela is due to return to Johannesburg on July 18. - Sapa-Reuter

# 'In the shadow of death'

## ANC commander wants to take his place in a democratic, non-racial South Africa

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

**T**HE commander-in-chief of the ANC's armed wing, Mr Chris Hani, has lived in the shadow of death for the past 27 years and is not afraid of dying.

But he wants to be around to take his place in a new democratic and non-racial South Africa.

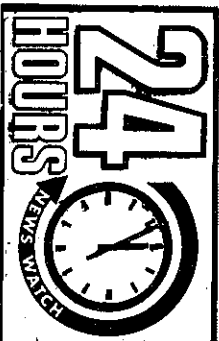
The head of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) has reaffirmed his commitment to armed struggle and has saluted the heroism of his "soldiers" — many, such as Ashley Kriel, personal acquaintances — who died for freedom and democracy.

He said: "I've come to accept that many personal sacrifices have been made in the struggle for liberation. I've lived with death for most of my life. Nobody wants to die. I want to live in a free South Africa even if I'm prepared to lay down my life for it."

### Vilified

The elusive Mr Hani, vilified for many years as a butcher and killer because of his position as Commander-in-Chief of the African National Congress's military wing, arrived in Cape Town on Monday.

He has managed to stay one step ahead of the Press — until he agreed to be interviewed by The Argus yesterday.



**EXCLUSIVE**

The burly Mr Hani wears his 48 years well and does not eat, sleep and drink the armed struggle. In a deep voice to match his impressive physique he spoke of his love for reading Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Dickens and Keats. "I always carry several books in my bag. I find reading very soothing."

And he has a passion for jogging — if he finds the time and security permits it — and swimming. Winter showers have spiked his plans to swim in Cape Town this week.

He says he knew most of the MK soldiers personally, having trained and lived in camps with some of them. He saluted the sacrifices and heroism of those who paid the supreme penalty for freedom and democracy.

"I knew Ashley Kriel — the former Bontsheuvel student

leader who was killed in a struggle with police in 1987 — personally. Whenever I briefed them on missions, I explained the situation as if I was going into the field.

"Part of the most acute suffering of my life has been the loss of MK cadres, whether through their life or imprisonment. There are times when I sit down alone to think about some of them and the prices that they've paid. They were some of the best comrades I've had."

Since the signing of the historic Groote Schuur Minute between the government and the ANC, calls on the ANC to abandon its armed struggle have increased.

Mr Hani said that the ANC had not suspended its armed struggle. "Some units are still acting. We've not given instructions to them to lay down arms."

Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed to defend people.

"It has to continue with this role and must expand if it wants to defend the people against the police and army.

### 'Never dictate'

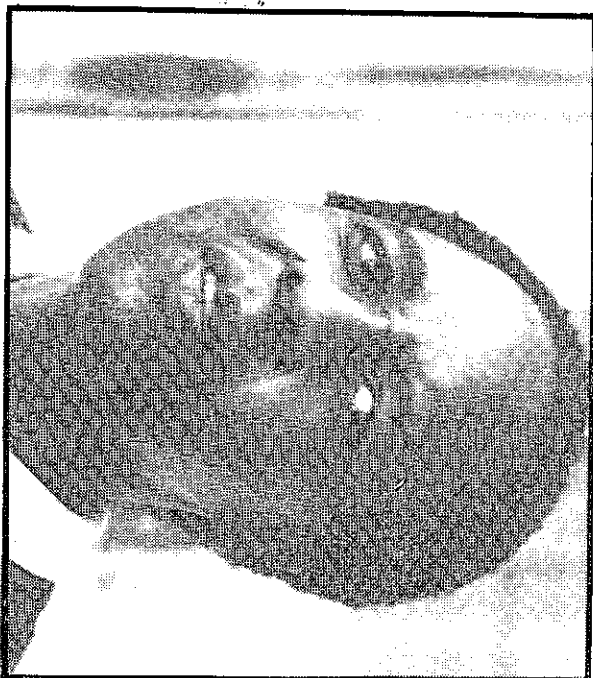
"The South African government can never dictate to us on the question of the armed struggle. The armed struggle will only stop under a joint ceasefire."

Mr Hani said MK was stepping up its recruiting of South Africans because apartheid was still in place, oppression continued and police were still hunting down and arresting MK soldiers.

"We'll continue expanding until there is a democratic government in South Africa. We'll go on recruiting members. If there's a ceasefire between us and the army, we'll train MK soldiers to serve in a conventional army because that is what the South African Defence Force will be doing." Sanctions, too, would not go until there was no turning back from the road to democracy.

The healthier elements of Umkhonto we Sizwe, SADF and homeland's armies would have to be amalgamated into one army in a new South Africa, he said.

This idea has been rejected



Mr Chris Hani ... 'The government can never dictate to us on the question of the armed struggle'

by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.

"Malan is wasting his time. It's inconceivable to think of a new South Africa which will be served by the SADF alone."

He suggested that General Malan join Dr Andries Treurnich's Conservative Party or the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"He belongs to those who still talk nostalgically about the past."

same people who are supposed to be hunting them." Referring to the Groote Schuur Minute, he said: "The government has its own problems. This regime is still steeped in the traditions of the past in which it used to play to white galleries. The regime is struggling to implement the Groote Schuur Minute because it is satisfying white fears."

He advised the government to stop doing this and instead to free all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency in Natal, scrap security legislation such as the Internal Security Act, and allow exiles to return.

"The implementation of the Minute will be speeded up if our people demand that the government move faster."

The ANC yearned for a democratic South Africa and its bottom line was "one person, one democracy."

### 'Privileged'

"Protecting minority groups means whites will remain a privileged minority while blacks will continue to live in poverty," he said. "All they will have to show for freedom will be a national flag and anthem and parliament."

"There is a responsibility on all of us to bring about real social transformation."

# Fight back against 'master race' — Hani

DALE KNEEN  
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress needs to mobilise all South Africans to end rightwing violence, according to Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Mr Chris Hani.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday for the first time since his return to South Africa, Mr Hani, commander of the ANC's military wing, accused the right wing of attempting to disrupt negotiations between the government and the ANC.

He also said he would like to see a conventional armed force, which would include an air force, for the ANC.

## "Unacceptable"

This would be integrated with the Defence Force and the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress in a democratic South Africa.

"Since I came back I've observed that the right wing has mobilised and is trying to disrupt the talks about talks.

"They are clinging to positions which are unacceptable to the majority of people."

Mr Hani said he was "worried" about the inability of the police to arrest the perpetrators of rightwing violence.

"Fellows like Rudolph are still at large and thus our inference is that the right wing enjoys support from the security police," he said.

"The government must ensure they are committed to create a peaceful climate by acting against rightwing violence."

Violence by the right could not be compared to the armed struggle



Mr Chris Hani

as the ANC was fighting for liberation from apartheid.

"The right wing has all the rights. They can vote. Their violence is aimed at preventing us from being free.

"Our violence is that of an oppressed people fighting to be free. They are fighting to remain as a master race."

Mr Hani said the armed struggle would continue until all obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

These included the release of

all political prisoners, the end to political trials, lifting the emergency, the return of exiles and scrapping security legislation.

"The government is embarking on violence. It is against people like Shirley Gunn. What is happening in the Boland is violence.

"We are committed to defending our people from all forms of violence, whether its government or rightwing violence.

"We will not turn the other cheek. This is not a threat. There would be something wrong with MK if it did not do its duty," he said.

Mr Hani urged the police to arrest Inkatha's "warlords" to end clashes in Natal.

"I am worried that the government has deployed troops against people fighting for freedom but does not do the same in Natal," he said.

Umkhonto we Sizwe would be used to protect people in Natal as it had a "duty and obligation" to do so.

Mr Hani also suggested the government take action in Bophuthatswana where he claimed the police were repressive.

"Mangope is behaving in the same way as the rightwing in this country," he said.

## Denies attacks

Mr Hani denied that the ANC was responsible for attacks on members of the PAC.

"We have had a few meetings with the PAC and Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation) to ensure there is no conflict," he said.

The ANC had prisoners — including members of the SAP — even though the organisation "did not enjoy" detaining people.

## Dhlomo to be asked to mediate in Natal

*CHT 11/10/70*  
*11/10*  
JOHANNESBURG. Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo will be asked to mediate between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance in Natal by the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa.

Contralesa president Chief Mhlubanzima Maphumulo said this at a press conference here yesterday.

He said Contralesa was deeply concerned at the violence in Natal, the main cause of which was the Inkatha-ANC/UDF/Cosatu power struggle.

He saw restraining orders on the KwaZulu Police and the application of one rule of law for all people as the solution.

"Once government-created structures like the KwaZulu government are dismantled, the violence will stop," he said. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 15 7/7/90 4P

# Fears of new preconditions for peace talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is closely monitoring possible signs of a move by the ANC to introduce new preconditions — related to Natal, police, right-wing violence and the hit squad issue — into the negotiating process, government sources said yesterday.

This follows statements by senior ANC officials Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Alfred Nzo in which they linked the future of constitutional negotiations to these matters.

At the same time, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday in reaction to the recent discovery of an ANC plot to eliminate Inkatha "warlords" in Natal, that the government could not sit at the negotiating table if "terror" continued.

He said police had arrested three guerillas and an accomplice who had instructions to eliminate "so-called Inkatha warlords" near Durban.

They had admitted they were members of the ANC, Mr Vlok said.

ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said last night he was "not in a position to comment" on the alleged plot, but he said the ANC was still committed to the armed struggle, adding however: "It is incorrect to link what is going on in Natal to the armed struggle."

Meanwhile, Mr Sisulu told a media conference yesterday the government's failure to take decisive action against right-wing terrorism was threatening future negotiations.

Earlier this week ANC political education department head Mr Suttner was quoted as saying that the ANC was prepared to begin negotiations only when it had a full report on CCB activities, and that as long as the Natal violence continued, the ANC would not negotiate.

Government sources said yesterday they were attempting to discover the meaning of these developments. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter

# ANC stalls on prisoners

By LESTER VENTER  
and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THERE is no hope that the ANC will meet the Tuesday deadline for an agreement on the release of political prisoners.

Senior Government sources said they no longer expect the ANC to meet the July 10 deadline for a formal response to a pact they've already hammered out on the release of an estimated 1 500 political prisoners.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela announced in Uganda yesterday that he would resume talks with the Government on July 18 — but the delays in getting the prisoner release under way has led to charges by Government sources that the ANC is dragging its feet.

Lack of cohesion and organisational problems

SI Times 2/7/90

## Talks won't resume until Nelson returns

within the ANC are being blamed for the delays, and Government officials and foreign diplomats are becoming increasingly fretful about the hold-ups in getting to the negotiating table to create a new constitution.

There is also a growing concern that the ANC is "shifting the goalposts" in continually adding new pre-conditions for negotiations.

Government negotiators now believe they will have to wait until after July 18 — when Mr Mandela returns to SA from his tour of three continents — before further progress on the release of prisoners and return of exiles can be made.

One senior source said the delay may even extend considerably beyond this date as there are concerns that Mr Mandela may have underestimated the difficulty of "selling" the findings of the joint report to the ANC National Executive Committee.

It is also an indication that the ANC has run into trouble in setting up internal organisational structures and getting their membership drive off the ground.

The joint report was drawn up by a working group set up after the historic first meeting between the Government and the ANC at Groote Schuur, Cape Town, in May.

### Tough

The group, which dealt with the nuts and bolts of the prisoners issue, delivered its report on May 22. A day later the Government announced its acceptance of the report.

Statements by senior ANC figures at the time indicated that the ANC also accepted the report.

However, when Mr Mandela met President FW de Klerk on June 2, two days before he started on his current tour, he told the president that the ANC's formal response would come on July 10.

Other members of the ANC executive later denied that

this date had been agreed on.

"The net result of the foot-dragging is that Mr Mandela is keeping his supporters in jail a month longer than they need be," said a senior diplomat.

It has been reliably learned that the secret findings of the joint report recommend a phased release of political prisoners — beginning with "soft" cases, such as those jailed for incitement or attending illegal gatherings, and progressing to "hard" cases, where violence was involved.

The working group has been meeting regularly since the report was finalised and the possibility has already been raised that its term of reference may be broadened to drafting the agenda for the coming negotiations.

While Mr Mandela, who has seen the report, has said overseas that he accepts it, statements from other senior ANC leaders have indicated that he may yet face a tough task in getting the whole NEC to agree with him.

### Violent

This week, senior members of the ANC's executive added new pre-conditions to the start of the formal negotiations with the Government. Speaking in Alexandra, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo demanded that the Government disarm radical right-wing groups before the ANC comes to the negotiating table. This view was echoed later by Umkontho we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

And yesterday a joint working committee of Cosatu and the UDF said that "no political settlement was possible until the violent conflict in Natal has ended".

The joint committee called on Mr De Klerk "to act against those responsible for the violence", to cease his "support for Inkatha's reign of terror" and to disband the KwaZulu police force.

# MK chief promises 'defence of people'

ANTHONY JOHNSON

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK) was "certainly not going to turn the other cheek" if right-wingers committed atrocities against oppressed South Africans, the chief of the ANC military wing, Mr Chris Hanu, said yesterday. "We are committed to defend our people against all forms of violence," he told a press conference in the city.

Mr Hanu, who has had a R20 000 price placed on his head by the right-wing, was answering questions about whether MK would take "direct action" against right-wing extremists if the government failed to curb their violent activities.

Mr Hanu disclaimed knowledge of yesterday's Johannesburg bombing.

He said the right-wing was trying to impede the process of removing obstacles to negotiation and had been taking a "militant" and "belligerent" stand by threatening violence against the government and the ANC.

Mr Hanu said he was concerned that the security police, which had been "very efficient" in arresting ANC members, appeared unable to arrest violent right-wingers.

Mr Hanu said the government was also responsible for "violence against us" in the form of detentions, police actions in places like the Boland,

"I CANNOT hide my joy" about being able to come back to South Africa openly, Mr Chris Hanu said yesterday.

The commander of the ANC's military wing, who often secretly slipped into the country over the past 27 years, has been in Cape Town this week to brief ANC trialists, political prisoners and their families.

Mr Hanu spoke at his first press conference in Cape Town of his emotions at being allowed back in the country.

"We have missed this country," he said. "We never accepted our status as exiles."

police harassment of ANC supporters and the perpetuation of apartheid.

Other points made by Mr Hanu at the press conference included:

● The ANC would not abandon the armed struggle on the basis of a "declaration of intent" by the government but was prepared "sit down and discuss a mutually-acceptable cease-

Mr Hanu, for many years the government's public enemy No 1, spoke of his "deep love" for South Africa, which he described as one of the most beautiful countries in the world.

However, he said his return had sparked mixed emotions.

He had been "shattered" by the disparities in wealth and development in the country. Johannesburg and Soweto were like "different worlds".

"How can a person who lives in KTC be proud to be a South African?" he wondered.

fire", to be monitored by both the government and the ANC, once the government had removed the ANC's obstacles to negotiation.

● A major reason for the violence in Natal was that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha "warlords" wanted to establish their hegemony in the area. MK's role in Natal was to

The 48-year-old Mr Hanu, who graduated from Fort Hare University with majors in Latin and English, said he found reading Romantic poets like Keats and Shelley a handy way to "fly away from the trials and troubles of this world".

He also has a passion for the poetry of T S Eliot and Yeats, but his favourite author remains Shakespeare.

Asked about how he felt about being identified as a target by the right-wing, Mr Hanu quipped: "I feel very disappointed that the right-wing feels that I am only worth R20 000."

protect those under threat.

● It was "inconceivable" that the SADF keep its present form in a new South Africa. It would have to be integrated with MK and homeland armies.

● MK planned to build up the size and sophistication of its force and moves were currently underway to have members trained as pilots, navy personnel and members of mechanised battalions.

● There should not be any Nuremberg-style trials in the new South Africa. "We want reconciliation."

● The ANC had submitted proposed amendments to the government on the joint ANC/National Party working report, dealing with the handling of political prisoners and exiles.

● The ANC was not in any way responsible for the recent spate of PAC deaths in South Africa.

● Harassment and intimidation of political activists had ceased in Transkei and Ciskei.



JOY AND SORROW ... ANC commander Chris Hanu at yesterday's press conference where he spoke of his mixed emotions at returning home. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

# Mandela will find shades of SA in Red

WASHINGTON — If, and when, Nelson Mandela visits the reservations of the American Indians he will find conditions reminiscent of South Africa's worst black homelands.

The ANC leader announced at the end of his US tour that he would be returning in October so he could inspect the living conditions of the Indians and discuss with their leaders how he could help them with their struggle.

He said he had been greatly disturbed by accounts of their conditions in letters various American Indians had sent to him while he was in the US.

## Irrelevant

The history of the Indians, the first Americans, is largely one of chicanery, sickness and warfare which saw them reduced from lords of an entire continent to the almost irrelevant position they are in today.

The Indians settled in America 30 000 years ago, coming

from Asia over a land bridge formed between the two continents during one of the great ice ages. For 99 percent of the time they have been in America they have prospered and reined supreme. It took just the last 300 years for the European settlers to arrive in their land and almost completely annihilate them.

More than 400 Indian tribes have become extinct in the process of whites settling in America, and many once-proud nations such as Cheyenne, Dakota, Sioux, Delaware, Apache, Cherokee, Shawnee, Mohawk, Miami, Manhattan and Ottawa are remembered only in name.

Within 20 years of the white man's arrival on the East Coast, practically all of the 250 Indian tribes that had been living in the area had disappeared. Indians had been hanged, shot, poisoned, tracked by professional hunters

and dogs, deliberately starved or decimated by deportation, according to one historian.

The genocide of the American Indians has, of course, halted long ago, but the bitterness of the survivors remains strong, not only for the dark deeds of the past but because of the perceived injustices of the present.

The history of America shows that just as the black man was being granted his freedom the enslavement of the red man was really beginning.

Between 1778 and 1868 Indians ratified 370 separate agreements with the United States and every one of them was dishonoured and discarded.

In the course of destroying the Indians, the United States also resorted to mass forced removals, herding thousands of men, women and children into stockades in advance of forcing them on long marches to reser-

## DAVID BRAUN

vations.

In 1838, 4 000 of 15 000 Cherokees died on a six-month forced march to the West, a cataclysmic event known in Cherokee history as "The trail where they cried" or the "Trail of Tears".

In this century, the American Indians have been the victims of vacillating federal policy.

In the early 1900s, the government tried to integrate the reservation Indians with the general population. In 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reservation Act, urging the tribes instead to develop their own governments and written constitutions.

Indians would really like the federal government to honour its obligations established through hundreds of treaties, but at the same they would like

to get the authorities off their backs by halting the meddling in their affairs.

Today, there are about 200 Indian reservations in the US, varying in size from a few acres to tracts of several hundred thousand hectares.

## Barren

About half the Indian population of about 800 000 to one million can be found on the reservations at any one time. The rest are working in white areas.

Many of the reservations are so barren and inappropriate for farming that Indian youths are driven to neighbouring white farms and towns for work.

As recently as 10 years ago, three out of every four Indians lived in shacks, huts or abandoned cars and buses. They hauled water from stagnant

71A

pools and polluted rivers. They suffered to an excessive degree from diseases such as syphilis, tuberculosis and dysentery. Their alcoholism, murder and suicide rates were as much as four times that of whites.

Indian children still have far fewer education opportunities than their white compatriots, and there are still some who receive no education at all or who get five years formal schooling.

Not all the Indian communities are living in poverty and despair, however. Many of the remnants of a proud people have in recent years managed to arrest their decline and fight back for a place in the American sun, but it is an uphill battle against federal and state bureaucracies which have entangled Indian affairs in masses of complex regulations.

There are reservations where Indians have made successes of farming and business ventures.

In spite of staggering unemployment rates of 40 to 80 percent, reservation leaders are trying to restructure toward modern capitalism and political reform.

They have also begun to wrest political control of their affairs from the paternalistic Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which was founded in 1834 and which, historically, has been staffed and managed by whites.

The BIA is today staffed with close on 14 000 people and has annual operating budget of \$1.5 billion (about R4 billion). The agency has been branded as an anachronism with the complexity of its workings paralleled only by its Byzantine accounting, auditing and record-keeping practices.

Many Indian leaders have

been calling for the transfer of authority and responsibility from the BIA to tribal governments over the next 10 years.

The White Mountain Apaches in eastern Arizona have broken away from BIA control in recent years and have started their own successful ski resort.

## Surprised

They also operate one of the most efficient lumber mills in the American West. Already, their unemployment rate is down to 30 percent.

Indian leaders are surprised that Mr Mandela has taken an interest in their plight, but they nonetheless welcome his proposed visit.

If nothing else, they expect Mr Mandela to attract enormous publicity to their situation and awaken a new consciousness among Americans, most of whom are totally ignorant as to the conditions in which their Indian countrymen live.



# Mandela gives UK business 'a big crumb'

LONDON — British businessmen who heard Nelson Mandela address the Confederation of British Industry this week were heartened by what they saw as a moderation of the ANC's approach to economic policy, according to one business leader.

Nick Mitchell, director of the influential United Kingdom — South Africa Trade Association (Uksata) and the British Industry Committee on South Africa, said Mr Mandela had received a generally positive reaction "not specially because of anything he said, but the way he said it".

## Uncertain

"He emphasised the positive, the need for stability and the need for capital to have a reasonable return.

"At the moment, I think most businessmen would reckon that progress (on the economic front) has been better than could have been expected."

But he added: "There is still nervousness because people are uncertain of how much control Mr Mandela has over his constituency, they don't know who is pulling the strings."

In The Times on Thursday, business writer David Brewerton said Mr Mandela had offered "more than a crumb of comfort to investors and potential investors ... but not a great deal more".

## FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

"Until somebody comes up with a better idea, state participation in business appears to Nelson Mandela the only way of curing the imbalance in society, in which ownership is concentrated in a few white hands."

Mr Mandela and his allies, he said, "need help to define the mixed economy which has been pledged, and it is clear he is concerned to create a mixture which is attractive to private capital".

But The Independent newspaper said in an editorial that when it came to the economy "Mr Mandela and the gerontocrats of the ANC still seem frozen in the ice age. Their rhetoric is of com-

manding heights and nationalisation".

There was a contradiction in Mr Mandela's plea to "invest your money in post-apartheid South Africa but do not expect to own the enterprise", it said.

"That Mr Mandela, locked up for so long, finds it difficult adjusting to the global triumph of liberal capitalism is understandable. Far less excusable is the ANC's failure to see cause and effect in the failure of sub-Saharan Africa to thrive."

Mr Mandela told the CBI that sanctions must be maintained — but the need for them would probably fall away within two years.

He said the ANC favoured a mixed economy and would only consider nationalisation if no other option was available to ensure the adequate redistribution of wealth.

But he said some state participation in the economy would be inevitable to address the imbalances in productive resources and land distribution. State participation could be as high as 51 percent.

Massive foreign investment would be needed to meet expectations once a new constitution had been agreed.

Mr Mandela also presented British businessmen with a shopping list including:

- Material resources which will enable it to repatriate and resettle exiles.
- Resources for educational work.

## Heartening

● Help with training black managers, both in business schools and at the work place.

● Dialogue to define the content and parameters of the partnership between international business and prospective government.

Mr Mitchell pointed out that on the question of sanctions "Mr Mandela is shortening the time-scales, which is heartening."

"And on the subject of nationalisation, he threw the question back to business to provide an alternative.

"But he has consistently talked about a mixed economy and he said again on Wednesday that he remained in favour of this. He falls back on the justifiable case that South Africa is largely a socialist economy already.

"But he ducked the specifics (of an ANC plan for the economy) and said he had no blueprints, that that was for discussion."

Mr Mitchell said British businessmen had been heartened to see that in recent weeks Mr Mandela had "backed away" from the more radical elements of a broad nationalisation policy.

"He is playing down nationalisation. Little bit by little bit the climate is improving."

# Dissidents apply to rejoin ANC

Star 7/7/90  
11A

THE African National Congress has sealed a potentially damaging breach in its ranks by holding talks with six dissidents, five of whom have served in its guerilla army.

Veteran ANC leader Walter Sisulu told Saturday Star that the six rebels have applied to rejoin the ANC, that the initiative came from them and that their applications would be considered by the ANC's national executive.

But Evangel Malamb, of the World Missionary Association, who first introduced the media to the dissidents on their return to South Africa, insisted that the ANC had approached the six in order to forestall a second news conference and further adverse publicity.

## Revolt

The six were part of a group of eight ANC dissidents who returned to South Africa in May via Tanzania and Kenya, having earlier been imprisoned by the ANC in Angola in the dreaded Quatro detention camp for their role in a revolt against the ANC's military commanders.

The dissidents, known as the Mkata Shinga group, embarrassed the ANC on their return to South Africa in May by accusing it of not practising democracy and of "violating human rights".

Led by Rodney Twala, they declared at a major news conference: "We are aware of the names of people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa. We would like to make contact with their parents or relatives, who must demand an explana-

## Six rebels agree not to make torture claims

PATRICK LAURENCE

tion from the ANC."

The dissidents have embarrassed the ANC further on at least two more occasions: first, by accusing the ANC of murdering one of their members, Siphon Phungulwa, in Umtata, Transkei; second, by calling for a commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of torture and murder in the ANC's "prison camps".

The accusation that the ANC murdered Mr Phungulwa was made by one of the eight original dissidents, Nicholas Dyasop. Mr Dyasop was with his comrade in Umtata when he was shot dead. He, himself, narrowly escaped death.

Mr Dyasop subsequently fled Transkei and sought refuge with police in South Africa. The ANC denied knowledge of, and responsibility for, the killing.

## Rejected call

The call for a commission of inquiry into ANC prison camps was made by Mr Twala on a SABC-TV programme shown on Thursday night.

Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of the ANC's guerilla army, appeared on the programme with Mr Twala. He rejected the call and, responding to renewed charges that the ANC had assassinated Mr

Phungulwa, insisted that the ANC had "no agenda" to murder the dissidents.

But even before the programme was screened a meeting was arranged at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters between the six dissidents and two ANC men, Wilton Mkwayi, one of the first Umkhonto we Sizwe men, and Mosima Sexwale, an aide to Mr Hani.

The meeting ended with the six dissidents applying to rejoin the ANC and agreeing not to further discuss with the media their grievances against the ANC's military commanders. Final re-acceptance of the six dissidents into ANC ranks is dependent on approval by the ANC leadership.

Earlier, before moves to heal the breach had been made, Mr Hani voiced his suspicion that Mr Twala, known to guerillas as 'Khotso', was an "apartheid agent", accusing him — according to the pro-ANC newspaper, New Nation — of systematically plotting against the organisation and "stirring up trouble".

Mr Twala could not be contacted for comment. But when he and his co-rebels first returned to South Africa they declared their loyalty to ideals which they had espoused when they fled to join the ANC in its fight against apartheid.

Since the agreement between the ANC and the six dissidents, another rebel has surfaced.

Identifying himself as Chris Zwayi in an interview with Radio 702, he repeated charges of torture against ANC military commanders and reiterated calls for a commission of inquiry by a neutral third party such as the International Red Cross.

# 'Don't blame God for Myeza death'

"ANYONE who thinks only God is at work is a fool," remarked Professor Itumeleng Mosala, president the Azanian People's Organisation.

His words had a philosophical ring. But Professor Mosala, a senior lecturer in theology at UCT, was commenting on political rather than theological matters.

He was speaking at a press conference on the death of Muntu Myeza, a member of Azapo's executive committee. Mr Myeza was killed when his car veered off the highway just outside Bloemfontein on Monday.

"We do not rule out the possibility of foul play," Azapo said in a press statement.

Having established that Mr Myeza had enjoyed a full night's sleep the night before his death, Azapo said: "We cannot accept that Comrade Myeza fell asleep at the wheel only 40 km outside Bloemfontein."

Azapo's suspicions were aroused by two further apparent anomalies: no skid marks were found by Azapo investigators at the point where the car left the road; although

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PATRICK LAURENCE

the car travelled over trackless ground "covered by very tall grass" after it left the motorway, "there appeared to be no disturbance of grass," except at the point where the car hit an iron pole.

The death in 1985 of three Azapo members in a car accident outside Bloemfontein prompted Professor Mosala's observation that it was naive to assume that only the hand of God was at work.

He refused to speculate on what institutions or forces might have killed Mr Myeza and simulated an accident.

The sense of shock was accentuated by the murder in Soweto 48 hours later of Sam Mabe, assistant editor of the Sowetan. He was shot dead after his car was intercepted in Jabulani, Soweto, by two gunmen.

Police discounted speculation that the killers might have been politically motivated. They surmised, instead, that their mo-

tive was robbery.

But some of Mabe's colleagues were not fully convinced, pointing out that neither the car nor Mabe's possession were stolen.

The death in another car accident of Japhta Masemola, a stalwart of the PAC, aroused similar suspicions that sinister forces were at work.

Mr Masemola served 26 years in prison before he was freed in October. He was South Africa's second longest serving political prisoner after Nelson Mandela.

After Mr Masemola's death, another PAC-linked man died in an accident and a third had a narrow escape.

Mr Ishmael Chand was killed in an accident while en route to his brother's funeral in Botswana. His PAC-aligned brother, Mr Sam Chand, and his entire family were murdered by unidentified assassins towards the end of April.

The PAC general secretary, Benny Alexander, escaped serious injury in a separate car accident a short while later.

# ANC calls for normalisation

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Sebokeng residents "to make an effort to normalise the situation" in the township by returning to work and school today. *Bloom 26/7/90*

Mandela told thousands of cheering people gathered at Sebokeng's hostel complex, that "the ANC was proud of those who had taken it upon themselves to protect the Sebokeng residents from thugs and killers from outside".

"However, you must normalise the situation by returning to work. The children must go back to school, everyone must attend to his duties," Mandela said.

"The government must explain why people came from outside to kill our people. No negotiations can be conducted while our people are being killed. We also want to know why the SAP allowed people with arms to attend Sunday's Inkatha rally."

Accompanying Mandela were ANC

WILSON ZWANE  
and LINDEN BIRNS

executive members Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi.

Earlier Mandela visited unrest victims at the Sebokeng Hospital.

He and the others spoke to patients, including Sandile Mtshali, the first of more than 100 victims admitted to the hospital's casualty ward since Sunday.

Mtshali told Mandela the SAP took him and threw him into the Inkatha supporting crowds attending Sunday's rally at the Zone 7 stadium.

A hospital sister said most of the victims were admitted with stab wounds.

SAP presence in the township was beefed up yesterday, with an extra 500 men and two helicopters deployed.

□ To Page 2

## ANC call *D 10am 26/7/90*

SAP spokesman Brig Vic Heynes said yesterday it had been a lot quieter during the day but four policemen had been slightly injured in petrol bomb and stone throwing attacks aimed at the SAP.

Sapa reports that police said they found two bodies of men in Breyton township, Ermelo, yesterday and were investigating the possibility the men had been killed in a clash with police on Tuesday night.

Haynes said police opened fire when a group attacked a police vehicle with stones and petrol bombs.

□ From Page 1

Inkatha yesterday denied that the Ermelo fighting had been provoked by vigilantes.

Inkatha Youth Brigade Transvaal chairman Themba Khoza said last night the violence had erupted after the area's ANC youth chairman Elias Zwane and a number of other ANC youths had left that organisation and had joined Inkatha on July 15.

Since then Zwane and another Inkatha member, N Makhanya, had had their shops burned down, he said.

# The man the rightwing hate

## GP Correspondent

UNKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani finds the bounty of R50 000 put on his head by alleged Wit Wolwe a bit of a joke.

"I'm more disappointed than worried by this low price for my head," he said.

"Seriously, though, the threats to kill me do not worry me. It's a waste of time if it is intended to intimidate me. I'll carry on with my work regardless of threats to kill me."

He said he had lived with the threat of death for the better part of his life and had survived assassination attempts.

"I've come to accept that soldiers in the struggle pay tremendous penalties. Many have died. Yet nobody wants to die. I want to live in a new non-racial and democratic South Africa. But I'm prepared to lay down my life so the oppressed people can live in a new South Africa."

The likeable, articulate MK chief said he had spent a year in South Africa building up the ANC's infrastructure from 1973-1974. "In that period there were hardly any underground structures here. From our experience in Zimbabwe it was clear we needed infrastructure and reception centres for returning cadres."

But times here then were difficult. "People were being intimidated by the police and security forces. Because of the situation I returned to Lesotho and re-entered South Africa on various occasions."

He said he was proud of the people who had joined MK in those years.

## Fearless MK chief Hani scoffs at R50 000 bounty put on his head

Hani, who has fought in Zimbabwe along with Zipra forces, has as MK chief developed a great friendship with many of his soldiers.

"In Lesotho I lived with them, trained with them and ate with them. I've always been deeply impressed by the commitment of our soldiers."

It was this close relationship with MK personnel which saw him personally briefing cadres returning to fight in South Africa.

"I briefed them as if I was going on the operation because we were at war. In war one not only has success, but setbacks as well. There will always be loss of life."

"Part of the most acute suffering of my life has been the loss of MK cadres, be it through death or imprisonment. There are times when I sit down alone to agonise about this."

"Those people who died are some of the best comrades I've known. This system has claimed the lives of some of the best young South Africans who devoted themselves to the struggle of the people."

This is why Hani wants to destroy apartheid. "We feel there can be no compromise. Apartheid must be destroyed, and when we have done this we'll set up monuments to its victims."

He said the ANC had not suspended its armed struggle. "Some units are still acting. We have not given instructions to them to lay down arms."

Umkhonto we Sizwe, he added, had been formed to defend people.

"It has to continue with this role and must expand if it wants to defend the people against the police and army."

"The South African government can never dictate to us the question of the armed struggle. The armed struggle will only stop under a joint ceasefire."

MK had stepped up its recruiting of South Africans because apartheid was still in place, oppression continued and police were still hunting down and arresting MK soldiers.

"We'll continue expanding until there is a democratic government in South Africa. We'll go on recruiting members. If there's a ceasefire between us and the army, we'll train MK soldiers to serve in a conventional army because that is what the South African Defence Force will be doing."

Sanctions would not go until there was no turning back from the road to democracy.

The healthier elements of the SADF, homeland armies and Umkhonto we Sizwe would have to be

amalgamated into one army in a new South Africa, he said.

This idea has been rejected by Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan.

"Malan is wasting his time. It's inconceivable to think of a new South Africa which will be served by the SADF alone."

He suggested Malan join Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party or the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"He belongs to those who still talk nostalgically about the past."

Hani said Malan still owed the country an explanation about the activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and Askaris, former ANC members who joined the SAP.

He found puzzling the apparent inability of the police to bring to book rightwingers such as the Boerestaat Party's deputy, Piet Rudolph.

"Rudolph and others are being protected by the same people who are supposed to be hunting them."

Referring to the Groote Schuur Minute, he said: "The government has its own problems. This government is still steeped in the traditions of the past in which it used to play to white galleries. The government is struggling to implement the Groote Schuur Minute because it is satisfying white fears."

He advised the government to stop doing this and instead to free all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency in Natal, scrap security legislation such as the International Security Act, and allow exiles to return.

"The implementation of the Minute will be speeded up if our people demand that the government move faster."

The ANC yearned for a democratic South Africa and its bottom line was "one person, one democracy".

"Protecting minority groups means whites will remain a privileged minority while blacks will continue to live in poverty," he said.

"There is a responsibility on all of us to bring about real social transformation."



Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani... personally briefed cadres on their missions back to South Africa. ■ PIC: AFRAPIX

The 48-year-old Hani has the body of a much younger man. He has a passion for jogging and swimming.

Winter showers, however, have spiked his plans to swim in Cape Town this week.

He loves reading Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Dickens and

Keats. "I always carry several books in my bag. I find reading very soothing."

Married to a Lesotho national, he is the father of three daughters. War has seen to it that he does not live with this family.

"I only see them once a year."

about real social trans-  
formation."

Shakespeare, Jane Aus-  
ten, Dickens and

"I only see them  
once a year."

# ANC 'must be urgent about negotiations'

(11A) C/News 8/7/90

THE ANC has to demonstrate it is not being dragged to the negotiation table, says Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Boraine said although the ANC was pressured by the demands of establishing itself internally, it had a responsibility to dispel the belief it did not have the same sense of urgency as President FW de Klerk.

Writing in Idasa's newsletter about the "messages" South Africans needed to hear from the ANC and the government, he said Nelson Mandela had on numerous occasions sought to reassure white South Africans.

However, the ANC had to go further and deal with public confusion about its stand on negotiation, sanctions and violence.

He said the ANC had called for an end to violence, but needed to go much further.

"So long as the ANC continue to emphasise the need for the continuation of the armed struggle, it is impossible for them to urge with conviction the end of violence in Natal or anywhere else," Boraine said.

The government needed to present whites with a vision of the future and an understanding that there is life for them beyond apartheid.

On Idasa's future, Boraine said it had to remain independent and become a "critical ally" of the transition process towards democracy in South Africa.

"We will not become an ally of the ANC or the government, but we will criticise and encourage where necessary." - Sapa

St. Times 8/7/90  
**Simon Barber**

**W**ASHINGTON'S southern Africa kibbitzers had a rare chance last week to hear from the PAC, courtesy of the Carnegie Endowment's Dr Pauline Baker and her famous non-breakfast breakfast South African speakers' series.

The Nelson Mandela tidal wave having surged back across the Atlantic, this ought to have been a useful reminder that the ANC enjoys no monopoly in the affections of black South Africans. Unfortunately, things did not quite turn out that way.

The speaker was filmmaker (Last Grave in Dimbaza) Nana Mahomo, who billed himself as "founding member, national executive committee member and current spokesperson on foreign affairs" of the PAC.

Were this undisputed, the audience might have gone away convinced that the PAC was not the crowd of unreconstructed "one settler, one bullet" radicals to whom the young lions would defect if the ANC did not get full backing from both the Government and the outside world.

**B**UT disputed it was, not only by the PAC's UN "observer mission", as Dr Baker was obliged to point out in her introduction, but also by several equally bright and articulate PAC members in the audience who claimed that Mr Mahomo had been expelled from the organisation in the 60s.

It was unspeakably sad, the more so as, back home, the holding of Africanist beliefs or affiliations appears to have become a serious health hazard.

These good people should not have been fighting among themselves, least of all in front of an American audience disposed to anoint the ANC as sole heir to power in a "new" South Africa.

## DATELINE WASHINGTON



# It's time that the PAC got its act together

When not defending his credentials, Mr Mahomo had a number of extremely interesting, not to mention stereotype-busting, points to make — points with which his accusers did not seem to be in great disagreement.

Using the violence in Natal to suggest what the PAC itself was going through, he complained bitterly of the "concerted attempt to rubbish" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Who's the enemy? If the enemy is Buthelezi, then my 30 years in exile have been in vain. I have been fighting the wrong enemy."

Of Mr Mandela's US tour, he said it was "a

proud moment to see a black man getting respect", yet he was passionately opposed to the ANC leader's call for sanctions to stay in place throughout negotiations.

"These talks" — and yes, he was fully in favour of negotiation — "will take a long time. While we are talking and trying to unscramble the problems facing us, we want our children to stop suffering.

"While the talks are taking place, the education of black children, housing, medical services, everything which will give hope to our people, should be put on priority."

**A**LL of which went unheard. Enough doubt was cast on Mr Mahomo's bona fides to ensure that most of his listeners ignored what he had to say.

In a recent radio interview on South African Press coverage of the Mandela visit, Allister Sparks noted the Sowetan had not given the story regular front-page prominence.

This, he opined, was not reflective of most black thinking on the subject because you had to bear in mind that the Sowetan was basically a PAC newspaper and so, by snide inference, didn't really count.

**T**HAT is the way all black thinking outside the ANC is regularly portrayed to the rest of the world. As a result, the ANC wins hands down the international battle for hearts and minds, even to the point of being put in sole charge of the South Africa development bank being planned by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Perhaps it is time that alternative voices got their acts together before too many are silenced for good in mysterious car accidents.

# Next from the ANC: mobilising the masses

11R  
SITimer 877190

AN OLD Maoist dictum holds that one cannot win in negotiations what one has not won in war. South Africa, in a lesser way, seems bent on proving the point.

Strikes have trebled in the first three months of this year compared with the same period last year, and this June more terrorist actions were committed than at any other time in our history.

At first glance, none of this sits easily with all the rhetoric and euphoria about the New South Africa. Some people, particularly whites, are frightened and most are confused — understandably.

Here is the reality: the closer we move towards real negotiations, the more competing parties will try to out-muscle each other in the preliminary phases.

White power is easy to detect. It lies in the 90 percent of the economy owned by whites and in control of the security forces which, de-



## Brian Pottinger detects a shift in the ANC's tactics now that the stalwarts of armed struggle and sanctions take a back seat

spite the claims to the contrary, hold unchallengeable sway throughout the country.

The ANC is pursuing what it calls parity of power for the sound reason that you do not carry a badminton racket when confronting a Boris Bekker cross-court smash. That does not mean the ANC wants, or indeed expects, to match the Government in military and police strength.

But it does hope for a conglomeration of forces — economic, diplomatic and popular — which will create a rough bargaining equilibrium with President De Klerk.

### Strategy

The ANC has been quite open about its intentions. It has touted sanctions, armed struggle and "mass mobilisation" as the triptych of resistance — the triple-faced strategy to bring it up to negotiating par.

But now, interestingly, the organisation is having to face up to the reality that at least two legs of that strategy — armed struggle and sanctions — are wonky and becoming increasingly so. Hence the emphasis on "mass mobilisation" — the most obvious example of that being the somewhat bizarre Natal stayaway protests this week.

The armed struggle has never been that potent a weapon, although the ANC,

quite correctly, realised that symbolically it was the one that most agitated white minds — and tempers.

It probably has less resonance than before. This is partly because the ANC's military strength is arguably at its lowest ebb in years and partly because most thinking South Africans now understand it is not organised military action from the left that is the most serious threat but the incipient terrorism of the right (*vide* the latest bombing campaign) and the random street violence which the ANC is patently incapable of controlling.

In any case, the ANC has indicated that "the armed struggle" will be the first to go when serious negotiations begin.

Sanctions, also, are on the chopping block. Mr Mandela's European trip may have won him deserved praise for his courage, fortitude and spirit of reconciliation, but it has done less to convince his host countries of the efficacy or wisdom of perpetuating sanctions much longer.

### Blind eye

As the speed of negotiated change gathers in South Africa it will be foreign governments, not the ANC, which will decide when to lift sanctions.

There are already signs that some European countries are turning a blind eye

to contraventions and even Mr Mandela, sensing the tide, is reduced to begging for just another three months application.

It may take a little longer in the US, not blessed with a sophisticated electorate, but sanctions will also go there, as the ANC surely knows.

It is because of this that the ANC is turning with ever-increasing intensity to the third, and perhaps most important, leg of its strategy — mass mobilisation.

### Motive

For the ANC and its union associates the principle purpose of disruptive action is not, in the first instance, to damage the economy (or any particular employer). Nor is it undertaken in realistic expectation of the imminent collapse of the existing order or even a sudden change of policy.

Its real motive is to keep "the masses", as one activist put it, "on their toes and noses to the grindstone". This may be physiologically uncomfortable but it is by no means organisationally impossible. The secret is to keep selecting new targets — employer groups this month, segregated hospitals next, public facilities the month after and squatter rights two months hence.

For the ANC and unionist supporters it is not so much the issue that is important — it is the protest itself: the

solidarity it engenders, the organisational experience it brings, the spirit of resistance it consecrates. This pressure, insists the ANC, must be kept up until the moment of settlement.

It is the last card in the pack and, rather in the way the army — with scant regard for the economic implications, endlessly called up young whites for camps to keep them battle ready — so too will the unions and the ANC call up (or rather, out) the workers, the unemployed and, more circumspcctly, the students.

The tactic makes sense from the ANC's point of view, but holds some major dangers.

The foremost is that any campaign of disobedience and resistance requires a strong controlling hand to keep it lean, focused and therapeutic. There are no signs the ANC has that capacity — it cannot get the children back to school or persuade belligerents in Natal to throw pangas in the sea.

### Image

Protest has, in many ways, become the lead in the bones of particularly young black South Africans. Its effects will live long after the current government has gone and a new one empowered.

The second problem is one of image. However tactically necessary the ANC may regard its protest actions, it leaves an impression of national chaos, disorganisation and anarchy.

At a time when even the ANC accepts the importance of investment, the image conveyed to foreigners is not of pending sunlit uplands — but of Beirut.



# Not without honour

NELSON MANDELA arrived back in London this week on a wing and a gaffe. His second world tour has embraced such rituals of international stardom as apotheosis by the American media and a bad stumble over Irish politics.

Neither signifies much. American hero-worship of distant idols is nothing new; and some salute to this remarkable man is certainly due.

As for the IRA: Mr Mandela would have been well advised to say nothing at all on the subject. But he is not the first visiting politician to fall into the IRA trap. As Americans discovered with his references to Fidel Castro and Colonel Gaddafi, even the most impeccable "freedom fighter" has debts to pay.

Mr Mandela has other debts yet to be cleared. His mission round the world has been a plea for economic sanctions on South Africa to be maintained. His campaign for others to declare economic aggression on South African as a "bargaining counter" loses all meaning when he pleads at the same time for businessmen and bankers to show confidence in South Africa's future.

The price of sanctions is paid in black wages, as South Africa's coal miners know well. There is no evidence that sanctions have hastened change. Whether they have or not, they are gross interference.

Mrs Thatcher is right to say that President De Klerk deserves a gesture of relief from such interference.

On sanctions, as on the armed struggle, the ANC's travelling circus is trapped by its own rhetoric. Two decades of political isolation have slowed the erosion of apartheid.

The ANC, since its unbanning, has emerged as a deeply conservative Marxist hierarchy whose ideological base has collapsed along with that of its backers in Zambia and Eastern Europe. The party is now struggling —



## The Times of London argues in a leading article that the world should back off from South Africa's affairs

in Mr Mandela's case struggling hard — to come to terms with the consequences.

The ANC is having to accept that its socialist past is now counterproductive in its appeal to both black and white South Africans. Former "friends" such as Erich Honecker in Berlin and Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka have either disappeared, or are themselves beleaguered. *5 Times*

### Challenge *317190*

Mr Mandela went to some lengths in yesterday's speech at Westminster and in his meetings with businessmen in South Africa and London to support a mixed economy and to recognise the importance of profits and of allowing new investors to export their dividends.

His support for sanctions damages but does not wholly subvert this turn away from socialism. Mr Mandela's ANC is scrambling towards economic sanity, in the nick of time.

He and his colleagues have a far bigger challenge on their hands. The ANC must urgently find the means to democratic legitimacy, at least with the black community, before groups to the right and left call its bluff. Mr Mandela is travelling the world as the inspiration of black people everywhere. But back

home the prophet's honour is more limited.

Radical township youths are cutting his face from their T-shirts. In Natal his high-flown pleas for peace have not stopped a murderous civil war.

The ANC has managed to retain a remarkable spread of support among blacks and Coloured — except in Zulu-dominated Natal — but this support could crumble as the party begins constitutional talks with the Government. Hence its reluctance to speed negotiations. Hence the need to reorganise the party on some post-Marxist democratic basis.

The dominant image in South Africa at present has Messrs Mandela and De Klerk clinging desperately to each other as political rebellion simmers behind their backs.

Both are wise enough to know this. But it is Mr Mandela who is traipsing the globe preaching intransigence, while back home Mr de Klerk yearns for some relief, a sanction lifted, a sports tour, a promise of non-violence, to stave off the ever more militant right wing.

Within their respective hegemonies, Mr de Klerk has the greater accountability just now. His fall would be a disaster for Mr Mandela, yet the latter seems unable to offer the slightest help.

That, however, is South Africa's business. The best help that the rest of the world can offer is to leave them to sort out their salvation alone. South Africa is about to enter a critical six months of barter. To win through, it needs no sanctions, no aid, no persecution, no favouritism, no interference, no weapons, no propaganda, no attention, no fuss.

A crudely racist state has, under Mr de Klerk, travelled a long way down the road of good intentions in a short time.

The wounds of apartheid are not yet treated, let alone healed. In this crucial process the outside world has no useful part to play. The patient must be left in peace.

# Mandela cools it with

# the 'enemy'

NELSON MANDELA'S audience with British industry and business in one of London's carbuncular skyscrapers, Centre Point, probably weighed equally in importance with his historic encounter at No 10 Downing Street.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's first meeting with the hitherto ostracised ANC deputy president was well flagged.

As expected, Mr Mandela's gaffe about the British Government talking to the IRA was diplomatically brushed under the carpet. They agreed to disagree on sanctions, but concurred on pretty well everything else.

After three hours of Mrs Thatcher's private charm — which never ceases to amaze observers of the combative fishwife in the House of Commons — Mr Mandela emerged convinced of her sincerity about apartheid.

He had found the Iron Lady "warm and gentle".

## Biggest

What Mr Mandela would say to the 250 industrialists, businessmen and bankers assembled at the headquarters of the Confederation of British Industry was less predictable. So, too, was their reaction.

It was not the only meeting with business: guests at the Commonwealth Secretary-General's dinner for Mr Mandela included executives from Courtaulds, Rothschilds, RTZ, Unilever and ICI.

The CBI members represented SA's biggest foreign investors and creditors. Figures vary, but the best estimates of the value of UK interest in SA put it between £8bn and £10bn. They also came from suppliers and customers who last year did £1.8bn worth of two-way trade with SA.

Smooth words, but UK business waiting for the ANC beef

As such, in terms of the disinvestment and sanctions rhetoric of the ANC and the host of anti-apartheid groups around the world, they were the enemy.

The gathering also represented the hope for the future of the "new South Africa", part of the whole internal and international business community necessary to underwrite political stability by providing a rising floor of economic prosperity.

But they are not philanthropists. Historic ties, profitable and pleasant as they may have been in the



**JOHN CAVILL**  
in London

past, are no more than that when new opportunities beckon from the other side of the dismantled Iron Curtain and the coming single market of Europe.

In terms of global assets of groups such as Shell, ICI and other multinationals, their SA interests are little more than a sliver of the total cake.

If SA went sour it would be painful but not disastrous. The bottom lines from those who disinvested in the 1980s have amply demonstrated this fact of life.

So Mr Mandela trod care-

fully. In part he came as a supplicant with the self-evident message: We need you. The Freedom Charter's ice-age language was thawed somewhat.

The ANC has taken on board mistakes made elsewhere. Nationalisation is now "State participation", which in turn is anything from 51% to 30%. But even that might be a last resort.

Mr Mandela saw a mixed economy, but had no "blueprint" for the mix. It would have to be worked out in partnership with business.

## Stability

Mr Mandela sounded almost Thatcherite in rejecting taxation as a means of more equitable wealth sharing. Business needed to make adequate profits, he said.

But political stability and growth were inseparable. Both would be at risk so long as SA's masses remained on the wrong side of a racially divided balance sheet and lacked the economic power to provide growing markets.

As for the contradiction of sanctions? They were a bargaining lever which exerted as much pressure on the ANC as on whites to find a settlement quickly so that they could be called off — perhaps within months.

The Times commented that the economic parameters of ANC policy "need defining soon" in a world competing for investment funds.

The centrist Independent newspaper, which sees the "gerontocrats of the ANC still frozen in the ice age",

commented trenchantly: "Sooner or later, he will have to say unequivocally how the ANC proposes to maintain the growth of the South African economy, and to tell it to the jobless youth among his followers."

Representatives of business, however, were encouraged. Nick Mitchell, director of the British Industry Committee on South Africa — its members account for 80% of UK investment in SA — challenged Mr Mandela to clarify ANC policy on nationalisation.

Mr Mitchell said afterwards: "It was not so much what he said, but the way he said it. The emphasis was on the positive side — stability, growth and confidence — and in dealing with the two bogys for British investors — nationalisation and sanctions."

"People recognise it is difficult to have had a policy for 35 years and to drop it overnight. I think the ANC is looking for a way to get off this hook. But it is a problem — how to redistribute wealth without destroying it."

## Optimism

RTZ spokesman John Skinner said: "Our feeling is one of optimism."

"Perhaps the ANC is gradually adapting in the way Swapo has in Namibia."

A Unilever spokesman said: "We heard nothing to reconsider our belief that a company such as ours won't continue to be welcome."

That was on the record. British business was still left asking: Where's the beef?

# Assassination fear rife

By CHARLES MOGALE and SANDILE MEMELA

FEARS of political assassinations have peaked throughout the country following the mysterious deaths of two prominent black leaders this week.

Azapo's Muntu Myeza and *Sowetan* assistant editor Sam Mabe were killed in two separate incidents described as possible assassinations.

Myeza's body was found near his car 40km outside Bloemfontein on Tuesday morning, while Mabe was gunned down in cold blood outside a house in Jabulani, Soweto.

Mabe had apparently just dropped off two friends at the house when he was confronted by two gunmen. A single heavy-calibre bullet was fired through his car window, striking him in the neck.

Although the police believe robbery was the motive, family members have discounted the theory, saying none of Mabe's possessions was taken. They echoed the widespread suspicion that Mabe, a PAC member and outspoken columnist, was assassinated.

His colleague, Thami Mazwai, said: "Anything is possible - assassination by the rightwing or the leftwing - it's difficult to tell."

Mabe was also former deputy president of the Media Workers' Association of SA. Together with his editor Aggrey Klaaste, he founded the "nation building" concept which he championed tirelessly in his weekly *Sam's Notebook* column.

In Myeza's case, suspicion of foul play was based on the facts that:

■ On the night he was killed, he called his family in Soweto and informed them he would spend the night in Bloemfontein. However, he seemed to have had a quick change of mind, or was forced to leave in a hurry.

■ Whatever caused his car to career off the road and plough through two fields, it could not have been tiredness or sleep.

■ "How can one fall asleep or get tired only 40km after starting his journey? Knowing him to be a careful driver,

## Suspicion grows after Myeza and Mabe die mysteriously

that looks very strange to us," Azapo's Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae said.

He said no skid marks or "disturbance of the grass" could be found between the road and the donga in which the car was discovered.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said foul play could not be ruled out.

"Anybody who thinks that car accidents are the work of God only must be a fool."

Mosala said his organisation had to ask itself what had suddenly gone wrong with cars.

"They are killing activists, particularly from the black consciousness fold," he said.

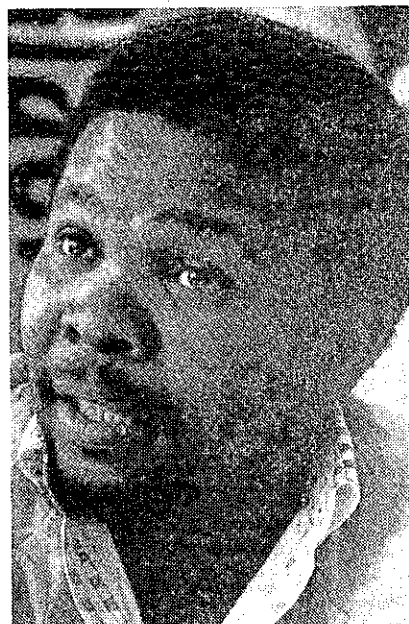
Myeza's father, Jacob, was shattered. He said the death left a lot of questions unanswered.

"The family is still baffled. There is no convincing explanation," he said.

Parallels have been drawn between Myeza's death and that of PAC leader and former Robben Island prisoner Japhta Masemola, who died in a car crash in Rosslyn, Pretoria, in April.

Shortly thereafter, PAC member Ishmael Chand died in a car accident while on his way to his brother's funeral in Botswana.

Three weeks later, in May, PAC internal general secretary Benny Alexander had a brush with death when he was involved in a car accident in Kimberley. Also seriously injured in the accident was Islamic organisation, Qibla, executive member Cassiem Christiaans.



Muntu Myeza ... death has left a lot of questions unanswered.



Sam Mabe ... gunned down by two unknown assailants in Soweto.

## Death of the man, rise of the prophet

By GOMOLEMO MOKAE

THE fall of a great teacher or leader is all too often the beginning of the rise of his ideas - let it be so for Muntu ka Myeza.

It was said of Steve Bantu Biko that he lived his life fully: you either hated him or loved him passionately. You could not sit on the fence. Without doubt, Myeza belongs to this rare breed of human being.

Little wonder that, at a central committee meeting in Cape Town a week before the car crash which took his life, he was appointed Azapo's secretary of defence.

But where does one begin to pay tribute to a black man of this stature?

He was hated by his detractors with such passion that they tried to break him on Robben Island. When this failed, they would confine him by refusing him a passport to travel abroad. But Myeza proved indomitable.

Yes, indomitable - even some of his kith and kin hated him so much that they would disrupt meetings at which he spoke, attempt to tarnish his image by calling him names like sell-out (not unlike Biko, who was labelled a CIA agent), and even attempt to murder him.

In the face of betrayal and adoration, Myeza resolutely upheld the black consciousness principle of collective leadership, and hence frowned on the creation of cults around the living. He was a prophet.

Myeza's death? I cannot rule out foul play. But he would surely find solace in the fact that the untimely deaths of the Bikos, the Mthuli ka Shezis and the Onkgopotse Tiros did not kill black consciousness.

Rather, it was at their collective deaths that their ideas began to rise.

What can I say, Comrade Muntu? Lala kahle ingelosi ye mhlaba (go well, tower of towers).

# UDF man Gumede may get boot for his views

By S'BU MNGADI

UDF co-president Archie Gumede may have destroyed his political career by publicly opposing last week's national stayaway.

The ANC's internal leadership this week told Gumede, 75, not to talk to the Press any longer. (UA) (S) C/P 8/7/90

The decision follows pressure on the ANC/-Cosatu/UDF alliance - which called the stayaway - to prevent Gumede publicly questioning the wisdom of the stayaway.

Last Sunday Gumede said: "If those who called the stayaway are really interested in peace, then it is not going to produce the results they want. It will have the opposite effect."

"The only solution is for political organisations to come to an agreement. Their presidents should meet and carry the agreement to the people."

The decision to hold the week of national protest action was endorsed two weeks ago by the ANC's national executive council.

Internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu on Thursday took responsibility for gagging Gumede, but said his difference of opinion with the alliance was not "a division in the ranks".

Before being gagged, a defiant Gumede told *City Press*: "I believe I have been rapped over the knuckles by the ANC for my views, but this is the way I feel and I will continue to voice my opinion."

Senior ANC and UDF activists this week said the latest incident was the last straw and that Gumede had dug his political grave.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Azapo has doubts on car crash

By JAFTA MPHHLANI  
and SYDNEY MOSES

AZAPO projects co-ordinator Muntu Myeza would probably still be alive if the wrecked car in which he died this week had been discovered sooner.

Mr Myeza was found in a field in the Free State the morning after the crash. He died on the way to hospital.

Private pathologist Dr J Gluckman said: "Mr Myeza had many injuries, but no single one would have killed him. There were no bullet wounds or other injuries indicating an attack."

However, Azapo publicity secretary, Strini Moodley said foul play could not be ruled out at this stage.

Nationwide commemoration services will be held this week, including one this afternoon at the Presbyterian church in Zone 2, Garankuwa.

Mr Myeza will be buried at the Avalon cemetery in the Cape on Saturday.

# 'ANC has camps in Uganda'

From ESMARE VAN DER MERWE

Political Staff ARK 9/7/90

KAMPALA. — Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni has confirmed that ANC military camps are operating from Uganda.

But ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, addressing a Press conference in the Ugandan capital, refused to comment on whether some camps had been established in Uganda after being forced to move from Angola in exchange for Cuban withdrawal from Angola in terms of UN Resolution 435, the Namibian peace plan.

It was rumoured that Mr Mandela visited ANC training camps on Friday during his state visit to Uganda as part of a six-week international tour.

ANC officials only confirmed that the ANC leader had taken a helicopter ride out of the Uganda capital in the morning. Mr Mandela, recovering

from a cold, said on Friday night he was feeling tired because he had been walking a lot.

At the Press conference Mr Mandela merely said: "This is naturally a matter I am not prepared to discuss with the media."

Mr Mandela yesterday travelled to Addis Ababa to attend the 52nd head-of-state summit of the Organisation for African Unity.

● Mr Mandela gave Mrs Margaret Thatcher a strong hint during their meeting in London last week that the ANC was ready to lift its commitment to the armed struggle in exchange for the release of political prisoners, reports Chris Whitfield of The Argus Foreign Service.

Reports in London also indicated that the British Prime Minister told the ANC deputy president that she would time her long-awaited visit to South Africa to boost negotiations. The visit is now expected early next year.

# Talks: Mandela 'optimistic'

CPM TRS 9/7/90 11A

KAMPALA. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was confident the ANC would make progress in talks with the government next week.

"We have an optimistic view, specially after the success of our first talks," the ANC deputy president told a news conference in Entebbe at the end of a four-day visit to Uganda.

He said South Africans favoured a multi-party democratic system and blamed the current violence in the country on government policies.

White extremist groups dedicated to maintaining apartheid

should not be seen as a major threat to dialogue between blacks and President F W de Klerk's government, Mr Mandela said.

He said the chances of such groups overthrowing the government were minimal.

"I'm of the very optimistic view that Mr De Klerk's regime will be in power up to the time we reach conclusion of the peace process in South Africa," he said.

The main aim of the talks scheduled for July 18 was to create an atmosphere of national unity and peaceful settlement.

"We are also in talks with other

black political forces in the country, so as to get a common front for the purpose of achieving national unity," Mr Mandela said.

He reiterated his constant call for sanctions against South Africa to be maintained until apartheid had been fully banished. Among other things, the ANC seeks full democracy and a bill of rights in South Africa, he said.

Mr Mandela was due to leave Uganda last night for Ethiopia, where heads of state of the Organisation of African Unity are gathered for their annual summit. — Sapa-Reuter-UPI

# Boesak bids a tearful farewell

CAF-7mt  
9/7/90



DR Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, took tearful leave of his congregation during an emotional service in Bellville South yesterday.

Dr Boesak wept openly as he told his parishioners — whom he has served for 21 years, the entire duration of his marriage — that he was laying down his ministerial responsibilities.

Several people in the packed church wept silently with Dr Boesak, while a few parishioners walked out.

Dr Boesak, who is also moderator of the NG Sending church, is involved with a specialist TV producer, Ms Elna Botha, his wife Dorothy said last week.

Dr Boesak was photographed leaving a plush Sea Point hotel where Ms Botha was staying last Thursday.

Although Dr Boesak did not preach the sermon yesterday, he was given an opportunity to address his congregation briefly.

Dr Boesak told the congregation that his marriage had not been on a sound footing for some time. He said he wanted to get divorced, but not only because he was seen with another woman.

He said he was resigning from his post as minister of his congregation, but did not say whether he would also resign as Sending church moderator or give up his office with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

However, the chairman of the church council and co-minister of the church, Dr Johan Retief, said afterwards that resignations from these posts might follow.

A statement on the alleged relationship is expected to be made today, according to Dr Boesak's lawyer, Mr Essa Moosa.

Mr Moosa said in a statement yesterday that Dr Boesak was at present holding discussions with church people close to him.

Dr Boesak said nothing of his future plans. He asked the church to morally support his wife Dorothy and to stand by her in the difficult time she was going through.

He also mentioned that it was very hard on his children to read about him in the newspapers.

The church council met after the service but decided to discuss the matter at another meeting on Saturday, according to church secretary Mr Winston Smith.

Mr Moosa said yesterday that neither Dr nor Mrs Boesak was staying at home.

Dr Boesak is a patron of the United Democratic Front. A spokesman for the UDF executive committee said yesterday that Dr Boesak's status in the organisation had not been discussed at all. — Staff Reporter and Sapa



# Big welcome for exiled Lutheran

11A

By MOSES MAMAILA

THOUSANDS of people attended a rally to welcome Lutheran Church Dean Tshenuwani Samsan Farisani at Thohoyandou Stadium, Venda, yesterday.

Farisani, who arrived in the country last week after spending three-and-a-half years in the United States, said he was forced to leave the country because of police harassment.

He said that before he left he received a letter through the South African Embassy in Venda restricting his movements. *Sowetan 9/7/90*

An author of books like "Justice in my Tears", Farisani said he received letters from both the South African Government and Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana's ruling council reassuring him of his safety and that his restrictions were lifted.

"While abroad I exposed the cruelties of apartheid to the United Nations, Organisation of African Unity, Commonwealth countries and the Non-Aligned Movement. I also visited your exiled sons in Zambia, Tanzania and other countries," he said.

Farisani said the Lutheran Church congregants, together with other Christians, would not keep quiet and support apartheid, "which is sin". He called on Ramushwana to reincorporate Venda into South Africa.

# Delay feared for exiles' return

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

Case Times  
7/7/90  
11A

HOPES that the status of about 1500 political prisoners and tens of thousands of political exiles would be settled this week appeared remote last night.

A joint National Party-ANC report containing proposals on the release of the prisoners and the return of exiles to South Africa was accepted by the cabinet late in May.

The ANC's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela indicated before leaving on his world tour that the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) would deliver a formal response to the report on July 10 — but it now appears unlikely that this deadline will be met.

Members of the government's negotiating team have charged the ANC with dragging its heels on the issue. However, ANC military wing chief Mr Chris Hani said the ANC had already submitted amendments to the report.

# Inkatha the victim - Buthelezi

INKATHA was on the receiving end of violence in Natal and by far the majority of those who had been killed were its leaders and members or supporters. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing visiting representatives of Germany's Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen at Ulundi, the Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said

the organisation had never espoused violence.

"In contrast, the ANC has called for an armed struggle and as things proved increasingly difficult for the armed struggle it turned from hitting hard targets to hitting soft targets.

"Its propaganda justified planting bombs in supermarkets and discos and on street corners.

"It is a big jump from justifying an armed struggle to justifying just kill-

ing anybody but the ANC made that jump.

"Not only do they maintain that the armed struggle was a primary means of liberating South Africa, but when they lost their springboards in neighbouring territories because black Africa had eventually realised that they were fighting a losing battle, the ANC, attempting to translate the armed struggle into a 'people's war', popularised the slogan that

every combatant was a patriot and every patriot was a combatant.

"They advocated killing for political purposes," Buthelezi said.

Wherever there was violence in South Africa, the UDF was involved, he contended. When there was political killing in the Cape, it was killing between the UDF and black consciousness or civic organisations.

When there was killing in the Transvaal, it

was between the UDF and black consciousness organisations.

"There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and black consciousness organisations. There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and Azapo.

"There is killing in conflicts between the UDF and the PAC, and in the killing that takes place in South Africa the UDF is the common factor. - Sapa.

Sowetan 1/7/90

(11A)

(11A)

# Boesak bids a tearful farewell

CAP- Times  
9/7/90

114

DR Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, took tearful leave of his congregation during an emotional service in Bellville South yesterday.

Dr Boesak wept openly as he told his parishioners — whom he has served for 21 years, the entire duration of his marriage — that he was laying down his ministerial responsibilities.

Several people in the packed church wept silently with Dr Boesak, while a few parishioners walked out.

Dr Boesak, who is also moderator of the NG Sending church, is involved with a specialist TV producer, Ms Elna Botha, his wife Dorothy said last week.

Dr Boesak was photographed leaving a plush Sea Point hotel where Ms Botha was staying last Thursday.

Although Dr Boesak did not preach the sermon yesterday, he was given an opportunity to address his congregation briefly.

Dr Boesak told the congregation that his marriage had not been on a sound footing for some time. He said he wanted to get divorced, but not only because he was seen with another woman.

He said he was resigning from his post as minister of his congregation, but did not say whether he would also resign as Sending church moderator or give up his office with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

However, the chairman of the church council and co-minister of the church, Dr Johan Retief, said afterwards that resignations from these posts might follow.

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Dr Boesak is a patron of the United Democratic Front. A spokesman for the UDF executive committee said yesterday that Dr Boesak's status in the organisation had not been discussed at all. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

Mr Mntu 9/7/90 (11A)

## Azapo man honoured

**THOHOYANDU.** — About 100 Azapo supporters gathered at Makwarela, Venda, for a memorial service for Mr Muntu Myeza, a former executive member of Azapo, on Saturday.

Mr Myeza, who was killed in a car accident near Bloemfontein on Monday, was described as one of the most brilliant speakers the country had seen.

Speaking on Azapo's behalf, Mr Ruezani Nemuthudi said it was very difficult to accept that Mr Myeza died a natural death.

And ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Mr Myeza's wife, Mrs Thandi Myeza, from Uganda to express his sympathy. — Sapa

# Sisulu <sup>ANC</sup> leads <sup>7/7/90</sup> 20 000 in march

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu led over 20 000 people to police headquarters at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg on Saturday and handed over a memorandum protesting against violence in Natal.

The memorandum, copies of which were handed in at police stations across the country, detailed accusations about the handling of the Natal conflict by South African and KwaZulu Police.

"The government has to do something positive to bring peace in that region," Mr Sisulu told journalists after handing over the memorandum.

In Cape Town an estimated 1 000 UDF and Cosatu supporters marched through the city on Saturday.

The march, led by ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel and Cosatu regional secretary Ms Lucienne Nyembe, ended at police headquarters in Parade Street, where a memorandum was handed over to district commissioner Colonel Flip Delport.

The memorandum called for the lifting of the emergency in Natal; the arrest of all "warlords"; impartial peace-keeping by security forces; a judicial commission of inquiry, and freedom of political association.

The march also protested against the detention of Ms Shirley Gunn and police action in the Boland.

Authorities refused applications for marches in five towns affected by racial conflict and white right-wing activity in recent months.

— Sapa

# Slabbert reviews a decade of SA change

By Darryl Accone

GRAHAMSTOWN — The South African political agenda for the '90s was open-ended, but internal dynamics would be the major determining factor in a constitutional settlement, said Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert in his Winter School address, "A decade of South African politics" at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival.

Mr Van Zyl Slabbert's paper dealt with white minority domination — the "central issue of conflict" between the Government and its opponents.

The lecture traced the political developments that Mr Van Zyl Slabbert saw leading to President de Klerk's acceptance of the "mantra" of "unban, release, dismantle, negotiate".

Mr de Klerk's serious adoption of the mantra had opened political space and presented challenges to his opponents.

## Negotiations

On its part, the ANC had shifted from a conventional revolutionary paradigm to one of negotiation.

The ANC's Harare Declaration was a detailed spelling out of the mantra with various additional conditions, including the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

The mantra had been steadily gaining international acceptance since 1985, and the need for Mr de Klerk to break the cycle of reform, revolt and reaction that had characterised the security-conscious Government policies of the Eighties led to his post-election reforms.

Mr Van Zyl Slabbert cited some external factors that had influenced the current climate for negotiations.

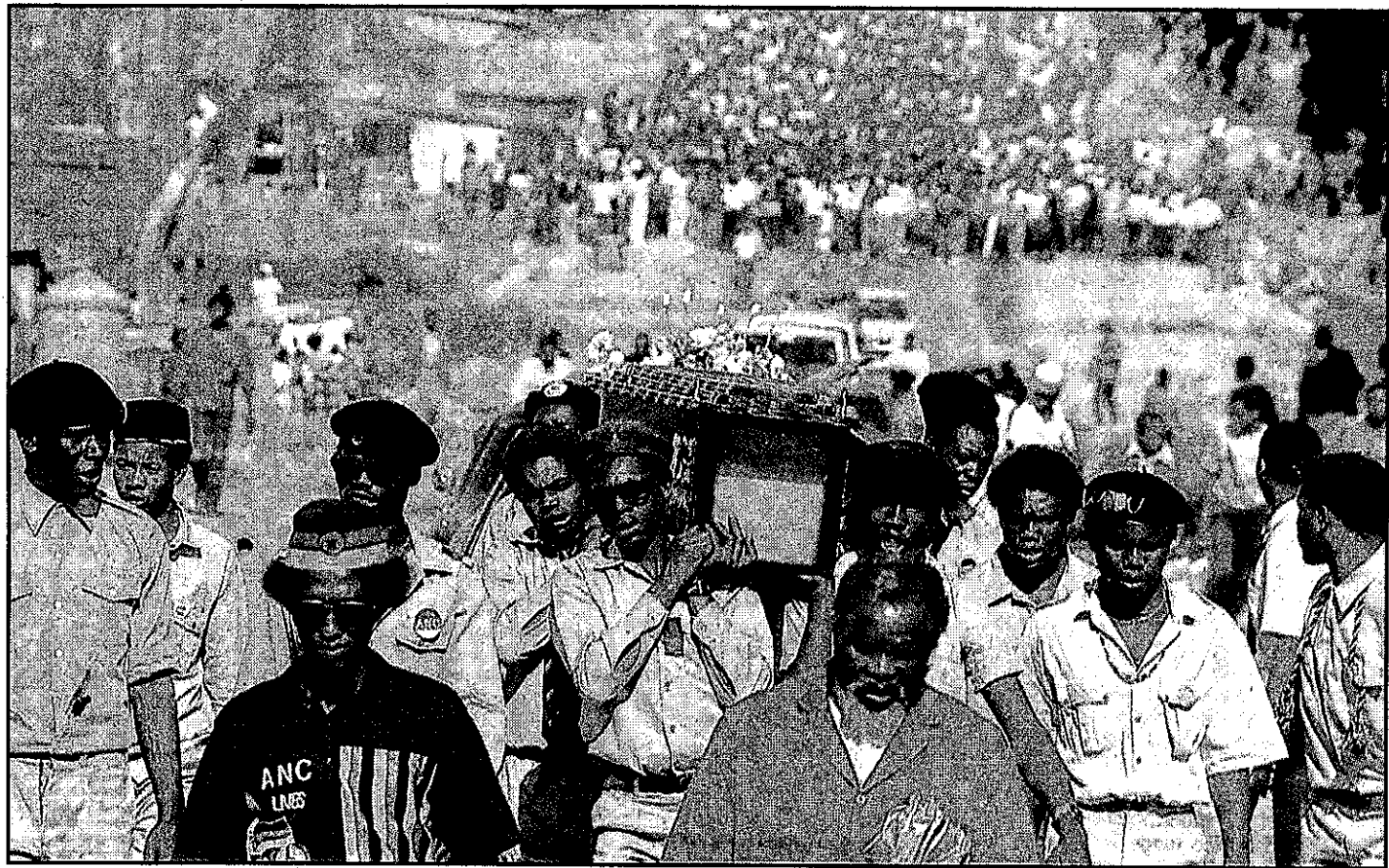
The rapprochement between the US and the Soviet Union had led to fundamental changes in their approach to solving problems of regional conflict.

# Sisulu calls for probe into shooting

By Kaizer Nyatsumba, Political Staff

African National Congress internal chairman Walter Sisulu yesterday called for a commission of inquiry into the fatal shooting at Alexandra last weekend of an ANC marshal, who was buried yesterday.

Speaking at the service in the KwaNobuhle Hall in Alexandra, Mr Sisulu said the fact that the marshal, Meshack Kunene, was shot dead during a rally to welcome home ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo was indicative of the Government's lack of regard for the ANC and lack of respect for the Grootte Schuur Minute.



Activist honoured . . . the "Young Lions" carry Meshack Kunene's coffin to the cemetery in Alexandra yesterday, while the rest of the funeral procession follows at a distance. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

**Threatened**  
Activists have denied the police claim that Mr Kunene was shot in self-defence while he was attacking the police. They said Mr Kunene was threatened shortly before the shooting. Mr Sisulu called for a commission of inquiry into the death. Mr Nzo, who could not be at the funeral, sent a message of solidarity to the mourners, which was read by Mr Sisulu. The funeral was attended by about 3 500 people.



## Vlok and Hani on extremists' hit-list

# Jo'burg bomb blasts — 10th suspect held

By Craig Kotze

Police have arrested another suspected right-wing terrorist in connection with bomb blasts in Johannesburg, bringing to 10 the number of suspects held in swoops since Friday.

The arrest of the other nine was disclosed in an earlier police announcement that police had smashed two cells of right-wing extremists.

The arrests are the greatest success to date against burgeoning right-wing terror in South Africa.

Security Police have also seized a huge arms cache. It included plastic explosives, detonators and grenades.

Last night, an extreme right-wing group, calling itself the Wit Bevydingsleër (WBL) claimed responsibility for the bomb which exploded at a bus and taxi rank in central Johannesburg on Friday, injuring 27 people.

It threatened that the bomb would not be the last and said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Chris Hani, the ANC's military chief-of-staff, would be assassinated if the suspects were not released.

### Faxed message

The claim and threats were made in a faxed message last night. In the message, the WBL said: "The WBL hereby accepts official responsibility for the attack on the chimpanzee kafirs last Friday."

Referring to the detention of several rightwingers by the police, the statement said the WBL high command expressed its distaste over the arrests of people whom it described as "companions in the struggle".

They said Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, whom they called a "traitor", and ANC military leader Chris Hani, whom they called a "kafir ape", would both be high on their hit lists unless those detained were released immediately.

Mr Vlok said yesterday that the arrests of rightwingers repudiated allegations that police were reluctant to act against them. The SAP would fight violence from every quarter.

The detentions were made in the Reef region after detectives raided the Randburg home of Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder early on Friday morning and seized documents.

More arrests are expected.

### Identified

Three of those held have been identified. They are well-known right-wingers Leonard Michael Veenendal, Darryl Garth Stopforth, and David Israel Rostenberg, a former commander of the AWB's Aquila unit.

Mr Veenendal, the former leader of the AWB in Johannesburg, and Mr Stopforth are wanted in Namibia in connection with the killing of a security guard during an attack on United Nations offices in Outjo.

Reacting to the arrests, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder and Boere Weerstandsbeweging leader Andrew Ford said the arrests were made to please the ANC.

It was "scandalous" that the Government released ANC "terrorists" while it arrested "Boers".

He said Government's refusal to hold an election forced right-wing parties to resort to other means to "keep their country".

Nelson Mandela should be sent back to the Transkei, while SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo should go back to Lithuania "because they need him urgently there".



Maradona's misery . . . Argentina's Diego Maradona fights back tears at the end of the World Cup soccer final in Rome last night. West Germany defeated Argentina 1-0. © Picture by Associated Press.

## Rush home to see Cup ends 31 lives in crash

MOSCOW — In a crash blamed on drivers rushing home to watch the World Cup soccer final, 31 people were killed and others injured last night when a bus was hit by a train at a level crossing.

Tass news agency reported that the accident occurred near the city of Petrozavodsk in the region of Karelia near the Finnish border. A local official blamed it on drivers rushing home to watch the last 1990 World Cup game.

Twenty-one of the 60 bus passengers were killed on the spot and 10 others died later. The agency did not give the number of injured, but said none of the train passengers had been hurt.

Tass quoted the official as say-

ing the red warning light was on at the level crossing, causing a large tailback of cars bringing people home from their country cottages after the weekend.

Several motorists, impatient to get home to see the World Cup final between West Germany and Argentina, drove across the railway line despite the warning and the bus driver (who survived) followed them, the official said.

Tass reported that a commission of inquiry had been set up to look into the accident, and a criminal negligence investigation had been opened. — Sapa-Reuter.

© World Cup reports  
— Pages 17 and 18.

## Hunt on for killers of elderly couple

DURBAN — A hunt for the murderers of an elderly Richmond couple, Johan Frederick Odendaal (77) and his wife, Dorothy Lorraine (69), has continued since Saturday.

The Odendaal farm is about 20 km from the farm of Mr and Mrs Olaf Aadnesgaard, who were shot at by night some weeks ago.

Mr Odendaal, whose head was battered, was found near a kraal near their house.

Mrs Odendaal, found lying in a pool of blood in their home, was rushed to Grey's Hospital in Maritzburg and died later.

It is thought that the killers were after guns to use in the faction fighting in the Richmond district. — Own Correspondent.

11A 1272

# Mandela joins OAU leaders for summit

By Esmare van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

ADDIS ABABA — African heads of state arrived in Ethiopia at the weekend for the 52nd Organisation of African Unity summit which is expected to focus on the continent's dismal economic future, massive foreign debt, prospects for closer economic co-operation and joint strategy to put pressure on the South African Government to abolish apartheid.

For two African leaders this year's summit will be a first — Namibian President Sam Nujoma and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — who both received a red carpet welcome at Bule Airport yesterday.

Mr Mandela, who will deliver an historic address at the summit, travelled from Uganda with President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is tipped to take over the OAU chairmanship.

Absent from the summit is Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who is trying to restore order in his country after last month's attempted coup.

## Pressure

Mr Mandela yesterday told a press conference the ANC would welcome increased pressure on Pretoria by the African states.

He publicly supported President Musaveni's support for the OAU chairmanship and added that a post-apartheid South Africa would become a member of the organisation.

Speaking in Kampala yesterday, President Museveni confirmed that ANC military camps were now operating from Uganda.

But Mr Mandela, addressing a press conference on the last day of his state visit to Uganda, refused to comment on whether camps had been established in Uganda after having being forced to move from Angola in exchange for Cuban withdrawal from Angola in terms of Resolution 435.

# 1 000 honour Myeza

11/11/90  
Soweto

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

ABOUT 1 000 people yesterday gathered in Seshego to honour the dead executive member of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Mr Muntu Myeza, who died in a road accident last week.

Emotions ran high and many wept as the tragic and mysterious circumstances surrounding Myeza's death were described.

Glowing tributes were paid to his "dedication to the liberation struggle and the creation of a socialist Azania".

## Music

Moving drama and music were provided by the Cultural African Youth Arts who also rendered a song dedicated to Myeza.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Myeza's to express sympathy over the death.

Mrs Thandi Myeza said Mandela called her at her Diepkloof home from Uganda.

"He expressed sympathy and said he was with us in spirit," she said.

Myeza was in prison with Mandela at Robben Island during the 70s.

# Crossroads peace talks in balance

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By CHRIS BATEMAN

A MEETING today between the feuding factions in Old Crossroads, chaired by the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, hangs in the balance after a weekend of violence.

The home of a member of Mr Jeffry Nongwe's breakaway faction was torched and shot at by men in balaclavas, several other homes were attacked and a special constable was arrested for attempted murder after a shootout on Saturday.

The shootout between special constables supporting one or other squatter faction broke out about 9.30pm on Saturday. The official police unrest report confirmed that shots were fired at "a group of special constables", adding that a man was arrested. A police spokesman refused to elaborate.

Well-placed sources said the arrested man was a special constable and the shootout was between special constable supporters of the factions.

Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxogongwana last month lashed out at special constables, saying they attacked his supporters and sided with Mr Nongwe. He called for their removal.

Yesterday Mr Gladstone Ntamo, spokesman for the Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa), under which Mr Nongwe's faction falls, appealed to Mr Kriel to "tell his people (Mr Ngxogongwana's town committee) to stop attacking us, otherwise the meeting can never take place".

"We'll go to the talks, but not if these attacks continue," he added.

Mr Ricky Schelhase, government adviser to the Old Crossroads town committee, asked for evidence to support Mr Ntamo's allegations that the torching was by people driving a town committee minibus. He confirmed that several homes in the new Phase 2 development were fired upon with shotguns.

## forts beaten Boris

re-skating  
ed as the  
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and large  
face.

But yesterday it was rumoured that "Katy" was smuggled into rented Becker's house near the courts last week.

● Meanwhile the man who defeated Becker in a thrilling five-set match, new Wimbledon champ Stefan Edberg, is expected to announce soon that he will marry his long-time girlfriend Annette Olsen.



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

Call Times 10/7/90



IT IS a pity that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his road crew did not bring with them on their American tour a case or two of "The Road to Peace", the intriguing booklet published last month by the ANC's Department of Political Education setting out the party line on negotiation.

Despite Mandela's having raised some \$7 m (about R18 m) during the stay here, perhaps the ANC still lacks the funds to ensure its official thinking is properly circulated abroad. The Consultative Business Movement might like to hold a whip-round. Failing that, surely there could be no objection to South Africa's embassies mailing the stuff out, especially now that the government and the ANC are so closely co-operating in affairs of state.

There is too much valuable thinking in "The Road to Peace" for it to be restricted to cadres in South Africa. Without it, how are the poor "imperialist posers", as the pamphlet's authors so felicitously call them, fully to understand Mandela's message? Lacking the proper textbooks, can they really be expected to appreciate the ANC's moral grandeur or boldly novel analysis of history?

**Honourable man**

Out here, if we are to continue doing the ANC's bidding, we need to know its vision of what negotiation is and how it fits into the overall gameplan. Otherwise, like President George Bush and a growing number of "improperly briefed" congressmen and senators, we might misinterpret its totalitarian instincts and its reluctance to renounce the armed struggle.

Since Mandela is an honourable man, a loyal member of the ANC, and does not, by his own account, believe in tailoring his remarks to suit the taste of specific audiences, one can only conclude that his silence on many of the booklet's most arresting ideas during his stay here was an oversight.

Given a little more time, I feel certain he might have explained to his hosts that in its approach

# ANC's booklet on negotiation would've gone down a treat

to negotiation, the ANC was much taken with the example of Hanoi.

As is explained on page 20 of "The Road to Peace": "The Vietnamese struggle saw five years of negotiations with the US imperialists before they finally withdrew. During those five years, the war continued. The Vietnamese revolutionaries were always prepared to talk and resolve matters peacefully. At the same time, however, they were equally prepared to leave the negotiating table and defend their positions with arms in hand."

**Washington conniving**

The conclusion drawn in the next paragraph is so much clearer than all those clichés about the ANC being committed to peace but being forced to take up arms to defend itself. "Negotiations," we learn, "are not an alternative to struggle. They are part of an ongoing struggle, whose outcome will be decided less by what happens at the negotiating table as (sic) by what happens away from it."

Sadly, this is not the only his-

tory "lesson" taught by the pamphlet. American politicians of almost all persuasions would have surely been entranced by the ANC's teachings on the subject of the Middle East peace process (page 21).

"Since 1977," the tutorial begins, "Washington has been conniving with Israel and reactionary Arab states to create a Middle East 'settlement' which excluded the independent representatives of the Palestinian people. Israel's invasion of Lebanon severely weakened the PLO's ability to wage armed struggle. Differences over the way forward split the organisation."

"Imperialism took advantage of this disunity, and tried to negotiate the future of the West Bank and Gaza with Israel and Jordan, excluding the Palestinians. Recognising this danger, the PLO stressed unity above all else. The most important thing was for Palestinians to speak with one voice.

"The most effective response to the imperialists has been mass struggle in the occupied territor-



**ROBERT MUGABE:** Should have been more "canny" at the negotiating table.



**HOSNI MUBARAK:** OAU chairman is president of a "reactionary" Arab state.



**GEORGE BUSH:** Just another of Washington's "connivers" in the Middle East.

ies — the Intifada. Through a popular uprising lasting nearly two years, the Palestinian people rendered unworkable all schemes to bypass them and their organisation. The Intifada forced Jordan to back out of the imperialist plan and America has been forced to pressurise Israel into talks with the PLO."

I cannot imagine how Mandela was unable to share at least a few of these extraordinary insights with the President, Congress or even, privately, with Jewish leaders. Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Bush — connivers all? Egypt's president and current OAU chairman Hosni Mubarak a "reactionary"? ANC equals the PLO equals their respective peoples? The struggle against apartheid equals the Intifada? These are pretty interesting concepts.

**Less impressed**

"The Road to Peace" next examines the moral of the Namibian settlement, a subject Mandela has also mentioned from time to time, though with a slightly different emphasis.

He told the Council on Foreign Relations he liked the deal "because they have been able to establish a non-racial society without much difficulty." The ANC's political educators are evidently less impressed.

They opine that even though Pretoria had been defeated by Angola and Cuba at Cuito Cuavale, UN Resolution 435 left it "in control" through the transition to independence because the Namibian people "had had no input in shaping" the UN plan.

As a result, the South Africans were given "wide scope to interfere with free and fair elections". This, and by implication the unsatisfactorily multi-party result, "highlighted the need to the democratic forces to take the initiative in defining the internationally accepted process of a transition to a new South Africa." Heaven forbid that, constitutionally, South Africa should turn out like Namibia.

Had American policymakers been au fait with "The Road to Peace", they would undoubtedly have been fascinated to learn how came this divergence between the ANC and its deputy president. They would also have lapped up, in their inquiring and sophisticated way, the organisation's view (page 22) that Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe might have had his one-party state a lot sooner had he been a little more canny in the matter of negotiation.

Though they had taken the fight to 90% of the country with a mere 6 000 guerrillas, Zanu and Zapu were "not prepared" for

the Lancaster House "situation". "They had relied too exclusively on one form of struggle, and had failed to anticipate the shift in conditions" and were thus "forced to concede to a number of privileges for the white minority".

**Second tour**

The fools! Had they but seized "more initiative on the negotiation front" — as the ANC's brilliant commissars were now doing — "they might have held a stronger position" from which to dictate terms.

Since Mandela was unable to impart all this in person — at least not on this trip — would it perhaps not save him the trouble of a threatened second tour if the ANC or its rich friends were simply to make the booklet available? Besides, it would be so helpful for the Congress and the administration to know just exactly what it is they are dealing with when they sit down to discuss the easing of sanctions.

Among other things, they need to know that one of the reasons the ANC has decided to negotiate is that the failure to do so might "isolate the core of the Mass Democratic Movement from our more moderate allies". "The Road to Peace" is a useful primer on this "core".

# Oppressed confer over liberation

CAPT Truths 10/7/90  
11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conference of the Oppressed, convened by the Pan Africanist Congress at the weekend, resolved that the liberation of the oppressed was not negotiable and that the struggle would have to be intensified by a united mass movement.

The conference on "Which comes first, unity or negotiations?" was attended by 1 500 delegates of which two-thirds came from organisations affiliated to PAC.

Other organisations included the New Unity Movement, The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions.

PAC Western Cape leader Mr Barney Desai said that if the ANC backed down on the demand for a constituent assembly it would be a betrayal of the people.

"It (a constituent assembly) affords the opportunity for the 'general will' of the masses to be determined and to prevail in society. This is what real democracy is all about," he said.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said all organisations who represented the oppressed had been invited, including the ANC and Azapo, but neither had attended.

"The ANC officially declined because they said they needed time to present the invitation to the national executive. However, they wished the conference success. At least one ANC member attended in his unofficial capacity."

Mr Alexander said PAC had been expecting Azapo at the conference as it had indicated through its president, Professor Jerry Mosala, that Azapo members would attend.

However, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said Azapo had never received an official invitation to join the conference.

Mr Alexander said the conference was an opportunity for the oppressed to consult with each other on the question of negotiations and the critical importance of a constituent assembly. — Sapa

# ANC, Cosatu supporters are attacked

(11A)  
278

Sowetan 10/7/90

TWO people were seriously injured and 11 houses were razed when a group of vigilantes attacked ANC and Cosatu supporters at Enseleni township outside Empangeni on Sunday.

Cosatu's regional chairman for northern Natal, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, said a large group of vigilantes arrived at Enseleni at about 9am and attacked the houses of known ANC supporters.

People in the area tried to retaliate but eventually fled.

## 11 shacks razed at Enseleni

Vilane said the SAP arrived shortly afterwards and conducted house to house searches, looking for weapons.

He said while they were still there the group of vigilantes, many believed to be Inkatha supporters, renewed their attacks.

Eleven houses were completely burned down. The police had already left the area.

Vilane said two people were seriously injured, one shot and the other stabbed. Both were taken to hospital at Empangeni.

Yesterday's police unrest report said shots were fired at two private dwellings with AK-47 rifles and shotguns at Enseleni.

One of the houses was petrol-bombed and extensively damaged. - Sowetan Correspondent.

# ANC keeps door open for Boesak

ARCUS 10/7/90

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reuter

THE African National Congress and the United Democratic Front have left the door open for Dr Allan Boesak.

Their reaction follows Dr Boesak's resignation from all church positions after disclosures of his relationship with TV journalist Elna Botha.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, was reported to have told a news conference in Johannesburg that the disclosures would not affect the anti-apartheid struggle.

The UDF (Western Cape) said in a statement yesterday that Dr Boesak had played a tremendous role and "we believe he still has a role to play in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

## US church leaders

Dr Boesak's resignation from all church positions has left a cloud of uncertainty over the future of his Foundation for Peace and Justice, and scores of impoverished rural church communities and students could face financial disaster if the foundation closes.

In the United States, church leaders expressed shock at the disclosures about Dr Boesak and Ms Botha and said they hoped the affair would not hurt his anti-apartheid activities.

"This hits you like a ton of bolts," said the Rev Edwin Mulder, of the 70-million-member World Alliance of Reformed Churches which Dr Boesak has headed since 1982.

The Foundation for Peace and Justice, formed soon after Dr Boesak became president of the alliance, organises conferences, publishes documents, gives bursaries to University of the Western Cape students and helps rural Sendingkerk communities.

The Rev Lionel Louw, chairman of the board of trustees of the Bellville-based foundation, said last night its future would be decided at a meeting with Dr Boesak and the Ned Geref Sendingkerk later this week.

"I believe he's out of town and will only be returning to Cape Town tomorrow. Only after meeting him will we be able to decide what our next step will be," said Mr Louw.

The Rev Johan Retief, chairman of the church council of the Sendingkerk in Bellville South where Dr Boesak was a minister until Sunday, said the foundation was an extension of the church's ministry.

Mr Retief said the council would meet tonight to prepare for Saturday's meeting where Dr Boesak's resignation would be discussed.

## "Welcome"

Meanwhile, the UDF (Western Cape) said in a statement yesterday that Dr Boesak had played a tremendous role in the struggle for liberation.

"We believe he still has a role to play in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. He will always be welcome within our ranks. We consider this matter personal and we hope he will be able to resolve his problems," said UDF chairman Mr Bulelani Ngcuka.

In the United States, Mr Mulder, general-secretary of the Reformed Church in America, called the disclosures about Dr Boesak and Ms Botha "painful news".

"There may be people who rejoice in this tragedy who are opposed to his cause or want to discredit the Christian movement. But all of us have feet of clay in one way or another."

## Restoration

Mr Mulder, who sits on the Geneva-based World Reformed Churches executive, said the issue was "a very serious matter but not an unforgiveable sin" and added he hoped there "could be a restoration".

Ms Marj Carpenter, spokesman for the Presbyterian Church (USA) which long supported Dr Boesak, said the fiery South African had "electrified" a Washington church conference last week but "seemed to be under a lot of strain".

United Church of Christ head Mr Paul Sherry said the affair should "in no way be allowed to diminish the significant contribution (he) has made to bringing freedom to the people of South Africa".





ALLAN BOESAK  
*sowetan 10/7/90*  
**Boesak still ours - UDF** (11A)

WORLD Alliance of Reformed Churches president, Dr Allan Boesak's religious world has fallen apart because of his involvement with SABC-TV presenter Elna Botha. However, he will be pleased to know his colleagues in the United Democratic Front still hold him in high esteem as an outspoken opponent of apartheid and would welcome him in their ranks.

Boesak has announced his resignation from all his church positions as his affair with Botha continued to receive publicity. He is patron of the UDF.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday Boesak still had a contribution to make to the struggle against apartheid.

"He has not sold us out, has he?" Morobe asked.

"So he is not on the Nationalists' side. I think that he, like many other people, will continue to make contributions to the struggle."

Morobe said the decision remained with Boesak to decide what role he wanted to play in politics in future.

● See pages 6 and 7

# Tributes pour in for Muntu Myeza

 (11A)  
*Sowetan 10/7/90*

THE Azanian People's Organisation has declared July a month of mourning in honour of executive member Mr Muntu Myeza.

Azapo branches nationwide have organised requiem services in honour of Myeza (40), who died in a car accident outside Bloemfontein last week.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said yesterday Myeza, who was elected secretary for defence at a central committee meeting in Cape Town last weekend, "was a national leader and not just an Azapo leader".

## Tragic

"Comrade Muntu was a revolutionary. He was among the few genuine and committed revolutionaries in Azania across the spectrum of liberation movements."

The Black Allied, Mining and Construction Workers' Union said: "We note with great sadness the tragic end of Comrade Muntu's life under mysterious circumstances."

"We in Bamcwu remember him as a national leader who consistently refused to be identified as such but to be seen as an ordinary black man passionately committed to

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

the emancipation of the oppressed."

The Banking Insurance, Finance and Assurance Workers' Union expressed shock "at the untimely death of the revolutionary Azapo leader".

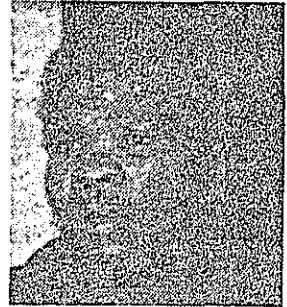
"Comrade Myeza worked tirelessly for the liberation of the oppressed and championed unity within the liberation movement as a whole."

The Food Beverage Workers' Union said it saluted Myeza for stick-

ing to the Black Consciousness philosophy until he died, despite several attempts on his life by "the Government and its agents. Notwithstanding attacks on him, he remained committed to Azapo".

The Centre for Labour and Community Research said at the age of 40 Myeza had achieved much in his life.

"The agony of homelessness, the anxieties of families who live under constant fear of eviction,



MUNTU MYEZA

the appalling wages which made the lives of workers worthless and the distorting impact of the educational system on black life, all added up to the sum total of his concerns."

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# Buthelezi warns of hidden agenda

Sowetan 10/7/90

SOWETAN Correspondent

## ANC leadership crisis looms - KwaZulu chief

THE African National Congress was like a big troop carrier careering down a city street with no driver - and when it crashed a lot of people would be hurt, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday.

He told Madame Michele Alliot-Marie, former French Cabinet Minister and deputy secretary-general of France's Rassemblement Pour la Republique, of his predictions of the crisis the ANC faced when strong South African Communist Party and Umkhonto we Sizwe factions battled with ANC officials for leadership at the ANC's important conference in December.

He also alleged that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was not effectively the ANC's leader but was being used by the organisation to rake in sympathy money as "the world's greatest martyr".

In a memorandum for



BUTHELEZI

discussions, he said he believed France needed a more balanced view of the South African situation than was given on Mandela's recent visit there.

There was an urgent need now to establish the basis for a multi-party democracy for this country to counter the ANC/Communist Party goal of a one-party socialist state.

He was concerned that the ANC/SACP saw the

kind of political solution State President FW de Klerk was looking for as simply an interim one.

The ANC would have to face a "very problematic" leadership crisis before it met this year for its first conference for decades. It had its accepted leaders but that leadership was divided.

First among them were those who held SACP leadership positions and who adhered to SACP agendas and loyalties.

Secondly, the ANC hierarchy contained the military leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, its military wing.

"They, too, have agendas," Buthelezi said. "And, even worse than separate SACP agendas, the agendas of Umkhonto are shrouded in mystery by the 'need-to-know' principles.

"Umkhonto leaders do not share their intentions, they do not share their strategies and plans with anybody. The ANC leaders do not know what Umkhonto thinks."

Just too much for TV man Fluxman

Good Morning South Africa TV newsreader Colin Fluxman, whose wife Elna Botha is rumoured to have a romantic relationship with World Alliance of Reformed Churches moderator the Rev Allan Boesak, was yesterday taken off the air shortly after reading the news about Boesak's resignation.

Fluxman, who was reading the 7am news as usual yesterday, fought back emotions as he read the report about Boesak's resignation from all his church positions following publicity concerning his relationship with SABC-TV presenter Botha, until three weeks ago his (Fluxman's) wife.

### Wife

Fluxman did well until when he had to read about Boesak and his wife, when he read only

Strikers die in ...

Own Correspondent

Call Times  
10/7/90

# O'Brien's Mandela allegation attacked

LONDON. — The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has slammed an article by academic Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien in which he claimed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was being manipulated by hardliners in the organisation when he urged Britain to talk to the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

In a letter to the Times yesterday, IAAM chairman Mr Kader Asmal, an exiled South African living in Dublin, said Dr O'Brien's "outpourings" last week were "a reprehensible attempt to establish the theory of a conspiracy in support of the IRA".

However, in the course of his letter, he did concede that the political wing of the IRA, Sinn Fein, was an IAAM affiliate — albeit one of 90.

Mr Mandela, he said, was "not a man who can be lightly influenced". If Dr O'Brien thought either he or the IAAM determined what he said in Dublin about the need for Britain to talk to the IRA, then he was "suffering from a severe illusion", said Mr Asmal.

He said the ANC vice-president had made a point during his tour of not commenting on the internal affairs of the countries

he visited. He had also made "general statements reiterating his preference for the peaceful settlement of conflicts".

"Journalists pressed him to elaborate on his views in relation to Ireland, but on no occasion did he do so.

"If Dr O'Brien wishes to inflame this into a statement of support for the IRA, then he must hold himself responsible for any kudos that the IRA may derive therefrom."

Mr Asmal said the IAAM was not a supporter of the IRA, nor was the IRA part of the IAAM.

"Sinn Fein is only one affiliate among some 90 organisations, most of which would be strongly opposed to its policies."

On Dr O'Brien's claim that "hardliners" in the ANC had a "totalitarian vision" of a future South Africa and were distancing themselves from Western liberal values, Mr Asmal said it

should be recalled that "the ANC adopted its constitutional guidelines over three years ago, firmly committing itself to a multi-party democracy in a free South Africa, with an independent judiciary and an entrenched bill of rights".

"These guidelines were unanimously adopted by the national executive committee of the ANC, following a recommendation by the ANC constitutional committee, of which I am a member."

He denied that the IAAM had changed its policies since Dr O'Brien was its "largely absentee" chairman. It had consistently supported UN policies on the academic boycott and sanctions over the past 25 years.

This was in response to Dr O'Brien's statement that Mr Asmal had "publicly attacked" him for breaking the academic boycott in 1986, when he lectured at UCT.

● Writing in the same paper, Cheshire resident Mr Geoffrey Peake asked why there was a furor about Mr Mandela's remarks concerning the IRA. "After all, the British and other governments have for many years been pressing the authorities in Pretoria first to release and then negotiate with Mr Mandela, who has yet to renounce the armed struggle."

## UDF holds disgraced Boesak in 'high esteem'

By Kaizer Nyatumba *Ste 10/7/90*

The United Democratic Front (UDF) still holds disgraced church leader Allan Boesak in "high esteem" as an outspoken opponent of apartheid and would welcome him in their ranks.

The UDF made this clear yesterday as the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches faced criticism over his involvement with SABC-TV presenter Elna Botha.

Dr Boesak, former moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, on Sunday announced his resignation from all his church positions.

Dr Boesak is also a patron of the UDF.

UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe yesterday said Dr Boesak still had a contribution to make to the struggle against apartheid. It was up to him to decide what role he wanted to play.

# PAC statement is ambiguous, says ANC leader

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE PAC remark at the weekend that it would continue its quest for liberation through "struggle" was ambiguous, internal leader of the ANC Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

He said the PAC recently released a statement saying a negotiated settlement in South Africa was inevitable.

However, at the weekend PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said his movement preferred to struggle for their freedom than to receive it "on a platter".

The PAC contradicted itself and provoked fears of a Renamo or Unita-type situation developing in South Africa.

Sisulu said the ANC

wanted unity and preferred to reach a settlement in the country alongside the PAC and other groupings.

"I'm not quite sure what the policy of the PAC is. The other day they issued a statement that negotiation was inevitable, it just had to take place. (11A)

"The following day they said quite a different thing.

"We have always taken the view that we want the PAC, we want all the people to unite. We will continue in spite of this, but will have to examine this change in policies from time to time," Sisulu said.

10/7/90  
Sowetan

# Liberation not negotiable, says PAC conference

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Sowetan 10/7/90

**THE Conference of the Oppressed, convened by the PAC in Johannesburg at the weekend, resolved that the liberation of the oppressed was not negotiable and that the struggle should be intensified by a united mass movement.**

The two-day conference was attended by about 1 500 delegates, mostly from organisations affiliated to the PAC.

Other organisations in-

cluded the New Unity Movement, The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Secretary general of PAC Mr Benny Alexander said all organisations who represented the oppressed had been invited.

They included the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation but neither had attended.

"The ANC officially declined because they said they needed time to

present the invitation to their national executive. However, they wished the conference success. At least one ANC member attended in his unofficial capacity," Alexander said.

ANC assistant general secretary Mr Henry Makgothi dealt with the invitation in the absence of general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo.

He said the invitation had only been received on Thursday before the weekend conference and that the issues to be discussed were not detailed on the agenda. - Sapa.

# Mandela mum on ANC camps in Uganda

Sowetan 10/7/90

11A



**KAMPALA** - Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni yesterday confirmed that ANC military camps were now operating from Uganda.

But ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, addressing a press conference on the last day of his state visit to Uganda, as part of a six week international tour, refused to comment on whether some camps had been established in Uganda.

The ANC was forced to move from Angola in exchange for Cuban withdrawal from Angola in terms of Resolution 435, the Namibian peace plan.

## **Rumour**

It was rumoured that Mr Mandela visited ANC training camps on Friday.

ANC officials only confirmed that the ANC leader had taken a helicopter ride out of the Uganda capital in the morning.

And Mr Mandela, recovering from a cold, said on Friday night he was feeling tired be-

## **SOWETAN Correspondent**

cause he had been walking a lot.

At the press conference Mr Mandela merely said: "This is naturally a matter I am not prepared to discuss with the media." Mr Mandela yesterday traveled in President Musaveni's private plane to Addis Abbiba to attend the fifty-second head of state summit of the organisation for African Unity.

# 'SA will be free soon' Mandela tells OAU

ARGUS 11A  
10/7/90

From  
Esmare van der Merwe  
Argus Special  
Correspondent  
in Addis Ababa



ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday that South Africa — the last country on the continent still subjected to white minority rule — would soon be free.

The ANC deputy president attended the 26th heads of state summit of the OAU in Ethiopia which he had been invited to address on behalf of the liberation movements in Africa.

Entering the African Hall in the United National Economic Commission for Africa (Uneca) building shortly before the opening of the year's summit the ANC leader was loudly applauded by the 51 heads of states and their delegations.

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, were led to special seats reserved for observers.

Special mention was made of President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, the youngest country of the OUA after its independence this year.

## Stampede

While Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Miriam was delivering his opening address in Arabic, hundreds of journalists caused a stampede outside as they were forbidden by security officials to enter the huge empty press section inside the hall. After having watched about 20 minutes of the three-hour opening session on closed-circuit television without translation facilities, they were allowed in.

After President Mengistu's opening address, President Nujoma was invited to re-

spond on behalf of all the member countries.

He vowed that his country would strive to promote economic co-operation in Africa, encourage peaceful resolution of political conflict and would vigorously oppose foreign interference in the domestic affairs of all African states.

In his address, Mr Mandela — hailed by several speakers as an heroic son of Africa and a symbol of hope to the entire world — said the independence of Namibia had signalled the further collapse of colonial and imperial domination in Africa.

## Days are numbered

South Africa, the last country on the continent still struggling for freedom, would be free "sooner rather than later".

He said: "Nothing can stop the process of the emancipation of our people. The days of the apartheid crime against humanity are numbered."

Mr Mandela expressed the hope that a post-apartheid South Africa could soon be able to take up its rightful place in the OAU and would thus be enabled to contribute to economic and political stability and co-operation in Africa, the maintenance of peace on the continent and the establishment of improved relations in the rest of the world.

In his speech, President Mengistu welcomed the reforms introduced by State President F W de Klerk, but

added that the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and partial lifting of the state of emergency had "in no way affected the structure of the inhuman system of apartheid.

The OAU had drawn "immense satisfaction" from Mr Mandela's release and the political progress which had been made had strengthened their determination to struggle for the speedy removal of apartheid.

## Closer ties

The OAU would encourage the process of negotiations between the Government and other political organisations. For negotiations to proceed it was essential that the Government met the preconditions stipulated in the Harare Declaration. It was thus essential that sanctions be maintained and the OAU carried a huge responsibility in ensuring that sanctions be implemented.

While Mr Mandela's presence and the political developments on South Africa was given much attention, several speakers highlighted the main goal of this year's summit — the forging of closer economic ties between African states to overcome the continent's pressing socio-economic problems, particularly in view of the world's shifting attention to Eastern Europe.

OAU President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, sketched a bleak picture of soaring foreign debt, poverty, disease and illiteracy on the continent.

The continent's foreign debt of 257-billion dollars was 230 percent of the value of African exports.

Ugandan president Yoweri Kaguta Maseveni was yesterday elected the new chairman of the OAU, a position he will hold for the next year.



# Rival Crossroads leaders meet today in peace move

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ARCH-OPPONENTS in Crossroads, mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, are meeting today under the chairmanship of the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Her-nus Kriel, to find ways to end the conflict that has caused death and misery in the settlement over many months.

Both men were expected to be accompanied by delegations.

Today's meeting follows two separate meetings between Mr Kriel and representatives from each side.

Negotiations on the situation in Crossroads originated in Mr Kriel's acceptance of an appeal by the Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, that he meet the squatter leaders to hear their complaints

and allegations first hand.

Mr Kriel succeeded in convincing first Mr Nongwe and, at a later meeting, Mr Ngxobongwana to try to resolve the conflict through negotiations. At the time, he likened the process to the Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC.

Today is the first time both sides are getting together.

Conflict between the two factions in Crossroads has focused on allegations by the squatters that Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters have been favoured by the town council, that the councillors have allegedly attacked and fired on squatter leaders and their supporters and that corruption is rife in the council's activities.

Councillors have denied the allegations, but the squatters have repeatedly appealed to the government to disband the Crossroads town council.

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## Defamation: Dhlomo wins

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who in his capacity as the then secretary-general of Inkatha sued the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and the former editor of the Sowetan, Mr Joe Latakomo, was yesterday awarded R7 000 damages arising from reports published in April, 1986.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann handed down his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court. — Sapa



**TRUCE . . .** Rival Old Crossroads leaders Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana (left) and Mr Jeffrey Nongwe (right) after yesterday's peace talks with Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning (middle). Picture: RICHARD BELL

# Crossroads 'war' truce

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A TRUCE was yesterday declared by the warring faction leaders in Old Crossroads after 10 months of bitter fighting in which dozens of people died and many homes were destroyed.

Mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his arch-rival, breakaway former chief headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, publicly committed themselves to stopping all violence and to further talks to try to resolve their "deep divisions".

The unexpected agreement, reached after nearly four hours of often acrimonious debate under the chairmanship of Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Planning, came after a weekend of renewed violence.

The two groups agreed to appoint the respected community leader and chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers'

Association, Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, as mediator and co-ordinator for future talks.

Five members of each group will form a working "peace" committee.

Speaking at a press conference with the rival committees flanking him, Mr Kriel said he was convinced the two men would keep their word. Both rivals declared themselves satisfied with the initial meeting.

Mediator Mr Mpukumpa, who carries the full weight and approval of the traditional "homeland" Xhosa chiefs, said "other commitments" had kept the chiefs from travelling down to Cape Town to help solve the problem.

Yesterday's meeting was held at Mr Kriel's offices.

Mr Kriel said that while he felt the talks were "historic", the biggest bones of contention were that each party felt the other

was responsible for the violence while Mr Nongwe's group questioned Mr Ngxobongwana's legitimacy among residents.

The question of an open referendum on the election of a new town committee would be high on the working committee's agenda, he confirmed.

Back in Crossroads late yesterday, Mr Mpukumpa, with the agreement of both sides, was trying to arrange a joint gathering in a local community hall to announce a massive get-together for tonight at which both leaders would speak.

"It's crucial to keep momentum going now and we don't want any misunderstanding contributing to further violence," Mr Mpukumpa said.

An immediate joint mass meeting was rejected because the menfolk had yet to return from work. They would be encouraged to return from work as early as possible today for the meeting.

*Cart-Times 11/7/90*

CNA TGIS 11/7/90

# Boesak's fall 'threatens' church unity

By DANIEL SIMON

DR Allan Boesak's sudden departure from church politics — because of his involvement with an SABC producer — could "jeopardise" years of intensive negotiations to get a new racially integrated Afrikaans church off the ground.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Rev Johan Retief, NG Sendingkerk campus chaplain at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Retief said Dr Boesak's presence at the church's next synod, in September, would have been "crucial" in finally uniting both the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa under one umbrella after four years of ongoing talks.

Mr Retief said a proposed name for the new church was the "United Reformed Church" which, if accepted, would unite hundreds of thousands of coloured and black worshippers of the same denomination later this year.

He said the churches were both sister churches of the white Dutch Reformed Church — which indicated that it would still practise a policy of separate worship.

The former NG Sendingkerk moderator was the "catalyst" in bringing the issue to such an advanced stage, Mr Retief said.

He said both churches would hold separate synods to decide on a unity

pact. Once completed, both churches would then hold a "joint synod" to form the new church.

"There will still be talks on church unity but, Dr Boesak's presence will be sorely missed. The fact that he will not be present at the synod could be harmful and jeopardise the unity pact," Mr Retief said.

Mr Retief said the church was still waiting for Dr Boesak's letter of resignation as moderator of the NG Sendingkerk.

This follows his announcement on Sunday to his Belville South congregation that his days as a church minister were over because of the scandal over the disclosure that he and SABC television producer Miss Elna Botha were having an affair.

Meanwhile, the UDF's assistant publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, yesterday said the organisation's national committee would first have to meet at the end of the month before any decision was taken on Dr Boesak's future. Dr Boesak is a UDF patron.

Mr Morobe said the UDF was of the opinion that the issue surrounding Dr Boesak was his "own personal problem" which would have to be sorted out between him, his family and the church.

The acting secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said the UDF would comment on Dr Boesak's position after it had discussed the matter — probably this week.

# Govt, ANC talk on political offences report

CAPE TOWN  
11/1/70  
JIA

JOHANNESBURG. — Government and ANC representatives yesterday held discussions on a recent report on political offences — and issues flowing from the Groote Schuur meeting.

A joint statement from the government and the ANC last night said it was essential that the contents of the report and of exchanges remained confidential at this stage.

The statement was released by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

“The (steering) committee agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways and means to resolve the issue,” said the statement.

These recommendations are to be presented to the respective principals next week.

“The steering committee is confident that the matter will be finalised without great difficulty and that the results will be made public.”

● Talks between the ANC and the government were not scheduled to resume on July 18, Mr Sisulu said yesterday.

“Mr Mandela’s statement that talks would be resumed when he returned on the 18th of July was misinterpreted to indicate that talks were being resumed on that date,” Mr Sisulu said. — Sapa

# ANC's violence stand causes concern in US

Sowetan 11/7/90

11A

NEW YORK - If there is one troublesome legacy left behind by Mr Nelson Mandela since his barn-storming visit to the United States it is the recurring echo of the ANC leader's defence of "the armed struggle" against apartheid - the very crime for which a South African judge sent him and other conspirators to prison - and what he believes is the ANC's continuing need to maintain violence, or the right to exercise violence, in the months ahead.

For all the wild applause Mandela received on his exultant US tour, most Americans are extremely uneasy about this stance, the better informed seeing it as a factor certain to damage the negotiations President de Klerk has set in train.

When it is obvious that the most grievous strife in South Africa is between rival black groups, in Natal in particular, which has already claimed thousands of lives, talk of maintaining an "armed struggle" rings badly to most American ears, if only because most Americans know full well what Dr Martin Luther King - and Mahatma Gandhi -

accomplished by rigidly sticking to the creed of non-violence.

Most Americans are aware that gestures of violence on one side almost invariably bring counter gestures of violence from another.

And many are unsure against whom Mandela reserves the right to invoke the "armed struggle." Against government forces - police and troops - on the grounds that they represent "government violence"? Against black political enemies? Against South African whites who might legitimately oppose his views?

Along with the uncertainty has come much

## SOWETAN Correspondent

contradiction and more than a little hypocrisy.

For all their veneration of Dr King, Americans saw little moral contradiction in Mandela's placing of wreath on the civil rights leader's tomb in Atlanta and at the same time flatly refusing to embrace King's credo.

Mandela brushed questioners aside with the reply, "Non-violence is a good policy when conditions permit," a statement that every international tyrant from Kemal Atatürk to Napoleon and Hitler might equally have endorsed.

## Origins

Still others, mindful of America's own violent origins and its present awful record of violence, have gone into agonies of self-doubt.

One noted *New York Times* columnist, Tom Wicker, for instance, thinks it is hypocritical of Americans to criticise Mandela's adherence to violence when the Bush Administration, with ample Congressional support, invaded Panama and killed four times more civilians than Panamanian soldiers, and 26 Americans - all in pursuit of one alleged criminal, ex-President Daniel Noriega.

## Invasion

Wicker, as other commentators have done, also makes much of the American invasion of Grenada, and bombing of Libya.

How, they ask, can America, in the face of this violent record, ask Mandela to be non-violent?

Perhaps it was the Mandela magic by which the charismatic ANC leader held Americans spell-bound, but what, for heavens sake, can have deceived intelligent Americans into believing that the US attacks on Grenada, Panama and

Libya or the American homicide rate has got to do with factional violence - or racial conflict - in South Africa?

Yet some would encourage it because they do not see the vital difference.

*Call time 17h00 (19h)*  
**Myeza burial Saturday**

JOHANNESBURG — The funeral of Mr Munta Myeza, formerly project director of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), will be held on Saturday at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto. The keynote address will be delivered by Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

# ANC and Cabinet to meet next Tuesday

Sowetan 11/7/90

11A

THE Joint Working Group of the Government and the ANC will meet again in Pretoria next Tuesday, the ANC has confirmed.

The group, formed after the Grootte Schuur meeting in April, is to discuss the status of political prisoners.

## SA Press Association

At a previous meeting in May the return of exiles was dealt with and shortly afterwards legislation was passed giving returning exiles exemption from prosecution.

It is not known if a statement will be issued after Tuesday's meeting which is due to start at 3pm.

Meanwhile, the ANC's chief of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, yesterday clarified reports about Mr

Nelson Mandela "meeting the Government on Wednesday, July 18".

He said Mandela was expected back in South Africa on that date and that a meeting would take place between the ANC and the Government some time afterwards.

# ANC's stance on Bop

Sowetan 11/7/90

11A

THE ANC's chief information officer, Mr Pallo Jordan, has dismissed as untrue a report by a Bophuthatswana newspaper suggesting that the ANC may recognise some form of "independence" for the homeland.

The *Mail of Bophuthatswana* published a report to this effect on the front page of its June 29 issue.

In an interview with ANC national executive committee member, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Bobby Saul of *The Mail* reported that Mkwayi "said that although the Bophuthatswana government would not agree to reincorporation into South Africa, the ANC and the homeland's government would agree on certain terms".

Observers said the report appeared to suggest the ANC may recognise a

degree of "independence" for the homeland.

Jordan yesterday refuted the report and expressed concern at the "ambiguity" of its wording.

"The ANC position is that we do not recognise bantustans," he said.

## Actions

However, the South African Government had created certain political realities that forced the ANC to appreciate certain actions taken by certain independent homelands, he said.

"If, for instance, the Ciskei abolished the death penalty, we cannot shrug off such an important development. I think such moves must be encouraged," Jordan said.

He said the ANC would adopt a policy of

encouraging the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa. The methods of doing this would be dictated by the situation in each of these territories. - Sapa.

Yesterday newspapers reported that the Government was "mystified" by reports that the ANC meeting would take place on July 18.

Government officials said no meeting was scheduled for this date.

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# ANC and Cabinet to meet next Tuesday

Sowetan 11/7/90

11A

THE Joint Working Group of the Government and the ANC will meet again in Pretoria next Tuesday, the ANC has confirmed.

The group, formed after the Groote Schuur meeting in April, is to discuss the status of political prisoners.

### SA Press Association

At a previous meeting in May the return of exiles was dealt with and shortly afterwards legislation was passed giving returning exiles exemption from prosecution.

It is not known if a statement will be issued after Tuesday's meeting which is due to start at 3pm.

Meanwhile, the ANC's chief of information and publicity, Mr Pallo Jordan, yesterday clarified reports about Mr

Nelson Mandela "meeting the Government on Wednesday, July 18".

He said Mandela was expected back in South Africa on that date and that a meeting would take place between the ANC and the Government some time afterwards.

Yesterday newspapers reported that the Government was "mystified" by reports that the ANC meeting would take place on July 18.

Government officials said no meeting was scheduled for this date.

## ANC's stance on Bop

Sowetan 11/7/90

THE ANC's chief information officer, Mr Pallo Jordan, has dismissed as untrue a report by a Bophuthatswana newspaper suggesting that the ANC may recognise some form of "independence" for the homeland.

The Mail of Bophuthatswana published a report to this effect on the front page of its June 29 issue.

In an interview with ANC national executive committee member, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Bobby Saul of The Mail reported that Mkwayi "said that although the Bophuthatswana government would not agree to reincorporation into South Africa, the ANC and the homeland's government would agree on certain terms".

Observers said the report appeared to suggest the ANC may recognise a

degree of "independence" for the homeland.

Jordan yesterday refuted the report and expressed concern at the "ambiguity" of its wording.

"The ANC position is that we do not recognise bantustans," he said.

### Actions

However, the South African Government had created certain political realities that forced the ANC to appreciate certain actions taken by certain independent homelands, he said.

"If, for instance, the Ciskei abolished the death penalty, we cannot shrug off such an important development. I think such moves must be encouraged," Jordan said.

He said the ANC would adopt a policy of

encouraging the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa. The methods of doing this would be dictated by the situation in each of these territories. - Sapa.

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# Mandela has pneumonia

AK601  
11/7/80  
11A



Mr Nelson Mandela . . . flown to Nairobi for treatment.

was held from December 7 until his release on February 11.

Prior to that, Mr Mandela had been "officially" in hospital four times outside prison and had been treated in a doctor's private rooms. The treatment was not linked to Mr Mandela's lungs.

In May this year Mr Mandela entered a Johannesburg clinic. On leaving he was given a clean bill of health by his surgeon who reported that he had removed a non-malignant, inflammatory cyst from the 72-year-old ANC leader's bladder.

Dr Louis Gecelter, who had treated Mr Mandela while he was in prison in 1985, said routine tests had been conducted on Mr Mandela's heart, lungs and abdomen.

"They have all been perfectly normal. He is a very fit man for his age," he said.

● Government-ANC talks latest — page 6.

From ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Special Correspondent  
ADDIS ABABA. — Nelson Mandela has pneumonia.

The deputy president of the African National Congress was flown from Addis Ababa to Nairobi, Kenya, today, a day ahead of schedule.

Mr Mandela caught a cold in Dublin and complained yesterday that a cough that had bothered him for some time was getting worse.

He was examined by specialists from Tanzania and Ethiopia and ordered to rest after they had diagnosed pneumonia.

ANC director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki said the doctors had said there was no reason to worry because the attack was "slight".

However, they had recommended that he be flown to Nairobi immediately because the Ethiopian capital's high altitude would slow his recovery.

## Taking all precautions

Addis Ababa, where Mr Mandela was attending the Organisation of African Unity summit as part of his six-week international tour, is almost 3 000 metres above sea level, the highest city on the continent.

Mr Mbeki said: "The doctors said it was not serious, but they wanted to take all precautions because of Mr Mandela's political stature."

Mr Mbeki said Mr Mandela was feeling fine this morning and could have filled his engagements but had decided to follow doctors' advice.

On Monday Mr Mandela was reported to have a heavy cold and was looking tired and frail.

He wore a heavy black overcoat throughout the opening OAU session, only removing it to speak.

A hectic tour schedule has raised concern about Mr Mandela's health. If he became seriously ill it could complicate negotiations between the government and the ANC, which are to continue soon after Mr Mandela's scheduled arrival in South Africa on July 18.

## Persistent cough

● On August 12 1988, while Mr Mandela was being held at Pollsmoor Prison, he was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital for tests for "a left-sided pleural effusion" which was later diagnosed as severe inflammation of the membrane surrounding the lung.

His lawyers said he had been in jail for nearly two weeks with a persistent, at times bloody, cough before he was admitted.

Later, the government confirmed that Mr Mandela had tuberculosis but that it was not infectious.

After more than a fortnight at Tygerberg he was transferred to the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead where he occupied a private ward under strong police guard.

On November 25 the government announced that Mr Mandela would not return to Pollsmoor but would be moved to "suitable, comfortable and secure" living quarters.

This was a prison warden's house in the grounds of Victor Verster prison at Paarl where he

# Buthelezi offers merger with either NP or ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday held out the possibility of a merger with either the Government or the African National Congress (ANC) in centre-stage politics in future.

In his opening address at an Inkatha business forum at a Johannesburg hotel, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha, which will this weekend become a full-fledged non-racial political party, had always been at centre-stage. As the ruling National Party (NP) from the right and the ANC from the left moved towards centre-stage they would find Inkatha there.

"Inkatha will be there to combine with any other political force

which is there, because it (Inkatha) seeks national unity and wants to promote reconciliation.

"If the NP is too late in arriving Inkatha will combine with the ANC if it has already arrived. If the ANC is too late in arriving, Inkatha will combine with the NP if it has arrived. Centre-stage political forces will have to put the past behind them and thrust together towards a new future," Chief Buthelezi said.

The KwaZulu leader, who said winner-takes-all politics had no place in South African life, told the Inkatha business forum that South Africans would reject any form of one-party state rule.

South Africans, he said, wanted to move away from apartheid "with absolute determination", but they would not "leap away from apartheid over precipices

and trust to some posturing political leader — or to luck — to land on their feet".

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that Inkatha will hold a national conference in December as a non-racial political party, and would then adopt a new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would not pursue economic policies which had failed in the Soviet Union and which were "now lying in tatters in East Europe". In its economic policy, Inkatha would take the best from the NP and the ANC because it was determined to evolve an economic policy which would be above party politics and put South Africa first.

However, Inkatha would not be able to avoid "looking at the realities of the demand for the redistribution of wealth and the redistribution of land in particular".

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11/7/90

## Confidentiality stressed

The controversy in the media over the report of the working group on political offences was discussed yesterday at a meeting of the steering committee, consisting of South African Government and ANC representatives.

A joint statement by the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Stoffel van der Merwe, said it was essential that the contents of the report and of exchanges remain confidential at this stage.

Issues flowing from the Groote Schuur Minute were also discussed.

"The committee agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways and means to resolve the issue," the statement said.

These recommendations are to be presented to the respective principals next week.

"The steering committee is confident that the matter will be finalised without great difficulty and that the results will be made public," the statement said.

— Sapa.

# Mandela's date for talks 'misinterpreted'

11/7/90

Talks between the African National Congress and the Government were not scheduled to resume on July 18 as reported in the media, which wrongly attributed its source to Nelson Mandela, the ANC said.

At least one senior member of the foreign press has said that Mr Mandela's statement on the resumption of talks had been ambiguously reported.

On Monday ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said Mr Mandela would consult the NEC on his return and only then would talks resume.

Accusations that the ANC is dragging its heels have been attributed by a paper to Government sources.

"The ANC only agreed at Groote Schuur to commit itself to the May 22 deadline which was met when the joint working group submitted its report to both of us (ANC

and the Government)," Mr Sisulu said.

The ANC would once again be communicating its dissatisfaction concerning the Government's use of the media and parliament to communicate with the ANC, another spokesman said.

"We only approached the media as a last resort and not to score a point against the Government," Mr Sisulu said yesterday.

He added that the whole question about the resumption of "talks" was based on a misinterpretation of the Groote Schuur Minute.

"The issue of talks and the removal of obstacles to talks have been wrongly interpreted as one and the same thing."

He said until the Government formally communicated its acceptance of the input of the ANC National Executive on the joint working group's report, the ANC was hamstrung. — Sapa.

# Mandela asks UN to put back debate on SA

11A  
CAR-Times 11/7/80

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has asked the United Nations to postpone any further debate on South Africa until Christmas, according to diplomats.

He made the request to both UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar and General Assembly president Mr Joseph Garba in private meetings before his address to the UN last month.

The move was seen as a vote of confidence in Pretoria's readiness to negotiate and as an attempt to ensure a favourable climate for negotiation between now and the end of the year.

Mr Mandela reportedly explained that the UN had achieved consensus by adopting last December's declaration on apartheid, which effectively endorsed most of the ANC's negotiating demands, and did not want to see the consensus broken by further debate.

Mr Garba, former chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, had earlier set aside July 18 to debate the secretary-general's coming report on South Africa. It is unclear whether he will accede to Mr Mandela's request.

Mandated by the declaration, the report was supposed to have been ready by July 1. Its official release is now scheduled for Friday.

Running to some 50 pages, it is not expected to contain any recommendations. For the most part, it will summarise what government officials and

extra-parliamentary leaders told the UN team that visited South Africa last month.

Fifteen governments, including Britain, have submitted for inclusion statements of their own policies and views.

● In London, South Africa will come under the spotlight in November, when members of a House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee visit the country as part of an inquiry into "UK policy towards South Africa and the other states of the region".

They will produce a report, probably early next year, to which the British government must respond within two months — about the time the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, is expected to visit South Africa.

Committee assistant Mr Philip Moon said yesterday that it was probable all 11 members of the committee would make the trip, provisionally due to start on October 27.

During the first week they would visit Southern African countries, including Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi.

In the second week they would be in South Africa itself, for a series of informal meetings with as wide a cross-section of opinion as possible.

The committee comprises seven members of the Conservative Party and four from Labour.

# Mandela in IRA storm

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela flew into a political storm on his arrival here yesterday over his call for the British government to talk unconditionally with the Irish Republican Army and stop the "mutual slaughter" in Northern Ireland.

Although Downing Street was maintaining an icy "no comment" line last night, Whitehall sources described the deputy ANC leader's remarks — made on his visit to Dublin — as "ill-advised".

Both Conservative and Labour Party MPs condemned both his suggestion that Britain enter negotiations with the IRA without insisting that it lay down arms

and his refusal to condemn the outlawed organisation.

Yesterday Mr Mandela tried to tone down the uproar, saying he regretted being dragged into a dispute and that his words had been distorted.

"I only get involved in my own country ... what concerns me is that people are killing each other, when a dispute could be settled," he said.

Mr Mandela arrived in London to an official welcome by a deputy foreign minister, Mr William Waldegrave — one of the lowest-level receptions he has received so far on his 15-nation tour.

There are now suggestions that his long-awaited meeting with Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher could be "soured" by the remarks.

They came just days after an IRA bomb destroyed the Carlton Club in central London — the bastion of Tory party social life — and in the wake of the recent IRA assassination campaign on the Continent and mainland Britain.

Some believe, too, that Mr Mandela's image as a peace-maker has also been damaged.

Even Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock, a staunch supporter of Mr Mandela, distanced himself from the statement.

Mr Kinnock said that if Mr Mandela saw a parallel between the IRA and the efforts in Africa to secure freedom from colonialism he had been "extremely badly advised". — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa

# Land possession will become fierce issue in new SA

Star # 7190 (11A)

Land — or more accurately its inequitable division between whites and blacks — lies at the heart of the South African conflict.

The determination of white farmers to defend their lion's share of agricultural land is reflected in the result of a recent referendum: nearly 95 percent voted for retention of the status quo.

In what many observers consider a loaded question, farmers were asked by the Transvaal Agricultural Union if they favoured "white preservation of the land".

The skewed question, as much the answer, reflects how strongly white farmers feel about land.

But feelings run as deep on the opposite side of the racial divide, as the black majority, sensing that a new dispensation is in the offing, prepare to stake their claim to a bigger share of the land.

The origins of the land dispute date back in large measure to the frontier wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. Those wars, known to black historians as wars of dispossession, or wars of conquest, saw the black share of land shrink dramatically.

In 1913 the results of the wars were enshrined in law: the Land Act restricted the black share of the land to hardly more than 6 percent of

The history of South Africa can best be described as a struggle over land. It goes back to the frontier wars of the 18th and 19th centuries. With the dawn of the 21st century barely a decade away, land is still a major issue among white farmers and landless black people, foreshadowing vigorous discussion when the subject reaches the negotiating table. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

South Africa.

It was one of the first causes taken up by the ANC after its formation in 1912.

Professor Julius Lewin's remark, made more than 30 years ago, remains apposite today: "Parliament thus presented the congress (ANC) with a grievance as deep and wide in its incidence as any that could have been imagined."

Later, in 1936, South Africa's white rulers, recognising the inequity of the 1913 Act, agreed to bring the black share of land up to about 14 percent.

But the then Prime Minister, J B M Hertzog, demanded his pound of political flesh: allocation of additional land was made conditional on removal of the small number of blacks who qualified to register as voters on the common voters roll in the Cape.

Later still, during the heyday of apartheid in the 1960s, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd demanded an even heavier price: the loss of their

claim to all political rights in the 86 percent of South Africa which was designated white.

Under the apartheid order, black political rights and ownership of agri-cultural land were confined to their "own areas" or "tribal homelands", which, after the final delivery of the extra quota of land promised in 1936, would amount to only 14 percent of South Africa.

It is a reflection of white reluctance to part with land — even under those favourable conditions — that the full quota of land promised in 1936 has still not been delivered.

The ANC and its offshoot, the Pan-Africanist Congress, refused to countenance Verwoerd's policies, insisting on an equitable share of the land for blacks, and on their inalienable right to full citizenship in the whole of South Africa.

When the ANC and the PAC were outlawed in 1960, even the perceived collaborators who rose to power,

briefly, under Verwoerd's apartheid empire, maintained a constant clamour for more land.

They were met by the stern reply of Verwoerd's successor, Prime Minister John Vorster: he would, he said sombrely, fulfil the promise made in 1936, but he would not concede a square centimetre beyond that.

The historical wheel has now turned 180 degrees if not full cycle: President de Klerk has abandoned Verwoerd's policies, signalling his willingness to grant equal citizenship to all South Africans and to scrap the discriminatory Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. Hence the nervousness of most white farmers.

But the scrapping of the Land Acts is unlikely to resolve the problem or satisfy the demand of indigenous black people for a just share of the land. The free sale of land under a market economy is likely to work in favour of wealthy whites, not impoverished blacks.

## Maldistribution

The major beneficiaries on the free sale of land will be the large landholders and giant corporations, accentuating rather than rectifying the maldistribution of land.

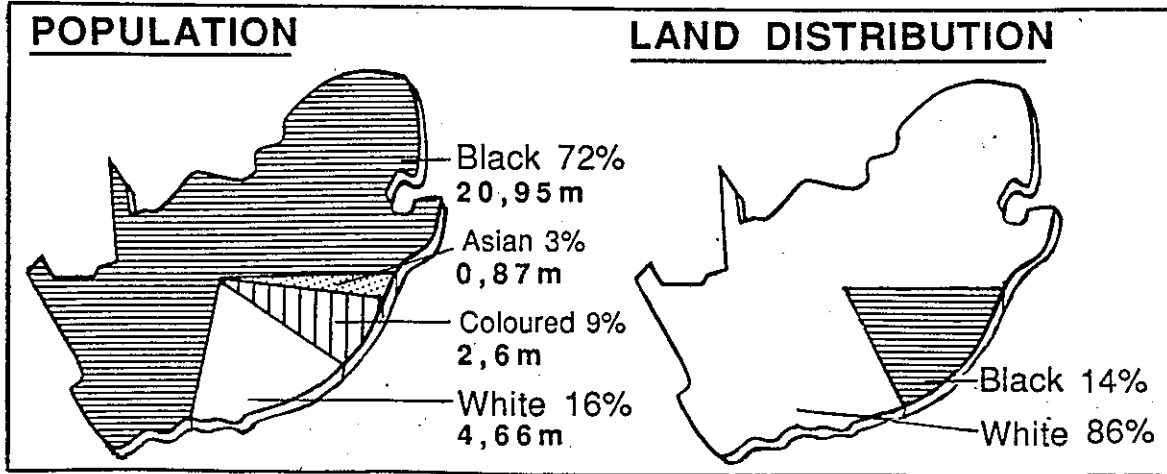
These predictions — made by a wide range of observers of, and participants in, South Africa's political dispute — form the background to increasingly shrill cries for State intervention to redress the imbalance.

Land remains a major point of contention even within organisations seeking a radical redistribution of land.

The ANC proclaims: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

The PAC, asserting the claims of indigenous blacks, the "rightful owners" as it calls them, accuses the ANC of betraying the black majority by giving parity to whites who "usurped" the land in the first place.

The land conflict is still a long way from resolution.





# Dignitaries pay homage to Myeza

11A

DELEGATIONS from organisations across the South African political spectrum have visited the home of Azapo executive member Muntu Myeza to express sympathy since his death last week.

Myeza died in a car crash outside Bloem-

**By Sowetan Reporter**

fontein.

Executive members of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress have visited the home in Diepkloof,

*Sowetan*  
Soweto. 1117190

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who was the last ANC executive member to see Myeza, phoned from Uganda to express his sympathies to Myeza's wife, Thandi, and their three children.

Delegations from several embassies, the South African Youth Congress and the South African Council of Churches as well as individuals like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC president Dr Manas Buthelezi have also visited the home.

# ANC to respond to offer of more talks

## Zac de Beer 'encouraged' by Mandela

Political Staff

NELSON Mandela's request to the United Nations not to debate the South African issue before Christmas suggested he was prepared to compromise, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, said today.

If the UN responded, Mr Mandela's request would effectively cancel the General Assembly's annual week-long debate on South Africa towards the end of the year and the UN sitting where the government always came under fire.

Dr De Beer said he was greatly encouraged by the report of what Mr Mandela had done.

### OPTIMISTIC

"This strongly suggests that he is optimistic about progress in the negotiations by early next year at the latest," he said.

"Knowing as he does what the government's attitudes are, this in turn suggests that he is prepared to move towards some form of compromise line. This can only be good news."

The Minister of Education and of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night the government-African National Congress steering committee had met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss issues flowing from the Groote Schuur Minute.

Controversy over the report of the working group on political offences was discussed, he said. The committee agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways to resolve the issue.

"These recommendations will be presented to the respective principals during the course of next week," he said.

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE government and the African National Congress could still meet at ministerial level this month for talks about talks.

Government sources said that a specialist group from the government negotiating team could meet an ANC team under deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to try to resolve the thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return.

The ANC answer was originally expected on July 10 but was delayed because of Mr Mandela's tour overseas, among other problems.

The government sources were

commenting on reports that the next round of talks would take place only during the second half of August.

ANC spokesmen said Mr Mandela would need to rest on his return.

Government sources said today they expected Mr Mandela would spend about two weeks working before taking a "spell of leave."

They said a brief meeting could take place before he departs.

The meeting is also expected to discuss setting a date and agenda for a fuller round of talks, to be held probably after August.

This round would also address the stumbling blocks to negotiations proper.

# Inkatha slams ANC man

Sowetan Reporter

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade are furious over African National Congress Natal leader Mr Harry Gwala. 11A

The Inkatha youth movement said in a statement yesterday that Gwala should stop instigating violence and sowing hatred and disunity but rather steer his organisation towards peace. Sowetan 11/11/90

Gwala's alleged call at the weekend for war against Inkatha and his constant rhetoric in support of the armed struggle were in sharp contrast to some of the remarks made by other ANC members, the movement said.

It said it was "devastated" by Gwala's remarks in Maritzburg that Inkatha was responsible for the violence in the region.

"We were shocked that Mr Gwala could so bluntly blame Inkatha for the black-on-black violence," it said.

Mandela 2/7/90

manent secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said no activities were planned.

He would not say how long Mr Mandela would remain in Kenya, but the Kenyan government had announced earlier that Mr Mandela would visit Kenya for two days from today.

● It would be much harder to reach a settlement in South Africa without Mr Mandela's full and active participation in the negotiation process, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

Dr De Beer, who is a medical doctor, said he hoped the type of pneumonia the ANC deputy leader had contracted was not serious.

Mr Mandela was needed because of his personal authority and high stature, Dr De Beer said.

Mr Dullah Omar, vice-president of the UDF Western Cape, called for the work load on Mr Mandela to be reduced.

"We in the Western Cape are very concerned about the tremendous responsibility and amount of work which was placed on Nelson Mandela's shoulders.

"The pace with which he has been compelled to work cannot continue indefinitely," Mr Omar said.

● Since he was treated for tuberculosis while still imprisoned in 1988, Mr Mandela has had several operations.

In May, shortly before he left on the arduous European/US tour, a cyst was removed from his bladder. — Sapa-AP and Staff Reporters

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## SACP prepares for launch

Sta 12/11/90 Political Staff (11A)

The South African Communist Party's mouth-piece, Umsebenzi, was distributed throughout the country today in preparation for the party's launch at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, this month.

The SACP will be launched at a rally at the First National Bank Stadium on July 29.

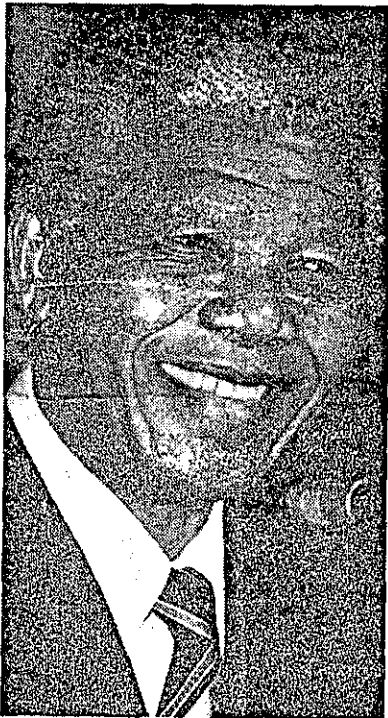
The rally, according to "Umsebenzi", will be addressed by SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and deputy commander Chris Hani.

SACP central committee member Mac Maharaj said the recently published 10 000 copies of Umsebenzi were not the first issue of the publication to be produced in South Africa since the party's unbanning.

Sowit 12/7 - 18/7/90

# Ceasefire 'trade-off'

11A



NELSON MANDELA  
Cessation of hostilities

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Indications were strong this week that the ANC will announce the cessation of hostilities as a trade-off for a general amnesty and indemnity for all political prisoners and exiles.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela is expected to meet President FW de Klerk soon after his return to the country next Wednesday.

Sources close to the ANC here said Mandela is expected to announce the cessation of hostilities soon after the talks with De Klerk and a meeting of the ANC's NEC.

It is expected that De Klerk would make a simultaneous announcement about the release of political prisoners.

Sources said within the ANC there was an acceptance of the government's

difficulty to release and indemnify members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the movement's armed wing, while a state of war existed.

They emphasised, however, that the ANC would retain its capacity to wage armed struggle against the regime.

Internal leader of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, said at a press conference here on Monday the "cessation of fire" would be announced as soon as political prisoners were released.

He stressed, however, that "obstacles" such as the Natal violence, would have to be removed before meaningful talks with the government could continue.

It is believed that the Joint Working Group, established by the ANC and the government after the Groote Schuur meeting in May, had ironed out most of the remaining problems regarding political prisoners and exiles.

## Positive

Representatives in the group are to report to the respective parties next week.

The "positive results" emanating from the Working Group's discussions are expected to "smooth" the Mandela/De Klerk talks.

Meanwhile, ANC sources said the next round of talks between ANC and government delegations would be held during the latter part of August.

Publicity chief Pallo Jordan said Mandela would be required to rest and consult the movements structures before the next round of talks could commence.

● Mandela's red Mercedes Benz, built by Numsa workers with unpaid overtime, will be presented to him at a rally at the Sisa Dukashe Stadium at Mdantsane near East London. The car is worth R250 000.

Sowit 12/7 - 18/7/90

## Rightwing backlash to revolt in rural areas

THE rural uprisings in several parts of the Cape has taken a new turn as conservative local authorities and businesses take reprisals.

In Vryburg the municipality has threatened to cut supplies of water and electricity to break a rent boycott.

In the North-Eastern Cape town of Burgersdorp blacks, who have embarked on a consumer boycott, are being refused petrol by local service stations.

● Full Reports — Page 2

# No to call to help 'reform

# Bantu education'

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — Black educationists have spurned a call by education and training minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe for them to cooperate in implementing a new education deal for blacks.

Mr Curtis Nkondo of the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) has flatly rejected the government's proposed new education deal for blacks in which the government committed itself to regenerating black education.

Van der Merwe made a declaration of intent in Welkom on Monday, saying no preconceived ideas were attached to his call. His new initiative was simply to end the disruption of black schooling, he said.

But Nkondo responded to the offer by accusing the government of trying to "reform Bantu education".

"We are not prepared to be partner in that kind of reformation. We want to negotiate as equal partners. The government should have person-to-person nego-

tations. *South 12/7 - 18/7/90*

"We all have to work together and try to resolve the impasse," Nkondo said.

Neusa had handed in many demands, but not one had been fully met.

"It is all very well to talk about R8-million set aside for books. The books should have been delivered in January — so talking about R8-million is unimpressive."

Nkondo said Neusa had asked that damaged schools be restored and upgraded. "Not one is being repaired."

He rejected a government claim that schools could not be repaired because school inspectors are being chased away. These officials did not build schools.

The African National Congress has also reacted with scepticism to the announcement of a new deal in black education.

Referring to the R8-million said to be put aside for textbooks, Mr Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Department of Information and

Publicity scoffed at the school-book grant.

"The sum mentioned is an insult. It won't even address the problem in one town."

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said Van der Merwe should not appeal to the black community to assist him in legalising his education system which "has been responsible for the way in which this society has developed over the last five decades".

Meanwhile, a slow return to school marked the official start of the third term under the Department of Education and Training (DET) on Tuesday.

Most schools in Soweto and Alexandra did not close when black schools closed for winter holidays on June 15. These schools will close on Friday and are due to reopen on July 31, the same day as the white Transvaal DET schools.

In Mamelodi, Pretoria, no pupils turned up for school on Tuesday.

# Mandela to address lawyers

*South 12/7 - 18/7/90*

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. —

ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela, now on his last leg of his tour of Europe, America and Africa, will deliver a keynote address when the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) hold its fourth an-

nual general meeting from August 3 to 5. 11A

The meeting, to be held in Durban, will focus on the role of lawyers and the judiciary in the 90s.

Mandela, who trained as a lawyer, is the association's honorary life president. Other speakers during the opening session will include Albie Sachs.

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## JOURNALIST

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# Confusion over ANC talks date

Sowetan 12/7/90

11A

THE Government and the ANC could still meet at ministerial level this month for talks about talks.

Government sources said a specialist group from the Government could meet an ANC delegation under deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela to try to resolve the thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing exiles to return.

## SOWETAN Correspondent

However, this has added to the confusion over the actual date for the meeting between the parties.

The ANC said earlier this week that the two groups would meet next Tuesday. However, Mandela is only expected back in the country the next day.

On Tuesday newspa-

pers reported that the Government was "mystified" by reports that the meeting would take place next Wednesday, July 18.

When the two parties do eventually meet again, it is expected the ANC would give its response to the report by an ANC-Government working group on ways to tackle the problem of prisoners and exiles.

## Response

The ANC response was originally expected on July 10 but various problems have cropped up, among them the fact that Mandela is still out of the country.

The Government sources were commenting on reports that the next round of talks would only take place during the second half of August.

ANC spokesmen said the delay would be caused by the fact that Mandela would need to rest after returning from his international tour next week.



MANDELA

However, the sources said yesterday they believed Mandela would be working for about two weeks after his return and would then "take a spell of leave".

They believed a brief meeting could take place before he took leave.

The meeting would tackle the issue of political prisoners and exiles and would also set a date and agenda for a fuller round of talks, which would probably take place after August.

This round would also be involved with addressing the stumbling blocks to negotiations proper.

AD

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# Photo man axed over ANC links

*South 127- 1817190*  
A ROW has broken out over the dismissal of a prominent Cape Town photographer by an international news agency allegedly because of his involvement in the ANC. Last month, Agence France Presse (AFP) informed Mr Rashid Lombard that his services were being terminated because it was not AFP policy to employ people who "simultaneously carried out official duties for a political organisation".

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

But Lombard said this was the first he had heard about this ruling.

"I have never been informed of any AFP policy regarding employment. I am a member of the ANC but do not hold an official position." (11A) (11B)

He said he surmised that his axing was motivated by a statement by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki at a Cape Town Press Club lunch earlier this year where Mbeki introduced him as part of the ANC delegation.

AFP bureau chief in Johannesburg, Mr Marc Hutten, confirmed that the agency had fired Lombard on the basis of Mbeki's statement.

Hutten said that while any AFP employee was free to belong to a political party, it was standard practice that journalists did not hold official posts in such organisations. . .

11A  
~~11B~~  
~~11C~~

## PAC house bombed

The home of a man believed to be a PAC supporter was petrol-bombed in Evaton, near Vereeniging yesterday.

12/7/90

Police said no one was injured and damage was slight.

The attack took place at 3.50 pm. No arrests have been made.

Clashes between PAC and ANC supporters in the Vaal Triangle and West Rand have left several people dead in recent months. — Crime Reporter.

# Mandela's biggest worry: his allies

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's biggest political problem is not apartheid; it is not the South African Government, much less is it President de Klerk.

His biggest problem is the liberation movement.

The most difficult challenge facing the leaders of the African National Congress is to transform the raw emotions of their supporters into a disciplined political force ready to back the deal that has been struck with the Government.

In all the political essentials Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk — who never tire of praising each other's "integrity" — are in agreement.

They agree that white rule must cease by the end of the present parliament, within four years. They agree that apartheid must be abolished and replaced by a one-person, one-vote democracy where racial discrimination has no place.

## Peaceful climate

They agree that the transition to democracy should be conducted in a climate of peace and political freedom. They agree that a *de facto* alliance between the ANC and the Government should steer the process. They agree that the constitution for the "new South Africa" should be arrived at through negotiations.

They have even agreed on the broad outline of what the new political system will look like, a majority rule system with the necessary "checks and balances" — one of Mr de Klerk's favourite phrases — to ensure that the blacks do not do to the whites what the whites have done to the blacks. The negotiations will centre on how to guarantee such safeguards.

The issues over which there is disagreement, notably the ANC's commitment to armed struggle and to sanctions, are more noise than substance.

The influence of noise — in this case revolutionary rhetoric — on South African politics should not be underestimated. Much inflam-



Nelson Mandela.

Mandela's understanding with F W de Klerk may set him apart from his supporters. JOHN CARLIN examines the two leaders' latest problems as South Africa moves towards democracy.



President de Klerk

matory potential exists there, much that can scare off the white and divide the black, complicating the political transition.

But noise is what the ANC's freedom struggle has largely been about, noise which has provoked fearful white governments into violent response. When the noise dies, so will the violence. At that point the Mandela/De Klerk plan will be put into action.

When constitutional negotiations formally begin — probably early next year — it will not be as if the two sides are venturing into virgin territory. Mr Mandela had been discussing the shape of post-apartheid SA with Ministers for three years before his February 11 release from prison.

The breakthrough came when Mr Mandela conceded, in a letter to former president P W Botha early in 1989, that the essence of any future negotiations would be to find a compromise between the black demand for majority rule and the white demand for constitutional guarantees.

In other words, Mr Mandela recognised the validity of the Government's insistence on "protection for minority (meaning white) rights". It was that, as much as anything, that gave Mr de Klerk the green light to try to break the deadlock of revolt, repression and revolt of his predecessor's rule.

Behind the scenes discussions between Mr Mandela and the Government, and more recently between ANC and Government strategists, have gone beyond identification of the conundrum to seeking solutions.

The ANC has called upon able black lawyers who keep a low profile to put its case in the talks with the Government, backed by a team of bright, usually young, ministerial technocrats.

These advisers, with the help of academics summoned by ANC leaders and Ministers to provide informed input on the nature of transition politics, have confirmed in recent weeks what Government officials have been hinting at publicly: that a two-chamber legislature is what is envisaged for the new South Africa.

## Ill-defined talk

One chamber, like the Commons, will be elected by the entire population on a common voters roll. The party which wins a majority will be the government.

It is on the details of the second chamber, where the checks and balances will come in, where specific agreement has yet to be reached. In broad terms this is where the various population groups will be able to have their say, but the problem lies in how to

define such groups without recourse to racial definitions.

There has been ill-defined talk among Government officials of "cultural groups", each of which would somehow accommodate people of different skin colours. Another problem lies in the veto powers this second chamber would have over Government. Will these be blocking or delaying powers?

A probable solution lies in the arithmetic of the system. If agreement is reached on a requirement of, say, a two-thirds majority in the second chamber before a Bill can become law, then, without having to resort to race mechanisms, a way might be found to ensure that the whites — and other minorities — retain a significant degree of power.

A further guarantee, and here solid agreement does exist, will be provided by a Bill of individual rights and an independent judiciary.

So far advanced are discussions between the ANC and the Government, such is the personal chemistry between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, such is the awareness of the need to join forces if negotiations are not to fail, that it is tempting to ask: why don't half a dozen leaders from each side get together and sort out the whole thing over dinner?

The fact that this cannot be done is what presents Mr Mandela, and to a slightly lesser extent Mr de Klerk, with their most immediate challenges.

Mr Mandela said upon his release from prison that there was no question of negotiating an agreement behind the backs and above the heads of the people. Not only is this not feasible on moral grounds, as Mr Mandela sees it, but on practical ones.

If the new constitution lacks popular legitimacy it is worthless. Mr Mandela, like Mr de Klerk, must deliver his constituency.

When Mr de Klerk promised "drastic change" and an end to racial discrimination during the parliamentary election campaign last year, very few National Party supporters imagined that this was the last time they would be voting for a white parliament.

The increasingly popular Conservative Party screams that he is acting without a mandate. The President's task is to persuade a previously complacent but now fearful and confused white population that democracy will make their lives better, not worse.

Mr Mandela faces a tougher test because black politics, far from complacent, has been characterised by energetic militancy.

## 'Facilitating'

While Mr Mandela was writing to P W Botha about the need for compromise, ANC comrades remained locked into the politics of revolution. Mr Mandela was indeed negotiating — he would say "facilitating" — behind the backs of his people.

Now his task is to steer them towards acceptance of his plan to end apartheid by peaceful means, a plan based on the recognition that since the white Government is far from weak, its demands must be taken into account.

Mr Mandela's task is to wean his people away from their outdated revolutionary goals (the only response to the bullying governments of the past) towards a

Handwritten notes: "IIA" in a circle, "Spec" with a date "12/7/90", and a scribble.

## Be vigilant, urges Hani

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —** People should form defence units to protect themselves against rightwing attacks, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

He said in King William's Town that people should not expect to be protected by MK but should defend themselves.

All railway stations and taxi ranks should be checked to see that there were no bombs.

He urged the Government to take firm action against right-wingers.

Mr Hani said the ANC was ready to take over Government but added that it would inherit enormous problems created by apartheid.

On nationalisation, he said the ANC was aware that the system had failed elsewhere including Africa. He pointed out, however, that the ruling government had nationalised industries to uplift Afrikaners economically. — Sapa.

# Mandela in riot-hit Nairobi

Sowetan 12/7/90

11A  
11B

**NAIROBI** - Nelson Mandela will arrive in Kenya's riot-torn capital today for a two-day visit, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, will hold a rally tomorrow, and the rest of his schedule has not yet been finalised, ANC representative Edward Makhasi said.

Fifteen people have been killed in Kenya in riots that erupted five days ago when crowds, demanding President Daniel arap Moi introduce a multi-party democracy, stoned police.

Mandela is attending an African heads of state summit in Ethiopia, which will conclude on Wednesday.

The 71-year-old activist will wind up a six-week tour of Europe, North America and Africa with a two-day visit to Mozambique beginning on Saturday, Makhasi said.

He will be back in South Africa in time to celebrate his birthday on July 18, the day Mandela has said negotiations will resume between the ANC and the government.

Sapa-Reuter

## Ex-cop elected to ANC exec

PORT ELIZABETH. —

A former Cookhouse Municipal policeman was elected to the area's branch executive committee of the African National Congress (ANC) last weekend.

Silumko Belani worked for the South African Police for about three years before resigning and working for SA Railways in Cookhouse.

More than 400 Cookhouse residents have already joined the ANC.

Mbulelo Goniwe, brother of slain community leader Matthew Goniwe and member of the ANC's regional executive committee, outlined the policy of the organisation to the scores of people attending the ANC's first meeting (11A)

Belani was elected assistant secretary of the Cookhouse ANC branch committee.

Others elected are: Xolisile Stemele (chairperson), Lizo Ndlela (vice-chairperson), Dalindyabo Mselana (General secretary), Silumko Belani (Assistant secretary), Minki Kakana (Treasurer), Mbuyiselo Jowi (Organiser), Zukiswa Botha, Nosiseko Stemele and Mimse Mpongoshe (additional members).

Uitenhage youth launched their branch of the South African Youth Congress last weekend as well.

Boy Mge was elected president.

# A Kenyan call to Mandela: Release our prisoners

W/Mail 1317190

NAIROBI: The wives of four prominent Kenyans detained without charge for criticising the government pleaded with Nelson Mandela on Thursday to intervene on their behalf and urge Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi to free the men.

"What is even more painful than the imprisonment of the black man by the white man is the unjustified imprisonment of the black man by the black man," said the women in an open letter to Mandela.

In all, six men linked to a campaign to legalise opposition parties were detained in a two-day sweep last week. They include two politicians who have been at the forefront of the multi-party campaign, three lawyers, one of whom edits a monthly magazine critical of the government, and the son of Kenya's first vice president.

Only the wives of the two detained politicians were not party to the letter, which also was signed by three women whose husbands either have gone into



Nelson Mandela in Kenya

hiding or left the country to escape arrest.

The one-page letter addressed to Mandela, who is a guest at Moi's official residence, was delivered to the office of the president for relay to the 71-year-old African National Congress deputy president.

Mandela arrived in Nairobi on Wednesday following four days of violence in which at least 28 people were killed. The fighting was sparked by a weekend pro-democracy rally dispersed by security forces with guns and teargas after demonstrators attacked a police officer.

— Sapa

# Silent <sup>CAT</sup> Boesak <sup>Trent</sup> awaits <sup>13/12/90</sup> church <sup>(11)</sup> verdict <sup>(12)</sup>

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak has returned to Cape Town but is avoiding the press while his lawyer has deferred all comment until Sunday.

He has resigned from all clerical positions over his relationship with television producer Ms Elna Botha.

Dr Boesak had been in Johannesburg to "get away from the spotlight".

His lawyer, Mr Essa Moosa, said yesterday that he had been instructed not to comment until after the NG Sendingkerk executive met on Sunday to consider the resignation.

He would not comment on any plans of Dr Boesak and the fate of the NG Sendingkerk-affiliated Foundation for Peace and Justice which Dr Boesak founded.

Uncertainty surrounds the foundation which is funded from overseas almost exclusively on Dr Boesak's initiative and which supports many of the NG Sendingkerk's rural communities and sponsors student bursaries.

Clerical colleagues of Dr Boesak have said he left them under no illusions about his determination to resign from all clerical positions when the scandal broke.

Some added that there was a possibility that the NG Sendingkerk might refuse the resignation as a "token gesture" while others felt this was highly unlikely.

Attempts to contact Dr Boesak at his Bellville South home and at his office yesterday were unsuccessful.



# Angry ANC dissidents repeat torture claims

(11A) Star 13/7/90

By Patrick Laurence

Two African National Congress dissidents surfaced yesterday to renew their call for a commission of inquiry into allegations of murder and torture in ANC prison camps.

Rodney Twala showed journalists a scar across his abdomen. He said it was the legacy of a bullet wound inflicted by ANC security men in Angola.

Mr Twala, a seasoned ANC guerilla of 47, was detained in Angola and ANC prison camps for five years.

He denied the ANC's depiction of him as the leader of a mutiny, insisting that he had been incarcerated for his role in voicing demands that the ANC hold a conference, in terms of its constitution, to discuss dissatisfaction among fighters over the policy of using them as combatants against Unita in Angola's civil war.

Also at yesterday's news conference was Nicholas Dyasop who, like Mr Twala, spent five years in ANC detention camps. He too had supported the call for a conference with the ANC.

The two men were part of a group of eight dissidents who returned to South Africa in May. One, Siphon Phungulwa, has since been murdered in the Transkei. Mr Dyasop, who was with him,



Revelations . . . ANC dissidents Rodney Twala (left) and Nicholas Dyasop detail allegations of torture against the ANC at a press conference yesterday.

● Picture by Sean Woods.

and himself narrowly escaped death, blamed the ANC.

Later, on June 27 and 28, there were meetings between six of the dissidents and senior members of the ANC, including one of the first ANC fighters, Wilton Mkwayi, at which they agreed to try to resolve their differences and not to issue statements to the press.

But, Mr Twala said yesterday, ANC leaders had since made inaccurate statements that the six had applied for readmission to

the ANC and their applications were under consideration.

The ANC's "abrogation" of the agreement meant that the dissidents were no longer bound by it, Mr Twala said. "We therefore . . . have to set the record straight."

He denied that he and his co-dissidents had applied to "re-join" the ANC. He said they had neither resigned nor been kicked out.

Mr Twala pointed to a contradiction between the public state-

ments of Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe army, and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela. Mr Hani denied there had been torture, but Mr Mandela admitted it had occurred.

"We demand a public inquiry into conditions in those prison camps," Mr Twala said.

Referring to the murder of Mr Phungulwa, Mr Twala, supported by Mr Dyasop, said: "The Transkeian police are busy with a massive cover-up . . . we predict that the murderer will never be arrested. Our decision to go public has been made in an effort to protect ourselves from a similar fate."

## No charges

In a separate statement, Mr Dyasop recalled that he had been imprisoned for five years "without being charged", and that ANC president Oliver Tambo had promised a commission of inquiry when he visited the dreaded Quatro camp in Angola.

He bitterly criticised Walter Sisulu for labelling the dissidents "government agents", saying it was tantamount to sentencing them to death by necklacing.

"Even those (ANC) leaders in exile who know us never labelled us agents," he said.

# SA legal system to go — ANC

By DANIEL SIMON

AN ANC government would totally overhaul the present legal system and replace it with one reflecting the political, social and economic changes brought about by the "struggle".

This is according to Mr Pen-  
u-ell Maduna, of the ANC's De-  
partment of Legal and Consti-  
tutional Affairs, speaking  
yesterday at a Black Sash-spon-  
sored conference entitled  
"Working for Justice — The  
Role of Para-Legals in SA".

He said that in order for the  
legal system to be "truly South  
African", the whole approach  
to law and human rights would  
be fundamentally transformed:  
It would borrow from indig-  
enous traditions, and would ad-  
dress imbalances in land and  
wealth distribution.

A future constitutional order  
would aim to find a role for  
people's courts. These would  
be run by community workers,  
or para-legals, armed with  
"basic skills" in law.

Mr Maduna said that one of  
the legacies of apartheid, and  
capitalism, was that justice was  
inaccessible to the masses.

The Roman Dutch legal sys-  
tem would have to be examined  
with a view to developing a new  
legal system.

The Roman Dutch system had  
been imposed by the coloniser

to enforce his idea of peace and  
order, taxation and the main-  
tenance of commerce and in-  
dustry. This was at the expense  
of the indigenous and other co-  
lonised peoples.

The new system would have  
to borrow that which was  
"good" from the indigenous tra-  
ditions, customs and modes of  
conflict resolution for it to be  
truly South African.

"It will also have to benefit  
from the accumulated experi-  
ence of other countries, par-  
ticularly in the area of human  
rights," Mr Maduna said.

The law should serve the in-  
terests of social justice, direct-  
ed at eliminating the poverty  
under which the masses suf-  
fered "while the few wallow in  
ill-gotten wealth".

He said people's courts had  
become "popular mass-based  
organs" of administration of  
justice during the struggle.

However, these courts had  
become associated with crime  
and were regarded with dis-  
dain by those who could not  
fathom the depth of popular  
feeling against apartheid jus-  
tice and its administration.

"With the participation of  
para-legals, these organs could  
develop into a means to ensure  
quick, inexpensive and impar-  
tial dispensation of justice in  
an atmosphere of mutual amity,  
trust and goodwill."

# The birth of the ANC

13/7 - 19/7/90

New Nation (Learning Nation)

11A

The South Africa Act, passed by the British parliament in 1909, was racist and sexist. It said only white males could vote in South Africa (see last week's article for details). The main purpose of the racist clauses in the constitution was to make it easier for the mines and farms to exploit African labour to the fullest. Without basic political rights Africans could not defend themselves against low wages and poor working conditions.

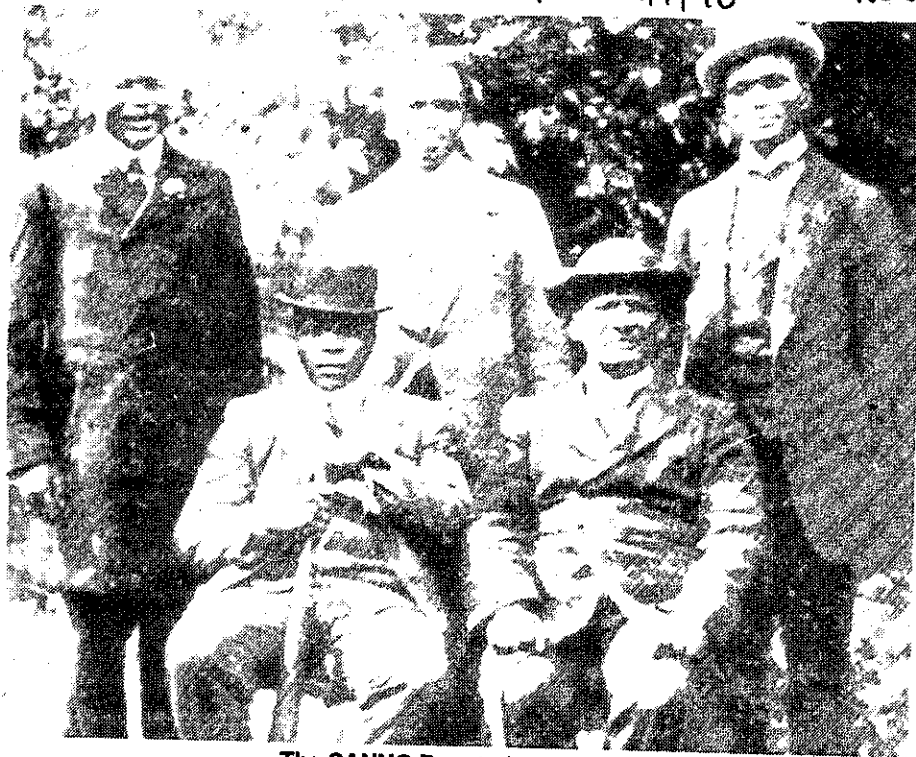
In this week's article we look at how Africans organised to fight oppression. We shall look at some methods used by the oppressed to fight for their rights. To make our task easier we shall discuss and use the term "ideology". This will help us to understand why certain ideas, and not others, were found useful in fighting oppression and exploitation.

## Ideologies of struggle

Human beings are a special kind of animal. Like other animals, they eat, drink and sleep. But, above all, they can think. Human beings have got various theories, ideas and beliefs about life. A set of ideas which a person has can be called an ideology. For example, some people believe that a woman's place is in the kitchen. We can call this sexist ideology: it is based on the idea that women are inferior to men. If you have such an ideology, you will probably discriminate against women, dislike women who wear trousers and be against contraception. In short, an ideology informs our everyday actions and vice versa. The ideology of racism is there to facilitate capitalist exploitation. We know that no matter how strong the exploiter-oppressor is, people will soon fight back. In fighting back the exploited people also need to use ideas to make their struggle stronger and to give meaning to it.

For example, what is wrong with the life we live? How can we change it? Who is the enemy? How can we fight?

Ideologies of struggle try to answer such questions. The success or failure of a people's struggle often depends on the correctness of their ideology of struggle in attacking the enemy and unifying the forces of liberation.



The SANNC Deputation to London.

In South Africa, various ideologies of struggle have been used by the exploited to wage their battle. Some have tended to focus on fighting racial discrimination and others seek to fight the roots of discrimination, that is capitalist exploitation. Let us look at African nationalism as an ideology of struggle in South African history.

## African nationalism and the ANC

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed on January 8 1912 at a conference in Bloemfontein. At that stage the organisation was called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). What was historic about this meeting was that tribal ideology and regionalism were rejected by the delegates to the conference. National unity among all Africans in South Africa was advocated.

With respect to tribalism, Pixley Seme, a lawyer who was a major force in organising the conference, said: "This is the first time that so many different tongues and tribes ever attempted to come together under one umbrella. We are one people." Since then any ideology of struggle based on tribalism was to be rejected in South African liberation politics. Regionalism was eliminated when the Cape Native Congress, the Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony Congresses disbanded to form the South African Native National Congress (renamed the ANC in 1923).

The resolutions passed by the newly-formed organisation made the following demands on the racist union government.

- \* universal franchise, a vote for all South Africans

- \* an end to all racial discrimination

The ideology of struggle which expressed and gave meaning to these demands was African nationalism. It arose from the paradoxical situation in which the mostly middle-class or petty-bourgeois delegates found themselves. On the one hand, their liberal Christian education encouraged ideas of democracy and of national self-determination for all peoples. On the other hand, the racist order created by imperialism and the white settlers, as expressed in the union constitution, frustrated these democratic hopes. Hence the decision to unite and fight.

## SANNC leadership and structures

On this page, you will see photographs of some of the first executive members of the SANNC under the leadership of the first president John Dube. During the early years of the SANNC, its members were mostly church ministers, lawyers, teachers, clerks and traditional chiefs.

The early ANC believed that the traditional leaders were important because they had mass followings and also the financial resources which the new organisation would need. You can see how important the ANC regarded the chiefs if you look at the structure of the Congress. They established two houses, similar to the British parliament. The lower house was for ordinary members or "commoners". The upper house was for the traditional leaders. "Princes of African blood" would hold their seats for life. Each house would have its own president.

But the important position of the chiefs changed in later years. As more people moved to the towns, the traditional authority of the chiefs weakened. Many of the chiefs became agents of segregation so that the interests of the chiefs and the middle-class political leaders became opposed to one another.

You may have noticed from the photographs that all the executive members were men. This was because the early ANC, like

many organisations at that time, did not allow women to hold full membership. Women only got full membership to the ANC in 1943.

The early SANNC structures and leadership give us some idea of what they stood for at this time.

## What the early SANNC stood for

In 1919, the SANNC adopted its first constitution. Here are some of its stated aims and strategies:

- \* Co-operation and mutual understanding would replace old tribal frictions.
- \* The SANNC would campaign for an end to the "colour bar" in education and economic life and would seek "equitable representation of natives in parliament".

- \* The SANNC would use the courts to challenge unjust laws and actions by the state. It would also use resolutions, petitions, lectures, the distribution of literature and passive resistance.

- \* The SANNC would encourage "a spirit of loyalty to the British crown and all lawful authorities" and "better understanding between white and black inhabitants of South Africa". It would also promote "mutual co-operation" between the government and the "Abantu races of South Africa".

At the same conference in 1919, the SANNC also adopted Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika as its national anthem. It also adopted the black, green and gold flag to represent the land, the people and the wealth of South Africa.

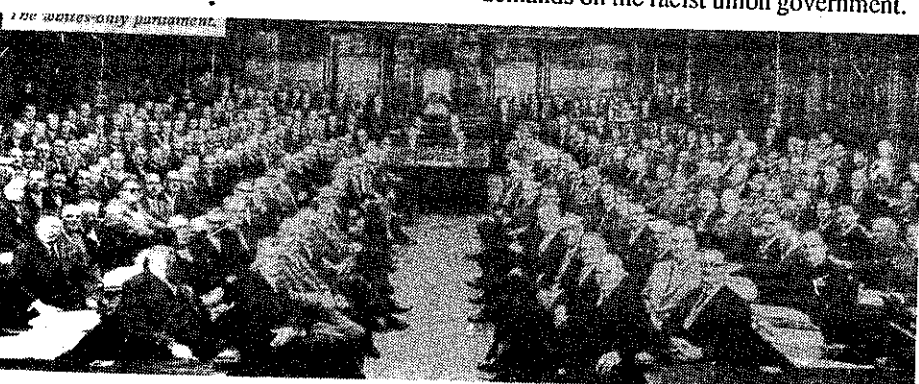
## Early methods of struggle

During the early years, the most important campaign that the SANNC was involved in was a campaign against the 1913 Land Act. This law divided the land in South Africa into two unequal parts - 7% of the land for Africans and 93% for whites. It denied Africans the right to buy land in most of South Africa and it also pushed the vast majority of Africans off the land and into wage labour.

The campaign against the Land Act clearly shows us what method of resistance the early ANC used. They sent deputations to the King of England and they met the South African Prime Minister, Louis Botha, twice. This method of "petition politics" failed to get the 1913 Land Act stopped.

Dube, the SANNC president, explained their policy in 1912. Dube said that by patience, reasonableness, the natural tendency of the Africans to be gentlemen and the justice of their demands, they would "break down the wall of colour prejudice and even force our enemies to be our admirers and our friends".

This struggle to "break down the walls of colour prejudice" took many more years of effort and frustration than those early leaders expected. It also took many years of unsuccessful petition politics before the ANC abandoned its policies of peaceful protest and adopted more militant strategies.



The whites-only parliament.

GM 71915 13/7/90

11A

## ANC stance on prisoners amended?

### Political Correspondent

THERE are growing signs that the ANC's executive may be prepared to accept an amended version of the report by the joint ANC-National Party working group on political prisoners and exiles.

The original report is understood to contain proposals that the ANC call off the armed struggle (in word and deed) in exchange for a government commitment gradually to indemnify prisoners and exiles, starting with the less serious cases.

However, the ANC's national executive committee submitted various amendments of this plan to the government.

Apparently reflecting this shift in emphasis, the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said this week that a ceasefire would be announced as soon as all political prisoners were released.

In some ANC circles it is expected that Mr Nelson Mandela will announce the end of hostilities once he has met the organisation's NEC and President F W de Klerk and that Mr De Klerk will then announce the release of prisoners.

However, such an arrangement clearly does not enjoy unanimous support within the ANC top echelons.

For example, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani said last week that the ANC would be prepared to sit down with the government to discuss the possible suspension of the armed struggle only once all the ANC's obstacles to negotiation had been removed.



AT OAU ... Mr Mandela (seated next to Mrs Rosalind Carter, wife of former US president Mr Jimmy Carter) at the OAU summit this week shortly before he fell ill. Picture: REUTERS

# Mandela rests in Kenya

11A  
 288  
 CAPT  
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 12/7/90

**NAIROBI.** — A tired and ill Mr Nelson Mandela was taken straight to Nairobi's central hospital on arrival here yesterday.

After preliminary tests, the 71-year-old ANC deputy president was whisked off for a rest at Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi's personal apartment at State House.

Last night the ANC confirmed that Mr Mandela has a slight case of pneumonia, adding that he had left Ethiopia because of altitude problems.

Mr Mandela has just completed an exhausting tour of Europe and the United States. It is believed he caught a cold in Ireland which has now developed into pneumonia.

Yesterday he cut short his planned visit to Ethiopia and delivered an unusually short speech — 15 minutes — to the Organisation of African Unity summit before flying to Nairobi.

Last night Mr Mandela's doctor, Dr Nthato Motlana, said he had spoken by telephone from Johannesburg to Mrs Mandela in Nairobi.

She had told him a slight case of pneumonia had been diagnosed.

"His doctors, I am assured, say it is not serious at all and that he may continue with part of his official itinerary," Dr Motlana said.

It is reported that Mr Mandela looked unwell on arrival in Nairobi.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, he walked slowly down the stairs to the runway, clutching the stair rail.

After greeting President Moi and his cabinet, and waving to a small crowd of airport workers and security officials, Mr Mandela and Mr Moi climbed into the president's limousine and were driven away.

Winnie left in a separate vehicle.

Mr Mandela wore a black overcoat and fumbled as he took it off.

Kenyan officials declined to discuss Mr Mandela's health, but Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, the per-

To page 3

# A question of trust ANC must decide

W/Mand 13/7-16/7/90

11A

**D**OES the African National Congress believe we are on the way to a non-racial order? Some of its leaders say it does. Some of its strategies say it doesn't.

This contradiction may be inevitable. But the ANC may well have to make its mind up soon.

The government, of course, insists that we are irreversibly on the way to a new order. Trying to persuade its opponents of this has become a key element in its strategy.

It insists that the "armed struggle" and sanctions are no longer necessary because they are meant to force it to do something it has already agreed to do. And, if the ANC and its allies want the disbandment of the kwa-Zulu police, they don't have to call mass stay-aways — they can negotiate this issue.

The strategy works at other levels, too. The government insists, for example, that it is willing to negotiate new local government and education systems.

That means, it adds, that rent boycotts and campaigns to force township councillors to resign are no longer necessary. Neither are school boycotts or teachers' strikes.

What isn't clear is whether the ANC and its activists believe it. In Washington, New York and other foreign cities, leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki insist that transition to a new order is only a short way away. An agreement making it possible to lift sanctions may take at most two years, says Mbeki.

But "armed struggle" and sanctions are still in place. The stay-aways, conflict on the ground, rent and school

joint action on issues such as violence: the ANC will be signalling that it believes the transition to a new order has begun and that it has an interest in making it work.

The ANC seems to be delaying, possibly because it doesn't want to choose between agreeing to co-operate with the government and continuing to pressure it.

But it can't delay forever and if it does agree to co-operate — if only on some issues — it will have to devote at least as much attention to helping to manage the transition as it does to strengthening its bargaining position.

It may often find it difficult to do both.

On issues such as local government and education, it will also have to choose soon.

If it believes the government doesn't yet plan to concede non-racial municipalities or schools, pressure may be the only way of making it do that.

But if it believes that they have been conceded, the sort of pressure we are seeing now is counter-productive.

The more it continues, the harder will it be for a non-racial majority government to run these systems.

If non-racial municipalities and schools were introduced tomorrow, whoever ran them would face high expectations and severe backlogs which will make their task very difficult.

But they are not going to be introduced tomorrow. New systems will have to be negotiated and this will take time. The ANC seems to accept this — indeed, the government complained last week that its plan for negotiating a new education system would



**WORMS  
EYE**  
Steven  
Friedman

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But "armed struggle" and sanctions are still in place. The stay-aways, conflict on the ground, rent and school boycotts continue.

This implies the ANC doesn't yet believe the government has conceded a new order: it still has to be pushed to do this.

This contradiction clearly irks the government. The more it agrees to negotiate a new order, the harder it becomes to run the old one — indeed, to run anything at all.

There are signs that its irritation is growing and that this is strengthening the hands of its "hawks". Defence Minister Magnus Malan has been stepping up his anti-ANC rhetoric lately and no one in the cabinet seems keen to contradict him.

The contradiction may be the ANC's easiest option. Firstly, it helps keep together a constituency which might not be ready to accept the compromises which a settlement will require.

Secondly, it wants to show both that it is serious about a settlement and that it has enough mass support to partly decide the terms of that agreement. Soothing noises together with mass action might help it do that.

But the contradiction between saying that you believe the government means to negotiate a new order and acting as if it doesn't cannot continue for ever. Indeed, the ANC may have to decide in the next few days.

It and the Nats are supposed to be reaching agreement on the reports of working groups set up at the Groote Schuur meeting. If there is an agreement, the two will be committed to

pressure may be the only way of making it do that.

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If non-racial municipalities and schools were introduced tomorrow, whoever ran them would face high expectations and severe backlogs which will make their task very difficult.

But they are not going to be introduced tomorrow. New systems will have to be negotiated and this will take time. The ANC seems to accept this — indeed, the government complained last week that its plan for negotiating a new education system would take too long. New systems may be at least a couple of years away.

If rent boycotts persist through that period, the debts which a non-racial municipality will inherit will make it far harder for it to meet expectations — it may well make it impossible.

If school boycotts and strikes continue to force black education towards collapse, a non-racial education ministry may inherit problems it will take decades to solve — and a majority government may find it impossible to provide jobs or schooling for a generation which lacks the skills to earn a living.

Some activists may argue that the price is worth paying to push the government into conceding systems which really meet people's needs. But if it has already conceded them, the price will be paid not by this government but by the next one.

How does the ANC or its activists know whether the government does mean what it says?

They could insist on finding out. They would then suspend mass action while new systems are negotiated — and threaten to resume it if it appeared the government didn't mean what it said.

If the government is in earnest, this might ensure that the new society is governable.

If it isn't, it might make mass pressure far more effective by showing not only that there are costs to ignoring it, but that there are advantages in dealing with it.

Sowetan 13/7/90 IIA



International spiritual leader Sri Chinmoy (left) was one of the many admirers of Mr Nelson Mandela who met the ANC leader during his visit to the United States. Looking on is New York mayor Mr David Dinkins who organised the meeting between the two leaders. Mandela will visit Mozambique this weekend before returning home on Wednesday. See story on Page 7.



# Mozambique tightens security for Mandela

Sowetan 13/7/90

116

MOZAMBIQUE has restricted the entry of foreign travellers from Wednesday in what is thought to be a move to tighten security for the scheduled visit of Mr Nelson Mandela over the weekend.

No reason has been given publicly for an announcement that the border was to be closed from 11am yesterday.

The SABC reported that the closure was connected to the Mandela visit and this supposition has been supported in informed quarters.

## Flights

There has been no information from any quarter to support suggestions that the closure was prompted by a major change in Mozambique's currency.

The SABC said scheduled airline flights from South Africa to Maputo would not be affected.

Sapa quoted officials in Maputo as saying that

while no new visas would be issued until July 20, persons who already had visas would be allowed into the country.

It is not clear whether this means that the restrictions will apply until July 20 as no further information could be obtained.

## Puzzled

Mandela is due to fly to Maputo on Sunday from Nairobi, where he is being treated in a hospital for pneumonia.

The connection between his visit and the border closure has puzzled observers here, who have pointed out that the Maputo stop has been on Mandela's itinerary since it was released by the African National Congress before his departure on June 4 and any would-be assassin in South Af-

rica may have had time in which to obtain a visa for Mozambique.

The last time Mozambique closed its borders

was in 1989 during the fifth congress of the ruling Frelimo party. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

## UK estate agents warned on racism

LONDON - Estate agents who practice their own form of "apartheid" in Britain have been told they could face prosecution.

The Commission for Racial Equality has issued a strong warning following the investigation of a property firm in Oldham, Greater Manchester.

The firm, run by Norman Lester, is alleged to have tried to persuade Asian families not to buy houses in white areas, and refused to help them get mortgage bonds.

The Commission sent test home buyers to the offices of the company and found that bonds were offered to two out of three white investigators, but to neither of its Asian testers.

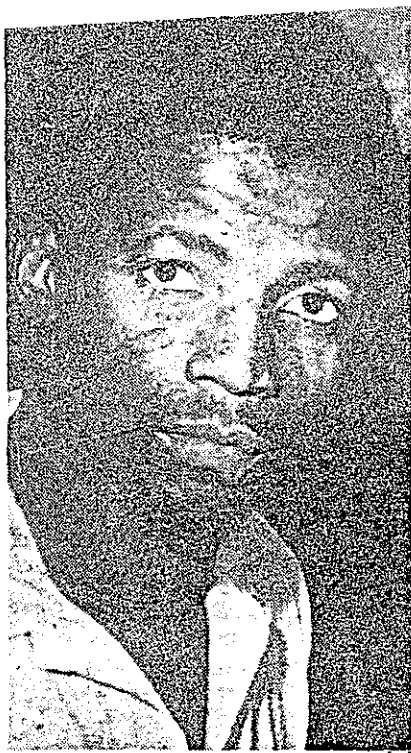
Its subsequent report said there were areas of town where vendors were so racist they'd club together to buy a property rather than allow it to be bought by an Asian. - *Foreign Staff*

## Calm returns after 28 lose lives in fierce Kenyan riots

Sowetan 13/7/90

NAIROBI - Widespread region about 25km west deaths confirmed inde-

# Mabe, Myeza funeral details



SAM MABE

# Hamba Kahle

*Sowetan 13/7/90*



MUNTU MYEZA

**TWO prominent leaders, Muntu Myeza of Azapo and *Sowetan* assistant editor Sam Mabe, will be buried in Soweto at the weekend.**

The two died tragically last week. Myeza was killed in a car accident in the Free State on Monday and Mabe was gunned down by unknown assailants

**By KENOSI MODISANE**

two days later outside a house in Jabulani, Soweto.

Myeza will be buried tomorrow at Doornkop Cemetery and Mabe on Sunday at the Avalon Cemetery.

A short service will be held for the Myeza family at his home in Zone 6, Diepkloof at 8am.

Later the cortege will proceed to Jabulani Amphitheatre where a ser-

vice will be held until 12.30pm.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala will deliver the keynote speech and former president Mr Nkosi Molala will read the obituary.

Another service for Myeza will be held today at the Lutheran Church, 49 - 12th Avenue, Alexandra, at 1pm.

Azapo has arranged buses for those wanting to attend the funeral.

● To Page 2

**Get closer  
to flavour**

*P.T.O*

# 2 dissidents accuse Sisulu

Sowetan 13/7/90



**TWO ANC dissidents yesterday accused the movement's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, of having a monopoly of the media and misrepresenting the dissidents in Press reports.**

Mr Mwezi Twala and Mr Nicholas Dyasop told a news conference in Johannesburg they dissociated themselves with

## SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

recent reports, allegedly by Sisulu, indicating the dissidents had reconciled with the ANC.

The reports were contrary to an agreement between a group of dissidents and ANC official Mr Wilton Mkwazi reached at a meeting in Soweto in June, the dissidents said.

They also called for

the withdrawal of a statement, allegedly by Sisulu, that the dissidents were enemy agents.

Part of the agreement was that violence which had culminated in the recent killing in Transkei of an ANC dissident, Mr Siphon Phungulwa, was to be curbed, said the dissidents.

"With regard to the killing of Phungulwa, we are convinced the Transkeian police are busy with a massive cover-up."

It was agreed a joint statement would be issued on the following:

- \* The question of the so-called ANC dissidents being attended to internally;

- \* The cadres will resume their tasks like all ANC members;

- \* Accusations and counter-accusations by the two parties will no longer be reported to the media;

### Inquiry

- \* The Press will only be contacted for a joint statement after the parties had resolved their differences; and

- \* After the joint statement no party will go to the Press without the other.

They called for a judicial inquiry into alleged atrocities by the ANC. - Sapa.

13/7/90  
**Mandela**  
 again  
 moves to  
 diminish  
 white fears

No solution can be found in South Africa if political forces are driven by a spirit of revenge and hatred, Nelson Mandela was to have told heads of African states this week. Political reporter **ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE**, reports on the speech he was to have delivered to the OAU summit in Addis Ababa.

**ADDIS ABABA** — The success of a political settlement in South Africa depended on a spirit of reconciliation and a commitment by all the political forces "not to pursue the narrow-minded and destructive aim of gaining political advantage over one another".

This was Nelson Mandela's message this week to the 26th summit of heads of state of the Organisation of African Unity in the Ethiopian capital. His speech was distributed at the summit after he had been flown to Nairobi on doctors' advice to be treated for pneumonia.

The ANC deputy president's conciliatory speech was clearly aimed at convincing any still sceptical African states of the sincerity of both the Government and the ANC to reach a political settlement.

He noted that many South Africans who had suffered under apartheid instinctively wanted to seek revenge for past and current wrongs. On the other hand, some whites wanted to block political reform by using maximum force.

To overcome this, the ANC proposed that a new dispensation should not be based on colour, should not contain white veto rights and should not discriminate against whites.

A constituent assembly which would be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution should not be formed on the basis of mandates from racial and ethnic groups.

The ANC was in favour of a system of one person, one vote and a Bill of Rights to guarantee the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of individuals. This should sufficiently address white fears "to the extent that they preclude the possibility of discriminating against whites and their domination under a new apartheid system".

The ANC was very conscious of white fears and was prepared to discuss such fears with the white political parties.

The ANC was prepared to "agree on such measures as may be necessary to address the question of these fears, provided this does not undermine the democratic system and result in the re-introduction of apartheid".

Briefing the OAU on the progress which had been made at the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the government, Mr Mandela said both parties had agreed that "nothing should be done to give the apartheid system even one more day of existence".

**Minority**

This implied that efforts should be made to ensure that the process of negotiations was not used to legitimise a white minority government to buy time for apartheid; nor should a new constitution empower a black majority and disenfranchise a white minority.

"This is why we have consistently rejected the idea put forward by the Pretoria regime of power-sharing by racially defined political groups.

"The democratic principle of majority rule is a political majority, not a racial majority."

Mr Mandela told the OAU that the ANC did not doubt the Government's willingness to remove the obstacles to negotiations as had been set out by the Harare Declaration.

Elaborating on the reasons for having adopted the armed struggle, Mr Mandela commented: "There are many uncertainties which derive from the resolve of sections of the white population to block a settlement by drowning our people in a bloodbath.

"This imposes on us the requirement that, should white South Africa once more deny us the possibility to bring about change by peaceful means, we must have the means to continue the struggle by means that would be dictated by this eventuality, which we do not desire."

# Security Police detain ANC recruiters in Natal

DURBAN — Three Natal Indian Congress leaders who are involved in recruitment drives for the ANC were detained by Security Police in Durban yesterday — on the eve of two major ANC rallies due to be held tomorrow.

A senior executive committee member of the NIC and experienced anti-apartheid campaigner, Mr Pravin Gordhan, was arrested in a pre-dawn raid. He had been detained twice previously.

Mr Deepak Patel, of the Durban Central branch of the NIC and who was actively involved in organising meetings for the ANC, and Mr Anesh Sunkar of the Kharwastan branch of the NIC, also an ardent ANC supporter, were detained hours later.

(11A) Star 13/7/90  
**FAROOK KHAN and ANIL SINGH**

Their detention sparked off claims of a clamp on anti-apartheid leaders to stem the flow of support for the African National Congress and to appease the white right wing.

Lieutenant Bala Naidoo, police public relations officer for Port Natal, confirmed the detention of the three and said they were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

United Democratic Front president Mr Archie Gumede pointed out that the detentions came on the eve of two major ANC drives for membership in the Indian community.

Both drives have been set down for tomorrow, one in the densely populated Clare Estate, Sydenham, Overport, Springfield and Puntans Hill area and the other in Verulam.

He said that the Government's actions in detaining progressive leaders was in accordance with demands by the white right wing.

Dr Farook Meer, general secretary of the NIC, said: "I strongly condemn the detentions in the light of the developing political situation and at time when we are told we have a measure of political freedom we did not have before."

He said what had also perturbed him was the fact that the police had taken until late yesterday afternoon to confirm the men had been detained.

# Buses laid on for Mabe 'worked for Myeza funeral unity in struggle'

Star 13/1/90 By Thabo Leshilo

Thousands of people are expected to attend the funeral in Soweto tomorrow of Muntu Myeza, projects co-ordinator of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The funeral service is to be held at 9 am at the Jabulani Amphitheatre and the procession leaves for the Doornkop Cemetery at 12.30 pm.

Buses will leave from: Tsakane (First Stop Garage) at 9 am; Rockville at 9.15 am; Ntalspruit Hospital, Katlehong, at 9 am; Kagiso (Sonap Garage) at 8.30 am; Kopanong Community Hall, Dobsonville, at 9 am; Lekton House, 5 Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, at 8.30 am.

Sam Mabe, assistant editor of Sowetan newspaper, was strongly against sectarianism in the liberation struggle and worked for unity, Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) official Themba Hlatswayo said at his memorial service yesterday.

The service for the murdered Mwasa deputy president, held at the union's headquarters in Johannesburg, was attended by about 300 people.

Mr Mabe (39) was shot outside a friend's home in Jabulani by two unknown gunmen.

He will be buried on Sunday.

CMT Times 13/7/90

(114)

NAIROBI. — Mr Nelson Mandela, who has a slight case of pneumonia, was resting yesterday on the eve of a planned public rally, said ANC spokesmen.

He made no public appearances during his first 24 hours in Kenya and was reported to be resting at State House, President Daniel Arap Moi's official Nairobi residence.

An ANC spokesman said a dinner for Mr Mandela was planned last night at State House, and confirmed that he would address a rally today at a Nairobi sports stadium. Earlier yesterday ANC officials had said it was unlikely he would address the rally.

Kenyan officials declined to discuss his health and had not released his schedule by yesterday afternoon.

Mr Mandela arrived in Kenya from Addis

## Kenyans await resting Mandela

Ababa on Wednesday, a day earlier than planned. ANC officials in South Africa said the change was prompted by a slight case of pneumonia.

"All medical reports we have received indicate that Comrade Mandela is comfortable and is expected to be able to resume his duties within a few days," an ANC statement said.

Mr Mandela is on the home stretch of a six-week tour of Europe,

North America and Africa to raise funds and keep up anti-apartheid pressure from the international community.

Concerns about his health have arisen several times during his gruelling tour. He several times had to postpone or cancel planned events.

Generally he has been reluctant to draw back from a punishing schedule of political talks and foreign tours since his release from prison in February.

After Kenya, he was due to stop in Mozambique before returning to South Africa in time for his 72nd birthday next Wednesday.

Political analysts said a rally this week might spark fresh pro-democracy demonstrations by Kenyans opposed to one-party rule. — Sapa-AP-Reuters

## Kenya wives appeal to Mandela

NAIROBI. — The wives of seven prominent Kenyans, four of whose husbands were recently detained without charge for criticising the government, pleaded with Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday to urge Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi to free the men.

"What is even more painful than the imprisonment of the black man

by the white man is the unjustified imprisonment of the black man by the black man," they said.

Mr Mandela arrived on Wednesday following four days of violence in which at least 28 people were killed. The fighting was sparked by a weekend pro-democracy rally which followed a police swoop in which six men were detained. — Sapa-AP

JOHANNESBURG. — Parents, teachers and pupils in Port Elizabeth and nearby Uitenhage yesterday demonstrated in support of a headmaster allegedly victimised by the Labour Party (LP).

Parents and pupils are demonstrating at a Uitenhage school, children in Port Elizabeth are refusing to attend classes, and the headmaster at the centre of the row, Mr Joseph Slingers, is taking his case to the Supreme Court.

Mr Slingers claims that LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse won't let him run a school in his hometown of Uitenhage, which has been without a principal for the past five years.

Yesterday 59 teachers, 200 parents and all the pupils at the affected school — Uitenhage Secondary School — were planning to march to Mr Hendrickse's nearby house in protest.

Mr Slingers, support-

# School protest for LP 'victim'

ers claim, "is good enough" to be offered vacant posts at some of the top coloured schools in South Africa, but in his home town he is still remembered by the LP for campaigning against Mr Hendrickse and the tricameral system in the early 1980s.

His case is now being taken up by teachers in the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) and the South African Senior Schools Sports Association (Sassa), who maintain he is the target of political victimisation.

— Sapa



NEGOTIATIONS

FIM 1317190

# When Nelson comes home

11A

Negotiations between government and the ANC are currently marked by recriminations and suggestions of bad faith on both sides. This is unfortunate: not only does it sour prospects for a workable settlement, it means that opponents of any settlement are daily given more ammunition.

As the *FM* has stressed repeatedly, the belief that there are only two sides in this debate is wrong; taken to its logical conclusion, it would imply some kind of coalition between the ANC and the Nationalists, which would be bad for democracy and hold out no guarantees for a genuinely free-enterprise society.

While some of the stated problems — particularly regarding confidentiality of the agreements reached at Groote Schuur — should be resolved by a meeting scheduled this week, other sources of rancour and mistrust may not be so easily dispelled.

The charge that the new National Co-ordinating Mechanism is merely the old National Security Management System — which fostered death squads — is a serious one. So long as the police continue to behave as they apparently did at Mamelodi Stadium last Sunday — and are exonerated by their superiors — their commitment to the “new SA” must be in grave doubt; and so must all declarations by the leopard that it has changed its spots.

Some fear the rise once more of Magnus Malan and his views — a “total onslaught” once again justifying a “total

strategy.” Even this far down the road to conciliation, such a prospect is not impossible.

As for the ANC, last week's protests about Natal violence, blaming Inkatha and the security forces for its continuance, must rank as gross cynicism as long as black policemen and local councillors are being killed in the name of liberation.

Arrest of rightwing elements is certainly a sign that Pretoria is moving to defuse the charge that it fosters them — yet firm action appears to have been taken only after the bombing of black commuters in Johannesburg last week. Everyone knows how indiscriminate bombs can be.

There was considerable optimism that Stoffel van der Merwe would this week announce the desegregation of education — at least as a statement of intent. This would suggest that reform would be advanced, whatever the state of negotiations, because it is a moral imperative. In the event, his speech in Welkom gave less than that.

Provision of schoolbooks and an undertaking to keep education going until a new structure is worked out as part of a new constitution amount to no more than government saying it will do the job it is supposed to do.

So the air is becoming murky again. The best way to clear it would be for Nelson Mandela to meet F W de Klerk again, in advance of a formal agenda, and the issue of a joint statement on intent. Or is the ANC leader simply being kept for PR appearances abroad? ■

~~SECRET~~ (IIA) 1/2 13/790

## BACKGROUND

# Texas summit gives FW boost

President FW de Klerk's image has been boosted by statements emanating from the recent economic summit attended by the Group of Seven industrialised nations in Houston, Texas, with leaders heralding developments in South Africa as very positive.

**RAMSAY MILNE** of The Star's Foreign Service reports from New York.

communicate to Namibia's independence - a development in which South Africa played a major role - and the collective hope of the Group of Seven that Namibia's example of democracy and free market economy would be followed by other African countries.

Observers attribute much of the Group's special focus on South Africa to the influence of President George Bush and to Mr James Baker, US Secretary of State, who has had talks in South Africa with President de Klerk and who advised Mr Bush at the summit conference. The summit ended today.

Mr Baker set the tone of the summit's communique with a separate statement welcoming the "historic advance of Democracy" in Europe since the Seven last met in Paris.

He then added: "During our

discussions we cited Namibia as a positive model for Democratic evolution elsewhere on the African continent. Most of the leaders here have met recently with Nelson Mandela. Some of them have met President de Klerk. The focus of our efforts should be on encouraging negotiations to bring about a non-racial democracy in South Africa."

### Transition

In the communique, the Western leaders welcomed the "positive developments that have taken place in South Africa," and expressed hope that talks between the Government and the black majority would lead to a peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy and dismantling of apartheid.

"We will continue to support

this process," they said, and in a special plea for moderation called on all parties to the negotiations to "refrain from violence or its advocacy."

The spokesman said he saw this statement as indicating that the Group of Seven leaders had "honed in on a strategy - they are backing the process of peaceful negotiation started by President de Klerk."

Mr de Klerk was given an additional boost when the New York Times said of him today: "Mr de Klerk can count on a warm centre of support in the White House. While Mr. Mandela has been a hero to the masses, Mr de Klerk is officialdom's champion."

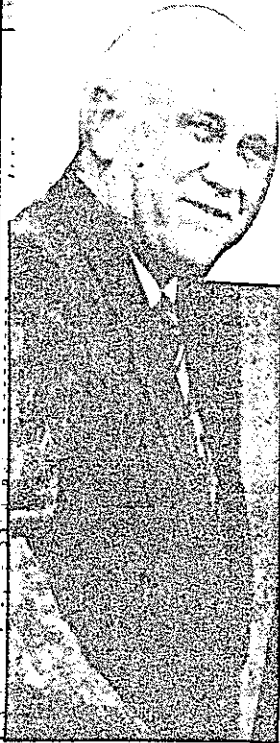
The paper, a fierce critic of the South African government added that while American officials admired Mr. Mandela,

"they believe Mr de Klerk is more important. In this, Bush policy towards South Africa resembles nothing so much as the Administration's policy toward Mikhail Gorbachev - a near-total reliance on the man in power staying in power."

Though saying that no new date had been fixed for Mr de Klerk's visit to the US, a South African spokesman said Mr Bush's invitation had been reaffirmed in the president's recent 'warm' telephone conversations with Mr de Klerk.

"While Americans may still be mindful of their own domestic constraints, it remains an open question whether Mr Mandela shifted the opinion of the substantive players, some of whom, we know, have already had to rethink their strategy."

Unlike, Mr Mandela's visit, he added, President de Klerk, as a head of state, would limit his visit to discussions with President Bush and Administration officials at the White House and with other Congressional leaders in Washington.



President de Klerk's recent reforms have boosted his image abroad.



Hero to the masses . . . Nelson Mandela is optimistic about the new South Africa.

# 'ANC misrepresented our talks' (11A)

Daily Mail Reporter

THE truce between the African National Congress (ANC) and a pair of prominent dissidents was broken yesterday, with the dissidents calling a press conference at a Johannesburg hotel to accuse the ANC of misrepresenting talks they had held.

Mwezi Twala and Nicholas Dyasop dissociated themselves from recent reports in which the ANC disclosed that half a dozen dissidents had applied to re-join the organisation.

Twala and Dyasop returned to South Africa over two months ago. Both were imprisoned by the ANC for several years, during which time they said they were tortured.

Yesterday, the pair said ANC comments to the press were a betrayal of an agreement which they had reached with

the ANC's Wilton Mkwayi when they discussed rejoining the organisation.

In terms of this agreement, said Twala and Dyasop, it had been decided that the resolution of differences between the dissidents and the ANC would be dealt with as an internal ANC matter.

It had also been agreed that neither party would resort to the media to air their differences and that the dissidents would be free to resume their responsibilities in the organisation like any other member.

ANC head of information and publicity Pallo Jordan yesterday confirmed that the dissidents' account of the agreement was substantially correct.

He added that the resumption of their role within the ANC depended on the National Executive Committee approving their applications for re-admission. The decision was still pending.

W/M... 13/7 - 617790

# Imbeleko women will hone skills in Harare

(11A)

Sowetan 13/7/90

**EIGHTEEN** senior members of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation will leave for Harare for a series of meetings with women organisations shortly.

Though the groups were due to leave on Wednesday, their

By **MATSHUBE MFOLOE**

departure has been postponed until next week because of the death of Azapo's executive member, Mr Muntu Myeza.

Myeza will be buried tomorrow.

According to Imbeleko's chairperson, Mrs Rose Ngwenya, the organisation is scheduled to meet high-profile members of the Zanu-PF Women's unit and other Zimbabwean women who are involved in co-

operatives.

She said Imbeleko intended to share ideas with their counterparts in Zimbabwe.

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr Strini Moodley, said the women will also meet women in government and a seminar had also been arranged.

They would also meet the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania during their tour.

## Surge

Ngwenya said: "Our sudden surge in membership, which now stands at 20 000, demands that we meet people who have gone through various phases of the liberation struggle so that we can properly handle the numbers and provide them with the necessary training in skills."

# Hani calls for self-defence

PEOPLE should be vigilant and form defence units to protect themselves against rightwing attacks, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said on Wednesday.

Speaking at a news conference in King William's Town, he said people should not expect to be protected by Umkhonto we Sizwe only, but should be prepared to defend themselves.

People should check at railway stations and taxi ranks to see that there were no bombs.

He said the R20 000 put on his head by the rightwing was small. The struggle was not pursued by him alone but by

millions of people in the country.

Hani dismissed rightwingers as being "myopic". The struggle would continue "irrespective" if he were attacked.

He urged the Government to take firm action against rightwingers.

The ANC was ready to take over government. However, a new government would inherit enormous problems created by apartheid, he said.

On nationalisation, Hani said the ANC was aware that the system had failed elsewhere, including Africa.

He said the National Party Government had nationalised industries to uplift Afrikaners economically. - Sapa.

13/7/79  
Sapa

(Sapa)

(11A)

# Mandela must 'win over his supporters'

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114

JOHN CARLIN of the Independent examines the problems of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk as South Africa moves towards democracy

**N**ELSON Mandela's biggest political problem is not apartheid, it is not the South African government, much less is it President F W de Klerk. His problem is the liberation movement.

The most difficult challenge facing the leaders of the African National Congress is to transform the raw emotions of their supporters into a disciplined political force ready to back the deal that has been struck with the government.

In all the political essentials Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk — who never tire of praising each other's "integrity" — are in agreement.

They agree that white rule must cease by the end of the present parliament, within four years. They agree that apartheid must be abolished and be replaced by a one-person-one vote democracy in which racial discrimination has no place.

They agree that the transition to democracy should be conducted in a climate of peace and political freedom.

They agree that a de facto alliance between the ANC and the government should steer the process.

They agree that the constitution for the new South Africa should be arrived at through negotiations.

They have even agreed on the broad outline of what the new political system will look like, a majority rule system with the necessary "checks and balances" — one of Mr De Klerk's favourite phrases — to ensure that the blacks do not do to the whites what the whites have done to the blacks. The negotiations will centre on how to guarantee such safeguards.

The issues over which there is disagreement, notably the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and to sanctions, are more noise than substance.

The influence of noise — in this case revolutionary rhetoric — on South African politics should not be underestimated. Much inflammatory potential exists there, much that can scare off the white population and divide the black, complicating the political transition.

## Violent response

But noise is what the ANC's freedom struggle has largely been about, noise which has provoked fearful white governments into violent response. When the noise dies, so will the violence. At that point the Mandela/De Klerk plan will be put into action.

When constitutional negotiations formally begin — probably early next year — it will not be as if the two sides are venturing into virgin territory. Mr Mandela had been discussing the shape of post-apartheid South Africa with government ministers for three years before his release from prison on February 11.

The breakthrough came when Mr Mandela conceded, in a letter to former President P W Botha early in 1989, that the essence of any future negotiations would be to find a compromise between the black demand for majority rule and the white demand for constitutional guarantees.

In other words, Mr Mandela recognised the validity of the National Party government's insistence on "protection for minority rights". It was that, as much as anything, that gave Mr De Klerk the green light to try to break the deadlock of revolt, repression and revolt of his predecessor's rule.

## NEGOTIATION

Behind the scenes discussions between Mr Mandela and the government, and more recently between ANC and government strategists, have gone beyond identification of the conundrum to seeking solutions. The ANC has called upon able black lawyers who keep a low profile to put its case in the talks with the government, backed by a team of bright, usually young, ministerial technocrats.

These advisers, with the help of academics summoned by ANC leaders and ministers to provide informed input on the nature of transition politics, have confirmed in recent weeks what government officials have been hinting at publicly: that a two-chamber legislature is what is envisaged for the new South Africa.

One chamber will be elected by the entire population on a common voters' roll. The party which wins a majority will be the government. It is on the details of the second chamber, where the checks and balances will come in, where specific agreement has yet to be reached.

In broad terms this is where the various population groups will be able to have their say, but the problem lies in how to define such groups without recourse to racial definitions.

There has been ill-defined talk among government officials of "cultural groups", each of which would somehow accommodate people of different skin colours. Another problem lies in defining the powers of veto that this second chamber would have over government.

## Delaying powers

Will these be blocking or delaying powers? A probable solution lies in the arithmetic of the system.

If agreement is reached on requirement of, say, a two-thirds majority in the second chamber before a bill can become law, then, without having to resort to race mechanisms, a way might be found to ensure that the whites — and other minorities — retain a significant degree of power.

A further guarantee, and here solid agreement does exist, will be provided by a bill of individual rights and an independent judiciary.

So far advanced are discussions between the ANC and the government, such is the personal chemistry between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, such is the awareness of the need to join forces if negotiations are not to fail, that it is tempting to ask: why don't half a dozen leaders from each side get together and sort out the whole thing over dinner?

The fact that this cannot be done is what presents Mr Mandela, and to a slightly lesser extent, Mr De Klerk, with their most immediate challenges.

Mr Mandela said upon his release from prison that there was no question of negotiating an agreement behind the backs and above the heads of the people. Not only is this not feasible on moral grounds, as Mr Mandela sees it, but on practical ones. If the new constitution lacks popular legitimacy it is worthless. Mr Mandela, like Mr De Klerk, must deliver his constituency.

When Mr De Klerk promised "drastic change" and an end to racial discrimination during the parliamentary election campaign last year, very few National Party supporters imagined that this was the last time they would be voting for a white parliament.

The increasingly popular Conservative Party, the official opposition, scream that he is acting without a mandate. The president's task is to persuade a previously complacent but now fearful and confused white population that democracy will make their lives better, not worse.

Mr Mandela faces a tougher test because black politics, far from complacent, has been characterised by energetic militancy. While Mr Mandela was writing to P W Botha about the need for compromise, ANC comrades remained locked into the politics of revolution.

Mr Mandela was indeed negotiating — he would say "facilitating" — behind the backs of his people. Now his task is to steer them towards acceptance of his plan to end apartheid by peaceful means, a plan based on the recognition that since the white government is far from weak, its demands must be taken into account.

Tos Wentzel is away. His Presidency column will be resumed on his return.

ANC  
helps  
SA <sup>CHT</sup>  
into <sup>14/7/90</sup>  
world  
soccer

By DALE GRANGER

SOCCER is set to lead South African sport out of international isolation — with the ANC supporting the National Soccer League (NSL) in working for South African participation in the next World Cup and a Cameroon tour.

A senior source in the NSL said this week that the two bodies were working towards soccer's re-admission to Fifa.

Mr Walter Sisulu, the internal leader of the ANC, said last night that "the relationship between soccer and the ANC was very good".

NSL spokesman Mr Abdul Bhamjee said this week that he was "optimistic" that South Africa would participate in the next World Cup finals in America in 1994.

"Support from the ANC is most crucial and we are fortunate in having such a cordial relationship with them."

He added that for the past decade "soccer in South Africa has been non-racial and has not participated in rebel tours, like rugby and cricket, and it is only right that soccer must lead the way — and the others must wait in the queue".

He said the ANC acknowledged what the NSL had done in sport, but before South Africa could be re-admitted there must be one non-racial soccer body and all apartheid must be removed.

Mr Bhamjee said that the Football Association of South Africa, the South African Soccer Federation and the NSL had held talks and there was a strong possibility that one body would be formed by the end of this year.

He said that if South Africa was a member of Fifa "hopefully by early next year, then the first country to be invited to tour South Africa would be Cameroon".

Mr Andraes Herren, a press officer for Fifa, said from Fifa's headquarters in Switzerland this week that if an important person (like Mr Nelson Mandela) were to give substantial evidence that the requirements with regards to non-racialism had been fulfilled, "then certainly we would be encouraged and would view the situation in a different light".

ANC ready for 'the last mile'

# I smell victory — Mandela

11A  
Stn 14/7/90

NAIROBI — Nelson Mandela told a smaller than expected crowd here yesterday he could "smell" victory against white rule in South Africa.

Only 15 000 people — a third of them schoolchildren — turned up to the 60 000-seat Moi stadium.

Television broadcasts on Thursday urged employers to give workers time off to attend the ANC deputy president's mid-day rally, but failed to draw a crowd to match those which greeted Mr Mandela during his tour of North America, Europe and Africa.

## Divert attention

Diplomats said President Daniel arap Moi had hoped Mr Mandela's two-day official visit would divert attention from this week's clashes between riot police and multi-party advocates, looters and vandals in which 20 died.

Mr Mandela echoed the anger of African leaders over Western donor nations' pressure for political reforms in Africa when he said: "What right have whites anyway to teach us about democracy when they have executed those who had asked for democracy during the time of the colonial era?"

Although Mr Mandela, on a three-day state visit to Kenya, carefully avoided the issue of recent protests against the country's one-party system, he came out in strong support of President Moi's government which, he said, had played a leading role in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and had been one of only a few countries to have granted the ANC full diplomatic status.

And earlier yesterday, he urged students at the University of Nairobi to discuss their grievances with their leaders without disrupting law and order.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, in brief remarks, referred to her own suffering during her husband's 27 years in prison, saying: "I speak on behalf of those (women) who waited."

Mr Mandela looked well after suffer-

**ESMARE VAN DER MERWE  
and SAPA-REUTER-AP**

ing a slight attack of pneumonia and cutting short the Ethiopian leg of his trip Wednesday to seek rest and treatment in Kenya.

Mr Mandela, whose trip was partly a fundraising mission, said the ANC still needed "material and political assistance" from the international community and Africa in particular, as "we take the last mile of a long marathon".

But, he said, "we go home determined to fight harder than ever before because we smell victory".

He was awarded Kenya's highest national honour, Elder of the Golden Heart for "distinguished service to Africa".

Mr Mandela made no reference to the easing of international sanctions against South Africa.

However, President Moi said in an introductory remark that sanctions should be maintained until apartheid was abolished.

Mr Mandela will leave Kenya today, one day ahead of schedule, for a visit to Mozambique, the last leg of a six-week international tour of 14 countries.

## Fit and cheerful

The ANC leader yesterday looked remarkably fit and cheerful. Yesterday morning, Mr Mandela and his wife laid a wreath at the grave of Mr Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first president who, Mr Mandela said, had inspired South Africans through his determined struggle against British colonialism.

Mr Mandela yesterday also held talks with President Moi and several diplomats, and on Friday night attended a state banquet in his honour after having had talks with President France Rene of the Seychelles.

He will address a press conference this morning before flying to Maputo. Mr Mandela is scheduled to arrive in South Africa on Tuesday, the day before his 72nd birthday.



What made Mr Cobus de Swardt, chairman of the newly-launched Cape Town Central branch of the ANC, move from the world of traditional white Nationalism to the opposite pole of South Africa's political spectrum? Mr De Swardt tells of his remarkable transformation in an interview with Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

# Afrikaner heads ANC in Cape Town

**A** YOUNG academic from a staunch Afrikaner Nationalist family, Mr Cobus de Swardt, has been chosen as chairman of the first branch of the African National Congress (ANC) launched in central Cape Town.

More ANC branches are to be established in the "Cape Town zone" in coming weeks, he told Weekend Argus in an interview this week.

The Cape Town Central branch, as it has been named, was officially launched last week with about 180 members — mostly whites. The members are from all walks of life and include students, professional people, domestic workers and academics, according to Mr De Swardt.

They are from a wide spectrum of religious backgrounds, ranging from Christians to Muslims and Jews. Ages vary, with membership largely in the 30-50 age group.

Mr De Swardt, who shares a house with friends in Vredehoek, said it was not easy for

the ANC to re-establish itself after decades of being a banned organisation.

"I regard it as an exciting challenge — not only in so far as it means the building of a new political party, but also in respect of the building of a new society."

An ANC membership drive was being planned, with public meetings, possibly once a month, and recruiting tables to be set up in all areas over weekends.

A sociologist and former student of the Universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town, Mr De Swardt is the son of a former National Party MPC for Malmesbury, the late Mr Awie de Swardt.

**A**FTER his father's death his mother, Mrs Hanneljie de Swardt, succeeded her husband as MPC for Malmesbury. Subsequently she married Free State Nationalist politician Mr Jan van den Berg who retired as MP for

Brandfort after the last election.

Mr Cobus de Swardt, 27, was born in Johannesburg in September 1962. He was baptised in the Ned Geref Kerk in Brandfort where his paternal grandfather was the chief elder and a prominent member of the Broederbond.

His parents moved to the Western Cape when he was a boy. They had a farm near Malmesbury and initially Cobus went to the Jan van Riebeeck primary school in Cape Town.

Later he attended the Boland Agricultural High School at Paarl where he was head boy. He played Boland schools cricket.

In 1981 he began his studies at the University of Stellenbosch where he obtained a BA and BA Honours (with distinction) in social sciences.

He completed an M.Phil. degree in UCT's department of African studies in 1988 and is working on a doctorate while lecturing at the University of the Western Cape.

# A boereseun leaps the great divide

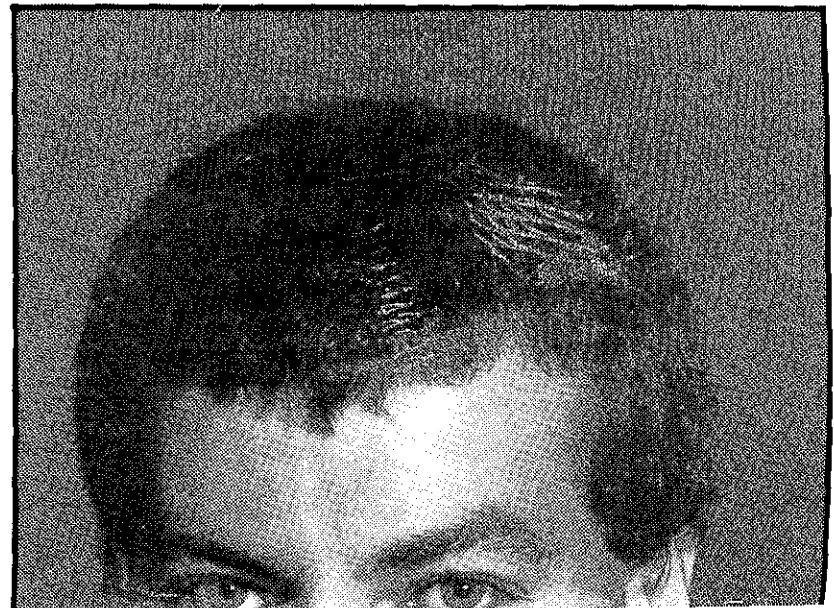
**T**HE political deep-space voyage of Cobus de Swardt from the world of traditional Afrikaner Nationalism to the "enemy" camp of the African National Congress was not easy for him.

In some ways he found it a traumatic experience, accompanied by heartache, tears, family conflict, fear and insecurity. In other ways it turned out to be an exhilarating discovery of a new world and a new identity which Mr De Swardt finds worthwhile in spite of the upheaval.

As chairman of the newly-launched Cape Town Central branch of

The ANC, once a banned organisation that existed

WEEKEND  
ARGUS  
SPECIAL  
REPORT



impossible role for the son of a former National Party politician and MPC — Mr De Swardt sees his transformation as part of a process of political development.

“But it is more than that — it is also a breakaway from one culture to move to another,” he told Weekend Argus in an interview this week. “I underwent a change of heart; I have had a change of identity; I now see myself as an African and not in the first place as an Afrikaner.”

He came up against intense pressures and hostility from family members and friends because of his political views and his questioning of conditions and attitudes in the country.

He and his parents eventually “agreed to differ”.

As a first-year student at the University of Stellenbosch, he was tarred and feathered three times for allegedly bringing the Eendrag hostel where he stayed into disrepute. At that time he was involved in a campaign for the opening of the university to all races.

Mr De Swardt, friendly and enthusiastic in conversation, is reserved when he speaks of the agonies he suffered in the course of his transformation. But he clearly bears no grudges. On the contrary, he finds the overall experience enriching and is amused by some of the absurdities and illogical behaviour he encountered.

What is it that makes a person reared on Nationalist thought and ideology turn about to go in the opposite political direction?

There could be many answers to this question, but in the case of Cobus de Swardt at least part of the answer may be found in his way of thinking — his urge to find out things, to question what is unclear or inconsistent, to refuse to accept things at face value.

This was his approach, and since early childhood there was much around him that exercised his inquiring mind. He did not always get true answers, and sometimes there were no answers.

A few glimpses from his memories of his earlier life provide some clues as to why he changed.

■ Cobus was a child of the *total onslaught* era. His early political awareness was dominated by traditional Afrikaner Nationalist beliefs and fears.

It was a time when, in most of his family circles, the belief in apartheid and white superiority was virtually a fact of life. Ever present was the vague fear of a new battle of Blood River and of an annihilation of the Afrikaner.

So real was the imagined threat that his paternal grandfather at times raised the alarm that doomsday had arrived. He would telephone from the Free State town of Brandfort to say a final farewell to the family because the town was to be “burnt down tonight by Winnie Mandela.” It was during the years when Mrs Mandela was restricted to the Brandfort magisterial district.

■ The young Cobus received a strong dose of traditional arguments to justify glaring injustices of the apartheid system.

“God had His angels serving Him as slaves. In the same way God gave blacks as slaves to His children — the Afrikaners,” his maternal

decades before it was unbanned on February 2 this year, has launched its first branch in central Cape Town. The newly-appointed ANC branch chairman is Mr Cobus de Swardt, son of a former National Party MPC. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.



## ‘As an African it is my duty and my privilege to support the liberation struggle of my people’

grandfather would explain. That was why the Afrikaner had the task of looking after “this gift from God.”

Cobus asked why, then, grandpa treated a farm labourer, Agis, so harshly, but received no clear answer.

■ What made a profound impression on Cobus soon after his family moved to Malmesbury was his realisation, from what he saw on the platteland, that many people in South Africa were extremely poor and were suffering.

At school he was called a “kafferboetie” by other children because he made friends with black children who lived on a neighbouring farm. This and various other incidents brought out a rebellious feeling in him.

■ He was disillusioned when he discovered, for example, that a teacher whom he had trusted and respected had told him a lie. The teacher had said the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was “a communist song” which was also sung by soldiers in Communist China.

■ When Cobus was 13 his father told him his mother cried at night because she feared Cobus was going to be “a second Bram Fischer.”

“When about a year later I found out that Abram Fischer was ‘a communist traitor’, I was deeply shocked. I could not understand how my mother could see me as a ‘communist traitor’. After all, I believed in Vorster, God, Western Province and terrorists who would climb up the pergola to get me if I was naughty.”

■ In 1976, at the time of the Soweto riots, armed guards were placed at Cobus’s school. The reason given was that “terrorists” wanted to burn down the school.

At first he did not question this explanation, but when he did ask what had given rise to the conflict he was shown a drawing of the Battle of Blood River. He was told that blacks, even if they were Christians, could not be trusted because they were “violent by nature.”

“But I trusted Susan, a black nanny from my childhood. After family fights we cried together in the kitchen,” Mr De Swardt said.

■ When Cobus received his first call-up instructions from the SADF in 1977, he found himself somewhat confused by the prospect of compulsory military service.

Later his mother arranged for him to see a psychologist to discuss his fears about the army and his idea about being a pacifist.

“The psychologist told me he would be able to help me. The first thing he explained to me was the ‘killer instinct of blacks’ which he had experienced on the border. I never went back.”

■ In 1981 Cobus had an experience that changed his life — three weeks spent in Soweto with a black friend.

MR De Swardt continues his story: “Dlomo and I became friends after meeting on a park bench in Johannesburg where he happened to be the guy sitting next to me. I was down in the dumps after a quarrel with my brother, and Dlomo suggested I stay with him in Soweto.

“I went, but I was scared to death and thought I would never get out of Soweto alive, especially after Dlomo had introduced me as a ‘Boer’ when we visited a shebeen one night. ‘Bring bier vir die Boer,’ he had said.

“Today I often think how ironical it is for somebody, at the age of 19, to go for a holiday in his own country and to come back horrified and disillusioned. My socialisation itself became a myth.

“However, I also returned from Soweto with, for the first time, real hope for the future. The seeds of becoming an African myself had been watered.

“I know I have a long road ahead in learning, for the first time, what it means to be an African. But I have also realised apartheid has more than just divided blacks and whites from each other — for many of my fellow Africans have lost their sense of being Africans and need to re-learn ...

“For more than 300 years a war has been waged against Africans in this country. As an African it is my duty and my privilege to support the liberation struggle of my people.”

ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IS  
THE REVOLUTION OF THE  
MASSES UNDER THE  
GUIDANCE OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGY

CHF Times 14/7/90

11A

*[Handwritten signature]*



**PAARL MARCH . . .** Part of a 300-strong crowd march from a mosque to the Paarl Magistrate's Court yesterday to demand the release of Mr Yusuf Patel, a member of the Muslim Qibla movement. Mr Patel, sentenced to five years jail for terrorism, is the only political prisoner at Victor Verster prison, according to his wife.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

# More whites sign on for the Mandela brigade . . .

*w/ Argus 14/7/90* *11A*

From PAT CANDIDO  
Weekend Argus Bureau

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — More whites are signing up as members of the African National Congress.

More than 40 have enrolled at the ANC's new offices here in the past few days, according to Mr Mike Xhego, secretary of the branch office.

Signing up this week were Mr Glen Goosen, a lawyer, political activist Miss Janet Cherry and Mr Kobus Pienaar, another legal man.

## **Cross-section**

Mr Goosen said the ANC was the only political movement which could link the broadest cross-section of South Africans and forge a common destiny.

He believed the ANC's stance on the armed struggle was justified because of the government's inherently violent system of apartheid.

Miss Cherry came to Port Elizabeth from Cape Town in

1984. She has been involved in trade unionism, literacy courses for black people, the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign. She has been detained twice.

She said her aim in joining the ANC was to achieve a simple system of government in which everyone had an equal say.

## **"At home"**

She had worked with many ANC members and felt entirely at home with them. There was little sense of hierarchy and authoritarian practice in the ANC.

Mr Pienaar, a former member of the National Party, said he felt almost obliged to join an organisation that stood for non-racialism in a country free of exploitation.

He urged whites to join the party because, he said, a non-racial society "is not going to fall out of the air".

■ See page 15.



**OSCAR DHLOMO:** Not approached but ready.

# Slabbert, Dhlomo to chair NP/ANC talks?

11A ~~SECRET~~ 5/21 14/7/90

**NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN**

DURBAN — Former Progressive Federal Party opposition leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and former Inkatha secretary-general and KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Oscar Dhlomo have been suggested as joint chairmen for the crucial round-table talks between the National Party Government, the African National Congress and other interested parties on a new constitution.

Government sources have indicated that President FW de Klerk and his team of constitutional negotiators may nominate Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Dhlomo to alternate as chairmen, as they feel both men would be acceptable to the majority of parties at the table.

However, both men are apparently un-

aware of the rumoured appointments, and said they had not been approached on the matter.

"I have not been approached on this issue," Dr Dhlomo said. "But I have always said that if I am asked to make my perceived skills available for the good of the country, I will do so, provided it is on a non-party political basis."

Dr Dhlomo is currently concentrating on his family and business interests. He resigned from his position as Inkatha secretary-general and from the KwaZulu Cabinet and Assembly on June 30.

As a Cabinet Minister, he was KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's most trusted lieutenant and had a strong moderating influence on KwaZulu politics.

He has played a leading role in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the creation of the Joint Executive Authority, and in discussions between Ulundi and Pretoria on South Africa's political future.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said he had not been approached, and declined to comment.

After resigning as leader of the official Opposition in a dramatic speech during the 1986 no-confidence debate in Parliament, he formed the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).



**VAN ZYL SLABBERT:** No comment.

114 (13)

# 'Small' crowd for Mandela's Kenya rally

**NAIROBI.** — Mr Nelson Mandela, Africa's best-known symbol of freedom, drew smaller than expected crowds yesterday when he addressed a rally here in the wake of anti-government riots in which 20 people died.

Television broadcasts on Thursday urged employers to give workers time off to attend Mr Mandela's midday rally, but it failed to draw a crowd to match those which have greeted the ANC deputy president during his tour of North America, Europe and Africa.

Mr Mandela largely stayed clear of political controversy with a speech thanking Kenya for supporting South Africa's black nationalist struggle.

One-party ruled Kenya, known for political stability in a continent riven with conflict, has become the latest African country to be rocked by calls for more democracy.

The government has detained 17 outspoken advocates of multi-party democracy and withstood five days of fierce rioting and looting in Nairobi and provincial towns,

sparked by a pro-multi-party demonstration last Saturday.

Local newspapers yesterday reported that five Nordic ambassadors had warned the government that nearly \$80 million (about R208 million) in aid could be jeopardised if the country continued to ignore calls for greater democracy.

Only about 20 000 people turned up to the 60 000-seat Moi Stadium.

At the rally, Mr Mandela praised Mr Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president, and Mr Dedan Kimathi, its best-known fighter for indepen-

dence from Britain, as an inspiration to black South Africans.

He echoed the anger of Mr Moi and other African leaders over Western donor nations' pressure for political reforms in Africa when he asked: "What right has the West, what right have the whites anywhere to teach us about democracy when they executed those who asked for democracy during the time of the colonial era?"

The sons of five former leaders of Kenya's independence struggle —

including Mr Kenyatta — appealed in a statement for free speech and an end to police harassment and political detentions.

The wives of seven dissidents either arrested or sought by the government appealed in a letter on Thursday to Mr Mandela to intercede with Mr Moi, but ANC officials said he would be unlikely to comment on an internal Kenyan matter.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to leave Kenya today for Mozambique before heading back home in time for his 72nd birthday next week. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

14/7/90 (11A) Star

# Managing the people

## KES old boy who feels for oppressed

### Personality

**RONNIE KASRILS**

Interviewed by: **PATRICK LAURENCE**

THE former intelligence chief of the ANC's guerilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was clearly delighted to be back in South Africa after 27 years in exile.

Smiling and exuding bonhomie in his office in the African National Congress's Johannesburg headquarters, Ronnie Kasrils said: "I am discovering my roots."

His roots lay in Yeoville, a feeder suburb for one of South Africa's best known schools, King Edward VII School, or KES.

He did not fulfil the stereotype of an intelligence chief, still less one who helped mastermind a "people's war" against the apartheid regime for five critical years.

Kasrils — somehow the title "Mr" sits uneasily on his shoulders — was friendly, rather than stern and calculating. His geniality seemed genuine enough. Perhaps his revolutionary camaraderie was surfacing in more congenial, almost bourgeois, surroundings.

### Sports mad

Warming to his subject, Kasrils, now in his early 50s, recalled how a history master at KES changed his life. Until then he had been a "sports mad" school boy with contempt for the "Latin swots".

The master, Teddy Gordon, awoke an interest in history and a sympathy for the underclasses. Kasrils remembered how, to his astonishment and that of his class friends, he got the top mark in a weekly history test for his essay on the causes of the French Revolution.

Kasrils suddenly saw parallels between pre-revolutionary France in the 18th century and South Africa in the 20th century. His career as a radical seeking to change South Africa from the Left had begun.

In 1963, as the crackdown against dissidents on the Left continued in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 and the banning of the ANC shortly afterwards, Kasrils, a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, fled South Africa.

His life in exile, spent initially



RONNIE KASRILS: A history master at KES set the "sports mad" Yeoville boy on the

in Tanzania and Britain, was changed dramatically in 1976, the year of the black student rebellion. "It was a watershed in my life," Kasrils recollected.

The uprising was crushed but the exodus of thousands of young blacks began. They left South Africa in search of military training to take up the fight again, not as students with defiance in the hearts but as guerillas with AK-47s in their hands.

Kasrils was sent to Angola as a "political instructor". His task was to politically educate the young recruits swelling the guerilla camps. It was regarded by the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally as a vital part of the process of training a guerilla army.

In 1983 Kasrils was assigned to an even more important post. He was appointed as Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of intelligence, a post he held for the next five years.

Kasrils smiled when asked what he considered to be the qualities of a successful intelligence chief. "It is to gather information, to ascer-

tain what the plans of your opponent are, to be able to look into his mind," he said. "It has been going on for millennia."

During his five years as Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief, one of Kasrils' main opponents was General Johann Coetzee, a former security police chief and a former police commissioner.

"He was an intelligent and capable man," Kasrils said. "We knew he was applying the same dictum to us that we applied to him ... he was well read and made an attempt to understand revolutionary ideology."

### Devious

Over the years, Kasrils added, the expertise of the security police improved. From rough hewn policemen with little or no political understanding, they became "astute and sophisticated", he said.

"But at the same time they became incredibly devious and cunning. They got carried away with the Le Carre syndrome and at-

tempted to be too clever."

Competition between the department of military intelligence, a branch of the SADF, and the security police was intense, Kasrils said. It led to "corruption" and to the "death squads" of the clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau.

As an example of how the security police became too clever, Kasrils cited Olivia Forsythe, the police agent who was imprisoned by the ANC in Angola and who eventually escaped to the British Embassy in Luanda.

Describing her as South Africa's "Little Drummer Girl", Kasrils said: "They were quite prepared to use her as a pawn." She had been sent in as an agent but when the ANC "tumbled to her", the police sent her back as a double agent, knowing, Kasrils reckoned, that the ANC knew who she was and what her game was.

Kasrils, however, had respect for Forsythe as an adversary, saying: "She managed to escape. She was a very intelligent and capable person."

He was insistent that Craig Wil-

lamson, billed "master spy" inner core of harm to ANC son was suspended at arms'

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Kasrils rec with Joe Slov both top ANC they said to Williamson's something ab The interview shifted to ano of torture aga rity personnel objected to

# ging the people's war



**RONNIE KASRILS: A history master at KES set the "sports mad" Yeoville boy on the path that led to the ANC.**

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ng was crushed but f thousands of young .They left South Afri- of military training to ight again, not as stu- eance in the hearts illas with AK-47s in

s sent to Angola as a- tractor". His task was "educate" the young elling the --guerilla as regarded by the South African Com ally as a vital part s of training a gueril-

srils was assigned to e important post. He ad as Umkhonto we of intelligence, a post e next five years. iled when asked what i to be the qualities of intelligence chief. "It nformation, to ascer-

tain what the plans of your oppon- are, to be able to look into his mind," he said. "It has been going on for millennia."

During his five years as Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief, one of Kasrils' main opponents was General Johann Coetzee, a former security police chief and a former police commissioner.

"He was an intelligent and capable man," Kasrils said. "We knew he was applying the same dictum to us that we applied to him . . . he was well read and made an attempt to understand revolutionary ideology."

## Devious

Over the years, Kasrils added, the expertise of the security police improved. From rough hewa policemen with little or no political understanding, they became "astute and sophisticated", he said.

"But at the same time they became incredibly devious and cunning. They got carried away with the Le. Carre syndrome and at-

tempted to be too clever."

Competition between the department of military intelligence, a branch of the SADF, and the security police was intense, Kasrils said. It led to "corruption" and to the "death squads" of the clandestine Civil Co-operation Bureau.

As an example of how the security police became too clever, Kasrils cited Olivia Forsythe, the police agent who was imprisoned by the ANC in Angola and who eventually escaped to the British Embassy in Luanda.

Describing her as South Africa's "Little Drummer Girl", Kasrils said: "They were quite prepared to use her as a pawn." She had been sent in as an agent but when the ANC "tumbled to her", the police sent her back as a double agent, knowing, Kasrils reckoned, that the ANC knew who she was and what her game was.

Kasrils, however, had respect for Forsythe as an adversary, saying: "She managed to escape. She was a very intelligent and capable person."

He was insistent that Craig Wil-

liamson, billed in South Africa as a "master spy" who penetrated the inner core of the ANC, did no harm to ANC operations. Williamson was suspected as a spy and kept at arms' length, he said.

When Williamson tried to win the confidence of the ANC, a simple test was set for him, Kasrils said. He was given the task of getting publicity for ANC propaganda in the form of a comic. The ANC had struggled for years to get publicity for it, without success.

But within weeks Williamson was sending the ANC cuttings from South African newspapers.

## Torture

Kasrils recalled a conversation with Joe Slovo and Yusuf Dadoo, both top ANC-SACP men, in which they said to one another about Williamson's feat: "Doesn't it say something about Craig?"

The interview in Kasrils's office shifted to another subject: charges of torture against the ANC's security personnel by dissidents who objected to fighting in Angola's

civil war on the side of the pro-ANC Angolan government.

Kasrils spoke of how "the regime" sent agents into the camps: some were "criminals" recruited in jail through bribery and blackmail and some were more skilful provocateurs whose function was to incite rebellion.

"We didn't have many mature adults who have gone through the mill of life. The ANC had to rely on young people for the security tasks. It was here that problems of abuse arose."

The ANC, Kasrils emphasised, had to face a "vicious regime" and a tough response was required.

But he added hastily: "We never had a policy of torture and brutality. Whenever excesses have come to the notice of the leadership they have them dealt with."

Kasrils, now a member of the ANC's national executive, identified the fundamental tradition of the ANC as "profound humanitarianism" founded on the "humanity of an oppressed people" and reaching from its highest leadership ranks downwards.

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# The Piet Retief

By DESMOND BLOW

THE police "hit squad" from Vlakplaas and other Security Branch policemen used soft lead "dum-dum" bullets to kill eight suspected ANC activists in two ambushes at the same spot four days apart, it was alleged in the Piet Retief Magistrate's Court this week.

"Dum-dum" bullets explode on impact and leave enormous wounds.

Allegations made by two former policemen stationed at Piet Retief were put to branch security officer WO Frederick Pienaar in cross-examination by counsel for the families of four of the those killed in the first incident.

They were appearing at the inquest, which resumed in Piet Retief this week, into the deaths of the four in the first incident on June 8, 1988.

The dead, all from Durban, were: Surendra "Lenny" Naidu, 23; Nontsi-kelelo Cotozo, 25; Makhosi Nyoka, 25, and Lindiwe Mthembu, 21.

The inquest into the second incident on June 12, 1988, has not yet been held.

The four killed in this incident, all from Natal, were: Boxer Joseph Mtembu, 28; Jabulani Sibisi, 28; Bruce Nkosingi Thenjwayo, 22, and Sifiso Nxumalo.

In both incidents, four ANC infiltrators from Swaziland were led into a trap by a black policeman — one an Askari — posing as ANC members, the court heard.

The infiltrators were driven into the police trap by a bogus ANC member.

Advocate Marumo Moerane read in court part of a Press report in which two former police constables at Piet Retief, Theuns Grobler and James Stevens, described the eight bodies when they were brought into the police station as looking like "chicken wire".

In the Press report, Stevens said one of the security policeman had told him he had put his automatic weapon through the window of the vehicle and emptied the magazine.

Grobler said in the newspaper report that after the second incident a sergeant told him a woman had jumped out of the vehicle and screamed: "Please Nkosi please!" but she had been shot dead.

## 'Dum-dum' bullets used on ANC eight

They told the newspaper they heard that the district surgeon's first report on the autopsy had stated soft-nosed bullets had been found in the bodies. A second report did not mention the soft-nosed bullets, they alleged.

In court this week Pienaar denied the allegations. He said: "This is a lie!"

He said the suggestion that the police ambushed the suspects to kill them and not to arrest them was not true.

He said had the police wanted to kill the suspects they could have used a machine gun on full automatic, and set up sandbags on the roadside. "It would not have been necessary to storm the vehicle."

The raid on June 8, 1988, was led by Maj Eugene de Kock, successor to Capt Dirk Coetzee as leader of Section C1 at Vlakplaas.

Counsel for the families of those killed on June 8, 1988, Marumo Moerane and Zak Yacoob, also claimed in cross-examination of Pienaar that the police report of the number of bullets fired by the ambushing police was conveniently made to coincide with the number of bullet holes found in the the vehicle.

The police examination of the vehicle showed 43 entrance bullet holes. An independent ballistics expert examined the vehicle a year later on behalf of the families and found 49 bullet holes.

Counsel said this did not allow for shots that shattered the windows of the vehicle nor bullets which missed.

Pienaar told the court the police wanted to arrest the suspects but a shot was fired at them from the vehicle, De Kock had shouted "Fire!" and they had kept shooting until he told them to stop.

The inquest was postponed to July 23 when Gideon Lotz SC, for the Minister of Law and Order and the police, will re-examine Pienaar.

# KILLINGS

After his grand tour, weary Mandela jets home to challenge of peace talks

# BACK TO

# THE FUTURE!



SMILING Nelson Mandela with President Moi in Nairobi yesterday

S/Times  
15/7/90

11A

Sunday Times  
Reporters

**NELSON Mandela** — travel weary and dogged by health problems — jets back this week to his most urgent political challenge: South Africa's future peace.

He faces dissension in his own organisation and demands by the Government for more rapid movement on peace talks.

Within days, South Africa could be entering one of the most crucial political phases in its history.

Complex dealings — that could determine when, or even whether, the peace process gets back on track — lie immediately ahead.

Peace talks have come to a virtual standstill during the ANC leader's six-week, 14-nation tour abroad to raise money and drum up support for continued sanctions.

Meanwhile, a new question-mark has arisen over the ANC leader's health.

It was learnt yesterday that two South African doctors were flown to his bedside in Ireland last night ago.

In the event, his illness was diagnosed as a cold ("We prescribed aspirin and some antibiotics," said one) which developed into mild pneumo-



## TV star Melanie sues for beauty prizes

By FELICITY LEVINE

**GORGEOUS** TV Treasure Hunt star Melanie Walker is suing the organisers of a beauty contest — because she claims she did not get all her prizes.

The leggy lovely says she is still waiting for prizes valued at nearly R40 000 — two years after winning the Miss Hillbrow competition.

Melanie is taking contest organisers James Bodek and Julian Grabman, of Pre-



## This woman who stole my Dad, by Bles's girl

By STEPHANIE HULL

**THE ANGRY** daughter of romantic singer Bles Bridges this week lashed out at the woman who "stole my dad".

Sonet Bridges, a 20-year-old beauty technology student, stormed: "Nobody knows the hurt we have been through.

"Marietjie van Heerden became best friends with our family, but she was waiting for the chance to get my dad."

Sonet said Marietjie was interested only in clothes and fashion.

"And she is not as beautiful as she looks when she hasn't got make-up on — her hair isn't actually blonde. I've seen photos of her when she was younger and it is actually much darker."

Sonet said she objected to the way Marietjie still visited their palatial Vereeniging riverside home "although she keeps clear of my mum".

"And she expects me to make her tea," said the college girl.

"My mother is a wonderful person. She does so much for my dad — I don't know who is going to do everything now.

"This is something he has to get out of his system, but he will get bored with her event-

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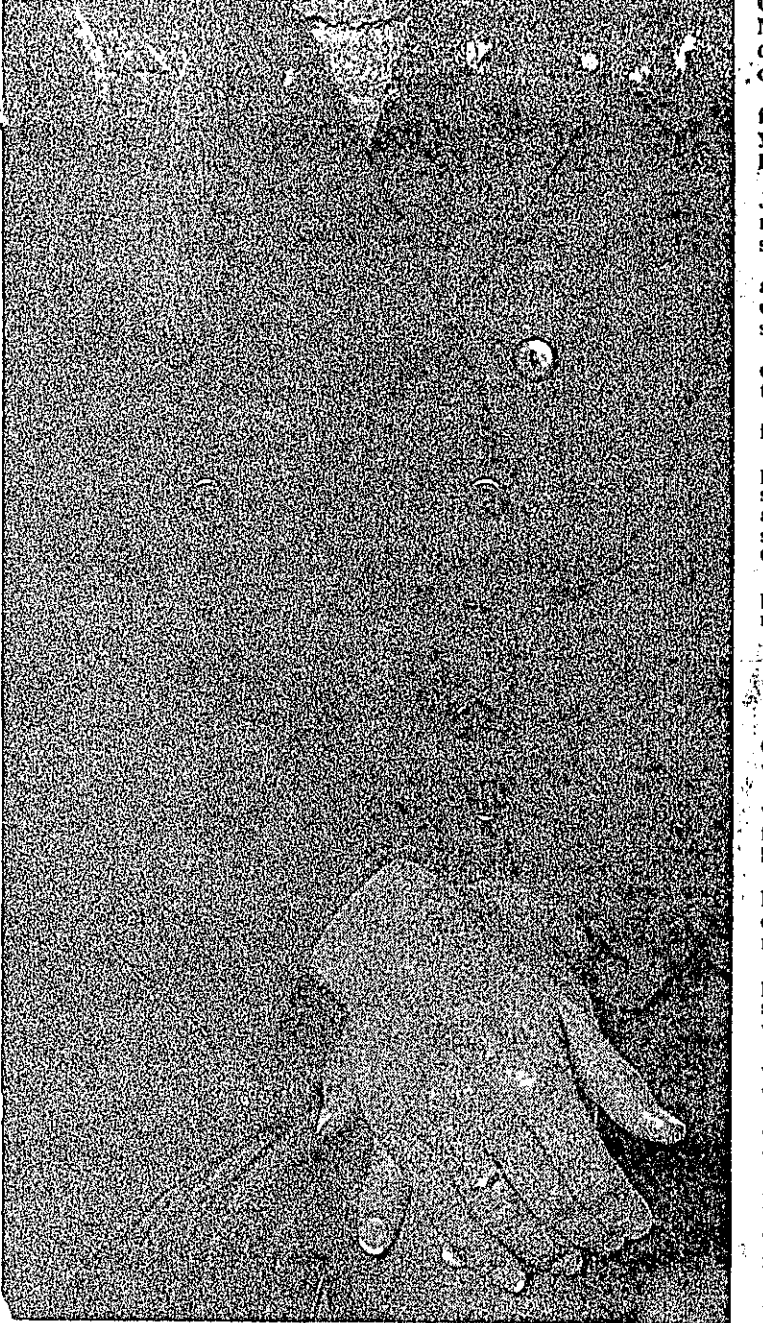
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TREASURE HUNTING . . . Melanie Walker Picture: HORACE POTTER

GORGEOUS TV Treasure Hunt star  
Melanie Walker is teasing the organisers  
of a beauty contest — because she  
claims she did not get all her prizes.

The leggy lovely says she is still waiting  
for prizes valued at nearly R40 000 — two  
years after winning the Miss Hillbrow com-  
petition.

Melanie is taking contest organisers  
James Bodek and Julian Grabman, of Pre-  
mier Pageants, to court for the R36 910 she  
says she did not receive.

Mr Grabman said yesterday that he had  
always "acted in good faith and in the inter-  
ests of the competition". He blamed the  
sponsors for the upset.

Melanie said: "I feel I have lost out, and  
decided to take action to stop anything like  
this happening in future.

"The prizes were nothing like I was prom-  
ised."

Melanie is famous as the action girl in the  
popular TV4 Treasure Hunt series. After  
she won the Miss Hillbrow title she played  
an active part in projects to clean up the  
suburb and launched the Hillbrow Action  
Group.

In an affidavit, Melanie said she was  
promised prizes worth R90 000, but actually  
received just over one third of this amount.

## 'Inferior'

She said she:

● Was promised a 1,8/ Volkswagen Citi  
Golf valued at R23 880 but only got a 1,6k  
worth R22 430;

● Won a luxury overseas trip for two  
valued at R16 000 but ended up with a trip  
for one to Italy, England and Israel worth  
half that;

● Won designer clothes and jewellery for  
R17 000 which turned out to be "inferior"  
outfits worth only R950 and did not receive  
much of the jewellery.

Other disappointing prizes were a com-  
puter which came without a printer and  
software and a contract at a gym studio  
which had closed down.

She alleges that a year's supply of petrol  
valued at R1 400 turned out to be 12 tankfuls  
worth only half the amount.

And a year's supply of cinema tickets  
valued at R600 dropped down to six tickets  
valued at R40.

Lindsay Saker, which sponsored the car  
prize, is furious about what has happened.

A director, Paul Crewzer, said he was  
"appalled" to hear that certain prizes had  
not been awarded.

"We do not want to be associated with  
anything that would generate adverse pub-  
licity," he said.

Some other former Miss Hillbrows are  
equally disappointed with  
their prizes.

Beautiful Jayne Hutton —  
the first Miss Hillbrow when  
the competition was  
launched five years ago —  
claims her promised R40 000  
prizes amounted to "little  
more than half the amount.

## Sponsors

"I felt there was nothing I  
could do about it so I just  
decided to carry out only half  
my duties as Miss Hillbrow  
since they had given me only  
half my prizes," she said.

Sandra Hing, Miss Hill-  
brow 1987, said that not all  
her prizes had been "up to  
scratch".

Mr Grabman blamed the  
sponsors for not coming up  
with all the prizes, but said he  
would do his best to compen-  
sate Melanie.

"She only got a single tick-  
et because the travel agent  
decided at the last moment to  
give the other to the runner-  
up," he said.

"As for the clothes and  
jewellery — the designers de-  
cide what they are worth."

# Hotel bomb baffles cops

By HERMAN JANSEN

TWO bomb attacks on appar-  
ent right-wing targets yester-  
day have puzzled police.

Both bombs were made of  
commercial explosive — the  
hallmark of right-wing  
terrorists, who get their  
material from sympathetic  
miners.

The targets were the  
Randburg home of a top  
right-wing activist and  
Roodepoort's one-star Rich-  
mond Hotel, frequented  
mainly by conservatives.

Black waiter Wright  
"Shorty" Ngoma, 51, of  
Malawi, was killed in the  
hotel in the blast which went  
off on a windowsill at the  
back of the building.

Hotel boss Joe dos Santos,

28, discounted a right-wing  
attack: "Almost more right-  
wingers drink here than any-  
body else," he said.

More than 100 people were  
still at a party for the re-  
opening of the hotel's  
renovated ladies bar when  
the bomb went off about 30m  
away at 12.30am.

In Randburg, extensive  
damage was done to the out-  
side wall of the home of Hen-  
drik Binneman, 41, who faces  
charges of conspiring to com-  
mit sabotage after his arrest  
last December.

Mr Binneman said yester-  
day: "My politics are conserva-  
tive, but I am not a mem-  
ber of the AWB. I'm caught  
right in the centre — I can't  
say whether the bomb came  
from the right or left."

# PICK 6

STAR jockey Pierre Strydom  
rode all legs of the Pick 6 at  
Gosforth Park today — and  
equalled the SA record of 7  
winners at a meeting.

GOSFORTH PARK:  
There were 13 729 winning tickets  
with each winner collecting a  
dividend of R89,50. Combinations:  
1; 1; 4; 2; 5; 5; 6, 11.

GREYVILLE:  
Nobody managed to select the  
correct winners. Dividend carry-  
over not available. Winning num-  
bers: 3; 6; 1; 14; 2; 2.

MILNERTON:  
Four punters picked up a divi-  
dend of R39 387,70. Selection: 3,  
11; 1; 2; 14; 9; 8.

# Gold holding

AFTER its dramatic \$11  
surge on Friday, gold yester-  
day closed at \$363,59 on the  
Hong Kong market, only 1c  
lower than its London fix on  
Friday afternoon.

21 Times 18/7/90

# Back to problems

□ From Page 1

11A  
137710  
Times

— a crucial precondition for negotiations.

stamp his authority on the many diverse acts of civil protest consuming the country. And he has to be seen to be addressing the problem of escalating random street violence which is threatening the peace talks.

But the biggest task awaiting him is the forging of consensus within the ANC about the suspension of the armed struggle and the next steps to be taken towards the release of political prisoners

A second round of formal talks between the Government and the ANC has not yet been scheduled, but the Cabinet — many of its members only returning next week from mid-year holidays — are preparing for the next phase.

A working group — set up after the historic Groote Schuur talks — is, meanwhile, continuing with its activities.

It has reached consensus on the definition of political offences and there is also consensus on a phased time-scale for releases.

Both sides reported back to their principals in May.

The Government accepted the report and President De Klerk responded by unilaterally releasing 48 people.

However, the ANC's executive has asked for certain changes — which the Government regards as a major deviation in principle.

The Government, it is understood, argues that it cannot be expected to release people convicted of violent offences and for being members of the ANC's army unless the ANC abandons the armed struggle.

# Mandela refuses to criticise Kenya

Cape Times

16/7/90

NAIROBI. — Mr Nelson Mandela on Saturday refused to be drawn on calls for an end to Kenya's single-party state.

An anticipated fresh outbreak of rioting arising out of opposition to the one-party state failed to materialise at the weekend.

At a press conference in President Daniel Arap Moi's State House, Mr Mandela — close to the end of a mammoth six-week tour of Europe, North America and Africa — said it was not for him to comment on the internal affairs of other countries.

Asked why he refused to comment on the Kenyan situation but urged others to interfere in South Africa's affairs by calling for sanctions, Mr Mandela said the two situations were not comparable.

Mr Mandela left Kenya on Saturday for Mozambique.

Yesterday he and his wife

Winnie paid an emotional visit to the graves of ANC members killed in Mozambique by South African security forces in the 1980s.

The Mandelas walked grimaced among the tombstones of the 21 "ANC martyrs" at Lhanguene cemetery on the second day of their four-day official visit to Mozambique.

Most of the dead were killed in South African commando and air force raids in the Maputo area in 1981 and 1983, a time when Pretoria accused ANC residents in Mozambique of involvement in guerilla operations in South Africa.

Mr Mandela began talks yesterday afternoon with leaders of Mozambique's ruling party, Frelimo. He is scheduled to address a mass rally in Maputo today before returning to South Africa on Wednesday. — UPI, Sapa-Reuter

# Tambo to return after amnesty

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa when the whole organisation has been granted a general, permanent amnesty enabling exiles to be repatriated en masse.

Spokesman Dr Frene Ginwala expressed optimism that obstacles to their return would be removed in the next couple of weeks after talks with the government resume following Mr Nelson Mandela's return on Wednesday.

Dr Ginwala returns temporarily to South Africa today after more than 30 years in exile.

She and two other exiles, Ms Shanti Naidoo and Mrs Eleanor Khanyile, both of the International Defence and Aid, will assist with the launching inside South Africa of the ANC's Women's League on August 9.

She said Mr Tambo was "very well". He was undergoing physiotherapy following the minor attack he had last year, but he was still fine mentally. However, he was "not going to be allowed back to do full-time work".

She said while the whole of the ANC's international department would continue operating at their 34 "missions" around the world — more than the government has — members of the other departments, including Mr Tambo, would return once the way had been cleared.

She estimated there were some 20 000 ANC members in exile.

11A

## ANC leader scorns PAC

NAIROBI. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela poured scorn on the PAC at a press conference here on Saturday, dashing hopes of unity between the two movements.

Asked about prospects of an ANC link-up with the PAC, he said: "There are certain organisations which have no significance whatsoever to our (struggle against apartheid).

"I wouldn't expect anybody who follows the situation in South Africa to ask me anything about the PAC," he said at the end of a four-day visit to Kenya.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, on a visit to Tanzania recently, ruled out unity with the ANC in the near future, saying: "Only cowards can agree to negotiate." — Sapa-Reuter

# Boesak's affair could 'close political doors'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Dr Allan Boesak's affair with Ms Elna Botha will make his return to the political limelight extremely difficult, yesterday's Observer newspaper said in a profile of the liberation theologian and founder member of the United Democratic Front.

The article said some saw the affair with the niece of a former cabinet minister as "a result rather than a cause" of his political fall.

"His star, they say, has been declining for some time as his egocentric style

made enemies just when competition for key positions in the black movement was becoming more intense."

Like others in the UDF, the Observer said, Dr Boesak was finding himself "shouldered aside" by older ANC leaders as they emerged from prison and returned from exile.

It was at this "vulnerable moment", said the article, that Elna Botha came into his life, offering the warmth and admiration he was craving.

"She, too, was going through a critical time of change. Like a growing number of

young Afrikaners in South Africa's reformist climate, Botha was revising her political views and trying to break out of the strait-jacket of an apartheid upbringing.

"She began producing TV films depicting life in the black community. And she began seeking black friends, some think with an over-compensatory eagerness."

"Either way, whether it was recklessness or an inability to cope with a political setback, the picture that emerges of Boesak is of a hugely talented man with a flawed character."

But, it said, his talent remained un-

questioned. "At his peak in the mid-1980s, Boesak was the most effective black politician in South Africa: A shrewd strategist who conceived and launched the UDF (which) spearheaded the massive black uprising of those years."

It concluded: "Boesak may yet return to the political limelight. But to be removed from centre-stage just as the new political structures are being created will make it extremely hard."

"The pursuit of personal pleasure at the risk of public reputation is always dangerous in politics. In the sober poli-

tics of black South Africa of today it could prove fatal."

Ms Botha's jilted husband, television newsreader Mr Colin Fluxus, told the Mail on Sunday yesterday that her affair with Dr Boesak began when she refused to co-operate with her during a documentary programme she was doing.

"In January she flew to Cape Town to persuade him personally. Then she began to fly to Cape Town frequently and was clearly exhilarated when she filmed one recent march through the city streets with Boesak at the head," he said.





By KEN OWEN

CAL TMS 16/7/80 11A

# The cracks are starting to show in ANC ranks

THE fissures are starting to show in the ranks of the ANC and its supporting network of trade unions and front organisations, although it requires the techniques of Kremlinology to make sense of the disputes.

A good starting point is Comrade Pallo Jordan's attack, in an obscure journal called "Transformation", on Comrade Joe Slovo. The burden of Jordan's argument is that Slovo remains, if not a Stalinist, then an apologist for Stalinism who will not subject socialism to the rigorous examination demanded by its degeneration into corrupt tyranny.

Jordan is an unusually interesting man who, unlike many ANC leaders, has a fine, well-trained mind. In Paris last year, called on at short notice to address the National Assembly in the place of Thabo Mbeki (who failed to turn up), he delivered a deliciously provocative commentary on the French revolution which held his audience spell-bound.

His French hosts, still basking in the distant glory of 1779, were nonplussed when he shifted the focus a decade forward, to a time when revolutionary terror had persuaded the French to accept the military dictatorship of Napoleon as a lesser evil.

I wondered at the time whether he was addressing himself to the French, to Idasa's amiable but harmless liberals, or to the ANC itself. A few days later, the question arose again when he interrupted my standard liberal harangue on the freedom of the press to say (to my great alarm), "I agree with Ken".

Now he has done it again, dismissing as untrue Slovo's protestations that the South African Communist Party, in contrast to the European parties, managed to avoid the excesses of Stalinism.

"Firstly," says Jordan, "there is too much evidence to the contrary. Any regular reader of the SACP's publications can point to a consistent pattern of praise and support for every violation of freedom perpetrated by the Soviet leadership, both before and after the death of Stalin ..."

"Secondly, the political culture nurtured by the SACP's leadership over the years has produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its membership ..."

Of course, it pleases me that Pallo Jordan says these things, though I wouldn't wish him to agree with me too often. However, the really interesting thing about this direct attack on Slovo and the party leadership is that it echoes what Fatima Meer, Nelson Mandela's biographer, said about the loss of the democratic content in what is laughingly called the Mass Democratic Movement.

Her theme was taken up by the UDF's Faried Esack who discerned within the MDM "fascist tendencies" that led to the rubbishing of parliamentary democracy and civil liberties as "bourgeois luxuries". (Esack has accused me of "quoting selectively" from his 19-page lecture, but he is a singularly honest young man and has not withdrawn or repudiated any of its criticisms.)

All this internal criticism is the tip of an iceberg, and sometimes difficult to interpret. For example, Jordan makes the argument that the Soviet Commu-

nist Party had moments of choice when it might have escaped the path to Stalinism, but chose wrongly. He seems thus to be trying to exonerate socialism from the charge that it is necessarily and inherently totalitarian.

However, he may have another purpose in mind: to blame the individual leaders of the SACP for the "fascist tendencies", the "intellectual thuggery", for the dissembling, and ultimately for the murders and the tortures committed by the ANC-SACP alliance.

If no choice exists, socialism is inherently flawed; if there is a choice, the leaders are flawed. Which is it? Where is the source of this intellectual thuggery? Obviously, South African society at large has a compelling interest in the answer.

The debate is complicated by the divisions within the movement on racial questions, with some leaders leaning heavily towards the Africanist, or black nationalist, stance of the PAC ("One settler, one bullet"), and others cleaving to non-racialism. It is an old line of cleavage.

The SACP, indeed, takes credit from time to time for upholding the non-racialism of ANC policy even though — despite the prominence of Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad, Albie Sachs and others — the leadership of the party is now said to be predominantly African. Certainly the rank and file is overwhelmingly African, and linked now to the union movement.

This raises further difficulties of analysis. The Stalinist faction in the SACP is blamed (by Esack, among others) for directing its intellectual thuggery against "workerists" who tend to put union interests above the party's interests, and who therefore stray from the party line.

There has been considerable talk in union circles, of varying levels of credibility, about the exclusion of Cyril Ramaphosa from the ANC's negotiating team (supposedly on the grounds that Ramaphosa over-played his hand when Nelson Mandela was released from prison).

In the background, one may discern developing personal rivalries that would pit Ramaphosa, with his power base in the National Union of Mineworkers, against men like the intelligent and polished Thabo Mbeki (whose father has been a life-long communist, but whose own views are said to be more moderate).

## Disorganisation

Finally, I think, there is a paranoid fear, understandable in underground movements, of spies, infiltrators, and police agents. Both Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC have intelligence units which compete with each other in the pursuit of spies, and which have both been responsible for atrocities.

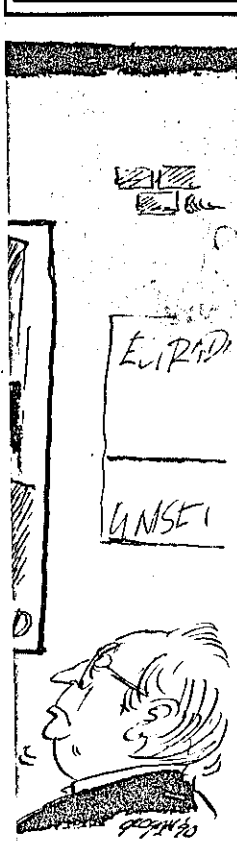
All of this exists in an atmosphere of disorganisation, policy dispute, nepotism and personal ambition, an unpromising mix for a liberation movement which is trying to become a political party. The events in Eastern Europe have, I am told, been a dreadful shock to the SACP members, who are now trying to scramble towards democratic high ground — just as Nelson Mandela has scrambled from the sinking wreck of Eastern Europe to an American economic lifeboat.

Meanwhile, of course, the methods of totalitarianism learned during the long tutelage of the SACP and the Comintern carry forward; the killing goes on. Dissidents voice their dissent, but scurry fearfully away when that dissent is published. On the picket lines, the label of "scab" is a death sentence.

This sort of mess can be sorted out only by exposing the Mass Democratic Movement, including the ANC and its rider, to public inspection. Not even the members of the Communist Party can still say with any confidence that they all belong in the same organisation; the ANC is a conglomerate, and the MDM is little more than a collective noun.

Meanwhile, for such a crowd to talk of its "policies", whether on economics or on such bourgeois rubbish as parliamentary democracy, is a farce; for its leaders to pretend to be a government-in-waiting is more so.

To agree to transfer power is one thing; to find somebody capable of wielding it is quite another. The MDM and all its parts simply don't qualify.



**T**HE fissures are starting to show in the ranks of the ANC and its supporting network of trade unions and front organisations, although it requires the techniques of Kremlinology to make sense of the disputes.

A good starting point is Comrade Pallo Jordan's attack, in an obscure journal called Transformation, on Comrade Joe Slovo. The burden of Jordan's argument is that Slovo remains, if not a Stalinist, then an apologist for Stalinism who will not subject socialism to the rigorous examination demanded by its degeneration into corrupt tyranny.

Jordan is an unusually interesting man who, unlike many ANC leaders, has a fine, well-trained mind. In Paris last year, called on at short notice to address the National Assembly in the place of Thabo Mbeki (who failed to turn up), he delivered a deliciously provocative commentary on the French Revolution which held his audience spellbound.

His French hosts, still basking in the distant glory of 1779, were nonplussed when he shifted the focus a decade forward, to a time when revolutionary terror had persuaded the French to accept the military dictatorship of Napoleon as a lesser evil.

I wondered at the time whether he was addressing himself to the French, to Idasa's amiable but harmless liberals, or to the ANC itself. A few days later, the question arose again when he interrupted my standard liberal harangue on the freedom of the Press to say (to my great alarm), "I agree with Ken".

Now he has done it again, dismissing as untrue Slovo's protestations that the South African Communist Party, in contrast to the European parties, managed to avoid the excesses of Stalinism.

"Firstly," says Jordan, "there is too much evidence to the contrary. Any regular reader of the SACP's publications can point to a consistent pattern of praise and support for every violation of freedom per-

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# How will this crowd ever manage to rule a fractious country?

KEN OWEN

petrated by the Soviet leadership, both before and after the death of Stalin. . . .

"Secondly, the political culture nurtured by the SACP's leadership over the years has produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its membership. . . ."

Of course, it pleases me that Pallo Jordan says these things, though I wouldn't wish him to agree with me too often. However, the really interesting thing about this direct attack on Slovo and the party leadership is that it echoes what Fatima Meer, Nelson Mandela's biographer, said about the loss of the democratic content in what we laughingly call the Mass Democratic Movement.

Her theme was taken up by the UDF's Faried Esack who discerned within the MDM "fascist tendencies" that led to the rubbishing of parliamentary democracy and civil liberties as "bourgeois luxuries". (Esack has accused me of "quoting selectively" from his 19-page lecture, but he is a singularly honest young man and has not withdrawn or repudiated any of his criticisms.)

All this internal criticism is the tip of an iceberg, and sometimes difficult to interpret. For example,

Jordan makes the argument that the Soviet Communist Party had moments of choice when it might have escaped the path to Stalinism, but chose wrongly. He seems thus to be trying to exonerate socialism from the charge that it is necessarily and inherently totalitarian.

However, he may have another purpose in mind: to blame the individual leaders of the SACP for the "fascist tendencies", the "intellectual thuggery", for the dissembling, and ultimately for the murders and the tortures committed by the ANC-SACP alliance.

If no choice exists, socialism is inherently flawed; if there is a choice, the leaders are flawed. Which is it? Where is the source of this intellectual thuggery? Obviously, South African society at large has a compelling interest in the answer.

**T**he debate is complicated by the divisions within the movement on racial questions, with some leaders leaning heavily towards the Africanist, or black nationalist, stance of the PAC ("One settler, one bullet"), and others cleaving to non-racialism. It

is an old line of cleavage.

The SACP, indeed, takes credit from time to time for upholding the non-racialism of ANC policy even though — despite the prominence of Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad, Albie Sachs and others — the leadership of the party is now said to be predominantly African. Certainly the rank and file is overwhelmingly African, and linked now to the union movement.

This raises further difficulties of analysis. The Stalinist faction in the SACP is blamed (by Esack, among others) for directing its intellectual thuggery against "workerists" who tend to put union interests above the party's interests, and who therefore stray from the party line.

There has been considerable talk in union circles, of varying levels of credibility, about the exclusion of Cyril Ramaphosa from the ANC's negotiating team (supposedly on the grounds that Ramaphosa overplayed his hand when Nelson Mandela was released from prison).

In the background, one may discern developing personal rivalries that would pit Ramaphosa, with his power base in the National Union of Mineworkers, against men like the intelligent and polished Thabo

Mbeki (whose father has been a life-long communist, but whose own views are said to be more moderate).

Finally, I think, there is a paranoid fear, understandable in underground movements, of spies, infiltrators, and police agents. Both Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC have intelligence units which compete with each other in the pursuit of spies, and which have both been responsible for atrocities.

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Tributes for  
Sowetan official

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*111)*  
The Sowetan's editor, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, described Mr Mabe as a giant among black journalists. — Sapa

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### Mandela to address rally

MAPUTO — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who arrived in Maputo on Saturday, was to have talks with Mozambican leaders yesterday.

Today he is to address a rally in Maputo's Independence Square.

Mandela, on the last stop of a triumphant tour of Europe, North America and Africa, was met by President Joaquim Chissano at Maputo airport, where he received a hero's welcome from tens of thousands of Mozambicans.

Asked at a Nairobi news conference before his departure for Maputo about prospects of an ANC link-up with the PAC, he said: "There are certain organisations which have no significance whatsoever to our struggle." — Sapa-Reuter.

# Jo'burg council to spend R300 000 fighting AIDS

B 104/16/790

TANIA LEVY

THE Johannesburg City Council has earmarked R300 000 for AIDS education this year.

By the end of 1991 an estimated 40 000 people in greater Johannesburg will test positive for HIV.

According to the council's acting Medical Officer of Health, Nicky Padayachee, about 6 000 people in the area tested HIV positive by the end of last year. This figure is doubling every eight and a half months.

Of the 463 cases of full-blown AIDS reported in SA by 21 June, 178 are in the greater Johannesburg area.

Padayachee says the area probably accounts for between 50% and 60% of the country's total number of people with AIDS.

Health and housing committee chairman Marietta Marx says

R300 000 has been allocated separately from the health budget and will be controlled by the management committee.

Padayachee says most of the money will be spent at the council's AIDS centre in Hillbrow — training volunteers from existing non-governmental organisations. These people have the credibility and skills to reach communities but need material and training assistance from City Health.

He says some of the money will go towards existing AIDS awareness programmes such as bus advertisements and the health department's AIDS play which has already been performed for more than 15 000 unskilled workers.

Schools are a crucial site for AIDS education, particularly in SA where more than half the population are of school-going age. Young people are the most sexually active and therefore most at risk of becoming infected with the virus.

While black and coloured schools have welcomed the council's AIDS programmes, the Transvaal Education Department refuses to allow this sort of education at white government schools, Padayachee says. Parents have to pressurise government to allow AIDS education in schools.

One of the greatest tragedies of AIDS is that people will not take the disease seriously until they start seeing many cases — and by that time it will be too late to contain the epidemic, he says.

## Stresses of township life heighten labour conflict, says study

TOWNSHIP life, characterised by high levels of social and political unrest, was found to heighten labour-management conflict and increase worker militancy, a recent study said.

Wits industrial psychology lecturer Jacqueline Duke, who conducted the survey, said: "The turmoil evident in the wider SA society has exerted a direct, negative effect on black community life." This affected labour relations.

Duke found 76% of the sample of township residents experienced disturbed sleep because of township unrest; 75% reported that life was dangerous in the townships; 67% experienced an atmosphere of tension; 58% reported a general breakdown of law and order in the townships; and 52% experienced violence on public

DANIEL FELDMAN

transport. B 104/16/790

The unemployment crisis was also highlighted — 60% of respondents said a family member was unemployed or had lost his job during the past year. Other stresses were accommodation and rent problems, education and the effect of the legal system on black community life.

Duke said township stress led to intensified conflicts between different factions in the workplace, decreased job satisfaction, and negative attitudes toward the company, including perceptions of company policy, supervision and the handling of grievances.

It was essential that organisations ascertained what stressed employees and what their community-based needs were before embarking on social responsibility programmes.

"Managers need to communicate across different cultural and ethnic groups in organisations. Through an understanding and awareness of different cultural groups, managers can develop creative strategies that will satisfy the divergent needs, motivations and aspirations of all employees in the organisation."

Industrial relations consultant Stuart Pennington and SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union assistant general secretary John Cope-lyn will speak on these issues at a seminar next month.

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG



Flashback to the release of ANC stalwart, Mr Raymond Mhlaba who greets the partisan crowd in jubilation at a welcome home rally after he was released from prison along with six other long-term security prisoners. Mandela's second homecoming - the first being his release from 27 years in jail - might not be such a rousing at all...

## Returning Mandela faces storm at home

11A

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Sowetan 16/7/90

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While political analysts say Mandela and De Klerk are the two indispensable elements for peace in South Africa, they are by no means the only players and they face serious challenges.

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\* The Government and the ANC have begun a slanging match over obstacles to talks on a democratic constitution. Defence Minister Magnus Malan has charged Mandela with bad faith for failing to halt armed struggle against apartheid and for continuing to back nationalisation of white-owned industries.

\* The economy has slipped deeper into trouble. The gold price has crashed and thousands of black workers, backbone of the ANC, are being paid off. Strikes have tripled in a year.

\* The ANC is at loggerheads with other black opposition groups, mainly the hardline leftist PAC and the conservative Inkatha party of Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Scores more people have died in the virtual civil war between Inkatha and ANC supporters in Natal.

\* A white backlash against prospective black rule is intensifying with white terrorist bombings



NELSON MANDELA

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Mandela's statement that they would resume on Wednesday has against blacks and moderate whites. The pro-apartheid opposition Conservative Party almost ousted De Klerk's National Party from its "safe" Umlazi parliamentary seat in Natal.

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On the plus side, De Klerk has continued his piecemeal dismantling of apartheid, abolishing separate public toilets, parks and libraries. "Talks about talks" between the Government and the ANC still appear to be on track, but no date has been publicly set mystified government officials and ANC colleagues.

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There is little understanding of the democratic process in South Africa and issues tend to be seen by blacks and whites in simple terms of winners and losers.

Many at grassroots level regard De Klerk's concessions as tantamount to throwing in the towel on 300 years of white supremacy.

But government officials hasten to note that the whites have not been beaten and command a powerful military and economy. De Klerk aims to share power with blacks, not give it all away.

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FOCUS

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**BOLAND BURIAL . . .** Mourners at a funeral in Robertson on Saturday for the three victims of recent clashes between residents and police. Gerrit Bailey, 14, Johannes Arnoldus, 33, and Johannes Jones, 22, were buried.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

*AM Trip 16/7/90*  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Azapo would not go to the negotiation table until the imbalance of political power had been redressed — but companions in the struggle against apartheid should be given room to support their own organisations, Azapo leaders emphasised. They were speaking at the

**No talks yet  
 — Azapo bosses**

*(11A)*  
 Saturday funeral of Azapo leader Mr Muntu Myeza, who died in what appeared to be a car accident on July 2. — Sapa

**SOWETO.** — Glowing tribute was paid to the assistant editor of the Sowetan, Mr Sam Mabe, when he was buried here yesterday.

Mr Mabe was shot about a fortnight ago while dropping off friends in the township. His attackers have not been apprehended.

Staff Reporter

THE Bellville South Ned Geref Sendingkerk church council has decided to forgive Dr Allan Boesak for his indiscretion with SABC producer Ms Elna Botha and will welcome him back as the congregation's minister with "open arms".

This was disclosed yesterday by the church council, which granted Dr Boesak three weeks' leave to reconsider his decision to quit church politics following the disclosure that he and Ms Botha were having an affair.

The decision to pardon Dr Boesak and grant him time off was adopted unanimously by the church's nine-member council on Saturday when it deliberated his future after receiving a letter from him requesting more time to reconsider.

This follows his sermon to the Bellville South congregation on July 8 when he said his days as a church minister were over because of the scandal surrounding the affair.

It is understood that a major contributing factor for the council's conciliatory stance is the formation of a unity pact between the NG Sendingkerk and the Ned

# Council forgives Boesak

*Capt Tint's 4/7/90*

## Boesak thanks church council

DR Allan Boesak yesterday expressed his thanks to his Bellville NG Sendingkerk church council for giving him the opportunity to reconsider his position.

He was reacting in a statement through his lawyer in Cape Town, Mr Essa Moosa, to the council's decision announced yesterday to give him three weeks' leave of absence after it had received a letter from him requesting more time to consider his original decision to resign.

Mr Moosa said he could not confirm or deny reports that Dr Boesak had left South Africa on Saturday night for overseas with television producer Ms Elna Botha. — Sapa

Geref Church in Africa later this year.

Dr Boesak's presence at the Sendingkerk's next synod on September 20 is "crucial" to getting a new racially integrated Afrikaans church off the ground after four years of intensive negotiations.

Although not an official prerequisite at this stage, the council hopes Dr Boesak will make amends and end his relationship with Ms Botha if he decides to return to his religious duties.

The Rev Johan Retief, NG Sendingkerk campus chaplain at the Univers-

ity of the Western Cape and church council member, said yesterday that the church was sympathetic to Dr Boesak's plight.

He said that although this had been the "biggest shock" the local parish had ever had, church members had been quick to rally behind Dr Boesak as he was regarded as a symbol in the fight against apartheid.

Mr Retief said the council had not yet debated the "so-called affair" and had not decided what disciplinary measures would be taken if Dr Boesak returns.

"This will depend on his decision on how he comes back. It is impossible to say what we are going to do.

"Dr Boesak has not resigned yet. He is going through difficult times and is under great stress. His whole life is at stake. He has received messages from many people urging him not to make any hasty or rash decisions."

He added that the council was "gravely aware" of the seriousness of the issues at stake and, gave an undertaking that it was in no way prepared to "conceal or cover up" any aspect of the incident.

● Affair could "close political doors" — Page 3

*Cat. Times 17/1/90*  
**Xroads  
committee  
'from both  
sides'**

By PETER MALBIN

AT a historic unity meeting yesterday between the leadership of warring Old Crossroads squatter groups, an eight-man monitoring committee was elected from the ranks of both sides to defuse the explosive situation.

"The elected monitoring committee will work out the mechanism of bringing about peace in Crossroads," Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, national organiser of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, said.

The squatter war has been raging for 10 months between groups headed by mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his rival, breakaway former chief headman Mr Jeffry Nongwe.

Mr Mpukumpa, who chaired the meeting, attended by 40 delegates, said the mood was conciliatory and there was no tension.

Elected to the monitoring committee were Mr Ngxobongwana and two members of his group, Mr Nongwe and two members of his group, and two members of the Western Cape United Squatters' Association.

The next meeting will be held "in the very near future", Mr Mpukumpa said.





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IRNA XENOPOLOUS

# Women must not be left out

*Sowetan 14/7/90*

11A

**By SIZAKELE KOOMA**

WOMEN should ensure that they are represented when parliamentary and legislative decisions are made for a future South Africa.

This was said by the co-chairman of Women for Peace, Irna Xenopolous, at an International Association for students interested in Economics and Manage-

ment (Aiesec) conference held at Wits University.

Xenopolous said South African women should learn from what happened to Zimbabwean women who, after "fighting side by side with their men in the struggle, were

awarded adult status only 10 years after freedom had been achieved.

"We are heading for a situation where women

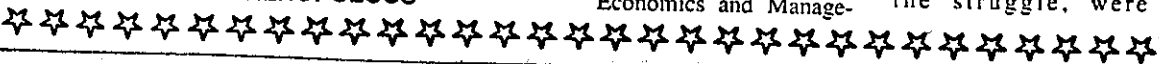
will have to make decisions too. It should not be a token concession. We also do not want a special section to be given for women's issues," she said.

The South African Government, she said, had left out women in their talks with the ANC, who had two women in their team in Ruth

Mompoti and Cheryl Carolous.

"Women of all races have made vital contributions to society while also fulfilling their traditional role as bearers and nurturers of children and obeying and loving wives to their husbands.

"They have played a role in fighting injustices in the country."



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# Fear of clashes in Vaal boycott

PETER DELMAR

A NUMBER of leading black organisations appeared at the weekend to be heading for a showdown with organisations in the ANC camp over the indefinite consumer boycott due to start in the Vaal Triangle today.

Spokesmen for the PAC, Nactu and Azapo indicated their organisations were unlikely to support the boycott, which has been called by Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) to support demands that political marches and meetings in the region be allowed.

Fears have been expressed that the boycott — in Vereeniging, Vanderbijlpark, Sasolburg and Meyerton — could be characterised by clashes between boycotters and non-boycotters.

Union of Public Service Workers and Nactu spokesman Big Boy Mohapi said at the weekend Nactu had not been consulted about the boycott.

Mohapi, who is an additional member of the Azapo regional executive, said the boycott call was out of order as the local community had not had a chance to air their views.

Nactu leaders, he said, were attempting at the weekend to contact Cosatu and UDF representatives to discuss the issue.

He said Nactu had declined to attend a meeting called by Cosatu last week because it would have been expected to

simply approve prepared resolutions.

PAC spokesman Benny Mtoele said as far as he was aware the organisation had not been consulted.

According to Cosatu Western Transvaal regional secretary Zwelinzim Vavi, however, the boycott call had met with an overwhelming response.

He said it was in the interest of other organisations to support the boycott as their meetings and marches had also been banned and restricted by the Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark councils.

Cosatu, he said, would be prepared to end the boycott if its principal demand — that free political expression be allowed — was met.

The boycotters' demands also include a constituent assembly and an immediate interim government.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said on Friday the boycott was a senseless way of trying to achieve political aims.

The chamber said in a statement that SA was facing its most challenging year, with exciting opportunities for the future.

The success with which it tackled those challenges and exploited the opportunities depended not only on a political settlement but on strong economic growth.

This was particularly important if more jobs were to be created, it said.

# ANC report on Boland goes to FW

CN 10/7/90 114

## Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's Tuynhuys office will today receive an ANC report on the Boland violence accusing the police and white residents and authorities of trying to sabotage the peace process.

Copies are being sent to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, foreign embassies and the ANC-National Party joint working group.

The report, released at the weekend to coincide with the funeral of three alleged victims of police attacks, calls for immediate intervention by the government to prevent "a spiralling cycle of violence, hatred and bitterness" in strife-torn Ashton, Robertson, Montagu and Bonnievale.

It says: "The actions by police and authorities, as well as white residents of the Boland, indicate a selfishness, and a degree of arrogance and violence (that) . . . threaten the very processes of peace that are under way."

A police spokesman said the allegations in the report had already been investigated and found to be groundless.

The report makes a number of recommendations:

Negotiation had to be accepted as the means to resolve disputes. "The racially based municipalities need to recognise the legitimacy of the grievances of black Boland residents, and the long backlog of decent facilities or even the necessities for a decent life."

There had to be an immediate end to police violence, and "an acceptance that people have the right to gather, to meet, discuss freely, and to air their views through peaceful and non-violent protest."

"Lethal ammunition should not be standard issue to police in "so-called unrest situations".

● About 2 000 people attended the Robertson funeral on Saturday of three victims of alleged police attacks in the Boland recently. Diplomatic representatives of the United States and Canada were present and a message was received from the British government.

# Mandela pays tribute to Mozambique's sacrifice

By ESMARÉ  
VAN DER MERWE  
Political Staff

MAPUTO. — The launching of the armed struggle from Mozambican soil in the 1960s had sparked the South African government's policy of destabilising the neighbouring country, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, said.

At a meeting between senior delegations of the ANC and the Frelimo government yesterday, the second day of his state visit, Mr Mandela thanked President Joachim Chissano for his country's sacrifice in the struggle against apartheid.

He assured Frelimo of the ANC's firm support and said the ANC was committed to bringing stability to the entire South Africa region. A peaceful settlement in South Africa was not only in the interests of all

South Africans, but also in the interests of the people of Mozambique.

"Some of the most serious problems facing your country will never be solved as long as apartheid is in place," he said.

President Chissano reiterated Frelimo's support for the struggle against apartheid and hailed Mr Mandela as a highly respected leader.

"We are happy to have you here because our own struggle will still be a long one. Your experience is larger than ours and we will still be learning from you."

The two delegations met for about 90 minutes at the headquarters of Frelimo. The ANC delegation included Mrs Winnie Mandela, foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, president general Mr Thomas Nkobi and executive member Mr Jacob Zuma.

Yesterday the 12-man ANC

delegation paid tribute at Lhanguene cemetery to fellow activists who would not see the birth of a new South Africa.

Mr and Mrs Mandela solemnly walked past the graves of activists who had died in the conflict and stopped to lay a wreath at the grave of Ruth First, the wife of South African Communist Party secretary general, Mr Joe Slovo, who died here in a letter bomb explosion in 1982.

Hundreds dressed in ANC colours gathered to remember the dead. Some wept as they sang *Nkosi Sikele iAfrika*.

In a strained voice, Mr Mandela said the graves put an obligation on all South Africans to reach a peaceful political settlement.

"We will be paying tribute to these men and woman if after white domination we fight poverty, illiteracy and any form of human exploitation."

# Mandela-De Klerk: early talks expected

Star 16/7/90

UA

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela returns to South Africa this week after a gruelling international tour to resume peace talks with the Government.

He is expected to have an early meeting with President de Klerk, who returns to his office in Pretoria this week after a brief leave.

The crucial issue to be tackled by both leaders is the ending of the ANC's armed struggle and the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

## Logical

A joint ANC/Government working group has been discussing this problem and is expected to report to both leaders soon.

Government sources said last night no dates had been set for the completion of the working group's discussions.

And no date had been set for a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela, although it was logical that this would take place as soon as possible.

Uncertainty about the seriousness of Mr Mandela's pneumonia is making it impossible to predict when the meeting will take place or when broader negotiations on the prisoners issue will resume.

Some Government sources said last night a full meeting between the Government and the ANC, on the scale of the May Groote Schuur summit, was unlikely before later this year.

The joint working group reached agreement in May on a phased release of political prisoners, synchronised with a phasing out of the ANC's armed struggle.

The Government accepted the group's recommendation, but the ANC has raised certain objections which have been returned to the working group for further discussion.

It is understood the disagreements centre on the timing and wording of the commitments the ANC is expected to make on the armed struggle.

The Government expects the ANC to renounce or suspend the armed struggle as soon as guerillas begin to be released, arguing that it cannot be expected to release them to return to fight.

The ANC is understood to be arguing instead for a "mutual ceasefire" in the first place, with a more formal suspension of the armed struggle later.

The Government does not favour this arrangement as it places doubts on the role of the security forces during the interim period.

# Mozambique is thanked

Star 16/7/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Sapa

MAPUTO — Nelson Mandela yesterday thanked President Joaquim Chissano for Mozambique's sacrifices in the struggle against apartheid.

Mr Mandela, on the last leg of his tour, also paid tribute to his ANC colleagues who died in Mozambique.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, Mr Mandela visited the Lhanguene cemetery, burial site of 13 ANC members killed when South African commandos raided Mozambique in 1981.

Mr Mandela assured Frelimo of the ANC's firm support and said the ANC was committed to bringing stability to the entire southern African region.

"Some of the most serious problems facing your country will never be solved as long as apartheid is in place," he said.

Mr Chissano reiterated Frelimo's support for the anti-apartheid struggle and hailed Mr Mandela as a respected leader.

Mr Mandela attended a state banquet last night and will address a rally in Maputo today. He will travel to Beira tomorrow and is expected in South Africa on Wednesday.

Yesterday, the 12-man ANC delegation and hundreds of people dressed in ANC colours gathered at Lhanguene cemetery to pay tribute to fellow activists who had not lived to witness the birth of a new South Africa. Rows of graves bear witness to the ANC's struggle against oppression.

Mr Mandela laid a wreath at the grave of Ruth First, the wife of SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo, who died in Maputo in a letter bomb explosion in 1982.

Mr Mandela said the graves put an obligation on all South Africans to reach a peaceful political settlement.

Earlier, Mr Mandela, accompanied by Mozambican Minister of Security, Mariano Matosinho, laid a wreath at Heroes' Square as a tribute to President Samora Machel who died in an air-crash in South African territory in 1987, and leaders of the country's struggle against colonialism.

ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki has denied reports that Mr Mandela will soon visit Cuba to recover from pneumonia and exhaustion. He said Mr Mandela would visit Cuba and several other countries during the course of the year.

## Mandela in plan for SA investment

NEW YORK — Rockefeller Foundation president Peter Goldmark says he has followed up on an idea broached during Nelson Mandela's US tour by forming a group to determine how to bring international investment to a free SA. (11A)

Mandela and several other ANC officials met Goldmark in London on Tuesday to discuss plans to channel public and private money into a post-apartheid SA.

Goldmark made the proposal, which he likened to the Marshall Plan, at a June 22 meeting Mandela had with business leaders in New York. (11A) 6/27/90

Other executives at the meeting said the idea appeared to generate strong interest and Mandela called the proposal "constructive and imaginative".

Tuesday's follow-up meeting was held at Mandela's request, Goldmark said in an interview this week.

Goldmark said he would work with ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki and treasurer Thomas Nkobi "to design a structure through which business interest can be channeled". He said investment would be sought from governments as well as private industry. — Sapa-AP.

unwilling, for various reasons, to report the culprits.

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# At last Mandela *Cape Times 17/7/90* meets his Merc

JOHANNESBURG. — Four days after Mr Nelson Mandela celebrates his 72nd birthday, workers plan to honour him in the most extraordinary fashion.

On Sunday, in Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe Stadium, workers will present him with keys for the fire engine-red 500 SE Mercedes Benz specially built for him in March.

"It will be a very important occasion for the workers but also for the long-struggling, peace-loving oppressed and exploited masses at large," a National Union of Metalworkers statement said.

And in Maputo Mr Mandela got an unlikely souvenir from the past yesterday — a framed copy of a 1962 arrest warrant issued for the then underground leader by the Portuguese colonial rulers.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano presented the memento at a rally yesterday. The warrant described Mr Mandela as a "black agitator" in South Africa last seen "wearing a long beard and a chauffeur's uniform, with a peaked cap". — Sapa-AP

● Vow to stop Mozambique war — Page 2

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# No preferential treatment for Boesak

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak will be welcomed back into his church only under certain "pre-conditions", the Rev Johan Retief, chairman of the Bellville South Ned Geref Sendingkerk church council, said yesterday.

He said the churchman would not receive preferential treatment. "Members of the church would feel wronged because other office-bearers have been suspended in similar circumstances," said Mr Retief, who is also campus chaplain at the University of the Western Cape.

In a statement on Sunday, the council said Dr Boesak had informed the congregation last week of his decision to resign without consulting it.

But at a meeting held on Saturday he submitted a letter requesting more time to reconsider his decision.

The council resolved that it appreciated Dr Boesak's decision to reconsider his earlier statement at the request of members of the congregation and in the light of pastoral guidance he had received since making his announcement.

The council regretted the manner in which Dr Boesak's resignation was made public and said it was gravely aware of the seriousness of the issues at stake. It was not prepared to conceal or cover up any aspect.

The church council has also committed itself to a strict adherence to the ordinances of the church and would inform the presbytery about rumours relating to the matter.

Dr Boesak was granted three weeks' leave.

Mr Retief said yesterday that a report in yesterday's Cape Times was incorrect in some regards.

These were that:

The moral issue was not discussed by the church council and therefore the question of forgiveness was not raised. It would be discussed if and when necessary, he said.

Mr Retief said the report implied that Dr Boesak had already been found guilty. Further, it implied that the "so-called guilt was not so serious" and that Dr Boesak could return to the congregation.

"Dr Boesak will not receive preferential treatment and will not be welcomed back into his church without pre-conditions," he said.

# I'll do everything to stop Moz war, vows Mandela

CAPT TUGS 17/7/90 (11A) (11)

MAPUTO. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told thousands of Mozambicans at a rally on a public holiday declared in his honour, that he would do everything possible to support the country's bid to end the bloody 15-year civil war.

Mr Mandela, due back in South Africa tomorrow, said the ANC had a duty "to ensure that no one in our country does anything to subvert the peace process in which you are engaged".

The ANC would try to guarantee that "instruments of death" were not sent from South Africa into Mozambique "to nourish those who thrive on the precious blood of this country".

"Peace in Mozambique is a matter of deep concern to our movement and our people," Mr Mandela said of the conflict which has claimed up to 500,000 lives. "Women and children have perished ... the killing and destruction must come to an end.

"We must move quickly to end all the conflicts in our region and reach just and lasting solutions so that we can declare war on hunger and poverty."

Mr Mandela praised President Joaquim Chissano's efforts to negotiate

an end to the war between Mozambique and the rightist rebels, long backed by Pretoria as a counter to Mozambique's support for the ANC.

Mozambique's government and the rebels held their first direct peace talks in Rome last week, and have pledged to meet again.

Mr Mandela said the sun was setting on apartheid and victory for South Africa's disenfranchised black majority was in sight.

"We can see the day dawn when black people will no longer be condemned to be servants to others, simply because they have white skins.

"We know that the moment is not far off when black people and white people in South Africa will live together as people, as brothers and sisters."

President Chissano introduced Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie to the crowd, calling Mr Mandela "a living hero".

● Police said yesterday that they would make "appropriate security arrangements" for Mr Mandela's return.

Security arrangements are being made against the background of an apparent right-wing terror blitz in the Johannesburg area. — Sapa-Reuter

# Security tightened for ANC leader's return

80w/Jan 17/7/90

119



THE South African Police said yesterday they would make "appropriate security arrangements" for ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela's return to South Africa tomorrow.

"From the nature of things, it would be counter-productive to go into details," Lt Nina Barkhuizen said in Pretoria.

Security arrangements

are being made against the background of an apparent rightwing terror blitz in the Johannesburg area.

Two bomb blasts and one grenade attack on the West Rand this weekend left two dead and 21 injured.

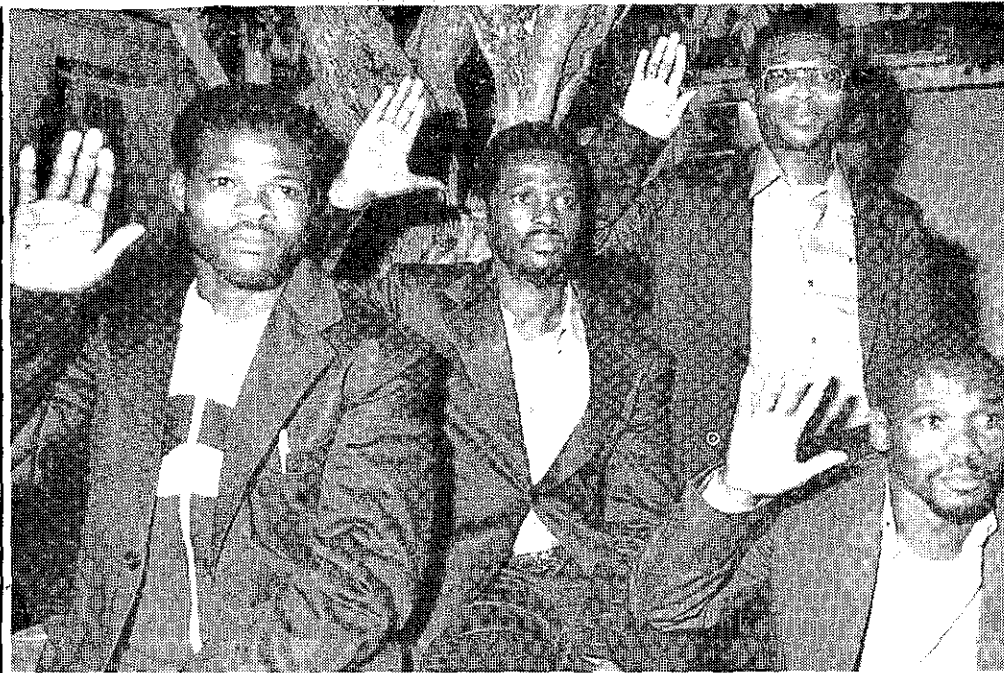
Last month, a weekly newspaper reported that rightwing extremists planned to assassinate Mandela with a .303 rifle

fitted with a telescope as he stepped onto the apron at Jan Smuts - but this plot has since been dismissed as "beercan smalltalk."

Meanwhile police and the ANC yesterday said no meeting was scheduled between ANC leader Walter Sisulu and security police chiefs in Pretoria on the continued detention of activists.

Reports on Sunday said the two parties would meet to discuss the detention of three Natal Indian Congress leaders at the weekend, and the continued detention of more than 150 detainees in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Police in Pretoria and an ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said yesterday they were unaware that such a meeting had been arranged. - Sapa



Apr 17/90

**FREE AT LAST ...**

Four PAC prisoners were freed yesterday after five years on Robben Island. From left to right are: Mr Elby July, Mr Michael Gqamane, Mr Jan Shobe and Mr Mlandeli Ketye (kneeling). This brings to 109 the number of prisoners freed since February 2.

# Diplomat to help in black advancement

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DONALD WOODS

MELBOURNE - A former Australian diplomat in South Africa yesterday advocated holding seminars there to help blacks improve their political and economic knowledge.

Mr Bruce Haigh made this statement when he returned from Johannesburg after a month-long visit in which he chose 12

young blacks to work in Australia for a year.

Haigh was second secretary at the Australian Embassy in Pretoria from 1976 to 1980 when he helped banned newspaper editor Donald Woods defect.

He believes Australia and other Western nations should assist the emergence of blacks with business and union advice.

He also thinks it is important for Australia to

assist progress towards a multiracial democracy by acknowledging not only the African National Congress but the plethora of fledgling political groups.

- Sowetan Foreign Staff.





# Crowds ready to welcome 'hero' Mandela

*Argus  
17/7/90  
NA*

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds are expected to flock to Jan Smuts Airport here tomorrow to welcome African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela when he flies in from his six-week, 13-nation tour.

Mr Mandela, who took Europe and the United States by storm, returns a hero in the eyes of many of his followers. Tomorrow is his 72nd birthday, the first he will celebrate outside prison walls in 27 years.

During his trip he received a hero's welcome wherever he went, held meetings with heads of states, addressed gatherings, received honours and raised funds for the ANC.

In the United States he spoke to a joint sitting of the US Congress.

### TAKE A REST

A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg said Mr Mandela would arrive from Mozambique at 3.20pm tomorrow.

Many had phoned the organisation's office to say they wished to welcome Mr Mandela at the airport, so it was expected hundreds would flock there.

Mr Mandela would hold a Press conference at the airport soon after his arrival.

He would attend to ANC business in South Africa and take a rest before any further international trips were planned.

"The rest of the world has invited him to visit but our concern at the moment is that he gets back and takes a rest."

● A National Union of Metalworkers spokesman said that on Sunday Mr Mandela would be given a fire-engine red 500 SE Mercedes Benz, specially built for him in March, Sapa reports.

"It will be a very important occasion for the workers and the long-struggling, peace-loving oppressed and exploited masses at large."

### VICTORY OF PEACE

● Mr Mandela yesterday urged rival factions in Mozambique's 14-year civil war to reach a peaceful settlement before the end of the year. The Argus Correspondent reports from Maputo.

He told a rally the ANC would like to return to Mozambique this year to celebrate the "victory of peace".

A negotiated settlement in South Africa would help Mozambique end its devastating war.

"We will do anything in our power to help end the destabilisation of Mozambique by anyone within our country."

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## The 'hero' will get his car this Sunday

Four days after Nelson Mandela celebrates his 72nd birthday, workers plan to honour him for spearheading the struggle for equality.

At 10 am on Sunday, in Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe Stadium, workers will present him with keys for a fire-engine red 500 SE Mercedes Benz built for him in March.

"This will show their confidence in and love for their tested and tried leader, Comrade Maroli," said a statement issued by the National Union of Metalworkers. — Sapa.

# Land invasion plan: police slam UDF

By Craig Kotze

Police have slammed the plan by the United Democratic Front to invade disused land countrywide, saying the movement was using innocent squatters in the front line of a move which would lead to confrontation.

In sharp contrast, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman praised as "highly responsible" the African National Congress's reported opposition to the UDF's plan, which seems set to bring it into confrontation with the Government as well.

"This is a responsible move which must be praised," the spokesman said.

He urged the UDF to use the funds it planned to allocate to its campaign for more construc-

tive purposes, such as providing housing in demarcated areas for the homeless.

"We deplore this latest move by the UDF. We feel it will eventually lead to confrontation with the SAP, who are compelled to enforce the law.

## Circumspection

"We do not want this confrontation and so we strongly urge the UDF to abandon its plan and to use the money to actually provide housing for the homeless.

"Innocent squatters, who are already suffering the plight of homelessness, will now be used for political purposes which will worsen their condition even further," the spokesman said.

However, he added that police would handle the situation with the necessary circumspection, but said the law would in the end have to be enforced.

A spokesman for the South African Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said today that police did not remove squatters from land, a task performed by municipal authorities.

He said that when people trespassed on private land and owners complained by way of a sworn statement and were prepared to testify in court, police had strict instructions to arrest trespassers and bring them before the court.

The ANC was not available for comment at the time of going to press.



# Mandela pays tribute to fallen activists

MAPUTO - In Lhanguene cemetery neat rows of graves bear witness to the ANC's bitter struggle against racial oppression.

On Sunday the 12-man ANC delegation, who have been to 14 countries in the last six weeks with a message of goodwill, hope and peace, silently paid tribute to fellow activists who had not lived to witness the birth of a new South Africa.

Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, solemnly walked passed the modest identical graves and stopped to lay a wreath at that of Ruth First, the wife of SACP secretary general, Joe Slovo, who died here in a letter bomb explosion in 1982.

The rest of the delegation followed in silence, faces expressionless and bodies rigid with hidden sorrow. Hundreds of people dressed in ANC colours gathered to remember the dead. Some broke down and cried at the poignant sound of *Nkosi Sikel' iAfrika* rose from the cemetery.

In a strained voice, Mandela said these graves put on obligation

on all South Africans to reach a peaceful political settlement.

"The best manner of remembering them is to ensure that the last country in Africa under white domination should be free, not only in our lifetime but today.

"We will be paying tribute to these men and woman if after white domination we fight

poverty, illiteracy and any form of human exploitation. We thank all

Earlier Mandela, accompanied by Mozambican Minister of Security, Mariano Matosinho, laid a wreath at heroes square as a tribute to President Samora Machel, who had died in a aircraft crash in South African in 1987 and leaders in the country's struggle.

Sowetan 17/7/90

11A

17/7/90

# District Six

Cape Times R/7/90

Staff Reporter

## crack of dawn



In the new South Africa the UDF would like to see freehold title replaced by free-for-all title.

## Syfrete Cape Times

### Share Challenge

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R800

#### TODAY'S INDEX:

(+) R0,67

There were no winners yesterday

IF your share price total movement equals exactly R0,67 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 488 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 488 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 12  
STOCK PRICES — Page 14

#### BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn close) \$361,50  
Gold (NY close) \$361,75  
Rand (per \$) R2,6320/35  
FT index (close) 1912,90  
BD 100 ..... 3566,90  
Dow Jones ..... 2986,00

**DISTRICT SIX** has been selected as the main site for a series of sit-in protests planned by the UDF countrywide next month.

The protests could lead to vacant land in the area being occupied by squatters.

Yesterday the acting regional UDF secretary, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said the protests could involve either "people physically going and living on the land" or symbolic protests.

The planned protests come in the wake of government action against squatters in the Transvaal, where shacks have recently been demolished by bulldozers.

Yesterday the government seemed to be heading for a clash with the UDF on the issue.

The Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, was quoted as saying the action was an "invitation to confrontation". He said he would ask the UDF to discuss the campaign and said the government was not prepared to allow anarchy and disorder.

The UDF plans to occupy private and public land to highlight the national housing crisis, and in the Peninsula and Western Cape protests District Six, which has remained largely undeveloped for 24 years, will be a focal point.

### White flats

The vice-president of the UDF in the Western Cape, Mr Dullah Omar, yesterday confirmed that selected public and private land would be occupied in the campaign.

"We are particularly concerned at present with District Six lying fallow and vacant and see no reason why people should not occupy that land," he said.

He said the Western Cape UDF executive would meet on Friday to discuss the campaign and would take its lead from the recently-unified Western Cape Civic Movement.

In the Transvaal the UDF is planning to occupy empty flats in white metropolitan areas. Although no area was specified, it appears that Hillbrow could be such a target.

The Transvaal action was disclosed yesterday by the Southern Transvaal UDF publicity secretary, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa. He spoke in Dobsonville, Soweto, where tensions between squatters and the Dobsonville Town Council have been running high.

At least two people died and five policemen were wounded last week as clashes erupted between police and squatters over demolition of the Phola Park settlement, near Alberton.

Other demolitions have also occurred at Dobsonville in Soweto, Mandela Village in Ikageng near Potchefstroom, and in Halfway House, where squatters are resisting the demolition of shacks by the white Midrand Town Council. — Staff Reporter and Sapa



**POPE'S CHOICE** . . . Archbishop Lawrence Henry, appointed as Cape Town, hugs a nun at a celebration tea at St Agnes Catholic

# Mandela took US by

storm

Star 18/7/90

USA

## Robert I Rotberg:

Nelson Mandela enhanced his already significant credibility during his virtually unprecedented sweep through urban America.

He advanced the cause of the ANC immeasurably in appearance after appearance, particularly as a result of his address to the US Congress. No foreigner since Winston Churchill has seized the imagination of Americans so boldly.

The one sour stop in Mandela's triumphal tour was Miami. He had earlier praised Fidel Castro, and the exiled Cubans of south Florida hardly welcomed such blasphemy.

Nor did most Jews warm to his praise of Muammar Gaddafi or Yasser Arafat. Editorial criticism of Mandela was caustic.

But that aside, Mandela won the hearts and minds of the American press and its readers.

● Professor Robert I Rotberg has recently become president of Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, after a career at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Tufts University.

## Michael Clough:

Nelson Mandela's visit to the United States was a resounding success.

In coming to the United States, he appeared to have five goals in mind: preventing moves to lift sanctions; enhancing the credibility of the ANC; raising funds for ANC efforts to organise inside South Africa; strengthening his own position vis-a-vis President de Klerk; and reassuring Western investors that post-apartheid South Africa will be a good place to invest and do business. He achieved all five goals.

The ANC gained a lot of credibility from this trip. Despite the tiff over his refusal to denounce Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro, Mandela succeeded in dispelling the lingering perception that the ANC is a Marxist/terrorist organisation.

Beyond these accomplishments, Mandela established himself as an international figure on the level of

What was the impact of Nelson Mandela's tour of the United States? Some groups focused on his utterances about Muammar Gaddafi, Yasser Arafat and Fidel Castro, and the negative effect these could have. But at the request of the South African Institute of International Affairs four American analysts, well informed on the subject of US-SA relations, produced more significant assessments. Extracts of what they said follows.

Havel, Walesa and Gorbachev. In fact, he probably has a higher name recognition rating than any of these.

● Michael Clough is Senior Fellow for Africa at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

## Cedric L Suzman:

From the moment Nelson Mandela arrived in New York it was clear that he was more than just a South African freedom fighter, political prisoner, or even future president of his country.

He was a symbol of hope and pride for black Americans, a reminder of what forceful and articulate leadership could achieve, and they came together in their tens of thousands to greet him at every stop of his tour.

Uniquely, 38 predominantly black American colleges and universities joined in presenting Mr Mandela with joint honorary Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Humane Letters degrees at an emotion-laden ceremony at Morehouse College — the alma mater of Martin Luther King, Andrew Young and many other civil rights leaders.

Mandela was, for all Americans, an embodiment of the fight against oppression and racial injustice everywhere. South Africa and the overthrow of apartheid were only the vehicle for the larger message.

But perhaps because of this, Mandela, the man not the symbol, was not without controversy. His acknowledgment of Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi as champions of human rights, because they have supported the ANC in its struggle, alienated and even outraged many conservative and

middle-of-the-road Americans.

● Dr Cedric Suzman is vice-president and Educational Programme Director of the Southern Centre for International Studies in Atlanta, Georgia.

## Robert M Price

The overwhelming reception that Nelson Mandela received from the American people exceeded the expectations of even the visit's US organisers.

Who could have imagined that here, in probably the most conservative and actively counter-revolutionary of the industrialised nations, in the heartland of "monopoly capitalism", the leader of the ANC would be received with the respect accorded an international dignitary, with a level of enthusiasm never before seen for a foreign political figure and beyond living memory for any domestic one?

From the moment of his arrival in New York, with the Empire State building lighted in the ANC colours, to the rally at the Oakland Coliseum just before his departure, it was clear that not just Mandela the man, but his organisation as well, had come to be viewed very broadly in the American body-politic as the embodiment of the struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights in South Africa and, by example, beyond.

When one recalls that until very recently the organisation's presence in the US was confined to a tiny office in Manhattan, and that in 1988 it was branded a terrorist organisation by the Defence Department, it simply boggles the mind.

The way in which the US respond-

ed to Mandela is, of course, much more a reflection of the nature and problems of American society than the result of a deep understanding of the South African situation. The vast majority of the tens of thousands who so enthusiastically greeted him in each city he visited know little about South Africa and even less about the ANC.

But in terms of the significance of the visit for South Africa, and especially for the ANC, that is of little consequence. That significance would seem to be in at least three areas:

● The primary objective of the ANC for the Mandela visit was to prevent a lifting of US sanctions in the near-term.

● The Mandela visit dealt the coup de grace to Mangosuthu Buthe's campaign to become Washington's "great hope" for South Africa. For a time in the mid-1980s the US policy elite appeared ready to embrace Buthe as a South African version of the "Savimbi-Muzorewa option". After the Mandela visit that notion seems completely dead and incapable of resurrection.

● A foundation has been laid for a special relationship between the US and SA in a post-apartheid future.

In the weeks ahead we can expect the ANC's critics to become more vocal. Mandela's support for Palestinian rights and his association with Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro, forthrightly stated by him during his visit, are not helpful to him in the American political environment, and they will surely be focused upon by his critics.

But already it is clear that the negative reaction to these affiliations has been far more muted and less consequential than would have been predicted before his visit.

The remarkable thing is how little these associations have cut into Mandela's stature in the US.

● Professor Robert Price is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.

# Boesak 'will hardly be able to carry on'

By ESANN van RENSBURG  
Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak, moderator of the NG Sendingkerk, will hardly be able to continue his work as office bearer of the church, according to an editorial in the latest issue of Die Kerkbode, official mouthpiece of the Ned Geref Kerk.

It is understandable that Dr Boesak wants to resign as minister of the Sendinggemeente in Bellville after allegations of an extra-marital affair, the publication says in its latest issue.

The church council has given him three weeks in which to reconsider his resignation.

## Rules for office bearers

Dr Boesak will, however, hardly be able to simply continue his work as a church official. There are certain rules by which all office bearers have to abide, although this did not negate God's forgiveness for humanity, Die Kerkbode says.

Dr Boesak was undoubtedly a talented man who played an important role at a young age in the international church (and political) arena. Even those who had from time to time differed from him, including Die Kerkbode, had always known he had exceptional talents from the Lord, the newspaper says.

It prays that the Ned Geref Sendingkerk will have the grace to solve the matter in a dignified way.

Dr Andries Botha, secretary of the moderation of the NG Sendingkerk, says in a leading article he does not believe that Dr Boesak's possible resignation as chairman of the executive church-council of the Sendingkerk will harm the unification of the Sendingkerk and the Ned Geref Kerk in Africa.

Although he played a major role in the church unification process, he was not the main force behind it.

Dr Johan Retief, chairman of Dr Boesak's church council says Dr Boesak will aggravate his situation if reports that he is on holiday with television personality, Miss Elna Botha, are correct.

## Three weeks to reconsider

On Sunday, the Bellville South Ned Geref Church's council said it had given Dr Boesak three weeks leave in which to reconsider his resignation from all positions in the church.

Dr Boesak was not in church when the announcement was made and weekend reports claim he is on holiday in America with Miss Botha.

Asked if these reports were true, Dr Retief said: "I can't comment because I do not know where Dr Boesak is."

"Dr Boesak will have aggravated his situation if these reports of him being on holiday with Miss Botha are correct."

Dr Boesak's attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said today he did not know where Dr Boesak was.

# Kriel to invite UDF for talks over plan to occupy ground

THE Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, says he intends inviting the United Democratic Front to discuss its campaign to house the homeless on unused ground and in empty flats in white areas next month.

Kriel condemned the campaign and said it would put the organisation on a path of confrontation,

He said the campaign was no more than a call for anarchy and disorder and a disregard of the property rights of others.

Kriel emphasised the government was not prepared to allow anarchy and disorder in South Africa.

He met one of the presidents of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, to discuss the matter yesterday and was referred to a co-president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Kriel and Sisulu have not yet been in contact.

He rejected allegations that the government was doing nothing to alleviate the plight of squatters. - Sapa.

18/7/90  
Sowetan

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# Talks pull-out caused by 'attack' on Inkatha

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday defended his organisation's decision to pull out of Monday's meeting with the ANC, saying it was prompted by "vicious" attacks on him and Inkatha.

But he said Inkatha's withdrawal was temporary, pending clarification of the ANC's intentions. His hand of friendship remained extended to ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In London yesterday to address the Centre for Policy Studies, Chief Buthelezi told BBC radio the stayaways directed at him earlier this month were organised "by the very same people who were ostensibly engaged with us in trying to defuse violence".

Furthermore, he said, a peace conference was being planned by the ANC/UDF/Cosatu for next month and he and Inkatha had been specifically excluded.

This occurred despite the fact that colleagues of his in Inkatha had served on a "five-a-side peace committee" with the ANC/UDF/Cosatu since June last year.

Inkatha, he said, had "decided for the moment to withdraw from the

talks, pending a clarification of exactly what their intentions are, because the rhetoric of many of their spokesmen has not been helpful".

However, Inkatha's Dr Frank Mdlalose said from Ulundi yesterday that a new date for peace talks between Inkatha and a UDF/Cosatu delegation could be expected "within a week or two". Renewed discussions between the two parties were postponed on Monday by Dr Mdlalose.

He said there had been "very violent" and "very vicious" attacks on him and Inkatha — "while at the same time my colleagues were engaged in this peace committee with them".

Chief Buthelezi's comments came as additional police reinforcements arrived in Maritzburg yesterday to assist with unrest control in the townships. Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram said the additional 100 policemen would be stationed in Maritzburg for the next six months.

Co-leader of the Democratic Party Dr Denis Worrall, interviewed on BBC radio yesterday, said a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was "absolutely essential if they are to overcome the violence".

CAL T-15 18/7/90 (114)

# 'No deal in PAC releases'



Staff Reporter

Case 7/11/80 18/7/80

THE release of Pan Africanist Congress prisoners from Robben Island this week was not the result of a "deal" between the government and the African National Congress, one of the freed men said yesterday.

Mr Jan Shoba said he and three other PAC members, convicted in 1985 of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, possession of weapons and receiving military training outside the country, served their full sen-

tences after they had been reduced on appeal.

Mr Shoba, speaking on behalf of Mr Elby July, Mr Michael Gqamana and Mr Mlandeli Ketye, dissociated the organisation from the ANC's discussions with the government.

He said the group still regarded the armed struggle as a "principal strategy" of the PAC, rather than a tactic to promote dialogue or reform. He would not say if he and his comrades would take up arms again.

# Robben Island <sup>so welan 187190</sup> relations 'cordial' 11A

Relationships between ANC and PAC prisoners on Robben Island were "cordial" although the two organisations would not meet because of ideological differences, released PAC prisoner Mr Jan Shoba said in Cape Town yesterday.

Shoba, together with three other Pan Africanist Congress members, was released from Robben Island on Monday after being imprisoned since December 13 1985 on charges of belonging to a banned organisation.

He was also jailed for possessing arms of war and supplying weapons to others.

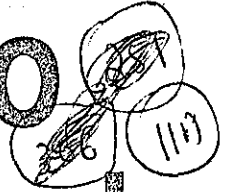
## Press conference

Asked at a Press conference yesterday whether the four released men, Mr Elby July, Mr Michael Gqamana, Shoba and Mr Mlandeli Ketye, would take up arms again, PAC executive for the Western Cape Mr Barney Desai said the question was "very provocative".

"We won't indicate what we will do, but we are not an invading army, we are a people's army," Shoba told journalists." - Sapa.



# ANC's opposition to squatter plan praised



Sowetan 15/7/90

**POLICE** have slammed the UDF's plan to invade disused land countrywide, saying the movement was using innocent squatters in the front line of a move which would inevitably lead to confrontation.

In sharp contrast, a

## Sowetan Reporter

Law and Order Ministry spokesman praised as "highly responsible" the ANC's reported opposition to the UDF's plan, which seems set to bring it into confrontation with the Government as well.

"This is a responsible

move which must be praised," the spokesman said.

He urged the UDF to use the funds it planned to allocate to its campaign for more constructive purposes, such as providing housing in demarcated areas for the homeless.

"We deplore this latest move by the UDF.

"We feel it will eventually lead to confrontation with the SAP, who are compelled to enforce the law.

"We do not want this

confrontation and so we strongly urge the UDF to abandon its plan and to use the money to actually provide housing for the homeless.

"Innocent squatters, who are already suffering the plight of homelessness, will now be used for political purposes which will worsen their condition even further," the spokesman said.

However, he added, police would handle the situation with the necessary circumspection, but

said the law would have to be enforced.

An SAP public relations directorate spokesman said yesterday police did not remove squatters from land, a task performed by municipal authorities.

But where people trespassed on private land and owners complained by way of a sworn statement and were prepared to testify in court, police had strict instructions to arrest trespassers and bring them before court.

# Bid to avert a squatter showdown

Star 18/7/90

11A

By Peter Fabricius and  
Shehnaaz Bulbulia

The Government is taking steps to try to defuse the threatening confrontation over the proposed UDF campaign for squatters to occupy disused "white land" — including vacant flats in metropolitan areas.

But the UDF has already found an ally in the ANC for its campaign due to begin next month.

The ANC has endorsed the UDF campaign in principle, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hernus Kriel said he was trying to set up a meeting with UDF co-leader Albertina Sisulu to defuse the problem.

"Naturally, I want to avoid confrontation. But one thing is certain. If we cannot get agreement, the Government will not give in."

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11A

St  
18/11/90

# Mandela promises peace after settlement

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

BEIRA — Nelson Mandela vowed yesterday that a political settlement in South Africa would bring lasting peace and prosperity to the entire southern African region, particularly war-torn Mozambique and Angola.

Addressing a rally in the northern province of Sofala on the last day of his state visit to Mozambique, the ANC deputy president said the political conflict and economic suffering in the region made the eradication of apartheid more urgent.

The ANC leader, who celebrates his 72nd birthday today, spoke to hundreds of admirers on the last day of a six-week international tour.

Despite an active day in hot weather, he looked fit and energetic. But it is clear that the gruelling tour has taken its toll.

Mr Mandela will speak on the success of his tour at Jan Smuts airport this afternoon. Yesterday he told the rally the tour had been tremendously successful.

"To achieve a final and just solution (in SA) we are duty-bound to keep up the pressure on apartheid. In this regard our tour has been tremendously successful. We cannot fail, because the world has been with us."

● Adequate security has been provided for Mr Mandela when he arrives in South Africa this afternoon, according to internal ANC chairman Walter Sisulu.

Mr Mandela was on a recently disclosed right-wing hit list with President de Klerk and other leaders.

According to the right-wing plot, Mr Mandela was to be assassinated upon his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport.

An SAA spokesman said all security precautions were being handled by the SAP.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said hundreds of people were expected to flock to the airport to welcome Mr Mandela when he arrives at 2.30 pm.

Star 18/7/90 (117) 117

# Natal ANC man detained

DURBAN — Mathematics lecturer at the University of Zululand (Umlazi branch) and African National Congress activist, Jabulane Sithole, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The chairman of the Lamontville branch of the ANC, Zolisa Mbele, said they believed his detention was due to his ANC activities and the leading role he played in the Lamontville Residents' Association.

"His arrest came two days before a meeting between the Natal administration, property developers and the Ningizimu Town Council on one side, and the civic structures of Lamontville, Chesterville and the hostels that fall under Ningizimu.

"We believe Sithole's arrest and detention was intended to prevent him from participating in this meeting, which he was instrumental in setting up."

A police spokesman confirmed that Mr Sithole had been detained. — Sapa.

STZ 18/7/90  
**Freed PAC:  
no Govt deal**

Own Correspondent

Four Pan Africanist Congress members freed from Robben Island this week say they were released because they had served their sentences, not because of a deal between the ANC and the Government.

Elby July of Kimberley, Michael Gqamana of Port Elizabeth, Jan Shoba of Pretoria and Mlandeli Ketye were all released on Monday.

They were charged in the same trial in 1985 and were convicted of being members of a banned organisation, furthering its aims and receiving military training.

They were each sentenced to seven years jail, Mr Shoba said at a press conference yesterday. They lodged an appeal and the sentence was reduced to five years.

"We wish to state that we have served our sentences and are not part of any deal presently being negotiated between the ANC with this regime."

St- 18/7/90

## Inkatha, (11A) UDF talks still on cards

ULUNDI — Inkatha officials said yesterday that a proposed meeting with the UDF/Cosatu, which fell through earlier in the week, was still on the cards, but a date had not yet been agreed upon.

The meeting was due for Monday this week, but fell through at the last minute.

Inkatha official Frank Mdlalose said that at a meeting with Cosatu official, Alec Erwin, earlier in the month, it was agreed talks between the two parties aimed at ending the ongoing violence in Natal province should resume on July 16.

"I asked that we be assured that five delegates from the UDF/Cosatu would attend, and who they were. By Sunday, July 15, there was no clarity on this and we asked for postponement in order to be sure that the meeting be between (delegations of) five and five on a day suitable to all." — Sapa.

# Buthelezi warns on 'bi-polar' negotiations

*After trip 18/7/90*

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned against bi-polar negotiations in which the ANC and the government would be the only contending forces.

Addressing the Centre for Policy Studies in London, Chief Buthelezi said if negotiations were allowed to become bi-polar, the ANC would get everything it wanted.

The ANC would then have the powerful advantage of being able to withdraw from the negotiations at any point it chose to, and to return to create the kind of difficulties in confrontation politics which would hold the whole negotiation process to ransom.

He said "all-or-nothing" politics was sought in South Africa only by those who wanted to use the transitory period to establish the sole right to form a government after apartheid.

"Inkatha says very bluntly there will be no democracy if there is not a multiple input to the politics of negotiation, and there will be no democracy unless South Africans really do have a multiple choice in elections after negotiation," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said there would be no Lancaster House-type negotiations and no one-off negotiation event would finally settle the SA problem.

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# Triumphant Mandela faces stiff challenges

CAP-  
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18/7/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela returns home today after a triumphant 45-day world tour — to face government charges he is stalling on talks, deep rifts in the black opposition and a right-wing terror backlash against racial reform.

Mr Mandela, whose supporters have planned a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts airport here to coincide with his 72nd birthday, leaves behind a string of meetings with leaders in 14 nations in Europe, North America and Africa to confront barriers to negotiations.

“After all that adulation and latitude he was allowed, Mr Mandela must realise he’s coming back to a lot of challenges,” a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

His first problem will be coping with assassination threats from the extreme right, after reports last month that a shadowy group led by a former nazi was planning to gun him down on the airport apron.

Mr Mandela brushed aside the issue on Monday in Mozambique, his last stop. “I can’t afford to worry too much about that,” he said. However, police will blanket the airport with security.

Mr Mandela has noted his longer-term challenges are more important. He carried across the world the message that only a maintenance of trade sanctions against Pretoria would force it to abandon white minority rule and said he believed most leaders were receptive. — UPI



SA on way back to playing full international role'

# Light at end of the tunnel — Thatcher

Apr 18/7/90

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Richard Steyn, Editor-in-Chief elect of The Star, meets British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at No 10 Downing Street. ● Picture by AP. K

**RICHARD STEYN**, Editor-in-Chief elect of The Star, was granted an interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher this week.

### London

South Africa is now on the way back to international acceptance and to playing its full part both in Africa and the world community, according to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

She said she could now see light at the end of the tunnel where she could not see it before.

In her first major interview on South Africa since her recent meetings with President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, Mrs Thatcher told the Editor-in-Chief elect of The Star, Richard Steyn, at No 10 Downing Street, that there was an enormous fund of goodwill towards a new South Africa, not least in Britain.

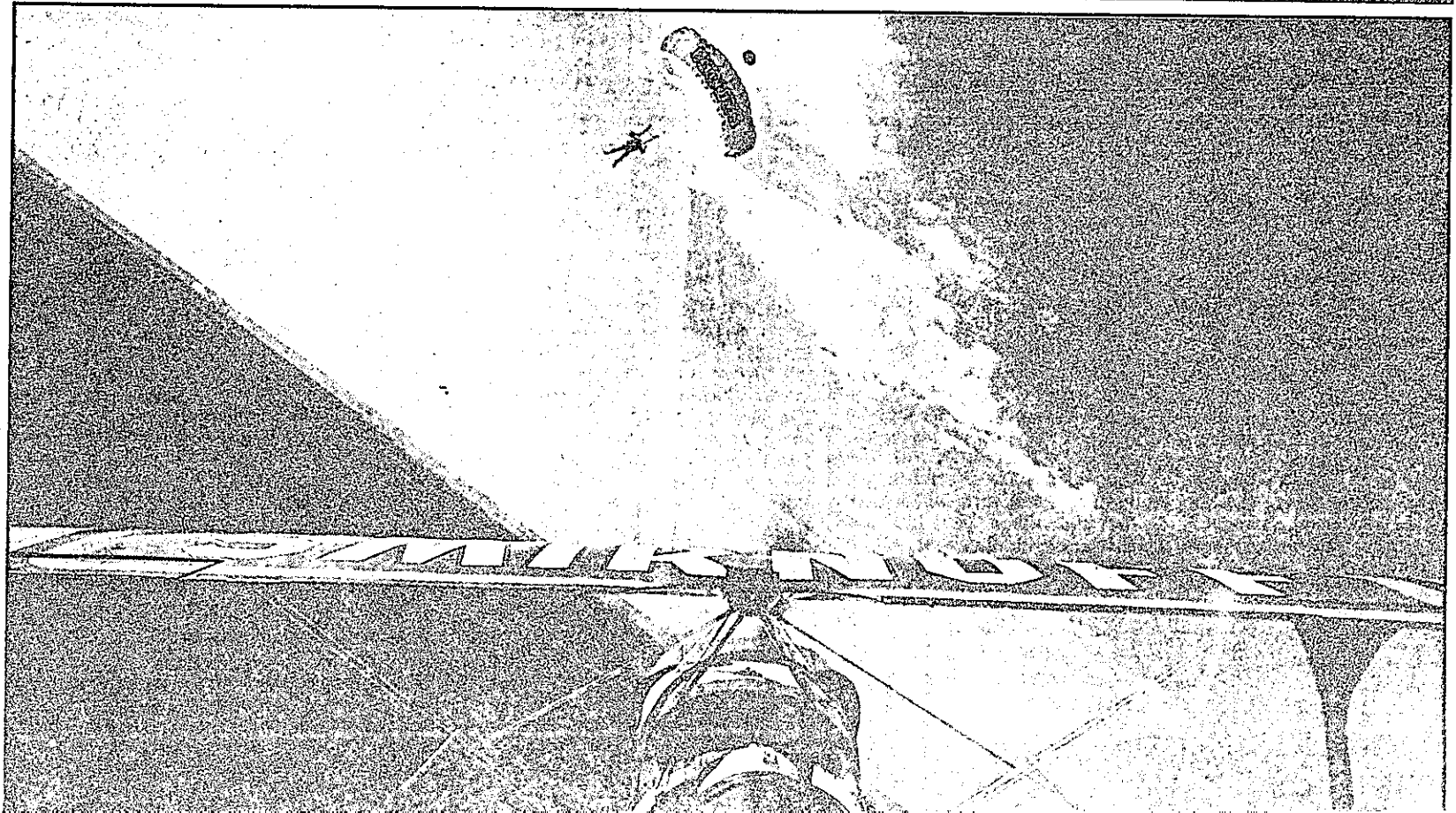
However, she cautioned against expectations of an early visit to South

### Why South Africans should trust Mandela — Page 17.

Africa, saying she would not come as long as people felt they would have to demonstrate against her.

Questioned on whether Mr Mandela was a leader in whom white South Africans could put their trust, Mrs

## Junkers to Jumbos at great Star Airshow



South Africa since her recent meetings with President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, Mrs Thatcher told the Editor-in-Chief elect of The Star, Richard Steyn, at No 10 Downing Street, that there was an enormous fund of goodwill towards a new South Africa, not least in Britain.

However, she cautioned against expectations of an early visit to South

### **Why South Africans should trust Mandela — Page 17.**

Africa, saying she would not come as long as people felt they would have to demonstrate against her.

Questioned on whether Mr Mandela was a leader in whom white South Africans could put their trust, Mrs Thatcher replied that both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk were absolutely vital to the negotiating process.

Nevertheless, she had put her views on nationalisation and the armed struggle very forcefully to Mr Mandela at their recent meeting. "I think that if you want a bright future for South Africa, it is absurd to talk about nationalisation," she said.

She warmly endorsed Mr de Klerk's initiatives. "He has created an entirely new situation in South Africa ... I think that is a remarkable achievement."

While she disagreed with Mr Mandela on sanctions and the armed struggle, she said he had shown great courage and dignity as well as a remarkable lack of bitterness.

"We are agreed, absolutely, on the need to end apartheid in all its forms and to achieve a fully democratic constitution."

On nationalisation, Mrs Thatcher said the entire world was crying out for foreign investment, and if South Africa pursued a policy of "extensive nationalisation or State participation" this would not create a climate in which foreign investment would be welcome.

She was critical of Mr Mandela's advice to the British government to talk to the Irish Republican Army. "That was absolutely and utterly appalling, a great mistake. I think perhaps he did not realise the enormity of what he was saying."

Asked about growing white opposition to Mr de Klerk, she said there was no future in supporting Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservatives. "That is a dead end which would lead to conflict and injustice."

In response to the growing campaign to marginalise Mangosuthu Buthelezi because of the violence in Natal, Mrs Thatcher said Chief Buthelezi had been "absolutely outstanding" in the way he had stood out against sanctions.

She urged Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to resolve their political differences in the interests of a non-racial democracy.

Asked whether she had any special message for the people of South Africa, Mrs Thatcher said there was great hope for the country's future.

"The period ahead will be very difficult, there will be all sorts of problems and setbacks. But I do now see light at the end of the tunnel in a way I certainly could not before."

# Mandela took US by storm

## Robert I Rotberg:

Nelson Mandela enhanced his already significant credibility during his virtually unprecedented sweep through urban America.

He advanced the cause of the ANC immeasurably in appearance after appearance, particularly as a result of his address to the US Congress. No foreigner since Winston Churchill has seized the imagination of Americans so boldly.

The one sour stop in Mandela's triumphal tour was Miami. He had earlier praised Fidel Castro, and the exiled Cubans of south Florida hardly welcomed such blasphemy.

Nor did most Jews warm to his praise of Muammar Gaddafi or Yasser Arafat. Editorial criticism of Mandela was caustic.

But that aside, Mandela won the hearts and minds of the American press and its readers.

● Professor Robert I Rotberg has recently become president of Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, after a career at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Tufts University.

## Michael Clough:

Nelson Mandela's visit to the United States was a resounding success.

In coming to the United States, he appeared to have five goals in mind: preventing moves to lift sanctions; enhancing the credibility of the ANC; raising funds for ANC efforts to organise inside South Africa; strengthening his own position vis-a-vis President de Klerk; and reassuring Western investors that post-apartheid South Africa will be a good place to invest and do business. He achieved all five goals.

The ANC gained a lot of credibility from this trip. Despite the tiff over his refusal to denounce Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro, Mandela succeeded in dispelling the lingering perception that the ANC is a Marxist/terrorist organisation.

Beyond these accomplishments, Mandela established himself as an international figure on the level of

Havel, Walesa and Gorbachev. In fact, he probably has a higher name recognition rating than any of these.

● Michael Clough is Senior Fellow for Africa at the Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

## Cedric L Suzman:

From the moment Nelson Mandela arrived in New York it was clear that he was more than just a South African freedom fighter, political prisoner, or even future president of his country.

He was a symbol of hope and pride for black Americans, a reminder of what forceful and articulate leadership could achieve, and they came together in their tens of thousands to greet him at every stop of his tour.

Uniquely, 38 predominantly black American colleges and universities joined in presenting Mr Mandela with joint honorary Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Humane Letters degrees at an emotion-laden ceremony at Morehouse College — the alma mater of Martin Luther King, Andrew Young and many other civil rights leaders.

Mandela was, for all Americans, an embodiment of the fight against oppression and racial injustice everywhere. South Africa and the overthrow of apartheid were only the vehicle for the larger message.

But perhaps because of this, Mandela, the man not the symbol, was not without controversy. His acknowledgment of Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi as champions of human rights, because they have supported the ANC in its struggle, alienated and even outraged many conservative and

What was the impact of Nelson Mandela's tour of the United States? Some groups focused on his utterances about Muammar Gaddafi, Yasser Arafat and Fidel Castro, and the negative effect these could have. But at the request of the South African Institute of International Affairs four American analysts, well informed on the subject of US-SA relations, produced more significant assessments. Extracts of what they said follows.

middle-of-the-road Americans.

● Dr Cedric Suzman is vice-president and Educational Programme Director of the Southern Centre for International Studies in Atlanta, Georgia.

## Robert M Price

The overwhelming reception that Nelson Mandela received from the American people exceeded the expectations of even the visit's US organisers.

Who could have imagined that here, in probably the most conservative and actively counter-revolutionary of the industrialised nations, in the heartland of "monopoly capitalism", the leader of the ANC would be received with the respect accorded an international dignitary, with a level of enthusiasm never before seen for a foreign political figure and beyond living memory for any domestic one?

From the moment of his arrival in New York, with the Empire State building lighted in the ANC colours, to the rally at the Oakland Coliseum just before his departure, it was clear that not just Mandela the man, but his organisation as well, had come to be viewed very broadly in the American body-politic as the embodiment of the struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights in South Africa and, by example, beyond.

When one recalls that until very recently the organisation's presence in the US was confined to a tiny office in Manhattan, and that in 1988 it was branded a terrorist organisation by the Defence Department, it simply boggles the mind.

The way in which the US respond-

ed to Mandela is, of course, much more a reflection of the nature and problems of American society than the result of a deep understanding of the South African situation.

The vast majority of the tens of thousands who so enthusiastically greeted him in each city he visited know little about South Africa and even less about the ANC.

But in terms of the significance of the visit for South Africa, and especially for the ANC, that is of little consequence. That significance would seem to be in at least three areas:

● The primary objective of the ANC for the Mandela visit was to prevent a lifting of US sanctions in the near-term.

● The Mandela visit dealt the coup de grace to Mangosuthu Buthelezi's campaign to become Washington's "great hope" for South Africa. For a time in the mid-1980s the US policy elite appeared ready to embrace Buthelezi as a South African version of the "Savimbi-Muzorewa option". After the Mandela visit that notion seems completely dead and incapable of resuscitation.

● A foundation has been laid for a special relationship between the US and SA in a post-apartheid future.

In the weeks ahead we can expect the ANC's critics to become more vocal. Mandela's support for Palestinian rights and his association with Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro, forthrightly stated by him during his visit, are not helpful to him in the American political environment, and they will surely be focused upon by his critics.

But already it is clear that the negative reaction to these affiliations has been far more muted and less consequential than would have been predicted before his visit.

The remarkable thing is how little these associations have cut into Mandela's stature in the US.

● Professor Robert Price is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley.

# Azanyu retracts (11A) criticism of PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress youth wing, the Azanian National Youth League, said yesterday they were satisfied a document circulated by the PAC on the movement's economic policy was merely a discussion paper and withdrew a previous statement criticising the document. *Sowetan 18/7/90*

Following the release of the document early last month, Azanyu general secretary Mr Carter Seleke was reported to have criticised the document as a promotion of policy change in the PAC.

Media reports said the youth wing had set itself on a collision course with PAC leadership by "publicly rejecting the exploratory document in its entirety".

At a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Seleke accused "some members of the mass media" of deliberate misrepresentation of the document.

He said the media had presented the discussion paper as new PAC policy, but the document had not been intended to reflect a shift from PAC's 1959 policy.

That policy would remain in place until the PAC national conference in October. - Sapa.

# ANC backs UDF squattling plans 'in principle'

Political Staff and Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress has given its support "in principle" to the United Democratic Front's planned campaign to occupy unused "white land" in District Six and other areas, while moves are under way to avoid a confrontation with the government.

UDF co-leader Mrs Albertina Sisulu has said her organisation would meet Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hermus Kriel only if it resulted in the land "being returned to the people".

She said today that the organisation's plan to occupy private and public land was designed to highlight the national housing crisis.

"This is not anarchy," she said.

It was inhuman to demolish squatters' dwellings as happened in Soweto last week.

"Where must they go? It's inhuman to demolish shacks at this time of the year and leave people with small children homeless. They wouldn't do this to white people."

The UDF plan to occupy disused white land and unoccupied flats in white areas next month was announced on Monday in response to the demolition by authorities of squatter shacks.

Internal ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said the movement had not taken a decision to actively support the UDF campaign.

"We support in principle plans to get land for homeless people whose plight is horrible."

## AVOID CONFRONTATION

Mr Kriel said last night he was trying to set up a meeting with Mrs Sisulu to defuse the problem.

"I am trying to get hold of her. We will have to talk about this. Naturally, I want to avoid confrontation. But if we cannot get agreement, the government will not give in."

Yesterday the UDF plan was condemned by Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso and Mr Philip Nhlapa, president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) — an association of black town councillors.

In a joint statement they called the plan "irresponsible" and said it was "a misuse of homeless black people for their own shortsighted political purposes".

"It can only create health hazards and uncertainty."

The statement said that uncontrolled squatting would also cause conflict between squatters and formal residents of black townships.

Mr Sisulu, meanwhile, slammed as "mischievous" media reports which said Mr Nhlapa was a representative of the ANC. "It is utter nonsense to say that Ucasa was speaking on behalf of the ANC."

UDF president (Western Cape) Mr Christmas Tinto said the organisation's regional executive would meet on Friday night to discuss plans to occupy District Six.

"No firm decision has been taken yet," he said.

Mr Jan van Eck, MP, the Democratic Party's spokesman on planning and provincial matters, said that Mr Kriel's attack on the UDF smacked of self-righteousness.

It was government policy relating to black housing and specifically the retention of the Group Areas Act that had led and would continue to lead to a shortage of land for black housing, Mr Van Eck said.

# Bomb threats delay end of ANC leader's tour

From Kaizer Nyatumba  
Argus Correspondent  
in Johannesburg

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — who arrived home at least three hours later than scheduled yesterday as a result of death threats made before he left Mozambique — will meet President De Klerk soon to make arrangements for an urgent meeting between the government and the ANC.

Mr Mandela, who returned home to a hero's welcome after an exhaustive 14-nation six-week international tour, said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport that the tour had been an astounding success. He said he had managed to get the foreign governments he met to make a few undertakings to the ANC.

These included an agreement to retain all kinds of pressures against South Africa, including sanctions, until the ANC gave an indication that "fundamental and irreversible political changes" had taken place in the country.

The countries he visited also committed themselves to investing in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

Mr Mandela also said it was possible that an arrangement could be made by the ANC and the government "to review the issue of sanctions even before the finalisation of the (new) constitution".

## Changed planes

"My delegation and I, my wife and I, return home more proud of being South Africans. We return home full of hope for the future of our country. We are strengthened by the knowledge that out there are millions and millions who are with us.

"They are one with us in demanding the end of apartheid now. The world is with us in wishing for the speediest resolution to the country's problems," were Mr Mandela's first words as he greeted hundreds of ANC supporters who had gathered at the airport to wel-

come him.

The ANC deputy president told the 1 000-plus audience that the three-hour delay he and his delegation experienced was as a result of bomb threats against them received by Mozambican officials before the ANC delegation could depart for South Africa.

Alternative plans were made to change the plane and the pilot, and travelling arrangements were subsequently changed.

"I must sincerely apologise with all humility for our delay. It was not our fault, nor was it the Mozambican government's fault," Mr Mandela told his supporters.

## No ceasefire

At an international press conference shortly after his arrival, he told journalists he was optimistic that the second meeting between the government and the ANC would lead to progress towards negotiations.

"We made progress in our first meeting (with the government), and I hope that in our second meeting we will register the same progress. I do not doubt that apartheid is crumbling and that there is a sense of urgency on both sides," Mr Mandela said in response to a question.

However Mr Mandela, who turned 72 yesterday, denied reports that during his tour he said a ceasefire would be signed between the ANC and the government on his return.

He said he had no intention of persuading his colleagues in the ANC's national executive committee to declare a ceasefire, adding that the ANC was prepared "to consider the question of suspension of hostilities" once all the obstacles had been removed.

The ANC, he said, insisted on the total lifting of the state of emergency throughout the country.

Asked about Defence Minister Magnus Malan's recent scathing attack on himself that he was "globe-trotting" as violence in Natal continued unabated,

Mr Mandela dismissed the criticism, saying: "It is better to forget about General Malan". He did not think the press conference wanted to waste its time on the Defence Minister.

## Buthelezi

The ANC leader declined to comment on recent right-wing violence, saying much of it had occurred while he was away and he had been briefed by his colleagues in the ANC or by the government.

"I hope to exchange views with my colleagues on the issue and I have certain ideas," he said.

Mr Mandela, who said his immediate plans would be determined by his colleagues in the ANC, declined to comment on KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's appeal for the two leaders to meet, saying he did not think the press was the right place for black leaders "to thrash out their differences".

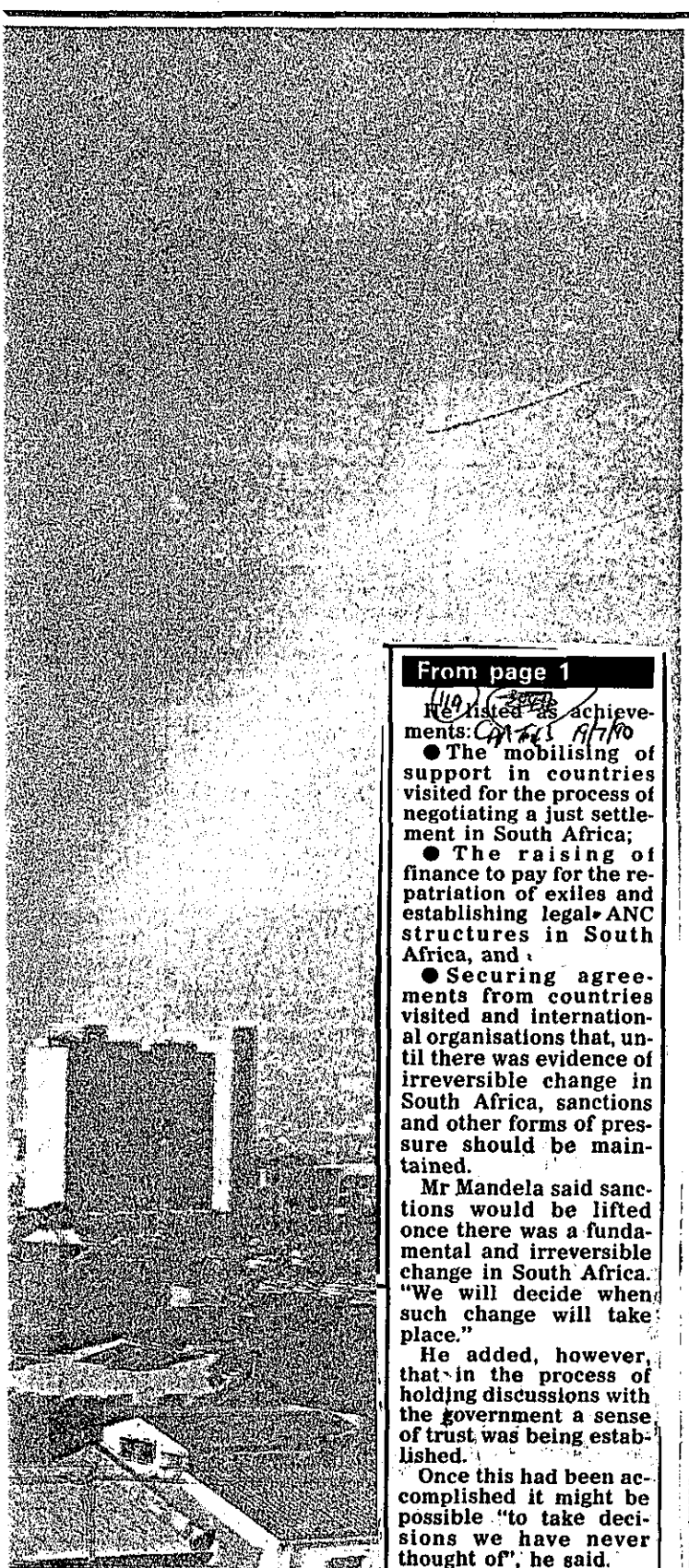
He said the tour's greatest achievement was that the ANC delegation had managed to convince the international community of its "deep-felt concern" for this country. The ANC had received overwhelming support for all its "patriotic actions, whatever cause those actions have taken".

The ANC would never pursue sectional interests and it challenged anyone pursuing this disastrous cause. It stood by its demand for the universally accepted principle of one-person one-vote.

He said the ANC was fully conscious of the fact that political and social stability depended on a stable economy, and it was essential that economic planning was done now. Only apartheid stood between South Africa and prosperity.

ANC international affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was the first to address the press conference, said it was "crystal clear" that the international community wanted South Africans to move fast towards a negotiated settlement.

# Mandela back



... This rainbow appeared over C... a rain. The Weather Bureau predi

## Calls for urgent talks with FW

Call Times  
197/90  
(119)

Own Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG.**  
— Mr Nelson Mandela returned home yesterday, on his 72nd birthday, and said he hoped to see President FW de Klerk "as soon as possible" to arrange a date for a second meeting between the government and the ANC.



**MANY HAPPY RETURNS ...** Mr Nelson Mandela shakes hands with well-wishers who congratulated him on both his 72nd birthday and his return from overseas yesterday.

### From page 1

He listed ~~the~~ achievements: *Call Times 11/19/90*

- The mobilising of support in countries visited for the process of negotiating a just settlement in South Africa;
- The raising of finance to pay for the repatriation of exiles and establishing legal ANC structures in South Africa, and
- Securing agreements from countries visited and international organisations that, until there was evidence of irreversible change in South Africa, sanctions and other forms of pressure should be maintained.

Mr Mandela said sanctions would be lifted once there was a fundamental and irreversible change in South Africa. "We will decide when such change will take place."

He added, however, that in the process of holding discussions with the government a sense of trust was being established.

Once this had been accomplished it might be possible "to take decisions we have never thought of", he said.

The government and the ANC could come to an arrangement to examine the sanctions issue before a new constitution was approved.

The meeting could take place within the next few days.

Mr Mandela, who has been out of the country for 45 days visiting 14 countries, also said he might review his call for sanctions even before a non-racial constitution is in place.

Mr Mandela addressed a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after his return was delayed for almost three hours because of bomb scares, both on his aircraft and at the airport.

Sapa reports that an anonymous statement faxed to the ANC regional office in Johannesburg stated that: "We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leader's aeroplane and at the airport, where your members will be waiting to welcome him."

Mr Mandela told the press conference he would almost immediately try to contact the State President. The ANC, he said, was very keen to meet the government.

Much progress had been made in the first meeting between the two. He was confident similar progress could be achieved at the next meeting. There was a sense of urgency on the part of both the ANC and the government to find solutions.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said no meeting

had been arranged because Mr De Klerk had been on holiday until yesterday and Mandela had only just arrived back in the country.

If it became necessary the meeting would be announced.

Asked to comment on reports which stated that the joint government-ANC political offences working group had proposed a phased return of exiles and release of political prisoners in return for the ANC abandoning the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said: "Our position is that as soon as the government removes obstacles to negotiations we are prepared to consider the question of the suspension of hostilities, not ending the armed struggle."

In a statement read out before the conference, ANC spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki said the organisation was highly satisfied with what it had accomplished on the tour.

To page 2

# District 6 'special' case in UDF plan

Staff Reporter

The United Democratic Front's land occupation campaign to highlight the country's housing crisis applies only to vacant government land — except in District Six, says the UDF, Western Cape.

Outlining the regional approach to the campaign yesterday, Mr Dullah Omar, regional UDF vice-president, said District Six fell into "a special category" because the government expropriated this land.

Some of the land was subsequently purchased privately.

"The private companies involved are fully aware of the circumstances surrounding District Six and its history, and so are included in our local land occupation campaign," he said.

Mr Omar was clarifying earlier comments when he said both private and public land would be occupied by homeless people.

"I was referring specifically to District Six," he said.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF national assistant publicity secretary, said homeless people would occupy vacant government-owned land for "as long as it takes to elicit a constructive official response".

He added: "This may not be their final dwelling place."

## 'Invoked spectre'

Senior UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said there was "no question" of the occupation of private land as the campaign was aimed at exerting pressure on the government.

The District Six decision, however, lay with the local region, he said.

UDF policy was to respect private property but strategy was being left to individual regions.

Mr Morobe lashed out at the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, for what he termed "invoking the spectre of security force action".

Mr Kriel said the UDF plan was an "invitation to confrontation" and that the government was not prepared to allow anarchy and disorder.

Mr Morobe said: "We were expecting a more intelligent and responsible approach from Mr Kriel. People don't stay in tin shacks because they like it."

Mr Morobe said the Southern Transvaal UDF region's stated goal of occupying empty flats in metropolitan areas was not national UDF policy.

"This must be a regional initiative," he said of the Southern Transvaal plans.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, said the ANC supported the occupation of vacant government land but that exact details had yet to be discussed at national executive level.

The regional UDF executive meets tomorrow to thrash out details of the local campaign.



# Azanla guerilla to be buried

THE second guerilla of the Azanian National Liberation Army to be killed in action will be buried at Zwide township in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

Moodley said Mr Zandile Mcozeni (34) was killed in a skirmish with

Bophuthatswana security forces on June 17.

The first was killed in Dobsonville in May.

## Shootout

The Azanla high command said five soldiers of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force were killed in the shootout.

Bophuthatswana po-

lice spokesman Colonel David George said a guerilla was killed and another captured during the fighting.

The BDF also confirmed the skirmish but denied its members had been killed.

Moodley said Mcozeni would be given a hero's funeral. - Sapa.

11/1/90  
Moodley

11A

## Talks on violence (119)

BOTH Inkatha and the ANC have denied it was their fault that the peace talks between the two organisations scheduled for Monday were postponed. Sowetan 19/7/90

However, it is likely the talks may be on again next Monday.

Inkatha's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, has urged the Cosatu/UDF alliance to finalise their delegates for joint talks on the Natal violence so that the discussions could resume.

Mdlalose said that after Inkatha had lifted its moratorium on peace talks in May, it was agreed that the original five-a-side delegations would meet.



Victims of the housing crisis .... Squatters moving with their belongings after shacks were demolished at "Plastic View", Tembisa, this week.

# Land protest to go ahead, says UDF

Sowetan 19/7/90

11A  
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THE United Democratic Front is prepared to meet the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, only if this resulted in land being returned to the people, UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu said yesterday.

Sisulu said the organisation's plan to occupy private and public land was an act designed to highlight the national housing crisis.

"This is not anarchy," she said.

"We are determined to carry

through our plans if homeless people are not given land."

She said it was inhuman to demolish squatters' dwellings as happened in Soweto last week.

"Where must they go? It's inhuman to demolish shacks at this time of the year and leave people with small children homeless. They wouldn't do this to white people."

Referring to Kriel's desire to meet her and Mr Archie Gumede, her UDF co-president, she said: "Our doors are open."

"We'll meet him if it means that the meeting will result in the land being returned to the people."

The UDF in the Cape is considering occupying District Six and to engage in symbolic protests as part of the campaign to expose the housing crisis.

## Meeting

UDF president Mr Christmas Tinto said yesterday the organisation's regional executive would meet tonight to discuss plans to occupy District Six.

Mr Jan van Eck, MP, the Democratic Party's spokesman on planning and provincial matters, said yesterday Kriel's attack on the UDF smacked of self-righteousness.

It was Government policy over black housing and the Group Areas Act that had led and would continue to lead to a shortage of land for black housing.

Van Eck said the UDF statement was completely understandable.

If fingers were to be pointed over the squatter problem, they should be pointed at the Government.

It had for decades driven millions of blacks from the land on which they were living and had made them homeless in the land of their birth. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



ROBERTA JOHNSON

# New groups may be accepted, says prof

11A

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

THE rearrangement of the status of different groups in a post-apartheid South Africa will be met with more public acceptance as there has been better argument for its need in the country.

This was said by visiting American Professor Roberta Johnson at a meeting at the Wits Centre of Policy Studies. Johnson said con-

trovery on affirmative action, otherwise known as positive discrimination, will be on the groups that will benefit from the action.

"The various institutions can decide which group will benefit from their affirmative action programme.

"They can choose certain ethnic tribes while excluding others, or benefit all blacks but cut out foreign ones," she said.

The stage at which groups should be eliminated from the programme would also be a

problem as there would be conflict on whether the status of a group had been satisfactorily raised to match that of the privileged one.

## Action

In America, Johnson said, courts, leaders and the public were divided on affirmative action.

While some agreed

with it and accepted its thrust on redistribution, others thought it was opposed to merit.

There were also mixed reactions on the inclusion of women, left out until 1972, who have benefited more than the minorities whom the programme was geared at.

"It would be a problem to include white women in the affirmative

action programme in South Africa because they are more skilled and better qualified than their black counterparts. Racial discrimination would still continue.

"The programme has helped women more than any minority group in America but there are still not enough black women in certain professions," she said.

*Sowetan 19/7/90*

# Peace pact soon

## Agreement on political prisoners likely

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

AKW  
19/1/90

AN agreement on the release of political prisoners and the suspension of the African National Congress's "armed struggle" is expected soon.

Details will be thrashed out at a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few days.

This was confirmed today by top government sources in Pretoria after a statement by Mr Mandela that he was keen to meet President De Klerk soon.

A meeting of a ministerial committee on negotiations was chaired by Mr De Klerk yesterday. The ANC's national executive will meet in Johannesburg early next week.

While top ANC sources today speculated about another Groote Schuur-type of meeting with full delegations from both sides, government spokes-

men played down this possibility.

They expected the talks to be on a smaller scale and that remaining obstacles to negotiations could be eliminated soon.

The meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk is expected to be held before Mr Mandela takes a break in mid-August.

On this meeting will depend the nature and scope of further talks.

Some ANC leaders felt today Mr Mandela should press for a "Groote Schuur 2".

### Mandela's trip — page 17

The movement wants to discuss the question of the lifting of the state of emergency and the remaining security legislation. The government has undertaken to review security legislation.

From the government side the feeling is that obstacles are surmountable without another full-blown conference.

There are some sticking points in an agreement on the phased release of security prisoners which has been reached by a working group of government and ANC officials.

One of these is the form of arbitration that must be used in some cases. The ANC may press for overseas representation on a panel of arbitrators.

In terms of the agreement there will be a case-by-case review for some political prisoners. There will also be immunity for thousands of exiles.

If agreement on the political prisoners is reached the two sides are expected to agree to "cease hostilities", meaning the ANC will suspend its armed struggle while the government will undertake to review and drastically change security legislation, especially the Internal Security Act.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said today no appointment had yet been made with Mr Mandela.

# Mandela hopes to see De Klerk soon

B1049 19/7/90  
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ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he hoped to see President F W de Klerk in the next few days to arrange a date for a second meeting between government and the ANC.

Mandela, who turned 72 yesterday, was speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from a six-week tour of 14 nations in Africa, North America and Europe.

His return was delayed for almost three hours because of bomb scares both on his plane and at the airport.

Sapa reports that an anonymous statement faxed to the ANC regional office in Johannesburg stated that: "We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leaders (sic) aeroplane and at the airport where your members will be waiting to welcome him."

Mandela told journalists he proposed to see De Klerk as soon as possible.

Much progress had been made at the first meeting between the two. He was confident similar progress could be achieved at the next meeting. There was a sense of urgency on the part of both the ANC and government to find solutions.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said no meeting had been arranged because De Klerk had been on holiday until yesterday and Mandela had only just arrived back.

Mandela was asked to comment on reports which stated that the government-ANC political offences working group had proposed a phased return of exiles and

MIKE ROBERTSON

release of political prisoners in return for the ANC abandoning the armed struggle.

He replied: "Our position is that as soon as government removes obstacles to negotiations we are prepared to consider the question of the suspension of hostilities, not ending the armed struggle."

In a statement read out before the Press conference, ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said the organisation was highly satisfied with what it had accomplished on the tour.

He listed as achievements:

- The mobilising of support in countries visited for the process of negotiating a just settlement in SA;
- The raising of finance to pay for the repatriation of exiles and establishing legal ANC structures in SA; and
- Securing agreements from countries visited and international organisations that, until there was evidence of irreversible change in SA, sanctions and other forms of pressure should be maintained.

Mandela said sanctions would only be lifted once there was a fundamental and irreversible change in SA. The ANC would decide when that had taken place.

He added, however, that in the process of holding discussions with government a sense of trust was being established.

Government and the ANC could come to an arrangement to examine the sanctions issue before approving a new constitution.

● Picture: Page 3

# ANC women's league

*Sowetan*  
19/7/90  
11A

By PEARL MAJOLA

THE women's league of the ANC will be launched in Natal on August 9, the head of the movement's women's section, Mrs Gertrude Shope, has disclosed.

Shope, a former exile, was addressing the general meeting of the Diepkloof branch of the Federation of Transvaal Women at the weekend.

## Praise

She praised the women for their contribution to the struggle for liberation and said they might not realise the role they had played to bring about the changes that

were taking place in the country.

"But from where we were, we saw even the frailest of you attending political trials, supporting the mothers of political prisoners and taking up other important issues, all of which made us very proud of you," she said.

Shope announced that the league would be launched officially in Natal on August 9, National

Women's Day, and that a national conference would be held in Kimberly from October 26 to 28.

Women in all the regions are to put together a list of problems they encounter as women and these would be compiled into a women's charter.

Shope expressed sympathy for Natal women suffering in the

violence-torn area.

"Part of the reason why we will launch the women's league in Natal is to show our solidarity

with our sisters there," she said.

She urged the women to educate other women in the rural areas by

teaching them to read and write and encouraging them to use handicrafts and other skills to gain financial independence.



Mrs Gertrude Shope, president of the ANC's women's section.

11A

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# Three danger lights for Madiba

MOST of us know more about Nelson Mandela on this birthday than we knew about him in the 72 years which went before.

Although it was clear that both the cause which he represents and the long years of sacrifice had made him a figure of world standing, few could comprehend what this would mean when he first emerged from prison.

After all, the initial steps outside Victor Verster were faltering and the opening gesture was more a salute than a viva.

## Enhanced

Now the stride is confident, and the right hand bends energetically above the head in a greeting which is quite unlike any other viva I have seen.

There is a sense in which, perhaps, his boundless stamina has enhanced the image of the man and the cause.

He is constantly on the move: a speech here, a pilgrimage there. It seems as if he intends making up for the lost years by covering the length and breadth not only of his parish, South Africa,

**Political analyst PETER VALE argues that, paradoxically, Nelson Mandela's very stature may present long-term problems for the African National Congress:**

but the world as quickly as possible.

Younger people — as his constantly changing entourage suggests — fall by the wayside. Madiba presses on.

There are, nonetheless, three danger lights flashing: these will not go away because, as it were, he embodies a struggle against oppression.

On the contrary, they need to be taken seriously precisely because he has come to stand for South Africa's future.

First and of paramount

importance, is the question of his age: frankly, it makes no sense to wear out both a life and a priceless political asset by pushing him too far.

The consistent rumours that, at times, he has been very ill are intensified when set against the circumstances under which he spent the past 27 birthdays.

Of course, other world leaders — Ghandi, Nyerere, even Reagan — displayed huge energy in advancing years but none of these were in prison for so long, nor was their activity packed into so brief a period.

Secondly, he desperately needs the protection of a chancery: professionals who can deal with the demands on him.

## Statesman

Notwithstanding the immense gifts of those in his company, they are themselves politicians. A professional staff should have no personal ambition, providing only expert advice, such as research and speech-writing, when it is needed.

To polish the point a little: Mandela is acting as a world statesman. No other leader would dare operate without the infrastructure provided by a chancery.

Finally and paradoxically, his very stature may present long-term problems for the movement, despite his genu-

ine belief that he is — as he puts it — a "loyal and disciplined member of the ANC".

Put bluntly, his prominence has created a yawning gap between himself and others on the NEC.

It is true that his standing would not been as elevated if Oliver Tambo had not

been ill.

Nevertheless, the distance between Mandela and those below him is as obvious as it is wide.

This represents the single most interesting quandary of the present political equation.

Diverting attention away

from Mandela makes no sense in the context of negotiation with the state, yet a failure to build the standing of others within the movement, suggests that the ANC is only the man.

Perhaps the only way out of the dilemma lies in Madiba's greatest strength — the uncanny political judgment. Sensing the problem he might stand back, and allow the youngsters some space to spread their wings.

*(Peter Vale is director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at UWC)*

**MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF THE DAY. WE WISH YOU MANY MORE.**



From:

South African Council of Churches & Regional Council of Churches

**IDASA**

Warmest greetings to Nelson Mandela on his first birthday in freedom in 27 years.

We wish him good health, courage and strength in fulfilling his crucial role in the transition to a new South Africa.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa





THE ANC would support an independent and critical press in a future South Africa, while discouraging media which propagated racism, the editor of Sechaba, Francis Meli, said last weekend.

Interviewed after addressing the Border's regional congress of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), Meli said the ANC "wouldn't be against the nationalisation of some papers, but I wouldn't say this should be a wholesale policy.

"There needs to be a press that is independent. But of course we would not encourage a press which would encourage racist ideas, exploitation of man by man, bantu education and such unnecessary divisions of the community.

### Argumentative

"But we definitely would encourage a free, critical and argumentative press which would promote progress, and a press which would be free from external influences," he said.

Meli, who has edited the 23-year-old Sechaba since 1977, said the publication's future looked "pretty dark".

Political changes in East Germany — where Sechaba's publication and distri-

# ANC editor's 'yes, but' to a free press

South 1977 - 25/7/90

*Sechaba editor, Francis Meli, says the ANC would approve of a free press - as long as it does not promote racism, he told the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) last weekend. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports:*

bution are handled — had resulted in reluctance about using public funds there to support the ANC.

The editorship had been given until next January to continue producing Sechaba in East Germany.

It was unclear what would happen after that, Meli said.

It could become a publication produced within South Africa, perhaps with a change in format, appearance or name.

Meli said there was an urgent need for

an internal ANC newspaper soon.

He criticised the news agency, Agence France Presse, for dismissing a photographer, Rashid Lombard, reportedly because of his involvement with the ANC.

"I see a stage in South Africa where perhaps 60 or 70 percent of the people belong to the ANC. If these attitudes remain, who will be employed?" he asked.

Also addressing the congress, the

group editor of the independent East Cape News Agency, Franz Kruger, said journalists had to make a clear commitment to use their skills to help build a news society.

For journalists, "taking sides" meant actively challenging the news values of the mainstream press whose pages still failed to reflect the reality of South African society.

Journalists working for the "alternative press" had to ensure they devel-

oped their level of professionalism and increased their impact rather than simply being prepared to "muddle along".

Kruger argued that journalists should remain independent "even of popular organisations" and avoid the danger of sliding into a situation when the press became "sycophantic".

### Broadcast

It was also important for journalists to take part in, develop and perhaps even lead the debate around future media policy, he said.

Highlighting the enormous power and influence of the broadcast media, Kruger challenged journalists working at radio stations in Ciskei and Transkei to use the space afforded by the authorities in those homelands. — ECNA

# Hani's remark may embarrass the ANC

ARGUS 19/7/90 (11A)  
By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CHIEF of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe Mr Chris Hani's comment that the African National Congress might have to "seize power" if the government appeared not to be prepared to share or shift it, may have embarrassed the organisation.

Emphasising the role of the armed struggle in forcing President De Klerk to introduce political changes, Mr Hani told students at the University of the Transkei in Umtata that there was no guarantee that the government might not go back to its old formation.

He also said the armed struggle was continuing.

"We are still deploying our cadres inside South Africa and that's no secret," he told the gathering.

Reacting today, the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said: "I would not like to comment on that."

He suggested that "the best would be to speak to him (Mr Hani) or one of the Umkhonto we Sizwe chaps".

Neither Mr Hani nor the ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, was available for comment.

# Azapo, <sup>(114)</sup> ANC in <sup>19/7/90</sup> closed talks

A joint meeting by members of the ANC and Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) took place late yesterday afternoon in Diepkloof, Soweto, under a veil of secrecy.

Azapo announced this week the residents' meeting would discuss "the harassment and intimidation of locals".

Despite an announcement this week by Azapo that yesterday's meeting would be open to the media, journalists sent out to monitor the event were told the meeting was closed to journalists.

Representatives of both organisations told journalists they were not allowed to attend the meeting, but the journalists would be briefed on the proceedings after the meeting.

ANC internal leader, Walter Sisulu who was expected to attend the meeting was not there.

The meeting follows an ANC/Azapo meeting and news conference on Tuesday. — Sapa.

19/7/90 (1A) (25)

## SACP must learn from mistakes, says Slovo

Staff Reporter

Socialism would have no future in South Africa unless there was a willingness to learn from the mistakes of failed socialist countries, Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said last night.

In a remarkably frank discussion on Radio 702, Mr Slovo conceded that criticisms of socialism are not all invention and propaganda.

"They do reflect a real failure and those of us who are socialists must recognise that," he said.

### Brainwashing

Mr Slovo was responding to the comments of a caller who referred to "a very serious prejudice against every kind of socialism" among white South Africans who, he said, had been "brain-massaged into submission".

"There has been a bit of brainwashing," he admitted.

"But let's also be fair. We must concede there have been quite a substantial number of failures in the practice of socialism."

That fact, combined with 40 years of silence on socialism in this country (because of Government clampdowns on the Communist Party and the dissemination of socialist ideas), made it possible to understand prejudice against socialism.

"We would like to think, although it is a process, that our South African Communist Party is well on the way to shedding that kind of baggage of the Stalinist period in the history of socialism."

# ANC might have to seize power, says Hani

Star 19/7/90 (11A) (11A) (11A)  
UMTATA — It was still possible that the ANC might have to "seize power" if the South African Government appeared not to be prepared to share or shift power, Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's military wing, said yesterday.

Addressing about 3 000 students at the University of Transkei, he said there was no guarantee that the Government might not go back to its old formation.

Mr Hani said the unbanning of several political organisations and the release of certain political detainees was victory on the part of the strug-

gle, not goodwill on the part of the Government.

He said it was because of the wars his wing had waged against the Government. He attributed the Sasol 2, Church Street, Pretoria and Voortrekkerhoogte bombings, amongst others, to the ANC.

"The struggle still goes on. We are still deploying our cadres inside South Africa and that's no secret," he said.

Mr Hani said negotiations in the true sense had not yet begun. The removal of certain obstacles was still at issue.

Mr Hani is due to address a rally at Umtata's Independence Stadium on Sunday. — Sapa.

(S) (11A)

# ANC, police team up to provide airport security

By Claire Robertson

A comprehensive, joint ANC-police security operation was mounted at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday for the arrival of African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela.

About 20 ANC "public relations officials" — as an ANC security man referred to them — were responsible for crowd control inside the terminal building and for Mr Mandela's personal safety, while the SAP secured the concourse, parking area, access road and airport doors.

The airport bristled with police, who also mounted roadblocks, twice led explosives sniffer dogs, through the press room, and limited access to the terminal by ANC supporters.

At a meeting between the ANC, SAP and airport security personnel earlier this week, it was decided to divert most of Mr Mandela's well-wishers to a

gathering place outside the building. Police checked the names of ANC supporters entering against a list of 59 people supplied by the organisation.

The close co-operation between the ANC and SAP led to the surreal situation of a plainclothes policeman at one stage telling irritable photographers wanting to enter the press room not to shout at him as "I get my orders from the ANC".

However, the comprehensive security operation was criticised by at least one observer as being "useless because they are only searching cars with black passengers, and the only threat is supposed to be from white rightwingers".

● At least nine ANC supporters were arrested earlier in the day for displaying banners, according to police. Although this was done at a legal open-air gathering, airport regulations forbid such displays.

# Once exiles, now they're officials

Star  
19/7/90  
By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

For six members of the ANC delegation who had travelled to 14 countries over the past six weeks, their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport was an emotional experience. It was the first time in many years they had set foot on South African soil.

The exiles, all living in Lusaka, returned home with Nelson Mandela for only a few days before going back to their base. They still don't know when they will finally return.

## Excited chatter

Last night they attended a birthday party for "Comrade Madiba" at his Soweto home.

Pren Naicker, the physician on the international tour, has never been to Soweto. Born in Durban, he has spent most of his life in exile and was educated in London and Moscow.

As the chartered Mozambican plane approached Johannesburg, Dr Naicker refused to join in the excited chatter of his colleagues. He quietly stared out of the window, tears welling up.

As the only reporter on the flight, I asked him how it felt to come home after 23 years. He hugged me, but was too emotional to talk.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi came home for the first time in 27 years.

"I hope I will be able to find my sense of direction within three days. And I'm going to drink some champagne with my friends and relatives in

Soweto I haven't seen for almost three decades," he beamed.

Tiny Zondi, the sound-man of the two-member ANC video team, said: "The first thing I want to do is to convince myself I'm back. I foresee freedom!"

He has been in exile for eight years.

His counterpart, cameraman Stanley Ndlovu, who was returning after seven years, literally jumped up and down.

"When we left, we were fugitives. Now we're returning as officials, with very great hope for the future."

Agnes Lieta, Winnie Mandela's personal aide, approached her return in her typical business-like style.

But this was perhaps because she has been away for only four years and has regularly seen her family in neighbouring countries.

## Crossed border

Administrative official Ngoako Ramatlhodi, feeling miserable from a heavy bout of flu, said he wanted to visit his father's grave in Potgietersrus. He died in 1984, six years after his son left the country.

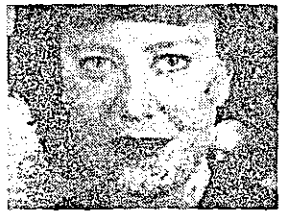
Ngoako left South Africa 10 years ago, crossing the border to Lesotho by foot after several spells of conflict with the security police as a student leader at the University of the North.

A qualified lawyer who studied in Lesotho and completed his masters degree in Zimbabwe, he looked slightly lost. "I can't see my township," said the Tembisa son as we prepared to land.

# as moderate, pragmatic leader

Star 19/7/90

**ESMARE VAN DER MERWE**, Political Reporter at The Star, who was the only South African journalist to accompany Nelson Mandela on his tour of Africa and Europe, assesses the value of the ANC deputy leader's six-week trip.



Nelson Mandela has returned to South Africa after an international tour which has elevated him to the status of one of the world's most remarkable statesman.

During the most extensive tour ever by a South African politician — visits to 14 countries on three continents in six weeks — the ANC's deputy president convinced the world of the real prospects for a political settlement in South Africa.

He emerged as a pragmatic, moderate leader who, despite a life of immeasurable suffering under apartheid, is willing to put the past behind him and work — with the Government — to fulfil a dream for which he has spent 27 years in jail.

The creation of a non-racial united society in which all people can live in equality, dignity, prosperity and peace is that dream.

And he, for the first time, indicated that he intends to expand this ideal to the entire southern Africa region by getting directly involved in efforts to facilitate peace and stability in the region, a process inextricably linked to the abolition of white minority rule in the last country on the African continent.

Mr Mandela left South Africa on June 4 on a three-pronged mission — to thank those who have untiringly campaigned for his release, to call for the maintenance of sanctions, and to attract funds

for the ANC.

He succeeded, as he repeatedly said, "beyond my wildest dreams". Firstly, the tour has been a victorious lap of honour for the man who until February has been the world's most famous political prisoner.

He lived up to his legendary status. The crowds which have gathered in Europe, the United States of America and Africa went home with more than the satisfaction of having seen in the flesh, the legend, Nelson Mandela.

He inspired them with a message of hope, peace and goodwill. He warmed the hearts and minds of millions of people with his dignity, charisma and lack of bitterness.

## Adulation

He also lived up to the more sober expectations of presidents and premiers. Behind closed doors, far removed from the adulation and hype characteristic of the mass rallies, ticker-tape parade and pop concerts, he got down to the job of convincing politicians of the genuineness of the current political process in South Africa.

In this regard, his tour of seven European countries — France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland and Britain — was of particular significance in view of President de



In the spotlight . . . Nelson Mandela salutes delegates of the United Nations General Assembly after his speech on June 22.

Klerk's recent European tour.

European leaders, although impressed with Mr de Klerk's initiatives, had reserved their opinion of the new phase of South African politics until having had discussions with Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader impressed them with his cutting analysis of South African politics and won understanding and support for the ANC's goals and strategies.

But more than that, he convinced Europe about Mr de

Klerk's sincerity and the commitment of both the Government and the ANC to find peaceful solutions through negotiations.

Secondly, his appeal for the maintenance of sanctions until profound and irreversible change has been achieved was hugely successful. This was a daunting task since many European countries believed the time is ripe to reward Mr de Klerk for his brave reforms.

Mr Mandela reasoned that

sanctions had been introduced to eradicate apartheid, a goal which has not been achieved.

While the sanctions controversy dominated the headlines and led to much criticism in the mainstream South African media, the ANC delegation quietly got on with the job of securing investments in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Millions of rands are believed to have been lined up for investment in a post-apartheid economy.

And in a significant softening of ANC policy, Mr Mandela told Western bankers and businessmen the ANC is not married to the concept of nationalisation, but will consider all economic options provided they fulfil the requirements of ensuring a more equitable distribution of wealth.

## Sanctions

He assured the economic powers the ANC does not want to wreck the already embattled South African economy, but wants to create a stable political climate which will instill confidence in investors.

The ANC's view on sanctions seems to have met with some understanding from a rather unexpected corner — the South African Government.

Sources indicated that the Government, in discussions shortly before the ANC's tour, indicated it understood the reasoning behind the call for continued sanctions.

The organisation's new international status could ensure better international understanding of the country's complex problems and could strengthen the mutual drive of the Government and the ANC to reach a speedy solution.



# Mandela delayed by bomb scare

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Nelson Mandela's return flight to South Africa after a six-week tour was delayed for more than three hours because of a bomb scare.

The ANC deputy president announced this publicly in a speech to supporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

The ANC delegation arrived at Maputo Airport shortly after noon yesterday. He bade farewell to hundreds of people, who had come to see him off after a four-day state visit, then started saying goodbye to the long line of dignitaries. But President Joaquim Chissano intervened and the ANC leader and his wife, Winnie, were whisked away to the VIP lounge.

The waiting presidential plane was removed. A smaller plane with a new crew was prepared.

The 13-man ANC delegation's luggage remained in Maputo for security screening and they arrived at Jan Smuts Airport at 5.30 pm with only their hand luggage, which had been screened by X-ray machines.

The bomb scare was not announced at Maputo Airport. Most people suspected technical problems with the plane, and only a few members of the delegation were aware of the true reason for the delay.

In his arrival speech to about 200 people who had patiently waited since noon to see Mr Mandela and congratulate him on his tour and his birthday, Mr Mandela said he wanted to apologise with humility for his lateness.

"It was not our fault and it was not the fault of the Mozambican government. Shortly before we took off, the government of Mozambique received a bomb threat," Mr Mandela disclosed.

Security at Jan Smuts Airport was tight in view of recent rightwing threats against Mr Mandela's life.



Nelson Mandela, with his wife Winnie, addressed a crowd of well-wishers at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on his return from Mozambique.

11A

Star

19/7/90

# Ambush (11A) manhunt pledged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inanda bus ambush which left 26 people dead and 56 injured was a barbaric, terrible deed and the police would do everything possible to track down the killers, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said today.

As allegations of who was responsible for the horror incident grow more complex, Brigadier Mellet said: "It is sickening, but indicative of the violence in the area which brings nobody any joy. We are upset. We express our condolences to the families."

There was no difference between this incident and the shooting down of an aircraft, Brigadier Mellet said.

The ANC and Inkatha have accused each other of being responsible.

## Dying

One report published overseas from a Durban-based freelance journalist said the dying bus driver told residents from the Shembe Church complex scene that an SAP special constable he named as Gumede, and anti-UDF vigilantes, had shot him.

Brigadier Mellet dismissed the allegation, pointing out that it was dark at the time of the shooting, making it difficult for the driver to see who shot him.

The ambush took place on a road that divides Inkatha and UDF areas, about 7 km outside the Phoenix Industrial Park.

Church leaders including Reverend Dr Khoza Mgojo, president of the SA Council of Churches, today asked President de Klerk for a judicial commission of inquiry into the incident.

The church leaders said they were appalled by the shooting and the allegations that some passengers were attacked after the bus had crashed.

"The information we have makes us particularly worried about the role of the security forces," the churchmen said in their appeal.

Optimism over talks hurdles

# Mandela and FW to meet 'within days'

Sta 19/7/90 (11A) (11A)

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk are likely to meet within days amid growing optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle soon to clear the way for constitutional negotiations. Informed sources say the ANC and Government have reached agreement on the thorniest problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing thousands of ANC exiles to come home.

Mr Mandela said on his return from abroad yesterday that he would try to meet Mr de Klerk immediately to arrange a full meeting of the ANC and the Government.

Government sources are convinced Mr de Klerk will be keen to see him as soon as possible. The aim of such an ANC-Government meeting — in effect a second Groote Schuur summit — would be to clear the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

The main obstacle is the issue of prisoners and exiles which ANC and Government officials have been quietly thrashing out behind the scenes for the last few weeks.

Both sides have now indicated that the problem has been solved in essence.

The remaining obstacles, as defined by the ANC, are principally security legislation and the continued state of emergency in Natal.

Mr Mandela made it clear on his return yesterday that the ANC would not "suspend hostilities" before all the obstacles were removed.

But Government sources are nevertheless optimistic that the remaining obstacles are not insurmountable.

They point out that Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has already stated that some security laws will be scrapped and the most controversial Internal Security Act will be amended during the next session of Parliament. They also believe pragmatic understanding can be reached on the Natal emergency.

However they cautioned that reports that the armed struggle could be suspended "within weeks" might be too optimistic.

There may still be difficulties ahead. For one thing the Government does not seem to be keen on another full-scale meeting on the scale of the Groote Schuur summit.

It would prefer Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk to deal with the issue in broad terms and leave the detail to the low-profile joint steering committee and working group which have been doing much of the negotiation spawed behind the scenes.

The ANC seems to be pushing instead for a high-profile meeting — partly perhaps to counter the impression that it is dragging its feet on the issue of prisoners and exiles.

ANC sources suggested yesterday that the ANC had already accepted the joint ANC-Government working group's recommendations on the prisoner-exile issue — and was now awaiting the Government's response.

But Government sources have said that the recommendations have been accepted in principle.

The Government's ministerial negotiation committee met in Pretoria yesterday and is likely to have considered the working group report.

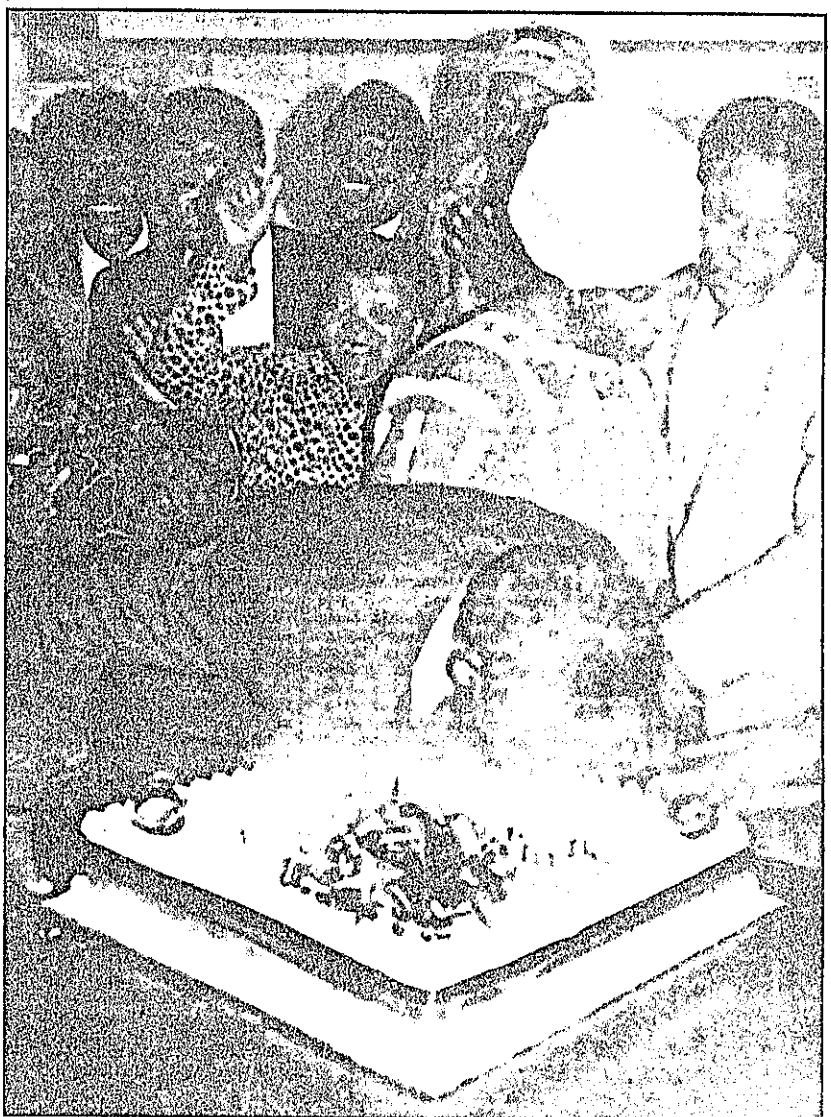
● Airport security graphic — Page 2; Mandela's triumph — Page 17.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent



Bewildered... Nadia Holt (5) is instructed to put down her birthday poster after police at Jan Smuts Airport acted against others holding birthday greetings posters.

© Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



Getting down to it... African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela blows out the candles on his 72nd birthday cake yesterday, watched by his wife, Winnie, and friends, at his first birthday as a free man in 27 years.

© Picture by Router.

## 'We are full of hope for the future'

Political Staff

The tour was an astounding success and the ANC had managed to get undertakings from foreign governments, Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

These included an agreement to retain pressure on South Africa,

including sanctions, until the ANC gave an indication that "fundamental and irreversible political changes" had taken place in the country.

The countries he visited committed themselves to investing in a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

"My delegation and I, my wife and I, return home more proud of being South Africans," he said, greeting hundreds of ANC supporters who had gathered at the airport to welcome him.

"We return home full of hope for the future of our country," said Mr Mandela.

## Spate of attacks on W Rand

Sta 19/7/90 West Rand Bureau

A woman was hijacked on Ontdekters Road in broad daylight yesterday and two people were robbed and had their cars stolen in separate incidents on the West Rand.

A West Rand police spokesman said Christina Susanna Evans (63) of Burgershoop was sitting in her car at the Gordon Street traffic light at 8.30 am when a man walked towards her, pulled out a gun and climbed into the back of her car.

He ordered her to drive off. In Trezona Avenue he told her to stop. He took R250 and disappeared in the wooded area next to the road.

At about 5.00 pm, Cornelius Kruger (30) of Oberholzer was

robbed of his car near Kloof Mine in Westonaria. In the car was a briefcase containing about R10 000 in cash and a pistol.

The spokesman said Mr Kruger had stopped to pick up an order when four armed men held him up.

In the third incident, Vivian Theresa de Mata (26) arrived at her home in Ravine Street, Randfontein, at about 7.15 pm. She was confronted by four armed men who ransacked her house. They took her car, a Toyota Corolla, several household appliances and valuables and a CZ 7,65mm pistol. The value of the stolen property is about R90 000.

None of the victims was injured.

## Gary and Wayne do battle

LONDON — Gary Player, the last South African golfer to win the British Open, took son Wayne on a tour of the St Andrews course yesterday.

It will be the first time father and son will compete in the contest.

"It's a great thrill to have him alongside me," said Gary, who has won the title three times.

Wayne led for three rounds in the South African championship this year, but when asked if he might finish ahead of his famous father in this year's Open, he said: "The way he's hitting the ball right now, I'd have to play some to do that." — Sapa.

## DJ 'Boogie' Cohen dies

Radio Metro deejay "Boogie" Harry Cohen died yesterday at the Johannesburg Hospital.

His brother, Godfrey, said yesterday that Harry would not have died if he had been attended to in time.

He was taken to hospital at 11 am but was not attended to until 5.30 pm, he said.

By 7 pm, Harry had kidney and heart failure and died at 4.30 am, said another brother, Barney.

Dr Clive Willis and Dr Harry Kilarney would not comment.

Dr Kilarney said he would respond to allegations of negligence after an investigation.

## Gengold plans to lay off 2 700

Sta 19/7/90 Finance Staff

Gengold, Genmin's gold mining arm, yesterday announced that it planned to trim its labour force by a further 2 700 workers because working profit at its 11 gold mines had plunged by 29 percent in the June quarter in the wake of the fall in the gold price.

The renewed lay-offs follow massive retrenchments within the company's mines over the past few years.

Gengold's MD Gary Maude disclosed that the group's total number of employees had dropped by more than 20 000 — from 93 775 in June 1988 to 81 359 in June last year, and to 71 078 at the end of June this year.

The hardest hit in numerical terms will be Gengold's largest mine, Buffelsfontein.

Phasing-out operations at its Pioneer shaft could affect 1 300 workers over the next three weeks.

● Gengold quarterly results — Page 19.

WHAT SAW

Tenderised Steak Super to B1

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# Women on the move

11A

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC women's activists in the Eastern Cape have launched a concerted drive to establish the organisation's Women's League in the region.

Thousands of women from throughout the Eastern Cape met in various places to launch local branches of the league in preparation for its relaunch, scheduled for August 9, National Women's Day.

At the launch of the New Brighton branch, formerly, exiled member of the

ANC women's desk, Ms Girlie Pikoli, told a crowd of more than 1 000 women: "The women must build their own structures in order to participate in the ANC constitutional draft."

She is one of 10 people on the national interim executive of the league. Pikoli is part of a task force helping start local branches.

Branches were also launched in Zwede, Paterson, Somerset East and Grahamstown, where the league became the first ANC structure to be launched in the city.

Pikoli attended this launch too, and was enthusiastically welcomed into a packed hall. She spoke about the role of the Women's League in the country.

She said the task force wanted to unify the structure inside and outside the country into a uniform body.

Speaking about the Women's Charter, Pikoli said a door-to-door campaign was being planned so that a complete and detailed document of women's demands could be drawn up.

Before the start of the meeting, ANC organisers were still busy signing people up as members of the organisation.

According to one of the ANC regional executive members, Ms Marian Lacey, there were approximately 500 ANC members in the city, of which 114 were women.

In East London, hundreds of women gathered at Gompo hall this week to listen to the league's national organiser, Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa.

Mapisa, who is from Mdantsane near East London and left the country in 1984, told the crowded community hall her task was to build the women's league.

## Characterise

To make this possible, women's organisations in the region, should start organising women at grassroots level into the ranks of the women's league.

"Our structures should characterise the kind of a society we want — a non-racial, non-sexist and a democratic South Africa," she said. — ECNA

# Top ANC

South 1977-257790

## women

## back home

JOHANNESBURG. — A delegation of prominent ANC women based in London arrived home on Monday. (1A)

The three, leading ANC women's activists Frene Ginwala, Eleanor Khanyile and Shanti Naidoo, returned to assist in organising a major ANC conference on women scheduled for later this year.

Ginwala is a fulltime ANC researcher and press spokesperson. Khanyile and Naidoo work for the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Naidoo left on an exit permit in 1972. She had spent more than a year in prison for refusing to give state evidence in a case against Winnie Mandela in 1969.

# Overseas tour was a success, says Mandela

ANC leader Nelson Mandela arrived home yesterday declaring his six-week tour of three continents a success.

He arrived on a Mozambique Airlines Boeing 737 more than two hours late at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, where about 100 supporters waited to greet him.

The Mozambican na-

tional news agency, AIM, said the delay was caused by technical difficulties with a Soviet-made aircraft loaned to Mandela by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano.

He eventually flew to Johannesburg in another plane.

Mandela told a news conference at Maputo airport in Mozambique that his tour of 14 nations in Europe, North America and Africa had been aimed at urging foreign countries to maintain sanctions against South Africa, to explain the ANC's plans for the country's future, and to raise funds for his movement.

He said all those goals had been achieved.

AIM said Ilyushin-62, in which Mandela was to have flown to Johannesburg, was Chissano's private aircraft.

Mandela had used it on Tuesday to fly to the northern city of Beira.

Sapa-AP.

# Sentences served, say freed prisoners

ARCS 19/1/90 (111)  
By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

FOUR Pan Africanist Congress members freed from Robben Island this week say they were released because they had served their sentences, not through a deal between the African National Congress and the government.

In a joint statement they said they supported the PAC demand for a constituent assembly based on one person one vote. This would be the only meaningful form of negotiation for the country's political future.

They said they would rejoin PAC structures as soon as possible to continue its mission: "the liberation of our nation from white domination".

They declined to say if they would take up arms again.

But Mr Jan Shoba said: "We regard armed struggle as a principal form of struggle. To us it is not a strategy, but a method of getting emancipation with the primary aim of repossessing our land which was usurped."

Mr Elby July of Kimberley, Mr Michael Gqamana of Port Elizabeth, Mr Shoba of Pretoria and Mr Mlandeli Ketye were released on Monday. They were charged in the same trial in 1985 and were convicted of being members of a banned organisation, furthering its aims and getting military training abroad.

# Mandela 'warmed hearts'

From  
ESMARE van der MERWE  
the only SA reporter  
on tour with  
Nelson Mandela.

Nelson Mandela's international tour which ended on his return home yesterday has elevated him to the status of one of the world's most remarkable statesmen.

During the most extensive tour ever by a South African politician — visits to 14 countries on three continents in six weeks — the ANC deputy President convinced the world of the real prospects for a political settlement in South Africa.

He emerged as a pragmatic moderate leader who, despite a life of immeasurable suffering under apartheid, is willing to put the past behind him and work — with the government — to fulfil a dream for which he has spent 27 years in jail.

The creation of a non-racial united society in which all people can live in equality, dignity, prosperity and peace is that dream.

For the first time he indicated that he intends to expand this ideal to the entire Southern Africa region by getting directly involved in efforts to facilitate peace and stability in the region, a process inextricably linked to the abolition of white minority rule in the last country on the African continent.

Mr Mandela left South Africa on June 4 on a three-pronged mission — to thank those who have untiringly campaigned for his release, to call for the maintenance of sanctions, and to attract funds for the ANC.

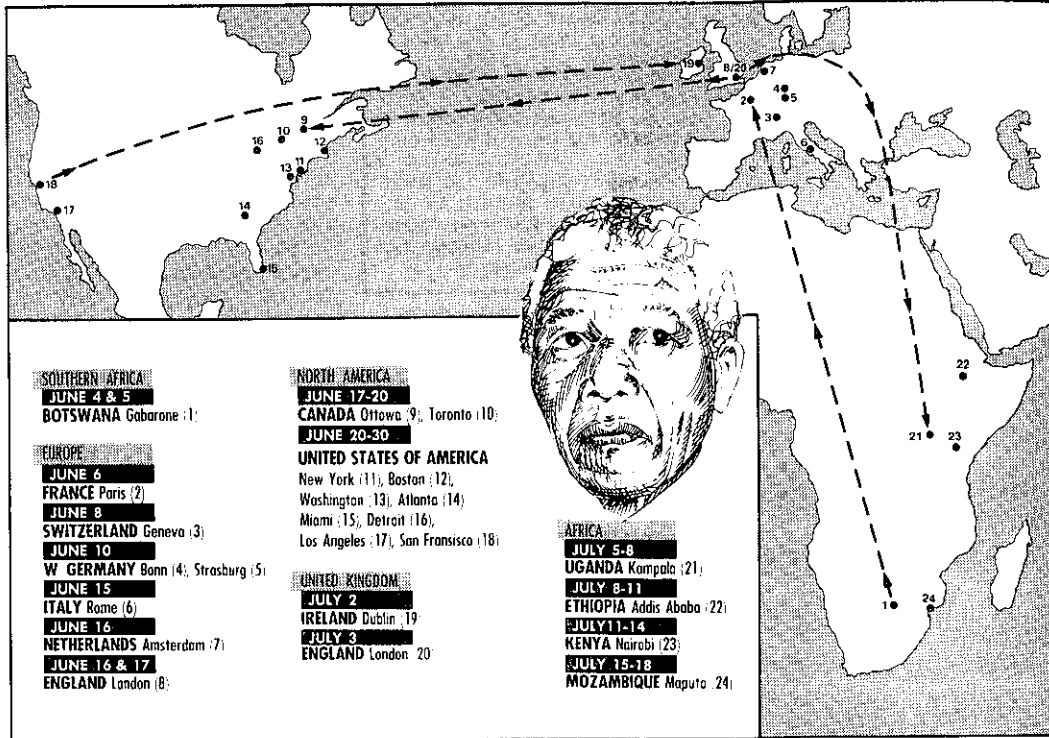
He succeeded, as he repeatedly said, beyond my wildest dreams. Firstly, the tour has been a victorious lap of honour for the man who until February has been the world's most famous political prisoner.

He lived up to his legendary status. The crowds which have gathered in Europe, Northern America and Africa went home with more than the satisfaction of having seen in the flesh, the legend, Nelson Mandela.

## Adulation

He inspired them with a message of hope, peace and goodwill. He warmed the hearts and minds of millions of people with his dignity, charisma and lack of bitterness towards a system which has put him behind bars for most of his life.

He also lived up to the more sober expectations of presidents and premiers. Behind closed doors, far removed from the adulation and hype characteristic of the mass rallies, ticker-tape parade and pop concerts, he got down to the job of convincing politicians of the genuineness of the current political process in South Africa.



In this regard, his tour of seven European countries — France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Ireland and Britain — was of particular significance in view of President De Klerk's recent European tour.

European leaders, although impressed with Mr De Klerk's initiatives, had reserved their opinion of the new phase of South African politics until having had discussions with Mr Mandela.

The ANC leader impressed them with the cutting analysis of South African politics and won understanding and support for the ANC's goals and strategies.

But more than that, he convinced Europe about Mr De Klerk's sincerity and the commitment of both the Government and the ANC to find peaceful solutions through negotiations.

Secondly, his appeal for the

maintenance of sanctions until the profound and irreversible change has been achieved was hugely successful. This was a daunting task since many European countries believed the time is ripe to reward Mr De Klerk for his brave reforms.

Mr Mandela convinced the international community to keep up the pressure for the time being. The European Parliament, the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity overwhelmingly came out in favour of the maintenance of sanctions.

He even managed to sway opinion in the 12-nation European community, under pressure from some member countries to collectively ease punitive measures, to uphold sanctions.

Mr Mandela reasoned that sanctions had been introduced to eradicate apartheid, a goal which has not been achieved.

While praising Mr De Klerk's sincerity, he observed that black people still do not have the vote, that racial discrimination is still firmly in place and that police brutality continues.

He urged that a relaxation in international pressure could slow down the process of reform and could thus jeopardise negotiations.

He failed to convince some governments and business leaders who believe sanctions have become outdated and should be replaced with a policy of large-scale investment to create stable conditions for further political reforms.

Millions are believed to have been lined up for investment in a post-apartheid economy.

And in a significant softening of ANC policy, Mr Mandela told Western bankers and businessmen the ANC is not married to the concept of

nationalisation, but will consider all economic options provided they fulfil the requirements of ensuring more equitable distribution of wealth.

## Post-apartheid

He assured the economic powers the ANC does not want to wreck the already embattled South African economy, but wants to create a stable political climate which will install investor confidence in a post-apartheid economy.

The ANC's view on sanctions seem to have met with some understanding from rather unexpected corners — the South African government.

The government did, however, request the ANC to convey to the world its belief in the integrity and sincerity of the De Klerk administration in finding a negotiated settlement.

It thus seems as if the go



# 's to SA'



He disclosed that the ANC has even entered into talks with the right-wing politicians to draw them into the peace process.

It can be expected this initiative will soon gain momentum. Apart from achieving these main objectives, Mr Mandela's tour has had other significant spin-offs.

Some of the West's most influential leaders — noticeably US President, George Bush, Britain's Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl have agreed to have regular consultations with both the Government and the ANC on the process of dialogue in South Africa.

### Dialogue

This development has firmly established the ANC as the legitimate and responsible political force in South Africa.

The organisation's new international status could ensure better international understanding of the country's complex problems and could strengthen the mutual drive of the government and the ANC to reach a speedy solution.

In other hugely significant developments, Mr Mandela has laid the foundation for international dialogue on the question of political and economic stability in South Africa.

One indication of his determination to facilitate a regional settlement was an undertaking to the Mozambican authorities that the ANC would intervene in the destabilisation of the country from South African soil.

It can be expected that Mr Mandela will soon take up this issue with the National Party government which, although no longer directly involved in the destabilisation of Mozambique, apparently turns a blind eye to those inside the country who are.

### Settlement

But not only did Mr Mandela publicly urge the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels to reach a negotiated settlement before the end of the year, he also used the Organisation of African Unity platform in Addis Ababa to appeal to the entire continent to put an end to numerous civil and cross-border conflicts.

But this is what the man, Nelson Mandela, is all about — peace.

So dedicated is he to the principle of non-violence that he discarded all advice not to get embroiled in an IRA controversy while in Europe.

His call on the British government and the IRA to settle their differences peacefully caused a huge outcry.

Mr Mandela swiftly retracted his comments.

But he maintains he would defend the principle of talking instead of fighting until the day he dies.

ernment and the ANC agree that the best way of defusing the sanctions issue is to reform quickly enough to make punitive measures irrelevant — maybe even within a few months.

Thirdly, the ANC's appeal for funds to assist exiles who want to return to South Africa and to rebuild the recently unbanned organisation's structures in South Africa, has been met with massive response in virtually all the countries visited.

Millions of rands have been donated or pledged. Even poor African countries have contributed generously. It is understood that the Kenyan government presented Mr Mandela with a million US dollars (roughly R2,5million) during his State visit to that country.

Mr Mandela argued that the ANC needs to establish itself firmly in order to mobilise maximum support for negotiations.

## Fairview perms

CLIVE BARRY						
J'pot	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R2	3,4	2,10	3	4		
R9	3,4	2,8,10	3,6,11	4,8,10		
R27	3,4	2,8,10	3,6,11	4,8,10		
Pick 6	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R2	5,7	3,4	10	3	4	2
R8	5,7	3,4	2,10	3,6	4	2,6
R108	5,7	3,4	2,8,10	3,6,11	4,8,10	2,6
PI Acc	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R2	4,7	5,7	4	10	3	4
R8	4,7	5,7	3,4	2,10	3	4
R32	4,7	5,7	3,4	2,10	3	4,10

## Fair

FRIDAY, JULY 20

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2	AHSLEY NORTH (R Sobotka)	11	6485 57,0
3	CIVIC RULER* (A Miller)	1	0307 57,0
4	HOT MATCH* (P Strydom)	9	4003 57,0
5	MISTER MEX (K Good)	5	8972 57,0
6	ON HIS OWN* (D Rahilly)	12	0093 57,0
7	ON THE VERGE* (D Pieterse)	7	0790 57,0
8	ROVING REPORTER (G Venter)	4	0434 57,0
9	ROYAL PAIR (C Hewitson)	13	0899 57,0
10	RUNNING BACK (D ...)	0	...



Yeomans pointed out that about 20% of students at Wits Business School (WBS) were black. He has lectured and published extensively by the SA Assoc from Aston University in 1971 and a PhD in management economics at Keele University. Yeomans obtained an MSc in 1968 from Aston University. He stressed the need for "enormous challenges" posed by the need for trained managers for the public sector in a post-apartheid SA. He also stressed the need for more black managers in its businesses. He stressed the need for more black managers in its businesses. He stressed the need for more black managers in its businesses.



RIAAN SMIT

SA needs to train more black managers pro.

Yeomans said there was an untapped potential of people that were not being brought into management post-1994. As a national need, SA had to have more black managers in its businesses. He stressed the need for more black managers in its businesses. He stressed the need for more black managers in its businesses.

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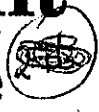


**ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu watches as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is greeted by UDF publicity secretary Popo Molefe on Mandela's arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.**

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# team sent to probe

W/maul 20/7/90



By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban (11A)  
THE African National Congress is sending two senior members of the organisation to Durban today for a full briefing on Wednesday's Inanda bus tragedy.

And officials of the organisation have warned that if the government does not act to ensure such incidents ended, the ANC will consider a resumption of the armed struggle.

Twenty-six people were killed and more than 60 injured when a busload of commuters from Ndwedwe ran into a pre-dawn ambush on the main road to Durban.

The tragedy has been widely condemned as the worst single incident in the continuing civil conflict in Natal. According to residents, armed vigilantes clubbed, stoned and shot some of those who survived the crash.

The two ANC members sent to investigate the affair have been identified only as members of the joint working group set up after discussions with the government in May.

Terror Lekota, Southern Natal convenor for the ANC, said yesterday the two will report to the group — and then the government will be challenged on whether it is prepared to meet its obligation to prevent violence in the area.

If not — or if it does not act to ensure such atrocities never recur — then the ANC will have no choice but to consider reverting to the armed struggle.

Lekota said yesterday the ANC believes anti-ANC vigilantes from a squatter settlement near the site of the crash were responsible for the tragedy and that it was part of the continuing Natal violence.

Meanwhile the number of interpretations of what caused the tragedy is growing.

The latest is contained in a statement by kwaZulu's minister of police and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said according to his police reports the main Inanda road had been blocked the night before the crash by "comrades" who had put a scrap metal car across the road and stoned buses going through the area.

Buthelezi said early on Wednesday morning a fully loaded taxi was driving on that section of the road, followed by a bus full of passengers. The taxi collided with the scrap car as did the bus and they both overturned down the embankment.

He added that Inkatha believed the atrocity was a "shame" for which all had to bear responsibility.

Buthelezi's statement completely contradicts the version held so far by the ANC — that residents of Mshayazafe, a squatter camp in Inanda, were lying in ambush for a bus from the ANC-supporting area of Amaoti when a bus from Ndwedwe came past, and the vigilantes attacked it in the mistaken belief they were attacking ANC supporters.

Police, accused by the ANC of complicity in the incident, a charge they have denied, have released a statement that none of the bodies — including that of the driver — on which post mortems have so far been performed, have any bullet wounds.

This would tend to support the view that it might not have been bullets that caused the driver to lose control.

However, most of the survivors of the crash said yesterday they heard shooting either before or after the crash, or both.

# MDM warns Vaal looters: We will take tough action

W/ mail 20/7 - 22/7/90

By PHILIPPA GARSON and Sapa

THE Mass Democratic Movement said yesterday it would take tough action against anyone caught looting in townships around the Vaal River Complex, where a consumer boycott of white businesses was enforced on Monday.

The organisation condemned "this barbaric practise" and called on the perpetrators to immediately stop the looting.

"It is the decision of the organisations that delivery trucks should have commodities available in the townships," the MDM said.

The warning followed the MDM meeting late on Wednesday afternoon in the Vaal, held to assess the boycott.

Vaal police on Wednesday reported two incidents of alleged intimidation in

which shoppers' goods were dropped on the ground by youths.

In another development, the Vaal Consumer Boycott Committee confirmed this week that Indian businesses would not be exempt from the boycott action.

A delegation of Indian businessmen had previously requested that their stores be excluded from the consumer action, which is to protest against continued clampdowns on protest marches and pickets.

The Vaal Consumer Boycott Committee issued a press statement yesterday stating that while the Indian community had played an important role in the struggle against apartheid, the aim of the boycott was to put pressure on the town councils of Vereeniging and Vanderbijl-

park.

The Vereeniging town council had said previously that protests could not be held because the business community was against them, according to the organisers.

"All businessmen concerned about the consumer boycott should approach the town councils concerned ... and demand that we be allowed to march as well", read the statement, adding that the boycott had so far been heeded by all sections of the community.

The committee also decided that a meeting between themselves and the Vereeniging town council scheduled for August 6 would be cancelled, on the grounds that the council was well aware of boycotting residents' demands.

APR 20 7 1964  
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## 'Rightist cloud' over SA reform

JOHANNESBURG. —

The resurgence of the right-wing cast a ominous cloud over the whole reform process and threatened to fuel forces beyond Mr F W de Klerk's control, SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo said in Johannesburg this week.

Soldiers and policemen continued to ignore their true function of protecting the people.

But, he added, he was still optimistic that radical transformation was possible.

The SACP believed in political pluralism.

"Our objective is a socialist state in which no party will have the claim or the right to dominate any aspect of society, its privilege to govern will depend on democratic processes." — Sapa

# Lekota <sup>UFA</sup> wants end to violence

DURBAN — The ANC may well have to revert to the armed struggle if the Government does not take immediate steps to quell the violence in Natal, says spokesman Patrick Lekota.

In a press interview, Mr Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convene, said that following Wednesday's horrific bus ambush two members of the ANC's Groote Schuur working group were to arrive in Natal today on a fact-finding mission.

"The Government must take decisive steps to end the violence and must hold up their side of the deal.

"If the Government is going to betray the negotiation process, the recent statement by Chris Hani that the ANC might have to revert to the armed struggle may well become a reality," he said.

Mr Lekota said the ANC was to place increasing pressure on the Government to end the bloodshed in Natal. He said after gathering information about the bus ambush, the ANC had concluded that the police had not acted in good faith by removing a Hippo from between the two warring areas where they had been positioned to keep the peace.

"The police are not eliminating the violence in Natal, but defending it.

"The pattern of events leading up to the accident, the fact that the police were stationed there to keep the peace and left without apparent reason and the fact that for a full 12 hours they did not intervene in the violence until the bus accident took place, proves this point," he said. — Staff Reporter.

## 300 'join Ravensmead branch of ANC'

Call Tint

20/7/96  
Political Staff

11A

**MORE** than 300 people have joined the Ravensmead branch of the ANC, which is to be formally launched on Sunday, the branch said yesterday.

An interim committee with six members was elected on May 18 to represent the branch, which includes Uitsig, Cravenby and Parow.

The branch said in a statement it had structured itself into media recruitment, education and training and fundraising committees, arranged two

workshops to discuss the policy, history, strategy and negotiations policy of the ANC and opened a temporary office.

It had also distributed pamphlets in the area, held an information meeting and welcomed back the recently-released Wayne Malgas, Jeremy Veary, Ashrab Kariem and David Fortuin back into the community.

Sapa reports that an ANC branch representing the communities of Wattville and Actonville on the East Rand will also be launched on Sunday.

# Key planning talks ahead

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government is to meet separately from the ANC and the SA Communist Party later this month to discuss negotiations and plan strategies for the crucial months ahead.

No date has yet been set for the resumption of joint talks to remove obstacles to negotiation, although Mr Nelson Mandela said on his return to South Africa on Wednesday that he wanted to contact Mr De Klerk as soon as possible about another formal round of talks.

A spokesman for the President's office in Pretoria said yesterday: "If and when arrangements are made for another meeting, the media will be in-

formed if it is decided that the parties want publicity for the event."

The ANC announced yesterday that Mr Mandela would take a three-day break with his family after his exhausting six-week overseas tour.

He would travel to Bisho on Sunday to be presented with keys to a Mercedes Benz by workers, yesterday's statement said.

However, it will be back to business for the ANC deputy president next week when the national executive committee of the party meets in Johannesburg on July 23-24 to discuss a variety of issues.

Topics on the agenda would include Mr Mandela's 14-nation tour and "various burning questions facing the people of South Africa, including the question of negotiations", the ANC said yesterday.

A press statement on decisions taken at the NEC meeting would be issued on July 25.

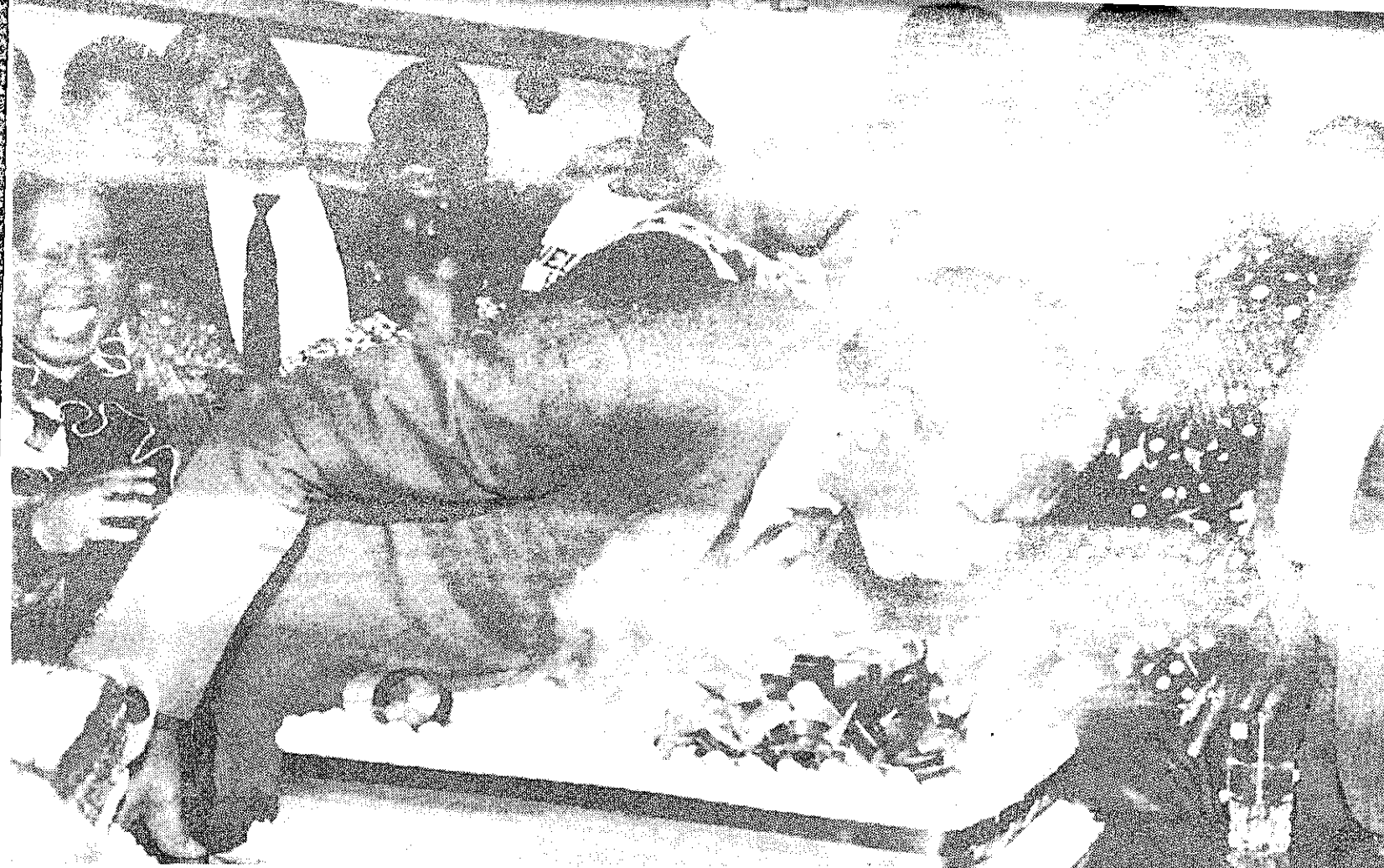
The ANC's political ally, the SA Communist Party, will hold its "coming out" congress in Johannesburg on July 29.

The congress will be used to introduce the SACP's internal leadership corps — a process that could produce some surprises.

The SACP is also expected to clarify its stand on negotiations and several key policy issues at its first public congress in almost four decades.

On July 30-31 it will be the turn of the government to grapple with the burning political questions of the day when the cabinet and "certain other political functionaries" hold a special planning session at a secret venue outside Pretoria.





Make a wish ... Family and friends look on as 72-year-old ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela puffs away at the candles on his birthday cake. Yesterday's occasion was particularly special — his first birthday as a free man in 30 years

Picture: AFP

Daily Mail Reporters

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will have no more than three days' rest before getting down to work after his gruelling six-week international tour.

From Monday he will preside over a two-day meeting of the full national executive committee of the ANC, due to meet on home ground for the second time since the Groote Schuur talks of early May.

Mandela may also interrupt his short rest to fulfil his intention of meeting State President FW de Klerk "as soon as possible".

A spokesman for the state president, Casper Venter, told *The Weekly Mail* that

## Three days to rest ... then it's back to business for Mandela

he was not aware of any communication from Mandela to De Klerk since his return.

But he added: "If this happens it will not necessarily be disclosed. The president must decide whether he wants to make it public or not."

According to Mandela, the sole purpose of his meeting De Klerk would be to discuss a future meeting between the government and the ANC.

The NEC meeting early next week ap-

pears to be wide-ranging. According to an ANC press statement, it will "deliberate on matters arising from the deputy president's international tour and the various burning questions facing the people of South Africa, including the question of negotiations".

Mandela was abroad when the NEC first met inside South Africa. Also out of the country during the last NEC meeting was ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, who returned from exile on the

Mandela flight from Maputo on Wednesday.

On his arrival in South Africa Mandela was careful to stress that policy — on matters such as a possible ceasefire — would be determined by the NEC and not by himself.

Before getting down to the serious business of the NEC, Mandela will travel to Bisho on Sunday where shop stewards of the National Union of Metalworkers will present him with the keys to a luxury car workers at their factory have manufactured specially for him. He will be accompanied by Numsa president Moses Mayekiso and Winnie Mandela and will return to Johannesburg on the same day.

w/ Mail 2nd 7/90

(11A)

## New branch as ANC <sup>11A</sup> focuses on East Rand

IN a build-up to its nationwide recruitment drive, the African National Congress has announced the opening of a new branch.

The communities of Wattville and Actonville on the East Rand will now have access to the organisation in their area, and the branch will have sufficient status to merit an executive committee.

It will be launched on Sunday, the ANC announced yesterday.

The organisation said this would be the first branch with an executive committee to be formed on the East Rand since the ANC was unbanned in February.

Sapa *Wattville 2017 24/7/90*

## Dogs sniffed the shrubs but no bombs planted

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

WHEN a dog sniffs a shrub, it's seldom news except when Nelson Mandela is expected nearby.

Speculation of a bomb threat rippled through Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday afternoon during the long wait for Mandela's arrival. Policemen and sniffer dogs moved systematically from plant stand to plant stand in the arrivals hall, searching for suspicious objects.

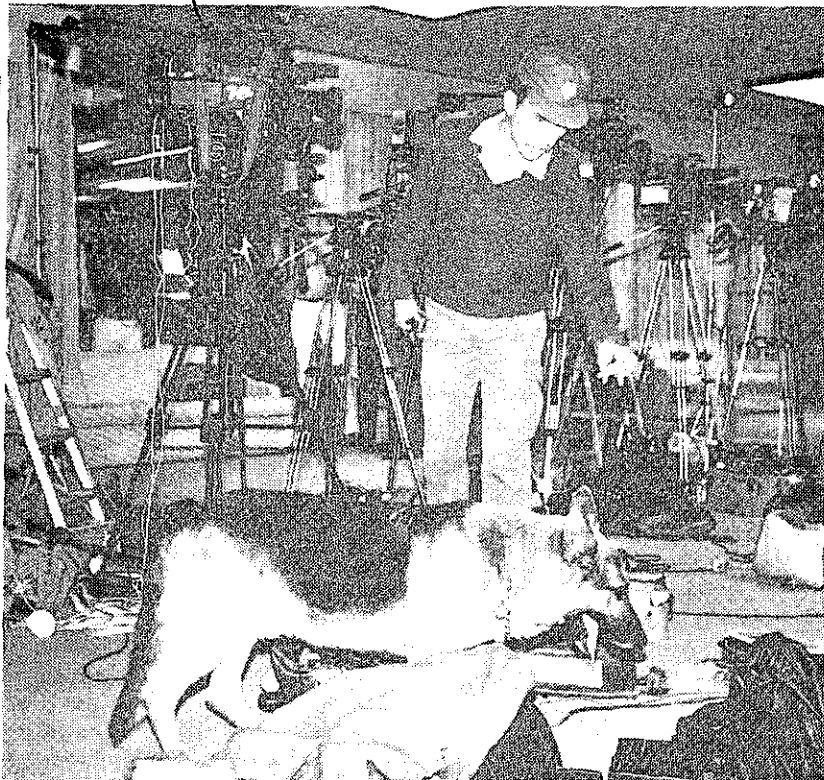
Up in the VIP lounge, the dogs were sniffing their way through the paraphernalia of television crews who had been cleared out of the room along with all other journalists.

It was the second systematic security check of the area in the four-hour wait for the Mandela entourage and an indication that in the spate of apparent right-wing bombings neither the police nor the African National Congress dismissed the possibility of an attempt on Mandela's life.

The searches were spurred on by a fax received at the ANC's PWV office, threatening: "Today you must prepare for your Blood River ... you had better bring a lot of first aid kits and even more body bags. He is going to arrive with a bang."

No bomb was found.

That the threat was not unexpected, was clear from the hordes of police in and around the airport building and from the forbidding demeanour of ANC offi-



Soek! But no bombs were found at Jan Smuts as Nelson Mandela arrived amidst massive security

Picture: AVIGAIL UZI

cial charged with security duties.

Apart from 59 African National Congress officials, Mandela family members and specially invited guests nobody other than police and journalists had access to the area used for the ANC deputy president's homecoming press conference.

While elsewhere in the airport work went on as usual, it did so in the pres-

ence of hundreds of police.

The crowds of activists and performing artists who had come to welcome Mandela and celebrate his 72nd birthday were kept outside the airport building by a solid line of police.

The row of luxury vehicles waiting to speed Mandela and his team off to Soweto was kept under constant police surveillance.

# Mandela, FW talks likely soon

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ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are likely to meet within days amid growing optimism that the ANC will suspend its armed struggle soon to clear the way for constitutional negotiations.

Informed sources say the ANC and the Government have reached agree-

ment on the most thorny problem of releasing political prisoners and allowing thousands of exiles to come home.

## Meeting

Mandela said on his return from abroad on Wednesday that he would try to meet De Klerk immediately to arrange a full meeting of the ANC and the Government.

*Sowetan*  
20/7/90  
Government sources are convinced De Klerk will be keen to see him as soon as possible.

The aim of such a Government/ANC meeting - in effect a second Groote Schuur summit - would be to clear the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

The main obstacle is the issue of prisoners and exiles which ANC and Government officials

have been thrashing out behind the scenes for the past few weeks.

Both sides have now indicated the problem has in essence been solved.

The remaining obstacles - as defined by the ANC - are chiefly the Government's security legislation and the continued State of Emergency in Natal.

Mandela made it clear on his return that the

ANC would not "suspend hostilities", as he put it, before all the obstacles were removed.

But Government sources are optimistic the remaining obstacles are "not insurmountable".

They point out that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen has already stated that some security laws will be scrapped.

*Sowetan Correspondent.*

# District Six action to start tomorrow

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
and JOHN YELD  
Staff Reporters

DEVELOPERS in District Six, including one planning a R20-million housing project in the heart of the area, are headed for a clash with the United Democratic Front and the Woodstock region of the African National Congress.

Spokesmen for the two organisations and the Western Cape Civic Movement said at a Press conference yesterday they would oppose plans by Ilco Homes to build 176 housing units, each costing more than R100 000, in District Six.

The Cape Technikon and Ummah Investments, which is building homes near Chapel Street, were also warned their developments would draw flak.

## First objective

But regional UDF vice-president Mr Dullah Omar said the first major objective was Ilco Homes's planned development.

He said: "Our organisations and members are prepared to do everything necessary. If it means our people will have to do something physically, it will be done."

Private land, such as that owned by Ilco Homes, would also be occupied during the UDF's campaign to highlight the housing crisis.

"But we are not telling people to go to areas where resi-



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, the Argus

**HANDS OFF!** Facing the media at a Press conference where plans to stop a R20-million development in District Six were announced, are from left: former District Six resident Mrs Naz Ebrahim, United Democratic Front (Western Cape) chairman Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, Mr Dullah Omar, Ms Zorah Ebrahim, Mr Wilson Sedina, chairman of the Western Cape United Civic Association, and Mr Siraj Desai of the Woodstock branch of the African National Congress.

dents have established homes and we are not telling them to move into gardens or backyards."

Mr Omar said the three organisations did not see District Six as a coloured area. Historically it had been a mixed suburb, but the needs and desires of those moved from there had to be taken into account.

"We are totally opposed to District Six being developed

into an elite area. We want no Group Areas Act development."

Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, regional UDF chairman, said the campaign against the Ilco Homes development would start with a picket in Woodstock tomorrow, to be followed by a picket at Ilco Homes's Cape Town offices on Monday.

He appealed to all "progressive people" to show their op-

position to the company's plans when it started building in District Six next week.

"We don't know when they will start building. They won't tell us."

Unoccupied land and certain private land in other areas of the Western Cape would also be occupied, including Stellenbosch.

Father Basil van Rensburg, who was parish priest in District Six in February 1966 when it was declared a white group area, said 50 000 people had been forced to move.

## P W Botha

They had been promised suitable, alternative housing by Mr P W Botha, then Minister of Community Development, "but that did not happen".

Records of the worst removals had been kept "securely under lock and key" so that these residents would have a claim on the authorities. He believed certain Community Development officials should be brought to trial for their actions at the time.

Father Van Rensburg also called on residents already in District Six to assist those returning as squatters with facilities such as electricity and water.

Mr Omar said about seven million people were squatting in South Africa and the Urban Foundation had estimated that by 2 000 at least four million housing units would have had to be built.

# Natal bus ambush: Top ANC team sent to probe

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban (11A)  
THE African National Congress is sending two senior members of the organisation to Durban today for a full briefing on Wednesday's Inanda bus tragedy.

And officials of the organisation have warned that if the government does not act to ensure such incidents ended, the ANC will consider a resumption of the armed struggle.

Twenty-six people were killed and more than 60 injured when a busload of commuters from Ndwedwe ran into a pre-dawn ambush on the main road to Durban.

The tragedy has been widely condemned as the worst single incident in the continuing civil conflict in Natal. According to residents, armed vigilantes clubbed, stoned and shot some of those who survived the crash.

The two ANC members sent to investigate the affair have been identified only as members of the joint working group set up after discussions with the government in May.

Terro Lekota, Southern Natal convenor for the ANC, said yesterday the two will report to the group — and then the government will be challenged on whether it is prepared to meet its obligation to prevent violence in the area.

If not — or if it does not act to ensure such atrocities never recur — then the ANC will have no choice but to consider reverting to the armed struggle.

Lekota said yesterday the ANC believes anti-ANC vigilantes from a squatter settlement near the site of the crash were responsible for the tragedy and that it was part of the continuing Natal violence.

Meanwhile the number of interpretations of what caused the tragedy is growing.

The latest is contained in a statement by kwaZulu's minister of police and president of Inkatha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said according to his police reports the main Inanda road had been blocked the night before the crash by "comrades" who had put a scrap metal car across the road and stoned buses going through the area.

Buthelezi said early on Wednesday morning a fully loaded taxi was driving on that section of the road, followed by a bus full of passengers. The taxi collided with the scrap car as did the bus and they both overturned down the embankment.

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Buthelezi's statement completely contradicts the version held so far by the ANC — that residents of Mshayazafe, a squatter camp in Inanda, were lying in ambush for a bus from the ANC-supporting area of Amaoti when a bus from Ndwedwe came past, and the vigilantes attacked it in the mistaken belief they were attacking ANC supporters.

Police, accused by the ANC of complicity in the incident, a charge they have denied, have released a statement that none of the bodies — including that of the driver — on which post mortems have so far been performed, have any bullet wounds.

This would tend to support the view that it might not have been bullets that caused the driver to lose control.

However, most of the survivors of the crash said yesterday they heard shooting either before or after the crash, or both.

By GAVIN EVANS

KEEP your hands off the boer republics — we will not ban the communists, we will destroy them.

This was the ominous message from Boere Weerstandsbeweging leader Andrew Ford to SA Communist Party Secretary General Joe Slovo on Radio 702's *Talk at Ten* show late on Wednesday night.

Ford was one of about 30 callers ranging from the far left to the far right who managed to get through to Slovo and fellow SACP leader Raymond Mhlaba, in a show believed to have been heard by over 50 000 people.

Robbie said the SACP was the first political organisation to accept 702's invitation to appear on the show.

The two-hour slot provided the first opportunity for SACP leaders to communicate directly with a mass audience, without the filter of a journalist's or television interviewer's bias.

Another prominent Boere Weerstandsbeweging member, Eddie von Maltitz, asked how Slovo would stop

# 'Rooi gevaar' beams across a nation

"racial venom" in South Africa when "nuts like Chris Hani" were in the country.

Slovo replied: "Well, I don't believe Chris Hani is a nut. I believe he is one of the great leaders of the African National Congress, and, by the way, also of the Communist Party."

This is the first time Hani has been publicly identified as a SACP leader, while Mhlaba was introduced as being a member of the party's central committee for the first time.

Slovo accepted that criticism against "existing socialism" was often valid, but this did not necessarily mean that the alternative worked: "If a tool is used badly, it is the fault of the workman, and not the tool."

The SACP general secretary said the ANC and the party had no desire to lose the skills of the whites, that all whites who accepted a non-racial

democracy would be welcome to remain, and acknowledged that incentives would have to be found to ensure this. He also stressed that the party did not see nationalisation as an "all-purpose gimmick to solve economic problems", and viewed it rather as one possible way of ensuring redistribution.

It would not be in the interests of a socialist state to create economic chaos, he said. "Therefore, the realities existing in South Africa will have to be taken into account."

Slovo said the SACP's July 29 rally at Soccer City near Soweto would re-launch it as a legal party, and that communists would declare themselves at this event and eventually all would be open about their membership.

When a rightwing caller complained that it was the "money powers" which were keeping him, as a rightwinger,

from sharing in the country's fortunes, Slovo replied: "I am blaming the kind of people you are beginning to blame."

During the show, Slovo and Mhlaba explained a policy on a number of issues which had not previously been spelt out to a South African audience.

Asked about freedom of religion, Mhlaba said his party was "clear on this — there will be freedom of worship in South Africa".

Neither of the SACP leaders referred to communism at any stage during their two hours on the air, and instead spoke of socialism as the party's goal.

Mhlaba said the SACP was the first and only non-racial party for nearly three decades in South Africa, the first to advance full democracy and majority rule, and was the "father of black trade unionism" in South Africa.

"We are really pioneers of many things which everybody today accepts

as bread-and-butter politics."

Responding to a Jewish questioner who asked how Slovo could reconcile his Jewish background with Mandela's support for PLO leader Yasser Arafat, the SACP leader said he believed he represented the "basic positive ethic of Jewish culture".

"I believe that Mandela's view of the Middle East and the relationship he has with other liberation organisations are in the best interests of the Jewish state ultimately, and I do not believe, and Mandela does not believe, that the current policy of suppressing the aspirations of the Arab inhabitants of Israel is something which is going to be to the benefit of the Jewish people in Israel or any other part of the world."

Addressing the land question, Slovo said future historians would regard it as one of the greatest outrages of the century that 87 percent of the land is restricted to "a small minority of the population, and based on race".

He added, however, that there would not be wholesale confiscation of land.



Joe Slovo ... whites who can accept a non-racial democracy may remain in SA

II Knoesen. Among the demands are a R450 minimum wage for domestic workers. The union also insisted on a 40-hour working week, decent accommodation, maternity benefits, UIF and pension benefits. Sadu also wants the Labour Relations Act, Wage Act, and Basic Condi-

Yesterday, Rivaonia resident Judy van Dam contacted *The Weekly Mail* to say that men in a midibus had summoned her if she refused to take part in the domestic worker and threatened to kill her. She had also heard of "widespread intimidation" in the nearby suburb of Morningside.

By DREW FORREST  
DEATH threats were used by men in a midibus to force domestic workers from northern suburbs homes to attend a protest march in central Johannesburg yesterday, a resident told *The Weekly Mail*. SA Domestic Workers' Union general secretary Florine de Villiers confirmed that, at a general meeting after the march,

POLICE experts investigating the site of Tuesday's bomb blast in East London have determined that two mines — not one as previously believed — caused the explosion. *Witness 2017-221790*  
The second mine has been identified as a PT Mark-1, of Czechoslovakian origin. The first one, identified on Wednesday, was a Soviet-made TM-57 (Soviet)

The ORCC wishes to warn the Bophuthatswana Government that the visit by the Germans should not be misconstrued as a *de facto* recognition of the government. "With 2017-221790"

PHUTHATSWANA'S official spokesman Seopaseangwe party — at a meeting on Saturday at Sun City, near Johannesburg — will pressurise a group of man parliamentarians visiting Bophuthatswana to sever all ties with the German MPs have been on a fact-

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# Nats and ANC must tell us their plans

W/ Mail 2017-21790 (11A)

**N**OT long ago, the National Party and the African National Congress didn't want to be seen in the same country; now they may land up in the same government.

To many, the idea that the two will agree to share power in a joint government may seem bizarre. After all, neither are talking or behaving as if they plan to rule together.

But suggestions that they will do just that are cropping up in the writings of journalists and commentators and in political gossip. Some claim they have already agreed to rule together.

Analysts and reporters are writing about joint rule because politicians are talking about it — particularly some in the ANC.

Several ANC leaders have talked publicly about joint government, often in little-noticed throw-away lines, and ANC constitutional thinkers have argued that "consociationalism" (which could mean joint rule) could be acceptable for an "interim" period.

While ANC rhetoric and strategies continue to stress "the struggle", privately, some ANC officials are saying that a form of joint rule — for an interim period only — may be inevitable.

If it does happen, it probably won't be before an election to choose a non-racial parliament. If it happened before then, either the Nats would have to concede the ANC's demand for an "interim government" or the ANC would have to agree to help run a white-controlled system. Neither seem likely to do that.

A deal without an election would also raise justifiable fears that they were conspiring to exclude all other parties from power.

More likely is an agreement that, after a vote, the two would — if the ANC won a majority — agree to form a coalition to run the country for, say, five years.

A joint government would then enjoy majority support. Minority parties would still have the right to compete for support and win power at the polls.

In theory, a deal is possible. The Nats have been arguing for "power-sharing" and a minority role in government for some time. It would offer them a way of conceding majority rule and retaining some hold on government, at least for a time.

The ANC might accept it because it knows it cannot overthrow the white establishment and will have to live with it for some time. Some of its leaders also concede that it does not yet have the strength or the skilled manpower to run the country on its own.

Some commentators also argue that joint rule may be essential if we are to move to a stable democracy.

They believe a democracy won't

disputes through — politics. Tolerating opposition and allowing other parties to compete for power is not a tradition.

We may only create a democratic culture if no party is strong enough to run the country on its own. Joint rule might force parties to live with each other because they have to.

But a Nat-ANC deal would hold great dangers.

In some other societies, pacts between previously warring politicians have been a route to democracy.

But those societies weren't polarised into racial blocs. And those who made the pacts were usually able to sell

the deal to their supporters and the rest of society.

Here, we are polarised. The Nats might find it difficult to convince whites to back joint rule — the ANC would find it impossible to convince its angry youth activists.

And neither party is the sole representative of their constituency. The Nats face white competition, and the ANC black competition, from left and right. Both might rapidly lose support when joint

government forces whites and blacks to compromise.

Since a pact might be rejected, there are pressures on both sides to negotiate one in secret and tell their camps about it later.

This may be what is happening now. The Nats talk vaguely about a "new South Africa" and hope whites will follow.

The ANC trots out all the slogans which have kept its constituency together, discourages debates about strategies and hopes that its followers won't notice the compromises when they are made.

This is not unusual. Pacts in other countries which have led to a democracy have also been negotiated in secret and sold later.

But that may not be possible here. If ANC followers in particular are only told about a compromise once it has been made, they may feel betrayed — and do something about it.

Either the deal would be derailed or the two parties would have to use force to preserve it — derailing democracy in the process.

If a pact is to take us further towards democracy here, two things may be essential. The Nats and the ANC may have to tell their followers where they are heading — and to start behaving as if they are headed there.

If they do, they will probably lose some support. But losing it because they told their followers where they were going may be far less dangerous than losing it because they didn't.

They may also have to accept that the days of winning support through unifying slogans alone are over.

The Nats know many whites



**WORMS  
EYE**  
Steven  
Friedman



Mr. Timp (11A)  
20/7/90

## ANC to 'take steps on Moscow Circus

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's representative in the Soviet Union would "take steps" to deal with the Moscow Circus's proposed 12-week visit to South Africa over Christmas, ANC information official Mr Tom Sebina said from Lusaka yesterday.

It was confirmed this week that a contract to bring the circus on a tour of SA was signed last month between two directors of the circus and a new company, LewEnd.

A percentage of the profits would be given to a fund to pay for the printing of school textbooks for disadvantaged schools, according to 7th Avenue Communications director Mr Niki Moore, who is handling the publicity for the tour.

The two directors of the company are Australian Mr Lew Meathchem and Mr Roodie Enders, a German.

Mr Meathchem was involved with the Rand Show for 10 years and formerly managed an Australian circus, while Mr Enders is an impresario and a former Russian circus manager, Mr Moore said.

# De Klerk challenge on ANC 'seizing power'

TOS WENTZEL  
on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has challenged controversial remarks by the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff, Mr Chris Hani, as contradicting the government and ANC commitment to stability and peace.

Mr De Klerk was quick to react to a speech in Umtata in which Mr Hani said it was still possible that the ANC might have to "seize power" if the government appeared not to be prepared to share or shift power.

He said the release of some political detainees was because of the wars his armed wing of the ANC had waged against the government. He attributed the Church Street, Pretoria, Sasol 2 and Voortrekkerhoogte bombings, among others, to the ANC.

He said the struggle still went on and that Umkhonto we Sizwe was still deploying cadres inside South Africa.

Mr De Klerk said in a statement in Pretoria it was "apparent that aspects of Mr Hani's speech militate against the words and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute".

"I will take up the matter further with the ANC during the imminent discussions."

## COMMON COMMITMENT

The Groote Schuur Minute said the government and the ANC agreed on a common commitment towards the resolution of the climate of violence and intimidation "from whatever quarter".

They also committed themselves to stability and a peaceful process of negotiations.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, who was one of those at the Groote Schuur talks, said today Mr Hani's statements seemed to confirm that the ANC was not trying to get a democracy going but was playing a power game.

Until there was a real commitment to a democratic and peaceful future there would not be any progress.

● Mr Nelson Mandela is to take a three-day break to rest after his six-week overseas tour.

Sapa reports that he will spend the time with his family. On Sunday he travels to Bisho to be presented by workers with the keys for a Mercedes-Benz.

The ANC announced that the national executive committee would meet for two days from Monday to discuss Mr Mandela's tour.

"Various burning questions facing the people of South Africa" would also be discussed.

# ANC, UDF to block District 6 development

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Developers in District Six, including one planning a R20 million housing project for the area, are headed for a clash with the United Democratic Front and the Woodstock region of the African National Congress.

The two organisations and the Western Cape Civic Movement said at a press conference yesterday that they would oppose plans by Ilco Homes to build 176

housing units in District Six.

The Cape Technikon and Ummah Investments, which is building homes for coloureds, were also warned that their developments would draw flak.

Regional UDF vice-president Dullah Omar said: "Our organisations and members are prepared to do everything necessary. If it means our people will have to do something physically, it will be done."

He praised BP for delaying plans to develop District Six.

He said the three organisations did not see District Six as a coloured area. Historically, it had been a mixed suburb.

"We are totally opposed to District Six being developed into an elite area. We want no Group Areas Act development."

Another UDF regional executive member, Willie Hofmeyr, said the organisation would also protest against a smaller development in Chappel Street and the expansion of the Cape Technikon.

Father Basil van Rensburg, the parish priest in District Six in February 1966 when it was declared a white group area, told the press conference that 50 000 people had been forced to move.

They had been promised suitable, alternative housing by R.W. Botha, then Minister of Community Development, "but that did not happen".

Picket protests are planned for tomorrow and Monday as part of a month of action.

# Impromptu Left-far Right debate

By Guy Jepson

Radio 702 inadvertently hosted the country's first public debate between leaders of the Left and Right on Wednesday night when South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo made a guest appearance on the show "Talk at Ten".

First, Eddie von Maltitz, general secretary of the paramilitary, extreme right-wing Boerweerstandsbeweging (BWB) and then BWB president Andrew Ford telephoned in.

Identifying himself only as "Eddie", Mr von Maltitz said that Mr Slovo, as former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, had planned to murder many people.

Mr Slovo asked him to place himself in the position of a black man in South Africa in 1961.

"You tell me if you as a white man were faced in the country at any moment of time with that kind of condition, if you had the guts you would take up a weapon. And every civilised person in the world, white or black would do that in those kinds of conditions."

"Well, isn't that strange," Mr von Maltitz retorted. "That's why we as the far Right are picking up the guns to fight because we are not satisfied to have people necklacing 800 people with tyres, burning them and shouting freedom."

Mr Slovo said the far Right were not fighting

against the necklace, they were fighting against any kind of transformation of society.

The intervention of Andrew Ford was a little more perfunctory.

"I got no questions to ask Joe Slovo, I've got something to tell him," the BWB president said.

"He is responsible for the maiming of our Boere people and I would like to tell him also to keep his hands off the Boere republics."

"We as the Boere nation will not allow communists in our Boer republics," he said.

● The SA Communist Party has received permission to hold a public rally in Johannesburg at which it will present its leadership. — Sapa.

# UDF has more backing than Inkatha, say analysts

MARITZBURG — The level of violence in Natal's virtual civil war has subsided significantly in spite of a bus ambush which killed 26 people on Wednesday, officials and other analysts say.

The African National Congress appears to have scored major advances over Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in the eastern province's battle-scarred townships.

Major Kobus Vorster, estimates that the ANC-allied United Democratic Front may command between up to 70 percent of support among blacks in the townships whereas Inkatha was unchallenged before major fighting began in 1987.

"Inkatha has the bigger slabs of land but the UDF has the people — all the big townships are UDF controlled. It's been very tragic in lives lost but in political terms very successful for the UDF."

Radley Keys of the Democratic Party, which monitors Natal unrest, agreed the UDF appeared to dominate urban centres while In-

katha was strong where tribal values flourished.

They and other sources said the fighting, which has claimed at least 3 000 lives since 1987, has been greatly reduced since President de Klerk sent in troops in April this year.

Colonel Mike Coughlin of 32 Battalion, which operates in the Maritzburg area — the so-called "killing fields" of Natal — described the situation as generally stable, punctuated by sporadic murders and arson.

## Cautioned

Brigadier Jac Buchner, Police Commissioner for the kwaZulu, said about 15 people were being killed every weekend — the worst time for violence — compared with up to 50 at the beginning of this year.

"People are withdrawing from violence. They are sick and tired of it," he said.

Officials cautioned the respite could be temporary.

"Although stable at the moment, one little inci-

dent could set off a wave of violence. It's very tense. It's like keeping the lid on a pot," said Major Vorster.

Fears of renewed violence grew on Wednesday after unidentified gunmen shot at a bus which left the road outside Durban. Twenty-six people were killed and scores hurt in the attack, which was condemned by both Inkatha and the ANC.

Meanwhile, independent analysts and security officials say 3 000 troops have helped impose an uneasy peace.

"The state of emergency has most definitely assisted us in curtailing violence. It would have an adverse effect if lifted too early," said Major Vorster.

So far the UDF-ANC alliance and Inkatha, constantly blaming each other for the slaughter, have not managed to get together to resolve the situation. Analysts fear frustration is building among poverty-stricken millions because of the additional suffering imposed by the conflict. — Sapa-Reuter.



*APR 26/7/90 (114)*  
**BLOW OUT . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela, surrounded by his family and friends, celebrates his first birthday as a free man in 27 years by blowing out the candles on his 72nd birthday cake this week.

De Klerk responds to ANC military leader

11A  
20/7/90

# 'Seize power' threat slated

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has criticised ANC military chief Chris Hani for breaching the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute, the document aimed at removing obstacles to negotiation between the Government and the ANC.

Mr de Klerk last night stepped into the growing rumpus over a speech made in Umtata on Wednesday by Mr Hani in which he said the ANC might have to seize power if the Government did not shift or share it.

Indicating the serious light in which the Government views Mr Hani's remarks, Mr de Klerk promised to take the matter further "in imminent discussions with the ANC leadership".

Mr de Klerk said in a statement Mr Hani's remarks "militated against the words and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute". The joint minute drawn up after the ANC and the Government met in May committed both sides to seek a political solution peacefully.

## 'Power game'

The President's statement is the first official acknowledgment he will meet the ANC leadership soon.

Nelson Mandela said on Wednesday he would seek a meeting with Mr de Klerk within days to arrange a fuller meeting between the Government and the ANC.

Mr Hani's remark in Umtata — coming on the eve of talks with the Government about the possibility of the ANC suspending the armed strug-

## Bus man Joe is Joeys' triple king 'o the road



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### 'Power game'

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Mr Hani's remark in Umtata — coming on the eve of talks with the Government about the possibility of the ANC suspending the armed struggle — has cast some doubts on the ANC's negotiating credibility.

In an earlier reaction, Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said Mr Hani's comments were most unfortunate. His statement "seems to confirm they are not trying to get a democracy going, but are playing a power game".

Addressing about 3 000 students at the University of Transkei, Mr Hani said the unbanning of several political organisations and the release of certain political detainees was victory on the part of the struggle, not goodwill on the Government's part.

He said it was because of the wars his military wing had waged against the Government. He attributed the Sasol 2, Church Street (Pretoria) and Voortrekkerhoogte bombings, among others, to the ANC.

### Sabre-rattling

"The struggle still goes on. We are still deploying our cadres inside South Africa and that's no secret."

Though the Government is showing concern at the tone of Mr Hani's comments, some political observers believe his remarks may just be sabre-rattling to reassure ANC militants before the ANC formally suspends hostilities — in exchange for the release of prisoners, the return of exiles and other concessions.

Dr van der Merwe said: "It is a most unfortunate statement to make because what is needed now is that each party should make an act of faith in negotiations. Until such time as we get real commitment to a democratic and peaceful future, we won't really make any progress."

He said it was difficult to say whether Mr Hani's statement was out of line. So many conflicting ANC statements had been made lately that it was impossible to discern the ANC line, he added.

Nevertheless, the Minister said he was — on balance — still optimistic about the success of negotiations.

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NELSON MANDELA

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11A

# Dignity is not enough

Nelson Mandela, like Jan Smuts before him, has clearly enjoyed his extended appearance on the world stage. Perhaps, like Smuts, he will find himself longing for European halls of state and the UN when he finally begins to address the huge problems that await him at home.

The time is fast approaching when Mandela must come back to earth. The political honeymoon cannot go on indefinitely. Mandela will cease to be an icon and become a man again. The process will surely begin when he touches down at Jan Smuts.

Mandela's foreign journey was a media triumph. Four prominent American analysts were asked by the SA Institute of International Affairs to assess Mandela's US tour. All responded positively to Mandela and each highlighted his success in winning the favour of the American people. But there were qualifications.

Robert Rotberg compared Mandela to Winston Churchill and argued that Mandela advanced the cause of the ANC "immeasurably" as a result of his address to Congress. Rotberg also says Mandela's softened attitude toward nationalisation was received favourably by many newspapers.

Robert Price, of the University of California, says Mandela has laid the foundation for a "special relationship between the US and SA in a post-apartheid future," but he is also sceptical. He says the response to Mandela was not based on a sympathy for the situation in SA, but was rather a "reflection on the problems of an American society (which) knows little about SA and even less about the ANC."

This is indirectly backed by Cedric Suzman, of the Southern Centre for International Studies in Atlanta, who points to Mandela's popularity among black Americans. Suzman notes that 38 predominantly black universities have awarded Mandela honorary doctorates.

Michael Clough, of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, puts Mandela on the same plane as Gorbachev, Havel of Czechoslovakia and Poland's Walesa.

Clough argues that Mandela set out on his tour with five goals and achieved them:

- Preventing the lifting of sanctions;
- Enhancing the credibility of the ANC by dispelling the notion of the organisation as Marxist or terrorist;
- Raising funds for the ANC;
- Strengthening his own political position in relation to President FW de Klerk; and
- Reassuring Western investors that post-apartheid SA will provide the location for future investment.

But *The New York Times* wondered whe-

ther the maintenance of sanctions would not "undercut a leader committed to change," thereby making De Klerk's task more difficult. Mandela's tributes to Gaddafi, Arafat and Castro drew this sharp response from the same paper: "If there is no responsibility to assert human dignity except on one's own turf, why should Americans be any more involved in judging SA than Mandela is in judging Libya's terrorism?"

Perhaps the nature of Mandela's success in the US is better analysed by a more detached British sensibility. *The Spectator*, in a leading article on July 7, wrote: "Here was modern mass politics in all its superficiality, the continuation of show business by other means. One would hardly have guessed that the political and economic destinies of 30m people were at stake: it was the triumph of packaging over product."

"It is possible," *The Spectator* noted, after expressing grave disquiet at Mandela's thinking on economics, "that leaders do not always mean what they say: but until they reach power, we have nothing else by which to judge them."

A more chilling interpretation is provided by Bill Jamieson, influential City columnist on *The Daily Telegraph*, reacting to Mandela's performance at a Commonwealth Institute dinner with senior London merchant bankers, including representatives from Warburgs and Rothschilds.

"The physical exhaustion of Mandela was



apparent," writes Jamieson. "But most troubling of impressions taken away was the evident confusion over economic thinking and the extent of nationalisation envisaged . . . Growth is the crowbar without which politics is rhetoric . . . (and) it appals everyone with any degree of goodwill for the new SA that its fate may be foredoomed by economic nostrums that have so spectacularly crashed to bankruptcy.

"But," continues Jamieson, "within the ANC, a body so riven by faction and dispute

that it is by no means clear whether Mandela speaks with overwhelming authority, this penny has still to fall."

And there is the essence of the difficulties which now confront Nelson Mandela. He is fast approaching the point where he will have to clear up the vast confusion; decide which of the many contradictory ANC statements in fact represent its policy; stop equivocating on the armed struggle and economic policy; become a tactician rather than a rhetorician; and demonstrate both that he is indeed the leader of the ANC and has an awareness that leadership means risks.

It is precisely because of Mandela's remarkable stature that the country has, in a sense, been on hold since his departure. Now the image must be translated into the hard choices of practical politics, or it will diminish rapidly and be of no use to anyone.

As one English analyst has noted: "The trouble is that dignity is not enough . . ." ■

# Azapo, ANC open hotline over discord

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Soweto

20/7/90

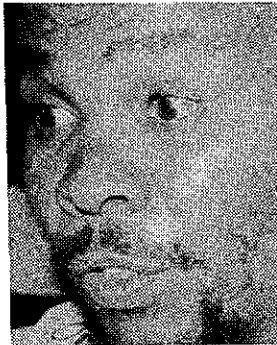
By SY MAKARINGE

**THE ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation this week agreed to establish channels of communications to iron out their differences.**

This follows allegations of harassment against the family of the late Azapo leader, Mr Muntu Myeza.

The two movements resolved at a meeting on Wednesday night to respect and tolerate each other's political viewpoints and the right to organise and mobilise without "having to be interfered with".

The meeting was attended by, among others,



**MUNTU MYEZA**

Mr Monwabisi Duna, chairman of Azapo's Soweto branch, Mr Stanley Nkosi of the ANC and Mr Dan Montsisi, executive member of the UDF.

It was a sequel to alleged incidents at the weekend in which youths chanting ANC slogans threatened to kill Myeza's

family and burn his Diepkloof house.

Several girls who attended Myeza's funeral on Saturday were allegedly assaulted by the youths for defying a call to stay away.

Abusive graffiti was also sprayed on a wall near Myeza's home.

In a statement released by Azapo yesterday, the organisations said the Myeza family should acknowledge the fact that the Azapo leader was not assassinated by the ANC nor was the family under threat.

Azapo also undertook to destroy a list of names of all people who were allegedly involved in the incidents.

# State, UDF plan talks on land-occupation tension

By MICHAEL MORRIS, <sup>17/6/82</sup>  
Political Correspondent <sup>20/7/80</sup>

PLANS are under way for talks between the government and the United Democratic Front to ease tension over the campaign to occupy vacant white land.

An appointment is being arranged for a meeting between Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hennis Kriel and UDF co-presidents Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Kriel's office confirmed today.

A spokeswoman said an invitation to talks had been faxed to Mrs Sisulu and Mr Gumede yesterday. Mrs Sisulu called back later in the day and an appointment was now being set up.

The land campaign, endorsed "in principle" by the African National Congress, has yet to get under way in District Six. The UDF has indicated that details of the campaign are still being discussed. No date has been set for the start of the protest.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has also given its support to the campaign, and has criticised the government for failing to address the problem.

Mr Kriel has vowed that he will not allow the illegal occupation of property and has warned that the campaign is an "invitation to confrontation".

However, he moved swiftly yesterday to resolve the confrontation through talks.

It is not yet clear when the meeting with Mrs Sisulu and Mr Gumede will take place.

It has also emerged that the squatter crisis was high on the agenda at a routine meeting between Mr Kriel and the four provincial administrators yesterday.

Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring said it was a pity that the UDF and ANC had chosen to target District Six for its campaign as it was not an area zoned for informal settlement.

● The Democratic Party spokesman on black affairs, Mr Jan van Eck, has warned that the demand for land for informal housing and squatting would increase as a result of the suspension of subsidies for first-time black homeowners.

He said the fact that the funds had run out could not have come at a worse time.

● District Six action starts tomorrow —  
page 4.

# Talks status hinges on ANC meeting

13/09/20/7790 (11A)  
A CRUCIAL meeting of the ANC national executive committee (NEC) on Monday and Tuesday next week will decide whether there will be a breakthrough in removing obstacles to negotiations.

The NEC will consider a revised report by the political offences working group which proposes a phased release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

Both government and ANC members of the working group have expressed confidence that the revised report will be accepted by the NEC, but much depends on ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

In drawing up their first report, members of the working committee kept in close touch with senior ANC and government members including Mandela and President F W de Klerk. When it was produced the expectation was that it would be acceptable to both sides.

However, while Mandela was overseas other ANC NEC members added new proposals, many unacceptable to government.

At a meeting of the steering committee set up to facilitate communication be-

MIKE ROBERTSON

tween government and the ANC last week, members agreed on recommendations to be made to their principals on ways and means to resolve the problem.

The steering committee is understood to have proposed that some of the additional ANC proposals be added to the original report, and that a list of matters on which no agreement could be reached also be attached.

Government has since accepted the revised report, which was discussed by the Cabinet committee on negotiations which met for several hours on Wednesday.

Both sides are abiding by an agreement not to release details of the working group report, but one sticking point understood to have arisen is whether international or local experts should be appointed to a panel to decide on the release of offenders found guilty of serious crimes.

Government is strongly against adding an international element to agreements on

□ To Page 2

## Meeting 13/09/20/7790 (11A)

removing obstacles to negotiations.

Another sticking point — particularly from an ANC perspective — has been the proposal that the timing of the release of prisoners be linked to a decrease in violence.

The NEC's decision on the revised report will determine the date of the next Groote Schuur-type meeting between government and the organisation.

Government believes that unless it is able to report progress there is no reason to hold such a meeting.

This has been conveyed to the ANC, and some government officials are interpreting Mandela's public call for an early

second meeting as an expression of confidence on his part that the revised working group report will be accepted by the NEC.

Should the ANC accept the report, it will then leave security legislation and the continuing state of emergency in Natal as the last two remaining obstacles identified by the ANC as preventing it from taking part in negotiations.

Mandela said on returning from his international tour that he hoped to see De Klerk within the next few days. But the schedules of both men would appear to rule out a meeting before next Thursday.

● Comment Page 8

□ From Page 1

# Negotiations on District 6 begin

4  
Cape Town 21/7/90  
11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and PETER DENNEHY

NEGOTIATIONS over land use in District Six are starting on numerous levels after the United Democratic Front's announcement this week that it will erect shacks in the virtually empty suburb.

So far the government, the provincial authorities and the private owners of District Six land have all expressed a wish to meet the UDF to discuss its proposed land-occupation protest.

Mr Alfons Meyeridricks, the Cape director of Iico Homes which owns 3.5ha of open land in District Six, said yesterday that an approach had been made to set up a meeting with the UDF to discuss the situation. A UDF spokesman confirmed this.

There was no dispute between his company and the United Democratic Front, Mr Meyeridricks said,

APR. 7th 21/7/80

## New hands for injured priest

HARARE. The Liberation Support Committee yesterday said medical reports on Anglican priest Mr Michael Lapsley, who was injured in a letter bomb blast earlier this year, were "most positive".

They said Mr Lapsley, who is in Australia, had recently been fitted with bifocal glasses, which had greatly improved the sight in his left eye and it was expected that he would soon be able to see well enough to read. Mr Lapsley had been advised to have two artificial hands fitted, rather than have surgery to reconstruct his hands or transplant toes. — Sapa

# Inkatha 'planned hostel attack'

<sup>CAP 7/75</sup> <sup>21-7/90</sup>  
JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu has accused Inkatha of trying to orchestrate an attack on hostel residents in the Vaal Triangle this weekend, in retaliation for the July 2 worker stayaway which Inkatha had opposed.

Cosatu said in a statement yesterday that hostel residents in the Vaal area had reported visits by Inkatha leaders, who allegedly told them to resign from Cosatu and the ANC and join Inkatha.

They were also allegedly told to pay R40 to attend an Inkatha conference at Ulundi, and to attend an Inkatha rally today. The rally was subsequently postponed to tomorrow.

Cosatu said they had approached Inkatha for an assurance that an attack on Vaal residents would not be launched. "Such an assurance has in fact now been given by Inkatha through their lawyers," they added.

Commenting on the Cosatu statement from Ulundi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused Cosatu of "yet again embarking on a self-serving propaganda exercise aimed at discrediting Inkatha".

To claim that an "attack" was planned in Ulundi was "simply laughable", he said. — Sapa

# The PLO's a buddy, not the IRA - ANC

Stc 21/7/90 (11A) SE

THE African National Congress regards the PLO, but not the IRA, as a fraternal organisation, says Frene Ginwale of the ANC.

Speaking in the Johannesburg office of the ANC, Ms Ginwale admits frankly to the ANC's fraternal ties with governments and organisations viewed with suspicion from Western capitals.

They include the governments of Libya and Cuba and, by implication, their heads of state, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and President Fidel Castro.

Organisations which qualify as fraternal include the PLO — whose leader, Yasser Arafat, has been embraced as a brother by the ANC leader Nelson Mandela — Swapo in Namibia, the MPLA in Angola, and Frelimo in Mozambique.

## Controversy

Ms Ginwale, who is based in London, is on a visit to South Africa. Her visit comes in the wake of the controversy in Britain and Ireland triggered by Mr Mandela's advice while in Dublin that the British government and the IRA should settle their differences at the negotiating table.

"We have received help and support from the governments of Libya and Cuba," she says. She adds of the PLO, Swapo, Frelimo and the MPLA: "We have been allies in different periods of struggle. We have always been friends. These are our comrades in arms."

The UN, she continues, recognises the ANC as the "voice" of the South African people, just as it recognises the PLO as the "voice" of the Palestinian people and as it recognised Swapo as the "sole and authentic" representative of the Namibian people.

The IRA does not have the same sta-

PATRICK LAURENCE

tus, she says, distancing the ANC from the IRA and dismissing attempts by some right-wing politicians in Britain to link the ANC and the IRA, as misinformed and/or mischievous.

She recalls that Britain's Conservative Party MP Andrew Hunter alleged in the House of Commons about three years ago that there was an alliance between the IRA and the ANC and that Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, undertook to investigate the charges.

A report on the investigation was not published in spite of an ANC request for the findings to be made public, she says. "Quite clearly there is no substance to these allegations. Had there been any, we would no longer have a London office."

Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the ANC national executive and the former head of intelligence of its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is as emphatic that there are no ties between the ANC and the IRA.

He dismisses allegations by Mr Hunter — an MP who is known in South Africa and Britain for conscientious devotion to the cause of South Africa's nominally independent state of Bophuthatswana — as a "tissue of lies".

Referring to an allegation that he and another ANC man, Mzwai Piliso, visited Armagh, Northern Ireland, in February 1988, Mr Kasrils says: "I have never been in Northern Ireland in my life."

Mr Piliso did visit Northern Ireland at the time to address an anti-apartheid meeting, not for a clandestine meeting with the IRA, Mr Kasrils says.



# ANC avoids fuelling the Hani controversy

THE ANC yesterday chose not to fuel the controversy over military chief Chris Hani's remarks this week that the organisation might still have to seize power if the Government was not prepared to share it.

ANC spokesman Jill Marcus said in Johannesburg the organisation preferred not to react to President FW de Klerk's criticism of the remarks made on Wednesday by the ANC's chief

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**POLITICAL  
REPORTER**

of staff.

Mr de Klerk said in a statement Mr Hani's remarks militated against the words and spirit of the Groote Schuur agreement, the document aimed at removing the obstacles to negotiations.

Indicating the serious light in

which he viewed Mr Hani's remarks, Mr de Klerk said he would take up the matter in "imminent discussions" with the ANC leadership.

Yesterday, the ANC's southern Natal convenor, Patrick Lekota, came to the assistance of Mr Hani when, in a plea to the Government to end the violence in Natal, he said: "If the Government is going to betray the negotiation process, the recent

statement by Chris Hani that the ANC might have to revert to the armed struggle may well become a reality."

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said on his return from a six-week international tour that the organisation would only be prepared to reconsider a suspension of hostilities once the Government removed all the obstacles to negotiations.

# Consensus on 'new' defence force

DELEGATES at the recent pioneering security conference in Lusaka agreed that a post-apartheid defence force should be fully integrated, professional, non-partisan and half the size of the SADF, a participant said.

Democratic Party researcher James Selfe was delivering a public report-back on the Idasa-ANC conference which was attended by about 120 delegates, including ANC soldiers and former SADF officers.

He said he was "astounded" at the level of consensus reached.

While the delegates accepted that a new South Africa, as a member of the United Nations and Organisation for African Unity, would be faced with a substantially reduced conventional threat, they agreed it was vital to maintain a force "of sufficient clout to be a deterrent".

# Mandela, F W meet 2 days after touchdown

Sta- 2/7/90

11A

## POLITICAL STAFF

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC deputy leader-Nelson Mandela have met, within 48 hours of the Mr Mandela's return to South Africa.

The speed of their encounter, which lasted two hours yesterday at Mr de Klerk's office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, put an air of immediacy and momentum back into the Government-ANC talks.

A statement issued by the State President's office said they had met at Mr Mandela's request.

Mr Mandela said on his arrival back at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday from a 14-nation, six-week tour that he wanted to see Mr de Klerk "within days". It is also known that he communicated his wish directly for such a meeting while still abroad.

"During the discussion it was decided that the next meeting between representatives of the ANC and Government would be on August 6 in Pretoria," said a statement issued last night.

### Prisoners

"The main purpose of the meeting will be to discuss the report of the working group established at the Groote Schuur meeting, and the progress in attaining the goals agreed upon then," the statement said.

It was referring to a joint working group assigned at the Government/ANC meeting in Cape Town on May 2 to 4 to tackle the issue of political prisoners. The group was instructed to define these prisoners and establish time scales for their release.

When the working group first produced its report in late May, the Government promptly accepted it.

But the ANC said it needed time for its National Executive Committee to consult. Mr Mandela then left, after seeing Mr de Klerk, on his tour. While he was overseas, certain objections to the report arose

● TO PAGE 2.

the time and venue of the August 6 meeting, would be announced later.

It is understood Mr de Klerk was alone yesterday when he met Mr Mandela. Government sources said he had been eager to see the ANC leader to discuss the misunderstandings and confusion that had arisen over the political prisoners issue since Mr Mandela went abroad.

Settlement of the political prisoners issue and their release, will move the two parties considerably closer to negotiations which the Government hopes to get underway early next year.

At issue now, and since the ANC's unbanning on February 2, are "talks about talks" — discussions on obstacles to negotiation that the movement wants eradicated before it enters talks proper on a constitutional model for South Africa.

## Hitches in talks

● FROM PAGE 1

from the ANC side. It is understood the hitches centred on the appointment of an impartial arbitrator to preside over the freeing process, and the linking of releases to definite phases of the ANC distancing itself from its "armed struggle".

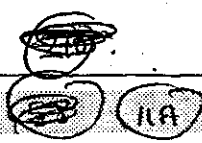
Government and ANC officials met again to iron them out, and produced proposals for the consideration of their respective principals. Both Government and ANC sources have signalled that neither side has any problems with the amendments — the report now seems to enjoy general agreement.

Mr de Klerk's office said details on the composition of the delegations,

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**NEWS**

**ANC is Govt's only credible negotiator, says economist**

**'NP has lost control'**

PORT ELIZABETH — The National Party had lost control of the country, according to Dr Ronnie Bethlehem, group economic consultant for mining giant Johannesburg Consolidated Investments.

He added that the NP had also lost control of the townships and education.

He said the Nats needed a partner

if stability were to be restored in South Africa and the ANC was the only worthwhile and credible negotiator if this were ever to be achieved.

Both parties had finally realised that negotiations were the only way to a political solution.

The NP had finally realised that the body politic could no longer be separated and the choice was one of domination or democracy.

He said the ANC had also realised that the Government was too strong

**SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT**

to be overthrown.

"The gap between the NP and the ANC has narrowed and is bridgeable by negotiations.

"These two are the only parties who can, together, achieve stability in South Africa. The Conservative Party and the Democratic Party are not in a position to do so."

However, time was running out and both parties, now involved in

preliminary conversations, had been driven by the understanding that country's economy could not suffer another decade of stagnation.

Dr Bethlehem said the NP would lose its constituency once democracy was accepted and, as the country headed into a recession, the blue-collar vote would be vital for State President de Klerk's five-year-reform initiative.

If the negotiations failed for the NP and the parliamentary order survived, the CP would win the next

general election.

For the ANC, failure would also mean the black community would reject the non-racialism the organisation stood for.

The majority of the black community and the most radical were those aged between eight and 18, who were Marxist-Leninist.

If the ANC failed, the failure would be inherited by the Pan Africanist Congress.

Both the Government and the ANC realised they had a lot to lose if their negotiations failed.

MIA

By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC and UDF are closely linked, but they are separate organisations, according to the Front's acting secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

The UDF has its own programme of action planned for 1990, but believes one of its roles in the short term is to help establish the ANC in South Africa.

"In the long-term we are talking about (possibly) phasing out the UDF," Mr Hofmeyr said.

**Confusion**

Mr Hofmeyr was approached to elaborate on the widespread confusion about the roles of the ANC and the UDF, brought out in the recent UDF campaign, backed by the ANC, to squat on vacant land in white areas.

This confusion has been compounded by the fact that many UDF leaders have prominent positions within the ANC and because the UDF was accused by its opponents of being a front for the ANC.

Indeed, Mr Hofmeyr conceded this, saying the situation after February 2, when the ANC was unshamed, "caught us a bit on the hop and there is a bit of disjunction".

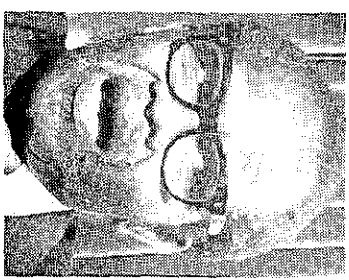
Then, there is the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), a loose and unstructured organisation, which developed after the UDF was restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

Asked about the MDM, Mr Hofmeyr laughed and said: "That would incorporate both of us!" In effect, though, the MDM is fast disappearing as an organisation, in as much as it ever was one, but within ANC circles the concept of a broad anti-apartheid alliance incorporating differing political tendencies, including the ANC, has been discussed and this has provisionally been called the Patriotic Front.

The ANC is seen within the broad Charterist camp as the political wing of the movement. The UDF, for the present at least, has broader membership, including religious, civic and youth organisations who will not, or are unlikely to, join

# UDF 'separate' from ANC

**ANC**



President: Oliver Tambo.

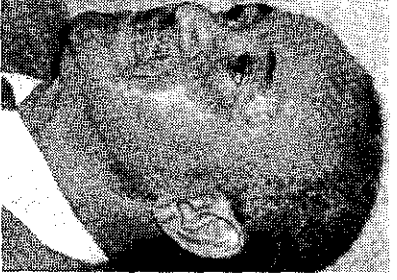
Deputy President: Nelson Mandela.  
Controlling body: National Executive Committee (NEC).  
Interim Leadership Corps head: Walter Sisulu.  
Membership consists of individual members.

**UDF**



Co-presidents: Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede, Zoli Mallindi.  
Controlling body: National General Council (NGC) which elects the national executive.  
General Secretary: Popo Molefe.  
Membership consists of affiliated organisations.

**MDM**



Has no defined leadership or executive. Meant to incorporate both UDF and ANC. Informal non-elected structure.

**CPSA**



General Secretary: Joe Slovo.  
Controlling body: Central committee. Has been underground but being publicly launched on July 29. Membership consists of individual members.

the ANC even though they support its broader aims.

However, because of its close association with the ANC, it is accepted that the UDF will not be able to transform itself into the kind of alliance envisaged in the proposed Patriotic Front. "In some ways, UDF is seen as too much tied to the ANC to be that," Mr Hofmeyr explained. It is also accepted that the ANC branches in

communities have a different role to play from grassroots civic associations, which should incorporate other political groupings.

Moreover, Mr Hofmeyr said, particularly after the experiences in Eastern Europe, grassroots organisations had to have independence from the political movement. "For instance, the labour movement should not just be the labour wing of the ANC. The civic

movement should not just be the civic of the ANC."

Mr Hofmeyr pointed out that while the ANC is busy establishing itself in South Africa, the UDF already had structures and a programme of action, and it was believed these should not be abandoned before the ANC had set itself up and held a national conference. For this reason, the UDF's national working

committee, comprising some 300 delegates, decided in April to continue in the short-term. It was accepted in April that one of the goals of the UDF this year was to assist the ANC in setting up structures and getting itself settled.

However, the focus of UDF programmes would be slightly different from the ANC and it was in the process of disentangling from the political role. "We operate very closely together but our emphasis will, hopefully, be different."

Should this prove effective, it is possible that the UDF might decide next year to remain in existence, although this will "obviously depend on developments".

However, critics and observers believe there may well be more substantial political reasons for younger activists wanting to keep the UDF alive as a separate political base within the ANC grouping.

They point out that people like the National Union of Mineworkers Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and UDF's Mr Trevor Manuel do not have key positions in the ANC and the leadership has largely been confined to people from the old guard and its previously exiled wing. As one sympathiser put it: "There is a level of frustration among the young lions."

**Supportive**

Other dismiss suggestions of any dissension and argue that the ANC and UDF leadership is closely associated and mutually supportive.

Mr Hofmeyr also dismissed those claims and said quite the opposite was happening: "In many cases, the UDF structures are simply collapsing into the ANC."

"We operate very closely together." Clearly, in the circumstances, the UDF and the ANC are both going to continue for the time, despite the confusion and "disjunction". And that could have political consequences in the future, notably in regard to the future role of the "young lions".

# SABC is focus of the media debate

**Is the SABC the property of the ruling party? The latest issue of Update, official journal of the Anti Censorship Action Group in South Africa, examines the question.**

ATTENTION has shifted away from the print media to the beginnings of a real debate on the SABC.

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki pinpointed the problem explicitly when he described the SABC as "the property of the ruling party".

The fact of National Party control over broadcasting, he indicated, would be one of the problems to be sorted out in future negotiations. During recent contacts with Eastern bloc television and film representatives at the Cannes Film Festival, SABC chairman Christo Viljoen was at pains to correct the impression that the SABC is "the

property of the ruling party" — a view which is not only held by the ANC.

He stated: "I went out of my way to try to impress them with the fact that the SABC does not belong to the South African Government." Indeed, if one takes into account the legislation concerning broadcasting, he may well be right.

James McClurg, The Star's Ombudsman, claims: "There is nothing in the SABC's constitution, as enshrined in the Broadcasting Act, that makes it the

property of the ruling party. The Act was closely modelled on the BBC's charter and was, in fact, drafted by the BBC's first director-general, the legendary Lord (then Sir John) Reith".

His startling contradiction of Thabo Mbeki's view must come as a genuine surprise to South Africans. Don Pinnock, media

lecturer at Rhodes University, points out in an article in South that "the Radio Act — which gives the corporation total veto over licensing — is a direct contravention of the Monopolies Act (96 of 1979)".

The task force set up by the Government last month to look into broadcasting is a clear indi-

cation of the Government's concern at inevitable pending changes, and of its desire to evolve a strategy to meet them.

The task force, described by Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw as a group of "experts in the fields of broadcasting, communications and technology" is described by Pinnock as comprising mainly Broederbonders, and military and National Intelligence Service personnel.

The Film and Allied Workers Organisation has called for an immediate moratorium on the

work of the task force. FAWC believes that questions of privatisation and nationalisation should not be decided without consultation. It notes that the task force itself is not a representative body.

If the SABC really does have a constitution similar to that of the BBC, then the quality of the broadcasting service must depend on factors beyond the constitution, such as the willingness of the party in power to abide by the provisions of the Broadcasting Act, the ethics of broadcasting personnel, and the public's preparedness to tolerate Governmental flouting of the constitution.

# Kriel, Sisulu to discuss UDF protest

W/E ARBMS 21/7/90 (114) (17)

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

TALKS between the government and the United Democratic Front to ease tension over the campaign to occupy vacant white land are likely early next week.

Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Henus Kriel and UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu are to meet possibly as early as Monday.

Mr Kriel invited Mrs Sisulu for talks to try to resolve the confrontation over the UDF's campaign to force the government to step up help for squatters.

A spokeswoman for Mr Kriel said the meeting was likely "early next week". Sources indicated it could be on Monday.

## Woodstock picket

The UDF's land campaign, endorsed "in principle" by the ANC, started near District Six today with a picket in Woodstock protesting against plans by Ilco Homes to build a R20-million housing project of 176 units.

The UDF has indicated that details of the campaign to occupy land are still being discussed.

Regional UDF vice-president Mr Dullah Omar said the first major objective was to stop Ilco's planned development.

He told journalists: "Our organisations and members are prepared to do everything necessary. If it means our people will have to do something physically, it will be done."

Certain private land, such as that owned by Ilco, would also be occupied during the UDF's campaign.

"But we are not saying to people to go to areas where people have established homes and we are not telling them to move into their gardens or backyards," he said.

Mr Kriel has vowed that he will not allow the illegal occupation of property and has warned that the campaign is an "invitation to confrontation".

Ministry sources hope the meeting with Mrs Sisulu will help ease the tension between the government and the UDF on this issue.

The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, said in a statement yesterday that he had contacted Mr Omar's office to arrange an appointment for urgent talks on Monday.

● In Woodstock today about 15 demonstrators held a peaceful placard protest on the pavement near the corner of Victoria Road and Fairview Avenue.

# Simon Barber

**T**HE New Republic is Washington's only weekly magazine of the order of London's Spectator and New Statesman.

Politically, it leans unabashedly towards the Democratic Party, yet it is refreshingly unslavish in its allegiance to anything or anyone save Israel in support of which its editor, Martin Peretz, occasionally goes beyond self-parody.

One purpose it has served in recent years is to talk down the Democrats from a number of their more knee-jerk shibboleths. For example, it has led the way in considering the more counter-productive aspects of "affirmative action".

One of its writers, Charles Krauthammer, coined the phrase "The Reagan Doctrine" — the policy of supporting insurgents against Marxist dictatorships — and the magazine subsequently became a staunch defender of the Nicaraguan Contras.

Polite people had previously felt uneasy about criticising the Sandinistas. The New Republic helped them feel better about themselves.

Now that the election of Violeta Chamorro has vindicated its line, the magazine has begun to take a new look at South Africa, a subject on which it has hitherto been uncharacteristically doctrinaire.

**T**he past three issues have all contained articles or editorials on the subject, starting with an indictment of the previously sacrosanct Randall Robinson as a suspiciously venal poseur.

This was run with a piece by Frontline managing editor Don Caldwell attempting to disabuse readers of the notion that the ANC was a truly democratic organisation.

A gentler version, by former Wall Street Journal correspondent Steve Mufson, appeared the following week, questioning whether

## DATELINE WASHINGTON



## America

given a fresh

slant

on ANC



STimes 22/7/90

sanctions.

This week, the gloves came off in an editorial headlined "Power Monopolists".

The ANC, the magazine opined, wanted all rivals, including Inkatha and the PAC, off the field and was "fighting pitched battles" with "alternative, but legitimate political movements". If it got its way and became the "only non-governmental presence" at the negotiating table, the views of "more than half the black population" would be ignored.

**T**he ANC's relationship with Cosatu did not "augur well" for independent trade unions in a post-apartheid SA, or for the fate of other independent associations.

The editors were particularly concerned about the "gagging" of the UDF's Archie Gumede after he criticised the recent anti-Inkatha stayaway.

"Is the ANC's talk about unity," they asked, "just a way of saying they want everybody else to shut up?"

Some may argue that Peretz is simply venting his spleen at Mandela's praise of Yasser Arafat, a subject on which he feels strongly. However, he has recently been in South Africa and had a chance to see firsthand many of the unpalatable truths that do not often make their way into the US press.

**H**is motivations are not that important. What matters is that the New Republic is widely read by the Washington establishment.

It also has a knack of making people feel comfortable about holding opinions they were previously too nervous to articulate for themselves and act upon.

In short, the worm may be turning here for the ANC, in part because of the very exposure Mandela gave it by his visit. It is becoming respectable to harbour grave reservations about the movement.



# Party leaders to surface at re-launch next Sunday

By SHAFATAH-AHMAD KHAN

**S**IXTY-NINE years after its inception and just six months after its unbanning in South Africa, the SACP will be re-launched as a political party next Sunday.

The party was unbanned in February - together with its ally, the ANC, and the PAC.

The SACP will be re-launched at a rally to be held at the First National Bank Stadium, Nasrec.

Billed to address the rally are Joe Slovo, the party's general secretary, and Chris Hani, chief of staff and deputy commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The SACP is surfacing again against the background of the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe.

On the home front, it will re-launch itself in the wake of growing concern from big business and its international allies, about how it intends to effect a mixed economy and economic growth in a new South Africa.

But the SACP seems quite determined to garner mass support in the country.

In its publication, *Umsebenzi*, the party says: "The SACP must not become a small, left oppositionist voice. It must be a mass force that remains central to the whole liberation drive."

Up to now, even after it was unbanned on February 2, the SACP seems to have operated almost secretly.

Only officials like Slovo and the party's Central Committee member Mac Maharaj, veteran Govan Mbeki and a few others have adopted public profiles.

It is expected that, even after the re-launch, its underground existence will continue until, as Slovo told *Umsebenzi*, "the process of democratisation in South Africa has become irreversible".

Nevertheless, Slovo has said the SACP will name its national leaders at the rally.

Although the SACP has made a drive for large membership, Slovo has indicated it would be content initially with 20 000 to 30 000 members.

According to the latest edition of *Umsebenzi*, most of the party members will be working within the ANC, the trade union movement and community-based organisations.

The level of the party's political profile since its unbanning has yet to be seen - although, say observers, the changing face of South Africa and the upheavals in communist countries might well have sent signals to the SACP to steer its course clear from orthodox Marxist-Leninist ideals.

# New-look SACP 'stands for democracy'

**C**ONCEPTS such as nationalisation and confiscation were slogans of a politically naive party that ignored the complexity of South Africa, the leader of the SACP, Joe Slovo, said in Johannesburg this week.

"The principles underlying our model for a socialist state are democracy and individual freedom - on which we are not prepared to compromise."

He said the SACP had not adopted the model of socialism experienced in the Soviet Union during the last 70 years and was "light-years away" from the model practised in Communist China.

"We believe the socialist experiment in Eastern Europe failed precisely because socialism was separated from democracy.

"I am talking about a democracy in which the individual has full scope to express him or herself."

Slovo said this included political, economic and cultural democracy.

The SACP believed in political pluralism which meant full acceptance of a multi-party state.

"Our objective is a socialist state in which no party

will have the right to dominate any aspect of society. "Its privilege to govern will depend on democratic processes in which the majority of the people participate."

On the recent violence Slovo said the resurgence of the rightwing has cast an ominous cloud over the reform process and threatened to fuel forces beyond FW de Klerk's control.

"Reform is in its embryonic phase and therefore still vulnerable to abortion," he said.

Slovo added that another, perhaps more important reason why reform was not irreversible, was because it was not up to De Klerk, but to the white community.

"He is relying on the white community and lately we are getting a bit nervous about that community and the resurgence of the rightwing who seem to be acting with impunity.

"So we cannot disarm ourselves, and I am not talking about the armed struggle, but all our strategies.

"We cannot say to the world, or to the people, 'leave it to de Klerk' - because we don't believe it is up to De Klerk.



Joe Slovo, secretary General of the SACP, said this week that the rightwing could cloud the process of reform set in motion by State President FW de Klerk.

"We certainly cannot say to our constituency with any measure of confidence: 'Don't worry, the white community is irreversibly on the road to democracy.'"

Slovo said this was something most members of the international community could not see clearly and they wished to reward De Klerk before he delivered the goods.

"He has unbanned organisations... that's a point for him. He has met the ANC... that's a good step. He has lifted the state of emergency in most of the country... that's a very positive thing."

But, he said, the majority of political prisoners were still in jail, and people continued to be detained under the Internal Security Act. It was still an offence to hold public political rallies and marches without permission.

"We are still living in a situation where there is no political freedom. Blacks haven't even the promise of a vote."

There was also the continued existence of apartheid structures.

"On paper De Klerk's words look promising but every day he delays their implementation his credibility is eroded."

But, Slovo added, he was still optimistic that radical transformation was possible.

Questioned on which country the SACP saw as its spiritual home, Slovo said: "It has never been my experience that our internal policies were determined or influenced by any party outside South Africa. We are an indigenous communist party.

"In my 50 years or so as a member of the Communist Party in South Africa, our party's internal policies have never been determined or influenced by any party outside South Africa.

"The Soviet Union continues to support our party financially and in many other ways, but we have never been dictated to by the Soviet Union."

However, he said it was true that during the course of SACP history it had blindly adhered to Soviet foreign policy because it believed the Soviet Union was a genuine socialist state.

"For many years the Soviet Union stood as an international bulwark in the defence of workers' interests and therefore as a beacon of hope for the oppressed."

But the SACP's political home was in South Africa, "and it is balderdash to believe our political home has ever been outside South Africa".

"Unfortunately it suited the government propaganda machine to try and prove just the opposite - so as to avoid the reality of an indigenous revolt against injustice."

The SACP's ultimate objective in South Africa was a society in which one person could not live off the labour of another. "But we don't think this is attainable immediately."

Slovo said one of the mistakes made by communist parties was to create the expectation among followers that Utopia was around the corner, or that it could be railroaded through without regard for the welfare of its people.

"Things are happening today that were unimaginable before. Things do not move in arithmetical progression, but laterally. A regression of 300 years can, with the catalyst of even limited change, leap ahead of the protagonists and pull its leaders along." - Sapa.

# Rightwing threa<sup>ts</sup>

## ANC and police crack down after assassination warnings in Maputo and South Africa

By CHARLES MOGALE

RIGHTWING threats to assassinate ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were taken seriously by the police and ANC security this week.

A heavily armed SAP contingent with sniffer dogs combed Jan Smuts Airport hours before Mandela even left Mozambique for South Africa. They maintained a heavy presence until his arrival late in the afternoon.

Vehicles entering the airport were searched randomly, and only passengers, the Press and high-ranking ANC members were allowed near the VIP waiting lounge where Mandela was to address a Press conference.

This show of force followed threats made on Mandela's life, culminating in a fax sent to the ANC's Johannesburg offices on Wednesday, threatening to attack Mandela on his arrival at the airport.

The fax raised concern, coming after an earlier revelation of a rightwing plot to assassinate Mandela on his arrival back from the 14-nation tour.

Under the heading "July 18, 1990 the last day of freedom for the ANC inside the Republic of South Africa," the threats were faxed to the ANC's regional office in Jeppe Street. There was no indication of who had sent it or of the source of the fax.

Addressed to "All ANC members and supporters," the fax read: "Today you must prepare for your blood river..."

"We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leader's aeroplane and at the airport where your members will be waiting to welcome him.

"You had better bring a lot of first aid kits and even more body bags... He is going to arrive with a bang..."

"Today marks the beginning of the end for the ANC. We are going to dismantle you, starting today. You will not think it funny when your innocent people become the targets.

"Prepare to meet your Modimo."

("Modimo" is the Sotho word for God.)

Sapa reports that ANC assistant secretary general Henry Makgothi, commented: "I would not like to speculate about the identity of the threats... you know we have rightwingers and terrorist groups who have threatened to destroy the ANC."

Makgothi said the ANC was on alert. "The situation does not allow us to take the threats lightly."

Another ANC spokesman said Mandela's plane had been "grounded" after the fax had been received but he did not know if there was any connection.

He had been told to inform the Press that Mandela's jet had been delayed because of a mechanical fault and that he had switched planes at Maputo.

The threat has been reported to police.

According to Press reports, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging military chief Heinrich Wilhelm Beissner had hatched and finalised a plot to assassinate Mandela at the airport. Also incriminated in the allegations was Conservative Party councillor TJ Ferreira of Boksburg.

An assassin had already been briefed and a weapon secured to murder Mandela so a bloodbath would follow, during which the rightwingers could strike and hopefully seize power.

In another major incident this week, Mandela had to change planes in Mocambique after a bomb threat was received there - delaying his arrival by more than two hours.

Since his release in February, Mandela has been sheltered by a heavy blanket of security. Although threats on his life have often been attributed to a clique of rightwing lunatics, the government and ANC have not taken chances.

During the Groote Schuur talks in March, the Mandela entourage was escorted by a wall of SAP members. A helicopter hovered above the motorcade wherever it went.



Nelson Mandela, his wife Winnie and foreign

## 'Mourn Inanda 26'

By SANDILE MEMELA  
(14)  
PAC president Zeph

Mothopeng yesterday called on political organisations to observe a three-day mourning period for the 26 people killed in a bus ambush in Natal this week.

The call, initiated by the PAC, follows the death of 26 people and the injury of 65 others when gunmen alongside an Inanda road ambushed a bus and a mini-bus on Wednesday.

The mourning will be from Friday July 27 to Sunday 29.

Speaking in Orlando

East yesterday, Mothopeng also called on ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to help stop the Natal violence.

He said the parties involved in the violence should bury their differences and solve "this grave problem in the interest of the whole nation".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two ballistics experts from Pretoria were busy inspecting the wrecks of the bus and the mini-bus.

The inspection was ex-

■ To Page 3

P.T.O.

# Klerksdorp death fears as woman-killer strikes

By DAN DHLAMINI

DOMESTIC workers in Klerksdorp, which is notorious for rape and murder crimes, are again living in fear of their lives following the discovery of another murdered woman.

Last year the bodies of two unidentified black women with head injuries were discovered in a Klerksdorp suburb. The murderer is still at large because police have made no arrests.

The corpses of 15 black women were discovered on the infamous Oudorp koppie between 1987 and 1988.

## Teacher 'molested pupils'

By DAN DHLAMINI

A WHITE religious instructor in the western Transvaal is facing charges of indecently assaulting eleven black children - a girl and ten boys - aged between 14 and 17, at Bethal High School in Coligny.

Johannes Cornelius Lombaard, 48, a biblical study teacher at the school, appeared in court this week after being arrested at the school by Stilfontein child protection unit of the police.

No charges were read to him and he was released on R2 000 bail. The case was postponed to August 30 for a date to be fixed for the case to come before the Regional Court.

Prosecutor M Theunissen declined to give any further details of the case.

David Motshekgwa was sent to the gallows last year for the murder of 14 of the women. It is speculated that the 15th woman, whose skeleton was found under tree branches on the same koppie, was another of Motshekgwa's victims.

Mavis Nobomvu Mzangwa, 34, the latest victim of another woman-killer on the loose, was discovered on July 9 with car tyre marks on her body on a deserted road between Klerksdorp and Stilfontein.

She was discovered lying face down, dressed only in her bra and petticoat. Her bloodstained dress and a pair of leather "velskoens" were found next to her.

Police suspect she had been raped and a car driven over her body. They could not say whether she was alive when the car was driven over her.

Assistant chief of the Criminal Investigation Department in Klerksdorp, Major Dirk Stear, said two white men reported the grisly find to police.

He said the dead woman was last seen with a black man in a green station-wagon.

Major Stear said no arrests had been made and police investigations were continuing.

Mzangwa was identified by her grandmother Martha Mosiatlhaga a week after she was found after a tip-off from a mortuary employee.

Mosiatlhaga said she suspected Mzangwa was killed by the Wit Wolwe. She said she would not rest until her granddaughter's killers were brought to book.

Western Transvaal organiser for Lawyers for Human Rights, Sam Present, told *City Press* that Mosiatlhaga had contacted him regarding Mzangwa's death and he would attend to the matter.

PAC calls for three days of mourning

From Page 1

pected to take most of the weekend.

A police spokesman said the experts would determine whether there were any bullet holes in the vehicles.

It has been alleged that shots were fired before the vehicles left the road and crashed down an embankment. It was also alleged the bus driver was shot.

Once the experts have gathered their information it will be taken back to Pretoria for further analysis.

In another development, Buthelezi made a strong plea for Zulu unity to support the emergence of a multi-party democracy in South Africa.

He was speaking at KwaKhiphunyawo at the unveiling ceremony of the tombstones of Inkosi Bekayiphi Sibiyi and Inkosi Mtshekula Sibiyi.

Buthelezi said negotiations for a new South Africa were not going to be a party political event. They would be a coming together of the forces needed to make a strong, united and stable South Africa.

"My call is a call for unity. Stand together for the sake of South Africa and South Africans, to give South Africa the power and advantage of your Zuluness," said Buthelezi.

Mothopeng will address an Azanian National Youth Unity rally at the DOCC hall in Orlando today at 1pm.



Wreckage of the bus which veered down an embankment in Inanda, killing 26 people.

# Urgent call for De Klerk to resume talks

NELSON Mandela, returning home from a 14-nation tour on a day which saw one of the worst incidents of violence in Natal, said he wanted to continue talks with President FW de Klerk.

Mandela told reporters when he returned on Wednesday from a six-week tour of Africa, Europe and North America that the ANC was eager to continue the search for peace in South Africa.

"I propose to see Mr De Klerk as soon as possible. I will be making an effort to contact him almost immediately," said Mandela, who arrived home on his 72nd birthday.

His return was marred by a right-wing white death threat sent to an ANC office in Johannesburg and new ferocity in the long-running war between rival

political groups in Natal.

The threat received this week warned the ANC: "You had better bring a lot of first aid kits and even more body bags . . . He (Mandela) is going to arrive with a bang."

The message said the ANC should prepare for a new Blood River.

At least 26 black people were killed when gunmen ambushed a bus in one of the worst incidents of strife in Natal, where supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are locked in a power struggle.

Police said the bus veered off the road and overturned.

Spokesmen for the ANC and Inkatha denied responsibility.

Though Mandela's trip was gruelling and his health failed briefly, political

commentators said he now faced the toughest task since his release in February after 27 years in jail.

"The reality of his mission still lies ahead, at the negotiating table right here in South Africa, where his presence is earnestly sought," said *The Argus* in an editorial.

Nine people who waved placards saying "Welcome home Nelson. Happy birthday" were arrested briefly by police who said it was an offence to demonstrate on airport property.

ANC officials said Mandela switched planes before flying home from Mozambique, the last stop of a tour that included talks with 14 heads of state including US President George Bush and British

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher, the only European Community leader to ease anti-apartheid sanctions after Mandela's release from prison in February, urged white South Africans on Wednesday to trust him.

"I think it is absolutely vital because he is a reasonable person and can see the force of argument," she said in an interview with *The Star*.

Mandela said he had persuaded the West that De Klerk had not yet done enough to justify the lifting of economic sanctions.

The armed struggle would be suspended when all political prisoners were released. - Sapa-Reuter.

11A

# Leader of ANC presents new view on curbs

By CHARLES MOGALE

NELSON Mandela arrived back from his six-week world tour this week with a softened line on sanctions.

The deputy president of the ANC told journalists at Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg that there was a possibility the ANC could review its stance on sanctions even before a new constitution was in place.

Mandela said this was possible once mutual trust between the ANC and the government was established.

Although still persistent in his call for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, Mandela's statements have been regarded as a shift from the "hardline" position adopted prior to his world tour.

He had made it clear that the ANC was immovable on the Harare Declaration, the observance of which the ANC regarded as a bottom line to the creation of a climate conducive to fruitful negotiations.

Allaying fears that sanctions could ruin the economy irreparably, Mandela said world business leaders were eager to return to South Africa as soon as apartheid was buried.

"We are fully conscious of the fact that political stability and social security can only derive from an ever expanding economy," he said.

The ANC leader is expected to meet State President FW de Klerk for the second round of the Groote Schuur talks. It is expected to be held in Pretoria within weeks.

Mandela's 14-nation tour was to a large extent described as a success for the ANC. Although he was less enthusiastically received by British leader Margaret Thatcher, and there were sparse demonstrations against him from Jews antagonised by his pro Yasser Arafat stance, the overwhelming majority of the cities he visited received him warmly.

In New York Mandela drew the largest single crowd ever seen in the city, and stars paid R2 500 and more to dine with the Mandelas.

# Rightwing threat

## ANC and police crack down after assassination warnings in Maputo and South Africa

By CHARLES MOGALE

RIGHTWING threats to assassinate ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were taken seriously by the police and ANC security this week.

A heavily armed SAP contingent with sniffer dogs combed Jan Smuts Airport hours before Mandela even left Mozambique for South Africa. They maintained a heavy presence until his arrival late in the afternoon.

Vehicles entering the airport were searched randomly, and only passengers, the Press and high-ranking ANC members were allowed near the VIP waiting lounge where Mandela was to address a Press conference.

This show of force followed threats made on Mandela's life, culminating in a fax sent to the ANC's Johannesburg offices on Wednesday, threatening to attack Mandela on his arrival at the airport.

The fax raised concern, coming after an earlier revelation of a rightwing plot to assassinate Mandela on his arrival back from the 14-nation tour.

Under the heading "July 18, 1990 the last day of freedom for the ANC inside the Republic of South Africa," the threats were faxed to the ANC's regional office in Jeppe Street. There was no indication of who had sent it or of the source of the fax.

Addressed to "All ANC members and supporters," the fax read: "Today you must prepare for your blood river..."

"We have arranged a few surprises for you at some of your offices. But the best ones will be on your leader's aeroplane and at the airport where your members will be waiting to welcome him.

"You had better bring a lot of first aid kits and even more body bags... He is going to arrive with a bang..."

"Today marks the beginning of the end for the ANC. We are going to dismantle you, starting today. You will not think it funny when your innocent people become the targets.

"Prepare to meet your Modima."

("Modimo" is the Sotho word for God.)

Sapa reports that ANC assistant secretary general Henry Makgothi, commented: "I would not like to speculate about the identity of the threats... you know we have rightwingers and terrorist groups who have threatened to destroy the ANC."

Makgothi said the ANC was on alert. "The situation does not allow us to take the threats lightly."

Another ANC spokesman said Mandela's plane had been "grounded" after the fax had been received but he did not know if there was any connection.

He had been told to inform the Press that Mandela's jet had been delayed because of a mechanical fault and that he had switched planes at Maputo.

The threat has been reported to police.

According to Press reports, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging military chief Heinrich Wilhelm Beissner had hatched and finalised a plot to assassinate Mandela at the airport. Also incriminated in the allegations was Conservative Party councillor TJ Ferreira of Boksburg.

An assassin had already been briefed and a weapon secured to murder Mandela so a bloodbath would follow, during which the rightwingers could strike and hopefully seize power.

In another major incident this week, Mandela had to change planes in Mocambique after a bomb threat was received there - delaying his arrival by more than two hours.

Since his release in February, Mandela has been sheltered by a heavy blanket of security. Although threats on his life have often been attributed to a clique of rightwing lunatics, the government and ANC have not taken chances.

During the Groote Schuur talks in March, the Mandela entourage was escorted by a wall of SAP members. A helicopter hovered above the motorcade wherever it went.



Nelson Mandela, his wife Winnie and foreign affairs

# s to Mandela



**Director Thabo Mbeki in conversation at the Press conference held soon after his arrival.**



# Strategy for a new world

THE search for a new South Africa has affected the country's foreign standing profoundly. At no time since 15 March 1961 — the day Hendrik Verwoerd walked out of the Commonwealth — have the prospects for South Africa's international relations looked so promising.

There is no clearer indication of this than to assess the recent travels of President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The latter was a veritable Cook's tour which, appropriately perhaps, began and ended in Africa. It is difficult to remember when — if ever — a South African was so fêted, so pored over by the international media.

Nelson Mandela has returned as one of the commanding figures of our time. If this sounds high-flown, consider this appraisal of the US leg of his journey by an American historian: "No foreigner since Winston Churchill has... (so)... seized the imagination of the American people".

True, there were gaffes: particularly (and unnecessarily) damaging were those on Libya and the Irish Republican Army. But the intense attention paid to the man and his life seemed to amplify the controversy.

Although many, especially older folk, will flinch at this suggestion, Mandela has emerged as a larger world figure than that other great South African, Jan Smuts.

The De Klerk visit was a low-key affair, confined to Europe alone. In many ways it reflected the man himself: controlled, composed, almost modest. Considering that the major struts of apartheid — the Population Registration Act, for example — are still intact, it is extraordinary that a South African President was received with such genuine openness.

There is little doubt that De Klerk was able to convey to those with

## Peter Vale of the University of Western Cape's Centre of Southern African Studies offers some pointers on a new foreign policy for SA

whom he spoke a resolve to move towards a negotiated solution. As importantly, the message was not restricted to governments alone; a wider public audience was engaged — for the first time — by a South African President.

How will South Africa secure the international advantages it now so plainly enjoys? There are no ready answers.

### Aftermath

Unquestionably, the country needs a new order, not simply to slake world opinion but to secure its own future. Equally so, a settlement without the engagement of the international community will be hollow, almost meaningless. For instance, the economy desperately needs investment which can only be generated externally.

The ANC and the Government are sure to rechart their international strategies in the aftermath of the two journeys. Perhaps these three suggestions will help them hold the interest of the international community:

● Move expeditiously on negotiations. The community of nations is

experiencing an exhilarating time. If SA dithers, interest will wane and our damaging isolation will compound an already messy internal predicament.

● Draw closer on common foreign policy goals. In so doing, become less adversarial, more complementary in the conduct of the country's international relations. Seek out areas — Southern Africa is a helpful place to start — where parallel statements of intent, from the ANC and the Government, can signal consistency, now and in the post-apartheid period.

● Explore ways in which the Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and the ANC's Department of International Affairs can be recast to serve the new South Africa.

Understand that this will not be easy but recognise that other countries, too, are exploring ways of blending together formerly antagonist diplomatic services. Right now, for example, a discussion of this kind is under way in Germany.

In many ways, our predicament may be easier than Germany's: isolation has made South Africa's formal foreign relations, relatively-speaking, uncomplicated. It is unlikely that they will remain so. The truly historical changes at the end of the 80s have transformed the traditional rules of international relations.

While the future course of world affairs is uncertain, two things stand out. First, that competition for market share will be the central source of international conflict in the 90s.

Secondly — sooner rather than later — SA will emerge as a significant middle player with specific regional, African and Third World responsibilities. The quicker the country is able to adapt to its new role, the better for ourselves and the international community.



By KEN OWEN

14

CAH Tiff 23/7/90

# Time now for the ANC to choose — and to act

A SQUAD of cold-eyed, knife-scarred township youngsters sought me out not long ago to demand with great ferocity: "Why do you call the ANC a horse? You must be an enemy."

Nothing could be further from the truth. It is from a heart brimming with goodwill that I do my best to pound into the ANC an awareness of the dangers it runs by carrying a rider like the SA Communist Party.

For the ANC, this is the moment of opportunity. When Joe Slovo launches The World's Last Communist Party on the path of the dinosaur next week, the ANC will have a unique chance to shed the ideological baggage of the Fifties, including the Five Year Plan to Remake the World, and offer to South Africa a new, modern, democratic definition of itself.

## Collective relief

And if that new definition comes credibly close to, say, West German social democracy (I wouldn't recommend the Swedish model right now; it's failing), white South Africa will heave a collective sigh of relief and, I suspect, fling itself happily into the task of national reconstruction.

Let me try to explain the need for re-definition. The ANC faces three mortal dangers: That the present mounting anarchy will take us into civil war, or into degenerative decay; that a foolish and discredited ideology of class struggle will wreck any chance of economic growth or prosperity; and that in the Gadarene rush to create a socialist Utopia, all chance of liberty will be lost.

Obviously these dangers are mutually reinforcing, and to a degree they are inherent in the situation, the product of a brutal and unjust past. The question is whether the ANC's actions make matters worse, or whether its leaders are wise enough to begin now to husband the patrimony they hope to inherit. There is much the ANC can do.

For example, the rising level of violence owes something to the rhetoric of liberation which has in the past encouraged young black men to "liberate" private cars to go to meetings, or beer trucks for a party, or taxis for convenience. That violence is spilling into the suburbs, where the mood of white people is approaching hysteria.

The violence owes something, let us confess, to the exhortations from Lusaka and Addis Ababa to "eliminate sell-outs" and to "make the townships ungovernable" by murdering police constables and town councillors. Just as the foolish slogan, "liberation before education", has created a lost generation of ineducable young people, so the campaign for ungovernability has created a culture of anarchy. The township youth has been corrupted by it.

Parts of the country are in fact ungovernable, and will remain so unless the ANC helps to restore respect for law, property and human life. The Nationalist government cannot restore that order — it has tried, with all its might, and failed. That is why it is ready to negotiate. One result of this is that the white population lives in acute fear, not simply of losing privilege, but of losing life and loved ones. So sharp is this fear that if we are to prevent them

from resorting to their own brand of armed struggle (white civilians have two-and-a-half million firearms in their possession), the ANC must help to drain away the sea of fear and personal insecurity in which the AWB swims.

Rightwing violence, according to one reasonable estimate, accounts for only 15% of all violence, and is rising fast. But even if physical fear — of murder, robbery, rape, hijacking, or random shootings — does not drive the white population into the arms of the right, it will cause rising emigration of skills, continuing leakage of capital, a diversion of scarce resources to security expenditure, unwillingness to invest, and an economically corrosive short-term view of the future.

Nor is it simply President De Klerk's problem; it is Nelson Mandela's. To unleash violence is easy, to bring it back under control is the work of years, and Mandela, if he is ever to play a part in the government of this country, may find himself struggling to restore peace, wishing he had started sooner.

Much the same arguments apply to continuing sanctions (though, speaking personally, I have grown weary of arguing with people determined to shoot themselves in the foot). The task of restoring the economy will fall not on President de Klerk, who has done just enough to keep things ticking over while we all get slowly poorer; it will fall on the ANC.

Put it this way: Nearly all black children who have emerged from the school system since 1976 are so poorly educated as to be virtually useless in an industrial society. They may get some elementary training, but in effect their lives are a waste, and destined to remain so. Unless the economy is revived, another generation will follow them. Is that what the ANC wants?

Or will it begin now to help generate the resources that, in three or four years time, will be needed to deal with the collapse of education? Communists are notoriously ready to sacrifice children to history, and The World's Last Communist Party may be no exception. But the ANC? Does it also have the merciless light of history in its eye?

On this front, there is another problem. Some of the rhetoric that emerges from the trade unions (not from the rank and file, but from the professionals who lead them) seems to me to imply a determination to wage class warfare against "capital", and to wage it to the death. A privileged class of union workers is emerging which does not give a fig for the suffering of a huge unemployed underclass, or for the general welfare of the country. It sees the workplace as an arena of class struggle, and it is sowing mayhem there.

Will the ANC try to tell the unions that, after all, we are all in this together, and that capital and workers have common interests; or will it watch content as control of offshore diamond mines shifts from Kimberley to Switzerland, as gold mining shafts close one by one, and as capital and skills vanish abroad? If so, neither prosperity nor democracy will emerge.

## Difficult transition

Nothing that has happened since February 2 seems to me to have been beyond the limits of reasonable expectations. For everybody, transition has been difficult and sometimes frightening. The turbulence in the townships, the burgeoning crime, the internecine feuding in Natal and elsewhere, the low-level warfare, the rising rightwing anger, were all to be expected in the aftermath of a sudden switch from confrontation to negotiation.

But it has to come to an end. President De Klerk has shown exceptional courage in sitting out the period of turbulence, but his political base is eroding and he can't sit much longer.

If the ANC wants to preserve this "window of opportunity", as the space explorers call it, it must come soon to a decision whether to work with The World's Last Communist Party for a socialist revolution, or with the rest of us for a simple democracy in the Western — say the West German — pattern.

The time has come for the ANC to choose, and to act accordingly.



11A  
CMT Trip 23/7/90

# Sisulu says armed struggle not over

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Members of the ANC's military wing would continue to infiltrate South Africa until the organisation officially agreed to suspend hostilities and obstacles to negotiations were removed, the ANC internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday.

Police, who have already arrested about 40 insurgents and are tracking several others, said they would continue to take strong action against any person planning acts of violence.

The infiltration and subsequent arrest of ANC military operatives is understood to have been discussed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela



**UMTATA.** — Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres displayed their firepower at the weekend as they moved with AK-47 assault rifles through crowds at rallies and meetings in Umtata, Butterworth and Cofimvaba in Transkei.

MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani appeared at several of the meetings clad in camouflage combat jacket, but without displaying rank, and left in convoy at high speed.  
FULL REPORT — Page 2.

when they met on Friday.

The issue has also been raised at meetings of the Steering Committee set up to facilitate communication between government and the ANC.

Ministers and officials have been reluctant to discuss the arrests in public, fearing they could jeopardise talks.

However, Sapa reports that Mr Sisulu yesterday said the arrests would not put a damper on talks between the ANC and government.

Reacting to the arrests, Mr Sisulu said in an interview that continued infiltration by ANC members into SA was under way. This was nothing new and it would continue. The ANC had never said it had ceased hostilities.

Asked if that was the official ANC policy, Mr Sisulu said: "The official line is that the question of the armed struggle has not yet been discussed with government."

Mr Sisulu said that some of the people arrested were from over-

To page 2

11A  
CMT Trip 23/7/90

From page 1

## ANC

seas. "I understand that two senior people — but not national executive members — have been arrested. I think the name of one senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) person is Siphon Nyanda."

Last week Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani told 3 000 students in Umtata that the ANC might have to seize power if government did not shift or share it.

"The struggle still goes on. We are still deploying our cadres inside SA and that's no secret," he said.

This brought a stern rebuke from Mr De Klerk.

Law and Order spokesman Mr Peet Bothma yesterday confirmed that a number of ANC military personnel had been arrested. The police, he said, were reluctant to give further details as their investigation was at a critical stage. Mr Bothma said further arrests could be expected.

Police have seized weapons including limpet mines, anti-personnel mines, RPG 7 rocket launchers and missiles, hand-grenades, AK 47 rifles and machine pistols.

ANC head of information Mr Ahmed Kathrada, responding to speculation that the arrests would derail the August 6 talks between government and ANC, said any future ANC approach to the talks would come out of the organisation's two-day national executive meeting starting today.

# Mourn Natal dead - PAC

25/7/90  
50 wafan

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called for a three-day period of mourning for the 26 people killed in Natal's bus ambush last week.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng yesterday said he would write to Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, urging them to meet immediately to end the

By MATSHUBE  
MFOLOE

carnage in Natal.

The PAC has called on churches, political organisations and trade unions to observe a three-day period of mourning from July 27 to July 29.

Mothopeng said his organisation was shocked by the incident. People ought to do something to bring the carnage to an end.

# ANC in clash over accord

11A

Sowetan

23/7/90

THE African National Congress yesterday parried accusations that it had broken the spirit of the historic Groote Schuur Minute by continuing military operations in South Africa, charging instead that the Government had gone against the agreement.

Responding to reports of the arrests of ANC military wing operatives, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu acknowledged that greater infiltration was underway, but pointed out his organisation had not ended hostilities.

"I am aware that there have been significant arrests over the past few weeks. I understand that two senior people - but not national executive members - have been arrested.

"I think the name of one senior Umkhonto we Sizwe person is Siphon Nyanda.

"People have always been infiltrating here since we launched our armed struggle in the sixties but under the new climate it can be expected that many more would return to South Africa."

The arrests would not put a damper on talks between the ANC and Mr de Klerk's delegation, Sisulu said.

"Obviously, the

arrests are unwelcome. It does break the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute but does not affect it on a practical level.

"The issue will obviously be raised when we go to the table on August 6. We intend meeting on that date. It would give both parties a chance to iron out issues such as these," said the veteran ANC official.

While the police did not say how many were arrested, media reports said up to 40 MK cadres had been apprehended across the country.

Mines, combat rifles and a rocket launcher were among the weapons seized. The police did not supply a time-frame for the arrests.

The revelations are the latest in a series of hiccups that have affected the spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute.

ANC-supported consumer boycotts - and more recently its thumbs up for the land "occupation" campaign of the UDF - have often led to accusations of breaching the reconciliatory nature of the document.

The ANC's NEC holds a two-day meeting today and tomorrow to map out its strategy for the August 6 meeting. - Sapa.

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For example, the rising level of violence owes something to the rhe-

# It's time to shed the World's Last Communist Party

**KEN OWEN**

toric of liberation which has in the past encouraged young black men to "liberate" private cars to go to meetings, or beer trucks for a party, or taxis for convenience. That violence is spilling into the suburbs, where the mood of white people is approaching hysteria.

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simply of losing privilege, but of losing life and loved ones. So sharp is this fear that if we are to prevent them from resorting to their own brand of armed struggle (white civilians have two-and-a-half million firearms in their possession), the ANC must help to drain away the sea of fear and personal insecurity in which the AWB swims.

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# Red luxury on wheels for Mandela

MCS  
23/7/90  
11A

The Argus Bureau

EAST LONDON. — Nothing has been spared in making Mr Nelson Mandela's new car — a gift from the workers at Mercedes Benz plant in East London — the epitome of luxury on wheels.

The deputy president of the ANC and his wife Winnie inspected the R217 880 red 500 SE saloon soon after accepting the keys at a ceremony in Mdantsane yesterday watched by a cheering crowd of 80 000.

## HANDED OVER THE KEY

The car has an electric sunroof, electrically-adjustable steering column with memory, outside temperature indicator, leather upholstery, illuminated extendable sunvisors, burglar alarm, Becker Mexico Diversity music system with eight speakers and an electric aerial.

The car was draped in ANC and SACP flags before Mr Phillip Groom, a factory worker who initiated the idea of building it, handed the key to Mr Mandela.

Among the crowd were members of the Ciskei military council who were also warmly received by the chanting and toyi-toying crowd.

Mr Mandela was whisked away in a helicopter after the ceremony while his car was put into a van to be transported to Johannesburg.



LUXURY GIFT: A happy Mr Mandela waves from inside his new car.

# Survey finds ANC 'most popular organisation'

M60-3  
23/7/90  
11A

From PATRICK LAURENCE  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A major survey has shown that the African National Congress is by far the best known and most popular of the political organisations vying for support in the black community.

The finding is contained in a survey of black attitudes conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA) in April, May and June and was based on questions to 2 281 black adults — 1 181 men and 1 100 women.

The survey found that the ANC's high popularity rating stretched across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender and reached from the cities to the remotest country settlements.

## ANC UNBANNED

The survey was conducted after President De Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning the ANC and its allied organisation — the South African Communist Party (SACP), Umkhonto we Sizwe and the United Democratic Front (UDF) — and its challenger for three decades, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Political instability in Natal made it impossible to poll attitudes there or in neighbouring Kwazulu and the exclusion of Natal-Kwazulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

A separate contemporary survey, however, conducted by Markinor in April 1990 in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban, pointed to the rise of the appeal of the ANC and a corresponding decline in the appeal of Inkatha.

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-Kwazulu.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel to — or how distant from — the various organisations.

Three central points emerged:

- Blacks feel distant from Inkatha.
- They feel closer to President De Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha.
- The degree of distance from — and presumably antipathy towards — Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging on the far right of the political spectrum.

● Survey results in detail, page 11.



# Rally call for nationalisation

MDANTSANE — Freedom for South Africans would mean nothing unless certain sectors of the economy were nationalised, the secretary-general of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), Moses Mayekiso, said yesterday.

Addressing more than 50 000 people at the Sisa Dukashe Stadium, he said there would have to be a restructuring of the economy to address the imbalances of apartheid.

He was speaking at an ANC rally held to present the deputy president, Nelson Mandela, with a new Mercedes Benz 500 SE built by Numsa workers.

# ANC's way is peace, not guns — Mandela

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC's goal of engaging all political forces in the peace process could not be based on the number of guns they carried, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

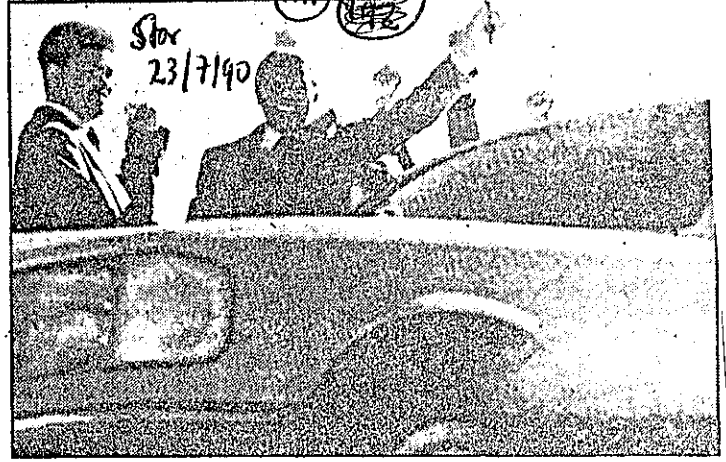
His remarks, made at Mdantsane near East London where he received a luxury car built for him by Mercedes Benz workers, stood in stark contrast to recent remarks by military leader Chris Hani that the organisation might still have to seize power.

Mr Mandela said: "We shall feel honoured if we

can contribute even a little to the struggle to end the violence which continues to claim the lives of many of our people. As the initiators of the peace process, we are determined to see it through to the end.

"In this process of mustering maximum support for negotiations we threaten nobody. All we threaten, and we are proud to do so, is the criminal system of apartheid."

Thanking the workers, he said: "The red colour of this car will forever remind us of the blood the workers and people of our country have shed in the struggle for liberation," he said.



Drive safely, comrade . . . Nelson Mandela holds the keys to the Mercedes Benz car presented to him by the National Union of Metal Workers at a rally yesterday. © Picture by Associated Press.

Press.

# Black opinion favours ANC

From PATRICK LAURENCE  
Argus Correspondent  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE African National Congress is by far the best known and most popular of the political organisations vying for support in the black community.

Its high popularity rating stretches across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender, straddles the urban-rural divide and reaches from South Africa's bustling cities into the remote settlements of its rural hinterland.

These findings are contained in a major survey of black attitudes conducted after President FW de Klerk's February 2 speech unbanning the ANC and its allied organisation — the South African Communist Party (SACP), Umkhonto we Sizwe and the United Democratic Front (UDF) — and its challenger for three decades, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

## Instability

The survey, conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA) in April, May and June, was based on sample of 2 281 black adults, 1 181 men and 1 100 women. The sample was selected according to a method which gave every adult an equal chance of being interviewed.

Political instability in Natal, however, made it impossible to poll attitudes there or in neighbouring KwaZulu. MRA estimates that blacks in Natal-KwaZulu constitute about a fifth of the total black population.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing affect, however, may not be as great as it might have been, say, in 1978, when — according to the Hanf survey — support for Inkatha was high in South Africa generally and Natal-KwaZulu particularly.

A separate contemporary



survey, conducted by Markinor in April 1990 in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban points to the same phenomenon: the rise of ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkatha's.

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

## Fear

There is high-level of awareness of Inkatha; it is as well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which most people dislike and/or fear.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel to — or how distant from — the various organisations.

Three central points emerge:

- Blacks feel distant from Inkatha.

- They feel closer to President De Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha.

- The degree of distance from — and presumably antipathy towards — Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on the far Right of the political spectrum.

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu. Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

The PAC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and In-



Nelson Mandela



FW de Klerk



Chief Buthelezi

katha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP. Blacks feel closer to these organisations — although not much closer — than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance — and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion — which blacks feel, on the average, toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality (neither close nor far).

The ANC's overall rating was 1,2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC SACP level-peg with ratings of 0,9

due to any of several factors.

It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain. It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression, in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

From the perspective of organisations which have been overshadowed by the ANC there is, perhaps, a mite of consolation.

The still relatively high degree of distance from the ANC and its allies may mean that attitudes are as yet unfixed, that there may still be a relatively high degree of mobility in black political preferences.

These are, however, averages scores. They are people who feel very close to organisations. Again it is the ANC which emerges with, from its point of view, the best results: 38 of blacks feel very close to the ANC against 10 for the PAC and two for Inkatha.

From the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 of those blacks who feel very close to the PAC also feel very close to the ANC. There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel very close to the PAC only 11 Of blacks who feel very close to the ANC feel very close to the PAC as well.

These findings infer that many PAC supporters would be just as comfortable in ANC ranks, thus raising, theoretically at any rate, the prospect of defections to the ANC.

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

The a high correlation between support for the ANC and the UDF in unsurprising.

They are two sides of the same political coin. Sympathy for the ANC implies sympathy the UDF and vice versa. These attitudes are mutually supporting.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16-24 year-old category, the youngest and fastest growing group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in age cohort 16-24 feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9,9) for the PAC and minuscule proportion (1,8) for Inkatha. The same pattern is found in the next age cohort of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel very close to an organisation decreases with age, indicating, perhaps, that scepticism with strengthening with age.

## Dominance

There is one exception: in the 25-34 cohort, the proportion of people who feel very close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12. In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

The Markinor survey, conducted in April among 900 black women and 600 black women in the main metropolitan areas, provides confirmation of the ANC's clear dominance at present.

Thus a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation. The NP does relatively well, attaining 10 of the vote. Mr De Klerk does even better, winning 22 of the vote against 58 for Mr Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 against, 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

● The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main black consciousness organisation.

# ANC insurgents will keep coming until agreement, says Sisulu

MEMBERS of the ANC's military wing would continue to infiltrate SA until obstacles to negotiations were removed and the organisation officially agreed to suspend hostilities, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Police, who have already arrested about 40 insurgents and are tracking several others, said they would continue to take strong action against any person planning acts of violence.

The infiltration and subsequent arrest of ANC military operatives is understood to have been discussed by President F W de

Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they met on Friday.

The issue has also been raised at meetings of the Steering Committee set up to facilitate communication between government and the ANC.

Ministers and officials have been reluctant to discuss the arrests in public, fearing they could jeopardise talks to remove obstacles to negotiations.

However Sapa reports that Sisulu said yesterday the arrests would not put a damper on talks between the ANC and government.

B1001 23/7/90

THEO RAWANA  
and MIKE ROBERTSON

Reacting to the arrests, Sisulu said in an interview that greater infiltration by ANC members into SA was under way. This was nothing new and it would continue. The ANC had never said it had ceased hostilities.

Asked if that was the official ANC policy, Sisulu said: "The official line is that the question of the armed struggle has not yet been discussed with government."

Sisulu said that some of the people ar-

rested were from overseas. "I understand that two senior people — but not national executive members — have been arrested. I think the name of one senior Umkhonto we Sizwe person is S'pho Nyanda."

Law and Order spokesman Peet Bothma yesterday confirmed that a number of ANC military personnel had been arrested. The police, he said, were reluctant to give further details as their investigation was at a critical stage. Bothma said further arrests could be expected.

Police have seized weapons including limpet mines, anti-personnel mines, RPG 7

rocket launchers and missiles, hand grenades, AK 47 rifles and machine pistols.

Bothma said the police would crack down on any person planning acts of violence.

"We have warned different individuals, whether from the left or the right, that statements intended to sweep up emotions will have a negative effect and give rise to an increasing spiral of violence which is not in the interests of anyone in SA."

Last week Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said the organisation was

☐ To Page 2

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, July 23 1990

## Insurgents

continuing with military actions. Addressing 3 000 students in Umtata, he said the ANC might have to seize power if government did not shift or share it.

"The struggle still goes on. We are still deploying our cadres inside SA and that's no secret," he said.

This brought a stern rebuke from De Klerk, who said Hani had breached the word and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute, and he would be taking it up in discussions with the ANC leadership.

Asked whether the infiltration of ANC members had been taken up with governments of neighbouring countries, Foreign Affairs officials were reluctant to comment, saying the question of infiltration was being addressed by De Klerk personal-

ly. ANC head-of-information Ahmed Kathrada, responding to speculation that the arrests would derail the August 6 talks between government and ANC, said any future ANC approach to the talks would come out of the organisation's two-day national executive meeting starting today.

Kathrada said the arrests demonstrated double standards by government and were not in keeping with the spirit of the Groote Schuur agreement. Rightwingers arrested were briefly held or given bail, "but our people are arrested for anything, and are held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act".

☉ Comment: Page 4

☐ From Page 1

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By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

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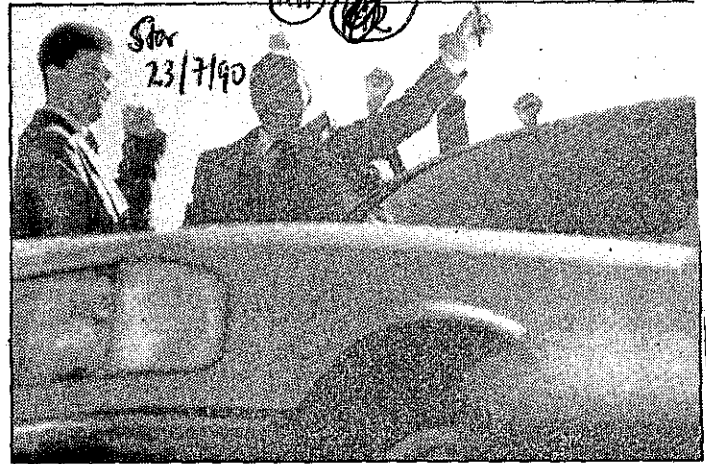
His remarks, made at Mdantsane near East London where he received a luxury car built for him by Mercedes Benz workers, stood in stark contrast to recent remarks by military leader Chris Hani that the organisation might still have to seize power.

Mr Mandela said: "We shall feel honoured if we

can contribute even a little to the struggle to end the violence which continues to claim the lives of many of our people. As the initiators of the peace process, we are determined to see it through to the end.

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Drive safely, comrade . . . Nelson Mandela holds the keys to the Mercedes Benz car presented to him by the National Union of Metal Workers at a rally yesterday. © Picture by Associated

Press. 6

XC-17190 (11A) (11A)

# Selected nationalisation only, says ANC expert

DURBAN — The question of certain important sectors in South Africa being nationalised would have to be given serious thought, Alec Erwin, trade union leader and executive member of the African National Congress, said yesterday.

Addressing more than 1 000 people at the first public meeting of the Umgeni North Committee of the ANC in Greenwood Park near Durban, Mr Erwin said strong consideration would have to be given to the future of sectors such as electricity, sewerage, education and health.

He said most people knew little of the South African economy or of nationalisation.

The country's problems could not be solved by taxing the rich and giving to the poor. If a new government or state was think-

ing of that, it would go bankrupt.

"Only certain sectors would have to be considered for nationalisation."

South Africa had a wealth of minerals for the benefit of everyone, he said.

At the same meeting, long-standing anti-apartheid activist Billy Nair questioned the recent countrywide detentions of ANC members.

He said the Government had identified certain right-wing bombers, but he felt it strange that they were released or out on bail while ANC members were being arrested.

"Since late last year the ANC has not been involved in any attacks or bombings. So why are we being detained?" — Sapa.

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# ANC chiefs meet to plan vital strategies

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC's highest decision-making body, the National Executive Committee, will convene at a secret venue in Johannesburg today.

The NEC will thrash out strategies on several pressing political issues — such as the future of the armed struggle, and the protracted Natal violence.

Still-exiled members of the organisation have been arriving in Johannesburg over the last few days to prepare for the historic meeting. They include director of foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki, treasurer-general

Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

The ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, said last night that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will report back on his recent six-week international tour.

## Struggle

The organisation's steering committee will report on preparations for the August 6 meeting with the Government. One issue which was likely to be raised was the future of the armed struggle, he said.

The Government has insisted

that armed operations be suspended to pave the way for formal negotiations on a new dispensation.

ANC sources have indicated that a cessation of violence could be agreed upon at the Pretoria meeting early next month. The meeting, a follow-up to the Groote Schuur summit in May, is expected to implement the report drawn up by a joint ANC-Government working group.

The report details steps to remove the obstacles to negotiations.

Mr Sisulu said the NEC would also discuss a draft interim ANC constitution.



**KEY TO DOOR . . .** A delighted Mr Nelson Mandela receives the key of his new Merc from a Numsa official, Mr Phillip Groom.

# 'Blood-red' Merc for Nelson

11A (R) (S) (R) CAPT TUP 23/7/90

**MDANTSANE, Ciskei.** — More than 50 000 people packed Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe Stadium yesterday afternoon to watch National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) representatives hand over a top-of-the-range Mercedes Benz to Mr Nelson Mandela.

The car was presented to the ANC deputy president by Numsa workers at Mercedes Benz of SA's (MBSA) East London branch as a token of their appreciation of his leadership in the fight against apartheid.

An emotional Mr Mandela told the jubi-

lant crowd that the red Mercedes Benz 500 SE, which retails for R217 880, would "forever remind us of the blood the workers and people of our country have shed in the liberation struggle".

"Our people continue to die in Natal and the red colour of this car will constitute a daily challenge to us to stop the violence there and the violence of apartheid."

A Numsa representative and MBSA worker, Mr Phillip Groom, told the crowd that the decision to build the car was taken a day after Mr Mandela's release on Febru-

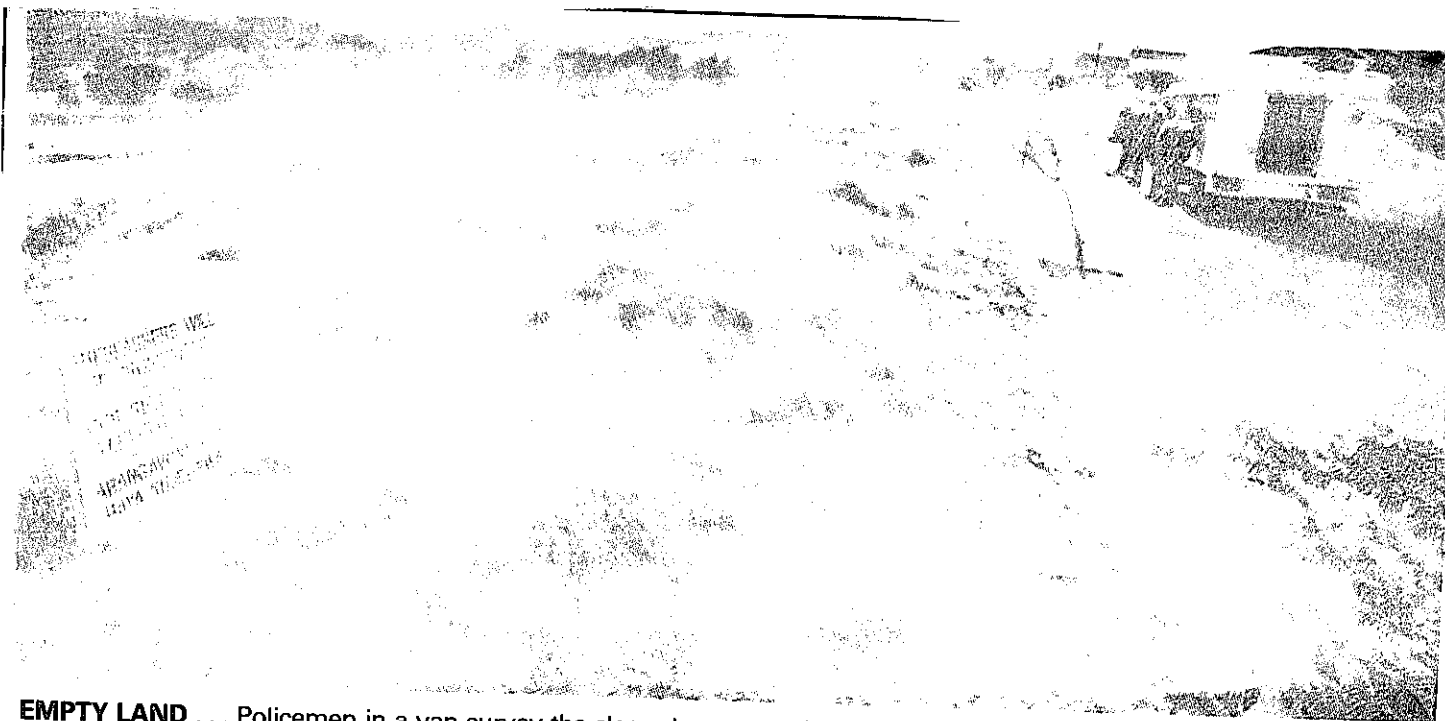
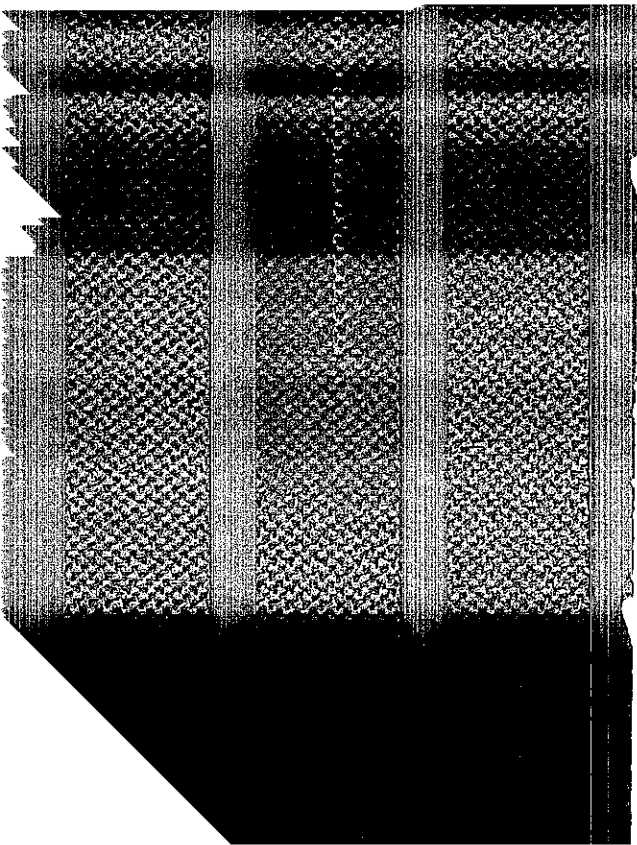
ary 12. He said Numsa workers offered to work without pay to contribute to the expense of the car.

He added that the red colour was chosen as it stood for a symbol of the ANC-SACP alliance.

Mercedes management and the workers agreed the vehicle would be built during non-paid overtime, but the company provided various parts and advice at no cost.

The vehicle comes with sun-roof, air-conditioning, leather interior trim and safety features such as anti-locking brakes.





**EMPTY LAND** . . . Policemen in a van survey the cleared, empty, privately-owned land of District Six yesterday after the UDF last week threatened to co-ordinate attempts to settle there. *Cape Times 23/7/90 (11A)* Picture: BENNY GOOL



**PROTEST** . . . Woodstock ANC members make their feelings plain in the first public protest of the recently-announced campaign on District Six, on Saturday morning.

Municipal Reporter

**WARNING SIGNS** prohibiting unauthorised entrance sprang up in District Six at the weekend.

Police presence in the area has also increased.

There is no indication of who authorised the signs.

When asked whether the presence was related to a UDF campaign centred around District Six, police liaison officer Lt Denise Brand replied that the men there were simply policing the area.

She would not say for how long they would stay there.

In the first protests of the campaign, about 15 ANC placard-carrying protesters lined up along Main Road in Woodstock on Saturday morning.

Slogans demanded that District Six be "returned to the people".

Police were present, but did not disrupt the demonstration. Another one is planned for lunchtime today, this time outside the Ilco Homes office in Lower Burg Street.

## Warning signs go up in District 6

The organisers have indicated that veteran District Six campaigners Ms Naz Ebrahim and Father Basil van Rensburg would support the picket.

Mr Seraj Desai of Woodstock said yesterday that although the campaign would include protests about the ministers' houses in Walmer Estate, this did not mean that there were plans to invade the heavily-fortified houses, as had been reported in the weekend papers.

● A meeting between the UDF and Cape Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring, is due to take place this week to discuss the protest.

CMT Trip 23/7/80 (11A)

## Conference on SA exiles' return

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The problems faced by thousands of South African refugees expected to return home this year will be addressed at an international conference in Geneva this week.

The National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, which represents all of South Africa's main religious groups, as well as political movements with supporters in exile, will table recommendations at the conference for nine repatriation-related pro-

jects expected to cost more than R250 million, reports said.

The committee, led by South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, is also expected to seek the assistance of international agencies, the World Council of Churches and other religious bodies, as well as individual governments, in assisting exiles to return to South Africa.

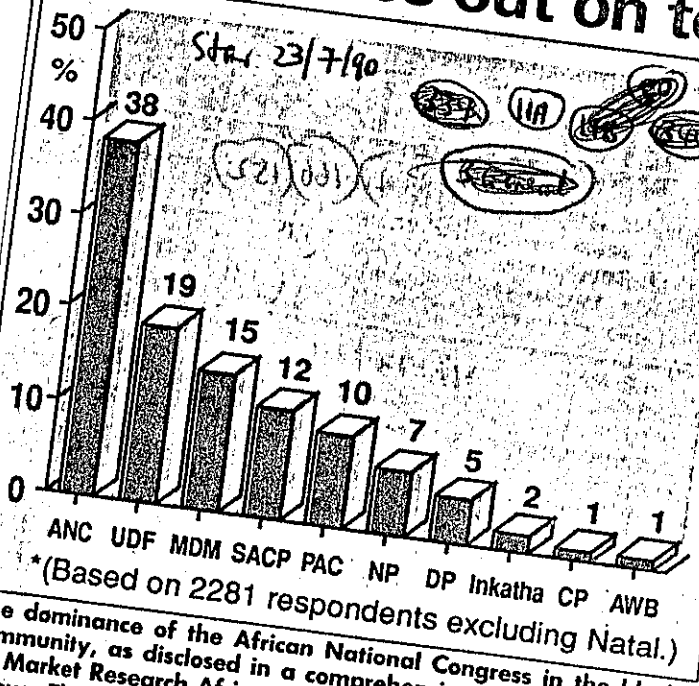
The ANC's position on the return of exiles will probably be

clarified when members of its national executive committee meet to discuss the report of the joint government/ANC working group.

The report, already accepted by the joint working group, is believed to contain a provision for amnesty based on a sliding scale of so-called political offences.

Neither the PAC, Azapo, nor the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania are advising refugees to return to South Africa

...d. They ... bakkie. — West Rand Bu-  
**ANC comes out on top**



The dominance of the African National Congress in the black community, as disclosed in a comprehensive survey conducted by Market Research Africa, is strikingly illustrated in the graph above. The ANC towers over its rivals, the Pan-Africanist Congress and Inkatha. Its closest challenger, the United Democratic Front, is not really a challenger, it is an ally. The graph reflects the proportion of blacks outside Natal and KwaZulu, where civil war is raging in the black community, who feel "very close" to the organisations vying for their support.

● Most blacks support ANC, claims survey — Page 17.

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sta 23/7/90  
11A

The African National Congress is by far the best known and most popular of the political organisations vying for support in the black community.

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The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing affect, however, may not be as great as it might have been until the mid-1980s,

**PATRICK LAURENCE** examines an up-to-date survey of black attitudes in South Africa.

when — according to various early surveys — Inkatha support was unquestionably still high in Natal-KwaZulu.

A separate contemporary survey, conducted by Markinor in April 1990 in the main metropolitan areas, including Dur-

ban, provides indirect confirmation of MRA's central finding: the rise of ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkatha's.

well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which is disliked and/or feared.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel to, or how distant

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu. Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

The PAC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and Inkatha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP. Blacks feel closer to these organisations, although not much closer, than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance — and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion — which on average blacks feel toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality.

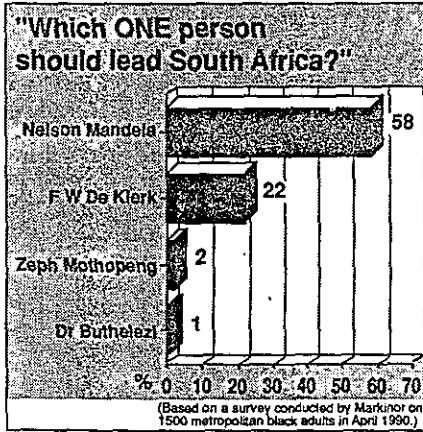
The ANC's overall rating was 1.2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC SACP levelpeg with ratings of 0.9 each. All three ratings point to a measure of doubt.

Seen in that context Inkatha's minus 2.8 rating is perhaps not quite so bad. But it is bad enough to be cause of concern to its leaders.

The absence of strong, positive identification with the main political forces may be due to any of several factors.

It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain. It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression,



A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

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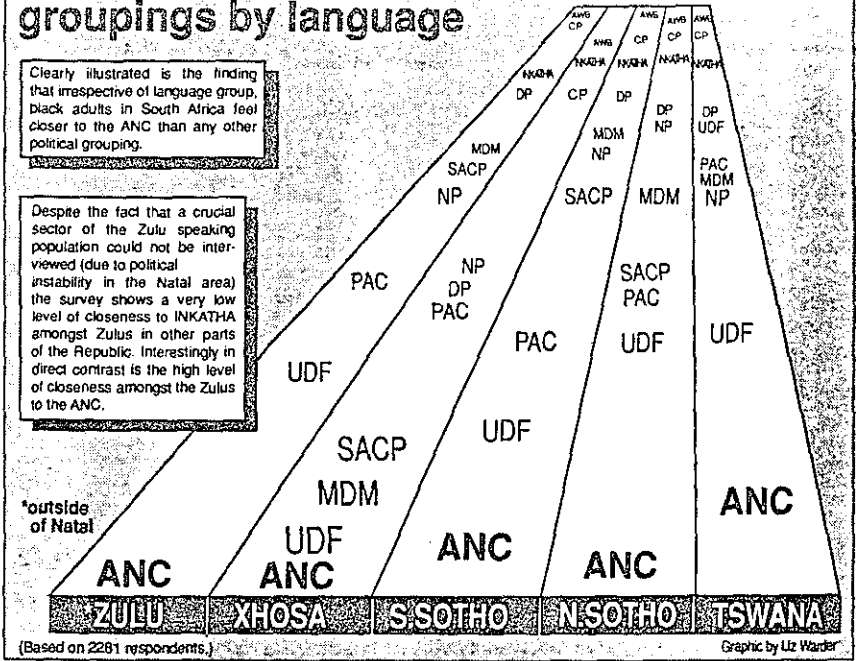
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## Perceived closeness to various political groupings by language

Clearly illustrated is the finding that irrespective of language group, black adults in South Africa feel closer to the ANC than any other political grouping.

Despite the fact that a crucial sector of the Zulu speaking population could not be interviewed (due to political instability in the Natal area) the survey shows a very low level of closeness to INKATHA amongst Zulus in other parts of the Republic. Interestingly in direct contrast is the high level of closeness amongst the Zulus to the ANC.



in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

These are, however, average scores. They are people who feel close to organisations. Again it is the ANC which emerges with, from its point of view, the best results: 38 percent of blacks feel close to the ANC against 10 percent for the PAC and 2 percent for Inkatha.

From the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 percent of those blacks who feel close to the PAC also feel close to the ANC. There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel close to the PAC: only 11 percent of blacks who feel close to the ANC feel close to the PAC as well.

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual

loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16-24-year-old category.

Nearly half (47 percent) of blacks aged 16-24 feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9.9 percent) for the PAC and (1.8 percent) for Inkatha. The same pattern is found in the next age group of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel close to an organisation decreases with age.

There is one exception: in the 25-34 group, the proportion of people who feel close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12 percent. In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

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Thus a clear majority, 64 percent, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation. The NP does relatively well, attaining 10 percent of the vote. Mr de Klerk does even better, winning 22 percent of the vote against 58 percent for Mr Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 percent against 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

Footnote: The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main Black Consciousness organisation.

# Development may pose a threat to the Okavango

Talks likely to go ahead in spite of arrests

# 'Plotters' on the run after big crackdown

111  
8/23/79

By Craig Kotze,  
Peter Fabricius and  
Esmaré van der Merwe

Many members of the SA Communist Party and the ANC's armed wing are on the run after a massive police crackdown on the alleged planners of an insurrection.

Security sources said many people wanted in connection with the alleged plans had gone to ground.

Government sources said last night that State Security Council would probably discuss the alleged plot today.

Government Ministers and officials played down the disclosures, saying they did not think the affair would derail talks about negotiations between the ANC and the Government set for August 6.

The fact that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela have agreed on the meeting suggests that the alleged plot has not upset the negotiation process.

News of up to 40 arrests in connection with the alleged plot came just as the Government and the ANC are expected to reach agreement on a cessation of violence.

## F W aware

It seems highly likely the ANC infiltration was discussed by President de Klerk and Mr Mandela when they met on Friday.

Mr de Klerk had been aware of the ANC movements for some time before the meeting, Government sources said.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu last night said the deployment of armed cadres within South Africa was "a usual thing", in line with the ANC's policy of armed struggle.

Sapa reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) leader Chris Hani told a meeting in Umtata he was surprised at Mr de Klerk's reaction to his statement that MK would seize power if the Government refused to share it.

The statement was not a show of "bravado", as a Sunday newspaper had suggested, but a serious declaration.

"I know MK is a threat to the Government. I know the Government wants a weaker ANC. We say MK must expand to protect us."

Umkhonto cadres displayed their firepower at the weekend meetings attended by Mr Hani in Umtata, Butterworth and Cofimvaba, moving



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"I know MK is a threat to the Government. I know the Government wants a weaker ANC. We say MK must expand to protect us."

Umkhonto cadres displayed their firepower at the weekend meetings attended by Mr Hani in Umtata, Butterworth and Cofimvaba, moving with AK-47 rifles through the crowds.

Among the alleged insurgents arrested inside South Africa in the latest police swoop were 11 people said to have received military training outside the country and about 20 allegedly trained inside South Africa. The rest are said to be collaborators.

All of those detained, it is understood, are either members or supporters of the SACP, and were members of Umkhonto.

Those detained were suspected of being members of a secret unit whose existence was not known to the conventional command structure of Umkhonto, security sources said.

## Seized

The unit was made up of specially infiltrated insurgents who entered South Africa through Swaziland and set up cell structures with locally trained people inside the country.

A logistics system was set up, which included the use of hi-tech equipment. Police have seized such equipment, as well as arms and ammunition.

"From our information, this unit was not part of the usual infiltration of the ANC — it was specially set up for plans of which the broad mass of MK knew nothing. It seems to have been entirely an SACP-initiated action," said one source.

Some Government sources close to the negotiations said that, as the ANC had not yet abandoned the armed struggle, continued activity by Umkhonto was not strictly inconsistent with its negotiation stance.

They said one of the Government's aims at talks with the ANC on August 6 would be precisely to persuade it to suspend hostilities.

The disclosure of the police arrest of MK infiltrators might in turn have been designed to counter Mr Chris Hani's statement.

News 23/7/90 (11)

# ANC insurgent group held by police

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Eight highly trained African National Congress insurgents have been arrested by security police in Durban during the past 10 days and a ninth suspect was being questioned by police early today.

The arrests form part of the national crackdown that recently has netted at least 40 Umkhonto we Siswe members.

Police also seized several arms caches, including limpet mines, hand grenades, AK 47 rifles and ammunition.

It is believed police launched the crackdown on July 12. In follow-up operations police raided houses in Umlazi and uncovered a significant cache of weapons.

Among those arrested was Mr Siphon Nyanda, a senior member of the ANC military wing.

The eight suspects are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

## TOP-LEVEL TALKS

Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC internal leader, said the arrests were unlikely to torpedo top-level talks with the government scheduled for August 6.

ANC Deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela is to meet the movement's policy-making national executive committee in Johannesburg today and tomorrow to plan strategy for the meeting with President F W De Klerk.

Sapa meanwhile quoted security sources as saying the infiltration by members of an elite ANC commando unit was part of a plan by individuals in the movement and in the South African Communist Party to derail the settlement talks that were launched in May.

Mr Sisulu denied there was any special mission under way and said the ANC's military wing had made no secret of its intention to wage armed struggle until apartheid was dismantled irreversibly.

"People have been infiltrating into South Africa since we launched our armed struggle in the 60s. Under the new climate it can be expected that many more will return to South Africa," he said.

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CAPL TRUITS 23/7/90 (11A)

# Hani 'surprised' at FW

UMTATA. — Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani at the weekend told a meeting here that he was surprised by President F W de Klerk's reaction to his controversial statement last week that MK would seize power if required to do so.

"I know MK is a threat to the government and I know the government wants a weaker ANC — we say MK must expand to protect us," he said.

He told parents of youths serving MK, or who had died serving MK, that Transkei had produced the best cadres and commanders in the ANC's armed wing.

MK cadres displayed their firepower at the weekend as they moved with AK-47 assault rifles through crowds at the Umtata meeting and rallies in Butter-

worth and Cofimvaba.

The cadres were all people whose trials had been stopped by the Transkei Supreme Court or who were pardoned by the Transkei military government while serving a jail term.

Speaking at the Umtata Civic Centre, Mr Hani said some youths had completed advance courses in aviation and had been offered top posts in countries such as Libya, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

He told the parents it was a great pity some cadres would not be coming home as they had "fallen by the wayside, like in any other war".

Mr Hani paid tribute to cadres, including Mazizi Mapekeza, who, he said, had fought Transkei security forces near a Willowvale forest and was finally killed by South African agents in Lesotho.

"It is important for us to recognise the contribution these cadres made in the name of the struggle, and in doing so we should respect their parents," Mr Hani said.

He told the parents the remains of all dead cadres would be exhumed and buried under a monument in South Africa "when the time is ripe".

He said he was soon returning to MK training camps and would take greetings back to the cadres from their parents.

"I am still going back to train more cadres," he quipped.

He said: "MK is here to protect this space (Transkei), together with the Transkei Defence Force and the Transkei Police." — Sapa

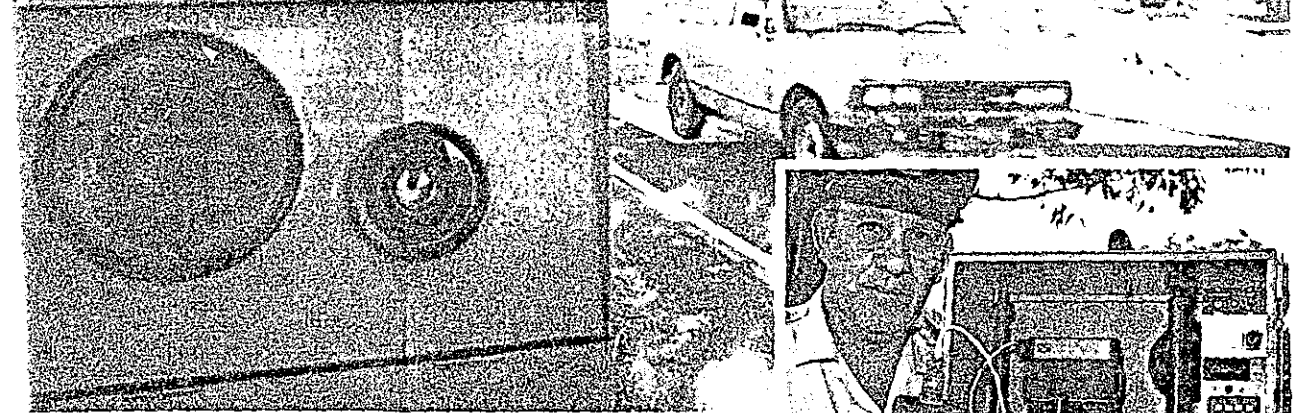


'No to the seizing of power through the back door'

# FW warns ANC

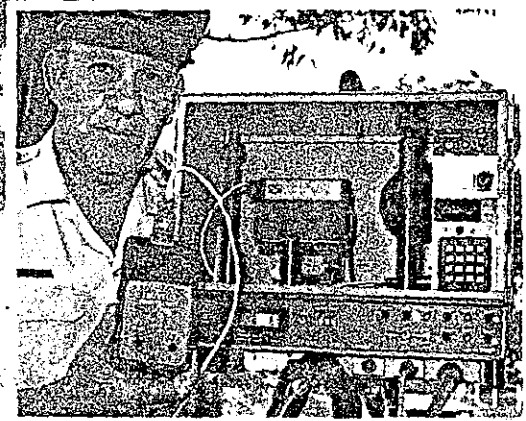
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**Watch it! Big Brother is watching you**



**EEING EYE . . .** Inspector James Kitching (above) with the magenta-ed speed trap camera which is being brought into commission for e first time today. **RIGHT:** Senior traffic officer Frank van Aswegen owns the insides of the new speed-trapping camera box. The camera connected to the equipment which records the time and place of the ident, and the speed of the car.

Pictures: ANNE LAING



Political Staff

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk** in a hardline statement last night warned the African National Congress that "disorder, anarchy and terrorism" would not be tolerated.

No one would be allowed "to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power in the country by force".

Mr De Klerk's statement came after police had arrested at least 40 ANC insurgents in the past weeks in a crack-down on the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Siswe.

Police also seized arms caches consisting of limpet mines, handgrenades, AK-47 rifles and ammunition and information material.

Referring to the arrests, Mr De Klerk said the government viewed the matter in an extremely serious light.

Police investigations would continue "and, should evidence point to criminal offences, the accused will be heard in open court, as is customary".

But he made it clear that the government remained committed to peaceful negotiations and that its discussions with the ANC on August 6 would continue as planned.

Mr De Klerk said: "The government insists that the laws of the country have to be respected. Therefore disorder, anarchy and terrorism will not be tolerated."

Change must be orderly and follow peaceful negotiation and discussion.

Since February 2 this year no one has

## ANC 'activist' seeks US asylum

**DURBAN.** — A man alleged to be a member of the military wing of the ANC, Mr Bhekumusa Jabulani Kimba, took refuge in the American consulate here at 11am yesterday, seeking political asylum.

The 38-year-old senior laboratory technician at the University of Zululand walked into the consulate office and told the United States Information Services director Mr John Dickson: "I am seeking political asylum."

Mr Dickson said he had been in contact with the government and the US embassy in Pretoria.

ANC sources said Mr Kimba's girlfriend, Miss Zandile Cele, had been detained for two hours last Monday at C R Swart Square here by four policemen who questioned her about explosives.

ANC convener for southern Natal Mr Patrick Lekota confirmed yesterday Mr Kimba was an ANC "activist".

Mr Dickson said he would know definitely by this morning whether Mr Kimba would be granted asylum.

Mr Kimba said he chose the American consulate to pressure US President George Bush into not meeting President F W de Klerk "until the whole question of detention and the treatment of political prisoners — while the ANC is committed to negotiations — is resolved".

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs in Pretoria confirmed that a man, allegedly a member of MK, took refuge in the American consulate in Durban and that the department was in contact with American embassy officials.

A US embassy spokesman in Pretoria said Mr Kimba was holding discussions with US consulate officials. He said Mr Kimba had some "legal problems" and US officials were determining whether they could help him. — Sapa

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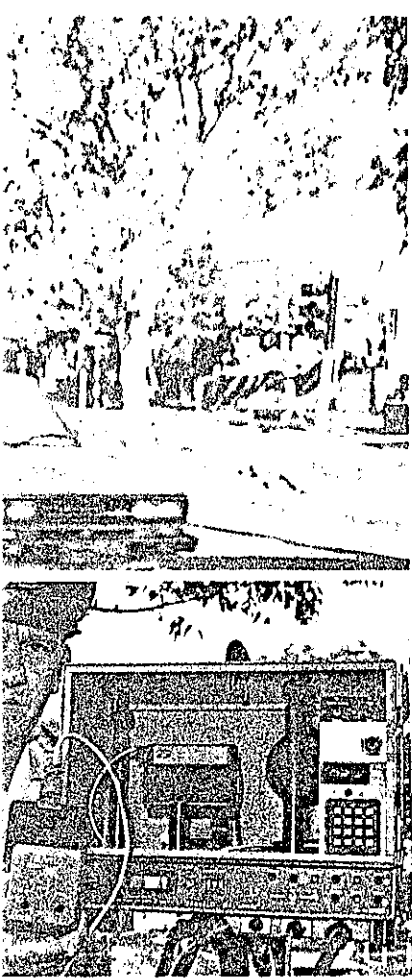
After Mr De Klerk's statement, police, who earlier had said they expected more arrests of insurgents, directed all questions concerning the recent

power through the back door'

# Arms ANC

CAT Tings  
24/7/90

Watching you



notorists involved — to carry out normal speed enforcement on multi-lane freeways," Mr Smit said.

Once a picture is taken, the registered owner of the vehicle can expect a notification of the fine in the post "within two weeks".

The driver does not get a picture in the post but is given an opportunity to see it at traffic headquarters.

Asked where the trapping camera would be used, Mr Smit named De Waal Drive, Bromboom Freeway, Union Avenue past JCT, Table Bay Boulevard "and all expressways and multi-lane roads".

Political Staff

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Mr De Klerk said: "The government insists that the laws of the country have to be respected. Therefore disorder, anarchy and terrorism will not be tolerated."

Change must be orderly and follow peaceful negotiation and discussion.

Since February 2 this year no one has been prosecuted merely for belonging to a political organisation or for promoting its aims.

"There are, however, certain basic rules attached to this process. They do not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms in order to force its will at the negotiation table or in any other way to prevent the political process taking its normal course."

The State President emphasised that the temporary immunity granted to people who otherwise would have faced prosecution applied only in respect of actions before the date on which the immunity came into operation.

"Consequently the peace and immunity processes do not provide room for anybody to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power in the country by force.

"The government and the South African

## ANC 'activist' seeks US asylum

CAT Tings 24/7/90

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Mr Dickson said he had been in contact with the government and the US embassy in Pretoria.

ANC sources said Mr Ximba's girlfriend, Miss Zandile Cele, had been detained for two hours last Monday at C R Swart Square here by four policemen who questioned her about explosives.

ANC convener for southern Natal Mr Patrick Lekota confirmed yesterday Mr Ximba was an ANC "activist".

Mr Dickson said he would know definitely by this morning whether Mr Ximba would be granted asylum.

Mr Ximba said he chose the American consulate to pressure US President George Bush into not meeting President F W de Klerk "until the whole question of detention and the treatment of political prisoners — while the ANC is committed to negotiations — is resolved".

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs in Pretoria confirmed that a man, allegedly a member of MK, took refuge in the American consulate in Durban and that the department was in contact with American embassy officials.

A US embassy spokesman in Pretoria said Mr Ximba was holding discussions with US consulate officials. He said Mr Ximba had some "legal problems" and US officials were determining whether they could help him. — Sapa

security forces are thoroughly mindful of this."

After Mr De Klerk's statement, police, who earlier had said they expected more arrests of insurgents, directed all questions concerning the recent arrests to the Office of the State President, saying that police would not be releasing any more information.

In London ANC spokesman Mr Lawson Naidoo said the arrests of the ANC guerillas were likely to feature on the agenda when talks resume with the government.

He said that a general amnesty allowing for the return of soldiers in Umkhonto we Sizwe should generate much discussion when the talks focus on a general amnesty for exiles.

A permanent, general amnesty will also enable ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is still convalescing in London, to return permanently to the country he left 30 years ago.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, ANC threats to "seize power" and claims of a "red plot" to derail negotiations yesterday heightened

# ANC 'activist' seeks US asylum

11A  
24/7/90

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CHA-TINF 24/1/90

11A ~~SECRET~~

From page 1

## FW warns

political tensions and placed the far right wing on the offensive.

Both the Conservative Party and the AWB said they regarded Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani's claims about taking power and continuing to deploy ANC cadres as a blatant "declaration of war" against the government.

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the party's spokesman on justice, Mr Chris de Jager, had filed charges of treason against Mr Hani with the police.

### Hani

Dr Treurnicht said he was "dumbfounded" that Mr Hani had not been arrested yet. "While the government places a ransom of R50 000 on the head of Piet Rudolph, it allows Chris Hani to freely plan and promote the ANC's violence against white South Africa."

● In a thinly veiled call to arms, the AWB said last night: "Hani is warned: The AWB accepts his provocative challenges in the same spirit in which he made them."

"If the ANC want to take over our armed forces or want to maintain law and order in their place, all hell will break loose in the Republic and the Boers will root them out."

### 'Tactics'

● SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo yesterday accused the government of reverting to "red-scare tactics" in a bid to interfere with the formal launching of the party this weekend.

The head of the SA Police public relations directorate, Major-General Herman Stadler, said yesterday that the SACP appeared to have played a prominent role in assisting ANC insurgents to enter South Africa in recent months.

● The Democratic Party said yesterday that those detained in connection with bringing arms into the country for revolutionary purposes should be charged with specific offences and brought to trial without further delay.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe said the use of security legislation which gave unlimited powers to the government would only create suspicion of unfair treatment in this case.

### Explain

"If the ANC operatives have indeed brought arms into the country during this delicate stage of negotiations, then the leadership of that organisation must waste no time in giving a public explanation of what is going on." The ANC should also take action against those responsible to "stop this development".

● Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at Mr Hani for calling for his (Chief Buthelezi's) "isolation".

Chief Buthelezi noted that last year Mr Hani had publicly stated that Inkatha central committee members were "targets for assassination".

# Pamphlets are not ours, says PAC

A MEMBER of the Pan Africanist Congress in Seshogo, Mr Mathabathe Seema, yesterday denounced pamphlets distributed in the area calling for the burning of taxis that ferry people to the launch this weekend of the South African Communist Party.

The pamphlets, bearing the PAC logo are titled "burn taxi burn". They warn taxi owners not to transport "members of Sayco/Mayco to the SACP meeting". *Sowetan 24/7/90*

Seema blamed the "system" for the pamphlets and said those responsible were trying to "make us fight with other organisations".

"We think that a normal organisation cannot issue such a pamphlet. We wish everybody to know that this is not our pamphlet," Seema said.

6/04 24/7/90

## BWB plans to contact arms dealers

PETER DELMAR and LINDEN BIRNS

THE ultra right-wing Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) was planning to make contact with international arms dealers, leaders of the movement said in an interview at the weekend.

BWB general secretary Eddie von Maltitz said he believed right-wing groups could easily obtain arms on the international market.

BWB leader Andrew Ford said in an interview in Bethlehem the BWB had "hundreds of thousands" of sympathisers.

It was organising commandos in every town and city in SA, he said.

Ford also disclosed the BWB and its political arm, the Boerestaat Party, were planning to send a deputation to the UN to argue their case for the restoration of the white Boer states.

6/04 24/7/90

# Inkatha, UDF start Natal peace talks

MARITZBURG — Inkatha and UDF representatives would discuss ways to bring peace to Natal in Durban today, spokesmen from both organisations said yesterday.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday he was informed on Friday that two representatives from the UDF/Cosatu joint working committee would meet the Inkatha delegation at the National Union of Metalworker's offices this evening.

Mdlalose said Inkatha would be represented by himself, DR B Madide, VB Ndlovu, Musa Zondi and N Nkehli.

He said there was no significance in the fact that the venue of the meeting was not neutral and pointed out that previous meetings had been held at Inkatha offices.

He said he hoped the talks would return to the five-a-side format used before the moratorium on talks was requested by Inkatha late last year.

Mdlalose said he did not share the view that the current discussions were in any sense informal, as had been suggested by UDF/Cosatu representatives.

Cosatu/UDF committee member Diliza Mji said prior to the postponement of last

TIM COHEN

week's talks that they were seen by his group as "informal exploratory talks".

A Cosatu spokesman confirmed that the talks would be held and said its working committee would be represented by Alec Erwin and Mji.

On track

Our Durban correspondent reports that the annual conference of Inkatha at Ulundi last week passed a resolution calling on other groups to resume the peace process.

Political observers are quietly optimistic that the talks appear to be on track.

Peace talks between the two sides broke down in Maritzburg in 1987 and at the Complaints Adjudication Board in 1988.

Meanwhile, the violence in KwaZulu-Natal has claimed more than 3 000 lives since it started in 1985.

Last week a bus crash at Inanda, in which 26 people lost their lives and 56 were injured, was attributed to conflict between UDF/ANC and Inkatha supporters.

# Call for advocates to aid poor

PORT ELIZABETH — Delegates to the 45th AGM of the General Council of the Bar of SA at the weekend recommended that individual Bars create structures to enable advocates to voluntarily represent poor defendants free of charge.

A Bar council spokesman said this would ensure that the indigent were not deprived of specialised legal representation.

The council agreed to "seek an assurance from government that proper legal aid, or at least pro deo defence, will be provided to poor persons".

The council announced its support for the introduction of "a system of independent public defenders to provide legal representation to indigent accused persons in criminal cases in the lower courts".

Delegates expressed concern that accused persons who could be tried for murder in the Regional Courts and sentenced to imprisonment for up to 10 years, might not be afforded legal representation as the pro deo system operated only in the Supreme Court.

The council also resolved to identify

with the ideals, aspirations and challenges of a new democratic SA.

The meeting committed the Bar to the maintenance of an independent judiciary and to ensuring that the Bar was representative of all sections of the population.

Delegates from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Natal, Eastern Cape, Free State, northern Cape, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei attended the AGM.

## Delays

The AGM resolved to consider methods of combatting delays in civil litigation and will make "various concrete proposals" to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and the Rules Board for reforms in this regard.

Cape Bar SC Milton Seligson was re-elected chairman of the general council. Pretoria Bar SC William de Vries was elected vice-chairman.

Chief Justice Mr Justice Corbett was again elected honorary president. — Sapa.

# ANC is set to launch newspaper

THEO RAWANA

A NEW local newspaper sympathetic to the ANC was in the pipeline as a result of the uncertain future of Sechaba, the organisation's overseas publication, ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenge said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Netshitenge said that unlike Sechaba, the organisation's official organ abroad, the new newspaper would not be a specifically ANC publication.

"It will be an independent newspaper 'gravitating' towards the broader democratic movement. The newspaper is being discussed in the ANC's information department and in the movement in general," he said. No launching date had been set.

But the ANC was in the process of compiling its own journal — to be called Mayibuye, which would be launched in 10 days' time. It would be a continuation of the external publication Mayibuye.

The New Nation reported last week that Sechaba editor Francis Meli told an Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) meeting that the future of the East German-produced Sechaba looked "pretty dark".

"Far-reaching changes ... saw the (East German) authorities reluctant to use public funds to support the ANC," Meli said.

He said the ANC had been given a year, from January 1990, to continue producing the paper there.

# Hospital escaper eluding us, say police

FRAUD suspect Ernest Hewitt, who escaped from the Johannesburg Hospital on Saturday, was still at large yesterday and police had no leads to follow, said police spokesman Capt Pieter van Deventer.

In an interview Van Deventer said Hewitt, who would have stood trial this week on charges of foreign currency fraud involving about R7m, continued to "elude" the Pretoria commercial crime unit.

Van Deventer added that police had not yet identified the three black men who

OWEN MAUBANE

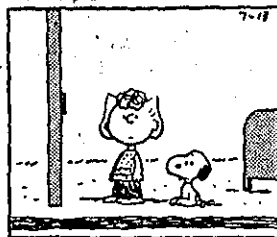
helped Hewitt escape.

Hewitt was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital from Diepkloof Prison with a heart ailment but managed to escape when three armed men wounded one of the two constables guarding him.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said yesterday that Const SA Masinga, shot in the stomach and shoulder, remained in a "stable" condition.

# PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



... saw the (East German) authorities reluctant to use public funds to support the ANC," Meli said. He said the ANC had been given a year, from January 1990, to continue producing the paper there.

11A  
~~SECRET~~

# Insurgency row will not derail talks

B/Day 24/1/90

TALKS between government and the ANC would go ahead despite the recent spate of infiltrations of the country by armed insurgents, President F W de Klerk said yesterday after a meeting of the State Security Council.

De Klerk warned that the laws in the country had to be respected, and disorder and terrorism would not be tolerated.

He said temporary immunity for members of the ANC applied only to actions committed before the immunity was granted.

Government viewed the infiltrations in an extremely serious light. If police investigations pointed to criminal offences, accusations would be heard in open court.

However, government remained committed to the objective of finding a solution to intimidation and violence, as well as a commitment to stability and a peaceful negotiation process and would continue the discussions with the ANC on August 6.

The ANC announced at the weekend it would proceed with the talks. The ANC's National Executive Committee met yesterday and the police crackdown on cadres was expected to be high on the agenda. The organisation will issue a statement tomorrow on its deliberations.

De Klerk's statement did not refer to recent statements by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani that the ANC might be forced to seize power.

However, CP leader Andries Treurnicht announced yesterday that the party had brought a charge of high treason against Hani and he urged government to cancel its planned talks with the ANC.

## PETER DELMAR

WILSON ZWANE reports that an Umkhonto we Sizwe member yesterday sought refuge in the US Consulate in Durban.

Embassy spokesman Brooke Spectre said Bhekumusa Jabulani Ximba said he was seeking political asylum.

It was not clear yesterday whether Ximba would be granted asylum.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Alayne Reesburg said her department was in contact with the US embassy.

Sapa reports Ximba said he had been in

THE arrests of ANC insurgents and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani's militaristic speeches could signal the start of a battle for the soul of the ANC/SACP alliance. On Page 6 MIKE ROBERTSON and ALAN FINE examine the potential for the emergence of dissident forces in the liberation movement.

hiding since his house in Umlazi was raided last week. ANC sources said it was believed that a large cache of weapons was confiscated by a joint task force of Kwa-Zulu police and the SAP.

Yesterday Law and Order spokesman Capt Peet Bothma confirmed most of the approximately 40 Umkhonto members detained recently were SACP members. Further arrests could not be ruled out.

Bothma also disclosed details of the arms seized around the country. They included "dozens" of mines, hand grenades, rifles, pistols and an RPG-7 missile launcher.

□ To Page 2

## Talks

B/Day 24/1/90

er, as well as missiles and a large assortment of ammunition.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said yesterday the party had never concealed the fact that many of its members were active Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers. As such they were subject to strict ANC discipline and did not fall under any separate SACP command.

The SACP, he said, categorically denied government allegations of "some sinister red plot".

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada yesterday dismissed the row surrounding the arrests as a media creation. The ANC had never deviated from its

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□ From Page 1

support for the armed struggle until pre-conditions for negotiations were met.

Sapa reports SAP public relations directorate head Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said the SACP appeared to have played a prominent role in assisting ANC insurgents enter SA in recent months.

Stadler said it was difficult to determine whether the SACP had hoped to derail negotiations between government and the ANC through such actions.

He hoped the investigation into the case of the 40 insurgents would be completed within days.

● Comment: Page 6



# Owen misrepresents resistance movement

CAH 7/11 24/7/90 (11A)

From DR BARUCH HIRSON (London):

MY attention has been drawn to two articles in which my name appears, written by Ken Owen and published in your papers of May 28 and June 4.

In the second article Ms Callinicos is quoted as saying that Mr Owen's reference to me is probably libellous. Yet, there was no softening by Mr Owen, and he persisted with his attack on me.

I must request an apology and must also request that you print this letter giving it the same publicity as that accorded your columnist.

Firstly, let me say that I am not certain why Mr Owen felt fit to drag my name into an article in which he attacks the Communist Party. It is not my concern to defend the SACP from the untutored pen of Mr Owen, but he will know from even the most superficial reading of my recent book, *Yours For The Union*, that I have opposed support for the unspeakable crimes of the USSR and condemned its tactics in South Africa over four decades and more.

Furthermore, whatever the sensibilities of Mr Owen, I cannot see how history is falsified if it is stated, in an article of which I am not aware, that the African Resistance Movement (ARM) was an anti-apartheid organisation.

Its methods can be criticised, its activities

even condemned: but that does not make its claim to have been an anti-apartheid organisation "mendacious myth-making". Nor can he claim that the ANC's turn to violence (following our initiative) was not in pursuit of its anti-apartheid policy because it led to bombings and death.

If Mr Owen had turned to Hugu Lewin's court statement, as reprinted in his book *Bandiet*, or to press reports of our trial in Pretoria in November 1964, he would have found that we were bitterly opposed to apartheid, and some of his more serious mis-statements might have been avoided.

He would have found that there was more than one coloured member in the movement, as he claimed, and that many of our Johannesburg members had been members of the Congress Youth League. For reasons best known to the police Africans were used only as state witnesses and not charged.

But their membership was not in doubt. The fact that Eddie Daniels received the longest prison sentence is correct, but what has never been disclosed, and could not be disclosed at the time because I was held under 90-day detention, was his opposition to sabotage as a suitable method of fighting apartheid.

To his credit, he never once, during his 15 years on Robben Island or since, claimed that he had been wrongly imprisoned. He was a member of the Liberal Party who knew of, and respected, my more radical views.

Yes, John Harris, in a move that went against the policy of ARM, did place a bomb at the Johannesburg station and the result was disas-

and banned and consequently went into exile. Mr Owen seems unaware of the facts — but he could have uncovered much of this with little difficulty. What is inexcusable was his slanderous statement in which he allowed himself to wonder if I "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".

There are few accusations against a political activist that can be more serious than a charge of being a provocateur (leaving aside the claim that my co-accused were "silly liberal youngsters"), and this accusation must, with all due respects, be withdrawn unreservedly.

Remarkably, Mr Owen was given the opportunity to think again about his statement when Ms Callinicos wrote a response and refutation. By his own admission Mr Owen is a "penny-a-line scribbler" but that does not give him a licence to repeat his calumny by saying that it is permissible to speculate about my role — that is, presumably, as an agent provocateur.

As for the potted history that Mr Owen contributes, I have my doubts whether he did in effect read my book. I never said that Heaton Lee formed the WIL in Johannesburg after previously being an organiser in the British Trotskyist movement, nor did Owen have to refer to Roux to find an attack by Senator Basner on the WIL: I refer to it in my book (and contrary to what Owen says, Basner had long since left the Communist Party).

Even more strangely, after claiming that I had somehow misled "young liberals", he discovered

## DP leadership should show commitment

From JAC MCGREGOR (Kenilworth):

11A

24/7/90

# Anti-Inkatha groups blamed for violence

Star 24/7/90  
By Craig Kotze

Police have blamed anti-Inkatha elements for the weekend bloodbath at Sebokeng township in the Vaal Triangle — where the official death toll is 19 — and said they had deliberately provoked a fight with the Zulu movement.

A team of detectives has now been formed to investigate as top priority the killings, which include that of policeman Warrant Officer Petrus Jooste (32), speared by an unknown person, said Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe.

He said police knew of 19 deaths but it was at first thought, due to separate police statements, that the death toll was as high as 24.

Police have warned that revenge attacks will not be tolerated.

All possible measures would be taken to end the violence but it had to be realised the root of the problem was political and not a security matter. Police would remain neutral and would not take sides.

Colonel Malherbe said Inkatha and the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) had applied to have meetings in the same stadium on the same day. Inkatha, which also applied to Vanderbijlpark's magistrate for permission, was given permission, but the VCA, which did not apply to the magistrate, was turned down.

Before the meeting, several groups between 100 and 600-strong and wearing ANC/UDF T-shirts, gathered outside the stadium and hurled stones at police and their vehicles, igniting violence throughout the township against police.

Police dispersed the stadium mobs with teargas and rubber bullets.

After the meeting ended at 3.30 pm, Inkatha members in seven buses were escorted by police from the stadium through a gauntlet of petrol bombs and stones to the men's hostel in the township.

Stu 24/1/90

(S) (11A)

NEWS

# CP lays charge against Hani

Political Staff and Crime Reporter

The Conservative Party has laid a charge against Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani in terms of the Internal Security Act.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday said justice spokesman Chris de Jager had laid the charge with police.

The CP move follows a speech by Mr Hani in Transkei last week in which he said the ANC might have to seize power if the Government did not agree to shift or share power.

"It is unbelievable that the Minister of Law and Order or the State President himself have not yet ordered Hani's arrest," Dr Treurnicht said. "By refusing to arrest Hani, the Government is promoting the occurrence of black-on-white violence in South Africa."

Mr Hani was allowed to openly promote and plan ANC violence against white South Africa. Yet the Government had offered R50 000 for information leading to the arrest of right-wing terror suspect Piet Rudolph.

● The SA Communist Party appeared to have played a prominent role in assisting ANC insurgents to enter South Africa in recent months, according to Major-General Herman Stadler, head of the SAP public relations directorate.

## Weapons seized

He said it was difficult to determine whether the SACP had hoped to derail negotiations between the Government and the ANC through such actions.

The police were still busy with the case in which 40 insurgents were arrested and a large amount of weapons seized. General Stadler said the investigation was not directed at the ANC, but at people who broke the law.

● SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo yesterday accused the Government of "reverting to Red-scare tactics" by alleging that the arrest of about 40 Umkhonto cadres — believed to be SACP members — signified a "Red plot".

He accused Mr de Klerk of trying to smear the party on the eve of its launch as a political party.

The Democratic Party has demanded a public explanation from the ANC for allegedly bringing arms into the country "during this delicate stage of negotiations".

Commenting on allegations of an ANC insurrection plot, the DP demanded too that the ANC leadership should waste no time in acting against its own members to stop the development.

24/7/99

(LHR)

# Ex-Askari implicated in Mxenge death is murdered

By Karen Stander  
and Craig Kotze

Former "Askari" Brian Ngqulunga, who was accused by two former colleagues of involvement in the murder of Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge, has been killed.

The body of the former ANC member, who told the Harms Commission that not one arrest had resulted from his work for the police in nine years, was found "riddled with bullet holes" in the veld in Bophuthatswana on Saturday.

He disappeared from his So-shanguve home on Friday.

An ANC hit squad is suspected of having assassinated him, police sources said yesterday.

Mr Ngqulunga contradicted the evidence of Death Row prisoner Almond Nofemela and former security police captain and alleged hit squad leader Dirk Coetzee when he testified before the commission which was appointed to investigate politically motivated murders.

## Denied

He denied that a hit squad had ever existed at the Vlakplaas police farm outside Pretoria — allegedly the base of the death squad — while he had been stationed there.

Mr Ngqulunga, a police sergeant at the time of his murder, was found dead in the veld between Lethlabile and Garankua at about 3 pm on Saturday, police said. AK-47 cartridges were found near the body.

Mr Ngqulunga, stationed at police headquarters in Pretoria, was off duty when he went missing, police said. Bophuthatswana police were investigating.

South African security police are also said to be investigating.

Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), said he hoped the police were not limiting their investigations to the ANC.

Nofemela told the Harms Commission that he and Mr Ngqulunga had been members of a four-man hit team which had murdered Mr Mxenge. He said Mr Ngqulunga had been present at the murder, but had not participated in the stabbing.

# Threats marred nation-wide survey

# ANC's popularity spans divisions

THE African National Congress and its political allies have the support of 84 per cent of the country's blacks, according to the results of a survey by Market Research Africa.

This conclusion is based on a sample of 2 281 black adults interviewed throughout South Africa.

However, 22 per cent of the population was excluded because attempts to ask political questions in Natal, KwaZulu and parts of Transkei were abandoned when interviewers were threatened physically.

Of those interviewed, there were 1 181 males and 1 100 females - 38 per cent expressed support for the ANC, 19 per cent for the United Democratic Front, 15 per cent for the Mass Democratic Movement and 12 per cent for the South African Communist Party.

## Support

The remaining support went to the Pan Africanist Congress (10 per cent), National Party (7 per cent), Democratic Party (5 per cent), Inkatha (2 per cent) and, with one per cent each, the Conservative Party and the AWB.

The survey was conducted between April 1 and June 11 and involved face-to-face interviews with all the subjects.

The ANC's high popularity rating stretches across divisions of ethnicity, age and gender, straddles the urban-rural divide and reaches from South Africa's cities into the remote settlements of the rural hinterland.

The exclusion of Natal-KwaZulu, traditionally a strong area of support for Inkatha, has to be borne in mind in assessing the results of the MRA survey.

The skewing effect, however, may not be as great as it might have been until the mid-1980s, when, according to various early surveys, Inkatha support was unquestionably still high in Natal-KwaZulu.

A separate contemporary survey, conducted by Markinor in April this year in the main metropolitan areas, including Durban, provides indirect confirmation of the MRA's central finding: the rise of the ANC's appeal and a corresponding decline in Inkathas.

## Low appeal

A salient feature of the MRA survey is the low appeal of Inkatha outside Natal-KwaZulu, even in areas like the Witwatersrand where there is a sizeable Zulu population and where Inkatha once enjoyed substantial support.

There is high-level of awareness of Inkatha - it is as well known as the UDF. But, judging from the survey's findings, it is awareness of an organisation which is disliked and/or feared.

One of the attitudes explored by MRA was how close black people feel, to, or how distant from, the various organisations.

Three central points emerge:

- Blacks feel distant from Inkatha;

- They feel closer to President FW de Klerk's National Party and the Democratic Party than they do to Inkatha;

*'More blacks favour FW than Inkatha'* *Sowetan 24/7/90*



- The degree of distance from, and presumably antipathy towards, Inkatha is only marginally smaller than that shown to the CP and the AWB on the far right of the political spectrum.

The same patterns prevail among Zulus outside Natal-KwaZulu.

## Contrasts

Distance from Inkatha among these Zulus contrasts with a much higher degree of closeness towards the ANC.

The ANC, SACP and UDF fall between the ANC and Inkatha, with the UDF slightly ahead of the PAC and SACP.

Blacks feel closer to these organisations, although not much closer, than they do to either the NP and the DP.

A striking point is the degree of distance - and, with it, possible scepticism and suspicion - which on average blacks feel toward all political organisations, even the ANC.

The degree of closeness or distance is reflected on a scale ranging from plus-four (very close) to minus-four (very far), with zero signifying a state of neutrality (neither close nor far).

The ANC's overall rating was 1.2, indicating what can perhaps be characterised as tepid or qualified support.

The UDF attains a zero rating, while the PAC and SACP levelpeg with ratings of 0.9 each. All three ratings point to a measure of doubt.

Seen in that context Inkatha's minus 2.8 rating is perhaps not quite so bad. But it is clearly bad enough to be cause of grave concern to its leaders, especially in light of its once undoubted popular appeal.

The absence of strong, positive identification with the main political forces may be due to any of several factors.

## Insecurity

It may mirror inner insecurity about the future, a reluctance by blacks to commit themselves fully in a rapidly shifting political terrain.

It may simply be a reflex reaction after years of repression, in which it was dangerous to express approval of outlawed organisations.

From the perspective of organisations which have been overshadowed by the ANC there is, perhaps, some slight consolation.

The still relatively high degree of distance from the ANC and its allies may mean that attitudes are as yet unfixed, that there may still be a relatively high degree of mobility in black political preferences.

However, from the PAC's perspective the survey highlights a pattern which is likely to be of concern to its leaders.

Nearly 80 of those blacks who feel very close to the PAC also feel very close to the ANC.

There is no reciprocal tendency among people who feel very close to the PAC: only 11 of blacks who feel very close to the ANC feel very close to the PAC as well.

These findings infer that many PAC supporters would be just as comfortable in ANC ranks, thus raising, theoretically at any rate, the prospect of defections to the ANC.

## Supporters

By contrast ANC supporters do not have the same potential loyalty to the PAC. Where dual loyalty exists among ANC supporters it is directed at the UDF, a strong ANC ally and even a surrogate ANC.

The high correlation between support for the ANC and the UDF is not surprising. They are two sides of the same political coin.

Sympathy for the ANC implies sympathy for the UDF and vice versa. These attitudes are mutually supporting.

From the ANC's viewpoint, there is one very gratifying result: most of its strongest supporters are drawn from the 16 to 24-year-old category, the youngest and fastest growing group.

Nearly half (47) of blacks in the 16-24 age group feel very close to the ANC, against one tenth (9.9) for the PAC and a minuscule proportion (1.8) for Inkatha.

The same pattern is found in the next age group of 25-34.

In general the proportion of people who feel very close to an organisation decreases with age, indicating, perhaps, that scepticism strengthens with age.

There is one exception: in the 25-34 group, the proportion of people who feel very close to the PAC increases, rising from just under 10 to a little over 12.

In the ANC the comparative figures are 47 and 40.

The Makinor survey, conducted in April among 900 black women and 600 black women in the main metropolitan areas, provides confirmation of the ANC's clear dominance at present.

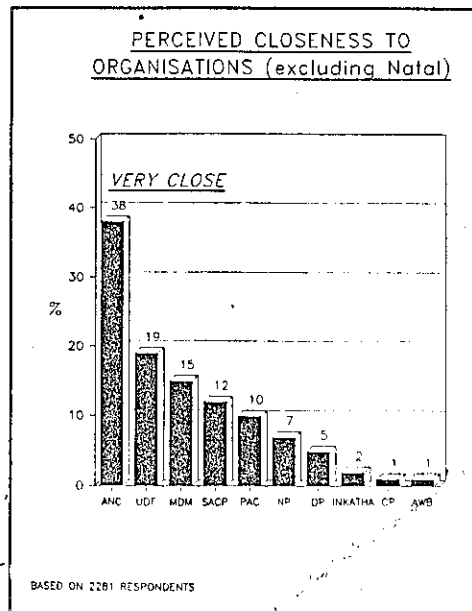
## Majority

Thus a clear majority, 64, of blacks nominate the ANC as their favourite organisation.

The NP does relatively well, attaining 8 of the vote. De Klerk does even better, winning 22 of the vote against 58 for Mandela.

These results, coupled with strong support for the NP in the white community (46 against 22 for the CP), may mean that the NP has a future even under a system of universal adult suffrage, provided its leaders show the necessary skill and nerve in the transitional phase ahead.

Footnote: The MRA survey did not poll attitudes towards Azapo, the main black consciousness organisation.



# Meeting with ANC is still on, confirms De Klerk

Sta 24/7190

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11/11/90

## Political Correspondent

President de Klerk confirmed last night that the Government would go ahead with planned talks with the African National Congress on August 6 — despite the police discovery of an alleged ANC/SA Communist Party plot to seize power if negotiations failed.

He issued a statement confirming the scheduled talks following a call by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging for the talks to be cancelled in view of the infiltration of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and the "blatant declaration of war" by MK chief of staff, Chris Hani.

Mr de Klerk said that although the Government regarded the alleged ANC action in "an extremely serious light", it remained committed to a peaceful negotiation process — as agreed at the Groote Schuur talks in May.

However, the basic rules of the negotiation process "do not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms to force its will at the negotiation table".

"The Government insists that the laws of the country have to be respected.

"As I have often said publicly, it is imperative that good government be maintained at all times.

"Change in whatever area must be orderly and should follow peaceful negotiation and discussion.

"The nature of Government action since February 2 this year (when the ANC was unbanned) was to achieve exactly that and was directed at normalising the political process."

Mr de Klerk also seemed to hint that top ANC leaders could be involved in the alleged plot.

## Immunity

He pointed out that in the joint Groote Schuur Minute agreed to by the ANC and the Government after talks early in May, temporary immunity was granted to people who would otherwise have faced prosecution.

"In the light of the latest developments, it is necessary to emphasise that such immunity applies only in respect of actions before the date on which the temporary immunity came into operation. Consequently the peace and immunity processes do not provide room for anybody to sneak in through the back door and try to seize power by force."

These remarks could be construed as a warning aimed at the upper echelons of the ANC because under the Groote Schuur Minute, temporary immunity was granted only to members of the ANC national executive committee "and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country" to help establish the party inside the country and help end violence.

He called on all who desired the extension of the democratic process and the attainment of a peaceful solution to refrain from undermining the economy and from intimidation and violence.

● CP lays charge against Hani — Page 8.

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The presence of arms at a rally addressed by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani on Sunday was part of a security plan to protect Mr Hani, said Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

"The right wing has openly said they want to kill him. There is a tag of about R50 000 on his head," he said.

General Holomisa was asked to comment on the situation in which (MK) members guarding Mr Hani openly sported weapons, and Mr Hani appeared in full military uniform, at Sunday's rally in Umtata.

The situation existed in South Africa where MK men were carrying arms,

T'kei chief <sup>Capt Timp</sup>  
<sup>24/7/80</sup>  
defends MK  
weapons at rally

guarding present leadership there, General Holomisa said. He also referred to the constant uniformed and armed presence of the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, saying that no "noise" was made about it.

Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimibi was also shown on SABC television in full uniform addressing followers in a country where there was a legitimate government.

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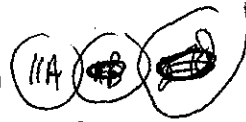
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# Probe into Vaal killings

JOHANNESBURG. — A special investigation by high-ranking police officers was yesterday set up to investigate circumstances surrounding killings at the weekend in the Vaal area, police said.

Cosatu yesterday blamed Inkatha for the clashes which led to the killings and said they were considering suing the SA Police for damages resulting from the pitched battles.

At least 18 people were reported dead by police following clashes on Sunday between people believed to be supporters of Inkatha and the ANC.

The clashes followed a "peace rally" by about 1 000 supporters of Inkatha — said by police to be armed with "traditional" weapons" — at Sebokeng Stadium.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said Colonel Paddy Mazibuka, who is responsible for Sebokeng, had given Cosatu an undertaking last week that police would not allow armed people to attend the rally.

Fifteen of the bodies, with wounds from blunt instruments, stabs and cuts, were found on Sunday night by police near a hostel in Sebokeng. Another three bodies were found yesterday.

day.

An unknown assailant stabbed a police officer to death with an assegai when he tried to separate two battling groups, SAP spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe added, noting that an unknown number of people were hurt.

Police would not say whether the victims were Inkatha supporters or casualties from Inkatha opponents.

According to Mr Coleman, "the heavily armed Inkatha impis were accompanied by mainly white police in about 18 vehicles and two Casspirs".

Asked why Inkatha supporters were allowed to attend a peace meeting

with weapons, Col Malherbe asked: "What was the practical way of disarming the people with a small number of police?"

"Only a small number of so-called impis were armed with the weapons," he said.

Col Malherbe said, however, that if the weapons "become a problem" police would not allow them.

● As a result of the violence, tens of thousands of residents in the Sebokeng, Sharpeville and Evaton townships had embarked on a "spontaneous stay-away" yesterday, Mr Coleman claimed. — Sapa and UPI

## Clamp on the ANC, SACP

POLICE are expecting further arrests following a massive crackdown on the ANC and SACP at the weekend and the arrest of 40 insurgents. (11A)

However, the police are not disclosing any details of their investigations, which have already resulted in the uncovering of large caches of arms.

Spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order Captain Peet Bothma said the investigations had reached a "delicate stage" and no further information would be released until they had been completed. 247/90

Nothing that could jeopardise the investigation would be made public. - Sapa. *Sulhan*

AN alleged sub-lieutenant in the military wing of the ANC, Mr Jabulani Ximba, took refuge in the American Consulate in Durban at 11am yesterday and sought political asylum.

The 38-year-old laboratory technician at the University of Zululand, calmly walked into an office in the consulate in Smith Street and told United States Information Services Director Mr John Dickson: "I am seeking political asylum."

Dickson said he had been in contact with the South African Government and the United States Embassy in Pretoria to discuss the issue.

Journalists were not allowed into Dickson's office where Ximba was sitting with the ANC convenor for southern Natal, Mr Patrick Lekota, who

# ANC activist holes up at US consulate

SOWETAN  
Correspondent

had arrived at the building within minutes of Ximba seeking refuge.

ANC sources said Ximba's girlfriend, Miss Zandile Cele, had been detained for two hours last Monday at CR Swart Square police headquarters by four policemen who questioned her about explosives.

Police also returned to her house the next day but she was not present. They then returned on Thursday to take photographs of her house.

Lekota said he had sought a meeting with Dickson to ensure that Ximba would be well treated while at the consulate. He also confirmed that Ximba was an ANC activist.

Dickson said he would know definitely whether

Ximba would be granted asylum by tonight.

Before taking refuge in the consulate, Ximba said he had been in hiding since his house at Umlazi was raided at 11am last Monday.

An ANC source said it was believed a large cache of weapons, including handgrenades and limpet mines, was confiscated by a joint task force of KwaZulu and South African Police.



TERROR LEKOTA

Ximba is divorced and has two children aged 12 and four.

At the time of going to Press no comment had been received from the South African Police in Durban.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said: "We are aware of the situation."

**T**HE uncovering of cells of alleged ANC insurgents and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani's recent militaristic speeches may represent the first shots in a battle for the soul of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Remarkable similarities exist in police and ANC accounts of the strategies of potential opposition forces at work in the ranks of the two allied organisations.

The potential for the emergence of dissident forces in the liberation movement is exacerbated by an absence of clear lines of authority in the ANC/SACP because of a multiplicity of structures, including the National Executive Committee, the internal leadership core, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SACP executive.

Tensions do not run clearly along the lines of these structures but cut across them and in most cases occur within them. But these tensions have not, at this stage, manifested themselves in clearcut divisions and factions, and will probably not do so for some time.

**W**hile senior ANC leaders have privately expressed dissatisfaction about developments such as Hani's speeches, neither they nor even more senior leadership figures like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu have a sufficiently strong organised base to confront the opposing forces.

The perception among some internal ANC elements and those charged with improving the organisation's diplomatic standing is that the armed struggle was a failure and that it was sanctions and mass mobilisation campaigns waged by the UDF and the union movement that achieved most in bringing SA to its present point.

These people argue that once agreement on removing obstacles has been reached, Umkhonto we Sizwe should be disbanded.

Central to these perceptions, although no ANC leader would say so publicly, is an acceptance that the process towards a negotiated settlement is more or less irreversible.

Hani is seen as representative of a counter trend — people unfamiliar with disciplined, if militant, political organisation and who are more com-

# Struggle over the future of the ANC and SACP begins

MIKE ROBERTSON and ALAN FINE

type of political behaviour associated with the so-called "young lions".

Government's awareness of these tensions in the ANC/SACP is a likely reason why it is handling the uncovering of the cells with such sensitivity — making deliberate attempts to focus its reaction only on small and clearly defined sections of the ANC.

Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and a number of other senior leaders were subjects of intensive police surveillance about six weeks ago. ANC sources now believe this was when police first uncovered the existence of the new cells and were trying to establish to what extent leadership figures were involved.

It is perhaps for this reason that police and government departments now firmly believe that Mandela, Sisulu and other leadership figures who have been prominent in talks about talks did not know about the insurgents setting up armed cells.

The authorities' version is that acting on a general NEC decision that armed struggle could not be suspended until obstacles to negotiations were removed, a group of dissidents (numbering less than 10) infiltrated the country.

These dissidents, they say, were SACP members who did not use normal MK channels or structures.

The authorities postulate that this was an attempt by the SACP to hijack

the normal process of infiltration and set up alternative structures which, when a ceasefire or suspension of armed struggle was agreed, would enable them to be in a position to dictate to the ANC leadership and even undermine the negotiation process. At this stage police have made no suggestion that the infiltrators have committed any violent acts.

While officials mention Hani's name in connection with this alleged plot, no one is certain about the role played by SACP chief Joe Slovo. It appears the authorities' broad suggestion that it is an "SACP plot" does not fully take account of the complexity of tensions within the SACP.

**T**he SACP appears to be building up a following among two distinct groupings — organised workers (mostly represented through Cosatu) and the militant young members of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco).

Hani, unlike most other external and recently released internal ANC leaders, has an established, organised power base in the military camps. (Until the ANC is properly established as an open political party, not even Mandela — despite his obvious popular support — has an organised base to rival this.)

Perhaps sensing the diminution of his MK power base as a result of an impending ceasefire, Hani now appears to be courting the youth; his rhetoric is similar to that used in public forums by Sayco leadership.

It could also be argued that by selling to the youth the idea that there may still be a need to seize power by force, he is seeking their support to oppose any attempts by the negotiators in the ANC to downgrade the status of MK.

Some ANC sources criticise Hani's rhetoric, saying it contributes to the spiral of violence. Hani, one source said, "is an unguided missile".

This rather undisciplined approach to political activity is in marked contrast to that developed over the years by the other leg of the SACP support base — the trade union movement.

The trade unions, it is argued, have learned through day-to-day workplace organisation the value of winning gains and solving problems by carefully devised political strategies. They would be reluctant to allow the SACP — which is fast becoming the political arm of the trade union movement — to pursue strategies which differ vastly from these.

This "firebrand" approach would also appear to be out of step with recent articles and statements by Slovo in which he purports to be try-

ing to purge the SACP of its past.

The full story of the insurgents has yet to unfold, with police saying further arrests are on the cards. Depending on where the trail leads it is possible they might insist that some of those detained and even some senior ANC/SACP leadership figures are thrown out of the country.

But both the ANC and government do not expect that the uncovering of the insurgent cells will lead to a breakdown in the talks about talks.

In fact, President F W de Klerk and Mandela arranged the next ANC/government meeting for August 6 at a time when both were aware that the police had uncovered the cells.

While De Klerk will do nothing to jeopardise talks, he also has a constituency to worry about — a constituency already uncertain about change which would be seriously concerned at the disclosures.

But government is confident that the insurgent plan was not something to which ANC negotiators were privy, and realises it is too early to expect senior leaders to discipline or repudiate actions by "rogue" elements when they do not have structures or an established support base in place to enable them to do so.

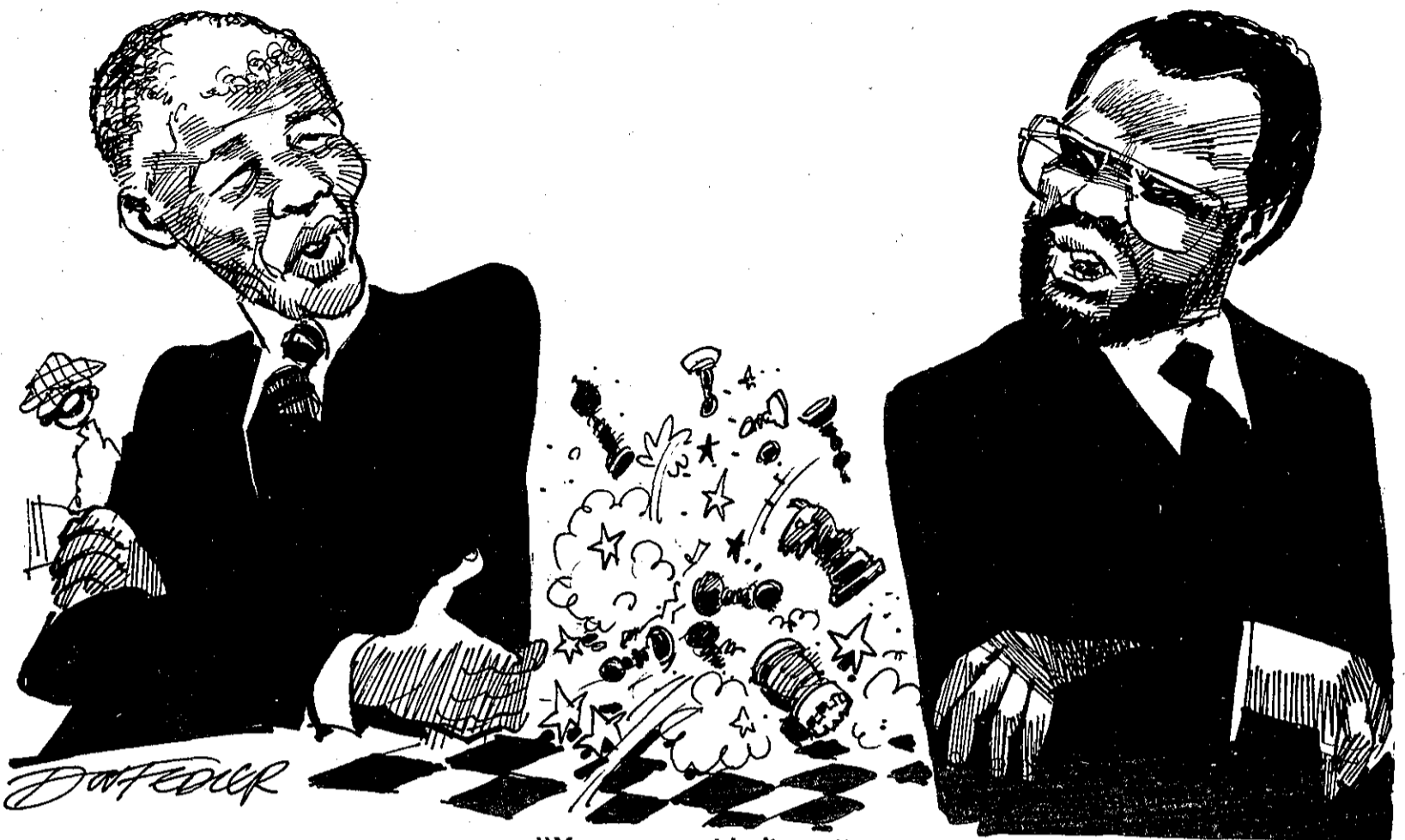
**H**owever, there will soon come a time when De Klerk will insist that the ANC take responsibility for the actions of members and act against those seen as undermining the negotiating process.

ANC negotiators, aware of this, see the answer in speeding up the establishment of its legal structures.

By planning for local branches and regional structures to have democratically elected leadership by the end of September, it hopes to have such legal structures elected and answerable to a defined membership base in place for its congress on December 16 where national office bearers will be elected.

In this way, it is hoped the multiplicity of leadership structures identified as a factor permitting undisciplined action will be done away with.

Nevertheless, some ANC officials are aware that this will not be a complete answer and warn that they will be yet more attempts, by those less than committed to negotiation, to harm the process.



"Your move, I believe."

# It's back to work for Nelson

IIA Steer 25/790

Nelson Mandela has resumed a hectic schedule since returning to South Africa after a tour of 14 countries in six weeks.

During the tour, he outlined several key political issues which will receive his attention in coming weeks and months.

Immediately acting on his promises, he met President de Klerk on Friday, within 48 hours of returning home, to brief him on the tour and discuss the next phase of dialogue between the ANC and the Government.

This resulted in an announcement by the President's office that the Government and ANC would meet on August 6 as a follow-up to the Groote Schuur summit in early May.

Before the announcement, the Government seemed not to have been in favour of an immediate meeting, maintaining that a lengthy meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela was enough to address pressing issues.

On the other hand, the ANC predicted that such a meeting would take place within weeks of Mr Mandela's return. Things have gone the ANC's way.

This meeting, as Mr Mandela has foreseen, will focus on the implementation of the report by the joint ANC-Government working group established at Groote Schuur. The document outlines plans to remove obstacles to negotiations, such as the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty for exiles.

The ANC leader has on several occasions said this phase should not take too long. The two parties have agreed on the working group proposals although the ANC has never formally announced its approval.

This is because the national executive committee has suggested some minor changes, mainly on the terminology of the report, and the Government has never responded to these suggestions.

Instead, it announced its approval unilaterally and accused the ANC of

During an extensive international tour, Nelson Mandela outlined his priorities for the next weeks and months in the build-up to formal negotiations on a new dispensation. Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE**, who travelled with the ANC deputy president, examines some of the key issues which will receive his immediate attention.



"dragging its feet" on the report. This has infuriated the ANC, which as been waiting for the Government to respond.

During his tour, Mr Mandela said that the next phase of dialogue, the election of the negotiators who will draw up a new constitution, would be a lengthy and tricky process. Sources have indicated that this issue could come up at the August 6 meeting.

The ANC believes free and democratic elections should be held to identify those who will draw up a new constitution.

Mr Mandela has predicted a serious difference of opinion with the Government on this point. He says the Government wants to include representatives of current government structures, such as homeland leaders, and urban black structures such as city councillors.

## Banned

Mr Mandela argues that these people were elected while the ANC and other organisations were banned and their leaders and members in jail or in exile.

He also disputes support claimed by scores of political organisations which have mushroomed in recent months.

Speculation is growing that the ANC might, in line with its declared aim of creating a broad anti-apar-

theid front and to achieve black unity, try to involve as many political formations as possible on its side. Discussions are expected to take place within the next few weeks.

Organisations which do not want to be part of the front, which Mr Mandela has emphasised would be against racism and not whites, could enter the process as individual organisations.

Another possibility, believed not to be far-fetched, is that the Government and the ANC as the main political forces in the country could decide to draft a constitution. This would be in line with the process sparked by the Groote Schuur talks.

They would then separately approach other political groupings such as Labour and the PAC to muster support and facilitate broader input into the draft proposals.

This alternative would imply that an agreed constitution should be taken to the electorate to determine popular support, maybe in the form of a referendum.

Particularly keen on promoting black unity, Mr Mandela is expected to lead the process of intensified dialogue with other black political leaders.

He is expected soon to start briefing the self-governing homeland governments, five of which have already openly sided with the ANC, and other groups on his tour and fu-

ture strategies.

Mr Mandela is also keen to involve white political groups in the peace process and is said to wish to enter into dialogue with conservative groups.

He announced in Europe that the ANC had held discussions with far-Right academics, believed to have been Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff and former AWB executive member Chris Jooste.

Sources have indicated that Mr Mandela is particularly keen to meet Conservative Party leaders in an attempt to draw them into the negotiation process.

Indicative of Mr Mandela's eagerness to bring his message across to whites is his determination to brush up his Afrikaans sufficiently to speak on both radio and television.

Particularly concerned about growing right-wing militancy, he has indicated that the ANC is formulating plans to counter these acts which, he believes, pose a serious threat to the peace process.

This could involve a dual approach: first, to maintain pressure on the Government to clamp down on vigilante groups; second, by involving rightwingers in the political process.

The ANC leader has also emerged as a regional peacemaker keen to address southern Africa's political and economic problems.

## Initiatives

International efforts to stabilise and uplift the region could never be implemented because of apartheid South Africa. With change in the air, Mr Mandela has signalled to Western and African leaders that the ANC and the Government could jointly get involved in regional initiatives.

One particular issue he is expected to raise soon with Mr de Klerk is the continuing destabilisation of Mozambique from South African soil.

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25/7/70

## ANC fugitive out of hiding

DURBAN. — A member of the ANC who gave himself up to the police here yesterday after hiding in the American consulate in the city for more than a day, has appeared briefly in Durban Regional Court.

Mr Bhekumuza Jabulani Ximba, 39, of Umlazi, appeared in connection with the alleged possession of hand-grenades, limpet mines, explosives and detonators. He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed until August 14.

Mr Ximba's appearance was a sequel to negotiations on Monday night between the police and his legal representative. — Sapa

# Azapo hits at poll

11A

Sowetan 25/7/90

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has described the findings of a Market Research Africa poll into black attitudes towards political organisations as "distorted and mischievous."

Professor Itumeleng Mosala of Azapo said he was not surprised at the organisation's as it was "quite clear that the intended aim was not to determine the objective reality" of the situation.

However, Mr. Arone Tengani of MRA said the results gave a true reflection of black perceptions towards political organisations.

# Local experts should make decision on political offender status

A GOVERNMENT/ANC working group has recommended that a committee of local experts be appointed to decide whether prisoners found guilty of serious offences should qualify as political offenders.

Government and ANC sources say the political offences working group has recommended that in cases where there is no agreement on whether a particular prisoner qualifies as a "political offender" (and therefore for release) the case should be passed on to a group of experts to make a decision.

The sources say the working group has

also recommended that should the committee of experts find a "hard case" prisoner qualifies as a political offender, it should also decide on the timing of the release of the person.

The committee, they say, will also decide on when exiles suspected of committing serious crimes should be allowed to return.

At one point the idea of appointing an international jurist to perform this task was mooted, but both sides have agreed that local people should fill the role.

According to the sources, the working

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**MIKE ROBERTSON**

group has recommended a very broad definition of what constitutes a political offence.

However, it is understood that the definition covers crimes carried out against the state and excludes, for example, those people convicted of crimes in the continuing violence between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu in Natal.

Government has already accepted the working group report.

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) discussed the working group report

at its two-day meeting this week and it is expected there will be agreement on a definition of a political offence when government and the ANC meet on August 6.

The NEC is expected to release a statement on its meeting today. The statement is expected to refer to the recent uncovering of Umkhonto we Sizwe cells.

An ANC source said prior to the meeting that if the working group report was accepted it should result in the release of about 90% of those people it regarded as political offenders.

Decisions on the timing of their release

would have to be taken by the experts.

However, when details of the report are released this could prove to be an over-optimistic assessment as government believes the number of political offenders to number about 300, while the ANC has quoted figures of up to 1 500.

It has been reported that the working group report is expected to propose a phased release of prisoners and return of exiles in return for the ANC "ceasing hostilities".

□ To Page 2

## Offender status

But Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roeff Meyer said in an interview yesterday that was not correct.

The working group, he said, had been instructed to come up with an agreed definition of a political offence. In addition it had been asked to propose agreed guidelines to be followed in determining who was a political prisoner, to suggest mechanisms for dealing with their release as well as time frames.

Meyer said that in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute the working group had used the model devised for releasing political prisoners in Namibia as a starting

point.

While the working group report did not link the release of prisoners and return of exiles to ceasing hostilities or ending violence, government regarded this as an integral part of all attempts to remove obstacles to negotiations.

ANC sources have suggested that the August 6 meeting will include fewer participants than at Groote Schuur.

Meyer yesterday agreed with that. It was likely, he said, that the delegations would consist of President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and a few key advisers.

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□ From Page 1



# Sebokeng still tense as death toll rises to 21

Star 25/7/90



## Vereeniging and Highveld

### Bureaux

Renewed clashes in Sebokeng yesterday between supporters of Inkatha and the African National Congress left two more people dead.

A police spokesman this morning confirmed the official death toll now stood at 21, including policeman Warrant Officer Petrus Jooste, who died after being stabbed with an assegai on Sunday.

At least 18 incidents in which petrol bombs and stones were hurled at police vehicles were reported throughout yesterday.

Thousands of Sebokeng workers stayed away from their jobs on Monday and yesterday, apparently fearing more attacks on their homes, after Sunday's Inkatha-ANC clash left an estimated 19 dead. They returned to work today.

The township was still tense today and police were patrolling the streets.

● The situation was quiet in Wesselton, Ermelo, this morning after three days of fighting between vigilantes and ANC supporters.

Unconfirmed reports said five leaders of the rent boycott supporting Wesselton Action Committee had been seriously injured during the unrest since the weekend.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said there had been a number of unrest incidents in the area last night.

Fighting erupted on Sunday when alleged vigilantes launched attacks on members of the local action committee who are spearheading a nine-month rent boycott.

● Sebokeng: confusion grows —

# US warns of dangers of travelling in SA



NEW YORK - The State Department, noting "escalating strife" in South Africa, warned yesterday that the ANC may be preparing to step up the level of violence if talks with the Government broke down.

It issued a travel advisory warning to American citizens of the dangers of travel in South Africa and in Transkei

and Ciskei.

The State Department advisory, a warning frequently offered to Americans travelling in or about to leave for foreign trouble spots, also claimed that some Americans in South Africa had been harassed by right wing political groups but gave no details.

A spokesman said in Washington: "There have been reports that the ANC is stepping up preparations to intensify the

armed struggle if current negotiations with the South African Government fail.

"There has also been a sharp increase in the number of violent incidents in recent weeks."

## Volatile

He added: "The political situation in South Africa remains volatile."

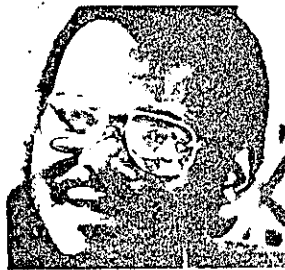
In talks with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela during his recent

visit to the United States, the spokesman told reporters in Washington, the Bush Administration had urged the ANC to end the armed struggle to achieve black majority rule in South Africa.

However, radical elements in the ANC have been urging an end to the talks and a return to the armed struggle to achieve black majority rule in South Africa.

- Sowetan Foreign Service.

**Buthelezi  
seeks  
Mandela  
response**



BUTHELEZI

*Soweton 25/7/90*  
CHIEF Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged the ANC's deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to state where he stands on the issue of isolating him.

The call to isolate Buthelezi was made by Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani, the Cosatu/UDF alliance and the South African Students Congress.

Reacting to statements by Hani at the weekend calling for his isolation and that of Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, Buthelezi said it was not the first time Hani had threatened him.

"Last year he publicly stated that Inkatha central committee members were targets for assassination.

"Recently ANC insurgents alleged to be linked to the murder of Inkatha supporters were arrested in Natal and police seized a large arms cache.

"I now seek a public response from Mandela as to whether he shares Hani's views."

# 'Time for ANC to break with SACP'

M66's  
25/7/90

HA

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The time had surely come for the African National Congress to break with the South African Communist Party, Mr Renier Schoeman, chief director of information of the National Party, said in Brussels today.

He was addressing the international symposium of the World Anti-Communist League.

Mr Schoeman said the SACP relationship with the ANC was essentially parasitic and negative and "the time has surely come for the ANC to break the insidious influence which this ideologically outdated and anachronistic organisation still has in the ANC's decision making."

## FOR THE GOOD

"In the long term, such a parting of the ways will be for the good, not only of those whose interests the ANC seeks to serve, but for the good of South Africa and all her peoples, both internally and internationally."

Over the years, Mr Schoeman said, the SACP gained the reputation and dubious distinction of being mentioned in the same breath as the ruling communist parties in Albania and North Korea when it came to dogmatic conduct and strict adherence to Moscow's directives.

Economic and political change, openness and restructuring in the USSR thus "hit the SACP particularly hard".

To further add to its problems, its unbanning by President De Klerk forced it to leave "its shadowy existence and place its plans and ideals under the glare of public scrutiny and to try to modify its usually strident rhetoric."

Steps taken by the government to normalise South African politics "have forced the SACP out of its time-bubble and have placed enormous strategic and tactical pressure on the SACP".

"Many South Africans fervently hope that, with indefensible concepts like 'armed struggle', which means violence as a means to a political end, and racial discrimination, the SACP will be a casualty of our offensive for a normalised, peaceful society."

# Activist gives himself up

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

African National Congress activist Bhekumusa Jabulani Ximba, who gave himself up to police after hiding for a day in the US Consulate, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday.

Mr Ximba (39) of Umlazi appeared in connection with the alleged possession of hand-grenades, limpet mines, explosives and detonators. He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed until August 14.

## Arms cache

Mr Ximba's court appearance followed the discovery of what ANC sources said was a "substantial arms cache".

According to a spokesman for the US Embassy in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Ximba left the Smith Street office at 9.20 am "of his own free will". He had entered the office at 11 am on Monday asking

for political asylum.

"His decision to leave the Consulate-General followed discussions with consulate staff, Mr Ximba's lawyers, the African National Congress and South African authorities," the spokesman said.

It is understood Mr Ximba agreed to hand himself over to the authorities on condition he was not detained without trial.

Mr Ximba, a 38-year-old laboratory technician in the University of Zululand's Department of Chemistry, went into hiding on Monday last week after a police raid on his house in Umlazi.

● ANC officials in Natal said veteran guerilla Billy Nair, freed in 1984 after 20 years in jail, had been re-arrested.

"This points to a hardening of attitude by the Government and will make it very difficult to create the climate needed for negotiation," an ANC spokesman said.

ANC sends  
C.M. 7.0.15 25/7/90  
protest note  
11A  
to Moscow

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress has protested to the Soviet Union over a planned tour of South Africa by a Moscow circus, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said yesterday.

The nationalist movement sent a protest note to the Soviet embassy in Lusaka saying the tour planned for December would violate international sanctions.

"We cannot stop our people from protesting wherever the performances are held," he said.

Moscow has been the chief military backer of the ANC for several years.

Mr Sebina said the Soviet Union had not consulted his movement about the proposed tour. There was no immediate comment from the Soviet embassy. — Sapa-Reuter

Staff Reporter

THE government yesterday pressed its crackdown on activists of the African National Congress, arresting a regional official and laying evidence of an ANC arms buildup before the diplomatic community.

The crackdown coincides with reports that the ANC has been stockpiling weapons in case power-sharing talks with the government fail.

Police arrested Mr Billy Nair in his Durban office on Monday night — bringing to 10 the number of people arrested in Natal under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act over the past two weeks.

According to the Human Rights Commission, at least 46 ANC members or sympathisers have been detained in the past two months under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention.

The detention of the vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) follows the arrest earlier this month of three other NIC members and ANC recruiters, Mr Pravin Gordhan, Mr Deepak Patel and Mr Anesh Sunkar.

Mr Nair, who is also a member of the ANC interim committee for southern Natal, spent 20 years in prison for

# ANC arms: Police arrest top official

Cmt Time

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(11A)

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sabotage. He was released in 1984.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday briefed foreign ambassadors and heads of mission at the state guest house in Pretoria on the police crackdown on alleged ANC-SACP cell members who had allegedly stashed the large quantity of weapons, as well as the state's response to the violence sweeping parts of the country.

Sources said the session lasted longer than ex-

pected and many questions were asked.

Indications yesterday were that there would be no significant response from foreign missions to the development, and that they would take a wait-and-see attitude to the situation.

Both the government and the ANC have indicated that they would not allow the incident to derail the next round of talks on August 6.

But the issue is expected to be thoroughly aired at today's cabinet

meeting in Pretoria and when government ministers and other functionaries meet for a bush summit at a secret venue outside the capital on July 30-31.

The ANC's stand on a possible suspension of the armed struggle could emerge today following two days of intensive discussions by the organisation's national executive committee in Johannesburg.

The ANC's office in Johannesburg indicated earlier that a state-

ment on the deliberations would be issued today.

Senior members of both the ANC and the government have stated that a resolution could be reached soon on the thorny issues of the return of exiles and amnesty for political prisoners.

If an agreement can also be reached on a review of security legislation and the emergency in Natal, the ANC could be ready to discuss details about the possible suspension of violence.

This week's strategy session by the highest policy-making body of the ANC will also have evaluated Mr Nelson Mandela's overseas tour and the ongoing violence in Natal and the Transvaal.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu accused the government of breaking the spirit of conciliation by authorising the arrests, and said the ANC would raise the issue at next month's talks.

The disclosure of the alleged plot came just a week before SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo is scheduled to disclose publicly the party's leadership at a rally.

Mr Slovo on Monday accused the government of "reverting to Red Scare tactics" in a bid to smear the party's launch on Saturday.

# Sebokeng: confusion grows

By Helen Grange

Rumoured threats that Inkatha was planning attacks — and counter-threats that there would "never be an Inkatha rally in the Vaal" — were circulating in Sebokeng days before Sunday's bloodbath, The Star was told yesterday.

Both Cosatu and Inkatha claim they informed the police of the rumours well before the Inkatha rally at Evaton Stadium. However, a bloodbath which claimed many lives was not prevented.

The truth of what happened on Sunday became more clouded yesterday as Inkatha and Cosatu/ANC spokesmen directed further accusations against each other.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said it was clear that police had collaborated with Inkatha in their plan to attack Cosatu/ANC supporters. Inkatha supporters had been armed in spite of a police undertaking that no arms would be allowed into the stadium. The police had also escorted armed vigilantes through the township to the Sebokeng hostel.

"And when Inkatha did attack, the police made no attempt to stop them," Mr Coleman said.

Cosatu also claims that, following information that Inkatha was planning attacks, both Inkatha head office and various heads of police, including the Minister of Law and Order, were informed.

In a statement, Cosatu concluded: "The police were warned that there would possibly be violence, were told where and when and by whom it would allegedly be perpetrated — and yet it still took place. The situation demands a full investigation as to why, in spite of repeated warnings, violence occurred, lives were lost and property was damaged."

Inkatha youth organisers claimed yesterday that information had been given to the Vereeniging Police Station that rumours were spreading in Sebokeng that no Inkatha rally would be allowed in the Vaal Triangle area.

The chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade on the West Rand, Themba Khoza, said: "People were trying to prevent the rally from going ahead. The incident was perpetrated by Cosatu/ANC supporters. the same way, they perpetrated the Natal bus ambush. Inkatha members had every

right to defend themselves."

Mr Khoza added that an Inkatha member had been killed in Evaton yesterday afternoon.

The Star was informed by the general manager of Putco bus commuter services, Ben Pelser, that buses were stoned while parked outside the stadium.

"I have gathered from my own staff that when this happened, the drivers ran away. When Inkatha came out of the stadium, they drove the buses to the police station. Our drivers made their way to the station and drove the buses, full of passengers, back to Soweto," he said.

In an attempt to establish whether an undertaking had been made by police to disarm Inkatha supporters, The Star was told by Colonel Othniel Mazibuko to "speak to public relations". Colonel Mazibuko, of the Sebokeng Police Station, is alleged by Cosatu Western Transvaal official Zwellinzima Vavi to have given him and others this undertaking.

Police have stated that only traditional arms were allowed into the stadium and that anti-Inkatha elements provoked the attack after the rally.



## Mandela briefings

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to meet with a wide range of political groups starting today. (11)

He aims to brief the groups about his recent international tour and to facilitate black political unity in preparation for formal negotiations.

He will meet the UDF, the Sayco, Cosatu and women's organisations today. Sowden 297790

Tomorrow he will see religious leaders including Christian, Muslim, Jewish and Hindu communities, on Friday homeland leaders and the Labour Party and Saturday the PAC and Azapo.

# Boycott: ANC accused of causing suffering

Sta 26/7/90 (11A)  
By Clyde Johnson, Theresa  
Anders and Kaiser Nyatsumba

Lowveld businessmen have accused the ANC of causing suffering to thousands of blacks over the consumer boycott organised by "short-sighted" politicians.

ANC national executive member Steve Tshwete said that there would be a month-long consumer boycott in more than 10 Eastern Transvaal towns.

This has provoked businessmen in the predominantly right-wing area to plan counter-boycotts to cut supplies to black townships.

Activists said stores from Witbank to Komatipoort would be targeted.

Businessmen are reacting strongly. Said Arthur Brown, owner of a business and accounting company: "If we're going to have a boycott, let's have a proper boycott. They don't support us, so we refuse to sell them anything: petrol, mealie meal, groceries, the lot."

An urgent meeting between a number of organisations and the

Nelspruit Town Council was held yesterday.

A number of blacks have expressed fears of hardship over the boycott.

A mother of three said: "We will be compelled to buy at township stores where a loaf of brown bread costs R2 and groceries sell for three to four times the normal price."

The ANC announced the boycott was to put pressure on the Government to take action against the right wing and vigilantes.

re than 14 days.

official said.

# Mandela wants time to tell guerrillas of decisions

PETER DELMAR

UMKHONTO we Sizwe guerrillas in SA were still operating according to instructions issued before the May Groote Schuur summit between the ANC and government and the organisation should be given time to inform them about decisions taken at the meeting, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Mandela said he had told President F W de Klerk at their meeting last week that a distinction had to be drawn between the NP, always a legal party, and the ANC which was banned for 30 years.

"It is not easy for an organisation which has been illegal for 30 years to take decisions and make sure those decisions reach every member who is affected. It is quite a long process . . . which needs a well-functioning machinery through which we can reach members," Mandela said.

He said they were still trying to reach Umkhonto we Sizwe men "to convey the decisions taken at Groote Schuur".

"It is not an easy task and I ask Mr de Klerk to give us time in this regard".

## Hysteria

He said the ANC leadership had no knowledge of an alleged "Red plot" — a reference to the detention of about 40 cadres and the seizure of weapons caches.

A statement issued by the ANC National Executive Committee yesterday after two days of meetings repudiated "with contempt the hysteria, fuelled by Press reports" of a so-called communist insurrectionary plot.

It also rejected "wild and unfounded speculation" about splits and tensions within the ANC and its leading bodies.

Mandela told yesterday's news conference he did not have to repudiate any ANC members regarding the insurgency "plot".

Mandela said there was no contradiction between statements by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani that the ANC might have to seize power and the Groote Schuur Minute agreed to by government and the organisation in May.

"What Chris Hani said was that if government pulls out of negotiations, then we will be forced to continue with the armed struggle.

"Everybody knows we are conducting an armed struggle in this country. But we are



Nelson Mandela at yesterday's news conference. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

at the same time negotiating with the government with a view to a negotiated settlement. The statement of Chris Hani is based on this process. We all support it."

Mandela said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had phoned him on Saturday, apparently in anticipation of weekend newspaper reports about the arrests.

"He (Vlok) told me that the police received an enquiry regarding the number of people who had been arrested and that they merely replied to that and said they had arrested some people. He assured me that there had been no leakage from government."

Mandela also confirmed the ANC leadership would soon meet leaders of a range of political organisations, including the PAC, Azapo, homeland leaders and United Municipalities of SA chief Tom Boya.

The aim of the meetings would be to inform them about the NEC and related political developments.

On the continuing Natal violence, Mandela disclosed that the ANC had appointed a special four-man committee to "pay special and continuous attention to this issue".

# Tension over detention of national executive's Maharaj

# Top ANC

# member

ARGUS 26/7/90

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# detained

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent and TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

RELATIONS between the African National Congress and the government are strained today over the arrest of national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

While stopping short of saying the arrest could jeopardise the talks, ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said: "This does not make things easier".

Police have yet to officially confirm the arrest, but sources said early today Mr Maharaj was being held in connection with a probe into an alleged ANC/South African Communist Party insurrection plot.

Meanwhile the government and the ANC were "very near" to an agreement to the remaining obstacles to negotiation, according to top government sources.

They said the talks remained on track, in spite of the insurrection plot. There were political "market forces" which had gathered such momentum that neither side could now stop them.

An agreement on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles was now possible and the political manoeuvrings could then move on to "talks about negotiations".

The ANC has remained committed to negotiations in spite of recent detentions but the matter will feature prominently in the August 6 talks.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela maintained that some Umkhonto we Sizwe members were still acting in terms of instructions issued before the Groote Schuur meeting.

Mr Mandela is likely to have been told about the detentions when he met Mr De Klerk last Friday and there is the growing impression in political circles that most of the ANC leadership disapproved of, and may not have known about, the underground moves.

The talks will not be a full-blown "Groote Schuur 2".

Only Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and four key advisers from each side will be present.

The ANC team will include secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo.

The government delegation is likely to include Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

From Johannesburg The Argus Correspondent reports that only the government and the ANC, not the SACP, would be bound by a ceasefire, according to the minutes of a secret SACP conference held to allegedly plan insurrection.

This emerged from information provided by the government to foreign embassies at a briefing.

The conference was held in Tongaat in May.

The SACP is to be launched as an independent party on Sunday.

Some of the Tongaat conference delegates were smuggled into the country, while others were already inside in terms of the amnesty granted for pre-negotiation talks.

Mr Mandela was not among the delegates. Mr Slovo was.

Diplomats were told that the alleged plotters had asked SACP suppliers for even more weaponry, including highly sophisticated Soviet Strela ground-to-air missiles and components for car-bombs.

Obstacles likely to be swept away

# Govt, ANC confident of breakthrough

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are anticipating a decisive breakthrough in eliminating obstacles to negotiations at their meeting on August 6.

Agreement on a definition of a political offence and mechanisms for the release of political prisoners, drawn up by the joint working group, is almost certain.

It is expected there will also be a trade-off as the ANC gives substantial ground on its commitment to the armed struggle, while government makes firm undertakings on the repeal of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal.

Agreement on eliminating these obstacles would open the way to the next phase of the negotiating process — talks about the shape of the table and the type of forum. Despite the apparently irreconcilable views on the role of a constituent assembly, sources on both sides are quietly confident this can be fairly easily resolved.

An ANC executive statement yesterday said the ANC delegation to the talks would "present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations, the suspension of armed actions and steps that should be taken to initiate the process leading to the elaboration and adoption of a democratic constitution".

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "We are hopeful that (the elimination of obstacles) will be effected in the forthcoming meeting with government."

Other ANC and government sources said they could see no reason why the August 6

ALAN FINE, MIKE ROBERTSON  
and PETER DELMAR

meeting should not resolve all these issues.

Each party has chosen five delegates for the meeting — fewer than half the number sent to the Groote Schuur gathering.

Government's delegation is expected to comprise President F W de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The ANC executive said yesterday Mandela, secretary general Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Joe Modise would represent the organisation.

Government sources indicated the question of timing of the release of prisoners and, even more importantly, the return of exiles was an important part of the working committee document, and would be linked to the levels of violence around SA.

The return of exiles was, because of their relatively large number — between 20 000 and 50 000 — far more difficult to resolve than the release of prisoners.

Government was conscious of the need that they should be re-integrated into the community on their return. For this reason government accepted partial responsibility for resettling exiles, sources said.

This could be done through using existing social welfare facilities. While in Germany with De Klerk, Botha also secured a promised of financial assistance in this

□ To Page 2

## Breakthrough

regard from Economic Co-operation Minister Jurgen Warnke.

Mandela said at a Press conference yesterday the ANC would consider the suspension of hostilities once obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

Government spokesmen said the term "suspension of hostilities" would not be acceptable to it in any joint agreement. But only the semantics were in question. If the ANC chose in subsequent statements to categorise any agreement in these terms, it was welcome to.

The ANC deputy leader said yesterday De Klerk should give the movement more time to contact its cadres in the field to

inform them about the decisions, including agreements reached at Groote Schuur.

Mandela said one did not enter negotiations unless one was prepared to compromise. "What we may agree with the government is a different matter. That will depend on the discussions," he added.

While the ANC would never compromise on issues such as a one-man, one-vote electoral system there were many issues "on which we feel very strongly on which we may have to compromise".

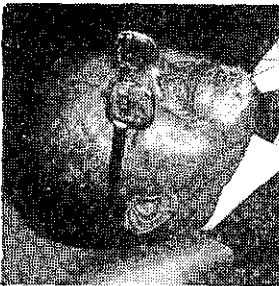
The NEC and membership were "unanimous" in their support for negotiations.

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

# SACP's leadership to emerge at Soweto rally

SAWET 26/7-11/8/90  
M11



Gwala



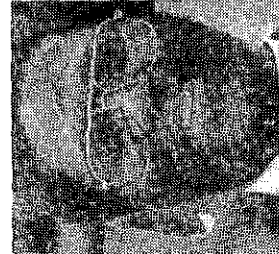
Mbeki



Slovo



Naidoo



Mayekiso

JOHANNESBURG. — Special interest in the launch of the South African Communist Party (SACP) here on Sunday is focused on who emerges as its leadership.

By MONO BADELA

Its full leadership and membership have been kept a closely-guarded secret up to now.

The party has announced that its Internal Leadership Group (ILG) will be announced at the Soccer City rally near Soweto on Sunday.

It will initially be made up of between 20 to 25 people - most of them already members of the party's central committee.

As more central committee members return to the country under the awaited amnesty, they will join the ILG.

### Exiles

Former exiles already identified as part of the SACP leadership include chairman Dan Tloome, general secretary Joe Slovo, Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, ANC's military intelligence chief, Ronnie Kasrils and Mac Maharaj.

There are also former Rivonia trialists Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi.

Other former Robben Islanders likely to line up at Soccer City could include Walter Sisulu, and Harry Gwala.

Another former exile likely to join the ILG is poet and ex-political prisoner, Jeremy Cronin.

But many will watch who the "locals" are to emerge among the 10 expected to form part of

the ILG.

No names have yet been mentioned by the SACP, but with the vast majority of the party's internal membership coming from within the ranks of the black working class, strong representation can be expected from Cosatu.

President Elijah Barayi is an unlikely candidate, largely because of the symbolic status of his presidency.

His emergence as a leader of the SACP would link Cosatu too directly with it.

A similar restriction may also exclude general secretary, Jay Naidoo.

### Cosatu

But other senior Cosatu officials are real possibilities:

- Chris Dlamini, Cosatu's first vice-president and president of the powerful Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu);

- Sydney Mufamadi, Cosatu's assistant general secretary;

- John Gomomo, Cosatu's second vice president and one of the top officials of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa).

From the ranks of Cosatu affiliates, other possibilities are the general secretary of NUMSA and Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) Moses Mayekiso.

Outside of the trade unions, UDF figures present themselves as possibilities and these may include people like Mohammed Valli Moosa and educationist, Raymond Suttner.

THE Government cannot continue to talk peace and negotiations while conducting a war against black people, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking to more than 3 000 people at Sebokeng Hostel where six people died on Tuesday following weekend clashes between Inkatha and ANCUDF supporters, Mandela appealed for calm and normality in the township.

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

He said the ANC would take up the matter with the Government.

Accompanied by the organisation's secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and treasurer general Mr Thomas Nkobi, Mandela earlier visited Sebokeng Hospital to see victims of Sunday's fighting.

In his address at the

hostel, he told the cheering crowd that the ANC appreciated the stand taken by people to protect themselves against "killers who came from outside" and to protect the people of Sebokeng.

He warned: "Those black people in South Africa who think they can come to power on the corpses of the black people are making a serious mistake.

"Whatever they do,

we will defeat them all," he said.

Mandela said the Government and police were warned by the ANC and Cosatu lawyers prior to the Inkatha rally of a possible clash.

However, "the police allowed them (Inkatha supporters) to come armed and that is how they got the opportunity to kill our people", he said.

## Appeal

He appealed to workers to return to work today and urged pupils to return to school.

"All of you must make sure that things come to normal," he said.

Meanwhile, huge police reinforcements with helicopters and extra Caspir armoured vehicles have been sent to Sebokeng.

More than 500 policemen from Soweto, Pretoria and the Vaal Triangle have been deployed in the area on the orders of Witwatersrand police chief Major-General Gert Erasmus, said police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbé.

The extra policemen



Mr Nelson Mandela, with ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo behind him, arrives at Sebokeng Hospital yesterday to visit victims of the weekend clashes.



# Women meet over post-apartheid SA

*Sowetan 26/7/90 11A*



ELLEN KUZWAYO

ABOUT 300 delegates from 30 women's organisations countrywide will attend a three-day conference aimed at encouraging women to work together in preparation for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The conference, organised by the National Assembly of Women in South Africa, starts tomorrow

**By SIZA KOOMA**

at the Braamfontein Hotel.

Its theme is "Women working together towards a new South Africa".

It will focus on challenges facing women in addressing social, racial, political, ideological and religious issues to help bring

about peace and stability in the country.

Ten women, who have contributed to development in education, community work, the economy and other fields, will be honoured tomorrow night at a special function to salute motherhood.

Speakers will include Dr Ellen Kuzwayo and national president

of the NCAW Winkie Direko.

The cost for the entire weekend is R150, including accommodation and R60 for those who will not sleep over.

For further information phone Queenie Mgema or Jeanette Luthango at (011) 403-5500.

**P A T E L B R O S**



South 26/7-11/8/90

# Hands off

# Hani

IIA  
~~SECRET~~



From MONO BADELA

**JOHANNESBURG.—** The African National Congress this week closed ranks behind Umkhonto we Sizwe's Army Chief of Staff, Chris Hani, saying that his "military remarks" were not at odds with the movement's policies.

Hani caused a stir when he told students at a rally at the University of Transkei that the ANC would to "seize power by force if the South African government reneges on negotiations".

This has evoked a strong reaction from State President F W de Klerk who said the remarks were contrary to the spirit of the Groote Schuur minute signed after the first encounter between the government and ANC.

On Sunday the charismatic Hani, dressed in full military gear and surrounded by "troops" reiterated his remarks at the Umtata Independent Stadium sparking off further calls by the Conservative Party that he should be arrested and charged with treason by the government.

Since the talks about talks began in May, the question of armed struggle has been a central issue.

It was expected that Hani's remarks would adversely affect the process of dialogue between the government and the ANC.

However, on Wednesday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a press conference here that "there is no conflict whatsoever between the statement of Hani and the Groote Schuur minute".

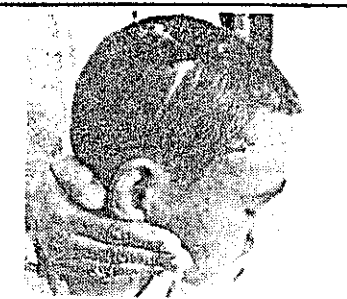
### Dismantle

"Everybody knows we are conducting an armed struggle in order to dismantle apartheid. As long as apartheid is in place the armed struggle will continue."

Mandela assured the world that the talks with the government would go ahead as planned.

But as before the Groote Schuur historic indaba early in May, the second round of talks with the government is being preceded by a series of events that has raised consternation in the democratic movement.

The key events are the continued violence in Natal and this week's fighting in Sebokeng.



### Beach protest: R2-m claim

A YEAR after Strand schoolboy Xavier

**TO PAGE TWO**

**BATTLE DRESS:** Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff Chris Hani in full cry as he addresses a rally at a stadium in Umtata last weekend. Hani arrived with guards armed with AK47 assault rifles

**FROM PAGE ONE**

In April police shot dead 14 residents of Sebokeng during a protest march that resulted in the ANC cancelling the proposed first round of talks with the government.

This time nearly 30 residents of Sebokeng had been killed in fierce clashes between Inkatha impis and ANC supporters. *11A (S)*  
*South 26/7 - 11/8/90*

A row has also broken about between the government and the ANC over the infiltration of armed ANC cadres and the arrest of 41 ANC members.

On Monday of a top ranking Natal ANC official, Billy Nair who spent 20 years on Robben Island was detained and on Wednesday the security police was reported to have detained a top South African Communist Party official and leading member of the ANC NEC, Mac Maharaj.

This week the NEC at its two day secret talks expressed serious concern about continued detentions saying they undermined efforts to create a climate conducive to negotiation.

"Such arrests should stop and those detained should be released immediately and unconditionally," the statement said.

# ANC talks with Government are still on course

*Sowetan 26/7/90*  
By SY MAKARINGE

THE meeting between the Government and the ANC, scheduled for August 6, is still on course despite reports of an alleged plot by communists within the ANC to overthrow the State.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, which followed a two-day plenary session of its national executive committee, the ANC reaffirmed the "urgent necessity to move forward as speedily as possible towards a negotiated transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy".

The ANC's delegation to meet State President FW de Klerk consists of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Joe Modise and Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC said it would, among others, present proposals concerning the removal of the remaining obstacles to negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle.

Mandela said reports that there was a rebellion within the ANC and an ANC/SACP plot to overthrow the Government were "totally unfounded".

"The entire membership of the NEC is unanimous on the question of working together with the Government to bring about a peaceful democratic settlement. I don't know of any person (in the organisation) who does not subscribe to that view," Mandela said in reply to a question.

He said there was no conflict on the policy of the ANC and over a statement by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, in Umtata a week ago.

He said Hani's statement was taken out of context by the Press.

# 'Right-wing' towns are target of ANC boycott

B/day 26/7/90

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC yesterday announced plans for a consumer boycott throughout the eastern Transvaal, particularly targeting a number of what it called extreme right-wing centres.

ANC eastern Transvaal secretary Joe Nkuna announced yesterday that the boycott — principally against alleged right-wing violence — would start tomorrow in towns across the "entire eastern Transvaal", including the Highveld and Lowveld.

While some reports were received of businessmen planning to counter the boycott by cutting off supplies to black areas, the presidents of several chambers of commerce in the region indicated that business was more likely to enter negotiations with the ANC.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday dismissed allegations of AWB intimidation and warned that right-wingers in the eastern Transvaal, an AWB stronghold, would not allow themselves to be intimidated.

Nkuna said the boycott would be reviewed on August 29, except in a num-

ber of towns described as "pure rightist towns", including Nelspruit, Barberton, Ermelo, Bethal and Middelburg.

The boycott in these centres would be reviewed on September 12, Nkuna said.

ANC members in the region, he said, had been subjected to increased harassment since the ANC's unbanning.

He particularly singled out AWB members, some of whom he said were in the SAP and army and who were attempting to disrupt the ANC's efforts to organise the movement in the region.

ANC pamphlets being distributed in the eastern Transvaal list the boycott demands as the dismantling, disarming and prosecution of the AWB and "other right-wing lunatics" as well as the scrapping of legislation which enabled right-wingers to arm themselves.

Other demands are the establishment of non-racial municipalities in the eastern Transvaal, the right to protest and an end to harassment of taxi owners.

Asked why businesses were being singled out, UDF regional secretary Jackson Mthembu said the white business

community had to ensure that the negotiation process was not "derailed".

The Nelspruit Chamber of Commerce, Afrikaanse Sakekamer and the town council yesterday agreed not to take any action, but committed themselves to holding discussions with the boycott organisers.

Witbank Chamber of Commerce president Rodney Francis said there were as yet no indications that conservative businessmen were planning to cut off supplies to black areas.

The Middelburg chamber's Charles Delner said the chamber would be prepared to meet the local ANC to discuss a way out of the boycott.

Barberton chamber president Edwin Sturgeon said businesses were adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

Terre'Blanche said: "They (the ANC) should beware that the AWB does not come up with similar boycott actions. Then they will sit without work or food."

"If the AWB withdraws white workers, industry will come to a standstill."

He said the AWB would monitor the situation in the eastern Transvaal and decide on appropriate action.

Agreement  
likely on August 6

Stc 26/7/90

11A

11A

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are "very near" to agreement on clearing the obstacles to negotiation.

Government sources said today the two parties were likely to reach agreement at their meeting on August 6.

They said a joint ANC/Government working group had reached agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The ANC has accepted that the armed struggle should be suspended for the duration of negotiations.

And it is understood that the ANC is ready to accept an undertaking by the Government to deal with the repeal or amendment of security legislation and the partial state of emergency in Natal.

The Government has already said that security laws will be amended or repealed during next year's session of parliament.

## Senior communist official held in connection with 'plot'

# New detention angers ANC

The African National Congress today strongly condemned the detention of Mac Maharaj, ANC national executive committee member and senior South African Communist Party member, and called for the immediate release of all detained ANC cadres.

Mr Maharaj, believed to be second to Joe Slovo in the SACP hierarchy, was detained by security police last night in connection with an alleged insurrection plot.

He is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. So far, about 40 SACP members or supporters have been detained in connection with the alleged plot. Sources said further arrests were expected.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada, who today confirmed Mr Maharaj's detention, said: "We strongly condemn his arrest and the continued detention of our people be-

cause this does not contribute to the creation of a proper climate for negotiations. We demand that these people be released as soon as possible."

Yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela denied there was a plot to overthrow the Government.

He told a media conference after a two-day meeting of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) in Johannesburg: "The NEC is unanimous on working with the Government to bring about a settlement and the method we have chosen is peaceful negotiation."

### Dismissed

The row over the infiltration of armed ANC cadres and militant remarks by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani would not adversely affect the process of dialogue between the Government and the ANC, Mr Mandela said.

But police sources have dismissed Mr Mandela's claim that armed ANC

### Political Staff and Crime Reporter

insurgents, allegedly aiming to overthrow the Government during negotiations, entered the country before the ANC committed itself to peaceful negotiations at the Groote Schuur summit on May 6.

Mr Mandela said the insurgents had been dispatched before the ANC-Government commitment in the Groote Schuur Minute.

Police sources said some of the insurgents had entered South Africa after May 6.

It was reported yesterday that, according to the minutes of a top-level and secret SACP conference held to plan insurrection, only the Government and the ANC, not the SACP, would be bound by a ceasefire agreement.

This emerged from information

provided by the Government to foreign embassies at a briefing given by the Foreign Affairs Department on the alleged plans for insurrection.

The SACP conference was held in Tongaat as late as May this year.

"In a ceasefire, it will be these two parties (the Government and ANC) who will agree. Those who don't sign the ceasefire are not bound by it," the minutes were reported to have said.

The SACP is to be launched as an independent party on Sunday.

Some "Tonga Conference" delegates were smuggled into the country without Government knowledge.

### Missiles

Others were already inside the country in terms of the amnesty granted for pre-negotiation talks, according to the briefing.

Mr Mandela was not among the delegates, although SACP leader Joe Slovo attended.

Diplomats were also told the al-

leged plotters had asked for more weaponry for the insurrection, including sophisticated Soviet Strela ground-to-air missiles, diplomatic sources said.

Components for car bombs had also been requested from SACP suppliers.

Security police had established that a Belgian couple, a Hollander and a Canadian were helping with the plot inside South Africa. The code name for the alleged plot was "Operation Vula", according to the sources.

"Operation Vula", with internal and foreign components, was launched in 1987, but was not discontinued after the release of Mr Mandela and the Groote Schuur talks. It only seemed to come to fruition after the Groote Schuur Minute was signed.

It was launched by the formation of a group of at least seven leaders, only one of whom, Oliver Tambo, was not a member of the SACP.

The others were Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, Sipiwe Nyanda, Ivan Pillay and Archie Abrahams.

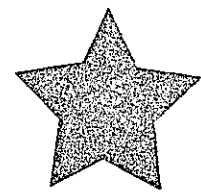
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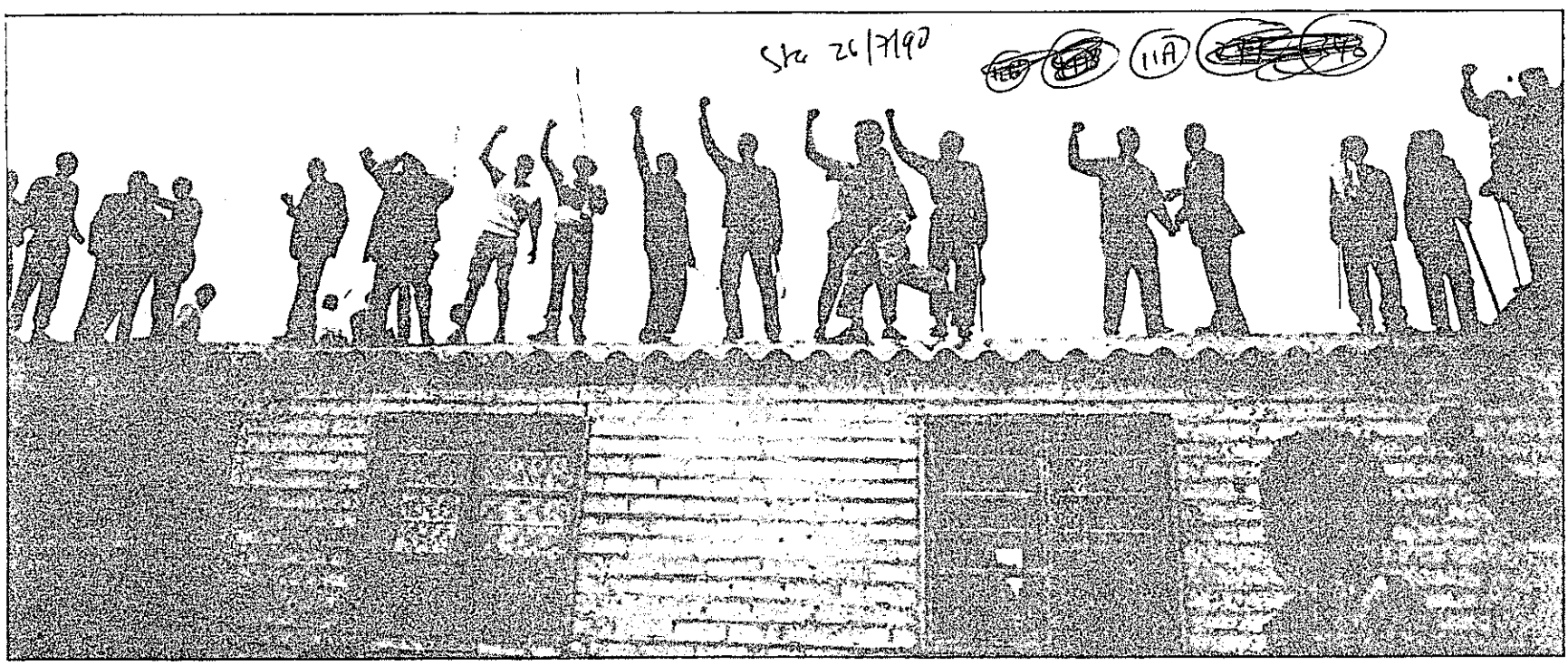
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## Inkatha now 'banned' in Sebokeng

By Shareen Singh

Inkatha members have been "banned" from Sebokeng following bloody clashes this week between Inkatha and Cosatu/ANC.

A Vaal Civic Association spokesman said today Inkatha members and supporters who "invaded the township" on Sunday had left and Inkatha hostel dwellers who "took part in the attacks" were not allowed back in by other hostel residents.

The Vaal Civic Association and other organisations linked to the Mass Democratic Movement are to hold three rallies today to discuss barricades in the township, the partial stayaway and the erroneous identification of all Zulus as supporters of Inkatha.

Colonel Othniel Mazibuku of Sebokeng police station said there were no reports of unrest last night.

Sebokeng welcome . . . Hostel residents greet Nelson Mandela in song — "Khwela phezu kwendlu ubatshele!! (Get on the rooftops and tell them!!)". Picture by Alf Kumalo.

NEWS

# ANC unveils wide-ranging action plan

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday announced several actions to address pressing political issues such as the Natal violence, the Sebokeng mini-war and the education crisis.

At a press conference in Johannesburg to report on the NEC meeting which was held at a secret hide-out on Monday and Tuesday, the ANC's highest decision-making body announced that:

- A high-powered committee of four NEC members had been appointed to engage in efforts to end the carnage in Natal. They were Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Gertrude Shope and John Nkadimeng.

- It had endorsed the creation of a co-ordinating committee consisting of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

- The ANC would hold consultations with various groups in the democratic movement tomorrow to address the black education crisis.

Steps would also be taken to secure Government intervention at the highest level.

- Organisational structures dealing with the return of exiles would be strengthened. The ANC would also move with greater speed to establish local and regional structures and would step up preparations for its December 16 congress, the first to be held in South Africa in 30 years.

In a statement, the NEC expressed concern about the increase in right-wing violence and urged the Government to take the necessary action to end "what amounts to the open commission of criminal acts".

Mr Mandela told scores of journalists President de Klerk would be "foolhardy" to seek a whites-only mandate for reform.

The best solution was to reach a negotiated settlement as soon as possible which would give all South Africans the vote.

He also confirmed he would hold a series of meetings with other political actors to brief them on his recent international tour and to facilitate black unity.

Among others, he would meet the Labour Party, the PAC, Azapo and homeland leaders until Saturday.



The South African Communist Party is trying to resurrect a movement that is being battered round the world. ANDREW PRIOR, professor in the Department of Political Studies at UCT, asks: "What is to be done?"

# SACP must accept a free, open democracy

CHE Times 26/7/90 (11A)

ALMOST 40 years ago, when the SACP was banned, communism worldwide was a force to be reckoned with.

Stalin held the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in an iron grip and Mao was consolidating communist control over China. American Cold War warriors were spending sleepless nights hunting out closet communists, McCarthyism was rampant and the South African National Party jumped on the bandwagon to ban the South African Communist Party with the full support of its Western allies.

Whatever the Americans and the South Africans did, for communism the future seemed assured. But time did not treat the communists kindly. Today communism is under a greater threat than it was at any time during the Cold War. The threat is not from America or capitalism but from the internal contradictions in communism itself. Communist parties have collapsed in Eastern Europe, there are widespread resignations in the Soviet Union and everywhere there are signs that when people are given freedom of choice they overwhelmingly reject communism.

## Breathe life

This is hardly the setting that the remnants of the South African Communist Party would have chosen to re-establish themselves in South Africa but they will be trying to breathe life into a movement which has everywhere been battered by *glasnost*, *perestroika*, ethnic nationalism, wide-scale defections and a history of corruption and inefficiency.

Few doubt that the communists played an important role in the struggle to extend full rights to all in South Africa during the years before their

banning. But if they are to establish themselves as a credible party they will have to reckon with their 40 years history in exile.

This was hardly a history to be proud of. Taking their cues from their paymasters, the South African communists were faithful Stalinists. When the Soviet Union crushed the democratic forces in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Western communist parties objected, the South African communists stood faithfully behind Moscow.

The SACP intelligentsia's understanding of political affairs was often equally hazy as is shown from their analysis of events in Eastern Europe. A month before the collapse of the Berlin Wall their official mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, was forecasting a long and successful life for Eastern European communism.

## Serious supporters

Even if they succeed in fudging their history, the SACP might have difficulty with the practical problems of its links with traditional allies. Until last year the SACP received much support from Eastern bloc countries. Now that has dried up. It is unlikely that the Soviet Union will continue to support South African communists as they did in the past.

This leaves only two other serious supporters: Castro's Cuba and the ANC.

The last bastion of contemporary Marxism-Leninism is Cuba but even here Castro is standing behind a barricade of censorship, repression of opposition and imprisonment of writers. Castro is under enormous pressure now that his Eastern European crutch has been pulled away. Will the SACP hitch its star to Castro?



FIDEL CASTRO: It could be dangerous if the SACP hitches its star to him.

This could be dangerous.

The ANC is at pains to show the world that it is a bearer of democratic rights which could prove difficult if it allows its alliance with the SACP to draw it into the Castro orbit.

## Key issues

Can the SACP expect continued support from the ANC? Here the situation is different. Historical links have given the SACP the opportunity to meld with the upper echelons of the ANC and it is difficult to distinguish the dividing lines between the nationalists and the communists in the organisation.

But in the run up to negotiations with the South African government, the ANC will have to choose between a willingness to compromise on important key economic and political issues or to adopt an orthodox Marxist-Leninist line which, as far as an observer can see, is still that of the SACP.

No informed person today is likely to accept the core Marxist-Leninist dogmas of the inevitability of the world-wide proletarian revolution which is supposed to sweep away the last vestiges of capitalism.

## Open democracy

The SACP should embark on a full-scale self-examination and its members might find (as did their comrades elsewhere) that the present state of economics in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and many African countries has totally discredited the belief that a middle path exists between a centralised, government-controlled economy and a multi-party, free-market economy.

They should also commit themselves to accepting that a free, open democracy with minimal state intervention is the only possible solution to South Africa's enormous economic and political problems.

Should the ANC jettison them? The ANC will certainly not risk a split at this stage when it is still unsure of its power base. Besides, there is still much useful work left in the old guard of the SACP. We could even find that our South African communists can be moved by the spirit of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Were this to happen they might even come to inform us of the pitfalls that state socialism will hold for a future South Africa.

5/11/90  
'We'll discuss Vaal violence'

By Stan Hlophe

The ANC will raise the Sebokeng violence when it meets the Government on August 6, Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a crowd of ANC supporters and hostel inmates in Sebokeng, Mr Mandela said the ANC would issue a strong warning to the Government that peace would not prevail while people were being killed.

He blamed police for provoking people and allowing Inkatha supporters to arm themselves in spite of prior warning by ANC/Cosatu lawyers of a plot by Inkatha followers to ambush ANC supporters.

He appealed for the ANC supporters to exercise discipline and re-

main calm, and return to work and school today.

"Sebokeng is an ANC stronghold and no other organisation has the support we have here."

When The Star visited the township earlier, many youths were seen stoning police vehicles and Casspirs.

Security forces patrolled the area and a helicopter hovered above. Policemen fired teargas to disperse crowds who converged at street corners.

The Star team was ordered out of the area by gas-masked police. The Star's photographer, Ken Oosterbroek, was manhandled and threatened by policemen who ordered him to stop taking pictures.

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# Team to meet Govt named

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius

The ANC yesterday announced its five-man team for the August 6 meeting with the Government to discuss ways of removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

They are — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary general and acting president Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise and SACP secretary general Joe Slovo.

In a statement, the organisation's National Executive Committee said the five had been designated to present the ANC at the meeting after an agreement with the Government on the size of the respective delegations. Government sources said the agreement had been reached between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk last Friday.

Although the Government has not announced its delegation, Government sources believe it is

likely to be Mr de Klerk, his chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The five ANC negotiators present an interesting mix of "hardliners" and "moderates". Although SACP chief Mr Slovo could have been expected to be included by reason of his seniority, his presence also suggests that the ANC is not bowing to current pressure to distance itself from the SACP.

The expected Government team — as well of that of the ANC — combines seniority, negotiating expertise and line-function relevance to the agenda of the talks.

Government sources have also made it clear that they intend to use the occasion of the August 6 talks to raise the issue of alleged efforts by ANC/SACP elements to continue revolutionary activity during negotiations.

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## Prayers for peace at three PAC services

THE Atteridgeville branch of the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday appealed to all peace-loving people in the township to observe an hour of prayer for three days starting tomorrow.

Mr Phil Modau, chairman of the PAC branch, said one-hour services would be held at the Rev Brander Church in Ramushu Street tomorrow from 7pm to 8pm, the Germaine Hall at Makhaza Street from 5pm to 6pm on Saturday and at the Roman Catholic Church from 2pm to 2.30pm on Sunday.

### Natal violence

He said the services followed the call by PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng that peace-loving people should pray for those who had died violently in Natal. *Sowetan 26/7/90*

Modau also appealed to local churches to devote some of their time to pray for the Natal victims.



**RALLY:** The head of the ANC's women's section Gertrude Shope (middle) joins activists Ivy Gcina (left) and Girlie Pikoli at a rally in Port Elizabeth. Rallies are being held throughout the country as part of the launch of the ANC women's league next month. **AP**

South 2017 - 118190



# Schoolchildren to march in city streets today

ARBUS

26/7/90

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By JOHN VILJOEN and JOHN YELD  
Staff Reporters

BLACK and "coloured" schooling in the Peninsula, already hard-hit by disruptions this week, is likely to come to a virtual standstill today as thousands of pupils take to the streets.

They are marching in support of the reconstruction of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) as part of a "week of action" which started yesterday.

The march was scheduled from the Parade to St George's Cathedral and on to the Department of Education and Training offices on the Foreshore "to forward our grievances and demands".

But police warned last night that the march was illegal because organisers had not applied for magisterial permission, and threatened action to stop it.

## Teachers' protest

Teachers affiliated to the National Teacher Unity Forum (NTUF) are also likely to protest after more than 100 of their colleagues were arrested outside Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday, in support of two teachers arrested in June.

The two had been arrested for demonstrating on the day a NTUF delegation met National Education Minister Mr Gene Louw.

Yesterday afternoon more than 200 teachers met in Guguletu to discuss the incident.

Chairman Mr Shepherd Mdladlana said the meeting believed the arrests were a further "form of victimisation".

Cosas marches are also being held today at Somerset West and Atlantis.

Last night police spokeswoman Lieutenant Denise Brand drew attention to a statement by the acting-regional commissioner, Brigadier Nick Acker, who said in a statement police had "information that pupils from coloured and black schools are planning to march through Cape Town".

"There has been no application as regards legalising the proposed demonstration. Police would like to draw the organisers' attention to the fact that there are certain regulations that legally prohibit this type of action."

On Tuesday schooling was disrupted in many Peninsula classrooms because of the NTUF's "day of action" to highlight alleged victimisation by education authorities.

# ANC calls for normalisation

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Sebokeng residents "to make an effort to normalise the situation" in the township by returning to work and school today. *Bloom 26/7/90*

Mandela told thousands of cheering people gathered at Sebokeng's hostel complex, that "the ANC was proud of those who had taken it upon themselves to protect the Sebokeng residents from thugs and killers from outside".

"However, you must normalise the situation by returning to work. The children must go back to school, everyone must attend to his duties," Mandela said.

"The government must explain why people came from outside to kill our people. No negotiations can be conducted while our people are being killed. We also want to know why the SAP allowed people with arms to attend Sunday's Inkatha rally."

Accompanying Mandela were ANC

WILSON ZWANE  
and LINDEN BIRNS

executive members Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi.

Earlier Mandela visited unrest victims at the Sebokeng Hospital.

He and the others spoke to patients, including Sandile Mtshali, the first of more than 100 victims admitted to the hospital's casualty ward since Sunday.

Mtshali told Mandela the SAP took him and threw him into the Inkatha supporting crowds attending Sunday's rally at the Zone 7 stadium.

A hospital sister said most of the victims were admitted with stab wounds.

SAP presence in the township was beefed up yesterday, with an extra 500 men and two helicopters deployed.

□ To Page 2

## ANC call *D 10am 26/7/90*

SAP spokesman Brig Vic Heynes said yesterday it had been a lot quieter during the day but four policemen had been slightly injured in petrol bomb and stone throwing attacks aimed at the SAP.

Sapa reports that police said they found two bodies of men in Breyton township, Ermelo, yesterday and were investigating the possibility the men had been killed in a clash with police on Tuesday night.

Haynes said police opened fire when a group attacked a police vehicle with stones and petrol bombs.

□ From Page 1

Inkatha yesterday denied that the Ermelo fighting had been provoked by vigilantes.

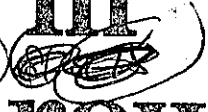
Inkatha Youth Brigade Transvaal chairman Themba Khoza said last night the violence had erupted after the area's ANC youth chairman Elias Zwane and a number of other ANC youths had left that organisation and had joined Inkatha on July 15.

Since then Zwane and another Inkatha member, N Makhanya, had had their shops burned down, he said.

# UDF claims victory in District 6 squatting row

126w 27/7/90

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By JOHN YELD  
Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has agreed to call off the occupation of vacant land in District Six if the developers, Ilco Homes, halt the proposed development of a R20-million housing project.

And the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, will call a meeting of all those involved in the District Six dispute to find an acceptable strategy for the future.

These developments were

hammered out during a five-hour meeting between Mr Meiring, his senior officials and 14 representatives of the UDF, ANC, Cosatu, the South African Youth Congress, the Western Cape United Civic Organisation and representatives of the Tambo Square squatter community at the provincial offices yesterday.

A joint statement in the name of Mr Meiring and the ANC's Western Cape representative, Mr Trevor Manuel, on behalf of the organisations, said two proposals on District Six — both submitted by the CPA — had been accepted.

The first, noting the UDF's declared intention of occupying vacant land and the "sensitivity" of the matter, was that the Administrator would undertake an initiative to bring all the parties together to negotiate, "without infringing the rights of any of the landowners or the local authority involved".

"The intention of these discussions, of which the Administrator will simply be the initiator and co-ordinator, will be to work out a strategy acceptable for all the parties — inter alia the Cape Town municipality, private developers such as Ilco and representatives of the

broader community — for the development of District Six/Zonnebloem."

The second proposal was that the UDF undertook publicly to call on the community and all affiliated organisations to set aside the strategy for occupying vacant land in District Six, on condition that Ilco stopped with its development.

Regional UDF chairman Mr Bulelani Ngcuka today hailed the agreement as a victory, but warned that the suspension of the campaign in District Six was conditional. "It depends on Ilco Homes calling a moratorium on development there."

## Keegan hits at developers

Staff Reporter

THE attempt by the developers of up-market houses in District Six to align themselves with the ANC's protest campaign was "cynical opportunism".

The chairman of the Cape Town City Council's town planning committee, Mr Clive Keegan, said this in a hard-hitting statement calling for a moratorium on further development in District Six.

Ilco director Mr Fanny Meyeridricks was reported as saying that his company had aligned itself with the ANC campaign for cheaper houses.

He said that Ilco had "protested against unreasonable charges and regulations imposed by the council which is the major factor in determining the high cost of the houses".

Mr Keegan said the remarks were "dissembling, largely incorrect and essentially irrelevant to the political embarrassment in which they (Ilco) now find themselves".



# Lekota pleads for peace between ANC, Inkatha

w/ Mand 27/7 - 29/7/90

(11R) (27)

By CARMEL RICKARD

IN a dramatic appeal for peace between Inkatha and his organisation, leading African National Congress official Terror Lekota told mourners at a service for 26 people who died in last week's Inanda bus disaster, "If you want vengeance, you do not belong in the ANC."

Addressing more than 2 000 people at a memorial service in the dusty playing fields of Inanda's Ohlange High School yesterday, Lekota said he wanted to extend "a word of peace" to the people of Mshayazafe.

"Like you we have no homes, no proper education. We have to struggle to get to work and back. Even if we shoot and kill all of you our conditions would not improve at all. We would still be here in our shacks. That is why the ANC has never decided to go to war against you. Our struggle is against the system of apartheid.

"Let us not fight each other. We have no intention of attacking you."

Lekota's speech was all the more extraordinary as it was addressed to a community which believes the people of Mshayazafe are strongly opposed to the ANC and were responsible for the bus disaster. Several speakers before him had blamed the squatters of Mshayazafe



Terror Lekota

for the tragedy.

Yet at the same time as the service was taking place the Regional Commissioner of police, Major General Johan van Niekerk, released the results of the police investigation into the crash.

He said there was no "ambush" and no shots were fired. The crash was caused by a burnt out car wreck on the road which led to a mini bus and a bus going out of control and overturning down an embankment.

Reports of a shot could have referred to the bursting taxi tyre as the driver tried to avoid the wreck on the road.

At the memorial service, organised by

ANC-aligned local organisations, Lekota quoted ANC leader Nelson Mandela urging that weapons be thrown into the sea, saying this way "peace could begin to reign", and told the people of Mshayazafe, "We appeal to you and to your leaders to make a similar call."

Lekota said too much had been said in the past about who was responsible for the violence, and this should stop.

He made a plea to the youth saying: "Those who support the ANC must be the first to make peace. I say do not seek vengeance, build peace."

To scholars he said, "Tell other students at school who are members of Inkatha that the ANC wants to be their friend. When you see a member of Inkatha being attacked at school, protect him."

Addressing parents he said the temptation to retaliate was great, but they should not give in to it, and should be careful not to speak the language of revenge in front of their children.

"You feel tempted to go and get an AK-47. But there is no solution in short cuts. The solution is ... to stop the fighting. Mandela and Sisulu asked us to make peace. We ask you to be forgiving to those who are unable to understand the march of events," Lekota said.

# They took Mac to undermine us, says SACP

By DREW FORREST and GAVIN EVANS

THE detention of Mao Maharaj, a key organiser of the SA Communist Party launch on Sunday, was a clear move by the government to undermine the SACP, a party spokesman said yesterday.

Maharaj, detained on Thursday in connection with an alleged insurrection plan, has been widely tipped as a member of the SACP Internal Leadership Group to be announced at the launch. *W/Ment 2717-2917190*

Another candidate for the leadership detained this week is senior African National Congress official Billy Nair.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin said the detentions had clearly been timed to take place shortly before the rally. A central rally organiser, Maharaj had been entrusted with introducing speakers, who include Nelson Mandela, SACP leaders Joe Slovo and Chris Hani and Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

In another important development yesterday Cosatu's largest affiliate, the National Union of Metalworkers, hailed the launch as a "significant victory for South Africa's working people" in their struggle for emancipation.

In the absence of a legal workers' party, workers had been leaderless and directionless,



Mac Maharaj

said Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso.

A legal SACP would have to come up with programmes to advance the working class cause and give reality to debates on economic restructuring, he said.

Sources indicate that at least three top Cosatu

unionists are to be announced as internal leaders. These are Mayekiso, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi and Cosatu vice president Chris Dlamini.

Surprisingly, Numsa's education officer and leading economist Alec Erwin has also been mentioned as a possible candidate. Seen in the past as a union "workerist", Erwin would be a major scoop for the party.

The announcement of a number of big union names would boost the SACP in its avowed aim of becoming the workers' political vanguard. It would also vindicate claims that the liberation movement's best cadres are communists.

Among the former exiles certain to be named as internal leaders are general secretary Slovo and chairman Dan Tloome. Others considered likely candidates are Chris Hani and John Nkadimeng — believed to be SACP central committee members, ANC national executive committee member Reg September, and former Robben Islanders and old-time communists Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.

Internally based activists tipped as SACP leaders include the UDF's assistant general secretary Mohamed Valli Moosa and poet-activist Jeremy Cronin.

W/ Mail 2777 - 2917190  
**ANC man warns  
the AWB: We will  
face you with guns**

By TSHOKOLO MOLAKENG



THE African National Congress has warned that it will be forced to retaliate "with guns" if right-wingers do not stop their violence.

Steve Tshwete, a member of the ANC national executive committee, said at a meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday: "Because the ANC has been unbanned does not mean we will be sacrificial lambs to right-wing assaults on members of our organisations and innocent people."

"If they insist on their violence, we will feel justified to reply in guns. We cannot turn the other cheek."

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche "declared war" on the ANC at a meeting in the Germiston City Hall on Wednesday night.

Tshwete said negotiations with the government would still continue despite recent right-wing attacks. "Negotiations are not substitutes for the struggle. We will intensify it."

The meeting, attended by about 200 people, was supposed to be addressed by the leader of the ANC's internal core, Walter Sisulu. But Sisulu was discussing with the ANC's executive committee the recent detention of its members.

Tshwete added that people had the right to defend themselves against Inkatha attacks.

African National Congress leader Steve Tshwete tells a Johannesburg meeting: "We cannot turn the other cheek" Picture: AVIGAIL UZI

# Just like the worst kind of old-style red-baiting, says Kasrils

W/Mant 277-29/7/90

By SHAUN JOHNSON

SENIOR African National Congress leader Ronnie Kasrils yesterday confirmed that Umkhonto weSizwe had continued to infiltrate cadres and weapons into South Africa during the pre-negotiation period, but strongly denied that this went against the spirit of peace moves.

Kasrils added that the government's allegation of a "communist-inspired insurrectionary plot" was "Red-baiting of the worst order".

In an extraordinary briefing in Johannesburg Kasrils, a National Executive Committee member, former ANC intelligence chief and a veteran of the South African Communist Party said (MK leaders) "Joe Modise and Chris Hani made it clear months ago ... now a tremendous palaver is being made over the fact that our underground, and MK, are continuing with their work. After all, where is the ceasefire? (State President FW) de Klerk's speech on February 2 didn't mean that our underground would show themselves and join the above-board ANC. It was no secret."

Kasrils said it was possible that the security police had seized documents discussing the possibilities of insurrectionary activity, but "what one is seeing is an immediate contradiction and overclaim — inflation — by the police when they 'reveal' that the underground is continuing its activities. I would predict it is a usual, clumsy, exaggerated mistake by the security police, where they hear about a discussion, or pick up a discussion document, about the possibilities of an insurrection in this country, and call it a Red Plot."

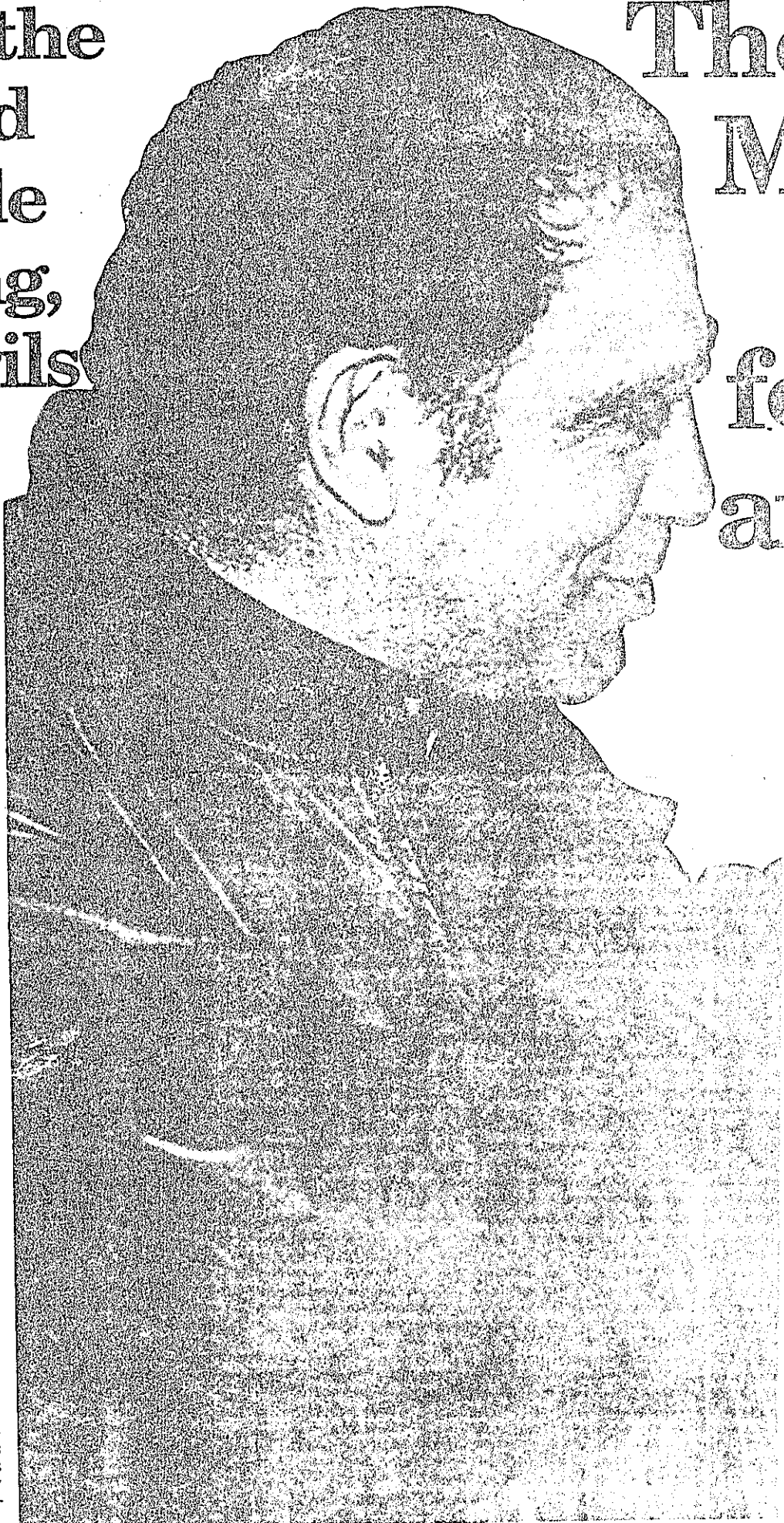
The same had happened in the 1960s, he said, when the "Operation Mayibuye" draft document was seized and treated as a formal, approved plan.

"I can assure you there is no plan to organise an insurrection, to seize a post office or the Union Buildings ... What the generals of the security police are saying in their pristine naivete is based on revolutionary discourse, and nothing else ... There has been no decision, no blueprint for insurrection."

Kasrils said it was "natural" that a revolutionary movement, even if it saw great possibilities for a negotiated settlement, would be prepared for any eventuality: "in that case you build up your forces in preparation ... As I've said previously, I insist on the ANC's right and the CP's right to work secretly because we cannot be sure of the real intentions of FW de Klerk and his police. Therefore work has to be carried out in terms of secrecy."

"From MK's point of view — the commander and the chief of staff — since there is no ceasefire in place, and since infiltration has been an ongoing operation, the decision by MK was simply to continue to have them (cadres) return, to have them in place ...

"There has been no offensive that's been unleashed. From that point of view MK is at one



Red Pimpernel ... wanted man Ronnie Kasrils makes his brazen appearance yesterday

Picture: JABUKI

ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils scoops at the state's 'conspiracy' claims ...



# The 'Red Plot Mastermind' slips cover for a chat ... and a whisky

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w/ Mail 2777 - 24/7190

By SHAUN JOHNSON

"I'd better stand next to the window or the door," said a perspiring Ronnie Kasrils — arguably the security police's most wanted man of the moment — as he audaciously emerged from "underground" to address journalists in Johannesburg yesterday.

With the police apparently hot on his trail, the senior African National Congress executive member, former intelligence chief, and Communist Party member — a close associate of detained ANC leader Mac Maharaj — decided "adventurously", by his own admission, to break cover and publicly denounce the government's "Red Plot" revelations of this week.

It was surely the most extraordinary scene ever witnessed at Mike's Kitchen in suburban Parktown. Kasrils surprised journalists by honouring a longstanding undertaking to address the Foreign Correspondents Association: he arrived at the restaurant just before 1pm despite intense speculation that he was the "next man" in the security police crackdown.

Kasrils, visibly tense but smiling and joking, asked for a double whisky as he entered an anteroom of the restaurant ("don't drown it in water"), and apologised for not being able to sit and have a "leisurely lunch. I'd hoped I could stay long enough to have a vegetarian cutlet ... but now I think I'd better scam in a few minutes."

Kasrils said: "Mac and I knew that they were coming to arrest us. We were both involved from Lusaka in building the underground ... Mac Maharaj is a canny devil, and that's why they've gone for him as they have."

Kasrils said police had wanted to take him at the same time as Maharaj, but that he'd been "a little lucky, just as I was when I escaped arrest in 1963."

Standing and answering questions from journalists seated at a table set for lunch, Kasrils gulped his whisky and kept an eye on the door. At one point, when another journalist entered the room, the ANC leader said: "Why's everybody looking at the door? Is it Swanepoel? (a security policeman)."

Asked whether he would flee the country in order to avoid what seemed like certain arrest, Kasrils said he had been in exile for long enough. "This time I don't want to leave. I'm enjoying it here ... If they arrest me, that's okay — we have nothing on our consciences to be ashamed of."

He said: "I will be doing my best to keep avoiding them, to keep putting the message across. That's why I decided to come today. I was asked before the balloon went up, and when it came to today I thought long and hard about whether I should risk it — because it is a risk. I came because I wanted to get across to you our position, and the position from the underground."

As the intensive question and answer session drew to a close, Kasrils again apologised for having to leave in hurry and said he looked forward to seeing the journalists "next time. I don't think this nonsense will last long," he added: "They'll be eating out of Nelson's (Mandela's) hand in a few weeks." Then, as he made for the door, he remarked whimsically: "Actually, I'd like a beef and Yorkshire pud. Maybe you could send it to John Vorster Square."

On his way to a waiting car, he was again besieged by reporters in the grounds of the restaurant. As the throng gathered a middle-aged lady and a child eating lunch under an umbrella came to see what the fuss was about.

"Who're they talking to?" asked the child. The woman consulted one of the journalists and then returned to the child, aghast. "It's a communist," she said. With that Kasrils was gone.

...ed man Ronnie Kasrils makes his brazen appearance yesterday

Picture: JABU KUMALO

# 'The plot': It's just Red-baiting, says Kasrils

with the ANC, our political leadership, and has not wanted to jeopardise talks, but to be prepared.

"And the leadership has not turned to MK, and said 'stop it'. The NEC has not felt hide-bound by the lifting of the ban (on the ANC). The armed struggle continues; it is a wide term encompassing our underground and the building of our forces ..."

There were no splits or tensions with the ANC NEC on the matter, as had been reported, said Kasrils. W/M and 2717-2917190

However, Kasrils said there has been "a lessening of actual armed operations (since February). In good faith, they have decreased — everyone has seen this; that MK activities have declined. The only new instructions that were issued to MK were to tell the comrades underground and in MK 'don't reveal yourselves'."

Kasrils accused De Klerk of having undertaken a "disguised transformation (in the form of) the National Co-ordinating Mechanism. This is to screw us, which is exactly what the structure is intended to do. The security police, informer,; they are continuing with their infiltration of the ANC, precisely to give

From PAGE 1

themselves the upper hand in the negotiating phase.

"They want a unilateral ceasefire on the part of the ANC, which is not binding on them. To us it is important to build up (our forces). It's kid's stuff, really. Anyone who plays a game of poker knows this. Why attack us? I think it is in accordance with a state security plan to split us, weaken us, put us on the defensive ... while we are supposed to do all of the giving and none of the taking in terms of negotiations."

Kasrils said: "It is no surprise to us that earlier this week (the government) called the ambassadors to a meeting and briefed them about us bad guys. They know they are going to come in for a lot of bad publicity because of their repression. What are they doing? They are waving the red rag under the world's nose, shouting about a communist plot. They want to say they are being forced to act against the communists."

He said he thought the government was "going to have a tough time trying to prove their communist plot. I think they'll come out with egg on their faces."

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**ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Winnie Mandela, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo raise clenched fists during the singing of the Internationale at the official relaunch of the SA Communist Party at a rally at Soccer City, Johannesburg, yesterday.**

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Implications of a rebirth

11A Star 27/7/90

When the SACP is re-launched legally inside South Africa at the First National Bank Stadium (Soccer City) on Sunday, developments will be of interest to many more people than just those attending.

Present will be long-time communists and sympathisers who over the years kept their ideological allegiances secret to escape the clutches of the South African Police. (Since President de Klerk unbanned political organisations on February 2 these people can now operate openly.) Also, thousands of Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) supporters from the labour and student movements will be there to toy-toy and celebrate.

But many others, with absolutely no sympathies for the cause of communism or socialism, will be sitting at home thinking about the launch. The latter group — ranging from Government members and white opposition MPs through to soul-brothers in the ANC — will be watching the event with interest. And that is for at least two reasons.

## Alliance

First, there is the long-standing anti-communist feeling in the white community (and some sections of the black community) which was fuelled by successive National Party governments in their obsession with a Soviet-engineered "total onslaught" against South Africa.

Second, and more importantly, there is the long-existing alliance between the ANC and the SACP.

The questions which come to mind are innumerable.

Were allegations that the ANC is dominated by the SACP ever true? Do communists in the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) far outnumber non-communists and therefore dictate policy, as reports have often suggested?

Who are the communists in the ANC? Will the ANC, as it tries to win more support from whites and moderate blacks, seek to play down its connections with the SACP? Has

The South African Communist Party launch inside the country on Sunday, and the promised announcement of an internal leadership, will have considerable implications for the ANC which has had a close alliance with the SACP for years. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA**, a political writer on *The Star*, examines these implications.

the alliance, perhaps, served its purpose?

Most of these questions have never been directly answered by either the ANC or the SACP, and many people will be hoping clarity will be provided on Sunday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg on June 19 to announce the inaugural rally on Sunday, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo neither denied nor confirmed the rumour that the ANC's national executive committee was dominated by communists, saying reports that "37 of the 35 NEC members are members of the SACP are a bit exaggerated".

In response to the same question, ANC spokesmen have often said the organisation did not conduct a head count of who in its ranks and its leadership were communists and who were not. The matter had simply not arisen, and it was not really an issue, they said.

But some light is thrown on this issue, and many other questions, by none other than Mr Slovo himself in the pre-launch issue of the SACP's mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*.

The first revelation, which had already been stated at the June press conference, was that the SACP's central executive committee (CEC) and the party's underground structures would not be dismantled "until it is clear that the process of democratisation in South Africa has become irreversible".

This means that the real policy-making body, as well as the names of key SACP leaders who will not be in the committee to be announced on Sunday, will remain secret and unknown.

For the time being, then, the SACP will not shed its cloak of secrecy which, party leaders have ar-

gued, was imposed when the SACP was declared unlawful in 1950.

Asked if there were any differences between the ANC and the SACP, Mr Slovo said there were "what I would call non-hostile, non-antagonistic and non-competitive differences".

While the SACP agreed that the ANC stood at the helm of the alliance, it stood for the ultimate creation of a socialist South Africa.

On whether there might in future be serious differences between the two allies, Mr Slovo replied: "The question is too speculative. But if differences do arise, I am confident that they will be resolved in a spirit of togetherness."

That is the reply he gave to a similar question at the June press conference, when he was asked whether the SACP would field candidates against the ANC in a general election or fight the election as part of the ANC.

## Action

Umsebenzi admitted: "The overwhelming majority of party (SACP) members are presently full-time ANC cadres. As we build a new mass party, this will have to be altered to some extent. The party will have to deploy many more full-timers in its own right."

The alliance now includes Cosatu and, according to Umsebenzi, is based on three basic principles:

- While developing joint actions and a common perspective, the independence of each organisation must be respected and protected.
- The alliance "is not a talk-shop, it must be rooted in action".
- The alliance must not be confined to committees at the top, but must also find expression in thousands of

local committees on the ground. The SACP, for its part, remains staunchly committed to the ideals of socialism.

What failed in Eastern Europe, the party insists, was not socialism, but "a socialism distorted by Stalinism".

According to political analyst Wim Booysse, the first visible manifestations of communism in South Africa came in 1905 with the founding of the Friends of Russia Society to express support for the 1905 revolution.

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), as the party was known originally, was formed on July 30 1921.

After being banned in 1950, the party went underground and, in 1953, held an underground conference under the name SACP.

It started working closely with the ANC, but the alliance was not formalised until many years later when both organisations were banned.

The Government will inevitably use whatever opportunity it gets to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP.

In fact, this has already begun.

Only this week Government spokesmen and the police sought to portray ANC insurgents arrested for infiltrating the country with arms as SACP members belonging to a secretive and highly specialised "super-cell" which ANC leaders knew nothing about.

The ANC, for its part, will refuse to terminate its links with the SACP on account of the Government.

To make its point, the ANC this week again included Mr Slovo in its five-man delegation to meet the Government on August 6.

Because of the alliance's continued existence, however, the ANC will be criticised by the business community, liberal political parties and Government spokesmen.

The criticism will increase in volume if it should turn out that communists do indeed dominate the ANC's national executive committee.



WS

## PAC refuses invitation to discuss tour

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The Pan Africanist Congress has refused an invitation by Nelson Mandela to discuss his recent international tour.

The ANC announced earlier that Mr Mandela would meet PAC and Azapo leaders tomorrow as part of a series of report-back meetings with a range of organisations including church leaders, homeland leaders and the Labour Party.

In a statement yesterday, PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele said a written ANC invitation to meet Mr Mandela had not mentioned "that we were invited to join a queue of organisations" and had not stated that the formation of a broad anti-apartheid front would be on the agenda.

Mr Ntoele said the PAC had received an invitation on July 16 and had promised to respond by Wednesday. However, it would now only discuss the invitation at a meeting early next month.

Mr Mandela yesterday briefed 33 church leaders and homeland governments on his tour.

Other ANC delegates on the tour later briefed homeland leaders at a meeting brought forward from today.

In a joint statement, the church leaders — of the Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu faiths — said Mr Mandela had informed them of the tour's success and had briefed them on the ANC's message during the tour. That included its position on sanctions and negotiations.

Mr Mandela had also expressed concern about the violence in the country and the "the conspicuous failure of the Government" to curb it.

## Warning on rising expectations

(11)

GERALD REILLY

~~SECRET~~

PRETORIA — One of the greatest problems, not only for Nelson Mandela and the ANC, but for the entire country was to ensure that expectations aroused should not boomerang, Human Sciences Research Council president Tjaart van der Walt said yesterday.

Speaking at an Afrikaanse Sakekamer function he said the danger of revolution was at its greatest not when a population was totally oppressed but when expectations went unfulfilled. *by 27/7/90*

The revolutionary danger in SA was not from ideology or military takeover, but from frustration resulting from stagnation.

Expectations had been raised and prospects opened up by reform moves, and if the development process was delayed or halted, a setback was likely.

# Mandela to tell rally ANC policy on SACP

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

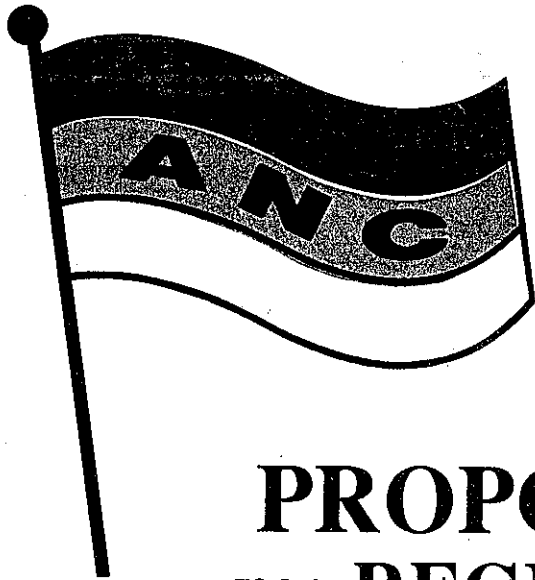
AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela is expected to make a major policy statement on the relationship between his organisation and the South African Communist Party at Sunday's rally to launch the SACP as an open and legal organisation.

SACP representative Jeremy Cronin said yesterday that Mandela's contribution would be made in the context of a message of support from the ANC and that Jay Naidoo would be speaking on behalf of the third party to the revolutionary alliance, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The relationship between the ANC and SACP was thrown into sharp relief this week with government allegations of an SACP conspiracy within Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The rally at Soccer City near Soweto begins with a cultural programme at 10.30am and gets down to serious political business at around noon, when the Internal Leadership Group of the party — approximately 24 people - will be announced.

# ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ANC

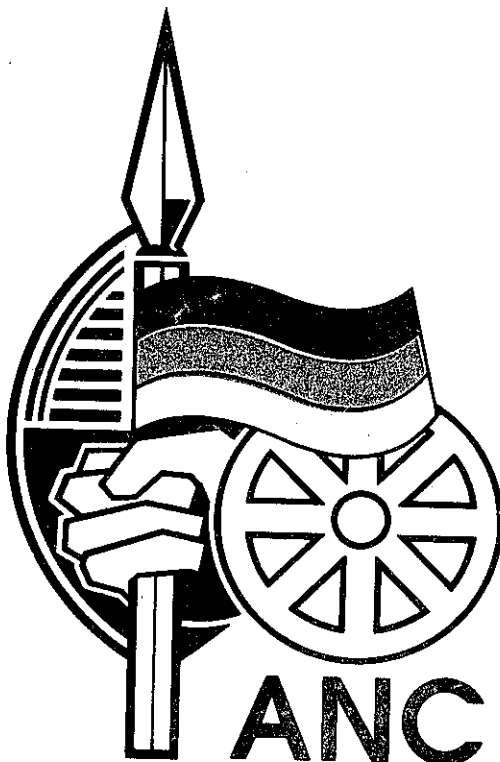


*W/Mand  
27/7-29/7/90*

*11A*

## PROPOSED WORDING re: REGISTRATION OF ANC

“This is the official logo and the flag of the ANC. The ANC is aware of the use of its name, its flag, its official logo, as well as logos other than this official logo, on articles which are being manufactured and distributed by private individuals and commercial enterprises, without authorization from the ANC and contrary to its interests. The ANC has accordingly taken steps to register its name, its official logo and a representation of its flag as trade marks under the Trade Marks Act. The logo and flag are also the subject of copyright which vests in the ANC. Anyone wishing to use the name of the ANC, its official logo or its flag (e.g. on posters, pamphlets, articles of clothing, banners, umbrellas, glassware, jewellery or cutlery, etc.) may therefore only lawfully do so after obtaining authorization from the ANC. Anyone who uses these marks without authorization from the ANC will be acting unlawfully and will be liable to a claim for damages. Their conduct may lead to them being prosecuted for a criminal offence. Persons or organisations wishing to use any of these marks must therefore contact Mr Isu Chiba at the following telephone numbers:



Monday to Friday  
1.00 - 1.30 pm and 5.00 - 5.30 pm  
on (011) 493-9006  
or after 7.00 pm (011) 852-4222  
or via the telefax machine at the  
ANC Head Office:  
(011) 834-1019.”

# Mandela (11A) meets FW

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday met Mr Nelson Mandela after police detained a senior ANC official who had entered the country under presidential indemnity.

Neither De Klerk's office nor the ANC would confirm the meeting had taken place in Pretoria.

But a reliable and well-informed source said it had occurred.

The President's office said De Klerk wanted to meet with Mandela because it appeared the ANC "does not appreciate the seriousness of facts brought to light" by a recent police investigation into an alleged plot by communist members of the ANC to seize power if negotiations with the Government broke down. - Sapa-AP.

# ANC office a hive of activity after arrest

329

PETER DELMAR

11A

THE ANC offices in Johannesburg were a hive of activity yesterday in the wake of senior SACP member Mac Maharaj's detention by the security police on Wednesday. *blom 27/7/90*

The first sign that a crisis meeting had been called was when ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu arrived at the office surrounded by security men and cancelled a lunchtime speaking appointment at the City Hall.

He refused to elaborate on what the meeting was about. Steve Tswete was sent to the City Hall to replace him.

There was a constant flow of senior ANC officials, as well as a host of famous diplomats, top clerics, homeland leaders who came and went. Winnie Mandela was also there.

One of the diplomats was US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow, who arrived in SA yesterday.

After him, 33 religious leaders from the Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu faiths attended a report back meeting called and addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

According to a Press statement issued by the SACC, Mandela briefed the religious leaders on his recent 14-nation tour of Africa, Europe, and North America. He informed them that the ANC NEC had appointed a special committee to deal with violence in Natal and elsewhere.

To Page 2

## ANC activity

*blom 27/7/90*

11A

From Page 1

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, asked what the meeting was about, said that even he could not get close enough to Mandela.

The next delegation to meet Mandela was one of homeland leaders, including KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and of Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ra-

modike.

Soon after they had finished their meeting, Mandela left almost unnoticed to meet F W de Klerk for an emergency meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria over the alleged SACP plot and the arrest of Maharaj.

# Drop Slovo from talks team — FW

*BLOW 27/7/90* *SCA* *IIA*

MIKE ROBERTSON, PETER DELMAR, LINDEN BIRNS and ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk held urgent talks with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last night to tell him that SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo's presence in the ANC delegation to meet government on August 6 was unacceptable.

This came after the arrest of senior SACP member Mac Maharaj in connection with an alleged insurrection plot.

De Klerk said after the meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, which lasted more than two hours: "I met Nelson Mandela this evening. At his request, we will meet again next week and consequently I have nothing further to say at this stage."

Senior government sources said De Klerk would insist that Slovo be withdrawn from the ANC delegation as a police investigation had uncovered evidence that he had no intention of abiding by the Groote Schuur agreement, which committed government and the ANC to "a resolution of the existing climate of violence".

Diplomatic sources said Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who briefed them on Tuesday on the uncovering of the alleged plot, had indicated government would insist that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation. He appealed for understanding from foreign governments.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi indicated last night that other ANC leaders were anxiously awaiting the outcome of the meeting.

He said ANC officials were seeking clarification on the reason for Maharaj's arrest.

"It seems an out-of-proportion response. But I cannot see government just arresting someone like him, given the process we are involved in.

"As far as we are concerned at this point, the August 6 talks are still on because we want to begin resolving the political problems," Nkobi said.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said the ANC had no idea why Maharaj was arrested, or whether he was involved in any military activities.

Sapa-Reuter reports that ANC national executive member Ronnie Kriel said yesterday Mandela and the ANC were "hopping mad" about Maharaj's arrest, and Mandela would protest strongly to De Klerk.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani described the arrest as "an act of provocation".

Nkobi, asked how the ANC would respond to a government demand that Slovo be excluded from the ANC delegation, said:



● MANDELA



● SLOVO



● DE KLERK

## Talks may now be in jeopardy

MIKE ROBERTSON

NEXT week's talks between government and the ANC must now be in serious doubt despite the fact that both sides still desperately want them to go ahead.

Government, after reviewing more than 4 000 pages of evidence uncovered by police in relation to a so-called "insurrectionary plot" wants SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo removed from the ANC delegation to the talks planned for August 6.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who met President F W de Klerk last night to discuss the matter, will no doubt staunchly resist any such move.

At this stage Slovo would not appear to be one of those people against whom police believe they can make stick charges of arms smuggling, illegal possession of arms and fraud.

Nor, at this stage, is it likely that government will attempt to link Slovo to any conspiracy charge.

What government is perturbed about are minutes of an SACP meeting in Tongaat at which Slovo was reported to have said that the party would not be bound by any cease-

fire agreement between government and the ANC.

The Tongaat meeting was held just over two weeks after the Groote Schuur talks at which Slovo signed a Minute which committed government and the ANC to resolving "the existing climate of violence".

Government believes Slovo has seriously harmed whatever basis of mutual trust had been built up between it and the ANC and that he is not genuine in his commitment to a negotiated settlement.

Prior to the Groote Schuur meeting, government attempted to remove Slovo from the ANC delegation.

However, if government does have the evidence it says it has, it would appear to have good reasons for saying it is futile to try and negotiate with Slovo.

Mandela is now faced with the difficult choice of continuing to stand by Slovo and put next week's talks at risk, or to put the talks first, which will inevitably lead to tensions in his own ranks.

"We would have to examine the gravity of the situation."

ANC sources said Slovo was ill in bed yesterday with flu.

Mbeki said it should come as no surprise that police had uncovered a unit which had been operating for two years, as the ANC had not yet agreed to suspend its armed struggle.

While realising that the ANC might have to take up arms again in the event of negotiations breaking down, the organisation was at pains to dispel the belief that it was not firmly committed to making the negotiation process work, said Mbeki.

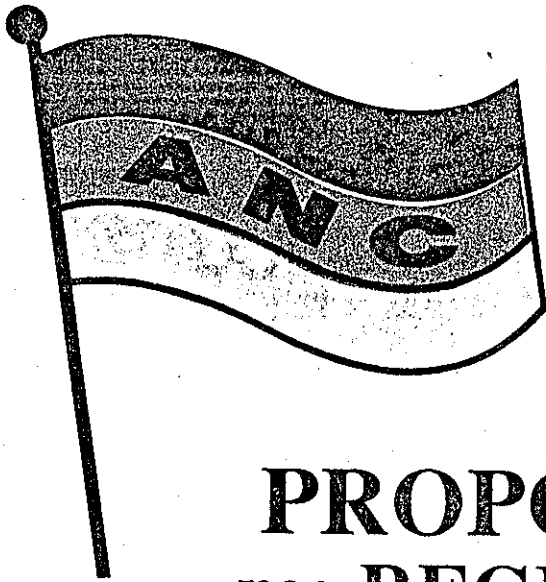
In an earlier statement yesterday, De Klerk said the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) had not appreciated the seriousness of the uncovering of armed cells.

He added that "government will determine its further action with due regard to the course of the meeting" — an indication that if the Slovo issue was not resolved next week's talks could be in jeopardy.

As recently as Wednesday, senior sources on both sides expected that a decisive breakthrough in removing obstacles to negotiations would be made on August 6.

□ To Page 2

# ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ANC

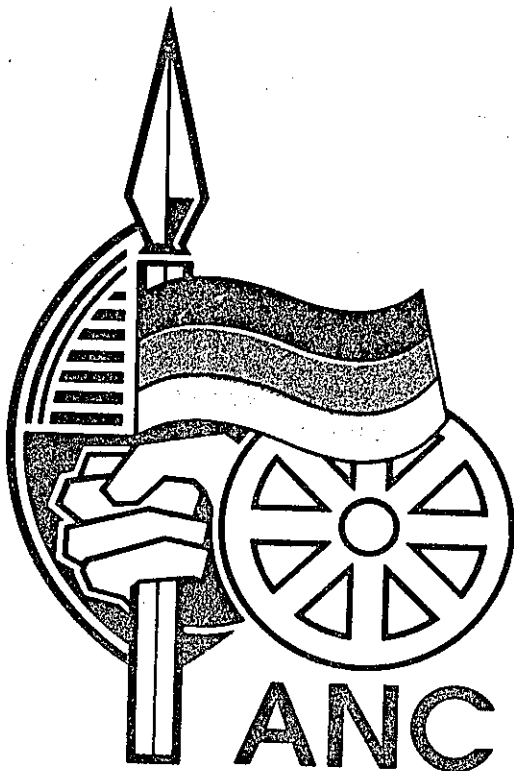


*W/Mond  
27/7-29/7/90*

*11A*

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# Why didn't police act, asks Mbeki

27/1/92  
By Esmare van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The ANC, at the August 6 meeting in Pretoria, will demand Government action against police misconduct, ANC director of foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki said last night.

He expressed anger at police involvement in this week's Sebokeng mini-war between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha, and condemned the police for not preventing alleged Inkatha attacks on "mzabalazo people" — people of the

struggle — at two Soweto stations on Wednesday.

Mr Mbeki said the media, union officials and Mass Democratic Movement leaders were aware of planned Inkatha attacks on commuters several hours before numerous people were injured when Inkatha supporters stormed trains at Ikwezi and Inhlanzani stations.

## Attacks

"If the press and union officials knew about the rumoured attacks, why didn't the police act? That's something to be very angry about. People

have died," he said.

Mr Mbeki added that Nelson Mandela wanted to discuss this matter with President de Klerk, and presumably did so at their meeting last night.

Violence — whether by the police or black and white vigilantes — as well as the armed struggle needed to be discussed at the next round of Government-ANC talks.

"The issue of the misbehaviour of the police has to be addressed urgently. Even if we have to sit down every day for 24 hours, we must do that," Mr Mbeki said.

# UDF agrees to District Six deal

Own Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN — The UDF will call off its strategy to occupy vacant land in District Six — provided the developers, Ilco Homes, halt their proposed development.

The agreement was hammered out yesterday at a meeting between the Cape Provincial Administrator, Kobus Meiring, and 14 representatives of the UDF and its affiliates at the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) of-

27/7/90 fices. (11A)  
A joint statement said two proposals in respect of District Six, both submitted by the CPA, had been accepted.

The first, noting the UDF's intention of occupying vacant land, was that the Administrator would bring all the parties concerned together to negotiate "without infringing the rights of any of the landowners or the local authority involved".

"The intention will be to work out a strategy

acceptable to all parties, inter alia, Cape Town municipality, private developers such as Ilco and representatives of the broader community — for the development of District Six/Zonnebloem."

Secondly, the UDF undertook to call on the community and all affiliates to set aside the strategy for occupying vacant land in District Six, on condition Ilco does not proceed with its development.

# Police are arming Inkatha, says ANC

The ANC yesterday accused police of arming Inkatha for "further" attacks on Sebokeng. An SA Police spokesman reacted, saying the accusation is completely untrue.

Efforts to reach an Inkatha spokesman were not successful.

A statement from the ANC claimed that Inkatha leaders in

Soweto and Jeppe were inciting people to launch attacks on anyone wearing or displaying any insignia associated with the SA Communist Party.

The statement further claimed that the ANC had received reports that Inkatha was organising sympathisers for a second attack on Sebokeng township on August 4th.

"It is alleged that the police are deeply embroiled in these preparations and have assisted in arming the (Jeppe) hostel dwellers for this second attack.

"The persons behind this plot are receiving active assistance from elements in the police.

"The purpose of this unholy alliance is to terrorise the people in the most militant townships into submission, destroy and disrupt the people's organisations, and to undermine the prospects of the forthcoming meeting of August 6th."

The SA Police have categorically denied these accusations.

Police liaison officer, Major Mike Lombard described the allegations as ridiculous and said they were "far removed from the truth".

"We are more interested in stopping the violence than anything else and it is ridiculous to allege the police are assisting any groups," said Major Lombard.

The ANC claimed that people had the right to defend themselves if attacked. — Sapa.

# Govt provocative, says Hani

Sta 27/7/90 (11/1) (11/1) (11/1)  
UMTATA — The arrest of a member of the ANC's national executive committee, "Mac" Maharaj, was an act of provocation on the part of the South African Government to create an atmosphere that would hinder talks with the ANC, the head of the ANC's military wing, Chris Hani, said yesterday.

plot to overthrow it.

"The ANC does not think it should negotiate with a pistol against its head. The armed struggle will continue until there is a mutually binding ceasefire," he said.

Speaking at a news conference in Umtata, Mr Hani, leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, said that as preparations for the second round of talks were under way, the government was creating hysteria by saying there was a

Mr Hani said that if Mr Maharaj's arrest was linked to an arms cache, the government had no right to arrest him because that was an act of provocation.

"Members of the AWP who have been arrested have been granted bail — we need that bail too," he said. — Sapa.

# Patient De Klerk shows he too can snarl

**PRESIDENT** De Klerk has shown that he is not just long-suffering when it comes to the efforts to get negotiations going.

He has lately moved swiftly to challenge the African National Congress, more than once on the question of the armed struggle and most pointedly after allegations of an insurrection plot by Umkhonto we Sizwe elements which Mr Nelson Mandela and some other ANC leaders may not have known about.

While he hit out against the militancy of some in the ANC, he also had a long meeting with Mr Mandela which by all accounts went off well.

Soon afterwards there was another meeting, perhaps not quite as congenial, where the insurrection plot allegations were again discussed. The two are to meet yet again.

Their meetings again showed how swiftly political events are developing.

At their meeting on the day after Mr Mandela's return from overseas it was decided that the two sides would meet again on August 6. It will be a scaled-down meeting compared to the original Groote Schuur one with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela each being assisted by four key advisers. In spite of Nationalist attacks on the links between the ANC and the Communist Party the SACP general secretary, Mr

Joe Slovo, will again be present.

The most immediate purpose of the talks will be to come to an agreement on the question of political prisoners and immunity to provide for the return of exiles.

Mr De Klerk has also served notice that he will be raising the sabre-rattling of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani as this, according to him, militates against the word and spirit of the Groote Schuur Minute in which both sides committed themselves to the search for peaceful solutions.

Mr Hani was reported as having said that the ANC might have to "seize power" if the government appeared not to be prepared to share or shift power.

## Detentions

Mr Mandela now maintains that Mr Hani's remarks were taken out of context — how familiar this remark sounds to journalists who have had to deal with politicians — and that what Mr Hani had actually said was that if the government unilaterally withdrew from the talks, the ANC would be forced to continue with the armed struggle.

After this came allegations of the discovery of a large-scale insurrection plan to overthrow the government.

This issue is bound to have arisen at last Friday's two-hour meeting between the



two leaders. Mr De Klerk had by then been informed of the first detentions.

This week, after the ANC's national executive meeting, Mr Mandela also let slip that he had discussed the matter with Mr De Klerk.

After his press conference he said he had put it to Mr De Klerk that there was a difference between the ANC and the National Party. The latter had been underground for thirty years and it still took time before decisions taken at the top percolated through to members on the ground.

He maintained that some MK members were still acting in terms of instructions issued before the Groote Schuur talks. It was not easy to reach them and, Mr Mandela said, the ANC had asked Mr De Klerk to give it time.

According to sources close to Mr De Klerk it appeared as if Mr Mandela had not known about the insurrection plans. The impression also is that he was not opposed to steps against actions which went against the Groote Schuur Minute, having strongly committed himself to it in May. It is suggested that in his talk with Mr De Klerk he may have adopted the attitude of "you have to do what you have to do."

## Ground rules

A few days after their talk in Pretoria Mr De Klerk came with a strong statement in which he said that government action since February 2 had been to normalise the political process and no-one had been prosecuted merely for belonging to or promoting any political organisation.

There were, however, certain ground rules. These did not provide for any political organisation to stockpile arms in order to force its will at the negotiating table or in any other way to prevent a normal political process.

Mr Mandela has now made it clear that the row over the infiltration of ANC cadres and Mr Hani's remarks will not affect the process of dialogue between the government and the ANC.

Both sides feel that there is an urgent need to move forward with the negotiations.

The main purpose of the August 6 talks will be to discuss the report of a joint working committee on the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

## First priority

The meeting will also discuss the progress made towards attaining the goals agreed on at the Groote Schuur talks.

The working group's first priority was to define those offences that could be termed "political" in the South African context.

Against that definition the following categories could then be dealt with: those serving sentences for such offences; those liable to prose-

cution or already under prosecution for such offences; and those who were outside the country and who were liable to be prosecuted for those offences should they return.

Time scales were also discussed, including time scales relevant to the phasing out of violence as a political instrument.

The working group also had to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with individual cases.

## Armed struggle

President De Klerk is clearly determined to press the ANC hard on the question of its continued commitment to violence through the armed struggle. The movement has also been under pressure from overseas on this issue.

There will not be a mass release of prisoners. But some ANC leaders feel that tied to an agreement on a phased release there could be an ANC commitment to suspend the armed struggle.

In some ANC quarters there is talk about the "cessation of hostilities" by both sides, a term Mr De Klerk apparently abhors. He is said to be firm on the point that the maintenance of law and order cannot be deemed to be State "violence".

In his statement earlier this week he said the government insisted that the laws of the country had to be respected. It was imperative that good order be maintained at all times. Therefore disorder, anarchy and terrorism would not be tolerated.

He announced some time ago that the government accepted the report and was prepared to implement it. As a gesture, some prisoners were released.

The joint committee of officials in the meantime continued its work on the finer details of the report and this has now reached a stage where the feeling in government circles is that the two sides are very close to an agreement on the last major stumbling block to the start of real negotiations.

One of the last snags was removed with an agreement that a committee of local experts should be appointed to decide whether prisoners found guilty of serious offences should qualify as political offenders. At one stage the possibility of foreign arbiters was considered.

## Will to negotiate

While some tensions have been caused by allegations about ANC underground activities and the detention of ANC people the strong will to negotiate remains on both sides and there is the feeling that all obstacles must be "negotiated away", as a Minister put it this week.

The moves towards negotiation has gathered such momentum that no one side can now stop this process.

In addition to the issue of political prisoners the government side is giving attention to the review of security legislation, especially the Internal Security Act, which can inhibit the normal political processes Mr De Klerk has tried to restore since February.

## Forget 'plot' — Tshwete

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Government was deliberately refraining from acting against the militant right wing because it would like to negotiate with a "limping, fragmented ANC in disarray", ANC executive member Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

He was speaking at a rally in Johannesburg called to discuss joint campaigns by the ANC and other organisations against right-wing violence.

He criticised the Government and the "liberal press" for wasting their time with futile efforts to expose a non-existent plot.

Mr Tshwete warned that an unbanned ANC was not "the sacrificial lamb on the altar of white lunacy". If the right wing were to continue attacks on blacks, the ANC "will get to a point where we feel justified to reply in kind".

Asked whether the ANC would pull out of negotiations in protest against right-wing militancy, he said: "Negotiations take place precisely because people are fighting."

# 'We'll keep process on track'

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter (11A)

The African National Congress last night committed the organisation to do everything in its power to keep the negotiation process on track — despite the detention of executive member Mac Maharaj, the recent arrests of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers and renewed Government allegations of an ANC/SACP insurgency plot.

At an impromptu news briefing yesterday in Johannesburg, members of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) maintained the latest events would not jeopardise the peace talks with the Government.

But they appeared to be despondent about Mr Maharaj's detention, saying they "simply don't know" why he was detained and were waiting for a Government explanation.

They said they failed to understand the Government's strategy in making public allegations of an ANC/SACP insurgency plan, and re-emphasised the ANC's commitment to peace.

Thabo Mbeki said: "We have a responsibility to do everything in our power to end the system of white minority rule as speedily as possible.

"It could never be a first instinct of the ANC to stop that process."

# Clashes, but march goes ahead

CAT Times 27/7/90

By BRONWYN DAVIDS

**CONFRONTATIONS** between police and students at public transport termini on the Cape Flats led to a widespread spate of stone-throwing and barricade burning in the townships yesterday.

Students planning to join an illegal Congress of South African Students' (Cosas) march to the Department of Education and Training (DET) offices in the city were stopped from using public transport by police.

Stone-throwing and violence erupted soon after this — with burning barricades being erected in Portlands, Mitchells Plain, Valhalla Park, Khayelitsha, Kuils River, Ravensmead, Guguletu and Langa.

In Green Point, Khayelitsha, protesters set two delivery vans alight. A witness said the local inter-

im ANC committee persuaded protesters to remove barricades and to stop stoning cars by 4pm.

In NY 1 and NY 3, Guguletu, large groups of pupils were still stoning cars at 4pm, while police fired teargas canisters and rubber bullets, a witness said.

In the city, where Cosas tried to embark on a march without magisterial permission, there were five stand-offs at various points in the city between about 1 000 protesters and police.

Meanwhile, Cosas instructed civil-rights lawyer Mr Essa Moosa to request magisterial permission.

The initial illegal march moved down Adderley Street in pouring rain and police stopped them at 12.56pm outside the Stuttafords Town Centre. Two vans and the police water cannon blocked the marchers' path.

By 1pm magisterial permission had been given and marchers turned down Darling Street and head-

ed for the Foretrust Building where a DET delegation led by the regional assistant director, Mr A Ndamase, met Cosas leaders who handed over a list of demands.

The students told Mr Ndamase that they expected a reply to their demands by August 18, when Cosas would be relaunched in the Western Cape.

The list of demands included the following:

- Cosas must be recognised as a legitimate students' organisation.
- Facilities at all schools must be improved.
- The DET should stop harassing "progressive teachers".
- Violence against fellow-students in Ashton and Robertson should be stopped.

Addressing marchers, a student leader said: "We have come to tell them that the situation in our schools is a disaster, and if they do not respond to

our demands we will fight to the last man and make the schools ungovernable."

Mr Ndamase said a meeting would probably be held on Monday with the students.

He said the list of demands would be forwarded to a higher authority and "if there are things that we could put right locally, we shall do so".

Police said no arrests were made during the city march. A youth was held for questioning, but was later released.

Meanwhile, police confirmed that there had been stone-throwing in Kuils River, Ravensmead, Guguletu, Langa, Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha. A number of police and private vehicles were damaged.

Police used teargas in a number of suburbs. No injuries were reported.



**LIVING DANGEROUSLY** ... A youth pours fuel on to a burning tyre yesterday. This barricade was one of several on the Flats when violence flared after police stopped pupils from joining a planned march in the city.

Picture: BENNY GOOL



# FW puts Mandela under pressure

11A  
Sta 27/2190

The Government is putting pressure on ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela to accept that legal action may have to be taken against senior communists in the ANC high command — possibly including SACP chief Joe Slovo — for their involvement in an alleged ANC-SACP insurrection plot codenamed Operation Vula.

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

Senior Government sources said today that when President de Klerk met Mr Mandela last night he would not have presented him with an ultimatum to drop Mr Slovo from the ANC delegation for talks with the Government on August 6.

But it is clear the Government requires some acknowledgement by Mr Mandela of what it regards as the gravity of Operation Vula and some effort to distance himself from the communists allegedly involved in it.

"We have a crisis of confidence and of mutual trust jeopardising further talks — not only those on August 6 — but careful handling and cool heads could still save the situation," an authoritative Government source said today.

## Large dossier

"The talks are not off — it is for the ANC to decide how to handle the crisis of confidence. I don't believe Mr de Klerk would have put an ultimatum to Mr Mandela. That's not his style."

Mr de Klerk met Mr Mandela for 2 1/4 hours last night after indicating that he was not happy with the ANC national executive committee's (NEC) outright denial of Operation Vula on Wednesday.

It is understood he presented Mr Mandela with a large dossier of police evidence detailing Operation Vula, gleaned largely from captured computer files.

The dossier allegedly indi-

cates that Mr Slovo arranged a meeting of a group in the SACP/ANC alliance in Tongaat, Natal, where it was stated that the SACP would not be bound by any agreement reached between the ANC and the Government.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed to meet again next week, probably on Wednesday.

The Government realises the predicament Mr Mandela is in. Having announced Mr Slovo's presence in its delegation, he would lose face if he had to drop him now.

But Government sources believe a way out might be for the ANC to state it is not opposed to legal steps being taken against those implicated in Operation Vula for common crimes such as bringing arms into the country.

This might include Mr Slovo. Government sources have suggested that if he is arrested he could be granted bail to attend talks with the Government.

Already the police have detained senior SACP executive and ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj for alleged involvement in the plot and another senior executive member of both the SACP and ANC, Ronnie Kasrils, was reported today as saying he feared he would be next.

The Government is also hoping Western leaders will exert pressure on Mr Mandela to distance himself from Mr Slovo and other SACP executives on the ANC's NEC.

ed shooting.  
The police know who the men are and charges of murder and attempted murder are being investigated.  
No arrests have been made.

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

## Kasrils confirms infiltration, denies plot

Stc 27/7/90 (11A)

African National Congress national executive committee member and senior South African Communist Party (SACP) member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday confirmed that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) had continued to infiltrate guerillas and weapons into the country during the pre-negotiation period.

Mr Kasrils, who emerged from hiding to keep a Foreign Correspondents Association lunch appointment in Parktown, denied that the continued

infiltration of MK cadres constituted a breach of the Groote Schuur Minute, saying the ANC had viewed the move as an essential "insurance policy" in the event of negotiations failing.

He said MK commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Chris Hani had repeatedly stated that MK cadres would continue with their work for as long as no mutually binding ceasefire had been

signed between the ANC and the Government.

Mr Kasrils said the police crack-down on the SACP, which this week saw the arrest of his senior SACP colleague and friend Mac Maharaj, was probably a result of a discovery by police of documents discussing the possibilities of insurrectionary activity in the event of negotiations failing.

"I can assure you there is no plot to organise an insurrection, to seize a post office or the Union Buildings.

"What the generals of the security police are saying in their pristine naivete is based on revolutionary discourse, and nothing else. There has been no decision, no blueprint for insurrection," he said.

# Mandela to speak at SACP rally

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Communist Party will announce a South Africa-based interim leadership group of about 24 people on Sunday in Soweto at the official launch of the party.

Mr Nelson Mandela will also address the rally "and he has indicated he will be making a major policy statement about the SACP/ANC alliance", SACP spokesman Mr Jeremy Cronin said here yesterday.

He told a press briefing the SACP believed Mr Mandela's speech would "be an important

political event".

There have been widespread reports in the media in the past few days alleging a "red plot" to seize power if talks on negotiating a new South Africa fail.

Other reports have claimed there is a growing split between SACP and ANC members.

Both the ANC National Executive Committee and SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo issued firm denials this week.

Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo will also deliver a message of support at the rally,

as part of the "historical" ANC-SACP/Cosatu political alliance.

The rally, to be held in the First National Bank stadium (Soccer City) in Soweto, will start at 10.30am.

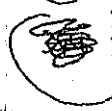
"Prior to that, there'll be a walk-around the field by the leading speakers: Joe Slovo, Chris Hani — a leading member of the SACP — Nelson Mandela, Jay Naidoo, Raymond Mhlaba — a senior member of the SACP who'll chair the political section of the rally — and Dan Tloome, chairman of the SACP." — Sapa

*Call Treats 27/7/90 (11A)*

11A

## ANC warns right wing

APT Trak 27/7/90



JOHANNESBURG. — A senior ANC official warned yesterday that if the white right wing persisted with attacks on black people his organisation would be forced to reply in kind.

Addressing about 100 people in the Johannesburg city hall, ANC national executive member Mr Steve Tshwete said the right wing would not be allowed to reverse the process of change in South Africa.

The turnout at the meeting was disappointing, with scores of empty seats. Mr Walter Sisulu, ANC internal leader, was due to speak, but Mr Tshwete turned up at the last minute.

Mr Sisulu was apparently locked in a meeting with other ANC executive officials, discussing the detention of SACP stalwart Mr Mac Maharaj. — Sapa

## Cosatu call to ANC on violence

JOHANNESBURG. —  
Cosatu is to ask the ANC  
team which meets the  
government on August 6  
to raise the issue of al-  
leged Inkatha violence  
spreading from Natal to  
the Transvaal.

Cosatu spokesman Mr  
Neil Coleman yesterday  
also called on President  
F W de Klerk "to take  
decisive action to end  
this campaign of terror".

He blamed Inkatha  
members for attacks on  
residents of Sebokeng  
and Ermelo townships,  
in which at least 30  
people died.

"In Soweto the attacks  
were apparently aimed  
at members of the 'train  
committees'," he said,

Cosatu also said it was  
decided at an MDM  
meeting on Wednesday  
night to intensify the  
consumer boycott which  
had been on the go since  
July 16. — Sapa

Bar on priests

CALL TIME 27/7/70  
harsh PAC

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday described the decision by the Anglican Church to bar priests from formally joining political parties as "a little too harsh", saying clerics should enjoy all the rights and privileges, as other members of society.

The head of the organisation's religious desk, Mr Patrick Baleka, said priests should be free to join any political party. — Sapa

# 'Joe must go'

Capl Time 27/7/90 (1A) ~~SECRET~~

## 'Red plot' — govt wants ANC to drop Slovo

Political Staff

**PRETORIA.** — President F W de Klerk met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela urgently last night to tell him that SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo should go from the ANC delegation to the talks on August 6.

Their crisis meeting followed widespread arrests of ANC members, including that of senior SACP member Mr Mac Maharaj, and police claims of a "red plot" — Operation Vula — to seize power in South Africa.

In an angry statement late yesterday President De Klerk charged that the ANC apparently did not

appreciate "the seriousness of the facts which were brought to light by the SA Police investigation of the past few days".

In view of this he had called for an urgent meeting with Mr Mandela.

Hinting that the future of the talks hung in the balance, Mr De Klerk said that the government would "determine its future action with due regard to the course of the meeting".

After the meeting the State President issued a terse three-line statement which read:

"As announced, I met with Mr Nelson Mandela this evening. At his request, we will meet again next week and consequently I have nothing further to say at this stage."

Earlier yesterday Mr Mandela was said to be "hopping mad" over the arrest by security police of Mr Maharaj, who is also an ANC executive member.

There were strong rumours in Johannesburg that the former intelligence chief of the ANC's military wing, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, would also be rounded up.

Mr Kasrils told reporters: "I expect to be the next one to be arrested ... this a tremendous police sweep."

He admitted that he had worked "side by side with Mr Maharaj to build an ANC underground movement within South Africa as "an insurance policy" against the failure of constitutional talks.

Mr Kasrils said he felt he had done nothing wrong or against the spirit of negotiations by organising underground activities, as no ceasefire had been agreed in the ANC's armed struggle against apartheid.

He said it was only prudent for the ANC to continue building underground because neither the ANC nor its ally, the SACP, could be sure of the white

government's true intentions.

But "there has been no blueprint, no plan for an insurrection", he said.

In Pretoria senior government sources said last night that Mr De Klerk insisted to Mr Mandela that Mr Slovo be withdrawn from the ANC delegation as he had no intention of abiding by the Groote Schuur agreement.

Diplomatic sources said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who briefed them on Tuesday on the uncovering of the alleged plot, had told them of the government's attitude on Mr Slovo and asked for understanding from foreign governments.

ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki said last night that the talks would go ahead despite Mr Maharaj's detention, which had not



ARRESTED ... Mr Mac Maharaj

10 page 3

P.T.O.

changed the organisation's attitude towards talks.

ANC sources said Mr Slovo was ill in bed yesterday with flu. *CML-7MP 27/7/70 (118)*

Mr Mbeki said it ought to come as no surprise that police had uncovered a unit which had been operating for two years, as the ANC had not yet agreed to suspend its armed struggle.

"We would contest the notion that the ANC is busy talking peace, talking about negotiations and that in the meanwhile some elements are busy cooking up some plot which will be realised when they are strong enough and that there will then suddenly be a military uprising," Mr Mbeki said.

According to government sources police had uncovered minutes of a meeting held in Tongaat on May 19 or 20, just over two weeks after the Groote Schuur meeting. In the minutes Mr Slovo was reported to have said that whatever agreement was signed between the government and the ANC relating to a ceasefire would not apply to the SACP.

Security Branch police have already uncovered one arms cache in Durban, seizing RPG 7 anti-tank rocket-launchers, Stechkin machineguns, Scorpion hand machine carbines, AK47 assault rifles, limpet mines and military explosives.

The cache is one of many police believe were established under the SACP's plan. Underground cells were concentrated in Natal, the Transvaal and the Western Cape.

The alleged SACP insurrection plot, codenamed Operation Vula, was apparently drawn up as long ago as 1987 and involved the establishment of an elaborate underground cell network with safe houses.

Police said they had uncovered the plan after they came across secret computer passwords which were "lying around" in a "safe house" they visited.

Police said they believed Mr Mandela and his other Robben Island contemporaries, like Mr Walter Sisulu, did not know the details of the plot in South Africa or externally.

The alleged plot was dismissed by the SA Communist Party yesterday as a "crazy and very spurious story".

General Johann van der Merwe, Commissioner of Police, last night said he expected further arrests.



7/90

# District Six:

CMT Tmp 27/7/90

# UDF to call

# off squatters?

## Staff Reporter

THE UDF yesterday undertook to suspend its plan for squatters to occupy vacant land in District Six if Ilco Homes stopped developing the area, it was announced in a joint statement with the CPA.

At a meeting between representatives of Cape Provincial Administration and the UDF-ANC-Cosatu, civic and community organisations, it was decided that:

- The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, would initiate negotiations between all parties involved.

- A strategy acceptable to all parties — which includes the city council, private developers such as Ilco and community organisations — would be initiated and co-ordinated by Mr Meiring.

- An informal discussion forum would meet regularly to discuss "urgent matters" such as land for settlement and the need for housing.

Meanwhile, the row between

the city council and Ilco heated up yesterday with Mr Clive Keegan, chairman of the council town planning committee, labelling Ilco's "attempted alignment" with the protest campaign as "cynical opportunism".

He said a moratorium should be placed on the development and sub-division of District Six.

In the interim, town planners could confer with community organisations and landowners to ensure that the area became a high-density residential area where lower-income families could afford to live.

Mr Keegan said Ilco's reported remarks on their District Six development were "essentially irrelevant to the political embarrassment in which they found themselves".

Yesterday, Ilco director Mr Fony Meyerdricks said he still stood by the statement he made on Wednesday, in which he said charges and regulations imposed by the council were "unreasonable", which lead to high housing costs.



LEFT: A young pupil's plea for peace during yesterday's march in the city. RIGHT: Marchers on their way to hand over a list of their demands. ● Report — Page 2

CAP 717 27/7/90 (119)

Pictures: STEWART COLMAN



Mr Tsietsi Mashinini

# Soweto's Tsietsi Mashinini dies

City Times  
27/7/90

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The leader of the June  
1976 Soweto student re-  
bellion, Mr Tsietsi Ma-  
shinini, died yesterday  
morning in Conakry,  
Guinea.

The cause of his death  
was not immediately  
known, but his family  
confirmed that he had  
been receiving treat-  
ment for nervous break-  
downs.

Mr Mpho Mashinini,  
Tsietsi's brother, said  
negotiations had begun  
with the authorities in  
both Guinea and Pre-  
toria to have the body  
flown back to SA. —  
Sapa

HSS:  
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# Against the wind

FIM 277190

(11A)



A member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, Mac Maharaj is also on the politburo and central committee of the SA Communist Party (SACP), which is being formally

launched in Johannesburg this weekend. He spoke to *FM* staffer Amarnath Singh

**FM:** Why launch a party separate from the ANC especially if, as Joe Slovo says, there are no basic differences between the two?

**Maharaj:** There are no basic differences between the ANC and SACP with regard to the current stage of the struggle, which we see as a struggle to create a nonracial, democratic, nonsexist, united SA. But, of course, our long-term interests are integral to our outlook as a communist party and we believe the development of SA in the interests of the entire people, particularly the working people, should be the creation of a socialist SA.

The construction of socialism is a process. We believe that the achievement of national democracy will be a major step in creating the conditions for it. So we find it necessary to launch the party. We have existed at all times in alliance with the ANC, as independent organisations, maintaining that separate identity even in the underground phase.

Now that a legal space has opened within the country, through pressure, we have decided to occupy that space, both by putting forward a vision of a socialist society, as well as encouraging and mobilising for the immediate struggle. We expect to work together and we expect the alliance to continue.

**Who leads who?**

Our relationship is based on the understanding that, at this stage of the struggle, the ANC leads the alliance. Our members have a duty to support and build the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, completely respect the decision-making processes within those structures and give them our total loyalty. It seems brave to be launching the party in view of communism's rejection elsewhere.

We have general and specific reasons — not to claim that we have special courage — but to claim that the case for socialism has not failed. Mistakes have been committed and I think we are in the unique position of learning from them. The lesson for SA communists is that we should not allow the leadership to get separated from our people.

It would appear that another lesson is that we should not try to do the impossible — that is, to change reality outside of the concrete conditions. So we adhere to the idea that the immediate future beyond national democracy is the construction of a democratic socialist society.

But we come from and operate in a coun-

try where there is immense support for the SACP and its ideals. We may argue about the depth of that support, but I think it is incontrovertible that the majority of the working people in SA do see beyond the national democratic revolution to building a society on a basis where everybody practically and materially enjoys equal opportunity and political freedom in that context. Assuming there are elections to a constituent assembly, isn't there a danger of your splitting the ANC vote?

How we would conduct ourselves if and when a constituent assembly materialises is a bit far ahead. But, in taking the decision to launch the party publicly we have consulted with our allies and fraternal organisations — not just those defined narrowly in the ANC-SACP Cosatu alliance — but beyond that in the UDF, women's and youth sectors. In the same way, we will naturally consult and examine the problem ourselves and assess which is the best way forward to consolidate a nonracial democratic SA that would emerge from a constituent assembly.

That is the only reason why we are not prepared to say how we would conduct ourselves, because this needs to be done against a concrete reality.

**Can you foresee a time when the SACP and ANC will part company on economic questions? Nelson Mandela implies the call for nationalisation doesn't proceed from an ideological straitjacket, but is really about redistribution and social justice.**

Well, it is not clear, because our commitment in launching ourselves is both to democratise ourselves thoroughly within our own ranks, but also, we have an extended vision. Whatever emerges and whatever directions are taken must receive the backing of people and must involve the people.

So I think there is room for great and fruitful debate, exchange of ideas and growth of ideas. We have no closed agenda. We have a conception of how to eliminate exploitation of man by man and how to make political freedom and the freedom of the individual real and concrete. And we believe that you cannot separate political and economic freedom.

We may use the term "mixed economy" — fair enough — and I agree up to a point with comrade Mandela that "isms" are not the important issue. But we would like to inject into the debate that, in building a mixed economy, we should try and have it with a socialist orientation.

**The Communist Party of Great Britain last year declared "class struggle is a dead duck."**

In Marxist theory the class struggle is the arena where society develops and I think the abandonment of the concept of a class struggle has serious consequences for any vision of a socialist society. But of course the CPGB is an independent party; they are grappling

with concrete problems and we welcome the debate. For ourselves, as SA communists, we adhere to the concept of a class struggle because we believe it enables us to meaningfully analyse how society develops and how it changes.

I do not think that humankind has abandoned the hopes of building a society of true equality and freedom.

**Isn't the argument really about the way to achieve that? Capitalism appears to have come closer.**

J K Galbraith recently said in an important article that we should not simply gloat over what has happened in the socialist countries. He pointed to the fact that in capitalist society there are major contradictions, inequalities and rampant poverty, and that an explosion may come from the backyards of capitalism.

Certainly, no one can argue that what capitalism has achieved thus far leads us to suppose that capitalism, left unfettered, would develop a society that is just.

So while we may say there have been these problems in eastern Europe, let us agree in debate that neither has the West solved the problems.

**Do you regard Mikhail Gorbachev as a communist or a social democrat?**

I would describe Gorbachev as belonging to the healthiest traditions that go with Marxism.

**Do you accept the profit motive as the incentive that drives people to produce more, that they don't produce for the good of their fellow man, but their own wellbeing?**

I thought the latest capitalist position is to have combined it with social responsibility.

However, the point is, yes, people need incentives and this is one of the faults of trying to race too far ahead of reality. People have been accustomed to think in terms of immediate material incentives. Now we cannot simply say we deny totally the profit motive, but we certainly deny the rampant profit motive. And we would be prepared to debate with capitalist ideologues how they reconcile social responsibility with the profit motive.

Every company chairman today makes a statement about social responsibility. But when we look at reality, well, it's crumbs from the table. We're talking about structural changes. People talk about harmonious labour relations. How do you give the workers a sense and commitment to it on the terms of the capitalists? So, we need a built-in relationship.

If we can arrive at a negotiated solution, we need to ground it on a reality where all people have a vested interest in that society. You do not build a house without some idea of what it will look like and we believe we have some conception of the future which we wish to put on the table.

HANI AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE

(11A) F1127790

# No tilt from Comrade Chris

It was to be expected that more than anyone in the ANC, Chris Hani would be associated with urging vigilance against "demobilising the struggle" in the run-up to negotiations. He doesn't trust Pretoria. And as Chief of Staff of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), he is said to be fond of the Viet Cong analogy — that negotiations are an avenue or "site of struggle" in addition to guerrilla warfare.

By this analogy, the North Vietnamese guerrilla onslaught against the south never ceased in the early Seventies even as the peace talks went as a kind of sideshow in a villa outside Paris for more than four years. A ceasefire and peace terms were agreed; Henry Kissinger and his North Vietnamese counterpart were awarded the Nobel Peace

Prize for their efforts. But none of this detracted from the Viet Cong's triumphal march into Saigon as the perceived military victors.

between government and the ANC, which are nevertheless being resumed on August 6, according to President F W de Klerk this week.

So just how seriously are we to take Hani's war talk — which undoubtedly goes down well with township comrades and is a shot across the bows of PAC claims to have eclipsed the ANC militarily?

What Hani said — "the ANC might have to seize power if the government does not shift or share it" — does not differ from similar remarks Nelson Mandela himself has made about maintaining the armed struggle until a formal ceasefire is reached. It is stated ANC policy, even if it appears to contradict the spirit of the Groote Schuur talks.

sive prior to the next phase of negotiation — and to discredit and isolate Hani. There are political and tactical differences within the ANC, but it could hardly be suggested that he is completely out of step with the leadership.

Negotiation involves bargaining for position — and if the storm around Hani and MK are intended to make the ANC squirm a little, that's par for the course.

Amarnath Singh



The question of MK infiltration has been the subject of discussion by the government-ANC Working Group, set up to remove obstacles to talks, in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute. Mandela raised with De Klerk the matter of the detention of MK and ANC members in the northern Transvaal back in April — and it was a topic of formal discussion then.

Furthermore, MK commanders, including Hani, were quite open about the fact that they were running campaigns in northern Transvaal when they met SADF representatives in Lusaka last May. Their joint statement on "The Future of the Security and Defence in SA" — which, among other

things, talks about a "deracialised defence force with due regard to standards" — does not suggest that Hani is a wild card.

Just as the ANC's so-called armed struggle has not been suspended, the SA Police have said they'll continue to act against violence and infiltration.

And so they must. But these are not new positions.

Nor is it any secret that MK has all along been closely associated with the SA Communist Party — at whose official launch on Sunday Comrade Hani will share the stage with SACP boss Joe Slovo. It was from the communist bloc that the ANC got the resources for an armed struggle in the first place.

The storm around Hani will, therefore, probably blow over — and its effect is to hit at the communists on the eve of their launch.

The affair looks political, therefore. Its aim could be to put the ANC on the defen-

The season of violence is over because of perestroika and superpower accord. This was a major reason why the ANC was persuaded to pursue the negotiation option — which, Hani actually said in Umtata on Sunday, he accepts.

However, it was his qualification of that acceptance — linked to the sudden and well-timed revelation of MK infiltration and arrests — that has touched off a storm.

There is talk of a power struggle and the suggestion that Hani is trying to derail talks

# PAC to pray for 26 dead in Natal

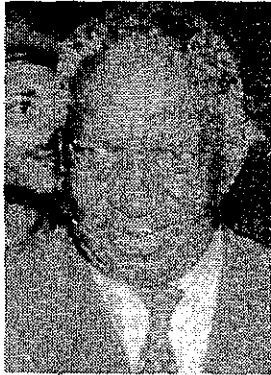
(11A)

Soweto  
27/7/90

**THE Pan Africanist Congress and its allies will this weekend hold four prayer services on the Witwatersrand to mourn the 26 people who were killed in a bus ambush in Natal about a week ago.**

Mr Carter Seleke, general secretary of the Azanian National Youth Unity, called on all political and community organisations, trade unions and churches to forget their ideological differences and observe the prayer meetings.

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will



**MOTHOPENG**

deliver the keynote address at a service at Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto at 1pm on Sunday.

Another service will be held at the Pres-

byterian Church in Skosana Section, Katlehong, at 3pm tomorrow.

A lunch-hour service, in which members of the PAC, Azanyu, Pan Africanist Students Organisation and African Women's Organisation are expected to take part, will be held at Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg today.

The other service takes place at the Tembisa Multi-Purpose Centre in Emakhathini Section at 6pm today.

Mr Sonnyboy Khobo, PAC co-ordinator in Tembisa, said representatives of other organisations were welcome.

# PAC denies front talks

11/18

THE internal wing of Pan-Africanist Congress has refuted reports that it would meet the ANC tomorrow to discuss the formation of a front to conduct negotiations with the Government.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoele said yesterday they were amazed to read newspaper reports of the ANC confirming such a meeting between the two on July 28.

He said the PAC had merely received an ANC letter requesting a meet-

ing to discuss Mr Nelson Mandela's overseas tour.

"The ANC made this statement (of the July 28 meeting) before it had received confirmation or rejection of their invitation from us - and the item of negotiations was not contained in their invitation," he said.

Ntoele said they had since responded to the ANC, informing them the invitation would be considered during their next national executive meeting on August 4 and 5. - Sapa.

27/7/90  
Dowdell

# Maharaj arrested

*Sowetan 27/7/90*

*11A*



**KATHRADA**

AFRICAN National Congress National Executive Committee member Mr Mac Maharaj is believed to have been arrested yesterday.

ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday morning a message at his home had confirmed the arrest.

He said he accepted the information was correct.

Maharaj is also a senior member of the

South African Communist Party and has previously acted as an SACP spokesman.

He recently returned to South Africa from Lusaka with other members of the ANC NEC under Government indemnity.

Police spokesman Brigadier Vic Haynes said he was unable to confirm detentions "at this time of night".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Or-

der, Captain Peet Bothma, has confirmed a member of the ANC's national executive committee and senior member of the SACP, "Mac" Maharaj, has been arrested by the Security Police.

Bothma told the SABC's political news staff Maharaj was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He said the arrest was part of the countrywide

operation by the Security Police over the past three weeks.

The radio said Maharaj's arrest, and that of about 40 other people being held, follows the uncovering of information of an alleged conspiracy by the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the SACP to overthrow the Government by violence if negotiations with the Government failed.

Bothma said further arrests cannot be excluded.

Police are analysing the evidence they have gathered in the crackdown against SACP activists and the possibility of further arrests has not been excluded.

Bothma said the investigation into the alleged plot against the Government by insurgents was continuing but he would not comment on reports that police had obtained a large quantity of evidence indicating a plot to overthrow the Government.



# FW puts squeeze on ANC

ARC  
27/7/90

HA  
30

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff  
THE government is pressing the African National Congress to accept that there may be a need for prosecutions and further detentions following allegations of an insurrection plot.

Government sources said today that a serious crisis of mutual trust and confidence now existed in the efforts to get negotiations going but said that the meeting planned for August 6 was still on. The ANC has also vowed to do everything possible to keep the talks on track but expressed dependency about the detentions.

According to government sources President De Klerk last night presented ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with further evidence of the plot when they met in Pretoria. Mr Mandela was first told of the plot last Friday.

## HOPING FOR CONCESSIONS

Mr De Klerk was hoping that the ANC would be willing to concede that legal steps might be necessary with the evidence available.

Mr Mandela did not know about the underground moves and the government maintained that it was essentially communist elements in the ANC that were involved.

This raised questions about the position of the secretary-general of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, who was said to have attended an underground conference at Tongaat.

The government was unhappy about Mr Slovo's inclusion in the ANC's delegation for next month's talks, but sources close to Mr De Klerk today denied that he had demanded that Mr Slovo should be excluded. They said it was not the President's style to put ultimatums.

It was in any case not believed that Mr Mandela would be prepared to ditch Mr Slovo at this stage. The ANC deputy leader is to speak in Johannesburg on Sunday at the first SACP rally since its unbanning in February.

The government remained deeply suspicious of the motives of the SACP.

Another meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, at the request of the latter, is due to be held by Wednesday.

On Monday and Tuesday the Cabinet will be at a special "retreat" outside Pretoria. Future relations with the ANC and plans for negotiations including the government's policy package will be discussed.

## COOL HEADS

In Pretoria a government source said today that, while the talks had been jeopardised, careful handling and cool heads could resolve the serious problem which had arisen.

Moves for the meeting yesterday appeared to have come from both sides. Mr Mandela was said to be upset about the detentions of ANC members including national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj who is also a Communist Party leader.

Announcing yesterday's meeting Mr De Klerk said that the ANC did not appreciate the seriousness of the facts which were brought to light by the police investigation.

An ANC spokesman said that Mr Mandela was likely to consult colleagues before saying anything. Political Correspondent Michael Morris reports that more arrests are likely, possibly today, in the top-priority police investigation into the alleged insurrection plot.

● Meanwhile The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston has written to Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd urging him to intervene to secure the release of Mr Maharaj.

The Archbishop's letter warned of "the dangers to the prospects for negotiations unless Mr Maharaj and other detainees are released immediately".

Archbishop Huddleston has also written to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku urging similar pressure from them.

# 'Red-baiting of the worst order'

Argus 27/7/80 (11A) (27A) (28A)  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress national executive committee member and senior South African Communist Party member Mr Ronnie Kasrils has confirmed that Umkhonto we Sizwe continued to infiltrate guerrillas and weapons during the pre-negotiation period.

Mr Kasrils, who emerged from hiding to attend a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch in Parktown yesterday, denied that the continued infiltration of MK cadres constituted a breach of the Groote Schuur Minute, saying the ANC had viewed the move as an essential "insurance policy" in the event of negotiations failing.

He said the government's alleged "Communist-inspired insurrectionary plot was Red-baiting of the worst order".

He said MK commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Chris Hani had repeatedly stated that MK cadres would continue with their work for as long as no mutually binding ceasefire had been signed between the ANC and the government.

Mr Kasrils said the police crackdown on the SACP, which this week saw the arrest of his senior SACP colleague and friend Mr Mac Maharaj, was probably a result of a discovery by police of documents discussing the possibilities of insurrectionary activity in the event of negotiations failing.

The same had happened in the 1960s when police seized the "Operation Mayibuye" draft document and treated it as a formal plan, Mr Kasrils said.

"I can assure you there is no plot to organise an insurrection, to seize the Union Buildings. What the generals of the security police are saying in their pristine naivete is based on revolutionary discourse, and nothing else. There has been no decision, no blueprint for insurrection."

He said it was "natural" that a revolutionary movement would be prepared for any eventuality, even if it saw possibilities for a negotiated settlement.

THE South African Communist Party, in an information blitz preceding its public launch next weekend, has vowed to lay its cards on the table and not be "a Broderbond within the ANC".

Ending 40 years of shadowy existence in South African politics, SACP officials have embarked on a publicity campaign to combat the growing perception of communists as political dinosaurs following the demise of communism in Eastern Europe.

In their literature, interviews and public speeches, spokesmen for the party have been tackling issues such as strong public scepticism about the relevance of the party in SA politics to tough questions on its stand on religion.

The SACP's symbiotic relationship with the ANC has also drawn criticism that the party is riding on the nationalist movement's back and does not have a definable constituency of its own.

However, the communists claim their party is more popular today than at any time in its 69-year history, especially among the black community.

They credit anti-SACP propaganda drives by previous National Party governments for the fact that, while communism is in a deep crisis internationally, the red flag still flies high at township rallies.

# SACP STEPS OUT OF THE SHADOWS

By MANDLA TYALA

Spokesman Jeremy Cronin this week explained the paradox:

"After years of banings and persecution of their leaders, people have come to think that whatever the regime claims to be nasty must in fact be good."

"The other factor is that, while communism may be in a crisis in Europe, it is capitalism that is in a crisis in South Africa — given the extent of homelessness and the level of poverty, especially among blacks. Of course our alliance with the ANC has helped us a lot."

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Mr Joe Slovo, the SACP's most visible spokesman, on the other hand, has been at great pains to deny that the communists form a manipulative core within the ANC leadership.

"It's an insult to non-communist leaders of the calibre of Albert Lutshuli, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela to imagine they would have such a close and warm association with our party if

we had a history of domination and manipulation of the ANC," he said.

"It's a pity that some serious opinion-formers can't rise above the comic book version of 'Red under the bed'."

Anxious to shed its Stalinist baggage, the SACP is trying to distance itself from the authoritarianism that helped bring about the fall of East European communist regimes.

The new-look communists say they have not only ceased their slavish support of all Soviet foreign policy decisions, but particularly regret having supported Soviet intervention in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

They now claim to be even ahead of Gorbachevian thinking on questions like relationships with mass democratic organisations.

Though still committed to what it calls "scientific materialism", the "new" SACP has declared itself in favour of religious freedom in a secular state.

"Believers are welcome to join our party," says the party's literature.

"In South African conditions, we communists feel we are closer to the

moral content of Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Jewish teaching than many an apartheid dominee.

"It is true, however, that in the past some communists have adopted an intolerant and dogmatic anti-religious attitude (because) in South Africa and in the rest of the world the ruling classes have used religion to encourage passivity among the oppressed masses."

On the issue of negotiating a constitution for a new South Africa, the SACP says it remains committed to the positions of the tripartite alliance between itself, the ANC and Cosatu, and supports the Groote Schuur Minute.

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But it warns that the "people's alliance" should not get carried away.

"There are many examples in history of well-conducted retreats that are turned to victories in the end for those who are retreating."

"De Klerk is making real concessions, but only so as to better safeguard those key areas — like control over the

economy — where he has no plan of moving at all," says the party publication, Umspezi.

Mr Cronin says he does not foresee a parting of ideological ways with non-communists in the ANC. He points out that, although Mr Slovo was in the Groote Schuur delegation wearing an ANC cap, he had his "red socks" on.

The SACP, unbanned four months ago after four decades as an outlawed organisation, is presently working out of the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg. But it plans to have an independent organisational existence, including offices and regional structures of its own.

It says its membership drive will be targeted at the union sector — particularly Cosatu supporters — the youth sector, where socialist ideas are popular, and at radical intellectuals.

The party's interim leadership group, which includes communists who serve on the national executive committee of the ANC, will be announced at a rally in Soweto on Sunday.



NEW LOOK . . . Joe Slovo wants to discard 'Stalinist baggage'

# 'ANC' bank likely for early 1991

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A DEVELOPMENT bank, with an initial capitalisation of R12,5 billion, could be established at the beginning of next year after Mr Nelson Mandela's tour to the United States, the ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said yesterday.

One of the Britain's biggest merchant banks had also asked for further discussions with Mr Mandela, he said in an interview published in New Nation.

The international business community was very keen that there should be an understanding between the ANC and itself because what happened to its investment would be determined in part by what the ANC said.

"There is therefore the acceptance of the centrality of the ANC, not just in the processes today, but also in the future of South Africa," Mr Mbeki said.

Sanctions could not be imposed if there was "a kind of joint administration of the country" in the transitional period because the democratic forces would be involved.

The ANC, the government and other forces would be able to say they had arrived at a point when profound and irreversible changes had taken place that sanctions could be lifted.

...National Congress military chief Chris Hani suggest that he may be paving the way for "safe" military bases in the Transkei and other independent homelands.

At the same time, he made an unprecedented move this week for unity with the more radical Pan-Africanist Congress which has been in violent confrontation with the ANC in many parts of South Africa.

These developments could cause serious problems for the South African government in the event of an ANC attempt to seize power if negotiations fail — a possible course envisaged by Mr Hani in one of the most controversial speeches of his Transkei tour.

Observers were astonished at Mr Hani's almost uninhibited "Rambo-style" performance at some meetings. He brandished an AK-47 rifle while speaking about the continuing armed struggle and telling enthusiastic crowds the ANC was prepared to pay the price of liberation.

In a bid for black unity this week Mr Hani took part in a large joint rally with the PAC at Mount Frere. It is believed that this was the first joint rally held by the two rival groups.

### Mandela scorn

Only about 10 days ago the ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, speaking at a news conference in Nairobi, poured scorn on the PAC, describing it as having "no significance" for the ANC's struggle against apartheid.

The PAC's president, Zeph Mothopeng, has also ruled out unity with the ANC in the near future, saying "only cowards can agree to negotiate".

The future of an estimated 9 000 MK members outside South Africa is said to have become a thorny problem for the ANC since the start of peace moves. Money to keep them is said to be drying up as sympathetic countries no longer want to finance "armed struggle".

Some analysts see a possibility that MK members — not wanted by the South African government in the SADF — may become absorbed into or linked to the Transkei defence force. A possibility has also been mentioned that they might link up with the armed wing of the PAC.

### Options

The problem of what to do with MK members in peace time rests largely on the shoulders of Mr Hani and might account for his strong emphasis on the continuation of the "armed struggle", the ANC and MK's links with Transkei and closer ties with the PAC.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, head of the department of African studies at the University of Stellenbosch, sees several options for MK members. They include:

- To be absorbed by the SADF — a door closed by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan;
- To be absorbed by the defence force of Transkei or any of the other independent black homelands (TBVC states);
- To be "forgotten" — a development that could lead to absorption of MK members by the armed wing of the PAC.
- To become dissidents in the style of Joshua Nkomo's Zapu army which became a serious problem when it went on the rampage after Zimbabwe gained independence.

Professor Breytenbach said that after General Magnus Malan's refusal to have MK members in the SADF, the most likely of the remaining options for MK seemed to be military links and a possible safe base in Transkei.

The MK's composition was such that it already had close ties with and loyalties towards Transkei. Many MK members were Xhosas from Transkei and two of MK's most important commanders — Chris Hani and Steve Tswete — were Xhosas.

Observers say it is significant that Mr Hani, during his tour of Transkei, emphasised the continuation of the armed struggle and the links of MK members with Transkei.

At Umtata's Independence Stadium last Sunday Mr Hani made a dramatic appearance in military uniform, carrying a rifle and flanked by armed guards. Later Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, explained the

presence of arms at the rally as part of a security plan to protect Mr Hani.

A Weekend Argus special correspondent was on the spot when Mr Hani addressed more than 3 000 people at the University of Transkei in Umtata.

A central message in that speech was that the university had become "a theatre of struggle" against apartheid and the balkanisation of South Africa.

"From here during the most difficult days we managed to establish underground cells of our movement. From here we trained comrades to carry out operations of Umkhonto we Sizwe," Mr Hani said.

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# NG Minister leads PAC

African National Congress military strongman Chris Hani has sent political shock waves through South Africa with his hawk-like statements in Transkei about seizure of power if negotiations fail. Weekend Argus Special Correspondent MATTHEW MOONIEYA reports from Umtata on Mr Hani's thoughts and on significant issues in his message ...

**I**S Chris Hani a rampant revolutionary or a prophet of peace? This question has been raised by speeches given by the chief of staff of the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, in Transkei this week.

It is a question that goes deep into the dynamics of a negotiated settlement between FW de Klerk's government and the ANC — a question whose answer will determine the chances of a peaceful transition or continued bloody violence which will make the bombs of the 1980s pale into insignificance.

Negotiation and armed insurrection are both very much part of the vocabulary of Martin Thembisile Hani. Understanding him needs finely tuning into the historical perspective of the struggle for liberation as well as the enormous odds at stake in South Africa today.

**C**HRIS Hani, 48, puts his mastery of the English language — he's an English and Latin major from Fort Hare University — to use in his lucid, off-the-cuff speeches in which he demonstrates an unwavering commitment to his struggle while acknowledging that in any liberation struggle a point is reached where negotiation must take place.

Politically, Hani was introduced to repressive rule at an early age. His migrant-worker father was banished for his political activities from St Marks district in Transkei by former Chief Minister Kaizer Matanzima. The young Chris had his political baptism of fire as a member of the ANC Youth League at Fort Hare. He skipped the country in 1962 while an articled clerk in Cape Town.

This week his speeches in Transkei reflected a new sophistication in his official posturing and in some of his thinking on important issues:

**On the ANC leadership:** "In the ANC leadership there is no Hani position or Thabo Mbeki position. We are guided by democratic and collective decision-making. If Thabo was talking here to you, he would be saying the same things I am saying to you."

**The armed struggle:** "The balance of power has shifted in favour of the people and the momentum of struggle must be kept alive. We have forced the regime to recognise unwillingly the legitimacy of our struggle. Today we speak on behalf of an unbanned ANC. This victory is not the result of a willing ruling class.

**“W**HEN we decided in 1961 to embark on armed struggle it was a difficult decision. When I decided to join MK I could not use a gun or explosives. We had to go into laboratories to learn to manufacture homemade bombs

# THE HEART OF HANI

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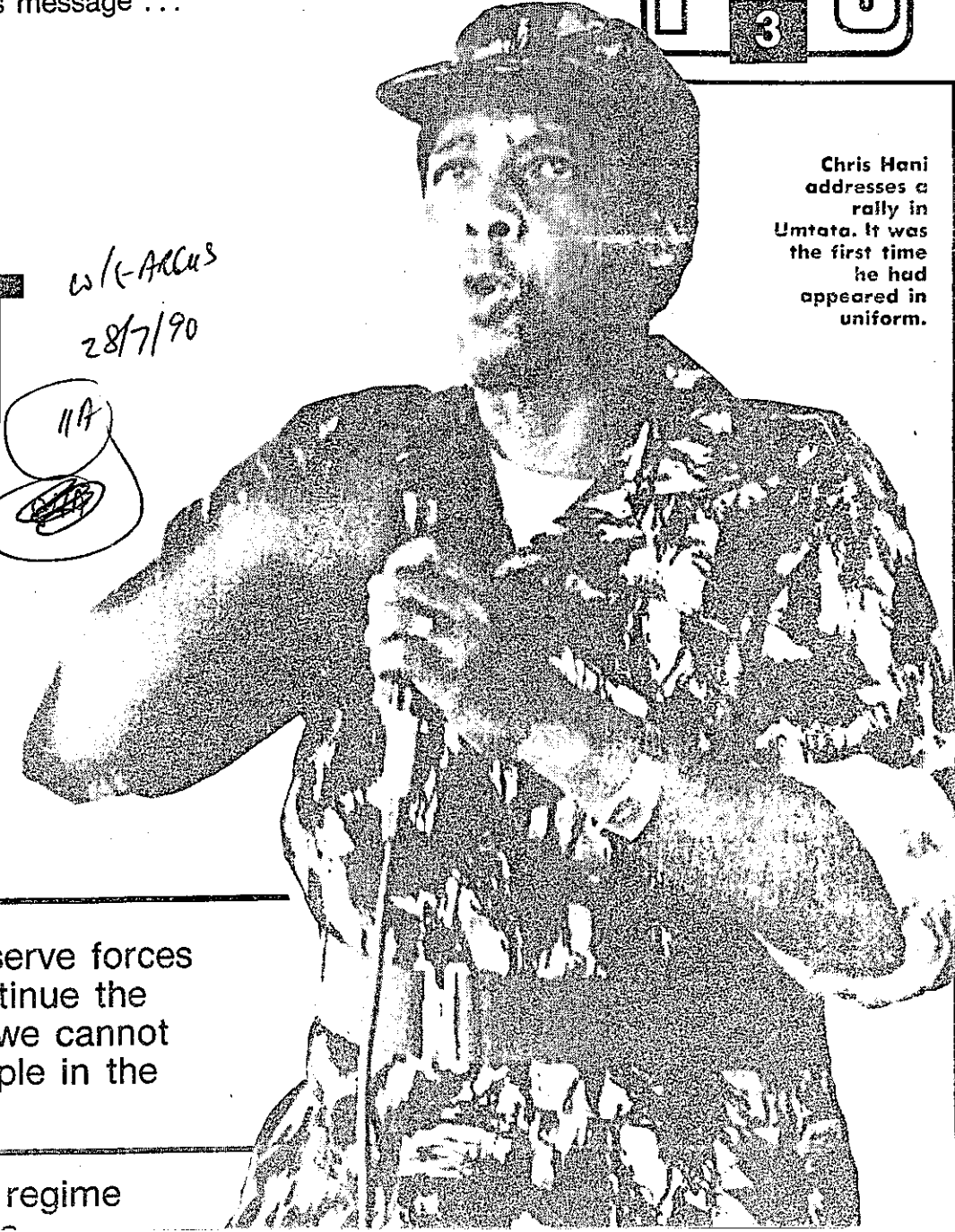
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## QUOTE

We are deploying our reserve forces and are recruiting to continue the armed struggle because we cannot leave the fate of our people in the hands of De Klerk.

## QUOTE

We will sit down with the regime and say let us conclude a



Chris Hani addresses a rally in Umtata. It was the first time he had appeared in uniform.

The armed struggle: "The balance of power has shifted in favour of the people and the momentum of struggle must be kept alive. We have forced the regime to recognise unwillingly the legitimacy of our struggle. Today we speak on behalf of an unbanned ANC. This victory is not the result of a willing ruling class.

**W**HEN we decided in 1961 to embark on armed struggle it was a difficult decision. When I decided to join MK I could not use a gun or explosives. We had to go into laboratories to learn to manufacture homemade bombs and go to the north for military training.

"At that time the only independent country near us was Tanganyika and South Africa was surrounded by other colonial powers.

"The central idea of fighting back, of repeating that slogan of an eye for an eye and a life for a life prepared us to go and acquire military know-how. It is that humble beginning of what we regard today as the People's Army. MK has now produced leading commanders and commissars. We are proud to say today we are an army, an army that does not just talk of war.

"As far back as 1961, when we started planting those explosives at soft targets, we moved from that position of using primitive weapons. We have used the AK, the Bazooka. We blasted a major oil installation of the enemy using an advanced rocket. We forced them to recognise there was an armed struggle and to deploy their forces throughout our country.

"We fought in Zimbabwe in 1967 together with Zipra, we fought in Mozambique alongside Frelimo, alongside the MPLA in Angola and with Swapo. We believed we had to do this to create proper conditions for our own revolution. The struggle against colonialism in Africa was our own struggle and it continues.

**T**HIS armed struggle has been central in inspiring our people to strike against the enemy. It is the result of this struggle that our leaders have been released. That is victory for the ANC."

Hani argues that a serious liberation movement can never dismiss a chance to negotiate and that armed struggle should not be romanticised.

"I have been an MK commander for more than 23 years. I know what it is to be a subordinate. I started soldiering in the bottom ranks and rose to the top where I learnt that every army has to take care of its soldiers and try to preserve life.

"When you plan an operation, you always agonise over whether all your men will come back alive. It is the task of a good commander to plan meticulously to reduce casualties. We have had serious casualties and some parents will not see their children return.

"I was forced unwillingly to address concerned parents and tell them that their dear sons and daughters would not be coming back. It is very, very painful.

"If there is a chance to ensure the preservation of life it must be used. That is not surrender. We have not surrendered. We are deploying

and are recruiting to continue the armed struggle because we cannot leave the fate of our people in the hands of De Klerk.

### QUOTE

We will sit down with the regime and say: let us conclude a ceasefire.

### QUOTE

The battles of the people must rage while negotiations take place. They must create a climate where the regime must know it cannot refuse to surrender to the demands of the people.



our reserve forces and we are still recruiting to continue the armed struggle because we cannot leave the fate of our people in the hands of De Klerk."

**T**RANSFER of power: Hani says it is important to recognise the basis of the ANC's victory — and for it to consolidate and move forward until it reaches its objective: the transfer of power from a minority to a majority, a transfer which is still fraught with variables.

"This transfer of power will come about because of a number of factors, but it *might be possible that we will have to seize power if the regime is not prepared to negotiate it peacefully.*"

He says armed struggle is not the only form of struggle.

"Our strategies revolve around mass action by our people. Apartheid is still intact and repression still continues. We cannot expose all our strategies of struggle to the enemy."

The "enemy": "There is no guarantee that the enemy may not go back to the old days of repression and we must be able, using our underground struggle and our military formations, to teach the enemy a good lesson."

That is his reasoning for not abandoning the armed struggle. He says South Africa is passing through a revolutionary situation in which the people are no longer prepared to live under an oppressive apartheid regime. A struggle is being waged against the regime, which has resorted to a state of emergency, he says.

**S**OCIAL transformation: Hani rejects independence when it revolves merely around a constitution, flags and a national anthem. He

argues that there must be real social transformation with an equitable distribution of resources. Socialism for him is the panacea for humanity, despite turbulence in the socialist world.

"We cannot perceive a system where a minority of rich people dictate to our people because of the resources they command. Then our struggle would have been meaningless."

**Negotiation:** Although committed to the armed struggle, he says he is equally committed to a peacefully negotiated settlement. However, this must be achieved from a position of strength.

"The debate about negotiation is not about its correctness — Angola and Mozambique had their negotiations for independence while Zimbabwe had its Lancaster House agreement — but of the timing for negotiation.

"We have adopted a negotiating position because of the international situation today ...

"As we negotiate, we want to do so from a position of political and military strength. We must be prepared if the enemy goes back and negotiations fail."

Negotiation had not yet begun. The two sides were merely discussing removal of obstacles to negotiation.

**W**E will sit down with the regime and say: let us conclude a ceasefire. The regime must confine its forces to barracks and MK will confine its forces to its invisible barracks. We will then wait for new orders from our leadership.

"We are saying that an interim government must not sit for more than 18 months. Its task would be merely the preparation of a constituent assembly which would draw up a new constitution.

"Meanwhile, we will remain in our barracks, training and recruiting. If there is a breakdown in negotiations, we will step up all forms of armed struggle and give the enemy a lesson it must not forget.

"We have to use this space and time creatively and seriously because the battle is not over for us. The battles of the people must rage while negotiations take place. They must demand the constituent assembly and one person, one vote.

"They must create a climate where the regime must know there is no going backward, that it cannot refuse to surrender to the demands of the people."

**A**LL this is a chilling account of the stakes at risk in South Africa and flies in the face of the Mao Tse Tung dictum that what you have not won on the battlefield you cannot win at the negotiating table.

That is the image Chris Hani projects: a militant revolutionary wedded to socialism yet committed to a Christian-like concern for the preservation of life.

The man who was once the most wanted of those sought by the South African security forces cannot be measured in terms of General George Patton's observation that nothing can be achieved by dying for a cause.

# SACP steps from sh

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE South African Communist Party, which holds its first public rally in 40 years tomorrow, has travelled a long, hard and circuitous route to its present position as a *de facto* interlocutor at the negotiating table.

In an astonishing turn of events since the SACP was outlawed 40 years ago, its general secretary, Joe Slovo, is again included in the African National Congress negotiating team for the scheduled August 6 talks.

President de Klerk is trying to exclude Mr Slovo from the talks following the discovery of an alleged communist plot to seize power if the negotiations fail or do not turn out to the SACP's satisfaction.

Even if Mr de Klerk prevails upon the ANC to drop Mr Slovo, the SACP will still have a presence at the negotiating table. The ties between the SACP and the ANC are so close that the SACP will be represented, whatever the precise composition of the ANC delegation.

The SACP, however, took several wrong turnings in its protracted journey to the brink of power and, in the view of its opponents, it may be about to take its followers and its ANC ally into another cul de sac.

The SACP is today a tireless champion of the oppressed and of racial equality. But in 1922, during the bloody Rand Rebellion, it sided with white mine workers against the mining companies under the racist slogan "Workers of the world unite and fight for a white South Africa".

The SACP emerged as a trenchant opponent of apartheid long before it became a fashionable cause. It espoused the idea of a "Native Republic" in South Africa a few years after the 1922 rebellion, thus anticipating the bantustan policy adopted by the ruling National Party by nearly three decades.

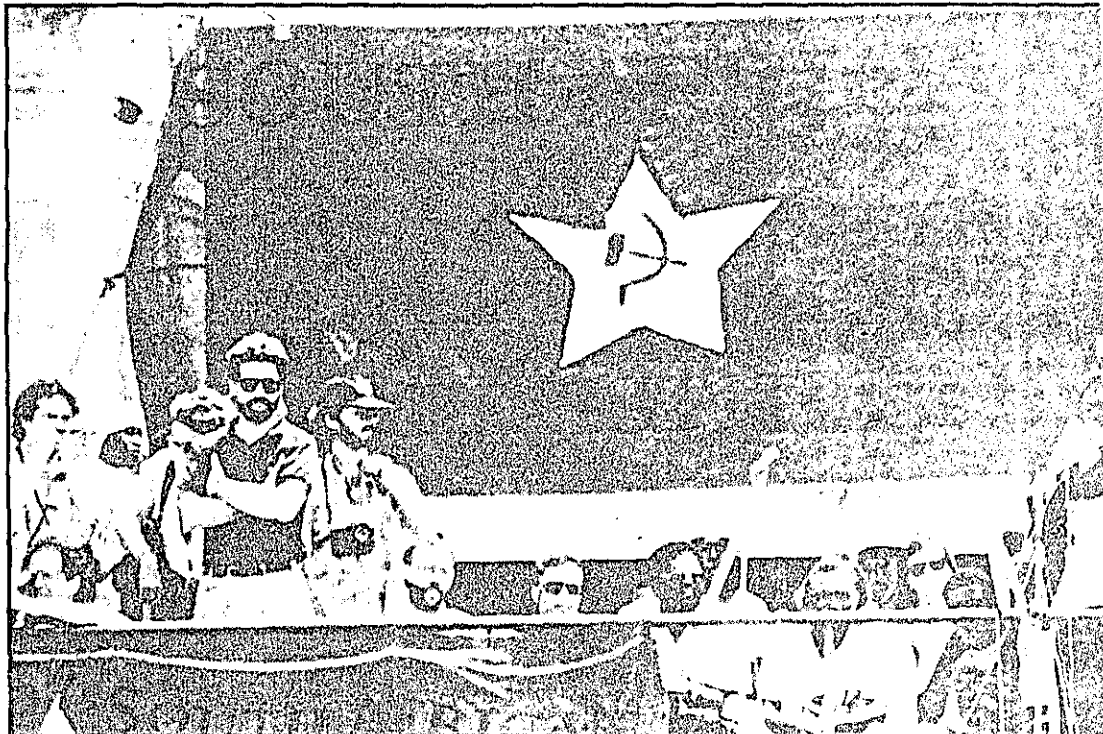
Whether the SACP is out of kilter again in prescribing socialism as the answer to South Africa's economic and social ills in the 1990s is hotly debated.

Where communist parties in the rest of world are on the retreat after the upheavals in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself, the SACP, sensing the possibility of power, is on the advance. Its buoyant optimism is summed up in the title of its revised programme: "The Path to Power".

Where many communist parties have hastily abandoned the once proud label "communist" in an attempt to distance themselves from the tyrannies associated with communism in Eastern Europe, the SACP still proudly proclaims itself to be a communist party.

It must be, remarks Ronnie Kasrils, former intelligence chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the army of the SACP and its ANC ally, one of the few communist parties whose flag still contains

## But will its 'path to power' end in a cul-



SEEKING ANSWERS: Observers and "the masses" at Soccer City, Soweto, for the SACP rally tomorrow, will seek answers

the hammer and sickle.

The SACP is more than an anachronism in an age where socialism appears to have lost the battle against capitalism in key parts of the world.

After surviving for 40 years as an underground party — it was banned in 1950 under the Suppression of Communism Act — the SACP is re-surfacing as a potentially powerful but still largely unknown force to many South Africans.

The SACP boasts that "our party and what it stands for are more popular today than at any time in our 69-year history". It is a boast which cannot be dismissed as idle.

Its underground existence forced it to become a highly secretive organisation, causing some political observers to compare it to the subterranean Afrikaner Broederbond and to accuse it of manipulating the ANC in some way as the Broederbond is thought to control the ruling National Party. But, promises Mr Slovo, the party has no intention of functioning as a Broederbond within the ANC or as a secret organisation.

In the relatively free atmosphere of post-February 2 South Africa, created by President de Klerk's decision to unban the

SACP, Mr Slovo says: "We intend moving towards a situation where every communist will be proud to acknowledge they are members of the party."

He adds a caveat: "We cannot yet abandon (all) the levels of our underground because the process of democratisation is not yet irreversible."

The first instalment of the SACP's pledge to "go public"

will be delivered tomorrow at a rally in Soccer City, when it will disclose the names of its internal interim leadership, as distinct from those of its central committee members.

Even that partial disclosure will be a

leap forward into the age of glasnost. Very few details are known about the SACP's leadership. With one or two exceptions, the names of its central committee members remain secret. Mr Slovo is one exception. Dan Tloome, the SACP chairman, is another.

When political observers assemble at Soccer City in Soweto for the rally, together with "the masses", they will seek answers — or even partial answers — to several critical questions.

One concerns the identity of its leaders. A second focuses on the strength of the SACP within

the ANC. A third relates to the SACP's appeal on the ground.

A fourth seeks to probe the sincerity of the SACP's apparently sudden acceptance of multiparty democracy, a notion which many SACP leaders, nurtured on the authoritarian traditions of Stalin and Brezhnev, once contemptuously dismissed as "bourgeois democracy".

Observers seeking to identify the central committee membership will be disappointed. There will be no disclosure, Mr Slovo cautions, until the SACP's 70th anniversary congress next year and then only if the "process of democratisation" is judged to have gone far enough to make disclosure safe.

It follows that the exact strength of the SACP in the ANC will remain imponderable until the names of its central committee are known and one can run a check list against the names of the ANC national executive.

Until then, however, observers and the public generally will have to make do with various estimates.

The British publication Africa Confidential reckons that 27 of the 35-member national executive are SACP members. A 1986 American State Department report calculates that about half the national executive are communists.

The South African government assessment puts the proportion at about two-thirds.

Whatever the exact situation, the SACP is undoubtedly strate-

gically positioned within the ANC, particularly because of its joint command with the ANC of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Soccer City rally will serve as a barometer — of sorts — to the SACP's mass appeal.

If the rally flops, the omens will certainly not be good for SACP's declared ambition of transforming itself from a small vanguard party into a broader movement.

But even if the rally attracts a capacity crowd of 100 000, observers will have the problem of deciding what proportion of the crowd are committed SACP supporters, as against ANC members

showing their loyalty to an ally which stood by them during the dark years when the ANC was banned and its leaders in exile or jail.

One point can be made emphatically, however. The SACP is the first party founded by whites to attract a large black membership. The bulk of its members are black, according to the SACP leadership.

Judging from the skin colour of the people who defiantly raised the SACP flag at the height of the township rebellion of 1964-66 — and who have raised it since — the official

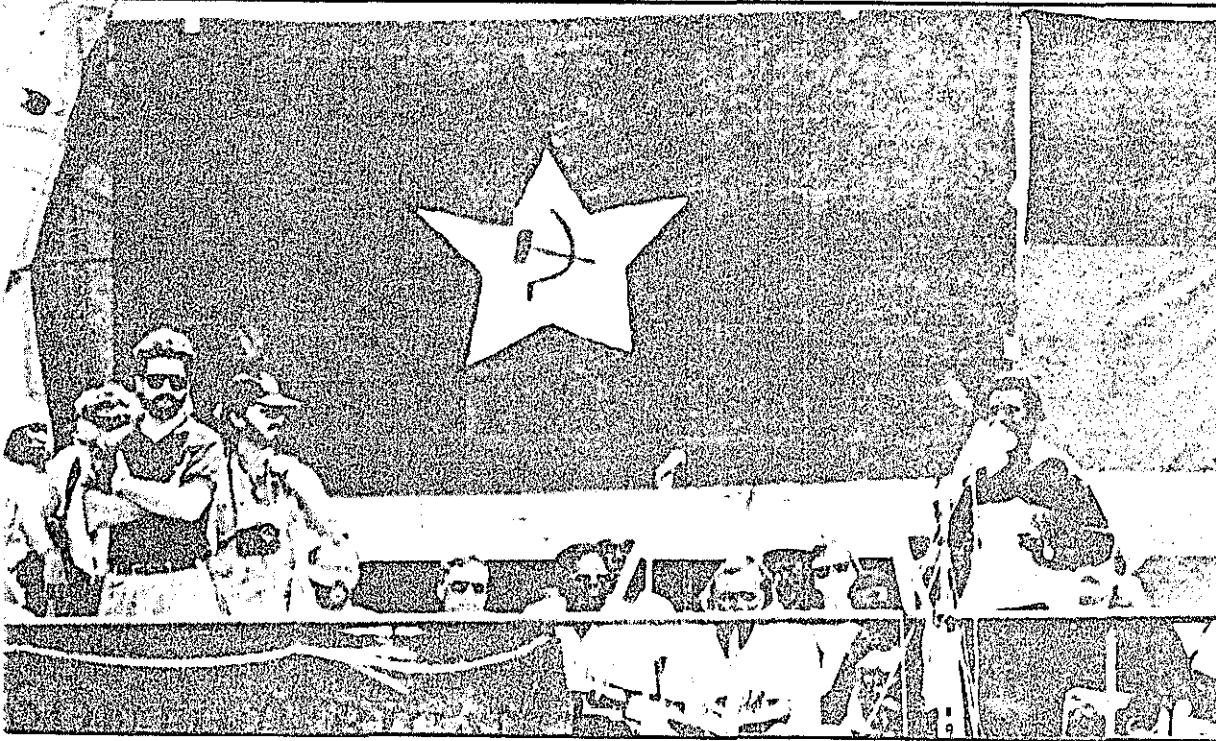
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# steps from shadows

## will its 'path to power' end in a cul-de-sac?



**BIG ANSWERS:** Observers and "the masses" at Soccer City, Soweto, for the SACP rally tomorrow, will seek answers to critical questions.

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Judging from the skin colour of the people who defiantly raised the SACP flag at the height of the township rebellion of 1984-86 — and who have raised it since — the official

SACP estimate that 70 percent of its members are black is not an exaggeration.

Black people not only joined the SACP: they also died for its cause in the guerrilla war which started soon after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961.

A special rally issue of the SACP journal, Umsebenzi,

proudly records: "Communists (were) in the front rank of the struggle. No sacrifice was too much. More than 100 members lost their lives on the gallows, in police cells and in battle with the enemy."

Judging from the names of communists who lost their lives in "the struggle", which was published in an earlier edition of Umsebenzi, the overwhelming majority of those who died were black.

Some of the best-known communists have been black men and women: the legendary, in communist circles, JB Marks and Moses Kotane; J Nkosi, Dora Tamane and Moses Mabhida; Govan Mbeki, the first of the men imprisoned with Nelson Mandela in 1964 to be released, and Tloome, the present SACP chairman.

Assessment of the SACP's ac-

tual and potential strength has to take account of the growth of trade unionism among black workers. It is there that the SACP's natural constituency lies.

It is significant rather than coincidental that the SACP's first press conference since it was unbanned was held at the headquarters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South Africa's biggest trade union federation.

The disclosure of the names of the SACP's internal leadership and of those of its central committee members at a later date will facilitate accurate appraisal of its strength in the trade union movement.

Of particular interest to South Africans enconced in executive positions of the giant corporations will be whether either list includes Cyril Ramaphosa, the able and cool-headed general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, South Africa's biggest trade union.

The most important question to ordinary citizens, however, is whether the SACP has really discarded its Stalinist past.

In a position paper, published in January, Mr Slovo admits that the SACP must accept its share of responsibility "for the spread of the Stalin cult". He acknowledges, too, that the "pernicious habit" of branding those who do not agree with the party as the "enemies of socialism" has not yet been excised from its ranks.

He ends by proclaiming the SACP's commitment to the fundamental freedoms of liberal or bourgeois democracy — freedoms of speech, thought, movement, organisation and so on — and pledges to uphold multiparty democracy in post-apartheid South Africa.

In a fascinating article in the journal Transformation, Pallo Jordan, the ANC's secretary for information, accuses Mr Slovo of glossing too lightly over the SACP's Stalinist past.

He criticises the SACP leadership of having "produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its leaders". He calls for an "unsparing interrogation" of the Stalinist past as the only way to salvage hope for the future "from the existing tragedy of socialism".

Dr Jordan, one of the ANC's really incisive thinkers, ought to know what he is talking about.

According to Africa Confidential, he was detained for eight weeks in June 1983 as a dissident by a high-ranking ANC-SACP apparatchik for daring to raise his voice against abuse of power by ANC security officials.

He was released and exonerated after the intervention of ANC president Oliver Tambo and rose to eminence in the ANC in later years.

Some board room observers may see in Dr Jordan's criticism of Mr Slovo's paper a sign that socialism is being rejected from within the ANC. They will be wrong.

Dr Jordan's critique is made in the name of socialism and in the best tradition of democratic Marxism.

# Looking at SA's cultural war

Culture in South Africa has never been merely culture, and in the new South Africa its political role will be heightened.

Already, many have quibbled over the ANC's stated intention to use culture as a political weapon, conveniently forgetting the legacy of cultural domination imposed by colonialism and apartheid.

In this century, Afrikaner nationalism was suppressed by the English, and along with it the Afrikaans language and culture.

The roles were reversed after 1948, and Christian National Education was made a mighty arm of Government, bolstering the political, social and economic status quo under the insidious imprimatur of religious doctrine.

At the same time, European notions of art and culture were fostered and the linguistic duopoly of Afrikaans and English flourished.

For all this time, the social and religious rites, languages and cultural practices of most of the country were ignored. South African culture, if it existed in any coherent form at all, was a melange of exclusive English and Afrikaans elements.

Why then the sudden disquiet about the ANC's cultural policies following ANC culture chief Barbara Masekela's landmark address at the Grahamstown Festival?

For one, the ANC is following a well established tradition; for another, it seems genuinely to be striving for the creation of a truly representative indigenous culture that will not discriminate against nor necessarily exclude its Afrikaans and English-based forerunners.

But there are caveats. There are many who will see "accountability" as a restraint on artistic freedom.

According to Masekela, "accountability is not censorship". The thesis runs that the Freedom Charter and the ANC's constitutional guidelines guarantee artists freedom of expression, provided they do not claim

At the Grahamstown National Arts Festival the ANC's culture chief, Barbara Masekela, fired a salvo in the cultural war now being waged between People's Culture and the Eurocentric Establishment. **DARRYL ACCONE** reports.

their work has "a representativeness it does not have".

Well and good, except there follows the conditional clause: "Those who wish to speak on behalf of the South African people must be part of structures which can join with them in shaping and giving mandate to their message, so that when it reaches the ears of the world, it truly represents us as a nation."

This seems nothing less than a thinly disguised statement of intent to pursue some form of selective boycott against artists who in the future do not ally themselves to progressive cultural bodies.

It would appear that such non-aligned, independent work is by definition unrepresentative of the nation; that the only cultural products that will be deemed truly South African are those which "will" be created by committee.

The cultural boycott has been extraordinarily successful in propagating alternative, progressive and people's culture while halting the dissemination of apartheid culture. When it has fully served its purpose, when apartheid goes, so will the boycott, says Masekela.

But it would be inexcusable equivocation if a modified form of the boycott were to remain in place in a post-apartheid society.

Would that not be a betrayal of the ANC's constitutional guidelines and the Freedom Charter? Surely the ANC would wish to avoid following in the unsavoury footsteps of its censoring and proscriptive predecessors?

Efforts to hasten the demise of the boycott from within the country

(by independent artists and even the arts councils) account for theatre, dance and music inching away from purely European models towards more indigenous exemplars.

But, according to Masekela, the move has not been sufficient to redress the historical imbalance that has seen "South Africa's cultural worth in terms of its ability to produce a 'Fledermaus' which can rival the Vienna State Opera, a post-structuralist novel which will rival Paris or acid-house music just like London's".

## Protagonists

It is over this issue that the cultural war in the new South Africa will be fought. The protagonists will be the Eurocentric Establishment on the one hand, the people and People's Culture on the other.

However, it will not be an all-or-nothing affair.

While laying into Eurocentrism as "increasingly irrelevant even to the soul of a white community which has in some cases lived in Africa for two centuries", Masekela has also acknowledged, on TVI's arts programme "Collage", that she fears her children will be relatively deprived of European culture with which they have grown up in exile.

The major purveyors of "ersatz European high culture" have been the State-subsidised provincial arts councils and the annual Grahamstown National Arts Festival.

The ANC is, however, unequivocal: the councils, in their present form, must go; the Grahamstown Festival must change radically, moving away from its "colonial

connotations" to reflect accurately the voice of the majority.

In their defence, the arts councils have in recent years increasingly shifted focus from the foreign to the local; but it appears the process has been deemed too little, too late.

It should also be noted that years before this belated enlightenment, independent, progressive artists were calling for the exposure and vigorous promotion of indigenous cultural forms.

In the new cultural climate, these committed creators and performers have been joined by opportunists, of whom both sides in the struggle will have to be wary.

But if it is a barometer of the cultural future that we seek, it is to the Grahamstown Festival we should look.

The first thing to note is that the festival was launched as a celebration of English culture in South Africa. The 1820 Foundation Monument is not an accident in nomenclature.

Despite its genesis, the festival has made progress in presenting a broader range of culture.

Again, this has not been sufficient to convince progressive groupings such as the local Grahamstown Cultural Congress (GCC).

A GCC member told me that the Monument is perceived as being "monstrously representative of the elitism of the festival" while another said "the Foundation is only now experiencing the early stages of liberalism — and it is hurting".

There is more than a measure of truth in both charges, as well as the kernel of a solution.

Already, festival committee chairman Professor Alan Crump has announced that a committee has been constituted to investigate changing the name of the Foundation.

Only one thing is certain about Grahamstown and a true national culture: the hegemony of the old must not be replaced by a hegemony of the new. That would betray all the people of South Africa.

CAPE TOWN  
28/7/90

# FW and Mandela to hold crunch meeting on talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will hold a "crunch" meeting on Wednesday to try to narrow the gulf of suspicion and distrust sparked by the latest swoop on ANC members and ongoing police claims about a "red plot".

Both the government and the ANC were hopeful yesterday that the next round of full-blown talks scheduled for August 6 would go ahead — but said that much depended on the outcome of the meeting between the two leaders.

However, the already strained relations between the two sides could be severely tested by further arrests which police said yesterday could go to the top of the ANC/SACP alliance.

## 4 000 documents

The spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Peet Bothma, said it was not clear yet if SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo would be arrested in connection with the alleged insurrection plot.

However, Mr Slovo — whom the government would like to see dropped from the ANC's talks team — was a "possible suspect" and charges might be formulated against him.

The police were working "around the clock" through 4 000 documents related to the plot "and as names crop up we will arrest people" for questioning to assist the investigation, he said.

## 'Trust shaken'

Government sources said yesterday that leaks about details of the "red plot" were not part of a government-sponsored plan to embarrass the ANC ahead of negotiations.

A number of the government's negotiating team were apparently taken by surprise at the police disclosures.

A senior government source acknowledged that the plot story had "severely shaken" the mutual trust that had developed between the government and the ANC since the Groote Schuur talks and that it would be difficult to continue with talks unless good faith was at least partly restored.

## NEC decision

The ANC's chief of information, Mr Pallo Jordan, said yesterday that Mr De Klerk, in his meeting with Mr Mandela on Thursday, had expressed a preference for the exclusion of Mr Slovo, but added: "Our deputy president could not accept or reject Mr De Klerk's preferences as Mr Slovo was not appointed by Mr Mandela, but by the national executive committee."

He said the NEC would meet within the next three days and its decision would be conveyed by Mr Mandela to the government at the meeting on Wednesday.

Mr Mandela had not been presented with a dossier of alleged SACP-masterminded infiltration tactics at the crisis meeting, he said.

## SACP launch

Mr Jordan said that despite the current difficulties the ANC believed the talks should continue.

The cabinet and security brass will meet for two days at a secret venue outside Pretoria early next week to discuss relations with the ANC and its tactics for upcoming talks.

Tomorrow the SACP will hold its public launch at Soccer City outside Soweto after four decades of operating underground.

● The British Foreign Office yesterday called on the SA government to charge the ANC leaders it had arrested and urged all sides to "exercise restraint and maintain progress towards negotiations".

● Mr Mandela yesterday met an Azapo delegation headed by its president, Mr Itumele Musala, in Johannesburg to discuss the August 6 talks between the government and the ANC, reports Sapa. —



# Sebokeng the ANC's fault — Buthelezi

THE African National Congress is "nurturing a culture of violence and intolerance" avows Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He blames the ANC and its allies for the clashes between Inkatha and pro-ANC forces which left at least 30 people dead in Sebokeng and neighbouring Evaton.

Speaking in his office in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi disagrees strongly with those who interpret the Sebokeng fighting as an ominous sign that the violence in Natal may be spreading into the Transvaal.

"The violence started in the Vaal Triangle," he says, recalling the wave of arson, looting and killing which swept through Sebokeng and the neighbouring townships of Sharpeville and Evaton in 1984, leaving four town councillors dead.

**Burning**

"To talk about the violence in Natal spilling over is nonsense. Councillor Jacob Dlamini (the victim in the Sharpeville Six case) was killed in the Vaal Triangle."

Chief Buthelezi lists the necklacing of Maki Skhosana on the East Rand and the murder of Tamsanqu Kinikini, his son and two nephews in Uitenhage in 1985, to support his contention that the violence spread into, and not from, Natal.

"If you look at the killing of Kinikini, if you look at violence where the PAC and Azapo have been on the receiving end, in every case the common denominator is the ANC-UDF-Cosatu," he says.

Speaking quietly, he adds: "It is the dancing partner in violence everywhere, whether it is Inkatha, the PAC or Azapo."

He charges the ANC and its allies with adopting a "winner-take-all" approach in the political arena, in which their opponents face the choice of being co-opted into the ANC camp or being

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

crushed by its cohorts or comrades.

"They are not tolerant. Unless you queue up behind them you have no right to exist..."

He described as "intolerance of the first order" the ANC-approved campaign for the dissolution of the KwaZulu police. The ANC-axis believes disbanding KwaZulu's police is indispensable for peace in Natal.

The campaign began with a massive stayaway on July 2. It was followed by protest marches in the main cities and towns on July 7. It culminates next month in a "peace conference" from which In-

avarice which lead some tribal leaders to accept independence.

To separate Chief Buthelezi from his "social base", the ANC is trying to drive wedges between him and the Inkatha members on the one hand and between him and the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

He recalls the remark of Inkatha's former general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo, on the drive to isolate him from Inkatha. "It is like having the Roman Catholic Church without the Pope. That is not my quote. That is Dr Dhlomo's."

On the ANC's bid to woo King Goodwill, Chief Buthelezi notes that it was a strategy tried by the ruling National Party when it, too, tried to break his power.

"That campaign is an old one. Shortly after the king took over (the throne), the Government tried to do that and it failed... There is a sense of irony about it. We are going back to the old days of the Inala Party, Shaka's Spear and the Zulu National Party."

**Forgiven**

The refusal of ANC leaders to come to Ulundi, KwaZulu's administrative capital, and their apparent bid to reduce Chief Buthelezi's status to that of an induna, provokes a quiet vehemence.

He notes that the ANC leaders have no difficulty in travelling to Umtata and Bisho, the capitals of the nominally independent states of Transkei and Ciskei, or of developing fraternal relations with men whom ANC propaganda once despised as Bantustan puppets.

"All the others, even those who took independence, are 'forgiven'. But I, who opposed independence, I am the villain of the deepest dye, who must be isolated and treated as the ultimate leper of South African politics."

His comment is not infused with self-pity. It is the appraisal of a man who knows the score, but who has chosen to do battle in the political arena whatever the odds.



**CHIEF BUTHELEZI:** "Violence started in Vaal Triangle."

katha will be excluded, next month.

The ANC-aligned SA Youth Congress has labelled Chief Buthelezi an "enemy of the people". He comments: "They are the minions of those who want to isolate me."

The drive to isolate and destroy him politically derives, Chief Buthelezi avers, from an ANC internal document circulated in 1985. It identifies him not as a puppet but a "counter-revolutionary" who must be deprived of his social base and destroyed.

His classification as a "counter-revolutionary" stems, he believes, from a recognition of his strength and independence of mind. He reckons the ANC dislikes these qualities even more than the stupidity or

MEMBERS of an alleged South African Communist Party plot allegedly planned to smuggle a huge quantity of arms into the country after the Grooté Schuur talks in May.

According to computer print-outs in possession of the Saturday Star's sister newspaper, The Pretoria News, containing details of the alleged SACP plot to overthrow the Government, the group either applied for or received large quantities of arms and ammunition.

The arms include Strela ground-to-air missiles, RPG launching tubes, TNT, radio-controlled detonators, SPM limpet mines, mini-limpet mines, hand grenades, plastic explosives, machine pistols, AK-47 automatic rifles and Scorpion machine pistols.

Police found the following arms during searches at safe houses in Durban: 7,2 kg TNT, 10 mini-limpet mines, two SPM limpet mines, 21 hand grenades, four Stechkin machine pistols, three Makarov pistols, an AK-47 rifle, a large quantity of electronic and mechanical time switches and detonators, and two-way radios and components for car bombs.

The police are looking for at least eight arms caches.

Operation Vula, as the plot was allegedly called, is said to have estab-

**POLITICAL STAFF,  
FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE  
and SAPA**

lished underground structures in Natal, which is divided into four areas, the Western Cape and Transvaal.

The structures comprised fighting, scouting, intelligence and sabotage units which "have been entrenched since February 2 and especially so since May 1990".

**See Pages 2 and 9**

The police further claimed a Canadian, a Dutch citizen and a Belgian couple were identified during the preliminary investigation as being actively involved in the promotion of Operation Vula's activities.

At the Grooté Schuur talks, the ANC formally committed itself to a peaceful negotiation process.

Now the Government is reported to be wanting a clear statement from the movement distancing itself from any plans for an armed insurrection.

President de Klerk apparently put this to ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela at their emergency meeting at the Union Buildings on Thursday night. At the meeting, he sought to convince Mr Mandela of the gravity of police unearthing the alleged ANC/SA

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

# Papers point to huge SACP weapons plot

Stk 28/1190

(114) (114)

**Mashinini: Can he  
be buried in SA**

LONDON. — Plans are being made for the possible return to South Africa of the body of Mr Tsietsi Mashinini, the exiled Soweto youth leader who died suddenly in Guinea this week.

Mr Mashinini — who was president of the Soweto Students' Representative Council at the height of the June 1976 riots — was admitted to hospital in Conakry, capital of Guinea, shortly after returning from a visit to Nigeria.

The cause of death is still not known.

The 36-year-old self-exiled activist, who fled South Africa, had been undergoing tests for a mystery illness.

A close friend in London, Mr Barney Mokgatle, said yesterday that Mr Mashinini's death on Wednesday night came as a complete shock.

"I am now making arrangements to fly out to Guinea to collect the body and, hopefully, take Tsietsi home to South Africa," he said.

● Sapa reports that the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday said Mr Mashinini's death was a great loss to the liberation struggle.

**PAC boss to  
visit Nigeria**

JOHANNESBURG. —  
PAC president Mr Zeph  
Mothopeng and several  
top aides leave for Nige-  
ria this morning for a  
state visit at the invita-  
tion of Nigeria's military  
ruler, General Ibrahim  
Babangida.

This was announced at  
a press conference in Jo-  
hannesburg yesterday  
after a PAC delegation,  
led by its president, held  
a one-and-a-half-hour  
meeting with visiting Ni-  
gerian statesman  
General Olusegun Oba-  
sanjo and his aides.

The discussions  
centred on black inter-  
necine violence. — Sapa

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TOP  
28/7/90  
11A

# High-ranking plot leaders will not be spared from arrest

CHH Times 28/7/90

114 ~~8/7/7/90~~

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — In the police swoop on people involved in an alleged insurrection plot, no leader would be spared because he was considered too high-ranking, a senior South African Ministry of Police spokesman told BBC Radio yesterday.

However, he said he "did not think" ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would be among them, and that his arrest could be "excluded at the moment".

A number of people have already been arrested in connection with the alleged plot, including an African National Congress executive member, Mr Mac Maharaj. Police have warned there will be more arrests.

Captain Peet Bothma told Radio 4's "Today" programme that there remained "a big question mark around who knew and who didn't know about this specific operation that was launched inside South Africa".

He added that police action was not against the ANC and SA Communist Party specifically, but against certain "groups and individuals" — in the same way

as the police acted against radical right-wing groups a few weeks ago.

In the same programme, ANC executive member Mr Ahmad Kathrada denied "emphatically" that there was "any, what they call, plot" to overthrow the government should negotiations break down.

He said the armed struggle was one of several strategies, including sanctions, international isolation and the internal struggle, which would remain in place as long as apartheid remained.

Capt Bothma said that in the course of investigations over the past few weeks, the police team had "come across literally thousands of pages of documents", which they were now "working through".

## Many arms caches

These documents had revealed names of specific people, some of whom had been arrested.

Asked what those arrested were alleged to have done or were planning to do, Capt Bothma said this formed part of the investigation. He added that the police had "got different arms caches all over South Africa during the past two weeks". Found were limpet

mines, AK47 rifles, an RPG rocket launcher and missiles "of the type used to shoot down passenger planes", and handgrenades "which have been used extensively to attack people and members of the security forces of South Africa".

If one considered this, he said, "then it can become clear to you what their plans were".

He added that as the investigation was very sensitive and bearing in mind that talks between the ANC and the government would follow on August 6, "it is impossible for us at this stage to go into detail as to what our investigation is all about".

Capt Bothma said a 'big question mark' remained over who knew of the plot.

Capt Bothma was asked why Mr Mandela should be excluded from arrest when he had publicly said the armed struggle should continue and there was now a plot afoot to continue the armed struggle that had resulted in the arrests of other ANC members.

Capt Bothma said: "There is a big difference between continuing the armed struggle and planning a specific plot to do certain things — to intimidate people in certain ways through violence."



# 'All at risk' in peace process

LONDON. — The peace process in South Africa had become caught in a mesh of deception where everything was at risk, the liberal London newspaper the Guardian said in an editorial yesterday.

President FW de Klerk's government claimed to have foiled an armed conspiracy by ANC members linked to the SACP.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's colleagues saw the claim as a move to split the ANC from the SACP and to create dissension in anti-apartheid ranks.

"The arrest of the senior ANC and also SACP leader Mac Maharaj on Wednesday has now thrust a knife at the heart of the peace negotiations.

"By insisting that 'nothing should derail

the peace talks', Mr Mandela avoids walking into one trap set by the government. But he does so at the price of being interpreted to 'tacitly concede' that a conspiracy which he is now disowning did in fact exist.

"And he causes dismay in some sections of his own movement, who believe he has already placed far too much trust in Mr De Klerk.

"Suddenly the smooth progression envisaged by Mr Mandela in London, by which armed struggle would be formally renounced within a space of months, looks a very shaky prospect," the Guardian said.

Mr Mandela's explanation that clandestine groups were somehow still unaware of

the peace process was not very convincing, but the arrest of Mr Maharaj and the issuing of a warrant for the ANC's military intelligence chief, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, strongly suggested a "dirty tricks" operation by the South African security forces.

It was not credible that either Mr Maharaj or Mr Kasrils, both associated with the mainstream ANC leadership, should be seeking to sabotage the negotiations.

"On the contrary, the SACP, to which they both belong, has planned to relaunch itself legally next Saturday.

"The moves against both leaders appears designed to intimidate the return from exile of many of its members."

After surviving underground for 40 years, the South African Communist Party is to be relaunched tomorrow. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH spoke to central committee member Mac Maharaj before his detention this week.

# Maharaj and the resurgent SACP...

W/L ARGUS 28/7/90

11A

**T**HE bogeyman of South African politics will emerge from the underworld tomorrow when the SACP is launched at a mass rally in Soweto.

Its first public act, starting at the rally, will be a recruitment drive: South Africans can join the party legally for the first time in decades.

The criteria for membership are: "Support for the party programme, strategy and tactics as well as a commitment to activism."

According to Central Committee member Mr Mac Maharaj, a lawyer, the party will not be able to maintain a balance between the "quality" and "quantity" of its members during initial registration, but the branches will investigate this aspect.

Membership fees will be linked to occupation categories.

"The main membership of the party will have to come from the working class.

"Joe Slovo is on record as saying we see two primary constituencies from which our membership will derive — workers and the militant youth.

"This means in practice that many trade unionists will belong to the party."

He said a number of trade unionists who have been in the party for some time would be identified at the rally.

In terms of the SACP constitution, the party's structure consists of branches, district committees and the national congress.

But the party wants to avoid large branches and is aiming for branches of between 20 and 60 members.

**M**R MAHARAJ said the SACP would support the ANC by encouraging joint membership. "At the rally we will have messages of support from our allies — Cosatu and the ANC."

ple of our country would have a way to participate directly.

"Whether we decide to stand as an independent force, or as a joint force, or simply support the ANC (in an election) are various options we would examine at that time."

Discussing the SACP's relationship with Cosatu, Mr Maharaj said the trade union body would function independently of the party.

"We have met the Cosatu leadership and informed them in principle that some leading members of the trade union will be appearing on the party's platform. We have done so with the ANC too."

This implies that neither Cosatu nor the ANC knows, even now, which of its members belong to the Communist Party.

**O**N a statement by Mr Slovo about the party's "huge" popularity, Mr Maharaj said it was attributable to the SACP's record and activities.

"Its face has been visible from time to time in terms of individuals who have fallen casualty and the few known to have given service to the ANC.

"The second element is the way the regime has tried to rubbish us all these years. It has built us up as a monster mythical force.

"There is a reaction to that. Joe Slovo summed it up when he said Thatcher had Saatchi and Saatchi as publicists while Joe Slovo had Botha and Botha.

"The number of radical intellectuals have been growing within the struggle. They have, in the relative absence of the party, been developing a Marxist critique of the system. That too has contributed to the consciousness of the party."

How would the SACP get rid of the myth surrounding it?

"The party inherits a huge support base and I have no doubt that as we come to grips with the membership, we will find that its consciousness is relatively skin deep.

**"W**E will have to tackle it by systematic political education and to remove emotionalism as the primary thrust of our policy positions."

He did not believe the SACP could be divided into a pre- and post-Gorbachev era because it had consciously shed Stalinist practices before that was done in the Soviet Union.

"The SACP consciously adopted the position of a system, even a socialistic system, where a contest of ideas will take place."

"I believe Comrade Nelson Mandela, on behalf of the ANC, will also be making an important announcement on the relationship between the party and the ANC.

"I think basically, by encouraging our membership to be part of the ANC, we will also be encouraging them to respect the internal democratic practices of the ANC.

"The ANC has never stopped a member from joining the party.

Would the SACP consider breaking its alliance with the ANC after "liberation"?

"The question is premature because we are talking about a process that leads through negotiations to, say, a constituent assembly.

"We want to ensure that in a constituent assembly the ordinary peo-

# Natal peace talks planned

By S'BU MNGADI  
and SANDILE MEMELA

AS Natal-type clashes threatened to spill over the PWV this week, Natal itself was preparing for a major peace breakthrough between the ANC and Inkatha forces.

A high-powered consultative conference of the national and Natal leadership of the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and Sayco will be held next weekend in Durban.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is scheduled to address the conference.

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, arrives in Durban tomorrow to work with the Cosatu-UDF joint working committee in preparation for the conference.

Natal ANC leader Dr Diliza Mji and Cosatu's Alec Erwin met Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and KwaZulu Interior Minister Steven Sithebe for three hours on Tuesday night and both parties pledged to report to their respective sides before holding further meetings.

On Thursday night, in a speech hailed by observers as a major breakthrough, Patrick Lekota, the ANC's southern Natal convenor, used his address to a 5 000-strong memorial service for last week's 26 victims of the Inanda

## Workers protest over insults

ABOUT 109 workers of Pick 'n Pay supermarket in Lynnwood, Pretoria, took off their uniforms and went to work in their own clothes to protest against insults by white customers.

Store manager Andre Coetser confirmed the incident but declined to comment further because "the issue has been sorted out".

According to a South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union official, the incident followed several insulting remarks made by customers.

APR 29 1990

## But violent clashes now spilling over to Transvaal

bus disaster to make a passionate plea for an end to the continuing violence.

Ironically, while peace talks are held in Natal, Reef residents fear a carbon-copy of the Natal violence following this week's Sebokeng violence and sporadic clashes in Soweto.

Four people died of bullet wounds after an alleged Inkatha mob assaulted residents at Inhlazane railway station.

This followed an explosion of violence between members of Inkatha and the ANC-axis in the Vaal Triangle that left at least 29 people dead.

Observers believe the violence that has plagued Natal for the past four years has finally crept into the the PWV area.

Police liaison officer Lt G Marie-muthoo said the violence came into Soweto when a mob armed with axes and assegais assaulted residents at Inhlazane railway station in Soweto on Wednesday.

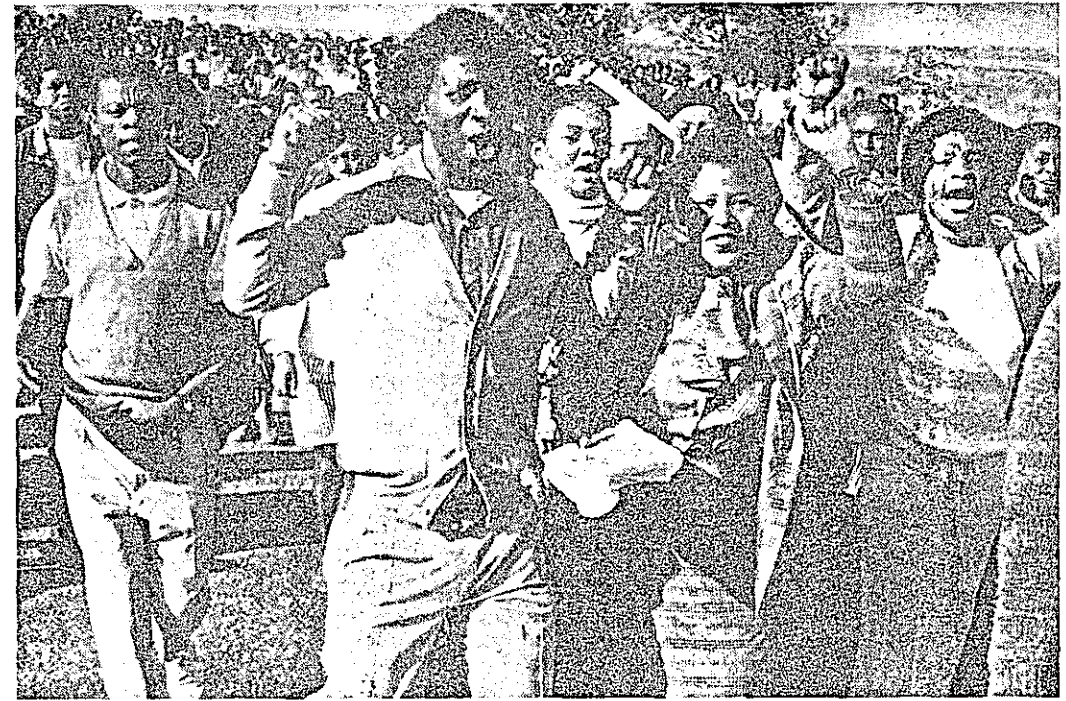
When police arrived the mob fled and afterwards two men, Phineas Khoza and Alpheus Ngobeni, were found with bullet wounds.

Later, two women were found with bullet wounds at Jabulani hostel, about 300m from the station. They were sisters Grace and Betty Sithole.

Betty was wounded in the hips and Grace died from her wounds.

Angry Soweto train commuters marched to New Canada railway police headquarters after the Inhlazane station clashes to protest.

In a memorandum handed to the police, protesters said commuters travelling on late trains on Thursday were attacked and thrown out of windows by Inkatha supporters, injuring more than 25 people.



Part of the Soweto train commuters' protest group march to New Canada police headquarters.

## Thousands thrown away

THE non-profit-making Venda Agricultural Corporation had spent an estimated R100 000 on "useless" overseas trips for white officials, the Taylor Commission of Inquiry heard in Thohoyandou on Thursday.

The head of industrial relations at Agrivan, Venda's agricultural corporation, AT Mulaudzi, said his chief executive officer, Pieter Oosthuizen, visited a coffee plantation in Brazil, although the corporation had no such project.

Mulaudzi also revealed Oosthuizen visited Italy and later ordered a new irrigation machine costing more than R25 000, which could not be used.

Oosthuizen, who earned R127 000 a year, had failed to produce a matric certificate since 1981.

He said grass for animal feed had also been left to rot and fertiliser amounting more than R40 000 was used on

## R25-m in aid needed

OPERATION Hunger needs more than R25-million to provide development and relief aid for the needy.

While the organisation receives three to four new appeals for help a day from rural areas, more appeals are pouring in from urban areas.

Announcing the organisation's latest Gold Rush competition in Braamfontein this week, executive director Ina Perlman said: "We need support now. Over one million children need a square meal each day. Over 20 000 families will be helped when we complete the 534 self-help projects underway."

Deputy director Mpho Mashinini said the organisation may have to abandon rural areas to provide aid for people near cities.

"Since the beginning of July, we have received 48 applications for aid from the Hammanskraal, Makapanstad and Winterveld areas which are less than 50km outside Johannesburg," he said.

## Showdown ove

From Page 1  
A newspaper has copies of a computer print-out

# Peace talks in danger as De Klerk says 'no' to Joe

By DESMOND BLOW

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk will be severely tested within the next few days following the government's insistence that SACP leader Joe Slovo be dropped from the ANC's pre-negotiation team.

Mandela could lose face and be seen as a victim of government strategy to drive a wedge between the ANC and the SACP if he agrees to drop Slovo.

An outcry from the right could follow if De Klerk backs down on the issue.

Although both sides have said the Groote Schuur talks would continue, political observers believe the talks could be threatened unless the issue is resolved.

De Klerk told Mandela this week he did not want Slovo in the ANC team following the disclosure of an alleged "red plot" to overthrow the government should the Groote Schuur talks fail.

He has given Mandela until Wednesday to respond.

De Klerk threw down the gauntlet to Mandela on Thursday night after the detention of 40 cadres, including ANC national executive committee member and SACP member "Mac" Maharaj.

Mandela said he knew nothing of the alleged plot. De Klerk gave him details, although NEC member Pallo Jordan said Mandela was not given the dossier on the alleged SACP-masterminded infiltration strategy.

Jordan said Slovo had not been appointed by Mandela, but by the NEC, which would discuss the issue fully this weekend. The outcome would be conveyed to De Klerk by Mandela on Wednesday.

Some critics see the arrest of Maharaj and the denouncement of Slovo plus the SACP as a propaganda move by the government to disrupt the official launch of the SA Communist Party at the FNB Stadium at Crown Mines today.

On the detention of Maharaj, who is (or was) chief organiser of the launch, SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said: "We find the timing, let alone the detention of Maharaj, not so surprising. We saw moves like this coming."

Slovo said it was a "red-scare" tactic to try and interfere with the success of the rally. He said: "We are confident the mass rally today will provide a resounding reply to De Klerk."

"It is our mass popularity, not some fabricated 'red plot', that really worries De Klerk."

Strong opposition to the exclusion of Slovo from the talks can be expected from militant NEC members. Among them are Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), and Ronnie Kasrils, MK intelligence head.

P.T.O.

# OVERSLOVO SHOWDOWN

(11A) c/mos 29/7/90

# Secret minutes reveal war plan

8/Thes 29/7/90 (11A) (S)

IN May this year senior South African Communist Party members met in the small Natal North Coast town of Tongaat.

The meeting was meant to be secret — members were warned by the chairman of “the strictest possible and summary disciplinary measures” against anybody who spoke about the meeting or revealed the names of those who attended.

But a recent major police crackdown on the Communist Party yielded what are said to be the genuine minutes of that meeting. The talks were wide ranging and speakers were referred to only by code name. The SACP insists the police version is distorted.

Here, nevertheless, are extracts from those controversial minutes:

**ON THE ROLE OF MASS STRUGGLE (Comrade Gene):** Negotiation has to be rooted among the masses. Intensification of mass struggle must cradle negotiation. The PB (Politbureau) has said that we should not snuff out mass struggle. If mass struggles intensify over the next month, what does that make of our thesis?

The need to build up our combat forces; building a revolutionary army; widening out the people's army — based on the townships and the rural areas — side by side with the protests and demonstrations of the masses — stayaways, strikes, splitting the ruling powers; reinforced by contingents of armed detachments which are community and factory based that are able to make an uprising with the real backing of armed force and settling the issues of political power in that way.

The legal space now creates the possibility of this kind of uprising much more than ever before. Self defence units are needed now for the protection of our people. With the perspective of building a self-defence structure which becomes a people's militia under the guise of self-defence units — such a force is available should the talks go wrong; or the right wing goes on the offensive.

**ON THE HOMELANDS (Comrade Valley):** Great possibilities exist here. We can build

people's power and a people's army here in a way that is different.

**ON LOCAL CONFLICTS (Chair):** While the ceasefire happens nationally, the people on the ground have to continue to be on the attack and eliminate the warlords, and the councillors.

**ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE (Comrade Joe):** Those who do not sign the ceasefire are not bound by the terms of it. We are fighting the regime and its subsidiary forces and from our side it is our forces. In a ceasefire it will be these two parties who will agree on some things.

On the ground if you are attacked by the warlords, you have to defend yourselves. We are fighting an irregular war and the regime is using people in civilian clothing to come and attack our people.

**ON CONFUSIONS IN TERMINOLOGY (Comrade Cherry):** Our people do not understand the terminology that we are using. We have to define our terms very clearly and arrive at a common understanding. The Nats have done this and they know where they are going. She observed alarming levels of “uncertainty” within the leadership of the ANC on these issues.

**ON “APARTHEID VIOLENCE” (Comrade Lara):** We cannot throw away our people's rights to defend themselves against apartheid violence. It is the removal of apartheid violence that will remove the counter-violence. If the talks go on the wrong track, then we will resume violence.

**ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS (Comrade Billy):** It is only when we take over state power can we defend the gains we make. No matter what is written in the new constitution or the Bill of Rights, it will be only when State power is in our hands that we can ensure that meaning is given to these ideas.

**ON A FUTURE ROLE FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK) (Comrade Billy):** When MK returns, they will be placed deeply within the people to help them develop their own militias.

# Holomisa warns Hani: no guns!

By BILL KRIGE

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief Chris Hani has been warned by General Bantu Holomisa that he faces arrest if ANC cadres carry arms in Transkei.

The Transkeian leader has also given South Africa a firm assurance that the country would not allow itself to be used as a base for insurgents.

"How could we?" he asked in an interview this week.

"We have a non-aggression pact with South Africa. Besides, from the ANC point of view, it would be suicidal. Look what happened in Lesotho."

In the midst of a storm after a bellicose speech in Umtata by a uniformed Mr Hani, whose guards were armed with AK-47s, General Holomisa disclosed that they had been specially authorised to carry the weapons.

Moreover, the guns were from a Transkei armoury. But MK cadres — whom Mr Hani vowed would intensify the "armed struggle" — were not free to carry arms, said the general.

## Mistrust

"We have cleared certain people, who are known to us and to South Africa, to protect the ANC leadership. They work in conjunction with the security forces.

"We use this system to defuse mistrust so that visitors will be comfortable in Transkei.

"You must remember that the right wing has put a price of R50 000 on Chris Hani's head. We simply provide a back-up force," he said.

The same security policy applied to visits by leaders of other organisations, such as the PAC.

"If MK members carry arms, it is subject to our scrutiny. The police have been told that anyone arriving at a meeting armed and without authorisation must be arrested.

"I have also explained that to Mr Hani — and it applies to him, too," he said.

The general denied that he was a member of the ANC — "or of any political organisation".

"I am purely a military man who sees his task as teaching people to express themselves freely," he said.

## Violence

His administration differed from the ANC on the use of force.

"Violence is unacceptable to us. We want peaceful evolution and are committed to it. But as a black man, I belong to a disadvantaged community.

"I, too, am a victim of apartheid and the sooner it goes the better. We in Transkei are perceived by those overseas to be a participant in it, not an opponent. As a result of apartheid we find it difficult to attract international investment," he said.

Referring to the coming talks between the South African Government and the ANC, he said that if they led to genuine peace negotiations it would be advisable to have a chairman from a neutral organisation, such as the United Nations.

Moreover, the UN itself could play a vital role.

"It makes sense. If it comes to disarmament, who will supervise it? It cannot be done by the man who yesterday was your enemy."



WAR TALK . . . Chris Hani tells an Umtata rally that Umkhonto we Sizwe will seize power if dialogue fails

ANC, Azapo  
get together  
on violence

THE ANC and Azapo established a joint committee this week to solve the problem of violence between them.

This follows a meeting on Friday when Nelson Mandela briefed Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala about his recent international tour.

The joint committee is co-chaired by the ANC's Walter Sisulu and Azapo's Pandelani Nefolovhodwe. They will look at ways of achieving unity among different sectors of the liberation movement.

They will also investigate the convening of a consultative conference of various components of the liberation movement early next year - prior to negotiations with the government.

Mandela also briefed the Azapo delegation on the ANC's impending meeting with the government on August 6.

# Mandela speaks, Vaal youth listen

Cifren 29/7/90

By SANDILE MEMELA

AS soon as Nelson Mandela had finished speaking in strife-torn Sebokeng this week, youths removed barricades from the streets.

Hostel leader Silas Toli said he hoped the visit would help restore normality.

The ANC deputy president had been visiting the Sebokeng hospital to see the injured. More than 3 000 people packed the hospital complex to hear him plead for peace and calm.

Nurses abandoned their chores, and patients jumped from their beds to catch a glimpse of Mandela.

Mandela praised the Sebokeng community for forming "defence units" and said it was their right to protect themselves.

He repeated the community's resolution to ban Inkatha members from the Vaal Triangle.

"Those black people who think they can come to power on the corpses of the black people are making a serious mistake."

Inkatha PRO Suzan Vos has condemned the remarks as "inflammatory".

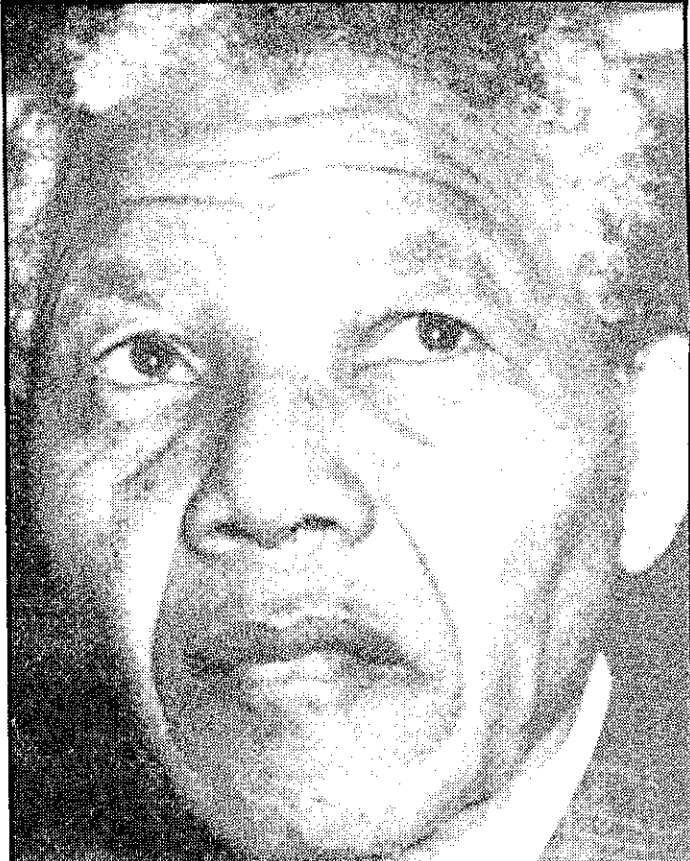
Speaking to crowds perched on rooftops, Mandela pledged that the ANC would raise the issue of violence in its next round of talks with government.

"The government cannot continue to talk peace and negotiations while conducting war against the people."





# Who is really running the ANC?



JOE SLOVO ... has the leopard changed its spots?

NELSON MANDELA ... is he in control of his cadres?

**THE EMPEROR** may still have most of his clothes, but his outfit is becoming rather threadbare in places.

It has not been a good week for the ANC. The revelations of an alleged incipient conspiracy within the inner reaches of the ANC's organisational rabbit-warren raised more questions than answers about the movement's commitment and ability to transform itself from a liberation movement into a political party.

Who is really running the show on the fourth floor of the Munich-Re building in Johannesburg? Does Nelson Mandela control his cadres or are there serious moves afoot to undermine his public commitment to seek solutions through negotiation with the Government?

## Image

Has the communist leopard really changed its spots or is Joe Slovo pursuing an agenda at variance with the spirit of reconciliation and negotiation prevailing in the country for the past five months?

Ideologically, the ANC has always been a nightmare for any leader to put his personal signature on.

An uneasy coalition of nationalists, communists and Africanists-turned-latter-day-supporters of the Freedom Charter — held together by the glue of a common opposition to the policies of "the regime". Almost a mirror image of the Government which, over the decades, had to keep the laager intact by exaggerating the outside onslaught.

February 2 and its subsequent legitimisation



**Dries van Heerden** asks who's in charge of the ANC and suggests it is time Nelson Mandela clearly stamped his authority

caught the ANC with its pants around its ankles. It was unprepared for this sudden immersion into the world of talks rather than shooting.

And if it had trouble maintaining a cohesiveness in Lusaka, Zambia, the problems multiplied exponentially once they reached downtown Johannesburg.

Here it was faced with vested leadership structures, firmly in place, not about to roll over and cry "uncle" at the drop of a green, black and yellow flag.

Throughout its years in exile the UDF — and later the MDM — were convenient stalking horses for the ANC. But it developed into something more than the mere sum of its constituent parts. It became a political force in its own right.

## Confusion

It is an open secret that many senior UDF leaders did not take too kindly to the old kids returning to the block. The externals, the internals, the impatient youth, the Reds and the septuagenarians from the Island all had to merge into a coherent movement — single-minded and speaking with one voice. Thus far they have not yet succeeded in doing so.

In this environment Mr Mandela emerged as the

undisputed symbol of the movement.

A father figure, a beacon of resistance and an international celebrity, all rolled into one marketable commodity.

He brought cynical New Yorkers to the streets of Manhattan in their thousands and he was seen shaking hands with the powerful and influential of this world.

But while the Mandela juggernaut roamed the capitals of Europe, the confusion in Johannesburg grew like Topsy. The momentum gained at the Groote Schuur talks — so vital to the process — was quickly lost.

## Struggle

While the cat was away basking in the adulation of the world's multitudes, the mice in camouflage uniforms seem to have been up to their old tricks.

Now it transpires that the left hand didn't know what the far-left hand was doing.

Conspiracies were allegedly hatched and schemes plotted, apparently without the knowledge of Mr Mandela or some of his closest advisers.

One has little quarrel with the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, preparing contingency plans in case the negotiating strategy collapses. Returning to the

armed struggle in such an eventuality seems to be a logical option. So, when chief of staff Chris Hani says MK is keeping its powder dry and its arsenals replenished while awaiting the outcome of the talks, it should not cause undue worry.

However, a line of some sorts is crossed if the armed struggle remains the primary strategy and negotiations are reduced to the level of an eye-blind and a temporary diversion. The question is: What is Plan A and what is Plan B in the inside pocket if all else fails?

If the SA Communist Party is indeed white-anting the ANC and pursuing a course diametrically opposed to the spirit of negotiation, Mr Mandela should have the courage to say so and to distance himself from this approach.

## Eradicate

Today, this country will gain another dubious distinction to add to the vast number of idiosyncracies committed by successive National Party governments. It is getting a new Communist Party at the same time as the ideology is terminally ill in its Eastern European fountainheads.

How much the red tail has been wagging the black dog is a matter of

conjecture. SACP officials are at pains to point out that their first allegiance is towards the ANC's struggle for political supremacy in South Africa.

There is no hidden agenda, no secret conspiracy, no Red under the bed, Mr Joe Slovo claims. The revelations of the past few days seem to contradict this.

However, central to the crisis is what should now be seen as the major failure of the Groote Schuur talks — an inability to get consensus between the Government and the ANC on the issue of eradicating violence.

## Glaring

In the Groote Schuur Minute the ANC not only commits itself to "a peaceful process of negotiations" but also undertakes that those beneficiaries of the Government's amnesty will "assist in bringing violence to an end".

If the information revealed about Operation Vula is correct, it is clearly in breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of the accord.

The ANC would do well to eradicate the glaring ambiguities in its position on violence. You can't talk and shoot at the same time. You can't tell the world President F W de Klerk is a man you can negotiate with while simultaneously conspiring to overthrow him by violent means.

You can't infiltrate cadres and build up massive arms caches while the ink on the Groote Schuur agreement is not yet dry.

Armed struggle and

peaceful negotiation are mutually exclusive concepts.

Both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk have already taken considerable personal and political risks to bring the country to a point where they can meet in a Union Buildings office and sort matters out amicably. Both had to turn cumbersome and reactionary organisations around to achieve this.

But what is needed now is decisive moral leadership to end the spiral of violence once and for all.

On his part, Mr De Klerk should reiterate to men in uniform under his control that he will not tolerate abuse of power or excessive measures to prevent peaceful ways of protest.

The perpetrators of right-wing violence should be pursued with the same zeal as that afforded to activists on the left of the spectrum. And they should be charged, brought to open court and be subject to the full weight of the law.

Mr Mandela, too,

should grasp the nettle without delay. And he could start by addressing the issue of violence on his own doorstep.

It is a crying shame that almost 4 000 people have died in violence in Natal in the past four years, but leaders of Inkatha and the ANC continue to indulge in scoring petty political points by blaming the other side.

## Strains

South Africans were warned well in advance that the process towards democracy and full political rights for all would be a bumpy ride. It is a credit to both the Government and the ANC and its respective leaders that the present crisis has not ended the process that was started at Groote Schuur.

The next few days are expected to put further strains on both sides' commitment to continue on this road. The only way to approach it is with the knowledge that the price of failure is too high.



Mandela stokes 'plot' furore — but talks stay on track

# ANC STANDS BY RED JOE

11A  
S/Times  
29/7/90

By DE WET POTGIETER, MANDLA TYALA and LESTER VENTER

NELSON MANDELA has raced to the rescue of Joe Slovo, the beleaguered head of the SA Communist Party.

The deputy president of the ANC yesterday told a meeting of ambassadors in Pretoria that he stood by his friend and comrade despite Government allegations of an SACP-inspired plot to seize power.

And, said Mr Mandela, the communist leader would definitely be at the crucial resumption of peace talks with the Government on August 6 — even though President De Klerk is said to have suggested that he not be included in the ANC delegation.

Speaking on a live TV broadcast in London last night, Mr Mandela said Mr Slovo was the victim of an SAP "dirty tricks campaign" to discredit him. The spirited defence of Mr Slovo ends a week of intense activity in which the Government charged the SACP with plotting to seize power in the event of a collapse of negotiations.

A number of people, including SACP member Mac Maharaj, who is also a prominent member of

AS TV PLANS A NEW SERIES OF 'THE GAME' MINUS TWO OF ITS STAR ATTRACTIONS



Tackled  
to death  
and now  
Mark is  
jobless!



By GWEN GILL and DOUGLAS GORDON

A SEQUEL to the hit TV show The Game will be made this year — but a boob by the

the ANC executive, have been detained. Carries of arms have also been seized.

# ANC vow to stand by Red Joe Slovo

□ From Page 1 11A

"The alliance between the ANC and the SACP has been very strong — dating back to the 20s — and nobody is going to influence us to break that."

Mr Mandela also stuck to his position that the ANC would discuss a "ceasefire" once the obstacles to negotiation — the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the remaining state of emergency — were removed.

Government negotiators are optimistic that this level of agreement can be reached at the August 6 meeting.

Mr Mandela is due to deliver a key address at the Soweto rally today where the SACP will re-launch itself as a political party operating openly inside the country.

One of the most important issues he is expected to address is the relationship between the ANC and the SACP and, in particular, the use of violence to achieve change.

Mr Mandela came under

strong pressure this week from foreign governments who believe the ambiguity of furthering the armed struggle while engaging in a peaceful search for a solution can no longer be maintained.

The alleged plot to seize power, code-named Operation Vula, is said by police to be "much bigger" than Operation Mayibuye in the 60s which led to Mr Mandela being sentenced to life imprisonment for his involvement.

## Dragnet

More than 40 SACP members have been detained — including Mac Maharaj, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. A dragnet is out for Mr Ronnie Kasrils, another senior SACP member.

It was expected that Mr Kasrils would make an appearance at today's giant SACP rally to monitor the 3 000 marshals trained by him to ensure safety at the gathering.

Sources intimated that that there was no intention to arrest Mr Slovo.

# Tight security as communists stage a colourful party relaunch

THE historic relaunch of the SA Communist Party at Soccer City in Soweto yesterday had all the hoopla, colour and excitement of a football cup final.

Black clouds and a bitterly cold wind helped restrict the numbers to about 40 000 — much less than the capacity 60 000 to 80 000 organisers had predicted.

But by noon a buzz of expectancy filled the stadium as thousands of toyi-toying, singing and flag-waving party supporters waited for proceedings to begin.

It was also believed that violence on Sunday morning had kept many Sowetans

away.

Ronnie Kasrils, former Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief and SACP leader currently being sought by police, slipped through a side exit, and later joined other dignitaries on the dias.

Security at the stadium was unprecedented. A walk from the Press room to the field entailed 13 body searches by SACP marshalls.

Concentrated on two sides of the soccer field, the 99% black audience was dressed in a riot of colour. ANC uniforms and mock AK-47s were in as much evidence as the

red SACP T-shirts.

The crowd included 250 local and international journalists, amongst them a number of Soviet journalists.

Shortly before 12.30pm the SACP leadership arrived at the stadium, along with ANC leaders. A crowd, now basking in warm sunshine, escorted them around the field in an impromptu lap of honour.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said that, while the ANC was not a communist organisation, the relaunch of the SACP

would bring "happy smiles" to those who believed in the democratic right of others to express their views.

Mandela backed the SACP and the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and said everybody knew the ANC was the political force that decided on the strategic use of weapons. He said that to suggest the SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe would unilaterally decide to start an armed uprising "is an insult".

Both the SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe accepted the fact that the ANC was the boss and it was committed to a peaceful

negotiated settlement.

"We call on the government to respond positively to this position, to abandon the attempt to create new obstacles by whipping up an anti-communist hysteria, to act in a responsible manner in the interests of all our people, in the interest of the cause of peace and justice," he said.

"The ANC is not a communist party. But as a defender of democracy, it has fought and will continue to fight for the right of the communist party to exist."

● Picture: Page 3  
● Comment: Page 4

B/04 21 7190 (11A)

PETER DELMAR

# A new look at the enigmatic PAC

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**SOBUKWE AND APARTHEID** by Benjamin Pogrund (Jonathan Ball, R39,95).

THE PAC has always been a poor second on the black South African political scene, not only in terms of support but also in that there are few, if any, generally sympathetic but critical analyses of the organisation.

This book, primarily a biography of the PAC's best known leader Robert Sobukwe by a former Rand Daily Mail deputy editor, helps to fill that gap on SA's political history bookshelves.

Less consciously, it is also a reflection of that curious era (which extended also to Donald Woods' relationship with black consciousness leader Steve Biko) when white liberals felt more at home with leaders of black exclusivist (some would say anti-white) organisations than with their rival — the non-ra-

## nce's mysteries

**CORPORATE REPORTING** by Geoff Everingham (Juta, R40).

THE University of Cape Town accounting professor's previous books are frequently found in accountants' offices.

No doubt his many disciples will want to update their library with his third edition of Corporate Reporting, a comprehensive pull together of disclosure requirements for SA companies. As in the previous versions, Everingham has meshed the disclosure requirements of the accounting profession's Generally Accepted Accounting Practices, Stock Exchange rules and the guidelines laid down in the Companies Act.

The information is, as in the past, well sourced and includes all accounting standards applicable at January 1 1990.

CI

cial but SA Communist Party-allied ANC. (These two aspects of ANC policy were, of course, the prime reasons for the PAC breakaway in 1959.)

As an overall political history of SA the book is severely lacking — at least for moderately knowledgeable South African readers.

It would have sufficed for Pogrund to have kept the history of apartheid to the minimum required to contextualise Sobukwe's life and times.

But he has tried to go further and failed. The book is littered with meaningless phrases which cannot be called serious analysis.

For example, explaining the atmosphere preceding the 1955 Klipfontein congress at which the Freedom Charter was adopted, he writes: "Some form of anti-apartheid action was sorely needed." What is that supposed to mean?

It is, further, a rather irritating book in many parts, in that it is almost as much a Pogrund autobiography as a biography of Robert Sobukwe.

Woods' work on black consciousness leader Steve Biko was heavily criticised in that it appeared to lionise the author for the trials and tribulations he had suffered as much as to examine the subject.

Pogrund leaves himself open to the same criticism.

This is not to underrate Pogrund's journalistic work.

Indeed, contemporaries of his during the PAC's 1959/60 heyday say Pogrund deserves a great deal of credit as he was, at the time, the only white journalist on a mainstream newspaper to take black politics seriously.

One of the most fascinating revelations of this book is that Sobukwe — despite being second only to Mandela as a South African political hero — lived an extremely brief active political life.

He was a prominent member of the Fort Hare branch of the ANC Youth League in the years 1949 and

1950.

He then disappeared into teaching in out-of-the-way Standerton for four years.

And he then spent another four politically inactive years teaching and studying at Wits University and devoting himself to family matters.

He re-entered political life in 1958, and quickly rose again to prominence as the battle between the Africanists and the rest in the ANC was reaching its climax.

Sobukwe was arrested on the day of the Sharpeville shootings — March 21, 1960 — and spent the next nine years in prison after which he was banned and banished to Kimberley where he stayed — leaving the city only for medical treatment for the cancer of which he died in 1978.

The book provides valuable insights into the politicking which preceded the PAC breakaway. The author was present at ANC meetings and conferences where the split developed and finally burst. Despite his closeness to Sobukwe, he does not appear to cover up the less than gentlemanly tactics employed by both some Africanist and ANC elements.

The eyewitness accounts of the Sharpeville shootings remain dramatic although less original.

Because Pogrund's close relationship with Sobukwe began developing only in the late 1950s, a large proportion of the book covers Sobukwe's politically inactive time.

Much is devoted to the six years in prison he served in terms of the so-called "Sobukwe clause" which was passed in Parliament purely to keep him in prison after completion of the three-year sentence he earned for organising the anti-pass law campaign which culminated in Sharpeville.

The injustice of that act, perpetrated by the unlamented John Vorster, burns through.

No less offensive are the reminders of obstacles Jimmy Kruger



□ ROBERT SOBUKWE

placed in the way of allowing the dying Sobukwe to receive the best possible medical care in 1977 and 1978.

Most importantly, though, the book provides some understanding of the ways of the PAC.

At Sobukwe's funeral, in spite of an invitation to do so from the family, neither Pogrund nor Heien Suzman were permitted to speak because of the hostility of PAC supporters.

This was similar to the atmosphere earlier this month at the funeral of journalist Sam Mabe.

As a friend of the PAC's foremost leader, Pogrund's exposition of the contradictions between the organisation's purported ideal of a non-racial SA, and its ideology which encourages anti-white racism, is one of the most valuable aspects of the book.

ALAN FINE

STRONG evidence is emerging that state security analysts may have made a major blunder on the "Slovo affair" which could embarrass President F W de Klerk and his government as severely as did the mistaken allegations about a Swapo invasion of Namibia last November.

Intelligence community heads now face the task of explaining away possible examples of sloppy and presumptuous analysis on which De Klerk based his demand to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that SACP chief Joe Slovo be dropped from the ANC delegation for the August 6 talks with government.

The analysis placed Slovo at an SACP consultative conference meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20, by assuming the Comrade Joe in the minutes referred to Slovo.

### Briefing

And Slovo, government maintained, was negotiating in bad faith because he did not regard the SACP as being bound by any ceasefire negotiated between it and the ANC.

The Slovo crisis arose when government was handed a security briefing with the following extract: "Those who do not sign the ceasefire are not bound by the terms of it. We are fighting the regime and its subsidiary forces. In a ceasefire there will be these two parties (ANC en regering) who will agree on some

# Evidence of 'Red plot' blunder

B109 30/7/90

11A

**ALAN FINE and  
BILLY PADDOCK**

things. — Joe Slovo." This was, in part, a quote from the minutes the Tongaat meeting.

The same briefing — said to have been used as the basis of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting with senior diplomats 10 days ago and De Klerk's meeting with Mandela on Thursday night — contained details of the so-called Operation Vula launched in 1987 which included, among other things, the infiltration of arms into South Africa.

The phrase in parentheses — ANC en regering, or ANC and government — does not appear in the original minutes and were clearly added, presumably as clarification by the security analysts. The other difference is the speaker is identified in the minutes not as Joe Slovo but simply as Comrade Joe.

Slovo denies he was present at the Tongaat meeting, and has shown Business Day his UN travel document to substantiate his claim. This shows he left the country on May 14 and returned on May 21.

At the weekend Slovo said the police were either deliberately trying to upset the negotiation process or they were incompetent and had not done their basic homework.

Both ANC leader Walter Sisulu and Slovo said the Comrade Joe re-

ferred to in the minutes was one Joe Magusa, apparently an internal member of the SACP.

The second area where the security analysis is questionable is in the way that the context of the remarks were ignored.

Slovo does not deny that the minutes may be accurate, but says the remarks by Comrade Joe about the SACP not being bound by a ceasefire were clearly made in the context of the discussion on the Natal violence.

Comrade Joe appears to be discussing whether a ceasefire affected the right of the "people on the ground" to "defend themselves" against the Natal "warlords".

The minuted discussion in that part of the meeting went as follows:

Comrade Maggie: Agreed with negotiations taking place — very often though, the people do not know what is going on. We are not the first people to present the issues to the community. We do not present our perception to the people. The masses do not know what is going on and

their only source of information is the commercial media.

Comrade Kisa: On the issue of ceasefire and the violence on the ground. This can be a bit confusing to people on the ground when there is a ceasefire. What happens when the warlords continue attacking us.

Chair: While the ceasefire happens nationally the people on the ground have to continue to be on the attack and eliminate the warlords and the councillors.

Comrade Joe: Those who do not sign the ceasefire, are not bound by the terms of it. We are fighting the regime and its subsidiary forces and from our side it is our forces. In a ceasefire it will be these two parties who will agree on some things.

On the ground if you are attacked by the warlords, you have to defend yourselves. We are fighting an irregular war and the regime is using people in civilian clothing to come and attack our people.

Comrade Kisa: That perspective about the right to defend ourselves, in spite of a cease(fire), must filter downward.

Comrade Mpo: This perspective must also be filtered through, go to the leadership — TERROR is out of order in calling for the disarming of MK when the ZP (KwaZulu Police)

lay down their arms.

Comrade Cheryl: Our people do not understand the terminology that we are using. We have to define these terms very clearly and arrive at a common understanding. The Nats have done this and they know where they are going. Some of our side are saying that we should consciously not articulate our definitions to prevent the disruption of the current process.

She did not agree. She observed alarming levels of "unclarity" within the ANC leadership on these issues.

The state's briefing document links the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula, which it describes as "a plot to misuse the negotiation process to organise a national uprising".

### Revolutionary

It says that since the SACP was unbanned, and particularly since the meeting between government and the ANC in May, Operation Vula aimed at establishing internal bases and expanding a revolutionary army. It traces the plot to the formation of an ANC/SACP President's Committee in 1987. Slovo is named as one of its seven members.

But whether police still have enough evidence to maintain Slovo is not negotiating in good faith, and President de Klerk a strong enough basis to insist that Slovo be dropped from the ANC team to meet him on August 6, remains to be seen.

## BOOKS

It was announced in the

**B**Y THE time this is published, the World's Last Commies (Walkies for short) will have erected their newest front organisation, the SA Communist Party, and they will be hiding behind its innocent, smiling face. In effect, the Walkies now hide behind themselves.

Behind jolly Joe Slovo, the talk show star, hides Slow Joe Slovo, one of the cunning men who are — by the ANC's own admission — putting into place the fall-back strategy to seize power by force if they don't get it by negotiation.

Behind Scarlet Ronnie Kasrils, the Walkie Pimpernel, who pauses on the run to down a double whisky and give an interview, is Revolutionary Ronnie, the Mastermind of Stage II of the Revolution. Stage I was to overthrow apartheid, Stage II is to overthrow what follows.

As an exercise in duplicity — eat your heart out, John le Carré! — the creation of an SACP front for the SACP is the most enthralling political strategy I have encountered. It is a Potemkin Village, created to convince the masses that the Revolution has survived the intellectual, moral and political collapse of its Soviet role model; behind it skulk the World's Last Commies, by definition survivors from a lost age, gathering guns in secret.

**T**he difficulty in all this is to find the ANC. Where is it?

My recent guests from the Soviet Union, a deputy editor and a correspondent from Izvestia, kept pressing me to explain the difference, in policy or in structure, between the ANC and the SACP. I have not yet discovered an adequate answer to give them.

Nelson Mandela is, I suppose, ANC first, and loyal friend to the SACP second. But then why did he tolerate the choice of a negotiating team of three or four Walkies — Slow Joe, Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki and perhaps Joe Modise — and himself, the only certain spokesman for the

# Eat your heart out, John le Carré, this is true double-bluff

KEN OWEN

ANC?

What's happened to Beyers Naude, dear man? Or to Ruth Mompati, whose portfolio of religious affairs implies that, perhaps, she cannot be an incorrigible materialist?

The truth, we must suspect, is that these nice folk were selected as protective camouflage for the heavyweights who, it turns out, are life-long members of the SACP, now leading Walkies. The camouflage has been reduced to one tired, old man — loyal to a fault — and we see where real power lies.

Indeed, as the SACP comes into the open, we begin to discern Walkies in all sorts of strategic roles. Umkhonto's ostensible commander, Chris Hani, was identified by the CIA as a member of the SACP but even if one distrusts the American cold warriors, there can be no doubt about Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Slow Joe, who seem to call the tune.

Hani blathers in public, and struts about with his bodyguard; Slow Joe makes jokes on the wireless, and Ronnie Kasrils plays James Bond with the double whiskies, and Mac Maharaj — well, I don't want to talk about him because the man has been

detained under that appalling Section 29 and I'm hoping he will be brought to court soon.

After Umkhonto, the next favourite instrument of the Walkies, by their own admission, is the trade union movement which has become, as Churchill said of Russia, a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. Cosatu ranks co-equal with the SACP in the tripartite alliance with the ANC, but union leaders like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo or NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa are conspicuous by their absence from the negotiations.

**T**his could mean two things: either the unions are being shut out, as a "workerist" elite, selfishly dedicated to furthering their own interests at the expense of the untolled masses, or the unions are already adequately represented by the Walkie stars of pub and radio.

The latter seems to me unlikely. I have several of the trade union organisers identified in my own mind as Trotskyists, rather than as Walkies, and there is no love lost be-

tween them. I find it hard to imagine that Slovo and Modise speak for the unions, which implies the unions have been shut out.

Of course, in trying to identify the members of a conspiracy — as Kasrils said only last week, the Walkies insist on their right to operate in secret — one is liable to make mistakes. I had, for example, identified ANC spokesman Aziz Pahad as a member of the SACP, as did the CIA and the South African intelligence community.

Pahad assures me he is not a member, and I gladly accept his assurance, if for no better reason than that I like him and get on well with him. Evidence, in this enigmatic riddle, is hard to find, and often harder to believe.

*A luta continua*, as I was taught to say long ago by Frelimo, the struggle goes on to strip away the deceit, the lies, the disinformation, the secrecy, the conspiracy, the dissimulation, the duplicity that is forced upon those who demand the right to operate in secret.

The launching of the public SACP will make things a bit easier. We know now that the serpent exists,

and we have a starting point from which to trace its length. We can look for the connections that reach from the SACP into other political organisations, into welfare groups and into the human rights struggle, into the unions and into the legal profession, into the media and religious lobbies, and into all branches of civil society.

The more difficult quest, in some ways, is to find the ANC. Does it really exist? Is it properly represented by the four negotiators chosen to accompany Nelson Mandela, or has it been captured? Is the ANC no more, perhaps, than the respectable face which the SACP turns to the West?

We know that the Walkies cling to their theory of a two-stage revolution, the first to achieve liberation, and the second to create a socialist state. The theory seeks to recreate, in usual slavish imitation, the Russian experience in which the social democratic reformer, Kerensky, was brought to power by the first stage, and overthrown by Trotsky and Lenin in the second.

If this casts Nelson Mandela as South Africa's Kerensky, then I can only say it will serve him right.

**N**ot long ago, when I quoted from confidential ANC policy documents to show that its Marxist advisers proposed a hidden agenda for a long-term struggle, using the trade unions to gain eventual control of private companies by "incremental" changes, a howl of protest went up. The documents were not "secret", but "confidential", not part of a plot but of a plan.

That may be, but I don't feel comfortable with people you can't trust. I cannot forget that the SACP opposed the war against socialist Hitler until he attacked socialist Stalin (how, I wonder, can any Jew bear to belong to such a party?), and that it has trimmed its sails to every shift in the evil ideological wind that blew from Stalin to Gorbachev.

We know now that behind the SACP stand the Walkies. I only wish I knew what, if anything, stands behind Nelson Mandela. Where is the ANC?



Monday, July 30, 1990

## PAC head praised

THE president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has praised the effort by the president of the PAC, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, to bring about conciliation between Inkatha and the ANC.

Buthelezi said in Ulundi that he had received a letter from Mothopeng asking him and the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, to meet to discuss peace between members of the two organisations.

Buthelezi described Mothopeng's move as a bold step and said it was an example to all in South Africa. - Sapa.

## Sebokeng mass funeral

A mass funeral for the 22 victims of Inkatha-African National Congress clashes in Sebokeng will take place on Saturday. *Sat 30/7/90*

The Vaal Civic Association plans to march on the Sebokeng Police Station and Evaton council offices to demand that Inkatha supporters leave the area. — Sapa.

## Sebokeng mass funeral

A mass funeral for the 22 victims of Inkatha-African National Congress clashes in Sebokeng will take place on Saturday. *Star* 30/7/90

The Vaal Civic Association plans to march on the Sebokeng Police Station and Evaton council offices to demand that Inkatha supporters leave the area. — Sapa.

# SACP's internal leaders named (SIA)

Sowetan 30/7/90

● From Page 1

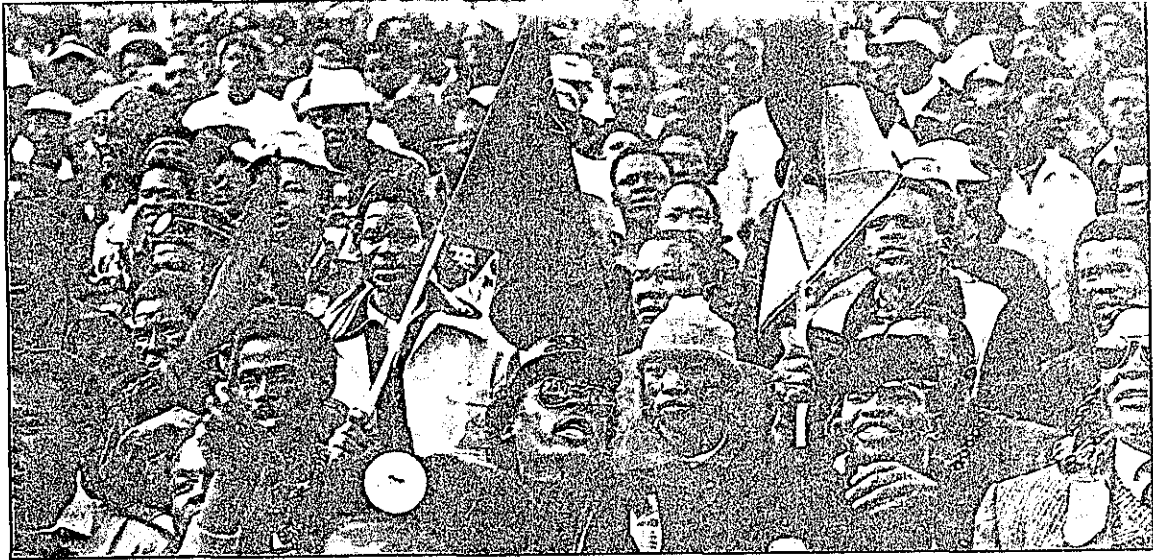
to the condemnation in the Quran against the individuals' hoarding of wealth and they forget the Passover message to let my people go," Slovo said.

The SACP, he said, had a very rich history in fighting against

repression in South Africa.

"And," he pledged, "power will be restored to the people."

By this time the crowd was delirious with laughter and joy and high above the stadium heavy rainclouds were gathering and a police helicopter circled intermittently.



Part of the 50 000 crowd at a rally to launch the South African Communist Party at Soccer City, near Soweto, yesterday.

# In from the cold

Sowetan 30/7/90

11A

THE South African Communist Party's internal central committee yesterday came in from the cold and announced their names and position at a mass public rally at Soccer City, near Soweto.

Coinciding with the SACP's 69th birthday, the rally attracted about 50 000 people comprising workers, students and foreign diplomats.

Announcing the names, the United Democratic Front's Ms Cheryl Carolus (herself a central committee member) said that for the first time in four decades the central committee was able to stand up with the same amount of pride as always, only this time it would in public.

As Carolus called out the names of the central committee members, each one stood on the stage below the SACP's red flag.

The flag hung between that of the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Central Committee members are: Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Dan Tloome, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Ms Ray Alexander, Mr Brian Bunting, Mr Jeremy Cronin, Mr Chris Dhlamini, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Ahmed

## SACP officials named at rally at Soccer City

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Kathrada, Mr Mac Maharaj (who was arrested last week and is in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act), Mr Moses Mayekiso (another absentee for personal reasons), Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Billy Nair (detained under Section 29 of Internal Security Act), Mr John Nkadimeng, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Essop Pahad, Mr Reg September, Mr Sizakele Sigxase, Mr Sydney Mafumadi and Carolus.

The crowd gave

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Hani a tumultuous welcome, the drone of which was felt on the sunbleached soccer pitch.

### Response

Later, Hani delivered in Xhosa an unrelenting speech on MK's position.

The only other speaker to elicit a similar response was Slovo, the SACP's general secretary.

Slovo too was unrelenting. For the past 300 hundred years, he

said, the white minority had been praying for apartheid.

It used the Bible to justify oppression and save them from socialism and communism.

"They're asking their God to prevent the redistribution of wealth, to prevent a society of equality," Slovo said.

They did a good job of excluding religious preachings that supported the liberation struggle in South Africa, he said.

"They never mention the cry by Jesus, to let the oppressed go free. They forget the cry in Isaiah, against laws to prevent the poor from having rights and getting justice.

"They ignore the demand in the Bible that the land must be restored to those from whom it was stolen.

"They close their eyes

Vaal 22  
burial date  
set - Page 3

To Page 2

CHARLIE PARKERS

P.T.O.



MANDELA

## Mandela briefs envoys

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, briefed foreign ambassadors and senior diplomats in Pretoria on Saturday. *Sowetan 30/7/90*

He said in a telephonic interview: "I enlightened them on the issues that will be discussed during our August 6 talks with the Government." *(11A)*

Mandela said he had also discussed allegations that police had uncovered an alleged plot by ANC/SA Communist Party structures to subvert the Government.

This follows a similar briefing given to foreign diplomats by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha recently. - Sapa.

# Racism must go, *Sowetan 30/7/90* says Zac de Beer

RACISM was an evil wherever it occurred on the face of the earth and should be rooted out of South Africa's constitution, Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, was addressing the annual convention of the National Forum at Broederstroom. The forum was formed by a combination of the United Municipalities of SA and the Urban Councils' Association of SA.

He said human rights needed protection everywhere and the constitution should provide it. Minorities needed protection, especially in diverse societies.

South Africa is one of the most conflict-ridden and divided societies on earth.

Comprehensive protection for minorities is therefore vitally important, but it cannot be such as to diminish the equal dignity and rights of every citizen, De Beer said.

### Succeed

De Beer said South Africa would succeed only with a free market economy.

"If you want an illustration of what I mean, we must have a social market economy like that of West Germany, not a socialist economy like that of East Germany.

### Equal

"The second big issue for the new South Africa is this: We must have a full democracy with equal rights for all and with full protection for the rights of individuals and minorities.

"By minorities I do not mean racial groups - I mean citizens who share common interests and

### SAPA

who organise themselves through free association into groups or parties.

"In relation to this matter of protection I fear that the Nats may ask too much, so that they indirectly seek to preserve privilege for whites or for some whites, and I very much fear that the ANC will refuse to grant enough protection."

### Free

He said it did appear that the African National Congress had moderated its attitude towards socialism a little and were now talking of a mixed economy, which was a meaningless phrase as every economy in the world was mixed.

"We want to hear that every South African will be free to start a business if he can and if he wants to, free to choose the job he would like to do, free to join - or not to join - a trade union, free to save if he can, and invest his savings as he chooses." - Sapa.



# Police analysing 'SACP plot' info

SECURITY Police headquarters in Pretoria were still analysing information on the planning of "Operation Vula" by the South African Communist Party, after succeeding in deciphering secret codes, a Security Police spokesman said at the weekend.

SABC radio news reports the spokesman as stating that the planning of the operation at a meeting of the SACP at Tongaat in Natal in May had been uncovered after computers and discs had been seized in so-called safe houses.

The discs were in secret codes, but almost 4 000 computer printouts had been made after the codes were broken.

## Take-over of Govt

The spokesman said all the information on the planning of "Operation Vula", which included a possible take-over of the government, had been on the computer discs.

It also appeared from the discs that many members of the SACP had entered South Africa illegally and attended the meeting.

People attending the meeting were referred to by codenames.

## Self-defence units

In the minutes of the meeting, reference is made, among other things, to a secret plan to form a peoples' militia in the guise of self-defence units.

The militia would be used if negotiations failed or the rightwingers launched attacks. - Sapa.

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Police retract claims about Slovo's 'plot'

11A ~~201790~~

01/09/30/7790

**BILLY PADDOCK, LINDEN BIRNS and MIKE ROBERTSON**

GOVERNMENT and state security retreated into a laager of silence yesterday after denials by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and SACP chief Joe Slovo that the latter was involved in a Communist Party conspiracy to overthrow government.

Police also retracted their allegation made on Thursday that quotes from the minutes of an SACP meeting in Tongaat in May were attributable to Slovo. The quotes allegedly referred to a decision to stage an insurrection.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he could not comment on the issue: "Overall it is in the hands of the State President to comment. On the police side it is up to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to issue a statement."

Vlok declined to comment on Mandela's assertions that security police had acted prematurely on information concerning an alleged armed insurrection conspiracy by the SACP. He said any comment from government would have to come from President F W de Klerk.

"Enough has been said already. The State President is speaking on behalf of government on the political level. All I can say is that the police are continuing to investigate."

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said that at this stage the President had nothing further to add. De Klerk was unlikely to make a statement before he had met Man-



● VLOK



● SMIT

delo on Wednesday regarding the issue.

Security Branch chief Lt Gen Basie Smit, who is heading the investigation, could not be reached for comment.

"We're keeping you away from Gen Smit as he's had a hard time since yesterday (Saturday)," said SAP spokesman Capt R Maree yesterday.

At yesterday's SACP launch in Johannesburg, Slovo said there were "three lies" in the police version — he was not at the Tongaat meeting; he had never said a ceasefire signed by government and the ANC would not apply to the SACP; and Operation Vula was an ANC project, not an SACP one.

□ To Page 2

## Slovo <sup>01/09/30/7790</sup>

11A ~~201790~~ □ From Page 1

At the weekend Slovo said he was in Lusaka at the time of the SACP meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 and his passport, copies of which are in Business Day's possession, appears to bear this out showing he left SA on May 14 and returned on May 21. Slovo and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu also said the "Comrade Joe" referred to in the minutes of the Tongaat meeting was not Slovo but senior party official Joe Magasa.

Slovo said he had a legitimate passport and visas and there was no reason to enter the country surreptitiously.

He said the police were either trying to upset negotiations or were incompetent.

At the weekend Mandela said Slovo would be part of the ANC's delegation meeting government on August 6.

A senior security police spokesman yes-

terday blamed the Press for the "Red Plot" furore which nearly led to the cancellation of this next round of government/ANC talks.

He said police had no proof that Slovo attended a secret meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 this year.

"A Comrade Joe was present, but we don't know who he is. He (Slovo) has different passports under different names, so it's still possible that he could have attended the Tongaat meeting, but we cannot prove this."

He said the media had jumped to conclusions linking the leaked minutes of the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula.

The SAP was not on a witch hunt, but looking at "specific individuals involved in illegal actions in Operation Vula".

● See Page 4



# Unionists and ANC leaders head SACP

PETER DELMAR (11A)

ANC leaders and top trade unionists dominated the 22-member internal leadership of the SA Communist Party announced yesterday. 6 10 09 3 01 7 19 0

The list includes eight members of the ANC's 36-member national executive committee, three members of its internal leadership core and four prominent Cosatu leaders.

The unionists on the SACP internal leadership are two Cosatu vice presidents, Chris Dlamini and John Gomomo, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi and Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso. Former exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) general secretary, John Nkadimeng was also named.

ANC NEC members on the SACP internal leadership are SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, chairman Dan Tloome, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, Govan Mbeki, Reg September and Sizakele Sigxashe. Members of the ANC internal leadership core on the SACP executive are Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and Harry Gwala.

In a list which contained no surprises, the other six SACP executive members were named as Cheryl Carolus, a member of the ANC's Groote Schuur negotiating team, a poet and former political prisoner at Pretoria Central Jeremy Cronin, Ray Alexander, Billy Nair, SACP Prague representative Essop Pahad and African Communist editor Brian Bunting.

Bunting only returned from exile last week. Members of the group stood in a row at the front of the stage as their names were read out. The biggest cheer from the crowd which had swelled to 40 000 was reserved for MK chief of staff, Chris Hani.

Informed observers said immediately after the announcement that the list's significance lay in its wide spread of union representation. This, they said indicated the extent of support the SACP was likely to enjoy amongst workers.

Included in the list were several veteran communists who had been members before the SACP was banned in 1950. They include Slovo, Tloome, Mlahaba and white members Alexander and Bunting.

# Slovo 'committed to

From PATRICK LAURENCE  
Argus Correspondent  
in Johannesburg



**T**HE South African Communist Party yesterday used its first public rally in 40 years to declare its commitment to peaceful negotiations and point an accusing finger at the "enemies of peace who surround President De Klerk".

Addressing 45 000 people at Soccer City on the outskirts of Soweto, Joe Slovo, the general secretary of the SACP, charged unidentified men in the upper echelons of government with launching a "poisonous offensive" against the party in the last few days.

"They are clearly more interested in anti-communist manoeuvring than in bringing about peace," Mr Slovo said to roars of approval from flag-waving members and sympathisers of the SACP and its giant ally, the African National Congress.

Mr Slovo excepted President De Klerk from his response to allegations that the SACP was secretly conspiring to seize power if negotiations for a peaceful settlement failed or were acceptable.

### 'Demonstrable lies'

While the SACP acknowledged that Mr De Klerk's commitment to peace was sincere, it was convinced that he was fed on "a diet of ghastly lies and distortions" by men whose aim, at all costs, was to drive a wedge between the SACP and the ANC.

Dealing specifically with the "Red Plot", as he sarcastically labelled the accusations made against the SACP, Mr Slovo declared that it rested on three demonstrable lies.

The first that he was at the purported conspiratorial meeting, which supposedly took place at Tongaat, north of Durban, on May 19 and 20.

"Their (police) records will show that I left for Lusaka on May 14 and returned for the business conference at the Carlton (hotel) on May 21."

The second was the charge that he told the secret meeting that the SACP was not bound by a cease fire agreed to by the ANC and the government.

"I have never said anything of the sort, at any meeting, anywhere," Mr Slovo said.

The third "lie" was an attempt to present an old ANC plan to build up its underground structures as a new anti-peace negotiation plot by the SACP.

"They know perfectly well that Operation Vula was an ANC underground project, including the preparation of arms caches, under the direct control of the President of the ANC, dating from 1987," Mr Slovo said.

Mr Slovo, his voice still hoarse from flu, added: "We hope the press will measure up to its responsibilities and not swallow every bit of muck thrown in its direction by the security establishment."

In a short speech delivered in a strong voice, ANC leader

Nelson Mandela, paid tribute to the ANC as "a dependable friend who respected our independence and our policy."

After distancing the ANC from the SACP ideologically — "The ANC has no mandate to espouse Marxist ideology" — Mr Mandela went on to note that the two organisations had worked in close alliance for the realisation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Defending the SACP from the accusations that it was secretly preparing to seize power, Mr Mandela said emphatically: "(We) share the same views about the vital urgency of arriving at a political settlement through negotiations.

He dismissed as "an insult manufactured by the enemies of democracy" charges that the SACP — "these outstanding sons and daughters of our people" — harboured ideas of unilateral military action against the peace progress.

The ANC, he declared, decided how and when the weapons in the hands of the "people's army" would be used, thus rejecting any notion that the SACP would be able to hijack the ANC guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for its own ends.

Running through his carefully prepared speech was an underlying theme: the SACP had been a loyal ally of the ANC's and, whatever its long term aims, it had propagated and defended the policies of our movement, including the Freedom Charter, without hesitation.

### Manipulated

Mr Slovo echoed the same theme: all SACP members in leadership roles in the ANC enjoyed the confidence of the ANC and it was an insult to non-communist ANC leaders of the calibre of Chief Albert Luthuli, a past president, Oliver Tambo and Mr Mandela to infer that they were being manipulated against their will by communists.

Mr Chris Hani, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was the third main speaker. He had been introduced earlier to thunderous cheering as a member of the SACP internal leadership corps.

Mr Hani, who set the scene for the row over the SACP by reportedly declaring that Umkhonto would seize power if negotiations failed, delivered almost all of his speech in Xhosa, establishing instant rapport with the audience.

Unlike Mr Slovo, who lost his audience towards the end of his speech, Mr Hani kept the crowd rapt.

In keeping with his now official identity as a communist, Mr Hani ended with a blistering attack on capitalism, accusing it of "trampling on democracy and neglecting our people".



SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo dances the toyi-toyi before the crowds at Soccer City in Soweto yesterday. Encouraging him is Mr Peter Mokaba of the SA Youth Congress.

## SACP names its leaders

From PATRICK LAURENCE  
Argus Correspondent  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE South African Communist Party yesterday introduced its 22-member "interim leadership group" to 45 000 party members and sympathisers at a huge rally in Soweto.

Reflecting the supra-racial nature of the SACP, its interim leadership corps consists of 11 blacks, five whites, four Indians and two coloureds and includes two women.

The 22 members include members of the SACP's powerful and still largely secret central committee, some of whom serve on the African National Congress national executive committee.

Twelve members of the SACP interim leadership corps who are members of the central committee are Joe Slovo, the SACP general sec-

retary, Dan Tloome, SACP chairman, Raymond Mhlaba, Ray Alexander, Brian Bunting, Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils, Govan Mbeki, Billy Nair, John Nkadameng, Essop Pahad and Reg September.

Eight of the 22 interim leadership corps members serve on the ANC national executive: Mr Slovo, Mr Tloome, Chris Hani (who is chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe), Mr Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, Mr Mbeki, Mr September and Mr Sizakele Sigxashe.

Six of the 22 SACP interim leaders serve on both the SACP central committee and the ANC national executive: Mr Slovo, Mr Tloome, Mr Kasrils, Mr Mbeki, Mr John Ndakimeng and Mr September.

Among those identified publicly as members of the SACP for the first time yesterday were: Cheryl Carolus, a convenor of the ANC in the

Western Cape, Chris Dlamini, a vice president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Hani, Sidney Mafumadi, of the Cosatu and Mose Mayekiso, of the National Union of Metalworkers.

Veteran communists who have been called to serve on the SACP internal leadership corps include Ray Alexander and Brian Bunting, both of whom have been in exile until recently.

Ms Alexander, a Latvian-born trade unionist, was elected to parliament in 1954 by black voters on the common roll but prevented from taking her seat because of her communist convictions.

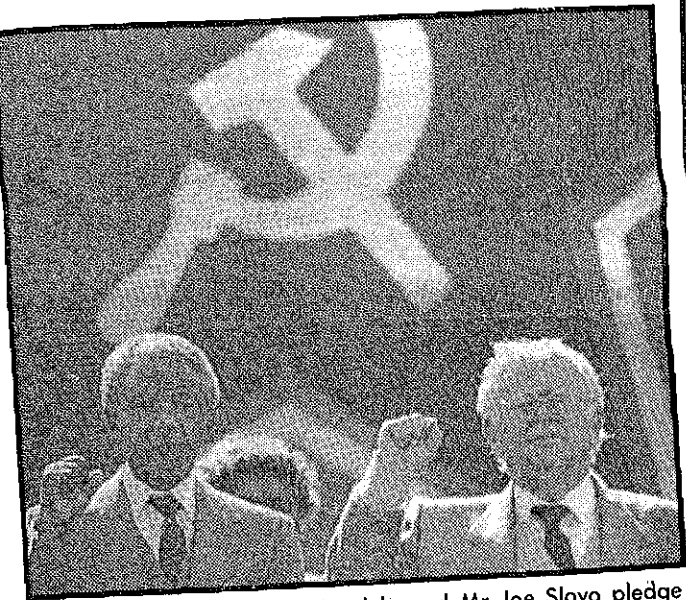
Mr Bunting, author of a critical study of the National Party entitled "The Rise of the South African Reich", was similarly elected to parliament in the 1950s but prevented from becoming an MP.



Supporters of Umkhonto we Sizwe show off their wooden replica of a machine gun in the crowd.



# talks' record story



ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo pledge their unity against apartheid, under the backdrop of the SACP's hammer and sickle flag.

## 'Encouraged' by Mandela's response

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff  
in Johannesburg

THE South African government is "encouraged" by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's response to police claims of a SA Communist Party insurrection plot.

The government is now confident that the next round of talks on August 6 — dedicated to removing the remaining obstacles to proper constitutional negotiations — will go ahead.

This is so despite Mr Mandela's alleged claims — at a briefing for ambassadors — that SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo would definitely be in the ANC's delegation for talks on August 6.

According to the ANC President De Klerk — at a meeting with Mr Mandela on Friday — expressed his "preference" that Mr Slovo should not be in the ANC delegation.

Mr Mandela claimed the allegations of a SACP insurrection plan were just part of a police dirty tricks campaign.

### Bottom line

Senior government sources said yesterday that the government had never insisted that Mr Slovo should not be in the ANC delegation for the August 6 talks.

The "bottom line" was re-establishing the trust between the ANC and government which had been lost because of police disclosure of a SACP-led plot to establish military units inside the country to seize power if negotiations failed.

The government was responding last night to claims by Mr Slovo that he had not been in the country at the time of an alleged SACP strategic meeting in Tongaat, Natal in May which he was supposed to have addressed.

The government said that whether or not Mr Slovo was at the meeting was irrelevant. The point was, did he or

did he not endorse the sentiments that were expressed at the meeting?

Released police documents purporting to be printouts of computer minutes of the Tongaat meeting, register plans to establish a underground military network to continue the armed struggle in case negotiations fail.

Government sources acknowledged today that although the computer-printout minutes of the Tongaat meeting quote "Comrade Joe" extensively, it was possible that this was a pseudonym for someone other than Mr Slovo.

But whether or not he was at the meeting, the point now was whether Mr Slovo endorsed the sentiments expressed at the meeting.

The sources were encouraged by Mr Mandela's response to the crisis over the weekend.

Mr Mandela vowed to stand by Mr Slovo and assured ambassadors at a briefing on Saturday that Mr Slovo would be in the ANC delegation for talks with the government on August 6.

However the government is encouraged by the fact that Mr Mandela did not deny the Tongaat meeting took place or the truth of the views expressed there.

### 'Progress'

They believed that Mr Mandela was working towards the point where he could say the participants at the Tongaat meeting did not have the authority to make the decisions they made and that these were not ANC policy.

"This is progress. This is helpful," a government source said. "He could have said, 'to hell with you, we are still committed to the armed struggle and this is part of it.'"

"That would have caused us problems." The government is also encouraged by the fact that Mr Mandela stressed that the August 6 talks would go still ahead.



Felix Coetzee in typical pose ... at the top.

and hopefully compete against the English jockeys.

"I have no intention of racing

RUGBY

## English beats F

BUENOS AIRES. — England's rugby union team overcame a bad start to its Argentine tour and found the right pace to beat Argentina's Pumas 25-12 in their first Test match on Saturday.

English team members, smiling at a news conference for the first time in many days, said their squad showed it was

BUILDING INDUSTRY, WESTERN PROVINCE - CAPE PENINSULA

our wage table reflects the wage of a ceiling erected for a ceiling erector. As for traineeship and another for a ceiling erector. As for are prescribed, one for a "ceiling worker during the distinction being made. In Main Agreement 5/85 2 c As of 11/84 the job category was known as "ceiling l prescribed a wage specifically for cleaners.

for employees engaged in unskilled work but Main Ag Before Main 5/85, a cleaner was paid the wage that

### 22 JOB CATEGORIES & QUALIFYING PERIODS

1. Night Watchmen: Assumed that they worked twelve hours from 42.5 to 43 hours per week.
2. Unskilled Employees: Hours of work of unskilled employees excluding unskilled work 40 hours.
3. Main 5/85: Motor Vehicle Drivers work a 44 hour week.

### 21 HOURS OF WORK

1. Cost of Living Allowances January 1973 to November 1972, the most recent which would have been October 1972.
2. Omission of certain Wage Rate Adjustments: The for adjustments were omitted because of lack of space allowances July 1976, July 1977, July 1979 (last not have been granted as they raised wages above in subsequent agreement/amendment).
3. Parties to Agreement: Until October 1976 Western F and Allied Trades' Union party to agreement; Amalg Building Trade Workers of South Africa joined Indu from October 1976.

### 20 SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Magisterial Districts of The Cape, Bellville, Goodwood, Malmesbury, Simonstown, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and

### AREA:

Employers' Organisation: Master Builders' and Allied Tr (Cape Peninsula); Master Masons' and Quarry Owners Africa).  
Trade Unions: Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of South Africa, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers of South African Operative Masons' Society; South African Wo Building Workers Union.

### PARITES

BUILDING INDUSTRY, WESTERN PROVINCE - C

# Mandela's response was 'encouraging'

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Government is "encouraged" by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's response to police claims about an SA Communist Party insurrection plot, and is confident the next round of talks on August 6 will go ahead.

This is despite Mr Mandela's alleged claims — at a briefing for ambassadors — that SACP chief Joe Slovo would definitely be in the ANC's delegation at talks dedicated to removing the obstacles to negotiations.

According to the ANC, President de Klerk, at a meeting with Mr Mandela on Friday, expressed his preference that Mr Slovo should not be in the delegation.

Mr Mandela also claimed the allegations of an SACP insurrection plan were part of a police dirty tricks campaign.

Senior Government sources said yesterday that the Government had never insisted Mr Slovo should not be in the ANC delegation for the talks.

## Endorsed

The Government said that whether or not Mr Slovo was at the Tongaat meeting at which the insurrection was allegedly plotted was irrelevant.

The point was whether or not he endorsed the sentiments that were expressed at the meeting.

The Government is encouraged by the fact Mr Mandela did not deny the Tongaat meeting took place or the truth of the views expressed there.

They believed Mr Mandela was working towards the point where he could say the participants at the Tongaat meeting did not have the authority to make the decisions they made and that these were not ANC policy.

"He could have said: 'To hell with you, we are still committed to the armed struggle and this is part of it'.

"That would have caused us problems."

The Government is also encouraged by the fact that Mr Mandela stressed that the August 6 talks would still go ahead.

# DP to hold major talks with ANC, Inkatha Worrall

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Democratic Party is to hold major discussions with the African National Congress on September 1 and 2 and with other political parties and organisations, including Inkatha, soon, according to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall would not be drawn on the agenda for the September meeting, but said at the weekend that the DP would be "working towards a broad convergence of values."

Speaking at the opening of the new Berea and Umbilo constituency offices in Davenport Avenue, he said the DP had a crucial long-term relevance.

"Unless the things we stand for — such as the concepts of a free-market economy and a multiparty democracy — are used to shape the new South

Africa, it will not be a country that any of us will want to live in."

He said President de Klerk had made the changes of February 2 out of necessity and not because of any deep conviction on the part of the National Party.

"Lots of NP followers are very unhappy and it is now that the DP has to strengthen the democratic culture that is only skin-deep in South Africa."

Dr Worrall attended a DP parliamentary caucus meeting in Johannesburg on Friday, called in the wake of former co-leader Wynand Malan's resignation.

He said the ANC meeting had been discussed by the caucus and that all the members had been committed to a strong future for the DP.

# 'Joe Slovo is deceiving Mandela on Tongaat'

By Craig Kotze

The controversial Tongaat Conference was indeed a policy-making meeting of the SA Communist Party and SACP leader Joe Slovo was trying to deceive Nelson Mandela by informing him otherwise, police sources said yesterday.

This was clear from the wording of the minutes of the meeting, deciphered by police from computer discs because of lax SACP security, sources said.

This is the latest salvo in the war of words which has erupted since details of the conference and the ANC's "Operation Vula"

became public.

The SACP has denied the existence of the plot and Mr Mandela has supported the denial. President de Klerk has in turn said Mr Mandela did not appreciate the seriousness of the information found by the police.

According to the sources, police were holding at least two of the delegates to the conference on May 19, both senior ANC/SACP members and "heavyweights" in both organisations: senior ANC military commander Sphiwe Nyanda and ANC national executive committee member Mac Ma-

haraj.

In addition, said the sources, the contents of the 4 000 pages of documents from the Tongaat Conference, where the SACP allegedly plotted insurrection should negotiations fail, made it quite clear that the meeting was not just "a small group of people" as explained by Mr Mandela.

The minutes referred to a "consultative conference", which implied a decision-making conference.

Another police source said it now seemed Mr Slovo was deceiving Mr Mandela and dis-

tancing himself from his SACP colleagues present at Tongaat.

"Joe Slovo is deceiving Nelson Mandela over this issue. What has also become clear is that the machinery of the ANC and the SACP are so intertwined that it is the SACP which is in control.

"Nelson Mandela was right about 'Operation Vula' technically being an ANC operation, but what he fails to mention is that all the members of the 'President's Council' (set up to control the operation) except ANC president Oliver Tambo, are members of the SACP."

Star 30/1/90

11A



SACP central executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils.

## SACP man comes out of hiding for party launch

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

South African Communist Party (SACP) central executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday emerged from hiding and made a surprise appearance at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto at the official launch of the SACP.

Mr Kasrils, a member of the African National Congress's national executive committee who was also included in the relaunched SACP's interim executive committee yesterday, surprised even his SACP colleagues when, dressed in party colours, he walked to the stage when his name was announced.

A surprised announcer, Cheryl Carolus — who was one of two women in the ANC's delegation which held talks with the Government in Cape Town in May — told the rally: "The next comrade, we really didn't expect to see here."

### Second time

Ms Carolus was herself included in the SACP's interim executive committee.

Yesterday was the second time Mr Kasrils came out of hiding to honour public engagements in three days. It is believed police are on his trail after arresting his friend and colleague, Mac Maharaj, last week.

Last Thursday Mr Kasrils made an unexpected appearance at a Foreign Correspondents Association lunch-hour meeting in Parktown, Johannesburg, where he confirmed that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) had continued to infiltrate guerillas and weapons into the country during the pre-negotiation period, but hotly denied the existence of the alleged "Red plot to organise an insurrection, to seize a post office or the Union Buildings".

Govt sources admit they may be wrong about Slovo

# New twist in 'Red plot' claim

Star 30/7/90 (11A)

Political Staff

The Slovo row took a new turn today when Government sources acknowledged that the Government may have been wrong to accuse SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo of attending a secret meeting in Tongaat where insurrection plans were allegedly hatched.

This follows yesterday's denial by Mr Slovo that he was present at the meeting and his attack on "enemies of peace who surround President de Klerk".

At the SACP's first public rally in South Africa in 40 years, Mr Slovo yesterday declared the party's commitment to peaceful negotiations.

## Manoeuvring

Addressing 45 000 people at Soccer City outside Soweto, Mr Slovo charged unidentified men in the upper echelons of the Government with launching a poisonous offensive against the party.

"They are clearly more interested in anti-communist manoeuvring than in bringing about peace," said Mr Slovo, to roars of approval from members and sympathisers of the SACP and the African National Congress.

Mr Slovo excepted President de Klerk from his response to allegations that the SACP was secretly conspiring to seize power if negotiations for a peaceful settlement failed.

While the SACP acknowledged Mr de Klerk's commitment to peace was sincere, it was convinced he was fed on "a diet of ghastly lies and dis-

tortions" by men who aimed to drive a wedge between the SACP and ANC.

On the "Red Plot", as he labelled accusations against the SACP, Mr Slovo said it rested on three lies:

● That he was at the purported conspiratorial Tongaat meeting on May 19 and 20: "Their (police) records will show I left for Lusaka on May 14 and returned for the business conference at the Carlton (Hotel) on May 21."

● That he told the secret meeting the SACP was not bound by a ceasefire agreed to by the ANC and the Government: "I have never said anything of the sort, at any meeting, anywhere."

● An attempt to present an old ANC plan to build up its underground structures as a new anti-peace negotiation plot by the SACP: "They know perfectly well that Operation Vula was an ANC underground project ... dating from 1987."

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela paid tribute to the SACP as "a dependable friend who respected our independence and our policy".

Mr Mandela said the ANC decided how and when the weapons in the hands of the "people's army" would be used, rejecting any notion that the SACP would be able to hijack the ANC guerilla army Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani was introduced as a member of the SACP internal leadership. He said any attempt to prevail upon the ANC to exclude Mr Slovo from its negotiating team would be resisted.

● Police sources yesterday stood by their claim that the Tongaat conference was a SACP policy-making meeting — Page 2.

● Red carpet for the communists — Page 11.



Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo at the Soccer City re-launch of the SACP.

## ANC prepares its response

Star 30/7/90 By Peter Fabricius (11A)

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## ANC prepares its response

Star 30/7/90

By Peter Fabricius, (114)  
Political Correspondent

The ANC's national executive committee was meeting today to prepare a response to the Government on the Slovo issue, which will be delivered when Mr Nelson Mandela meets President de Klerk on Wednesday.

Government sources said even if Mr Slovo was not at the SACP's Tongaat meeting in May, he — and Mr Mandela — owed the Government an explanation of whether or not they agreed with the sentiments expressed there.

At the Tongaat meeting it was allegedly agreed the SACP should continue to strengthen its armed forces in case negotiations failed.

The acknowledgement that Mr Slovo may have been wrongly accused has probably increased chances of the ANC and Government resolving the row which has threatened to derail

their next talks, on August 6.

In a police document leaked to journalists last week with the minutes of the Tongaat meeting, police attributed remarks made by "Comrade Joe" to Mr Slovo.

Senior police sources were quoted in the morning press today as blaming the press for involving Mr Slovo in the Tongaat meeting. They said they had no proof he attended the meeting.

However, the police document referred to above makes it absolutely clear the police themselves initially made the claim — in writing — that Mr Slovo had been at the meeting.

Government sources said yesterday they realised that pseudonyms had probably been used at the meeting. They said ambassadors briefed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week had been warned the "Comrade Joe" at the meeting might not be Mr Slovo.

A delighted Chris Hani at yesterday's re-launch of the SA Communist Party. The chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe was for the first time revealed as an SACP member and named as one of its 22 interim leaders. ● Pictures by Herbert Mabuza.

## BACKGROUND

# SACP introduces interim leadership group

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The South African Communist Party yesterday introduced its 22-member "interim leadership group" to 45 000 party members and sympathisers at a huge rally in Soweto.

Reflecting the supra-racial nature of the SACP, its interim leaderships corps consists of 11 blacks, five whites, four Indians and two coloureds and includes two women.

The 22 members include members of the SACP's powerful and still largely secret cen-

tral committee, some of whom serve on the African National Congress national executive committee.

Twelve members of the SACP interim leadership corps who are members of the central committee are Joe Slovo, the SACP general secretary, Dan Tloome, SACP chairman, Raymond Mhlaba, Ray Alexander, Brian Bunting, Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils, Govan Mbeki, Billy Nair, John Nkandimeng, Essop Pahad and Reg September.

Eight of the 22 interim lead-

ership corps members serve on the ANC national executive: Mr Slovo, Mr Tloome, Chris Hani (who is chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe), Mr Kasrils, Mac Maharaj, Mr Mbeki, Mr September and Mr Sizakele Sigxashe.

## Identified members

Six of the 22 SACP interim leaders serve on both the SACP central committee and the ANC national executive: Mr Slovo, Mr Tloome, Mr Karils, Mr Mbeki, John Nkandimeng and Mr September.

Among those identified publicly as members of the SACP for the first time yesterday were: Cheryl Carolus, a convenor of the ANC in the Western Cape, Chris Dlamini, a vice president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Hani, Sidney Mafumadi of Cosatu and Mose Mayekiso of the National Union of Metalworkers.

Veteran communists who have been called to serve on the SACP internal leadership corps include Ray Alexander and Brian Bunting, both of

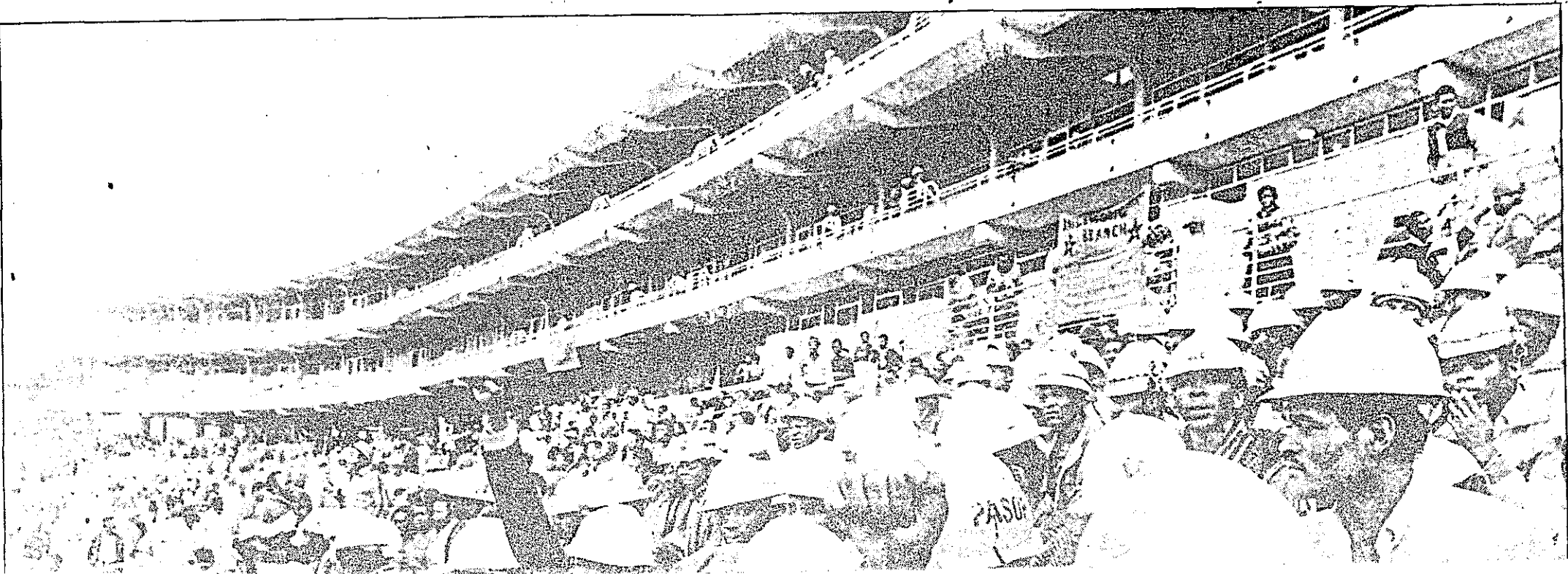
whom have been in exile until recently.

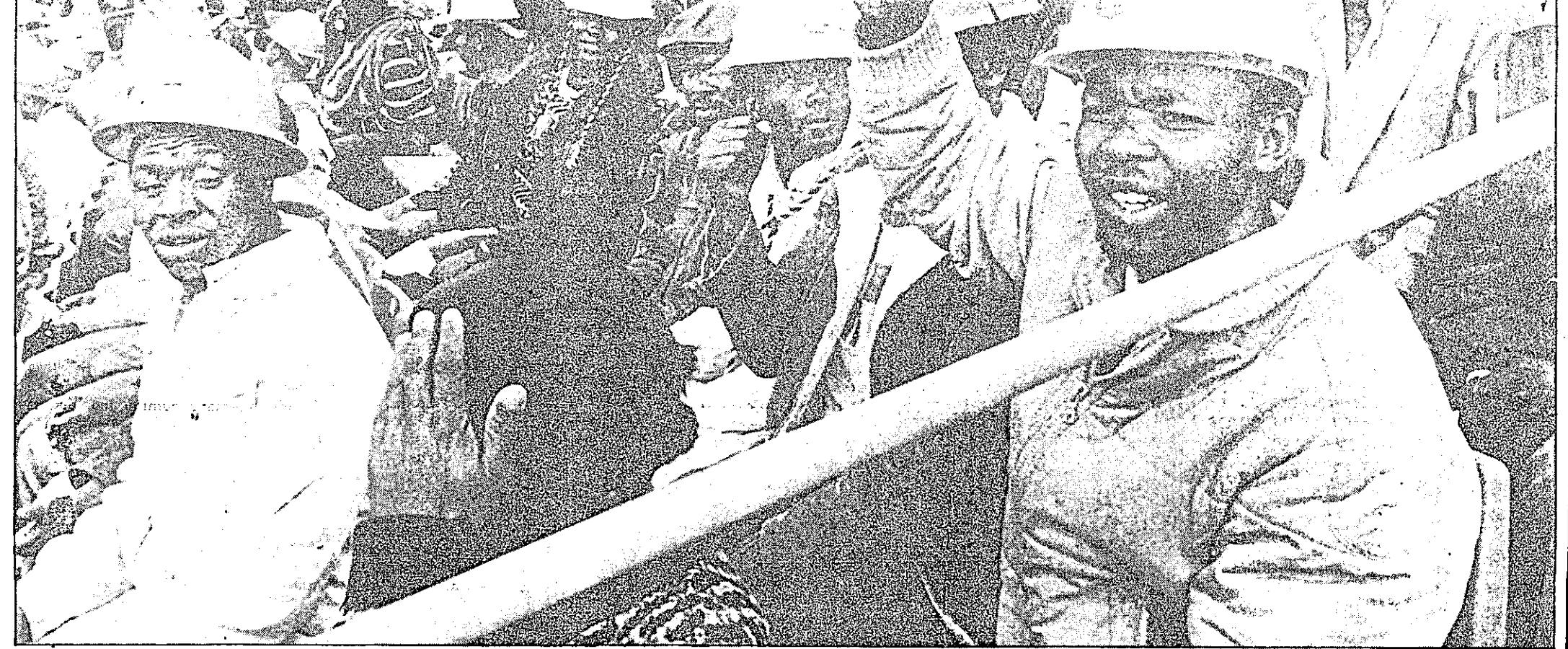
Ms Alexander, a Latvian-born trade unionist, was elected to Parliament in 1954 by black voters on the common roll but prevented from taking her seat because of her communist convictions.

Mr Bunting, author of a critical study of the National Party entitled "The Rise of the South African Reich", was similarly elected to Parliament in the 1950s but prevented from becoming an MP.



Ray Alexander ... a member of the SACP's interim leadership corps and central committee.





No longer underground . . . Cosatu members wearing brightly coloured plastic miners' hard-hats rejoice at the official launch of the SA Communist Party.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

# Red carpet for the communists

*Star 30/7/90* (117) (343)

By KAREN STANDER

The roar of 45 000 voices thundered over Soweto's slumland as the people rose to their feet to welcome home the SA Communist Party at its launch after 40 years underground.

But the biggest welcome was reserved for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who cemented the alliance between the two organisations by his appearance as one of the main

speakers at the historic rally at the FNB Stadium yesterday.

As the huge crowd sat silently listening to Mr Mandela, he said the ANC was not communist, but as a defender of democracy had fought and would continue to fight for the SACP's right to exist.

## Cheering

To cheering, a message of congratulations from the central committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union

was read out. It said real prospects of the eradication of apartheid through negotiations were opening up.

The celebrating but well-behaved crowd was strictly controlled by hundreds of marshals who searched all vehicles thoroughly and body-searched everyone entering the stadium.

People toyi-toyed and sang in their seats as the rally began with several choirs.

Flags and banners, one reading "Sansco (SA National Students Congress) says no Slovo,

no talks", flapped in the icy wind as many people wrapped scarves in the ANC colours of black, green and gold around their necks.

## Wooden AK-47s

In evidence were several youths clutching wooden AK-47 rifles, many of them looking disconcertingly real.

As the cars ferrying the dignitaries — led by Mr Mandela's new red Mercedes and escorted by four traffic department vehicles — was spotted, the

crowd rose to its feet with a roar of welcome which became a frenzy as the leaders disembarked and walked around the field waving to the crowd.

A cry of "Thabo, Thabo" went up as Thabo Mbeki appeared a minute later and walked across to the platform erected on the northern side of the stadium.

This was replaced a moment later by another thunderous roar as the crowd recognised Ronnie Kasrils — introduced as "the red pimpernel" — who

had evaded police efforts to arrest him in order to put in a surprise appearance.

## 'Viva'

Long-time SACP leader Joe Slovo was the first of the party leaders to be introduced, and once again the crowd rose to their feet and greeted him with a cry of "Viva!"

Other speakers were Jay Naidoo of the Congress of SA Trade Unions; Chris Hani, a leader of both the SACP and the ANC; and Mr Slovo.

Cape Times 30/7/90

RA

## Communists name team

THE interim leadership group of the SA Communist Party, revealed yesterday, is:

- **JOE SLOVO**: general secretary and member of the ANC national executive committee since 1985.
- **DAN TLOOME**: national chairman and member of the ANC's NEC and auditor-general of the ANC.
- **RAYMOND MHLABA**: member of the ANC in the Eastern Cape. Chairman of the interim leadership group and member of the party's Central Committee.
- **RAY ALEXANDER**: member of the Central Committee.
- **BRIAN BUNTING**: banned in 1952 and while banned elected as an MP by African voters. Excluded from Parliament by the government in 1953. Member of the Central Committee.
- **CHERYL CAROLUS**: member of the UDF Western Cape regional executive committee. Member of the first ANC delegation which met the government at Groote Schuur.
- **JEREMY CRONIN**: author and poet. Member of the Central Committee.
- **CHRIS DHLAMINI**: vice-president of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (FAWU). First vice-president of Cosatu.
- **JOHN GOMOMO**: second deputy president of Cosatu and member of the central committee of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA. Member of the ANC in the Eastern Cape.
- **HARRY GWALA**: convener of the Midlands interim leadership committee of the ANC.
- **CHRIS HANI**: chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and member of the ANC's NEC. Also member of the politburo of the SACP.
- **RONNY KASRILS**: former head of MK's military intelligence as well as a member of the ANC's political military council and the organisation's NEC. Also a member of the SACP's central committee.
- **AHMED KATHRADA**: ANC member sentenced at the Rivonia trial to life imprisonment, released in 1989.
- **SIDNEY MAFUMADI**: assistant general secretary of Cosatu.
- **SATHYANDRANATH "MAC" MAHARAJ**: detained last Wednesday under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Member of the ANC's NEC and politburo of the SACP.
- **MOSES MAYEKISO**: general secretary of Numsa.
- **GOVAN MBEKI**: member of the ANC's NEC and central committee member of the SACP. Co-accused with Nelson Mandela in the Rivonia Trial, he was sentenced to life imprisonment but released in 1988.
- **BILLY NAIR**: member of the ANC in southern Natal and central committee member of the SACP.
- **JOHN NKADIMENG**: general secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), member of the SACP's central committee and their politburo.
- **ESSOP PAHAD**: member of the central committee of the SACP.
- **REG SEPTEMBER**: Member of the ANC's NEC and the SACP central committee.
- **SIZAKELE SIGKASHE**: member of the ANC's NEC and member of the SACP's politburo.

CAP TIPS 30/7/90 (11A)



**ALLIES . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, with Mr Joe Slovo, general-secretary of the SA Communist Party, at the party's launch yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS



Cheryl Carolus

## Carolus's SACP position 'no surprise'

NEWS that senior ANC member and UDF publicity secretary for the Western Cape Ms Cheryl Carolus was also a member of the SACP came as "no surprise" to UDF Western Cape regional chairman Mr Bulelani Ngcuka.

Ms Carolus was one of 22 people named as members of the SACP's internal leadership corps at the launch of the SACP as a political party at Soccer City near Soweto yesterday afternoon.

"I was not aware of her membership but it comes as no surprise. Ms Carolus and I never discussed this," Mr Ngcuka said.

There was nothing "wrong or irregular" with Ms Carolus's ties to the SACP. It would not affect her position with the UDF.

"The UDF does not mind multi-party membership. In fact it is an asset if a UDF member is a member of both the ANC and the SACP as we have a special relationship with the two," Mr Ngcuka said.



By KEN OWEN

CHL Times 30/7/90 114

# What stands behind Nelson Mandela?

BY THE time this is published, the World's Last Commies (Walkies for short) will have erected their newest front organisation, the SA Communist Party, and they will be hiding behind its innocent, smiling face. In effect, the Walkies now hide behind themselves.

Behind jolly Joe Slovo, the talk show star, hides Slow Joe Slovo, one of the cunning men who are — by the ANC's own admission — putting into place the fall-back strategy to seize power by force if they don't get it by negotiation.

Behind Scarlet Ronnie Kasrils, the Walkie Pimpernel, who pauses on the run to down a double whisky and give an interview, is Revolutionary Ronnie, the Mastermind of Stage II of the Revolution. Stage I was to overthrow apartheid, Stage II is to overthrow what follows.

As an exercise in duplicity — eat your heart out, John le Carre! — the creation of an SACP front for the SACP is the most enthralling political strategy I have encountered. It is a Potemkin Village, created to convince the masses that the Revolution has survived the intellectual, moral and political collapse of its Soviet role model; behind it skulk the World's Last Commies, by definition survivors from a lost age, gathering guns in secret.

The difficulty in all this is to find the ANC. Where is it?

My recent guests from the Soviet Union, a deputy editor and a correspondent from Izvestia, kept pressing me to explain the difference, in policy or in structure, between the ANC and the SACP. I have not yet discovered an adequate answer to give them.

Nelson Mandela is, I suppose, ANC first, and loyal friend to the SACP second. But then why did he tolerate the choice of a negotiating team of three or four Walkies — Slow Joe, Alfred Nzo, Thabo Mbeki and perhaps Joe Modise — and himself, the only certain spokesman for the ANC?

What's happened to Beyers Naude, dear man? Or to Ruth Mompati, whose portfolio of religious affairs implies that, perhaps, she cannot be an incorrigible materialist?

The truth, we must suspect, is that these nice folk were selected as protective camouflage for

the heavyweights who, it turns out, are life-long members of the SACP, now leading Walkies. The camouflage has been reduced to one tired, old man — loyal to a fault — and we see where real power lies.

Indeed, as the SACP comes into the open, we begin to discern Walkies in all sorts of strategic roles. Umkhonto's ostensible commander, Chris Hani, was identified by the CIA as a member of the SACP, but even if one distrusts the American cold warriors, there can be no doubt about Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Slow Joe, who seem to call the tune.

Hani blathers in public, and struts about with his bodyguard; Slow Joe makes jokes on the wireless, and Ronnie Kasrils plays James Bond with the double whiskies, and Mac Maharaj — well, I don't want to talk about him because the man has been detained under that appalling Section 29 and I'm hoping he will be brought to court soon.

After Umkhonto, the next favourite instrument of the Walkies, by their own admission, is

the trade union movement, which has become, as Churchill said of Russia, a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. Cosatu ranks co-equal with the SACP in the tripartite alliance with the ANC, but union leaders like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo or NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa are conspicuous by their absence from the negotiations.

This could mean two things: either the unions are being shut out, as a "workerist" elite, selfishly dedicated to furthering their own interests at the expense of the untiring masses, or the unions are already adequately represented by the Walkie stars of pub and radio.

The latter seems to me unlikely.

I have several of the trade union organisers identified in my own mind as Trotskyists, rather than as Walkies, and there is no love lost between them. I find it hard to imagine that Slovo and Modise speak for the unions, which implies the unions have been shut out.

Of course, in trying to identify the members of a conspiracy — as Kasrils said only last week, the Walkies insist on their right to operate in secret — one is liable to make mistakes. I had, for example, identified ANC spokesman Aziz Pahad as a member of the SACP, as did the CIA and the South African intelligence community. Pahad assures me he is not a member, and I gladly accept his assurance, if for no better reason than that I like him and get on well with him. Evidence, in this enigmatic riddle, is hard to find, and often harder to believe.

A *luta continua*, as I was taught to say long ago by Freilimo, the struggle goes on to strip away the deceit, the lies, the disinformation, the secrecy, the conspiracy, the dissimulation, the duplicity that is forced upon those who demand the right to operate in secret.

## South Africa's Kerensky?

The launching of the public SACP will make things a bit easier. We know now that the serpent exists, and we have a starting point from which to trace its length. We can look for the connections that reach from the SACP into other political organisations, into welfare groups and into the human rights struggle, into the unions and into the legal profession, into the media and religious lobbies, and into all branches of civil society.

The more difficult quest, in some ways, is to find the ANC. Does it really exist? Is it properly represented by the four negotiators chosen to accompany Nelson Mandela, or has it been captured? Is the ANC no more, perhaps, than the respectable face which the SACP turns to the West?

We know that the Walkies cling to their theory of a two-stage revolution, the first to achieve liberation, and the second to create a socialist state. The theory seeks to recreate, in usual slavish imitation, the Russian experience in which the social, democratic reformer, Kerensky, was brought to power by the first stage, and overthrown by Trotsky and Lenin in the second.

If this casts Nelson Mandela as South Africa's Kerensky, then I can only say it will serve him right.

Not long ago, when I quoted from confidential ANC policy documents to show that its Marxist advisers proposed a hidden agenda for a long-term struggle, using the trade unions to gain eventual control of private companies by "incremental" changes, a howl of protest went up. The documents were not "secret", but "confidential", not part of a plot but of a plan.

That may be, but I don't feel comfortable with people you can't trust. I cannot forget that the SACP opposed the war against socialist Hitler until he attacked socialist Stalin (how, I wonder, can any Jew bear to belong to such a party?), and that it has trimmed its sails to every shift in the evil ideological wind that blew from Stalin to Gorbachev.

We know now that behind the SACP stand the Walkies. I only wish I knew what, if anything, stands behind Nelson Mandela. Where is the ANC?



... they've still got one."

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

TENSION rose yesterday between black political and labour organisations over the ANC/UDF/Sayco/Cosatu call for a stayaway next week.

The call — which is fast shaping up as a major test of strength against rival organisations — has run into sharp opposition with those outside the so called Charterist camp.

Azapo yesterday condemned what it called the "political one-upmanship" of the ANC in calling for the stayaway to demonstrate against the violence in Natal.

It accused the ANC of "seeking to fan emotional support for itself at the expense of black life".

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley

# Tension over stayaway call growing

said the ANC had broken an earlier agreement not to embark on mass action programmes such as boycotts or stayaways without consulting all other organisations.

"We do not believe that a stayaway will bring an end to the violence in Natal. Indeed, we are concerned that this will aggravate the violence not only in Natal but elsewhere in the country," he said.

The decision to call for a countrywide stayaway on Monday as part of a week of "mass action", has also been opposed by the Africanist union federation Nactu and the KwaZulu-based United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa).

The Transvaal's Uwusa president, Mr Jabulani Dlamini, said he urged Uwusa members to go to work in groups on June 2 "for fear of intimidation from Cosatu".

Cosatu said in a strongly worded statement last night that "in the past few days a climate of hysteria has been created by certain forces who seek to undermine the effectiveness of the 'National Week of Action'."

The SA Chamber of Business yesterday recommended that employers adopt a "no work, no pay" attitude to employees who participate in Monday's stayaway.

Cosatu's call has, however, received the support of the Black Sash national executive, which said in a statement: "The black majority in SA has no means other than to withhold its labour to make the government respond to a situation that it regards as requiring urgent attention."

# Slovo hits back at govt

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SAPS

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mr Joe Slovo, leader of South Africa's Communist Party, yesterday pledged his party to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Earlier a crowd at the relaunch of the SACP which was banned 30 years ago heard the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, label the government allegations against his communist allies an "insult".

The ANC leader, delivering a message of solidarity, said the SACP "has been and is a dependable friend who respected our independence and our policy".

The SACP leaders had been "close friends and colleagues of the leaders of our movement" and Mr Slovo was "an old friend", said Mr Mandela, who is not a member of the SACP.

Despite black clouds and a bitterly cold wind, 60 000 attended the rally — many being bussed in from various parts of the country, including Cape Town.

Security at the stadium was unprecedented and a walk from the press room to the field for the 250 journalists covering the launch entailed 13 body searches.

At the rally yesterday:

- The SACP named its 22-member internal leadership core.

"Today we can be proud to stand up and say we are communists," said Ms Cheryl Carolus, one of the two women named to the internal leadership group. "These are people who have been in the front-line of the battle for freedom."

- Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, reiterated the ANC's support for Mr Slovo saying that the government's bid to discredit him was inspired by its desire to push him out of the talks.

- Mr Ronnie Kasrils, former Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief and SACP leader who is thought to be wanted by the police



**WELCOME TO THE PARTY . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela with SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo. Between the two men is Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Picture: REUTERS

in connection with the alleged plot, made his second public appearance in four days at the rally.

The stadium was festooned with huge red hammer and sickle SACP and green, black and gold ANC flags.

Supporters waved flags of the SACP and the ANC and brandished replicas of AK-47 assault rifles and rocket launchers.

And in further developments at the weekend:

- Mr Mandela briefed foreign ambassadors and senior diplomats on the next round of negotiations on August 6 and on the alleged plot.

- Mr Mandela, interviewed live by satellite on Britain's Channel

Four TV's "The World This Week" programme, said that the documentary proof laid before him by the SACP on the alleged plot proved "the police have sucked the information out of their thumbs. . . there is nothing of the sort whatsoever".

Mr Mandela took care, however, not to lay the blame for the allegations on President F W de Klerk.

"Mr De Klerk is reliant on the information placed before him by the police," the ANC leader said.

He indicated that he believed the government would drop its demand for Mr Slovo's exclusion from talks, as this had been based on the now clearly incorrect information.

At the rally Mr Slovo told the

crowd the SACP firmly supported a negotiated solution in South Africa, knowing that compromises would have to be made.

He dismissed as a government attempt to break the ANC/SACP alliance allegations in the past week that the party plotted to overthrow the government in the event of negotiations failing.

Mr Slovo, who "toy-toyed" before addressing the crowd, also strongly denied he had been present at a meeting in Tongaat, Natal, in May this year, where the party allegedly plotted to overthrow the government.

On violence, he said: "Until the police stop hunting blacks and (Kwazulu Chief Gathsha) Buthelezi

handcuffs his warlords, we have a right not only to protest but also to defend ourselves."

The SACP had no secret agenda on the question of socialism, Mr Slovo maintained.

"Both the party and the ANC accept a post-apartheid mixed economy in which there will be a major role for private capital, both domestic and foreign. Existing managerial talents will be needed and rewarded.

"The market must continue to play a crucial role," Mr Slovo said.

Accusing elements within the government of trying to break the ANC/SACP alliance, he said: "The

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peace process has many enemies. And some of them surround (President) De Klerk himself.

"They accuse me of not been committed to the peace process, but it is they who tried to keep me out from the beginning," Mr Slovo said referring to reports that the government requested his omission from the Groote Schuur talks, and more recently, from the ANC team due to meet government on August 6.

"The only excuse before Groote Schuur was that the presence of the Joe Slovo's of the Communist Party would be difficult for right-wing whites to swallow," he maintained.

When the government's attempts failed in May, they then allegedly produced "yet another old-style smear of a Red Plot" based on at least three demonstrable "lies", according to the SACP leader.

● "Lie No 1: That I was at a meeting in Tongaat on the 19th and 20th May. Their own records will show that I left for Lusaka on the 14th May, and returned for the Business Conference at the Carlton (Hotel) on the 21st (of May).

● "Lie No 2: At this Tongaat meeting, which I did not attend, I was supposed to have said that whatever agreement was signed

between the government and the ANC relating to a ceasefire would not apply to the SACP.

"I have never said anything of the sort — at any meeting anywhere," Mr Slovo stressed.

"I go further: I have been shown a copy of the Tongaat minutes and I challenge anyone to demonstrate that the meeting adopted a position that the SACP would not be bound by a ceasefire. This is an outright and deliberate distortion," the SACP leader claimed.

● "Lie No 3: In an attempt to link us with a 'Red Plot' they talk about Operation Vula as an SACP project and about SACP arms dumps.

"They know perfectly well that Operation Vula was an ANC underground building-project, including the preparation of arms caches, under the direct control of the president of the ANC, dating from 1987.

"Not one mention is made in the minutes of the Tongaat meeting about the delivery of weaponry," Mr Slovo maintained.

The SACP also addressed the press directly on the issue of the alleged plot to overthrow the government.

"We hope the press will measure up to its responsibilities and

not swallow every bit of muck thrown in its direction by the security establishment."

The SACP hoped the events of the past week would not scupper efforts to negotiate a new South Africa.

"Let us hope that we can all be big enough not to allow these recent outbursts to stop the chance of a peaceful negotiated solution," Mr Slovo said.

"But (President) De Klerk must know we do not go to the negotiating table as beggars and we don't go as robbers. We go there to claim what is ours," he maintained.

"We know that some compromises may have to be made. But one thing we cannot compromise is our birthright — our right to live in equality in one united, non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Mr Slovo said detained SACP leader Mr Mac Maharaj was the first person to step forward when ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo asked the exiled leadership in 1987 for volunteers to return to SA and rebuild ANC structures.

Mr Maharaj had been organising "under the noses of the police", Mr Slovo said, adding that that was possibly the reason why they could not forgive him. — Sapa and Own Correspondents

# ANC leaders, union men core of SACP

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**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders and top trade unionists dominate the 22-member internal leadership core of the SA Communist Party announced yesterday.

The list of names, disclosed at the SACP's re-launch rally at Soccer City in Soweto, includes eight members of the ANC's 36-member national executive committee, three members of its internal leadership and four prominent Cosatu leaders.

The unionists in the SACP internal leadership are two Cosatu vice-presidents, Mr Chris Dlamini and Mr John Gomomo; Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi and Numsa general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso. Former exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) general secretary Mr John Nkadi-meng was also named.

Significantly, no SA Youth Congress (Sayco) members were on the list.

ANC NEC members on it were

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, chairman Mr Dan Tloome, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Reg September and Mr Sizakele Sigxashe. Members of the ANC internal leadership core on the SACP executive are Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Harry Gwala.

## Kasrils there

The other six SACP executive members are Ms Cheryl Carolus — a member of the ANC's Groote Schuur negotiating team, poet and former political prisoner Mr Jeremy Cronin, Mr Ray Alexander, Mr Billy Nair, SACP Prague representative Mr Essop Pahad and African Communist editor Mr Brian Bunting.

Mr Maharaj and Mr Nair have been detained in connection with allegations of a communist plot to seize power by force.

Yesterday afternoon's historic re-launch had all the hoopla,

colour and excitement of a football cup final.

NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa acted as master of ceremonies.

Mr Kasrils, a former MK intelligence chief and SACP leader who is currently being sought by police, slipped through a side exit to join other dignitaries on the dais.

The 99% black audience was dressed in bright colours. ANC uniforms and mock AK-47s were as much in evidence as red SACP T-shirts.

The crowd included 250 local and international journalists, among them a number of Soviet newsmen who had come to South Africa specially for the launch.

In a speech delivered mostly in Zulu, Mr Hani told the audience that the SACP blamed capitalists for the poverty in South Africa.

Members of the group stood in a row at the front of the stage as their names were read out. The biggest cheer from the crowd was reserved for MK chief of staff Mr Hani.

(114)



# SA struggle 'near end'

**DETROIT.** — Near the end of a physically demanding eight-city tour of the United States, Mr Nelson Mandela told an enthusiastic crowd in Tiger Stadium that the struggle may be nearing an end.

Mr Mandela pleased the selfout audience of 49 000 with references to the Motortown music, for which Detroit was famous during the 1960s.

"When we were in prison, we appreciated and obviously listened to the sound of Detroit — Motortown," Mr Mandela said. "On reaching Detroit I recalled some of words of songs sung by Marvin Gaye. Those words go: 'Brother, brother, there's far too many of you dying. Mother, mother, there's far too many of you crying.'"

"These words are a reflection of the South African condition," he said. "For how long must our brothers and sisters go

on dying? We declare: Not for long. We are going to free SA so that all the people, black and white, live in harmony and peace. We don't want apartheid to survive even one more day."

Mr Mandela declared that "victory is in sight", but added that the final mile may be the "most difficult, painful and intractable".

He called on Detroiters to "sustain sanctions and intensify pressure" against apartheid.

Before his stadium speech, Mr Mandela appeared at a reception in downtown Detroit's Renaissance Centre wearing a Detroit Pistons' hat and jacket.

Mayor Mr Coleman Young, who introduced Mr Mandela at the Tiger Stadium rally, said later that he was "deeply impressed with his message. Nelson Mandela

is a heavy dude, as the young people say. He is a deep thinker".

Earlier in the day, Mr Mandela apologized for having to cut short his Detroit schedule.

Earlier, a spokesman for the ANC said the vigorous schedule and the attentions of the crowd had been taxing to the 71-year-old leader's health.

The freedom of the City of Dublin forms part of a gruelling continuation of Mr Mandela's world tour, which returns to Europe with his arrival in Ireland tomorrow.

When his aircraft touches down from the US at Dublin airport, Mr Mandela will be met by the Irish Foreign Minister, Mr Gerry Collins, and members of the ANC in Britain and of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. — UPI and Own Correspondent



**LARGER THAN LIFE** . . . Mr Nelson Mandela is dwarfed by his own image on the Tiger Stadium monitor as he addressed more than 50 000 people in Detroit this week.

Picture: Reuters

# Govt mum on Slovo denial

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Government spokesmen yesterday would not comment on denials by ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela and SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo that Mr Slovo was involved in a Communist Party conspiracy to overthrow the government.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, declined to comment on Mr Mandela's assertions that security police had acted prematurely on information concerning an alleged armed insurrection conspiracy by the SACP.

Mr Vlok said any comment from government would have to come from President F W de Klerk.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said that at this stage the President had nothing further to add. A statement was unlikely until after the meeting on Wed-

nesday with Mr Mandela.

The chief of the security police, Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, who is overseeing the investigation, could not be reached for comment yesterday.

"We're keeping you away from General Smit as he's had a hard time since yesterday," said SAP spokesman Capt R Maree yesterday.

At the weekend Mr Slovo said he was in Lusaka at the time of the SACP meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 and his passport appears to bear this out showing he left SA on May 14 and returned on May 21.

He and ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu also said that the "Comrade Joe" referred to in the minutes of the Tongaat meeting was not Mr Slovo but senior party official Mr Joe Magusa.

Also at the weekend Mr Mandela said Mr Slovo would be part of the ANC's delegation meeting government on August 6.

A senior security police spokesman yesterday blamed the press for the "Red Plot" furor

which nearly led to the cancellation of the next round of government/ANC talks due to be held on August 6.

They said the media had jumped to conclusions linking the leaked minutes of the Tongaat meeting to Operation Vula.

"A Comrade Joe was present, but we don't know who he is," said a police source.

He said the Tongaat meeting was irrelevant, but what was important were the facts surrounding Operation Vula.

The briefing document released on Friday links the Tongaat meeting to "Operation Vula", which it describes as "a plot to misuse the negotiation process to organise a national uprising in the RSA". It also uses the Tongaat minutes to back up its assessment.

At the relaunch of the SACP yesterday Mr Mandela backed the SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe and said everybody knew the ANC was the political force that decided on the strategic use of weapons.

CAP 7/15 30/7/90 (110)

## Sister's death may free Mac

JOHANNESBURG. — The sister of detained senior SA Communist Party member Mr Mac Maharaj died of stomach cancer yesterday, and Mr Maharaj's lawyer hopes to use her funeral here today to effect his release.

UDF executive member Mr Mohammed Vali Moosa said Mr Maharaj's sister, Mrs Mani Persad, 59, would be cremated at the West Park Cemetery this afternoon.

"Mac's attorney, Mr Ismael Ayob, will be applying for permission for him to attend," Mr Moosa said. — Sapa

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## Safehouse neighbours 'suspected nothing'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Although people of all races visited the alleged Red Plot safehouse in Durban's Kenville suburb near Greenwood Park at "all hours of the night", residents in the area suspected nothing.

Yesterday neighbours of the house at No 48 The Knoll were still shocked at the discovery of a large arms cache and documents outlining an alleged ANC/SACP insurgency plot.

A neighbour, Mr H Roy, said he never noticed anything suspicious about the comings and goings at the house. "People of all races used to carry boxes in and out of the house but I didn't think anything of it."

"A black lady driving a Cressida used to visit often but the only time we realised something illegal was going on was when the police arrested the occupants."

Another neighbour said most of the visitors arrived and left after dark.

"The house was totally quiet during the day and we never talked to anyone living there."

Police in Pretoria said there had been no further arrests but the investigation was continuing.

# ANC in 'terrorist computer network'

OMT-148 30/7/70

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Mail on Sunday yesterday claimed the existence of an "international terrorist computer network" linking Moscow, London and Lusaka and used by the ANC and South African Communist Party.

The report claims that MI5 agents have launched a hunt in London for the network "after a tip-off from their counterparts in South Africa".

"Britain was briefed last week about secret communications systems linking London, Moscow and Lusaka and allegedly used by executives of the ANC at their London headquarters."

The unsourced report, which also carried no byline, said the information was "passed on to British intelligence following the uncovering of Operation Vula — an alleged terror plot masterminded by the SACP and the ANC".

The report said SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, whom President F W de Klerk has requested be excluded from the ANC negotiating team at next month's talk, lives in England.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We cannot comment on any matter relating to security or intelligence."

The London spokesman for the ANC could not be contacted.

# ANC wants share of profits from trade in memorabilia

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress is going into the souvenir business.

The organisation has taken steps to register a company that will be responsible for marketing goods bearing the colours or logo of the organisation, according to the temporary head of the ANC's marketing efforts, Mr Isu Chiba.

The ANC has also applied for its official logo and colours to be registered under the Trademarks Act and is investigating the possibility of copyright of deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's face.

ANC umbrellas, T-shirts and badges have been best-sellers — and subsequently top money-spinners — since the organisation was unbanned in February this year. Now the ANC wants to start getting its own share of the memorabilia profits.

## HOST OF PEOPLE

"We've taken this step because there was abuse of colours and name by a host of people who have been selling ANC-related articles for their own gain," Mr Chiba said.

"We do not feel it is correct for commercial organisations to make a profit out of a political organisation. We have no objection to people producing ANC articles provided they receive authorisation. There are things like royalties to be considered."

If, for example, a badge manufacturer wanted to make badges bearing the ANC logo, he would have to apply for permission.

"The manufacturer would have to make a written proposal. Our marketing department would then consider the request."

Mr Chiba said the ANC had applied for a company to be registered, possibly under the name of South African Merchandising Enterprises.



Sowetan 30/7/90

11A



PAC supporters at one of the prayer services held throughout the country to highlight violence in the country, especially in Natal. A message of support from PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng said people had to bury their differences in order to end the violence.

# Govt wants Slovo out - Hani

THE Government's bid to discredit SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo was inspired by their desire to push him out of the talks, ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, said at the SACP's relaunch rally yesterday at Soccer City, near Soweto.

*Soweto 30/7/90*  
Reiterating the ANC's support for Slovo, Hani discounted allegations that SACP secretary general Slovo was involved in a conspiracy

to overthrow the Government.

"They (the Government) are just making noises. Slovo does not want violence. He wants peace. We must not allow the party to be isolated because that is what they want."

Hani said he was pushing for the return of ANC soldiers from exile, but the Government did not want to listen to him.

Hani praised communism and attacked capitalism, saying South

Africans benefited nothing from capitalism.

"We communists say the wealth of this land must be shared equally."

The ANC military chief recently sent shock waves through Government circles when he announced that his soldiers would seize power if negotiations failed. At the rally Hani was announced as one of the members of the interim leadership corps of the SACP - Sapa

# PAC says decision on clerics is 'too harsh'

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Sowetan  
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THE PAC at the weekend described the decision by the Anglican Church to bar priests from formally joining political parties as "a little too harsh", saying clerics should enjoy all the rights and privileges as other members of society.

The head of the organisation's religious desk, Mr Patrick Baleka, said priests should be free to join any political party seeking liberation provided their divine calling and office of priesthood was not abused for political sectarianism and ideological favouritism.

"We salute the Anglicans for facing this

problem honestly and truthfully. We also appreciate the context within which the decision presumably arises, namely that the church should be politically non-sectarian, a mediator and a unifier of the flock of Christ in spite of their political affiliation. However, we feel that their decision might have been just a little too harsh."

Baleka said they were concerned about the political favouritism displayed by certain clerics.

"This concern is very real as Catholic PAC members complain daily

about the abuse of their funds by the Catholic Church of Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa to finance a sectarian weekly newspaper bent on destroying the PAC and all those who differ politically with certain priests."

The PAC official made it clear that only allegedly biased priests of the Anglican Church had been criticised and not the entire body as PAC president Zeph Mothopeng was a full member of the Anglican Church. - Sapa

# New twist in the Joe Slovo saga

11A

Sowetan 31/7/90

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Slovo row took a new turn yesterday when Government sources acknowledged that the Government might have been wrong in accusing South African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo of attending a secret meeting in Tongaat on May 19 and 20 where plans for an insurrection were allegedly hatched.

Senior Government sources responded on Sunday to claims by Slovo that he was not in the country at the time of the Tongaat meeting.

But the sources said that even if Slovo was not at the meeting, he - and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela - owed the Government an explanation about whether they agreed with the sentiments expressed there.

At the meeting it was agreed that the SACP should continue to strengthen its armed forces in case negotiations failed.

The acknowledgement that Slovo might have been wrongly accused has probably increased the chances of the ANC and the Government resolving the row which has threatened to derail the next round of talks on August 6.

The ANC's national executive committee was to meet yesterday to prepare a response to the Government on the issue

which will be delivered when Mandela meets De Klerk tomorrow.

De Klerk met Mandela on Thursday night to discuss the controversy and is believed to have expressed a "preference" that Slovo should not be in the ANC delegation for the August 6 talks.



JOE SLOVO

However, Government sources said De Klerk did not insist that Slovo should be dropped from the team and pointed out that the Government had also expressed a preference that he should not attend the first talks between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town in May.

They said that what the Government expected from the ANC at tomorrow's meeting was some statement which would restore the mutual trust between the two parties which had been damaged by the revelations of an apparent hidden agenda by the SACP.

Government sources said there were already encouraging signs. They said that Mandela's remarks at the weekend about the alleged SACP plot showed "progress".

The police claims that Slovo attended the Tongaat meeting were based on minutes of the meeting captured by police from computer files when they raided a SACP "safe house". The minutes quoted "Comrade Joe" extensively.

Figure 2.1: WAGE REVISIONS BY PERIOD	12
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Figure 2.8: WAGE REVISIONS BY PERIOD	60
Figure 2.9: WAGE REVISIONS BY PERIOD	65

# SACP four in the open over Tongaat talks

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC was neglecting mass action and in many instances was doing little more than preparing for an election campaign, an SA Communist Party (SACP) document released by the party yesterday states.

Four leading SACP members who attended a consultative meeting of the party at Tongaat in May yesterday released recommendations made by the meeting to the SACP central committee. This was being done, they said, to clarify government allegations that a "red plot" was discussed at the meeting.

The four — union president Chris Dlamini, UDF Western Cape leader Cheryl Carolus, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi and top UDF and ANC official Mohammed Valli Moosa — confirmed for the first time yesterday that they were among the "comrades" referred to in the meeting's minutes.

The recommendations stressed the need for the party to assert its independence from the other members of its tripartite alliance — the ANC and Cosatu.

Although still firmly committing itself to the alliance and building the ANC, the document said work to "build the ANC legally" was being done "at the expense of mass campaigns which could come to pose a challenge to the regime."

"Often, we are doing no more than preparing for an election campaign."

## Defiance

Reflecting the plurality within the alliance, the report stated that it was time the relationship between the SACP and its partners changed, and that the SACP organised its own mass events and projected its own identity, leadership and policies.

"The spirit of defiance must be given direction. Our mass marches and other forms of action must be transformed from acts of mere protest to acts which challenge the authority of the regime."

The document also calls for the "peoples' revolutionary energies" to be focussed on the central question of state power. This was the only way to either seize state power or force "(President) De Klerk to go all the way with negotiations".

It would be dangerous, the document says, to assume that the party's previous position on the seizure of power had become irrelevant. "There is always the possibility of a return to repression.

"There was therefore a general agreement that our perspective on seizure of power through insurrection in the program should not be abandoned. The building of the revolutionary army, therefore, remains a crucial task of the revolutionary alliance."

The meeting, however, fully recognised that the political situation had changed and that the possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to the fullest.

It was suggested that a weekly newspaper, "simple in language, with eye-catching layout, plenty of photographs and illustrations", be established. It was recommended that consideration be given to floating a "commercially run printing company" with shares being sold to Cosatu and MDM members.

'Determination' from both sides

11A

# Talks to go on in spite of tensions

B/024  
31/7/90

THE August 6 talks between government and the ANC to remove obstacles to negotiations will go ahead despite last week's controversy over an alleged SA Communist Party plot to overthrow government.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said last night a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) yesterday had decided the August 6 meeting was going ahead.

However, Sisulu voiced reservations on the outcome. He said were it not for a "vicious campaign" by government in insinuating an SACP plot, he would be optimistic about the negotiation process.

And last night President F W de Klerk said in a statement he had taken note of weekend statements by ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and SACP secretary general Joe Slovo committing themselves to a peaceful negotiating process.

However, a number of serious matters still had to be cleared up, he said, indicating he would raise these at a scheduled meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Foreign diplomats, briefed by Mandela at the weekend on the alleged SACP conspiracy to seize power and who have since been in touch with government, said yesterday that what had impressed them most was determination on both sides that nothing should prevent talks going ahead.

De Klerk said yesterday in a statement

MIKE ROBERTSON,  
PETER DELMAR and LINDEN BIRNS

he had taken note of weekend statements by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Mandela committing themselves to the peace process.

However, government was still concerned about a number of issues it regarded in a serious light. These would be discussed at his meeting with Mandela tomorrow.

The Cabinet, members of the white Ministers' Council and provincial administrators yesterday began a two-day meeting at a secluded venue outside Pretoria and were not available for comment.

Sisulu said allegations against the SACP and Slovo had not been discussed at yesterday's NEC meeting. He agreed that De Klerk had been incorrectly advised on the issue.

Slovo has rebutted police claims that he attended a meeting in Tongaat on May 19 or 20 at which he was supposed to have said any ceasefire agreed between government and the ANC would not apply to the SACP.

After the State Security Council and Cabinet committee on negotiations members discussed the police investigation into the alleged plot on Wednesday, De Klerk sought urgent talks with Mandela to tell him that government would prefer it if Slovo was not part of the ANC delegation.

However, since then police have retract-

□ To Page 2

## Talks

B/024  
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ed allegation that quotes from the minutes of the Tongaat meeting were attributable to Slovo and said they had no proof that Slovo was at the Tongaat meeting.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday there now had to be considerable doubt as to the interpretation that the arms caches uncovered by police and entry of insurgents was part of an SACP armed insurrectionary plot and that Slovo was part of it.

If Slovo was able to prove he was not at Tongaat, government would have little basis to continue insisting that he be excluded from the ANC delegation.

Meanwhile four SACP leaders who were at the Tongaat meeting said yesterday there was no discussion of a "Red plot" or any military planning. They also denied Slovo attended.

SACP internal leadership group Cheryl Carolus, Sydney Mafumadi and Chris Dia-

11A ~~2~~ □ From Page 1

mini disclosed they were at Tongaat on May 19 and 20. Dlamini chaired the meeting. UDF leader Mohammed Valli Moosa said he was there but described himself as "an ordinary SACP member".

The building of a new mass organisation, its public launch, democratic structuring and the participation of women were the main items discussed, a statement said.

A senior security branch officer yesterday said police still wanted "to put a few questions" to SACP internal leader Ronnie Kasrils, who has been in hiding since his SACP colleague Mac Maharaj's detention last week. They were "going ahead with the plan to detain him".

Police believe Kasrils could shed more light on Operation Vula, the alleged "Red plot" of armed insurrection.

● See Page 3  
● Comment: Page 8

# Top ANC man claims he escaped assassination attempt in Soweto

A senior African National Congress official claimed yesterday that he escaped an assassination attempt in Soweto on Sunday night.

Penuell Maduna, a member of the ANC's committee planning the August 6 talks with the Government, told a news conference in Johannesburg he was attacked by four men in Rockville after his car had been tailed.

Mr Maduna (38) said he was struck with a brick and had beer poured on his face before the assailants fired six shots. He was hit in the arm, where a bullet remained lodged. The attackers also used a panga, he said.

Mr Maduna, who spent 11 years in exile, returned to South Africa in March following the unbanning of the ANC in February.

He had earlier attended the re-launch rally of the SA Communist Party near Soweto and said he was attacked moments after he and his cous-

in had refilled their vehicle at a petrol station in Rockville.

The attackers then allegedly smashed windows of his car.

At Baragwanath Hospital, he claims, two black policemen approached him and said they knew he had been shot.

He had not reported the incident to the police because: "Police are behind this. Why should I go to them?"

He claimed he had recognised one of the attackers as a known "thug".

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tinnie Halgryn denied later that the incident had happened.

"I strictly deny it. We have a duty to protect and to serve. It's impossible that police could not act as he was being attacked."

"He must lay an official complaint," he said, adding that Mr Maduna was trying to put the police "in a bad light".  
— Sapa.

# All-party indaba to focus on future

Sowetan 31/7/90



**SOUTH** Africans of all political persuasions will come together at a three-day conference in Johannesburg this month to share their views on the country's future.

The mammoth conference, organised and hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum, will bring together about 800 participants from MPs from all parties

## **SOWETAN Correspondent**

represented in Parliament and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, the UDF, the SACP and Inkatha.

Also attending will be officials from various Government departments, opinion-makers, businessmen and academics.

FFF spokeswoman

Gael Neke said the conference, entitled "South Africa at a Turning Point - Negotiations and Beyond", will focus on the need for wide discussion on the problems facing South Africa.

Neke said members of the public will have an opportunity to debate in small groups with politicians and experts at the August 24-26 conference "on subjects that

will directly affect their lives in the future".

She said there will be exchanges of opinion on the process of negotiations, with views expressed on referenda and constituent assemblies.

The conference's main purpose, however, was "to provide a forum for examination of policy-related issues in a post-negotiations South Africa".



# Mandela and FW to meet

THE Office of the State President confirmed yesterday that Mr FW de Klerk will meet deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said the time and place of the meeting has yet to be finalised.

*Sowetan 31/7/90*  
In the meantime the special "planning session" by the Cabinet and political functionaries started yesterday at a secret place outside Pretoria. The session will last two days. (11A) (11A)

The next round of talks between the ANC and the Government will be held on August 6. - Sapa.

Act 31/7/90

11A

## NEWS

### Political Staff

South Africans of many political persuasions will attend a three-day conference in Johannesburg in August to share views on the future.

The conference, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), will bring together about 800 participants — MPs from all parties represented in Parliament; extra-parliamentary groups such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Unit-

## Chance to share ideas on SA's future

ed Democratic Front (UDF), the SA Communist Party and Inkatha; as well as officials from various Government departments, opinion-makers, businessmen and academics.

FFF spokesman Gael Neke said the conference, entitled "South Africa at a Turning Point — Negotiations and Beyond", will focus on the need for wide discussion on the problems facing South Africa.

Miss Neke said members of the public will have an opportunity to debate in small groups with politicians and experts at the August 24-26 conference "on subjects that will directly affect their lives in the future".

## Top ANC man says

### SAP tried to kill him

PETER DELMAR

ANC leader Paniel Maduna alleged yesterday that the SA police had backed a weekend assault on him in which, he said, he was shot six times in an arm.

The attack, he said, was an attempt to upset the ANC/government negotiation process. Maduna is a member of the joint working committee on removing obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

He said at a Press conference in Johannesburg he believed the attack, after he attended the SACP launch rally on Sunday, was an attempt to kill him. He had also been assaulted with a panga and a brick.

Maduna said he and members of his family were attacked when they stopped at a petrol station in Rockville in Soweto about 7.15pm on Sunday. Their car was rammed twice. Four men got out of a car which had been trailing him and doused him with beer before attacking him.

While he was being assaulted, other attackers smashed the windows of his cousin's car. After being hit a glancing blow on the head with a panga, Maduna said he partially lost consciousness. The attackers then fired six shots into his right arm.

When a woman living nearby shouted, "Don't kill that ANC brother" his attackers fled. B 1007 31/7/90

Two young white men in a nearby car who, he believed, were SAP members also drove off.

Maduna said he had not yet reported the attack to police, as he had no doubt they were behind it. ANC leaders had been told that police based at Soweto's Protea station were "itching to get their hands on us".

SAP spokesman Col Vic Haynes denied appealing to Maduna to report the matter.

DP to talk to  
ANC, Inkatha

DURBAN — The Democratic Party is to hold discussions with the ANC on September 1 and 2, and with other political parties and organisations, including Inkatha, soon, DP co-leader Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

He would not be drawn on the agenda, but said the DP would be "working towards a broad convergence of values" with other organisations.

Speaking at the opening of the Berea and Umbilo constituency offices, he said the DP had a crucial long-term relevance.

"Unless the things we stand for, such as the concepts of a free-market economy and multi-party democracy, are used to shape the new South Africa, it will not be a country any of us will want to live in," he said. — Own Correspondent.

# Peace returns to Sebokeng

Star 31/7/90  
Staff Reporters

Order appears to have been restored to Sebokeng.

Children yesterday returned to school and residents prepared to bury their dead after at least 22 people were killed in fierce fighting between Inkatha members and supporters of ANC-allied organisations.

Swayi Mokoena, a member of a committee handling the funeral arrangements of the victims, told The Star five people would

be buried at the Evaton cemetery on Saturday.

Four of the victims will be buried in Transkei and seven others have not yet been identified.

"We have identified all our dead and we suspect that the unidentified bodies were Inkatha supporters," Mr Mokoena said.

Mr Mokoena said there could still be more unidentified bodies at the Sebokeng Hospital mortuary.



## ANC criticises police handling of SACP detainee

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress today criticised the police for manacled ANC and South African Communist Party executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj at his sister's funeral in Brixton yesterday.

Mr Maharaj, detained last week in connection with the alleged SACP plot to seize power, was yesterday given permission to attend his sister's cremation. He was manacled to a black policeman and escorted by more than 25 policemen.

ANC spokesman and SACP interim executive committee member Mr Ahmed Kathrada today condemned Mr Maharaj's treatment, saying he had been treated like a common criminal.

### "UNNECESSARY"

"It was completely unnecessary to have him manacled. It is yet another example of how police treat our people," said Mr Kathrada.

The ANC, Mr Kathrada said, demanded that Mr Maharaj, who was not supposed "to be in prison at all", and all other detainees be released immediately.

Mr Kathrada said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would probably take up the issue of Mr Maharaj's detention with President De Klerk when they meet in Pretoria tomorrow.

The ANC was today mum on its national executive committee meeting held in Johannesburg on Monday to discuss, among other things, Mr De Klerk's "preference for the exclusion" of SACP general secretary Joe Slovo from the five-man delegation scheduled to meet the government on August 6.

Mr Kathrada said no statements would be made to the press about NEC decisions until Mr Mandela had informed Mr De Klerk of them.

As far as the ANC was concerned the August 6 talks were still on.

## Waterfront trading set to open in summer

Staff Reporter

THE revamped Victoria and Alfred waterfront should be open and trading in time for the summer holidays if all goes according to plan.

Hectic construction work in the Pier Head area, the first phase of the redevelopment, this week forced the re-routing of harbour traffic and the closure of a well-used harbour entrance at the North Gate.

"Fourteen contracts are being undertaken by 12 contractors here," said Mr Bev Mitchell, spokes-

# Manacled Maharaj at sister's funeral

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior South African Communist Party and African National Congress member Mr Mac Maharaj was allowed to attend his sister's cremation in Brixton.

Mr Maharaj arrived at the crematorium manacled to the only black policeman among about 25 white policemen. He was not allowed to talk to anybody, including his lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob.

There were seven police vehicles at the crematorium, including a big van known as a "Mellow Yellow" in the townships. Mr Maharaj arrived in a small police car.

### Stomach cancer

Wearing black shoes, blue tracksuit trousers and a yellow top, the bespectacled Mr Maharaj kept his head high and looked straight ahead as he was escorted into the crematorium. He remained emotionless throughout the short service which preceded the cremation.

Mr Maharaj was then ushered to a small room for a last look at his sister, Mrs Mani Persad, 59, who died of stomach cancer on Sunday.

Some of the mourners were visibly shocked when he appeared.

The mourners arrived long before the police convoy which brought Mr Maharaj at 2.30pm. The SACP executive did not know until 1.15pm yesterday that he would be allowed to attend the funeral, Mr Ayob said.

Mr Maharaj was detained last week in connection with an alleged SACP insurrection plot and was allowed to go to the funeral on condition that he spoke to no one.

In a press interview during the cremation, Mr Ayob said the other conditions were that not more than 300 people attended the funeral, that the service would be restricted only to a religious ceremony, and the police officer in charge of the police convoy could remove Mr Maharaj from the funeral at any time, using his discretion.

### "Greatly pained"

Mr Ayob said: "The fact that he was manacled is a statement. What can I say? Another equally eloquent statement is the fact that so many policemen brought him here."

Mr Maharaj's nephew, Mr Chohan Singh, said the family was disturbed by the heavy police presence at the funeral.

"We were greatly pained by it all. When we saw such an entourage of policemen coming to the funeral we were disappointed. We were even more hurt and saddened to see that his hands were manacled," said Mr Singh.



**COMPASSIONATE VISIT:** Handcuffed to armed police guards, SACP executive member Mr Mac Maharaj attends his sister's funeral in Johannesburg.

## Mum's diabetes award

Medical Reporter

A BONTEHEUWEL mother has been honoured for her work among diabetics.

She has received the Ames Diabetes Award which is given to those who do community service for diabetics and who inspire and help others.

Mrs Eileen de Beer first became involved when her 11-year-old daughter Carol was diagnosed as a diabetic. On learning of her daughter's problem, Mrs De Beer read widely and helped as a kitchen mother at youth camps.

She also worked closely with elderly diabetic patients in her community, encouraging them to educate themselves about their disease.

## SACP reveals secret meeting minutes

The South African Communist Party yesterday revealed what it said were the minutes of the secret meeting at which the Government alleges the SACP hatched a plot for insurrection should negotiations collapse.

The document was released at a news conference in Johannesburg only days before the Government and the African National Congress are due to hold a second round of talks.

It also came a day after the SACP re-emerged as a legal political party following decades of underground operations.

The document, released to further counter the Government allegations, clearly lays out guidelines for the consolidation of the SACP

and the reshaping of its relationship with the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu.

No mention of insurrection is made in the minutes of the meeting, said to have been held at Tongaat on the Natal north coast.

According to the document, the meeting recognised that the changed "situation ... requires that the possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to the fullest, while not abandoning" the armed struggle.

A Johannesburg newspaper claimed it had computer printouts of evidence that the meeting had planned to smuggle arms into

the country for the alleged revolt.

"We wish to set the record straight in regard to a number of serious and deliberate distortions in the information the police have been leaking to the media," Ms Cheryl Carolus, a member of the SACP's new interim committee, told the news conference.

She said the Tongaat meeting had been consultative and had taken no decisions.

"It is clear that some elements in the Government are still unable to live with the fact that the SACP is unbanned," Ms Carolus told reporters.

She also reiterated that SACP

general secretary Joe Slovo was not present at the meeting.

The document also seems to reveal SACP fears that the struggle against apartheid was losing momentum as attention focused on negotiations.

The meeting recommended, among other things, that the SACP assert its independence from other organisations and that its constitution would have to be amended to allow for more internal democracy.

"The relationship between the party and fraternal organisations must change," the document says.

"The time has come for the

party to assert its independence and its own identity," it adds.

As the party began its life as a legal organisation it "should practise full internal democracy".

"This involves changes to the present (party) constitution."

Sydney Mafumadi, a member of the interim leadership of the SACP, accused right-wing elements in the Government of orchestrating the plot allegations.

"They are selectively choosing what they want (from the minutes), and attaching to these extracts extra interpretation," said Mr Mafumadi.

The ANC meets the Government on August 6 for a second round of talks on obstacles impeding formal negotiations. — Sapa.

# Negotiations need neutrality

Since my retirement from party politics I have been consistently asked throughout the country if I would accept a role as an independent facilitator during the impending constitutional negotiations.

I am in contact with my friend, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and I know that he has also been asked the same question on numerous occasions.

My standard response has always been that I would be prepared to invest my skills in any activity that ensured the success of negotiations and the birth of a new, nonracial democratic state in our country.

To those questioners who have cared to absorb the details, I have, however, stated the following reservations.

First, the negotiation process presently unfolding in our country does not seem to provide a role for any players who are not members of political parties.

It seems that participation in negotiations will be on the basis of political parties and not as politically non-aligned or free agents.

This makes good sense because it is political parties that have the mandate to speak on behalf of constituents.

Second, my own observation is that the South African Government does not appear to be keen to involve independent facilitators since it has direct access to virtually all, or at least most, of the potential participants in the negotiation process.

Indeed, President de Klerk is on good speaking terms with Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and Drs de Beer, Worrall and Treurnicht.

There are signs that President de Klerk might soon establish channels with other potential key players such as the PAC.

The question then is: Why would he need a facilitator?

However, there is another side to this debate.

The negotiation process will only succeed if the following principle is observed:

31/7/90 (118)

**OSCAR DHLOMO**, former KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and secretary-general of Inkatha (right), examines the role that could be played by an independent facilitator during the impending constitutional negotiations in South Africa.



All the parties must enjoy equal status during negotiations.

This principle cannot be observed if President de Klerk or any of his Ministers is chairman of the negotiating forum.

In any case, President de Klerk cannot act as chairman since he will be one of the star players in the game.

This consideration clearly establishes a case for an independent chairman or chairmen of the negotiating forum.

## Alternative role

Such a chairman could fulfil one of two roles: he could act as a guide who ensures that the debate does not degenerate into a slanging match, and that all parties are afforded enough time to state their case.

This is a mechanical and neutral role that would suit a judge of the Supreme Court or anyone in that category.

On the other hand, a chairman could add to the above responsibility by actually facilitating and encouraging agreement on crucial points of disagreement and conflict.

He could work behind the scenes as well as outside the negotiation forum, by setting up meetings with

various leaders of delegations with a view to inducing consensus on various issues.

There are three chairmen I have seen and read about who did this remarkably well.

These are Professor Denys Schreiner, former chairman of the Buthelezi Commission, Professor Desmond Clarence, former chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, and Lord Carrington, chairman of the Lancaster House talks which gave birth to the independence of Zimbabwe.

This is a role that would require a clear grasp of the political and constitutional issues at stake as well as credibility and acceptance by all parties.

Moreover, the incumbent would need to possess an extraordinary ability to put himself in the position of all participating parties and genuinely try to understand their aspirations and concerns objectively.

It is my view that a skilled and politically aware negotiator rather than a judge could do better in such circumstances.

I can say without any doubt that during the negotiations process there will be numerous hiccups, conflicts and even threats to derail the process.

It is obvious that if and when such deadlocks are encountered there should be a person or persons (preferably a committee or council) to whom such deadlocks could be referred for possible resolution.

This would be imperative especially if the negotiating parties agree that decisions would be reached by consensus and not by majority vote.

The work of such a person or persons would not necessarily be to force reluctant participants to accept unpopular or perceivably suicidal decisions.

On the contrary, this person or persons would communicate with the reluctant parties, assess their problems and, if necessary, explore compromise solutions to such problems.

I cannot imagine successful negotiations without this back-up service or something similar to it.

This service could, of course, be provided by the South African Government from the ranks of its own civil servants.

The argument here could be that it is the National Party and not the South African Government that will be negotiating.

Therefore, the South African Government will be a neutral party.

On paper this argument is indeed valid, but it would be unrealistic to expect that all participants would find it easy to accept, given the many years of mistrust and mutual suspicion among the participating parties.

This is the kind of role I would consider accepting if it was created and offered to me.

I am sure Dr Van Zyl Slabbert would react in similar vein.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the structure and format of the negotiation process is still far from clear at this stage, and various parties have differing views on the subject.

Until there is clarity and unanimity we can do no more than speculate.

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# Blacks confused about boycott

St. 3/17/90

(11A)

By Therese Anders,  
Highveld Bureau



whether they were owned or  
managed by Indians.

There was confusion throughout the Eastern Transvaal among black consumers yesterday about whether those observing the ANC's call for a consumer boycott were allowed to buy from Indian traders.

The ANC's Eastern Transvaal interim convenor, Ntombi Shope, said the position was that all shops in white CBDs were to be boycotted, irrespective of

In several towns the boycott has been postponed briefly to allow for planning and meetings with Indian businessmen.

Miss Shope announced that at the request of Lowveld businessmen the ANC's Eastern Transvaal boycott co-ordinating committee would be meeting a group of businessmen from the region on August 8. The venue has not been announced.

Go back to  
school,   
says UDF 

The UDF has repeated its call to teachers and scholars in the Pretoria area to return to school today.

Spokesman for the Pretoria Teachers Union, Mike Molefe, told a press conference that teachers should go back — and ignore any letters of dismissal.

Although about 50 teachers have been dismissed, not one has yet received a letter, he said.

But measures had been taken through Lawyers for Human Rights against dismissals, said UDF representative Siphwe Ngwenya. — Sapa.

# ANC-goyt talks 'on'

34/71<sup>90</sup> By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

the detentions it is more important than ever to hold the August 6 talks.

The African National Congress said today that, as far as it was concerned, the talks with the Government on August 6 were still on.

"The release of prisoners is the main item on the agenda so it would be senseless not to meet because of the detentions."

This is in spite of the detention of several leading members in the continuing row over police and Government allegations that the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally had acted contrary to the spirit of peaceful negotiations.

However, she said the ANC decision might depend on the outcome of talks tomorrow between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said after the ANC national executive committee met in Johannesburg yesterday: "Our view is that because of

Mr de Klerk said yesterday statements by Mr Mandela and SACP chief Joe Slovo that they were still committed to negotiations had not eliminated all the problems the Government had with an alleged plot to stage an armed uprising.

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...literary campaign

# ANC goes into the souvenir business

Staff Reporter

The African National Congress is going into the souvenir business.

The organisation took steps last week to register a company that will be responsible for marketing goods bearing the colours or logo of the organisation, the temporary head of the ANC's marketing efforts, Isu Chiba, said.

The ANC has also applied for its official logo and colours to be registered under the Trade Marks Act and is investigating the possibility of copyright of deputy president Nelson Mandela's face.

ANC umbrellas, T-shirts and badges have been best sellers — and top moneyspinners — since the organisation's unbanning in February.

Now the ANC wants to start getting its own share of the memorabilia profits.

"We've taken this step because there was abuse of colours and name by a host of people who have been selling ANC-related articles for their own gain," Mr Chiba said.

"We do not feel it is correct for commercial organisations to make a profit out of a political organisation.

"We have no objection to people producing ANC articles provided they receive authorisation. There are things like royalties to be considered," he said.

If, for example, a badge manufacturer wanted to make badges boasting the ANC logo, he would have to apply for permission.

"The manufacturer would have to make a written proposal. Our marketing department will then consider the request."

Mr Chiba said the ANC had applied for a company to be registered, possibly under the name of South African Merchandising Enterprises.

"We are not making a profit, but it will serve to generate funds to help the organisation meet day-to-day expenses like rentals and staff salaries," Mr Chiba said.

Manufacturers who entered into agreements with the ANC's marketing company would pay royalties in the region of 5-10 percent.

Mr Chiba said the ANC, with a potential membership of two million people, was well poised to generate funds with its marketing scheme.

# ANC Women's League all set to further female rights

St. 31/7/90

(11A)

Much talk about women's liberation in South Africa will follow the launch of the ANC's Women's League on August 9.

Or so hope the dedicated activists of the Women's League task force who are preparing countrywide for the launch.

Some of them have been active inside the country for years; others have recently returned home after decades in exile. And others will desert their foreign posts temporarily to participate in a drive which they believe could crucially influence women's role in a post-apartheid society.

One such woman is lawyer, historian and journalist Frene Ginwala, a gutsy long-time exile who is based in the ANC's London office and has come home temporarily to help organise the launch.

She speaks enthusiastically about the new drive to mobilise the country's women. But notes that despite women's pivotal role in the anti-apartheid struggle, and the fact that the ANC's position on women's rights is far advanced compared with many other countries, the ANC has "confessed" in a recent policy document that the full potential of women has not been realised.

Issued on May 2, the document notes: "We have not fully integrated women's concerns and the emancipation of women into the practice of our liberation struggle."

The birth of the Women's League will give impetus to some of the goals set out in the policy document:

- To take affirmative action within the ANC to supplement and reinforce advancement programmes based on the principle of full equality.
- To embark on an education

The launch of the ANC's Women's League on August 9 heralds a new era of women's rights in South Africa. Political Reporter **ESMARE VAN DER MERWE** spoke to Frene Ginwala, a member of the Women's League task force, about women's role in a post-apartheid society.

programme to promote an understanding of the origin and effects of gender oppression.

- To formulate a national policy on the emancipation of women and the promotion of women's development.

- To lead the national debate on a Charter of Women's Rights, which could have a status similar to that of a Bill of Rights in a new dispensation.

- To unite scores of democratic women's organisations into one structure which will flow from a national level into regions and branches.

## Gender

Notes Ms Ginwala: "We have to start the debate on women's roles in a post-apartheid South Africa now. Unless we understand that gender repression is structural and affects every aspect of life, we won't arrive at post-apartheid policies which will bring about the emancipation of women."

Women have played a monumental role in building the "culture of resistance" over the last decade. They were the ones to uphold the rent boycotts and lead the battle of squatters.

Yet, their contribution has not been fully acknowledged.

Ms Ginwala says even the recent ANC-Cosatu recommendations on an economic policy reflect a lack of understanding of the "structural nature of gender oppression" and seem to halt on general recommendations dealing with maternity

leave and provision for creches.

There is much more to a comprehensive economic policy, she says. It should acknowledge women's role in the working of the land — land allocation is one of the thorniest issues in current politics — and at home.

"Women's unpaid work at home and on the land has never counted as part of the gross domestic product.

"Their major contribution to the economy is not valued because it is not expressed in monetary terms."

Involved particularly with the struggle of black women in South Africa, she is critical of white women's lack of emancipation in a country where they have had the vote for long and are "free of domestic labour".

Says Ms Ginwala: "What have they done with their time? Where are the female decision-makers in commerce, industry, government?"

"Yet, commerce talks about affirmative action for blacks. What about the white women, women who have never asked for it?"

On the other hand, she says, white women have been prominent in the democratic movement.

"These large numbers of white women may reflect a growing awareness of the status of women under apartheid. But it is only in a democratic South Africa that they will be really emancipated."



Frene Ginwala . . . will embark on a new drive to mobilise the country's women.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

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# SACP minutes 'embarrassed' both ANC and Govt

By PETER FABRICIUS,  
Political Correspondent

The Joe Slovo-Operation Vula row — which has threatened to derail the next round of talks between the Government and ANC on August 6 — has left egg on the faces of both sides.

The Government's campaign to remove SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo from the talks — because of his participation in a meeting which allegedly hatched a plot to seize power — appears to have boomeranged.

Minutes of the meeting — at Tongaat on May 19 and 20 — prove only that a "Comrade Joe" was there, and Mr Slovo has denied this was he.

On the other hand, the minutes also back police claims that the SACP talked of taking advantage of its new legal status and negotiations to further its strategy of an insurrection.

## 'Comrade Joe'

The minutes place serious doubt on the SACP's commitment to negotiations and have compromised its alliance partner, the ANC.

On balance, the embarrassments suffered by the Government and ANC may well have neutralised each other — allowing the talks on August 6 to go ahead.

The minutes of the meeting — the accuracy of which the ANC has not denied — show that "Comrade Joe" played a leading role.

The minutes do not identify him as Mr Slovo, but a written police assessment of the meeting does — thus incidentally also disproving subsequent police claims that it was the press and not the police who implicated Mr Slovo.

The police document attributes a remark made by "Comrade Joe" in the minutes to "Joe Slovo".

"Those who do not sign the ceasefire are not bound by the terms of it. In a ceasefire it will be these two parties (the ANC and the Government) who will agree on something," says the police document.

The minutes do not include the words in brackets and attribute the remark to "Comrade Joe" only.

Probably the most incriminating passage in the minutes are these remarks by "Comrade Gene" (whom the accompanying police document identifies as Ronnie Kasrils, a senior ANC and SACP official).

"The need to build up our combat forces, building a revo-

lutionary army, widening out the people's army — based on townships and the rural areas — side by side with the protests and demonstrations of the masses — stowaways, strikes, splitting the ruling powers, reinforced by contingents of armed detachments which are community- and factory-based that are able to make an uprising with the real backing of armed force and settling the issues of political power in that way.

"Taking the thesis (the SACP strategy of armed struggle) seriously we should be wary that we do not think that now with negotiations, we have arrived in Babylon.

"The legal space now creates the possibility of this kind of uprising much more than ever before.

"Self-defence units are needed now for the protection of our people.

"With the perspective of building a self-defence structure which becomes a people's militia under the guise of self-defence units — such a force is available should the talks go wrong, or the right wing goes on the offensive."

But that the SACP was definitely planning cynically to "misuse" the negotiations to further the armed struggle — as the police have claimed — is not absolutely clear even from passages like this.

They suggest that military action might be used only if negotiations failed — or if the need for self-defence arose.

## Take advantage

There certainly is evidence, however, of the SACP taking advantage of Government concessions — granted because the ANC demanded them as conditions for negotiation.

A "Comrade Vally" asked how the SACP could "take full advantage of the space created by the retreat of the enemy.

"In many townships the troops are being pulled out. Limits are being placed on the police."

Overall, the minutes paint a picture of a revolutionary party struggling to adapt its strategy of violence to the new era of negotiations — and not succeeding in setting a clear direction. The minutes reveal the SACP to be deeply suspicious of the Government's negotiation strategy and unwilling to abandon its armed struggle at least until a constituent assembly is firmly in place — or possibly until it has achieved power.

31/7/90

Star

# ANC official says attack aimed to kill

CAPT Timp 31/7/90

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JOHANNESBURG. — A senior ANC official yesterday said he narrowly escaped an assassination attempt in Soweto on Sunday night.

Mr Penuell Maduna told a news conference he was attacked by four men in Rockville after attending the relaunch of the SA Communist Party.

Mr Maduna, 38, claimed he was struck with a brick and had beer poured on his face before the assailants fired six shots. He was hit in the arm, where a bullet remained lodged.

Neighbours took him to Baragwanath Hospital where he said doctors could not remove the bullet lodged in his arm for fear of cutting a nerve.

The hospital could not confirm the incident last night.

Mr Maduna said he was attacked moments after he and a cousin pulled away from a filling station in Rockville.

The four assailants, he said, rammed their vehicle twice before they jumped out of their car to attack him.

He said he wrestled with one of the assailants, and had managed to overcome him when shots were fired at him. He was knocked unconscious.

At the hospital, he claimed, two black policemen approached him and said they knew he had been shot.

He had not reported the incident to the police because "police are behind this. Why should I go to them?"

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn later denied that such an incident had happened.

"He must lay an official complaint," he said, adding that Mr Maduna was trying to put the police "in a bad light". — Sapa

## Maharaj 'let out' for sister's funeral

CAPT Timp 31/7/90  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Detainee and SACP leader Mr Mac Maharaj made an appearance at his sister's funeral here yesterday, manacled to two policemen and unable to speak to anyone.

A heavy police contingent mingled with mourners inside the small Hindu temple.

About 20 uniformed and plain-clothed policemen kept a watchful eye on the congregation, while others scoured the surrounding cemetery.

His brief release was limited to the religious ceremony.

# FW and Mandela to discuss 'plot'?

Capt-T 1/13  
31/7/90

11A ~~SECRET~~

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk last night said he had taken note of statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo that they were committed to the continuation of a peaceful negotiating process.

He was responding to the two men's denial on Sunday of a "red plot" to overthrow the the government.

However, Mr De Klerk said their comments did not eliminate all the problems.

"Various matters, which the government considers to be serious, will still have to be cleared up," he said.

This indicates that the president will probably raise the issue with Mr Mandela at their scheduled meeting tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk added that "the normal legal processes will continue in any event".

The cabinet, members of the white Ministers' Council and provincial administrators yesterday began a two-day meeting at a secluded venue outside Pretoria.

## ANC reservations

In Johannesburg the national executive of the ANC last night decided to go ahead with the talks, but internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu voiced reservations on the outcome.

Foreign diplomats, briefed by Mr Mandela at the weekend, said yesterday that what had impressed them most was the determination on both sides that nothing should prevent the talks going ahead.

With aspects of the plot story showing signs of backfiring, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, is believed to have ordered an end to further public statements on the controversial issue.

All Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet would say yesterday was that the police would take into account all the weekend utterances relating to the alleged "red plot" and weigh these against facts produced by the police's continuing probe.

However, one security source said yesterday police had uncovered "more very interesting information" and were confident of eventually securing a number of convictions.

Meanwhile the DP's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday that he had little doubt there was "some truth" in the "red plot" allegations.

"I have equally little doubt that the Nationalist Party government prefers to use these events for propaganda purposes rather than deal with them effectively," he said.

● Communists unveil 'secret minutes'

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CAP Correspondent  
3/17/80

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# Communists unveil 'secret minutes'

CAN 7014  
3/17/90  
11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Communist Party yesterday revealed what it said were the minutes of the secret meeting at which the government alleges it hatched an insurrection plot in the eventuality of negotiations collapsing.

The document was released at a news conference here only days before the government and the African National Congress are due to hold a second round of talks.

It also comes a day after the SACP re-emerged as a legal political party after decades of underground operations.

The document, which was released in an attempt further to counter the government allegations, clearly lays out the guidelines for the consolidation of the SACP and the reshaping of its relationship with the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

No mention of insurrection is made in the minutes.

The meeting — in Tongaat, Natal — recognised that the "changed situation . . . requires that the possibilities offered by negotiations should be explored to the fullest, while not abandoning the armed struggle".

A Johannesburg newspaper claimed it had computer print-outs of evidence that the meeting had planned to smuggle arms into the country for the alleged revolt.

"We wish to set the record straight in regard to a number of serious and deliberate distortions in the information the police have been leaking to the media," Ms Cheryl Carolus, a member of the newly announced interim committee of the SACP, told the news conference.

"The Tongaat meeting never dis-

cussed the movement of arms into the country, arms caches, or any military operational details."

She said the meeting was consultative and had taken no decisions. She reiterated that SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo was not present at the meeting.

The document also reveals that the SACP fears the struggle against apartheid is losing momentum as attention focuses on negotiations.

"The spark is being lost. While we need to exploit the negotiation process, we must avoid the danger of suffocating the mass struggle. We need to galvanise people into action again," the document says.

"The central political demands of our mass campaigns should be for the vote, for an interim government, for a democratically elected constituent assembly and for a redistribution of the land and wealth."

The meeting recommended that the SACP assert its independence from other organisations. It said its constitution would have to be amended to allow for more internal democracy.

As the party began its life as a legal party it "should practise full internal democracy". "This involves changes to the present (party) constitution."

Mr Sydney Mafumadi, a member of the SACP's interim leadership, accused right-wing elements in the government of orchestrating the plot allegations. "They are selectively choosing what they want (from the minutes) and attaching to these extracts extra interpretation."

In Pretoria, meanwhile, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said President F W de Klerk was morally obliged to cancel the August 6 talks following Mr Nelson Mandela's support for Mr Slovo. — Sapa

# FW and Mandela to discuss 'plot'?

CMA-7113

31/7/90

114 ~~SECRET~~

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# ANC concerned at UK news reports

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC has expressed its concern that some British newspapers have ignored Mr Nelson Mandela's denial of an "insurrectionary plot" in South Africa and have questioned the activities of the ANC's office here.

Mr Mendi Msimang, chief representative of the ANC's London office, said the office fulfilled a diplomatic role in Britain and Ireland.

He issued a statement yesterday condemning The Mail on Sunday, The Independent and The Times, for continuing to rely on the "discredited" South African security services for their information.

Mr Msimang said: "We condemn in the strongest terms any suggestion that it (the London Office of the ANC) is being used to engage in activities other than its brief to develop and strengthen relations with these countries".

## Jeered loudly

The crowd, which started gathering outside the centre before daylight, jeered loudly when a police vehicle towing a dog trailer drove past.

At 8 30 am several hundred workers, who had been standing outside the station entrance to the Civic Centre opposite the police, moved down the road and into the parking area on the south side of the Civic Centre to join several thousand colleagues.

They were singing "Forward we shall march" and holding placards reading: "Council pays peanuts", "Jobs and houses for all" and "We demand a living wage".

Mr Roger Ronnie, South African Municipal Workers Union spokesman, said workers had rejected the City Council's final wage offer and at a meeting yesterday had agreed to strike until demands were met. He said wage increase demands ranged between 15 and 30 percent.

Mr David Beretti, Director of Personnel, said the council had offered a minimum wage of R4 19 an hour, as opposed to the existing R3,61 cents an hour. He said SAMWU's revised demand was R4,80 cents an hour. They were demanding minimum increases of 13,5 percent.

Salary and wages comprise about 40 percent of the entire city budget.

Outside, a marshal armed with a megaphone, directed new arrivals towards the crowd. "Stay together people," he shouted.

## Speak to mayor

A worker said: "We want 40 percent, not 13 percent and we want to speak to the mayor."

A colleague added: "They've got a lot of money. We have to work Saturdays and Sundays for overtime to make enough money. We do the work."

At 8 40 am there was a surge up the stairs towards the entrance and marshalls shouted vainly: "Wait, Comrades, please wait."

But the crowd surged towards the locked doors chanting "In, Comrades, in."

The doors remained locked at that stage, however.

Hertzog Boulevard was blocked by traffic officials as a small group of strikers gathered in the street on the northern side of the Civic Centre and waved their placards.

Council spokesman Mr Ted Doman, said there were on-going wage negotiations with SAMWU.

"We consider negotiations to still be under way. We have been in contact with SAMWU this morning and expect to be able to make an announcement later today," Mr Doman said.

Inside the Civic Centre, many offices and telephones are unmanned as employees have been unable to get into the building.

Mr Beretti said he had been told that City Planner, Mr Neville Riley's car had been shaken by strikers as he tried to enter the building.

Representatives of the Cape Ambulance and Rescue Service joined the municipal workers at the Centre.

Repair workshop and store-room workers, cleansing personnel and a few uniformed workers representing the city's ambulance staff took part.