

BLACK POLITICS

1990

OCTOBER

ANC 'insisting' on urgent summit

By Kalzer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

The African National Congress (ANC) insisted today that it wanted an urgent full summit with the Government before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Government has told the ANC it is not in favour of such a summit, as it does not believe it could achieve much now.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold a summit, it seems prepared to do so if the ANC remains adamant.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation's top leadership had decided at its recent three-day national executive committee meeting in Johannesburg that it would ask for an urgent summit with the Government to discuss a number of important

issues, notably the status of talks between the two parties.

"Our position on the meeting is clear," Miss Marcus said. "We want a full five-a-side summit as was held in Pretoria on August 6, constituting the same team of delegates.

"It is not just a third summit, but is an essential meeting to review the situation and where we go from here. It also has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups.

'Cavalier'

"It is a special summit which the ANC wants, and if the Government is going to be cavalier about it, then that's a problem."

Miss Marcus said the ANC would push for this summit to be held this week before Mr Mandela

leaves on a three-week seven-nation tour of Asia and France.

Though the Government does not favour a summit with the ANC at present, it is optimistic that the stalled peace process is starting to move again.

Senior Government sources said at the weekend that with the slump in township violence and the resolution of the "Hani affair", they now believed the six-week-old impasse in negotiations could be over.

The return to South Africa at the weekend of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani has raised the hopes of both the Government and the ANC. Mr Hani returned from Umtata after the Government restored the temporary immunity against arrest which it revoked in August after he had uttered militant statements.

'Hidden force' claims to be discussed

will soon be received. Dangor, an average of 160 re- build ANC structures.

ANC ranch aids economy

Star 1/10/90

(11A)

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, it's business as usual for the other comrades, the country cousins of the ANC's external wing.

They go about their daily chores as though February 2 never happened — milking their Brahmins, tending pigs, goats, sheep and assorted crops. In short, providing the sustenance for the stomach that the cadres once marched on.

The ranch is 3 000 ha of amiable property, 50 km beyond Lusaka. It used to belong to a Polish countess. The ANC acquired it in 1979.

On it more than 3 000 cattle graze. Most of the rest of the land is given to maize, two-thirds of which must be slotted into the national granary.

This is one way the ANC contributes to breathing some life into the near-moribund local economy.

But observers say, not totally in jest, that Lusaka itself could be in danger of collapsing if or when negotiations succeed in South Africa and the ANC

Lusaka's economy, already tottering, faces possible collapse when its major developer, the ANC, starts sending its people back home, writes **JOHN RYAN**.

begins its great withdrawal from exile.

Another factor in that prospect is the ANC's standing in the property market around the capital. The organisation owns or holds at least eight titles, most in the townships or industrial area.

It is a developer in a country which is fast regressing.

Tom Sebina, chief media spokesman, maintains that the exodus is some months away. Speaking from the sleazy complex down an alley behind Cairo Road where he has his office, he says: "We have a great deal to clear before we can start sending our people home.

"And first there is the matter

of the Government indemnity for them. And of course the outcome of the talks."

So education goes on at the ANC primary school and creche, the Young Pioneers parade every Saturday in their green-and-yellow uniforms, the Albert Luthuli soccer team meets its league commitments.

And Squash and Javel continue to process ANC members and guests through the Kenneth Kaunda international airport.

Squash is a solemn young man and wide — like a black Frans Erasmus, the Springbok prop forward. Javel, his assistant in the clearing department, is rake-slim and smiles a lot. But both take their job very seriously and spend most of their time at the airport.

When Nelson Mandela and the other then newly released leaders held their party jamboree in Lusaka earlier this year, one overseas journalist viewed the arrangements and said: "Well, the ANC shouldn't have much trouble running South Africa. It runs Lusaka pretty well."

Mandela pounds pavements

See 1/10/90
A relaxed Nelson Mandela braved scorching heat yesterday morning to canvass ANC members in Soweto's Orlando West township.

Dressed in a black tracksuit with the yellow and green stripes of the ANC flag, the ANC deputy president walked from door to door meeting residents and asking them to join up.

Most residents had al-

ready-joined, he said, and those who had not, signed up immediately.

"There hasn't been one house where we have not been successful."

Mr Mandela was welcomed with open arms. Excited teenagers asked him for his autograph, and housewives took snapshots for the family album.

Membership fee is R12. Pensioners can join

free of charge.

● The ANC's aim of recruiting a million members by December received a boost yesterday when 10 new branches were launched in the Natal region.

● Christmas Tinto was yesterday elected president of the Western Cape branch. Hilda Ndude is vice-president.

— Own Correspondent and Sapa.

Interim govt is next step - ANC journal

Ger 1/10/90

(117)

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Once the Pretoria Minute had been implemented and consensus on constitutional principles reached, the next logical step towards the creation of a new South Africa would be the formation of a representative interim government, according to the ANC's official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Mayibuye said it would be disastrous for society to entrust the task of supervising the transition to the present Government. The ruling National Party could not be both a referee and a player in the negotiations game.

The ANC journal said

the formation of an interim government would imply there was commitment by all parties to free and peaceful political engagement.

These parties and organisations would have to accept the need for fundamental change, the creation of a united non-racial and democratic South Africa and the mechanisms for drawing up a new constitution.

Charged

The interim government would then be charged with the mandate to implement these agreements.

Given the grave nature of the duties with which the interim government would be

charged, it would be important that the interim government have supreme authority and sovereignty to implement decisions. For it to be able to deal with all kinds of crises it would also need the power of rule by decree.

Members of the interim government, though belonging to or seconded by the various political parties, should be ineligible for election to a constituent assembly.

"If it is to fulfil its mandate without hindrance, the interim government must be the supreme political authority of the land. The present legislative and executive authorities will not be necessary," said the journal.

'Hidden force' claims to be discussed - Hani

8-11-90
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Allegations of a "hidden force" which was deliberately trying to derail negotiations would be discussed with the Government, Chris Hani said yesterday.

Appearing at a Soweto press conference with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff said he believed a solution could be found.

Mr Mandela said it was interesting to note that violence had flared up again a day after President de Klerk's return from the US.

In response to allegations that rent and service boycotts could be resumed if the curfew continued, Mr Mandela said "a lot of strategies" were being considered in response to Operation Iron Fist.

Mr Hani said a statement made

by him earlier this year concerning the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle had been taken out of context.

He wished to reiterate that MK supported negotiations but should they fail to bring about a democratic South Africa the armed struggle would be resumed. — Sapa.

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Students' 'no' to PAC-Govt talks

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The Witwatersrand region of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has rejected the Government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks, saying the invitation was an attempt to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

At Paso's first annual Witwatersrand regional congress in Soweto at the weekend, it turned down the invitation and called for the intensification of the armed struggle.

Paso Witwatersrand organiser Mandla Matiko said negotiations would not bring about the total emancipation of "the disposed African masses". The land issue, he said, remained not negotiable.

ANC to broaden its support base to include whites

By **MICHAEL MORRIS**
Political Correspondent

A call to broaden the ANC's support base, especially among whites, to strengthen its negotiation leverage drew the movement's first regional conference to a close last night after wide-ranging debate on key political and economic issues.

Resolutions aimed at making the organisation more politically and financially effective and broadening the policy debate among members dominated the debate.

Tackling violence at grassroots was singled out as a priority.

The ANC emerges from the two-day meeting at the Peninsula Technikon with a new regional leadership which displays a strong UDF presence.

The new regional president, Mr Christmas Tinto, is one of the three presidents of the UDF. The vice-president is Mrs Hilda Ndude, Western Cape secretary of the Federation of South African Women.

Former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Amos Lengesi — who served with Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Wankie Campaign in the Rhodesian War in the 1960s — was elected general secretary.

UDF chairman in the Western Cape, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka was elected treasury and another UDF stalwart, Mr Trevor Manuel is the ANC's new regional publicity secretary. He and Mitchell's Plain teacher Mr Neville van der Rhee — the new political education officer — were elected unanimously last night.

Eight additional members elected to the executive are prominent civil rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, Mr Basil

Davidson, Mr Chris Nissen, Mr Noel Williams, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Reggie Oliphant, Ms Mildred Lesiea and Mr Joe Mpanza.

Leading Peninsula communist, the outspoken Ms Cheryl Carolus was notably absent from the executive, but, although she was nominated, she declined to stand.

Ms Carolus, one of the SACP's 16 national leadership figures, said this had been a personal decision and did not reflect a broad principle that the ANC and SACP leadership positions be separated.

She said she would concentrate on the task of convener of the SACP in the region.

One of the resolutions passed yesterday noted that the "struggle for national liberation is inextricably linked to the struggle for social emancipation" and reaffirmed the "fighting alliance" between the ANC and SACP.

The 550 delegates departed with late last night with a message to go out and recruit members, with a special effort to get more white support.

A resolution on recruitment warns that "under no circumstances must anybody be forced to join the ANC".

Raising money was another key issue — members will be asked to pledge a percentage of their income to the ANC. The conference suggested those earning less than R2 000 a month should pledge one percent of their income, those earning more than R2 000, two percent and those earning more than R3 000, three percent. Branches will be expected to keep financial records and exercise proper control over funds. Ten percent of all branch fundraising will be donated to the region to subsidise poorer branches.

A controversial element of the resolution on finances is the suggestion that, at a national level, the ANC should be "put economic and political pressure on big businesses who profit from our wages to give money to our struggle".

Other resolutions are that

- Accountability be maintained through "appropriate structures" to ensure "consultation with grassroots membership takes place when decisions are taken affecting major policy";

- A department of political education be established in the region to inculcate an awareness of ANC positions on key issues;

- Two members of the ANC's women's and youth leagues should serve on all executives from national to branch level;

- A proposal that conservation of the environment be incorporated in the national policy of the ANC as a matter of urgency, be referred to branches and the regional executive;

- A commission of investigation make an in-depth study of the social, economic and political conditions in rural areas and that the national executive, as part of the process of negotiations, should ensure that the climate for negotiations and freedom of political activity also filter down to the rural areas;

- Branch meetings be made as "interesting as possible" and focus on policy rather than administration.

The congress noted a proposal that setting up an ANC-controlled radio station — particularly in view of the high illiteracy rate — and progressive newspapers in African languages be investigated.

ANC is 'seizing a chance'

THE African National Congress had entered into negotiations with the Government because it wanted to seize an opportunity, ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo said in Soweto yesterday.

He was speaking at the South African Youth Congress Southern Transvaal regional conference at Ipelegong Community Centre.

Charter

He said the question of where the ANC was going was answered in 1955 at the Kliptown Congress to draw up the Freedom Charter.

The Government, he said, was denying the organisation to reach the last mile. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Peace process enters delicate phase

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THE peace process enters a delicate phase this week as the Government and the ANC make tentative moves to get delayed negotiations going again.

On the cards is a summit between the ANC and the Government on negotiations and ways of ending township violence.

Although the Government is reluctant to hold such a summit - believing it will achieve little - it seems to be prepared to do so if the ANC insists.

Senior sources said at the weekend that the Government was reluctant to accede to the ANC's request last week for a third summit meeting this week.

Sowetan
11/10/90
They said there was little point in a summit as the joint Government/ANC working groups involved in the nitty-gritty of negotiations had little progress to report.

Government believed in particular that before another summit takes place, there must be progress in the working group discussing the practical implications of the ANC's suspension of armed activities.

This group has met three times but has done little more than set an agenda. Its work has been hampered by the controversy over Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani, the ANC's chief rep-

resentative on the group who has so far been unable to attend because the Government withdrew his immunity against arrest.

Government sources said now that Hani's immunity against arrest had been restored and he would be attending the meetings, they expected progress to be made.

Negotiation

The group would meet this week and thereafter weekly. The sources expressed confidence that these meetings would give new momentum to the stalled negotiation process.

These views had been con-

veyed to the ANC and the Government was now awaiting its reply.

But the sources indicated that if the ANC insisted on a summit, the Government would agree to it.

ANC sources insist the organisation is very serious about the need for a summit, mainly to discuss the Government's "Iron Fist" security measures aimed at snuffing out township violence.

Privately and publicly, ANC leaders have been saying that the iron fist measures are intended to thwart their efforts to mobilise support, rather than to smother violence. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Hani: ANC recruiting, training members

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani returned to SA from Transkei at the weekend after regaining his indemnity, and said the ANC's military wing was continuing to train and recruit members.

Hani joined ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela at an international news conference in Soweto yesterday where he said Umkhonto should form part of the new SA Army. 8/10am 11/10/90

He said the ANC was still consulting other countries on the regular training of MK members. Hani said August's Pretoria Minute signed by government and the ANC

LINDEN BIRNS
referred only to military operations, not to recruitment.

Mandela — who earlier braved searing heat to do door-to-door canvassing for the ANC — added that government's unconditional granting of indemnity for Hani would help to restore "a more positive atmosphere in which discussions can take place".

Mandela said the ANC national executive committee (NEC) welcomed Hani's presence in Johannesburg and reiterated

that he would lead the ANC side of the joint government/ANC working group on the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle.

The outspoken chief of staff had always been a loyal and disciplined ANC member, Mandela said.

Hani said he had had no contact with government before it decided to renew his indemnity, and that although a recent statement he made at Transkei University regarding the continuation of the armed struggle had been taken out of context, he wanted to reiterate that the armed strug-

□ To Page 2

Hani 8/10am 11/10/90

gle would have to continue if negotiations for a non-racial democratic SA collapsed.

On the issue of the return of ANC exiles, including MK cadres, Mandela said it was unlikely large numbers would return, as the government required detailed information on each exile — "but the process will start tomorrow".

Sapa reports that Mandela said of his canvassing drive that most residents had already joined the organisation and those who had not, signed up immediately.

He leaves next Monday on an eight-nation tour which includes the Soviet Union, France and Australia.

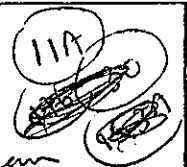
From Page 1

Before leaving for abroad, Mandela will address ANC branches in Stanger, Durban and Maritzburg. He returns from the Far East on November 2.

□ In a keynote speech to the ANC's regional conference in Johannesburg on Saturday, internal leader Walter Sisulu said pressure should be stepped up for government to create the right conditions for negotiations and a peaceful transfer of power to the black majority.

He said the time was ripe for government to transfer power, but warned that blacks would have to be judicious in this process.

ANC urges Blacks 'be ready for challenge'



Sowetan
1/10/90

THE African National Congress would take affirmative action through certain guidelines to involve blacks into South Africa's economic mainstream, the organisation's administrator, Mr Tokyo Mosima Sexwale, said last week.

Addressing guests at the opening of Reggy's Pep Store in Soweto, Sexwale said blacks should be ready to take up the challenge of running the country effectively in political and economic spheres in the post-apartheid South Africa.

The organisation had committed itself to taking political, economic and social power through the process of negotiations with the present Govern-

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

ment, he said, adding, "if that course fails, we will go back to armed struggle."

He said the opening of Reggy's Pep Store, which is the eighth in a black residential area, was an important milestone towards black economic empowerment.

Example

It was an example of how blacks could take affirmative action in creating wealth, although, he added, they should avoid being used as "fronts" by whites.

"We must learn to create and distribute wealth among ourselves

and contribute to the country's economic advancement.

"We have reached a turning point in the history of our liberation and we must prepare ourselves for the future," he said.

Sexwale said the ANC was often accused of talking about nationalising certain sectors of the economy.

Nationalisation was debatable, and there were other strategies the organisation could take to economically empower the oppressed people in South Africa.

The organisation believed in private enterprise and building the corporate and the informal sectors.

But, he warned, the black business, which had been restricted by certain laws, should "take stock of itself" because if the Group Areas was abolished "gates will be open to the Highgates, Eastgates and Westgates that have already been established around near townships."

He urged black business to act through their organisations, such as Nafcoc and others.

Students' group in the red

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Witwatersrand region of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, the student wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, said at its regional congress in Soweto at the weekend that it had run out of funds.

The congress, the first since Paso was formed about two years ago, was in preparation for the organisation's national congress in the Free State this coming weekend.

It was held at the Soweto campus of Vista University on Saturday.

Presenting his annual report, Mr Pogiso Monchusi, vice-chairman of the region, said the

organisation had encountered "many testing and enormous problems" since its formation in 1988.

He said the situation had worsened because of lack of funds.

Monchusi said although the organisation did not have "even a single cent" in its coffers, it had managed to survive.

It has so far established more than 40 branches throughout the region, including Pimville, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Katlehong, Orlando

West, Emndeni and Tokoza, he said.

"We recently hired a bus in order to attend a national council meeting in the Transkei."

"The PAC had agreed to settle the debt but they have not yet been able to raise the R4 000 to pay the bus company," he said.

Confirming Paso's financial difficulties, an executive member of the organisation told the meeting that they had to write the day's proceedings on a blackboard as they did not have money to have programmes printed.

Sowetan 1/10/90

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PAC youth reject talks with State

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Soweto
11/10/90

THE Witwatersrand region of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation has rejected the Government's invitation to its mother body, the

By SY MAKARINGE

PAC, to take part in exploratory talks.

The invitation, made by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was rejected at Paso's first annual Witwatersrand regional congress at the Soweto campus of Vista University at the weekend.

The region was one of the first to debate the invitation since the PAC leadership decided in Harare a week ago to

refer the issue back to its structures, of which Paso is one, for "exhaustive discussion".

Several speakers saw the Government's invitation as an attempt to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

Chants

Amid chants of "one settler, one bullet", the speakers called on the intensification of the armed struggle.

Mr Mandla Matiko, organiser of the region, told delegates that negotiations would not bring

about the total emancipation of the "dispossessed African masses".

He said the land issue was not negotiable.

"The repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 will not bring our land back. Our land was taken through the barrel of the gun. We're going to get it back through the barrel of the gun," he said.

Mr Molefe Modiga, an executive member of the Azanian National Youth Unity - the youth wing of the PAC - said the masses should avoid co-option.

MK's Hani is back in South Africa

Soweto 11/10/90

11/10

THE chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, who has been holed up in Transkei since the Government's refusal to renew his indemnity about five weeks ago, returned to Johannesburg at the weekend.

Hani's return followed a decision last week by the Department of Justice to renew his indemnity unconditionally until December 31.

This was after deputy leader of the African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela had written to the Government saying he had no doubt that Hani remained "committed to the spirit and letter of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

By SY MAKARINGE

Mandela reiterated at a Press conference at his Soweto home yesterday that Hani would lead an ANC working group, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute to look into all matters arising from the organisation's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

Speech

In a statement, Mandela said the national executive committee of the ANC noted with "grave concern attempts through the media to portray Chris Hani as a 'maverick' individual".

He said the ANC looked forward to Hani's free and unhindered participation in the activities of the organisation.

Addressing the conference, Hani said a statement he made during a speech in Transkei - which apparently led to the withdrawal of his indemnity - was taken out of context.

"I openly said we supported negotiations and that Umkhonto we Sizwe was behind the negotiation process. I went on further to say that if they (negotiations) did not succeed, the struggle would continue, including the armed struggle, until a non-racial society was established in South Africa," he said.

Mandela said the Government had said it would not consider renewing former Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief Ronnie Kasril's indemnity as long as he remained un-



CHRIS HANI

derground.

In the case of Mac Maharaj, who is presently in detention under Section 29, Mandela said the Government had made it clear it would consider his situation once he had been released.

He added that the ANC was continually giving the matter serious attention.

ANC plans to enter white political arena

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would challenge political parties which regarded the white community as their sole preserve and fight to win the allegiance of their members, Western Cape ANC leader Reg September said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 500 delegates at one of the ANC's first regional congresses since it was banned almost 30 years ago, he said one of the movement's most important challenges in the Western Cape was to build unity between people across colour lines.

He had recently addressed ANC branch meetings with white memberships as large as the entire regional membership of the former Congress of Democrats.

"This is clearly important, but surely only the beginning. We will need to make it clear that the white population is not only the preserve of the existing political parties — the Nats, DP and CP. We shall also have to challenge these parties and win the allegiance of people in the white community."

However, the Western Cape ANC's primary responsibility was to draw the growing African population into its ranks and to counteract any racialism which its enemies would like to foster.

LESLEY LAMBERT

"We have had enough of racial clashes," he said.

Earlier, ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi accused government of having a double agenda: to negotiate with the ANC in response to international pressure, but at the same time to weaken the ANC by promoting violence.

Government was placing obstacles in the path of the ANC by keeping national executive committee member Mac Maharaj and other activists in detention.

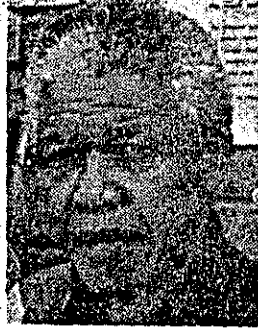
Rivalry

The ANC had launched about 315 branches which had attracted a wide cross-section of South Africans.

The Western Cape congress seemed set to start off on a bad footing as rumours emerged on Friday of rivalry between the Bonteheuvel supporters of two ANC heavyweights, Cheryl Carolus — a member of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks — and politically active Johnny Issel.

But leaders moved swiftly to defuse the situation and there was no sign of rivalry at the conference.

Mandela in house to house campaign for ANC



NELSON MANDELA

A RELAXED Mr Nelson Mandela braved scorching heat yesterday morning to personally canvass membership for the African National Congress in Orlando West, Soweto.

Dressed in a tracksuit in the black, green and gold colours of ANC, Mandela walked from house to house, meeting residents and asking them to join the organisation. *Sowetan 11/01/90*

Most residents had already joined the organisation and those who had not, signed up immediately, he said.

"There has not been one house where we have not been successful. We have been received positively and with friendliness in every house," he said.

The deputy leader of the ANC was welcomed with open arms at most houses. Excited teenagers asked him for his autograph, while housewives took pictures of him for the family album.

"We are asking people to pay their R12 membership fee when they join up, except pensioners who can join without paying the fee," he said.

Mandela thanked new members for joining the organisation and handed them their ANC membership cards.

He started canvassing members in Orlando West last Sunday and is expected to continue this week. - Sapa.

First of 3 000 exiles are due home today

GOVERNMENT has not yet approved indemnity for about 3 000 ANC exiles expected to start returning to SA today.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation had submitted the names of 3 000 people for indemnity from prosecution. However, government had not yet responded. 6 Day 1/10/90

A Justice Department spokesman said yesterday the ANC had supplied the names of supporters it wanted indemnified, but had not told government what it wanted them indemnified from.

Business Day Reporters

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said on Friday returning exiles faced a shortage of accommodation and work, and he appealed to the private sector to help them integrate into the community. Many of the returning exiles were well qualified people.

ANC sources predicted that possibly more than 100 ANC-related prisoners could be released from Robben Island today.

CMS T (m) P 11/0/90

Survey shows few agree with Winnie

Political Staff

114

LESS than a quarter of black women agreed with statements made by the head of the ANC's social welfare department, Mrs Winnie Mandela, and 44% either disagreed or strongly disagreed, a new public opinion survey has found.

If found that 9% strongly agreed and 13% agreed with Mrs Mandela's statements.

However, only 44% said they were aware of her statements.

Her strongest support came from those between the ages of 25 and 34 (27%), North Sotho-speakers (27%) and those in the Port Elizabeth area (31%).

The results of the poll, which was conducted door-to-door among 800 black women, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

PAC chooses W Cape body

CMT Tshikila 1/10/70 11A
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday elected a nine-member regional executive committee in the Western Cape as part of their national reconstititional programme.

About 1 000 members of branches in Khayelitsha, Mitchells Plain, Crossroads, Nyanga, Langa, Guguletu and Lotus River held a conference at the Zolani Centre in Nyanga.

Last night, PAC co-ordinator Mr Barney Desai said the names of committee members would be made available to the press today.

Speakers at the conference were Mr Desai, national organiser Mr Walter Tshikila and national political affairs secretary Mr M Mangqangwana.

Most 'elite' ^{CARL} black men ^{Traps} support FW ^{1/10/80}

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN overwhelming majority of "elite" black men, 86%, believe President F W de Klerk is doing a good job but 51% said Mr Nelson Mandela was their first choice for leader of South Africa, according to a new public opinion survey.

However, a significant segment of the elite, 33%, said they would support Mr De Klerk as their first choice as leader.

Among "elite" white men, Mr Mandela received negligible support — only one out of the 395 men wanted him as leader — but 68% backed Mr De Klerk and 14% supported the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The black elite was also more confident, with 62% saying they were more optimistic than six months ago and 16% expressing less optimism, while 43% of the white elite said they were more optimistic and 26% said they were less optimistic than six months ago.

The results of the polls, which were conducted on a door-to-door basis, were released yesterday by Research Surveys.

The "elite" were defined for the purposes of the polls as middle to senior management and people living in elite suburbs.

Two other surveys, also released yesterday, among 800 white and 800 black women showed that they held less confidence about the future than the elite did.

While 79% of black women thought President De Klerk was doing a good job and 8% did not think so, 56% of white women thought he was doing a good job and 26% did not think so.

ANC attacks

Ntsangwisi

1/10/70
GIYANI, Gazankulu.

ANC leaders yesterday vowed that the organisation would oppose the relaunching of Xi Mo Ko Xa Raxaka (the Whip of the Nation), a cultural organisation led by Professor Hudson Ntsangwisi which is expected to be converted into a political party on October 20.

In a bitter attack on Professor Ntsangwisi, they said that allowing the relaunch of Xi Mo Ko would be like allowing the "Natal type of violence" to start in Gazankulu. — Sapa

Political leaders call for peace

CMT-7-15 1/0/90
(114)

Staff Reporter

A SPECIAL church service, attended by top local members of the UDF, ANC and PAC, was held at St George's Cathedral yesterday to call for an end to the violence in the country.

Among the speakers were Ashton Anglican priest Father Mike Weeder, who yesterday ended his 21-day fast against the violence, PAC national executive member Mr Batembu Lugulwana, Mr Graeme Bloch of the UDF and an Elsie's River parent who lost his son in gang violence.

The service, organised by the Western Province Council of Churches, was attended by 600 people.

Tolerance

In his sermon, Father Weeder said people needed to look within themselves and to stop "abdicated social and political responsibilities to messiahs" such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Nor should they "crucify" them when they failed to "deliver the goods".

Mr Lugulwana called for tolerance of differing political opinion so that "warring organisations" could settle their differences peacefully.

Mr Bloch traced the origins of violence in Crossroads, on the Witwatersrand and gangster violence on the Cape Flats, linking it to underlying political problems caused by apartheid.

that it would ask for an urgent summit with the Government to discuss a number of important

Miss Marcus said the ANC would push for this summit to be held this week before Mr Mandela

munity against arrest which it revoked in August after he had uttered militant statements.

'Hidden force' claims to be discussed - Hani

Allegations of a "hidden force" which was deliberately trying to derail negotiations would be discussed with the Government, Chris Hani said yesterday.

Appearing at a Soweto press conference with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff said he believed a solution could be found.

Mr Mandela said it was interesting to note that violence had flared up again a day after President de Klerk's return from the US.

In response to allegations that rent and service boycotts could be resumed if the curfew continued, Mr Mandela said "a lot of strategies" were being considered in response to Operation Iron Fist.

Mr Hani said a statement made

by him earlier this year concerning the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle had been taken out of context.

He wished to reiterate that MK supported negotiations but should they fail to bring about a democratic South Africa the armed struggle would be resumed. — Sapa.

● More reports - Page 3.

n old nag in the mouth



governments rou-
t South Africans

Encouraging signs at Geneva talks

Star 2/10/90

(11A)

ANC softens economic line

By Chris Whitfield,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

Geneva

The African National Congress is leaving its options open on nationalisation, the party's foreign affairs spokesman, Thabo Mbeki, said here yesterday.

He was speaking to reporters covering the historic World Economic Forum conference on southern Africa.

Instability in South Africa has emerged as the major issue at the conference, which has brought together for the first time politicians and businessmen from the Republic and their counterparts in the Frontline states.

Delegates emerged highly enthusiastic about the positive message they said they had heard from several South African speakers.

They were particularly encouraged by what appears to be a less confrontational relationship between the ANC and Inkatha.

Speaking to pressmen during a break, Mr Mbeki said the ANC was not going into negotiations with specific demands on the economy and expected the Government to do the same.

His comments come immediately after his party's latest economic

policy document indicated an apparent shift in thinking on nationalisation. The new paper says only that public utilities which are privatised "will be subject to immediate re-nationalisation".

The previous economic paper from the organisation said "nationalisation would be an essential part of the reconstruction".

Mr Mbeki said the international businessmen had made it clear that the violence in the Republic had become the major factor inhibiting future investment. They wanted to be sure the country would not "go up in flames".

Rubicon crossed

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, in a speech described as "poignant", said South Africa had now indeed crossed the Rubicon, and with that crossing came a wonderful sense of freedom.

Lawrence Schlemmer, noted political analyst, told delegates that one-party domination in South Africa was unlikely.

The ANC could battle to draw more than 50 percent support at the polls, and opposition parties were unlikely to obtain less than one third.

The Star's Political reporter, Esmaré van der Merwe, reports that Professor Schlemmer said black politics showed some uncomfort-

able undemocratic tendencies such as a confusion of political and revolutionary strategies and a totalitarian approach aimed at associating one popular viewpoint with the will of the people.

A great danger for South Africa's first open election was that on both the racial majority and minority side there would be alliances based on sentiments, fears and symbolism rather than on concrete interests.

For example, white minorities might form some NP-led alliance in a period of uncertain transition.

On the ANC/UDF/MDM side, voters could "mass together" in view of their common struggle against apartheid and an eagerness to obtain power, instead of voting in terms of interests.

Former British Foreign Office Minister Frank Judd, chairing the meeting, emerged from one of the sessions to say he believed change in South Africa was indeed "irreversible". However, it was not yet inevitable that it would have a successful outcome.

A noted opponent of apartheid, he described developments in South Africa as "incredible".

Also attending are the Conservative Party's Koos van der Merwe, the PAC's Siphoshe Shabalala and senior Ministers from Namibia, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Rubl
Erich
Hurr.

Govt 'unlikely' to meet ANC's request for a summit

Star 2/10/90

By Peter Fabricius and
Kaizer Nyatsumba

(11)

The Government is unlikely to agree to the ANC's request for a full-scale summit this week, a senior Government source has disclosed.

But the possibility of small delegations meeting each other has not been ruled out.

"This would have to be a nor-

mal appointment rather than a summit," the source said. This could be a one-to-one meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, or else one or two others could be involved on each side as well.

The ANC today objected to the Government responding to the organisation's request for a

full five-a-side summit "through the press".

Contacted for comment today, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not say whether, in the event of the Government formally turning down a request for a summit, the ANC would settle for small delegations meeting each other as suggested by the source.

ANC man: 'They tried to turn me into an askari'

Argus 2/10/90

11A

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr John Mchunu, who took refuge in the United States Consulate in Durban after his alleged abduction by "askaris", has obtained an interdict restraining the police from assaulting him.

Mr Mchunu denied in papers before the Durban Supreme Court that police released him after his detention on September 5, and alleged that he escaped from askaris only on September 23.

Mr Mchunu, alias James Talagu, brought the urgent application before Mr Justice Shearer late yesterday against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

The court ordered that the police be temporarily interdicted from assaulting Mr Mchunu and the Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police were directed to take all reasonable steps to prevent South African Police members and askaris from assaulting Mr Mchunu and have to show cause on November 7 why the order should not be confirmed.

The 28-year-old Methodist emerged from the sanctuary of the United States Consulate in Durban Bay House and spoke with reporters only after his attorneys had the Supreme Court order.

He said he had hidden in Lamontville since escaping from alleged captivity in Pietermaritzburg on September 23. He fled to the consulate for refuge yesterday. Despite the court order, Mr Mchunu said he still feared for his safety: "I know that if the askaris can find me they will shoot me."

(The name "Askaris" is the term used for guerrillas who have left the ANC and work for the police.)

Mr Mchunu, who received military training in Angola in 1985, alleged in court that he was abducted by askaris in Durban's OK Bazaar store on September 5. His family brought an application on September 24 demanding that police produce him.

In a responding affidavit security policemen Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Taylor and Sergeant Aubrey Mngadi said that after questioning Mr Mchunu at the Kings Park sports sta-

dium, he had been returned to his Lamontville home.

"Mchunu was not harmed at all during the questioning and he was in good health when I dropped him in Lamontville," Sergeant Mngadi said.

The family's application was later withdrawn.

In his affidavit yesterday, Mr Mchunu "categorically" denied the police version of events. He said he was asked at the Kings Park sports stadium where the police took him whether he was training people or if he possessed weapons.

He was taken to a house, was handcuffed and put in leg chains and interrogated. A white police officer "informed me that his name was Shoshoba and he told me that he had been responsible for the death of many ANC members and Communists," he alleged.

Later he had guns cocked at him and was and the police officer said "he was ordered to kill all ANC members".

He was asked to identify individuals whom he was allegedly told he should know because he trained with them in Angola, from photographs.

On September 20 he was allegedly asked to write the date as September 5 and translate a statement, the essence of which was that he wanted to join the SAP, and he signed it.

He was allegedly asked to co-operate in identifying other MK members "who had returned" and walked Pietermaritzburg's streets in search of them.

He escaped on Sunday, September 23, despite being told he would be tracked down and killed if he escaped, he alleged.

"I arrived in Durban and immediately went into hiding."



Mr John Mchunu.



December congress to debate latest shift in thinking on economic policy

Nationalisation: ANC softens line

11/4
M64¹
2/10/90

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and The Argus Foreign
Service

AFRICAN National Congress economic policy is showing signs of becoming more flexible, with less emphasis on nationalisation as a means of redistributing wealth.

A new draft policy statement indicating a shift in thinking on nationalisation suggests that only public utilities which have been privatised "will be subject to immediate renationalisation".

The movement's previous economic paper said nationalisation would be an essential part of the reconstruction programme.

The draft policy has been circulated to branches for discussion and will form the basis of one of the most important debates at the ANC's national congress in December.

An ANC source said today: "There is a shift in people's thinking on nationalisation. I think there is more emphasis on productivity, and an acknowledgement that just by nationalising industries you are not solving the problem of maintaining productivity."

He said some constituencies in the movement, such as the miners, still backed nationalisation strongly.

Violence factor

Another indication of the ANC's new thinking on economic matters emerged at the World Economic Forum conference on Southern Africa in Geneva yesterday, when the movement's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said the ANC was leaving its options open on nationalisation.

Mr Mbeki who, with Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, addressed the conference yesterday, said the ANC was not going into negotiations with specific demands on the economy and expected the government to do the same.

Mr Mbeki also acknowledged that the violence in South Africa had become the major factor

Meanwhile in Pretoria — where President F W de Klerk has another meeting today with leaders of the self-governing territories — the government is still considering the ANC's request for a summit.

The ANC has objected to the government responding to the organisation's request for a summit "through the press" and has taken issue with bureaucracy surrounding the return of exiles.

The ANC this week asked for an urgent summit with the government to discuss a number of issues, notably the status of talks.

Government sources are reported to have expressed doubts about a full-scale summit this week to fit in with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's travel plans.

Exiles' return

On the return of exiles, ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said the ANC took exception to the government's plans to make exiles fill in questionnaires disclosing any possible offences they had committed before they were allowed into the country.

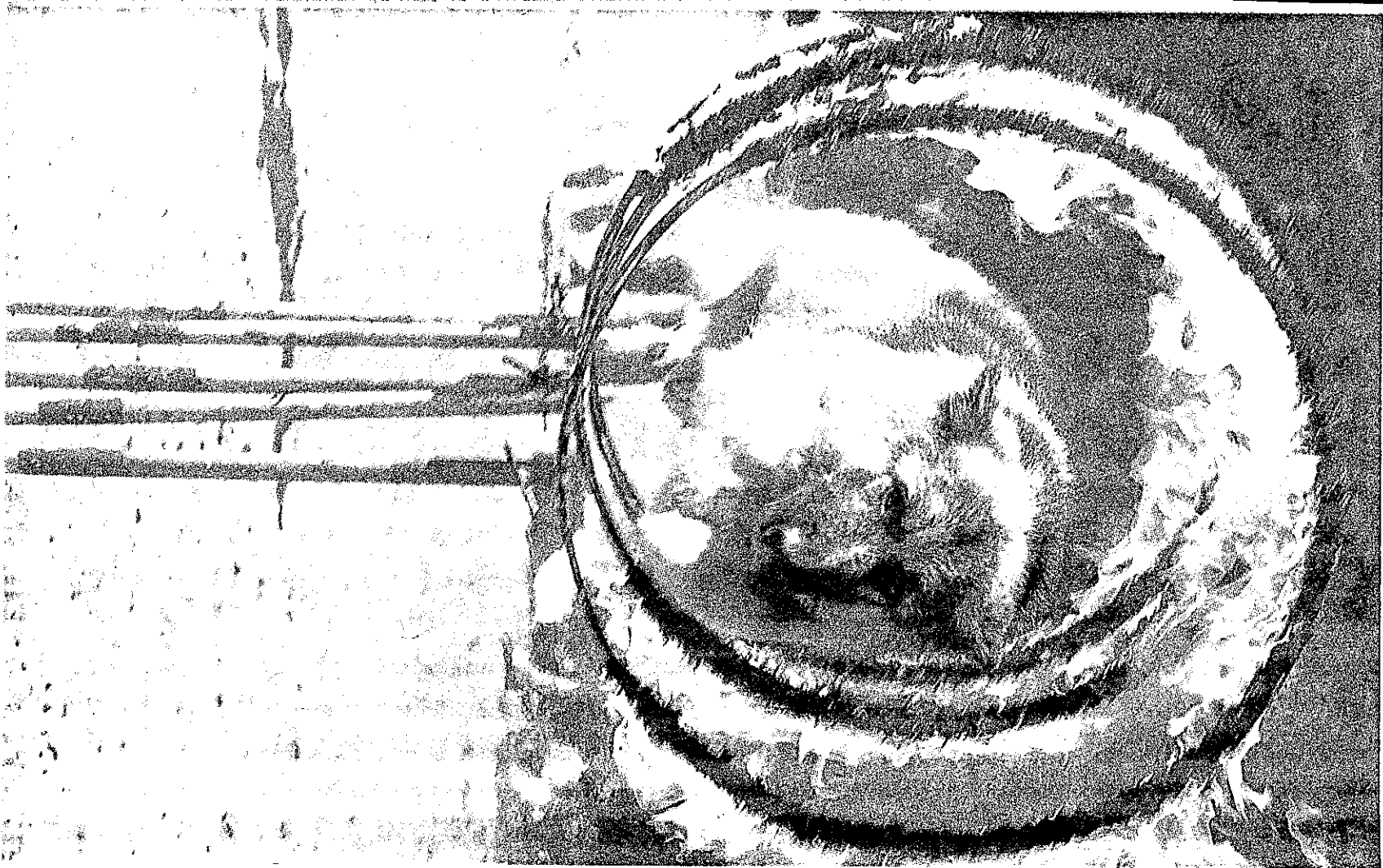
ANC spokesman Mr Abba Omar said yesterday that Kwa-zulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was "more than welcome" to attend Friday's meeting between homeland leaders and the ANC in his capacity as leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Dr Lawrence Schlemmer of Wits University said yesterday that one party domination in South Africa was unlikely since the ANC could battle to draw more than 50 percent support at the polls and opposition parties were unlikely to obtain less than one third.

He told a World Economic Forum conference in Geneva on "The New Southern Africa: Prospects for Growth" that South Africa had many elements to ensure democratic pluralism in a post-apartheid society.

But the country was not free of some depressing impediments to multi-party democracy.

Mr Nicholas Oppenheimer, chairman of the council of regents of the University of Natal, said the plot to kidnap the president was a "major factor in the country's development".



POODLECARE: Poodle Quatreau's tail is given a last brush before he enters the ring for his shot at stardom.

TRADING PLACES: "Now you know what it feels like to be cooped up in a cage all day," is what Staffordshire terrier Triple Trouble is probably thinking as Carlike Visagie, 10, tries out his temporary accommodation for size.



Buthelezi says 'no' to Mandela talks invitation

Political Staff

IN a major setback to peace efforts by President De Klerk, Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected an invitation from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for talks this week on curbing political violence.

The ANC said in a statement released today that it was unfortunate that Dr Buthelezi had turned down the invitation, but that they would "continue to try to persuade Dr Buthelezi that it is necessary for such consultation in the interests of the country".

Mr Mandela invited Dr Buthelezi to the meeting with the leaders of the other five national states. QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kwandabele and Kangwane leaders all accepted and will meet Mr Mandela for three hours in his Soweto home on Friday.

DAMPEN VIOLENCE

Dr Buthelezi is overseas, and is expected to attend the World Economic Forum meeting in Geneva.

The ANC said he conveyed his refusal to accept the invitation in a letter to Mr Mandela.

President De Klerk had pinned hope on the two men getting together as a further spur to peace besides the government's Iron Fist crackdown and top level meetings between Inkatha and ANC officials. In Natal and Kwazulu these meetings are credited with going a long way to dampen political violence.

Mr Mandela telephoned Dr Buthelezi

ARGUS 2/10/90

11A

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi



on September 20 and invited him for talks. This raised hopes around the world that the two men would at last meet, after murderous clashes between their supporters, and a war of words.

But within 16 hours Dr Buthelezi said he was concerned because he was invited as a leader of a national state and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party. He asked if this was a deliberate attempt "to deny me my prime political identity as president of Inkatha".

President De Klerk has said that while he could not bang the heads of Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi together to compel them to meet, he was working for the right atmosphere between them, and would continue to do so. The President has privately implored them to meet.

See page 6.

may for the first time in a Lufthansa aircraft... in and in West Berlin's Schoen... berz notat... Police... down ha...

Govt 'still considering' new summit with ANC

CART Tm/15
2/10/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

114

THE status of the proposed "summit" this week between the ANC and the government was still unclear last night.

A spokesman for the government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the ANC's request for a top-level meeting before its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, departed on an overseas tour at the weekend was still "under consideration".

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said last night the government had "still not come back" to the organisation on its request for the urgent meeting.

The aim of the summit would be to look at the whole question of violence to ensure that the peace process did not collapse, she said.

"The ANC has grave misgivings about the measures adopted in response to the violence.

It is only in SA where efforts to restore calm could lead to a policy called 'Iron Fist'."

The situation warranted a meeting at the highest level, she said.

The ANC clearly also wishes to address with the government the growing debacle over the return of exiles.

One government source said yesterday that it was possible that a scaled-down meeting or "mini-summit" could be arranged at short notice later this week — possibly after tomorrow's cabinet meeting.

Mandela OK, says ANC

Staff Reporter

A SENIOR ANC spokesperson yesterday denied outright a London newspaper columnist's claim that Mr Nelson Mandela might have cancer of the colon, describing it as "rubbish" and an "old rumour".

The spokesperson, Ms Gill Marcus, said the column was referring to a widely reported minor operation undergone by Mr Mandela in May this year.

Carolus concentrates on convening SACP

Carolus 2/12/90

By BARRY STREEK

DESPITE the surprise decision of Ms Cheryl Carolus not to stand for election to the ANC's regional executive in the Western Cape, she is to remain active in the ANC but will concentrate on convening the SA Communist Party in the region.

Ms Carolus, a member of the SACP's central committee, was part of the ANC negotiating team at the Groote Schuur talks in May and she was sent special greetings by the ANC's national executive committee earlier this year when she married fellow activist Mr Graeme Bloch.

She said her decision not to make herself available for election was personal and did not reflect a broad principle that ANC and SACP leadership positions should be separated.

The ANC's regional publicity secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said the issue of dual leadership in the ANC and the SACP was not discussed at last weekend's conference.

At the conference, Ms Carolus was elected to the five-person ANC team to work on Crossroads violence.

Moreover, an ex-officio member of the regional executive, Mr Reg September, is a member of both the ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central committee.

It is understood other members of the regional executive may also be members of the SACP, which is to be launched in the Western Cape this week when its secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, visits Cape Town.

But the position of people holding leadership positions in both the ANC and SACP was raised, in a specific reference to Ms Carolus, by the ANC's newly elected regional president, Mr Christmas Tinto, in his interview in Vrye Weekblad last week.

Mr Tinto was reported as saying: "There are a number of ANC branches which say that Carolus and perhaps others about whom we do not know, must decide if they want to be a leader of the ANC or the SACP."

114

Big ANC membership campaign in Natal

THE African National Congress's goal to recruit one million members by December received a boost in Natal yesterday when ten new ANC branches were formed in the southern Natal region.

An ANC spokesman said they were going "all out" to step up member-

ship in the region, and were also concentrating on recruiting whites in some areas.

He said there were now a total of 20 ANC branches in the southern Natal region, with plans for "many more".

In the greater Durban region, the branches launched yesterday were at KwaMakhuta, Havenside, Durban Western Areas, Merebank,

Umgababa, Umlazi, Phoenix, Tongaat, Harding and Reservoir Hills.

Meanwhile, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will visit Natal this coming weekend in an attempt to foster peace between the ANC and Inkatha.

He will travel to Groutville outside Stanger on the Natal North Coast on Saturday where he will visit the grave of former

ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli and will then address a mass ANC rally.

It is believed that Mr Mandela will also address a mass rally in the Durban region on Sunday.

The rally in Stanger will start at 11.30am. Later Mr Mandela will host a fund-raising dinner in the town. Tickets for the dinner can be booked by phoning 0234-24943. - *Foreign Correspondent.*

11A
Sowetan
2/10/90

Returning ANC exiles face probe

3030
11A
Sowetan
2/10/90

THE 3 000 African National Congress exiles, who were due to start returning yesterday, will first have to fill in questionnaires disclosing any possible offences committed by them before they are allowed into the country.

Official sources yesterday said the ANC had submitted a list of 3 000 exiles to be granted indemnity under the Pretoria Minute.

However, the list contained no details of the offences for which the people should be indemnified.

This problem had been discussed with the ANC and agreement had been reached that a questionnaire should be filled in for each exile.

Although officials on both the Government and ANC side remain tight-lipped it seems that the exiles are being dealt with under clause two of the Pretoria Minute.

This states: "Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from October 1 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990".

A State form to be filled in by 3 000

The categories of people who can be dealt with in this way are supposed to have been agreed upon by the joint ANC/Government working group on political of-

fences in its report submitted to both principals late in August and apparently accepted by both late last month.

It is not clear which offences have been included although it is believed that these include only purely political offences such as treason or leaving the country without passports.

Under the Pretoria Minute more controversial cases will have to be considered individually.

Crisis halts exiles' return

11A
2/10/90

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A ROW erupted between the government and the ANC yesterday over the indemnification of the first 3 000 exiles as the target date for their indemnity passed without official approval.

All indications yesterday were that the row had brought to stalemate negotiations over the return of exiles.

At the heart of the controversy was the Department of Justice's apparent insistence that the ANC outline exactly what indemnity was being sought for each applicant, and not merely supply names of those they felt were eligible.

A Justice Department spokesman, Mr Nick Grobler, confirmed that his department had contacted the ANC saying they wanted to send application forms to elicit which category of indemnification members would fall into.

"The list of 3 000 names alone which they gave us is not in accordance with the recommendation of the Pretoria Minute working group, to which they agreed," he said.

Mr Grobler said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, indemnity was granted in respect of "certain categories or categories of events", which meant the ANC had to specify for which events members sought indemnity.

However, a top member of the ANC's legal team, Mr Penuell Maduna, rejected this, intimating that the government was on a security "fishing expedition".

His reading of the Minute was that it was not incumbent upon the ANC "or any other liberation movement" to do anything beyond provide lists of members it believed qualified for indemnity.

At "no stage" did the ANC ever undertake to "go around asking individual members to make admissions which could incriminate them", he said.

"What protection do our people have? They want us to supply confessions to crimes. They must either grant indemnity or refuse it," he said.

His "gut feeling" was that the government's actions contravened the terms of the Pretoria Minute and detracted from creating a "correct climate".

Mr Grobler replied that the forms were a mere "vehicle for information" to which the

joint working group had agreed, and which the ANC's national executive committee had approved.

"Should the event for which indemnity is sought not be disclosed, it would not be mentioned in the Government Gazette and consequently no indemnity for that event would flow from the notice," he added.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC's understanding was that the estimated 20 000 SA exiles would be dealt with "as groups".

"Only a very few specific cases, which are 'grey areas', will have to go before a review board, like those of death row prisoners or Hein Grosskopf," she added.

Govt 'still considering' new summit with ANC — Page 5

Cam Temp 2/10/90

ANC heads for Utopian state — but how?

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The influential business newspaper the Financial Times yesterday noted a move away from the rhetoric of nationalisation in the latest policy document from the ANC, which is to be released later this week.

Its correspondent says the ANC policy outlines a Utopian state but fails to explain how it will be achieved.

In an article headed "ANC changes its economic rhetoric", the FT report observed that the issue of nationalisation was scarcely mentioned in the document, and quotes the head of the ANC's economics department, Mr Tito Mboweni, as saying the document represents a "major shift" in ANC thinking.

The only previous economic paper, presented in June, had stated that "nationalisation would be an essential part of the reconstruction programme".

The FT adds: "But the reality of ANC policy may well remain largely unaltered. Indeed, the document is full of statements of good intentions, but short on detail. It outlines a Utopian state in which everyone is decently housed, fed, clothed and employed, while inflation is tamed, and budget deficits eliminated."

Too soon for a summit with ANC ^{11A} govt

B/Dan 2/10/90

GOVERNMENT members last night remained adamant it was premature to hold a summit with the ANC, despite the organisation's insistence that such a meeting take place before deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas tour next Monday.

The Cabinet committee on negotiations met yesterday afternoon and is understood to have discussed the ANC request for a "five-a-side summit" this week.

A senior government member said after the meeting it was still government's view that it was too early to hold a summit.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Government, he said, believed the working groups appointed on August 6 had not made sufficient progress to warrant a third summit.

"We are not ruling out a meeting. It's a question of when. Why make it so urgent when the working groups have not completed their work? We are prepared to meet, if necessary. All we are saying is that at this stage it will not be worthwhile."

At the time of going to press, ANC mem-

bers said the organisation was still awaiting a response from government.

Earlier, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was reported to have said the organisation believed a fullscale meeting was necessary to "review the situation and where we go from here. It has nothing to do with the working of the joint working groups."

Government members insisted, however, that a third summit be linked to progress achieved by the working groups, and success in implementing other aspects of the Pretoria Minute.

□ To Page 2

ANC and CP to attend conference

CAPE TOWN — ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and CP MP Koos van der Merwe will share a platform at a conference for emerging business leaders to be hosted by Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert later this month.

The conference — Young Management Challenge — will enable interaction between young business people, security analysts and labour and economic experts. It

LESLEY LAMBERT

will provide an opportunity for young decision makers to voice their hopes, ambitions and fears for SA's future.

The keynote speaker will be Rossing Uranium chairman and Namibian National Planning Commission director-general Zedekia Ngavirue, who will discuss the problems of transition in Namibia, and prospects for reconstruction.

8/10/90 2/10/90

Crisis halts exiles' return

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A ROW erupted between the government and the ANC yesterday over the indemnification of the first 3 000 exiles as the target date for their indemnity passed without official approval.

All indications yesterday were that the row had brought to stalemate negotiations over the return of exiles.

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Mr Grobler said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, indemnity was granted in respect of "certain categories or categories of events", which meant the ANC had to specify for which events members sought indemnity.

However, a top member of the ANC's legal team, Mr Penueil Maduna, rejected this, intimating that the government was on a security "fishing expedition".

His reading of the Minute was that it was not incumbent upon the ANC "or any other liberation movement" to do anything beyond provide lists of members it believed qualified for indemnity.

At "no stage" did the ANC ever undertake to "go around asking individual members to make admissions which could incriminate them", he said.

"What protection do our people have? They want us to supply confessions to crimes. They must either grant indemnity or refuse it," he said.

His "gut feeling" was that the government's actions contravened the terms of the Pretoria Minute and detracted from creating a "correct climate".

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joint working group had agreed, and which the ANC's national executive committee had approved.

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● Govt 'still considering' new summit with ANC — Page 5

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27



'Iron Fist hampering progress in negotiations'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE African National Congress and the government have not negotiated on any matter of substance, according to the movement's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Continuing discussions between the two groups were being held at various levels, where the ANC consistently presented the demands of the people, Mr Sisulu said when he delivered the T B Davie memorial lecture at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

He said: "We have expressed our grave concern over the continued detention of ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj as well as other detainees. We are particularly concerned because section 29 of the Internal Security Act is being used extensively."

The movement demanded the freedom of assembly, movement, association and speech, he said.

"The imposition of Operation Iron Fist severely impedes all of this and prevents total consultation with our members."

He said the ANC had embarked on a path to build lasting peace in a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, the Argus.

LECTURE: Students applaud Mr Walter Sisulu as he leaves Jameson Hall.

"We stand for peace and negotiations. But this depends on the removal of obstacles standing in the way of this process. This matter is now being addressed."

He called on academics to use the tools at their disposal to find the cause of the violence sweeping the country.

He said the ANC viewed the violence as an orchestrated campaign started to destabilise

the land and weaken the movement.

He said: "We are not dealing with individual acts of terrorism, we are dealing with a finely trained death squad whose motivations are to kill and create an atmosphere of terror."

"There are stark similarities between this violence and that waged by SADF surrogate forces, namely the MNR and Unita against Mozambique and

Angola.

"It (violence) calls for a national response. The very insulation of the white community from the terrible trauma inflicted on blacks provides conditions for this violence to continue."

"Whites have a responsibility because what is happening is of national importance and will affect the very fabric of our society."

Barend and Thabo spring a surprise

From CHRIS WHITFIELD of The Argus Foreign Service in Geneva

AGU
3/10/90
11A

THE South African government and the African National Congress have moved strongly here to reassure potential foreign business that it has little to fear in planning investments.

ECONOMICS

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year. He said chances of it going wrong were "very slim".

And ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication — the strongest yet — that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

Mr du Plessis told a press conference that he expected the "negotiating process to be under way in the first quarter of next year". He also stressed that "if the peace process is to be supported by economic growth, it is essential to lift sanctions".

He said trade sanctions had a "minimal effect", but financial sanctions "inhibit growth". And while South Africa could survive "virtually indefinitely" it was in the interests of its people that there was growth in the economy.

Mr Mbeki, returning to the theme he had first aired on Monday, gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: "We can't say 'please come and invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow.'" Answering a question on whether foreign investment in South Africa's

mines would be threatened by his party's economic policy, Mr Mbeki said that an open South African economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was "very aware" that foreign investors have "got to have confidence in the security of their



Barend du Plessis

investment". He added: "I don't think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda.

The policy of the ANC for decades has never been to nationalise everything."

Earlier, however, he had indicated that there were "very basic needs" of parts of the community which needed to be addressed, and "interventions must be made to make sure the economy does address those questions".

Rapport

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: "Sock it to them."

Delegates told how the two had joked about their "roadshow".

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address on Tuesday by Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said in the speech — a copy was given to the press — that if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state "there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance".

He added that: "Threats



Thabo Mbeki

now of a resumption of the armed struggle are not threats of anything significant from a military point of view.

They are only threats of heated political exchanges and a reduction in the degree of co-operation that can be expected between the ANC/SACP and the rest of South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi explained that "there never was any meaningful armed struggle" and "black South Africans voted with their feet against the armed struggle".

According to sources in the conference, which was closed to the press, Chief Buthelezi's comments were not well received, particularly by those present who were not South African.

They felt they went against the reconciliatory atmosphere that the conference appeared to be generating.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 69-page legal document titled: "Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal."

The main thrust of the 21 affidavits contained in the report was that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble.

In his press conference Chief Buthelezi said the document was not intended as an attack on the ANC: "That is just the facts of the violence," he said.

He was, however, warmly supportive of President de Klerk's peace initiatives, describing him in the speech as "an astute, hard-bitten politician resting on his laurels and employing existing powerful tendencies. I believe he will be successful," said Chief Buthelezi.

Hiccups

Mr du Plessis was also confident that a peaceful settlement would be achieved. Asked if the process could go wrong, he said the chances were "very slim".

"We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful."

The Finance Minister also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: an economic union of all Southern African states including the Republic.

"There was a general recognition that South Africa's open and visible involvement in the development of Southern Africa is necessary."

Sanctions

However, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was "definitely not enough to lift sanctions"

Stability

This showed that the world did not trust the National Party, he said.

Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the businessmen present than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together Mr du Plessis and his ministerial counterparts from the Frontline States for the first time.

He responded with a political version of "we can't go on meeting like this", saying that that in future Ministers — "and not only Ministers of Finance" — should get together in the region.

3/10/90 (S) (M) (A)

Sacob keen to meet ANC on economy

By Michael Chester

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) last night proposed a top-level meeting with the African National Congress to try to find a wider consensus about future economic strategies.

Sacob welcomed what it saw as more realism in ANC thinking, but voiced disappointment that nationalisation and collectivism still appeared to be high on its agenda.

New talks were suggested in the wake of the release by the ANC of the first draft of its broad economic policies — intended for internal debate at branch level before a final version is announced.

Nerves in business circles have been jangled by ANC hints of trying to break the concentration of economic power in the hands of South African business giants.

Rhetoric

The ANC specifically listed Anglo American, the Rembrandt tobacco empire, and the mammoth Old Mutual and Sanlam insurance companies.

A statement from Sacob said: "The latest economic policy document of the ANC represents some closing of the gap between rhetoric and reality. Many businessmen will see the document as a small step for realism — but a huge step for the ANC."

"The good news is that it is only a draft document.

"The bad news is that it is still heavily permeated with collectivism, nationalisation and other interventionist economic measures.

"Here and there is a softer approach, but the overall impression remains of an organisation which refuses to acknowledge what has manifestly failed elsewhere.

"The document still seems to thrive on raising unaffordable expectations, without any attempt at quantifying their objectives.

"Instead of injecting sufficient realism into the debate, the document attempts to create the impression that the ANC can transform economic fundamentals to serve their aims.

"German, British or French investors reading the ANC document would hardly be reassured by its contents.

"To turn every instrument of policy into a tool of redistribution and development will not inspire confidence in local or overseas investors.

"Some common ground between the ANC views and the views of Sacob can be identified, but enormous areas of difference of both emphasis and detail still remain.

"We believe that a top-level meeting between Sacob and the ANC is overdue to discuss an overall economic strategy to cope with the massive tasks facing South Africa — and to identify common ground.

"Both Sacob and the ANC have now produced major policy statements on the economy, but have left the door open to future discussion.

"Let us take this opportunity, in the interests of all concerned, to search for greater consensus about the economic options facing South Africa."

Anglo American added in a statement: "It's a lengthy document which deserves careful study. Our initial response, however, is that it contains some encouraging elements.

"In particular, there is the acknowledgement that, together with Government, private business has a major role to play in the economic development of a democratic nonracial society."

ANC, Govt pledge a secure economy

The Star's
Foreign News Service

GENEVA — The South African Government and the ANC have moved strongly to reassure potential foreign investors that they had little to fear.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis emerged from the historic World Economic Forum meeting on Southern Africa to give a confident prediction that the peace process was on track and negotiations would start early next year:

"We will have hiccups, tension and growth pains but I believe we will be successful," he said.

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki gave a fresh indication — the strongest yet — that investments will not be hit by nationalisation.

At a press conference Mr du Plessis stressed that if the peace process were to be supported by economic growth, it was essential to lift sanctions.

Mr Mbeki gave a clear indication that the ANC was softening its rhetoric on nationalisation to placate the fears of potential investors.

He said: "We can't say: 'Please invest but we are going to nationalise you tomorrow.'"

Answering a question on whether foreign investment in the mines would be threatened by his party's economic policy, Mr Mbeki said that an open economy meant links to world economies.

The ANC was very aware that foreign investors had to

have confidence in the security of their investment.

He added: "I don't think nationalisation is particularly high on our agenda."

Earlier, however, he had indicated there were basic needs within the community which needed to be addressed, and interventions which needed to be made in the economy to ensure those needs were addressed.

It was clear that Mr du Plessis and Mr Mbeki have established a warm rapport. As the ANC official arrived at the press conference to replace Mr du Plessis, the Finance Minister said: "Sock it to them."

However, the delegates said the atmosphere of reconciliation had been dented by an address by Inkatha Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Backlash

Chief Buthelezi said if any political party attempted to establish a one-party state "there would be an awesome backlash which would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance".

According to sources at the conference, Chief Buthelezi's comments were not well received, particularly by non-South Africans who felt they went against the conference's reconciliatory mood.

An Inkatha official also handed out a 69-page legal document entitled "Statement and reports in respect of the violence in the Transvaal". The main thrust of the 21 affidavits contained in the report was

that the ANC had initiated much of the trouble.

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Mr du Plessis also touched on a subject that was frequently aired in the conference: An economic union of all southern African states, including South Africa.

"There was a general recognition that South Africa's open and visible involvement in the development of southern Africa is necessary." However, he stressed that this should not injure existing structures which promote trade in the region.

There was, however, no indication that there would be a softening on sanctions.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe said the conference had shown that what South Africa had done so far was "definitely not enough to lift sanctions".

Mr Mbeki said future political stability was of far greater significance to the businessmen present than the short-term issue of sanctions.

Perhaps the most significant benefit of the conference was, however, that it brought together Mr du Plessis and counterparts from the Frontline states for the first time.

Mr du Plessis responded with a political version of "we can't go on meeting like this", saying that, in future, Ministers — "and not only Ministers of Finance" — should get together in the region.

Students ^(11A) SZA 3/10/90 to consider invitation

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The student wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso), will hold its first national congress in the Free State this weekend.

The major issue to be discussed is the Government's invitation to the PAC to participate in exploratory talks.

Paso general secretary Lawrence Nqandela, who attended the PAC's consultative meeting in Harare two weeks ago to discuss the Government's invitation and other issues, said yesterday 5 000 delegates representing 80 branches were expected at the two-day congress.

The Harare meeting did not take a position on the Government's invitation. The PAC said it would be able to respond once its structures had debated the invitation, probably by the time it holds its national congress next month.

The Witwatersrand region of Paso, which held its regional congress in Soweto at the weekend, has rejected the invitation, dismissing it as a Government ploy to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

The Paso national congress, the theme of which is "Mobilise and consolidate for People's War", will be held at the Botshabelo Arena outside Bloemfontein on Saturday and Sunday.

Another issue on the agenda is the education crisis, with particular reference to the matric examinations.

Azapo replies to Govt today

Star
3/10/70 Political Staff (1A)

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will today announce its response to the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolohodwe said yesterday.

He said Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala would speak to press in Cape Town today to announce Azapo's response to the invitation.

He would not com-

ment yesterday on the meeting Azapo held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Harare at the weekend.

Professor Mosala, who two weeks ago received a letter from Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer urging him to persuade his organisation to engage in talks with the Government, will also speak today about the weekend meeting with the BCMA.

Tambo optimistic settlement can be reached

11A
Argus 3/10/90
The Argus Foreign Service



Mr Oliver Tambo chats to Mr Peter Soal in London.

LONDON. — The Democratic Party's Southern Transvaal regional chairman, Mr Peter Soal, has met ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo for wide-ranging discussions on the situation in South Africa.

Mr Soal, who first met Mr Tambo in Lusaka, Zambia, three years ago, said the ANC leader was "concerned" about the recent upsurge of violence in South Africa, which claimed upwards of 700 lives.

"Mr Tambo ... is concerned that the violence will delay the process of finding a negotiated settlement. However, he remains optimistic that a settlement will be reached," said Mr Soal.

Mr Tambo has been recuperating in London following a stroke about a year ago. Mr Soal said Mr Tambo looks forward to coming home.

Azapo to respond to talks invitation today

CMT - 3/10/80
Political Correspondent (11A)

AZAPO will announce its response to the government's invitation to participate in exploratory talks today.

Earlier this year the government sent Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala a letter urging him and Azapo members to commit themselves "to becoming actively involved in the process of peacefully shaping the constitutional future of our country".

Dr Mosala indicated last month that his organisation was already at an advanced stage in canvassing its members about possible talks.

However, he emphasised that Azapo insisted on a consultative conference among anti-apartheid organisations and the formation of a constituent assembly before negotiations took place.

Dr Mosala is also expected to elaborate on a meeting between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Harare at the weekend.

Chl 11/18 3/10/70

Natal PAC rejects 'leader'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal region of the PAC has rejected claims by "self-styled leader" Prince Velekhaya Shange that he is the leader of the Natal region of the PAC.

A Natal PAC statement yesterday described Prince Shange's claims as "wishful thinking and lies".

The statement said Prince Shange had been expelled from the organisation in the late sixties.

Meanwhile the publicity secretary of the internal wing of the PAC, Mr Bennie Alexander, has denied Prince Shange's claim that there is a split within the organisation resulting from ideological difficulties, SABC radio news reported yesterday.

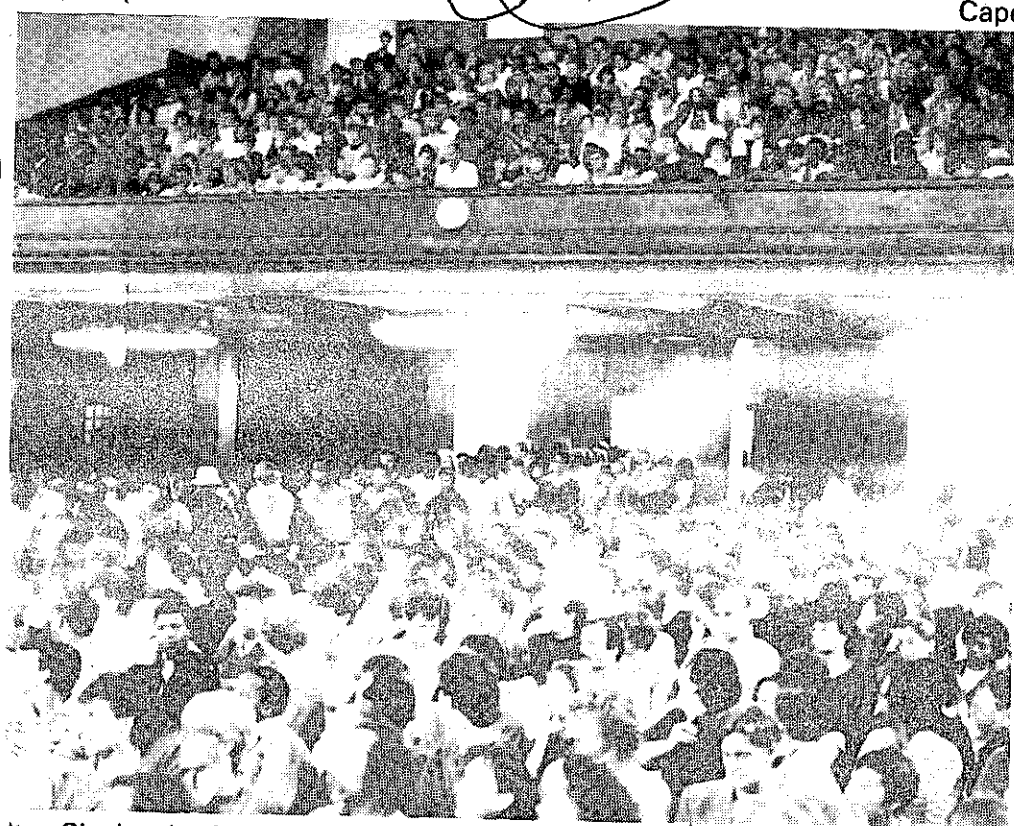
According to Mr Alexander, all the PAC formations were under the leadership of Mr Zeph Mothopeng, and he denied there was a splinter group.

● Azapo responds to talks invite — Page 5

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11/11

Cape



SISULU ADDRESS ... Mr Walter Sisulu, the internal leader of the ANC, addresses an audience at UCT yesterday. He was delivering the T B Davie Memorial lecture at the university.

Picture: ANDREW OCTOBER

By BARRY STREEK

THERE were widespread defections by security forces, police and prison officers to the ANC's side, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

The disintegration of the white ruling bloc as a coherent political force and fragmentation to both left and right was continuing, while those who remained in the National Party were increasingly confused.

Mr Sisulu, who delivered the T B Davie Memorial Lecture at UCT yesterday, said: "The NP can no longer rely either on the civil service or the security forces, both the SAP and the SADF, to carry out policy.

"There is a great moral dilemma throughout white society, as a result of the acknowledgement that apartheid is evil, and that it has failed."

The economy was stagnating, there was still a lack of investment and the flight of capital continued.

"Business still experiences a loss of confidence in the future.

Sisulu: Widespread defections to ANC

Teach us the real SA history — Sisulu

Political Staff

THE ANC had never supported the slogan of "no education before liberation" because education was one of the weapons which could be used to achieve liberation, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Scholars should use their skills "in such a way that helps us prepare for and build the new SA".

Mr Sisulu, giving the T B Davie Memorial lecture on academic freedom at the University of Cape Town, said: "We need an education system that empowers our people.

"We need an education system that honestly aligns itself with the cause of democracy.

"We are not asking for scholars to stop being objective in their analysis.

"Poverty is no longer just a black experience, for there is increasing impoverishment among the white community."

Mr Sisulu said there

was also a recognition that the present education crisis could not be resolved by the present government.

"Our children have

We don't want to be taught lies ...

"Our people need to know the truth about their past, that there was a proud history before the arrival of Van Riebeeck.

"They need to know they were robbed of their land and the heroic struggles to resist conquest."

However, analysis by scholars should be presented in a manner that was simple and accessible to ordinary people and there was a very serious need for scholars to go beyond their university classrooms and help people.

"We need more people who are willing both to learn from people and teach the people."

Institutions, such as UCT, should not remain ivory towers and they had to reach out to the people, especially in the process of change.

been been deprived of their education, not only by government policy of inferior education, but also by the embezzlement of public funds.

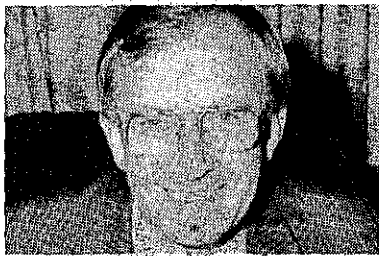
"However, we do not hold only those individuals directly involved in such massive fraud responsible. The whole system is corrupt and the responsibility rests squarely with the government."

He said the ANC sees the wave of violence in the country as a systematic, orchestrated campaign to destabilise the country and weaken the ANC. "We are not dealing with individual acts of terrorism. We are dealing with highly trained death squads whose motivation is to kill and create an atmosphere of terror."

The violence was not an issue that affected black people alone.

"The very insulation of the white community from the terrible trauma inflicted on black communities provides the conditions for such violence to continue.

"Whites have a responsibility, for what is happening is of national importance and will affect the very fabric of our society and the possibilities of peaceful change."



Mr Barend du Plessis



Mr Thabo Mbeki



Chief Buthelezi

Barend: Negotiations at hand, lift sanctions

CM, T, P 3 3/10/90 (11A) (S)

From IAN HOBBS

GENEVA. — South Africa is months away from starting constitutional negotiation and financial sanctions should be lifted without delay to stimulate growth and peace, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said yesterday.

He said he expected negotiations to be under way in the first quarter of 1991, but warned that South Africa should not have to wait for constitutional settlement before the damaging financial sanctions were lifted. "My primary concern is that the reform process must be underpinned by economic growth, which will be to the advantage of all South Africans."

He was addressing a press conference at the conclusion of an unprecedented two-day conference in Geneva with frontline states and prominent international politicians and businessmen, sponsored by the non-partisan World Economic Forum.

There were also delegations from the PAC and Conservative Party. The World Bank, the UN and the Commonwealth were represented.

The conference exposed continuing sharp differences between the government and the ANC, notably on sanctions, and between the ANC and Inkatha.

Much attention was focused on the presence, often together, of Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman.

But delegates said that even

the sharp clashes of policy and opinion had been "realistic" and they were unanimous that there had been significant breakthroughs.

Mr Du Plessis said he felt that the conference had helped the "very delicate situation" in Southern Africa. He said he had had his first ice-breaking meetings with frontline states' finance ministers and he expected direct contact to continue.

Nationalisation

The conference chairman, former British Foreign Office Minister for Africa Mr Frank Judd, said the presence of more than 150 of the world's most prominent businessmen illustrated their keenness to invest in Southern Africa. The message from business leaders was that stability was necessary for investment and growth — and democracy was basic to stability.

He said the meeting had buried fears that the ANC sought rampant nationalisation. On the contrary, they did not have such an entrenched ideological position.

Mr Mbeki told the press conference the ANC had never had a policy of nationalisation and it had never been high on their agenda. Their priority was to achieve stability to attract foreign investment and achieve growth.

Investors had to have confidence in the security of their investments and the repatriation of their profits, he said.

In one of the sharpest speeches, Chief Buthelezi appeared to

issue stern warnings to the government and the ANC.

He said: "The stark realities in South Africa are that no political force will achieve anything other than introducing a multi-party democracy.

"If the government reneged on its undertakings and turned to resuscitate apartheid, South Africa would be torn apart.

"If any party attempted to establish a one-party stranglehold over politics and dictate to the rest of the country what shall happen, there would be an awesome backlash that would make anything that has happened in Mozambique and Angola pale into insignificance."

Chief Buthelezi distributed a 70-page document detailing the bloodshed in Natal and the Transvaal, which laid most blame on the ANC.

He said he had made 40 separate invitations to Mr Nelson Mandela to meet him, but a variety of excuses had been made and he still awaited the meeting.

Mr Mbeki insisted that a sinister hidden hand linked to the armed forces and police was manipulating the violence. He said committees had been established for the ANC and Inkatha jointly to tackle the crisis.

Turning Chief Buthelezi's protests into a question he said: "Why must Mr Mandela have a meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi. It is coming across like a fetish that Gatsha Buthelezi must meet Nelson Mandela."

Claims of split (11A) within PAC false, says Alexander Shange 3/10/90

THE publicity secretary of the internal wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Bennie Alexander, yesterday denied claims by a former PAC exile, Prince Velekhaya Shange, that there was a split within the organisation.

Shange claimed on Monday the split had been caused by ideological differences.

He said he belonged to the original Africanist group of the PAC which was against the Marxist/Leninist ideologies of another group under current PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Shange expelled

According to Alexander, all the PAC formations were under the leadership of Mothopeng and he denied there was a splinter group.

He maintained Shange's claims were not worthy of any notice as he had been expelled from the PAC.

Shange denied his expulsion. - *Sapa*.

Blow to

Sowetan 3/10/90

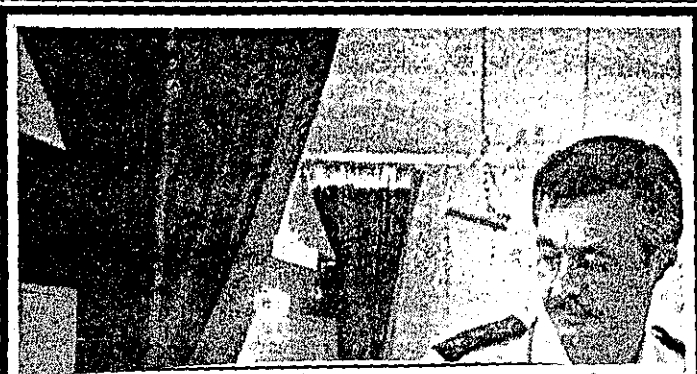
11A

peace

Buthlezi snubs offer of talks

OWN CORRESPONDENT

IN a major setback to peace efforts by State President FW de Klerk, KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected an invitation from Mr Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress for talks on Friday on curbing the political violence.



Big blow to talks

Sowetan 3/10/90

11A

From Page 1
Buthelezi said he was concerned because he was invited as a leader of a national state and not as

president of Inkatha Freedom Party. He asked, if this was a deliberately strategised attempt "to deny me my prime political identity as president of Inkatha".



De Klerk has said that while he could not bang the heads of Mandela and Buthelezi together to compel them to meet, he was working for the right atmosphere between them, and would continue to do so.

The ANC expressed its "sincere regret" yesterday that Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi has declined an invitation to attend.

Injured constable Neels Goosen (left) and Gert Goosen at Garden City Clinic, where he was treated after being shot by a suspect in a car chase in Soweto yesterday.

The ANC said in a statement released yesterday that it was unfortunate that Buthelezi had turned down Mandela's invitation, but that they would "continue to try persuade Buthelezi that it is necessary for such consultation in the interests of the country".

Mandela had invited Buthelezi to the meeting, along with the leaders of the other five national states. QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and Kangwane leaders all accepted and will meet with Mandela for three hours in his Soweto home on Friday.

Buthelezi is overseas, and is expected to attend the World Economic Forum meeting in Geneva.

Invitation

The ANC said Buthelezi refused to accept the invitation in a letter to Mandela.

De Klerk was pinning a lot of hope on the two men getting together for talks as a further input to peace besides the government's Iron Fist security crackdown and top-level meetings between Inkatha and ANC officials. In Natal and KwaZulu these meetings are credited with going a long way to curbing political violence.

Mandela telephoned Buthelezi on September 20 and invited him for talks. This raised hopes around the world that the two men would at last meet after Mandela's release from jail, after murderous clashes between their organisations and a war of words.

But within 16 hours

To Page 2

CHARLIE PARKERS

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Large numbers of black security forces defecting to ANC Sisulu

B10 am 3/10/90

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — There had been a widespread defection by black security forces, including police, prison officers and soldiers, to the ANC, its internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Delivering the T B Davie memorial lecture at UCT, Sisulu said the NP had become increasingly fragmented and confused and could no longer rely on its public service and security forces to carry out its policies.

Sisulu argued that government was pursuing change in a society based on apartheid and that it had not yet agreed to replace the existing system with a non-racial democracy.

Apartheid would continue to exist as long as government pursued the protection of minority rights as its basic cornerstone, he said.

"It is our job, the task of all democrats, to advance this idea: that nothing short of full freedom will satisfy us," he said.

Sisulu told hundreds of students who

packed UCT's Jamieson Hall that the ANC had never supported the idea of "liberation before education" because it believed that education was one of the weapons to be used in achieving liberation.

"We need doctors, lawyers, teachers and accountants to help run the new SA. We are desperately short of such people in the black community. There will be much ground to cover to redress this imbalance."

Sisulu called for a national response to the violence on the Reef which threatened the process of peaceful change.

"The very insulation of the white community from the trauma inflicted on the black communities provides the conditions for such violence to continue. Whites have a responsibility, for what is happening is of national importance and will affect the fabric of our society and the possibilities of peaceful change," he said.

He urged academics to research and expose the forces behind the violence.

'Unrest down by 80% due to Iron Fist'

B10 am 3/10/90

LINDEN BIRNS

UNREST incidents had decreased by 80% as a direct result of the implementation of Operation Iron Fist, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Capt Craig Kotze said 12 incidents were reported on Monday compared with a high of 166 on September 12.

The sharp decrease in incidents indicated the enhanced effectiveness of police

controls since Iron Fist measures, including a 9pm to 4am curfew, were introduced, he said.

The Iron Fist operation has been sharply criticised by the ANC and other political organisations.

Police on ANC side, claim PAC

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday accused the police of siding with the ANC to attack their supporters in Old Crossroads.

Two PAC executive members, Mr Zifozo Tshikila, national organiser, and Mr Paulus Mangqongwana, national secretary for political affairs, delivered fiery addresses to about 350 supporters in Old Crossroads Community Hall.

Police in a Casspir and vans stood by as bands of youthful supporters of Old Crossroads ANC chairman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe milled around.

The pair flew down to Cape Town from Mdantsane and Queenstown to explain the PAC's position "to our Western Cape supporters".

It also emerged from yesterday's meeting that police will appoint a senior Guguletu detective to take all criminal complaints by PAC supporters against special constables and others.

A police spokesman confirmed this, adding: "Our understanding is that their main grievance is against special constables and not the SAP as such."

Mr Tshikila said the PAC could not talk about accepting the government's invitation to take part in negotiations while "our people are being terrorised".

"Mr Nongwe is the Old Crossroads ANC chairperson and he's using the SAP to kill people who join the PAC," he said.

Quoting Mr Nelson Mandela as saying recently that the ANC had formed an alliance with the government, he asked: "Is it right that people fighting the enemy form an alliance with the enemy?"

The meeting began to chants of "one settler, one bullet".

Don't prolong SA's diaspora

South Africa 4/10 - 10/10/90



THE return of approximately 40 000 South African exiles and the release of hundreds of political prisoners in terms of the Pretoria Minute have emotional implications for millions of this country's people.

The exiles find themselves, figuratively, in all four corners of the earth — driven from the land of their birth over the past 30 years by apartheid and repressive laws.

Diaspora

Evidence of this South African "diaspora" is ever-present and visible no matter where one travels in the world. So is the pain of homesickness for loved ones, for the snook of Cape Town or the bright-flowering cosmos of the Highveld.

At home, thousands of parents and relatives have lost all contact with children or cousins who had left many years ago and have not been heard from since.

IN its tussle for power over the ANC, the government has lost sight of the human face of suffering in South Africa. Feeling it most at the moment are relatives of thousands of exiles the government does not want to allow back home. The government is stalling unnecessarily on providing indemnity for the first 3 000 exiles who were expected back home on Monday:

In many instances, it is not known whether some of these exiles are alive or dead.

There are children born in foreign countries who yearn for a motherland they have never seen. There are graves to be visited and old and new acquaintances to be made.

This is the human face of life in exile that the government seems not to understand or have sympathy for.

Agreement

The ANC has done enough — and more — to abide by the agreement of the Pretoria Minute governing the return of exiles.

The security arm of the government must now realise that because of the peace process, they have lost the war. While there may be thousands of exiles they may wish to perse-

cute for their actions, the time for that has passed.

More sickening is the impression that the exiles are being used as pawns and their return to South Africa made subject to the whims and political stratagems of the government.

Remorseful

If it is remorseful and penitent about apartheid and its consequences, as claimed by Deputy Minister Leon Wessels in Stockholm recently, it should be in the forefront to remove all obstacles delaying the return of the exiles. In fact, the cost of resettlement must be borne by a government largely responsible for the flight to foreign lands by so many of our people.

The government's cynicism reached new heights this week when it refused to grant in-

demnity to the first batch of 3 000 exiles the African National Congress wishes to bring home in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

In order to score points and attempt to dictate the pace of the negotiation process, the government is toying with the lives of thousands of South Africans.

Sacrificed

Political prisoners and exiles — the people who have sacrificed the most to eradicate apartheid — are now told to wait while at the same time the pain of their relatives, all with heightened expectations, are prolonged. This week many family reunions were dashed.

It is now time to repair the ravages of war and dissent. Time for exiles to return and make a contribution to building a new South Africa.

It is time this government stop toying with the lives of South African people and show their country and the world that they are seriously committed to a negotiated settlement in this country.

ANC calls for a major economic reconstruction

State 4/10/90 (11A) (12)

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The ANC has called for a major reconstruction of the economy in a draft economic policy just issued.

It is based on a mixed economy, but contains strong socialist elements such as nationalisation, re-distribution of wealth and land, dissolving of monopolies and major "affirmative action" to overcome inequalities suffered by blacks and women.

Contrary to recent indications, it still puts strong emphasis on nationalisation.

Strong warning

Not only should all privatised public utilities be immediately re-nationalised, but so should private enterprises if an ANC government considers this "strategically" necessary.

The mining industry comes in for special State intervention measures and a strong warning of possible nationalisation.

The ANC proposes a State Minerals Marketing Authority to control all mineral marketing, the formation of cartels to stabilise prices, and hints at breaking up

private sector mining conglomerates and possible nationalisation.

An ANC government would consider using fiscal policy to encourage venture capital in new mines and also itself making "strategic investments" in mines.

It would also root out "racist labour practices" and substantially improve miners' living and work conditions.

Satisfying the basic needs of the impoverished majority should be the engine of growth, the ANC says.

The main source of finance for this will be domestic savings.

Among the key re-distribution measures of the policy are:

- The State will bear the ultimate responsibility for welfare and pensions.
- A national retirement scheme underwritten by the State and a compulsory unemployment scheme will be enacted.
- Fully-serviced housing sites can be part of a public works programme to create jobs.
- A public housing sector providing low-rental houses is essential.
- Financial institutions could be forced to finance housing.

● Full report — Page 7.

State control over mining proposed in ANC report

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The mining industry comes in for special State interventionist measures — and a strong warning of possible nationalisation — in the ANC's new draft economic policy, which has just been drawn up.

It proposes a State Minerals Marketing Authority to control all mineral marketing, the formation of cartels to stabilise prices and hints at smashing private sector mining conglomerates as well as possible nationalisation.

"The mineral wealth of our country needs to be husbanded in such a way that it benefits all of the people through the contribution it makes to national development.

"The policy of a democratic non-racial government should aim to enhance the role of the sector as a job creator, foreign exchange earner and supplier of raw materials to local industry."

'STRATEGIC INVESTMENTS'

An ANC government would consider using fiscal policy to encourage venture capital in new mines and also itself making "strategic investments" in mines.

It would also root out "racist labour practices" and substantially improve miners' living and work conditions. It also would consider creating an inspectorate to police mining health and safety, mining legislation, transfer pricing and high-grading.

"The ANC is concerned that the current conglomerate control of mining finance is an impediment to an alternative strategy for the sector.

"So, too, is the current trend towards privatisation and deregulation which amount to abdicating the State's responsibility for ensuring that the mineral wealth, which is the heritage of all South Africans, benefits the nation as a whole."

The ANC document also said: "A new government would need to explore various options in respect of ownership patterns in the mining industry and, in view of the sector's strategic importance for the achievement of national development objectives, consideration would have to be given to the nature and extent of State intervention and ownership".

In recommending the formation of a State Minerals Marketing Authority, the ANC said such an agency would be empowered to enter into marketing agreements with other countries.

ANC's economic policy is still strongly socialist

The ANC's new draft economic policy, while softening some of the harsher socialist elements of its present policy, still contains strong doctrinaire elements such as the nationalisation not only of public utilities already privatised by the Government, but also purely private enterprises.

The policy is based on a mixed economy and there is evidence in several places that the ANC is trying to avoid alienating business.

It notes that "private enterprise has a major role to play in the economy of a democratic, non-racial South Africa."

The ANC will "actively strive to build confidence with the private sector and encourage maximum co-operation."

It recognises that it is necessary to "reverse the present trend towards stagnation and to promote economic growth."

"Without significant growth in our economy we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and equality confronting our people."

The document says that no solutions will be found to these problems by simply promoting growth as the present Government policy does.

Even at times when the apartheid economy was growing strongly "precious little benefit trickled down to the mass of the people".

The engine of economic growth could not be rising demand for luxury goods by a minority of wealthy consumers. It should instead be the "growing satisfaction of the basic needs of the impoverished and deprived majority". However, the need for re-construction to overcome backlogs must be balanced against the need to avoid inflationary policies.

"Reconciling these potentially conflicting objectives requires re-distributing resources in such a way that new patterns of demand are created to which our productive sectors can respond."

However nationalisation, the breaking-up of corporate monopolies and the redistribution of rural land remain features of policy, if not as prominently as before.

"Affirmative action" in a wide range of fields, is a constant refrain of the policy.

Remarks by ANC international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki at an economic confer-

Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS reports on the ANC's draft economic policy formulated after two workshops in Harare in April/May and September this year, which is being circulated in preparation for ratification at the organisation's national congress in December.

► **ANC international secretary Thabo Mbeki, at the Geneva economic conference this week, suggested the ANC would nationalise only public utilities privatised by the Government, but the organisation's policy document shows it is also prepared to nationalise private enterprises.**

ence in Geneva this week suggested that the ANC's nationalisation policy had been considerably diluted and that it would henceforth only nationalise public utilities privatised by the Government.

The policy document shows instead that the ANC is also prepared to nationalise private enterprises that have never been State-owned, voluntarily if possible but compulsorily if not. It says:

Privatise

"The ANC is staunchly opposed to the current Government's plans to privatise the public utility corporations. These should remain part of the public sector and any public utilities which are privatised will be subject to re-nationalisation immediately.

"In addition to public utility corporations, it is envisaged that planning processes for different sectors will lead to the identification of strategic enterprises whose role is central to the realisation of development objectives.

"It could be anticipated that there will be cases where the balance of evidence suggests that it would be advantageous to have public corporations operating in these areas."

"In such cases these would be established by the voluntary or, on rarer occasions, the compulsory establishment of new public enterprises."

However, the document points out that a future government would bear in mind the



need to maintain confidence and bind itself to proceeding according to constitutional principles.

The policy as a whole is founded on the principle of a mixed economy but it points out that "while market relations are an essential component of a mixed economy, the ANC does not believe that market forces alone will result in anything but the perpetuation of existing disparities of income and wealth".

It sets out several intervention measures, apart from nationalisation, which the government would adopt to overcome these disparities. However, many of the socialist measures are tempered with concessions to free enterprise.

The measures include:

- Priority to be given to immediately returning to the land those removed from black freehold land or from plots held under labour tenancy agreements.

- Action against monopolies. The document notes the "extreme concentration" of economic power in conglomerate hands and vows to investigate this to "promote a more efficient and effective use of resources".

- While the ANC would prefer these essential reforms were carried out in co-operation with business, "if such co-operation were not forthcoming a future democratic government would not shirk its clear duty".

- It will consider the creation of a State Minerals Marketing Authority to control all minerals marketing and agree-

ments with other countries.

However the government would also consider using fiscal policy to encourage the investment of venture capital in new mines.

- Foreign investment would be encouraged on terms consistent with the ANC's development goals. Foreign investors would be encouraged to invest in activities which led to increased employment and the development of local technological capacity.

They would be obliged to follow acceptable labour practices and to co-operate in development goals and to reinvest part of their profits.

In return, they would be given guarantees on the security of investments and the right to re-patriate part of profits.

- Involving "mass-based organisations" in planning the reconstruction of the economy. Preference will be given to incentive measures and to seeking consensus and co-operation. "Commandist or bureaucratic planning methods will be avoided."

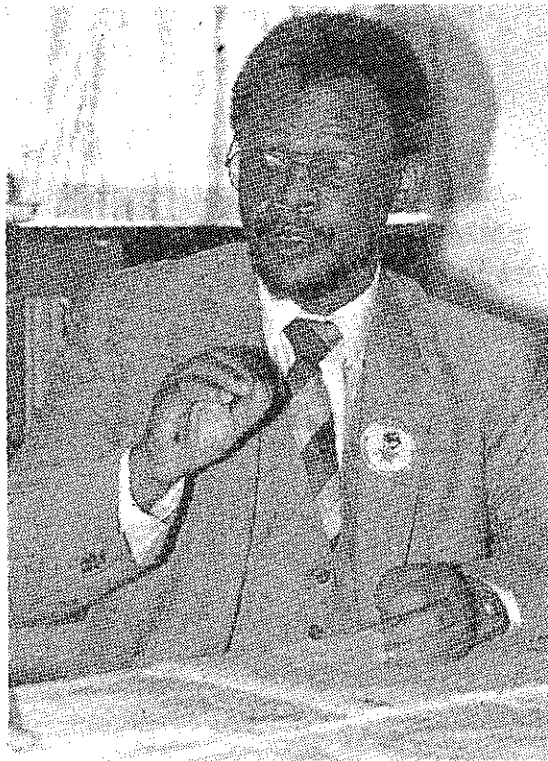
- Major re-allocation in budget spending. Significant savings can be made by eliminating duplications caused by apartheid and by reducing security spending and re-directing these to housing, health, education and welfare.

- In the longer term, financing welfare services will need increased tax revenue, largely by increasing the tax burden of corporations in relation to that of individuals, increasing the taxes of the wealthy, levying capital gains, and increasing estate taxes. A new government would have to avoid running up a large budget deficit and avoid the present Government's practice of financing large budget deficits with loans.

- The Government's policy of creating work through de-regulation and privatisation is not enough and the ANC would create public work programmes and promote re-training.

- Black and white local authorities would have to be integrated into metropolitan structures to create single tax bases and cross-subsidisation of poor black areas.

- Organised labour will to "empowered" and industrial democracy promoted. The scope of the collective bargaining process would be widened to allow trade union involvement in investment planning.



Dr Mosala

Azapo's 'no' to talks

South 4/10 - 10/10/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) has poured cold water on a government offer to take part in exploratory constitutional talks.

Azapo's national president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, said this week:

"My organisation makes a distinction between constitutional discussions aimed at producing a new constitution for a new society and talks aimed at enlisting the participation of liberation movements in the removal of measures that keep black people in prison

By MONO BADELA

and under legal political and socio-economic conditions of suppression and exploitation."

He said Azapo remained committed to its call for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage, convened under circumstances of safety and freedom for all its participants, and refereed by an independent party.

"The position of Azapo is that genuine transformation of our society can only take place within the context of a democratic and just process."

Mosala said Azapo would not negotiate the release of prisoners or the return of land. *(11A)*

He said the government had imprisoned them and alienated the land and should use its instruments of State to bring about change.

However, he said Azapo was committed to participate in constitutional talks.

Mosala said he had received a letter of from the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, urged him to persuade Azapo to engage in exploratory talks.

From MOIRA LEVY
 LONDON. — With indemnity for political exiles a step closer, euphoria within the exiled ANC community here has given way to realism and hard thinking.

While talk over the past weeks has centred around plans for returning home, ANC members point out that there will be no en masse migration from Europe.

The leadership is mostly concerned with organising the resettlement of tens of thousands of MK combatants, who are solely depend-

Realism replaces euphoria

South 4/10 - 10/10/90

ent on the ANC. There are said to be elaborate plans being negotiated to retrain those in the camps, taking them on short skills training and upgrading courses, to enable them to contribute to and integrate into community structures on their return.

An ANC member said in London this week that funders were being mobilised for such training schemes.

Mr Ciphu Pityana said ANC members would be trained and later employed as administrators in community projects.

There is a great deal of concern on the part of the movement not to just drive people to the borders and leave them to sort themselves out. The movement is concerned to locate them within a welfare programme.

"There is also much concern to try to address their needs for skills, enabling them to pursue independent lives. The most important thing in my view is to enable people to integrate into community structures, and secondly, to have the opportunities and possibilities for training," Pityana said.

Other ANC sources have been at pains to point out that the exiled membership

in regions like London face a different set of constraints.

They are expected to 'think hard and fast about what they are returning to'.

They are encouraged to secure jobs and, if possible, accommodation before their return.

Individuals in London who have secured jobs in South Africa are taking steps to return after consulting the chief representative.

But they point out that October 1 was simply the date from which return became possible; it was not intended to be the day 'the flood gates opened'.

ANC member quits after sex charges

AN Athlone member of the ANC resigned after he was convicted in the Cape Town Magistrates Court on two charges of indecent assault.

Peter Steinegger, of Lansdowne, confirmed this week that he had resigned from the ANC after being asked to do so "unofficially" by his branch executive committee. *Stu 4/10 - 10/10/90*

Two weeks ago, he was given a suspended jail sentence after pleading guilty to assaulting two girls at the Ons Plek shelter in Observatory.

Steinegger was a counsellor at the shelter for runaway girls when the offences were committed. *(11A) (2)*

According to a code of conduct for

ANC members adopted at the ANC's regional conference last weekend, members should ensure that they "do not behave in a manner which causes severe embarrassment to the organisation".

Steinegger said no official steps were taken against him and he was not dealt with in terms of the code of conduct.

He was not given an opportunity to present his point of view to the executive committee — a prerequisite in terms of the ANC's constitution.

"But that won't be necessary now because I decided to resign from the ANC," Steinegger said.

An ANC branch official refused to comment on the matter.

11A



Newly elected Azanian Youth Congress president Mr Thami Mcerwa is flanked by two executive committee members at a Press conference on Monday. The new committee was elected at a three-day national meeting in Pietersburg at the weekend. Azayo supported a call by the Azanian Peoples Organisation for a consultative conference of all components of the liberation movements before negotiations with the Government could begin. Azayo also criticised a call by the UDF for the occupation of unoccupied land. On the question of violence in the townships, Azayo urged the ANC and the PAC to respond to Azapo's initiative for peace talks. It also praised the peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

ANC looks to Botswana's economy

GENEVA — Botswana's flourishing mixed economy has strongly influenced the ANC's new economic thinking, to be disclosed in a policy discussion document tomorrow.

Tito Mboweni, representing the ANC's economic department at the two-day World Economic Forum in Geneva, said the lessons the Botswana government had learnt and put to use were a glittering example for the Frontline states and post-apartheid SA.

The ANC had discarded the role of critic imposed on it while banned and was moving fast to contribute to a post-apartheid government.

He said the old bogey linking the ANC to rampant nationalisation was dead and buried.

He and the movement's delegation

IAN HOBBS

in Geneva insisted it had an open mind on economic plans, but was firm that without political stability there was no possibility for a dynamic and prosperous economy.

Mboweni said he could not comment on the new ANC economic discussion document, which was the responsibility of Max Sisulu, head of the economic department in Lusaka.

But it was no secret that the ANC admired and respected Botswana's economic management.

He said the ANC was being advised on Botswana's socially responsible working relationship with the private sector, particularly the roles of government and the mining houses in the exploitation of mineral resources.

Mboweni said he had had "warm and civilised talks" with Anglo American and De Beers deputy chairman Nicholas Oppenheimer. They had agreed to meet often.

Noting that one of the strongest points made in Geneva, and one that all accepted, was that SA should not dominate the region economically, he said: "New arrangements must be made for regional tax union, for the SADCC and for the Preferential Trade Area must be mutually beneficial."

Mboweni said he had welcomed the presence in Geneva of the CP delegation led by Koos van der Merwe. "This is what it was all about: getting all sides together so everyone could realise the mutual potential . . . when we get rid of the political obstacles."

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Differing views over Land Act

A SHARP difference of opinion has emerged between the ANC and the Government on the issue of returning land to blacks in "white" South Africa when the Land Acts are repealed next year.

The ANC's latest draft economic policy document makes it clear that it believes priority should be given to "immediately

^{Sowetan} returning to the land those removed from black freehold land or from plots held under labour tenancy agreements" ^{1/11}

But the Government has made it equally clear that it does not envisage a re-distribution of land when the Acts go.

The Government confirmed on Tuesday that the two laws which pre-

^{4/10/90} vent blacks owning rural land in "white" South Africa would be repealed next year. ^(Sowetan)

However, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen made it clear that the Government was against returning land which had been owned by blacks before the Land Acts were introduced.

^(Sowetan) At a Press conference after a meeting with homeland leaders to discuss the repeal of the Land Acts, he and President de Klerk were asked if those who had lost land under the Acts would be entitled to first option in re-acquiring it when they were scrapped.

- Sowetan Correspondent.

SOWETAN

THURSDAY OCTOBER 4 1990

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All areas 50c (44c + 6c GST)

LADIES' NYLON NIGHTIES
WERE 25⁹⁹
NOW 18⁰⁰ ONLY
ELOFF ST., KERK ST.,
CARLTON CENTRE.

Government warns over MK remarks

Plan to 'deal with'



with' Hani

Sowetan 4/10/90



THE Government would soon "deal with" ANC military leader Mr Chris Hani's remarks on the continued recruitment of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, according to a senior Government Minister.

Addressing a National Party

meeting in Randburg on Tuesday night, Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok would do so within the next few days.

He said the Government was unhappy with the militant statements made by Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff.

It was particularly concerned

about the continued training of MK soldiers after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, which announced the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Hani returned to Johannesburg on Sunday after the renewal of his temporary indemnity from arrest until the end of the year.

An earlier indemnity was withdrawn after he made militant state-

Hani is warned

From Page 1

ments in Transkei. The ANC subsequently refused to take up a 41-hour indemnity granted to Hani to attend a session of the joint Government/ANC working group on the armed struggle. Sowetan 4/10/90

His new indemnity, granted last week, has been interpreted as the removal of a stumbling block in the negotiation process, particularly the activities of the working group.

Hani was chosen by the ANC to head the organisation's representatives on this committee. - Sowetan Correspondent.

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Sayco rejects 'blatant lies'

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South
4/10 - 10/10/90

THE South African Youth Congress (Sayco) this week slammed as "blatant lies" allegations that the youth did not support the ANC's negotiation strategy and were moving away from the liberation movement.

Sayco Western Cape president, Mr Maxwell Moss, dismissed rumours that the organisation was part of a "dissident group within the ANC" and affirmed its active support for negotiations.

He was speaking at a press conference to announce a conference organised by Sayco to explain the ANC's strategies to the youth of the Western Cape.

The initiative, conducted by Sayco nationally, has already seen two similar conferences in the Southern Transvaal and Eastern Cape and nine further regional conferences are planned.

The theme of the conference, to be held on October 13 at the Peninsula Technikon, is "Youth, Negotiations and Peace".

Sayco has invited all youth formations in the Western Cape, including the PAC and the National Party, to attend.

"The conference will give the ANC an opportunity to listen to the perspectives of the youth on issues and challenges facing South Africa," said Sayco executive member, Mr Richard Martin.

"It will also give the ANC an opportunity to explain to the youth why it has taken certain steps, like those in the Pretoria Minute."

SACP surfaces 11A

By REHANA ROSSOUW

South 4/10 - 10/10/90

THE South African Communist Party holds its first public event in the Western Cape on Friday.

However, despite speculation, the party will not be naming its Cape leadership at the meeting nor will there be any members "emerging" for the first time.

"Our members have been active for some time now, otherwise we would not have been able to pull off Friday's

event," said SACP Western Cape convenor, Ms Cheryl Carolus.

All ANC, UDF and Cosatu members were invited to attend the SACP meeting, Carolus said.

"We welcome the decision taken at the ANC's regional conference where they reaffirmed the fighting alliance with us," she said.

"Our meeting will essentially be a talk with the members of the alliance."

86/t 4/10-10/10/90 (11A)

Strength and experience

The 14-person executive committee elected at the ANC Western Cape's regional congress last Sunday brings different strengths and diverse political experiences into the organisation.

CHRISTMAS TINTO (president) was a member of the Regional Interim Committee appointed by the ANC to establish the organisation in the Western Cape. He was convicted for recruitment for the ANC and served time on Robben Island before winning an appeal against his sentence.

HILDA NDUDE (vice-president) is a stalwart in women's organisations and the UDF. Ndude is the secretary of the Federation of South African Women in the Western Cape.

AMOS LENGISI (secretary) is another "ex-Islander" who served time for ANC activities. Lengisi was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and took part in the Wankie campaign in Rhodesia the 1960s.

BULELANI NGCUKA (treasurer), a lawyer, is the chairperson of the UDF in the Western Cape. He is also an "ex-Islander".

TREVOR MANUEL (publicity secretary) was a member of the Regional Interim Committee of the ANC. Manuel was detained several times under the emergency regulations.

NEVILLE VAN DER RHEEDE (political education officer), a teacher in Bonteheuwel, spent most of the past four years in detention or restricted.

DULLAH OMAR (additional member) was recently appointed director of the Community Law Centre at

the University of the Western Cape. Omar is also chairperson of the Athlone branch of the ANC.

BASIL DAVIDSON (additional member), a town planner in private practice, is a founder member of the Development Action Group. Davidson served as an interim convenor of the Cape Town zone of the ANC.

CHRIS NISSEN (additional member) is a priest in the Lutheran Church. He was detained shortly after the first state of emergency was declared.

NOEL WILLIAMS (additional member) was active in Cosatu and is involved in community organisations in Atlantis. He was detained for a lengthy period during the state of emergency and restricted.

JOHNNY ISSEL (additional member) was banned and detained for several years in the past two decades. For several years Issel operated underground after being sought by the security police for promoting the aims of the ANC.

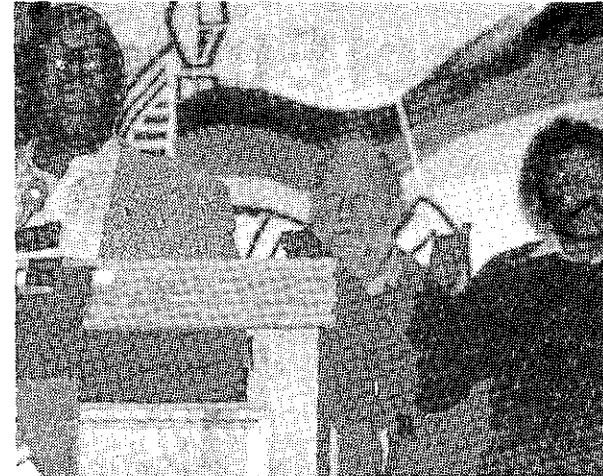
REGGIE OLIFANT (additional member) suffered harsh repression because of his political activities in the Southern Cape region. He was elected chairperson of the Southern Cape UDF region. Olifant was recently elected ANC convenor for the Southern Cape.

MILDRED LESEA (additional member) is a veteran ANC member and founder member of the United Women's Organisation and United Women's Congress.

JOE MPANZA (additional member) is a priest in Worcester and active in community organisations.

ANC'S impressive comeback

South
4/10-10/10/90 (11A)



New ANC executive members Christmas Tinto, Basil Davidson and Johnny Issel

SCARCELY five months after its "rebirth" in South Africa, the African National Congress pulled off two impressive regional congresses in the Western Cape and Transvaal last weekend, setting the pace for the national conference to be held on December 16.

For the 557 delegates in the Cape and the 648 delegates in the PWV, the congresses marked the first opportunity to democratically decide on the way forward for their organisation.

Despite of teething problems experienced

in launching the ANC in both regions, the conferences were successfully organised and conducted.

The main achievement at both conferences was the democratic election of regional executive committees, representing a wide range of forces within the ANC.

In the Western Cape, the sophisticated conference was organised in a scant five weeks.

An impressive feature at the conference was the use of simultaneous translation equipment, speeding up the proceedings which would otherwise be disrupted by the translation of speeches into three languages.

At the Western Cape conference, delegates

spent hours debating issues affecting the ANC in the region, culminating in a range of resolutions mapping the work ahead.

"After the many hours spent at the conference, delegates left with their weapons sharpened and with a structure in place to take the ANC down to branch and street level," said publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel.

"Our vision of the way forward has been clarified now and we left the conference with the healthy sense of having engaged in democratic debate and discussion."

The organisers of both conferences expressed their satisfaction with the outcome of the meetings.

Vaal 'pivotal to the future of South Africa'

119

South 4/10/90-10/10/90

JOHANNESBURG.— ANC members in the PWV could not have asked for a more representative leadership to guide them towards their target of 100 000 members by the end of the year.

The region's first regional executive committee, elected at a regional congress at the weekend, includes a wide range of people from Umkhonto weSizwe cadres to moderate civic leaders.

Elected unanimously by 648 delegates from 59 branches to head the 12-man regional executive committee is Kgalema Motlanthe, education officer of the National Union of Mineworkers.

He served an effective prison term of 10 years on Robben Island.

Motlanthe was convenor of the region's interim committee.

He has been associated with the ANC since his Orlando High School days.

Motlanthe said there was consensus that the ANC needed to campaign on issues related to land and homelessness.

"There's a need for an interim government, for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly and for mass action to reinforce those demands"

Motlanthe said the congress decided to take up campaigns for the unconditional release of political prisoners and called for the repeal of all repressive legislation.

He said the PWV region was pivotal to the taking of power in South Africa.

"Its strategic implications are enormous."

Montlanthe's deputy is UDF general secretary Popo Molefe.

Barbara Hogan, the first woman to be sentenced for high treason in South Africa and who served nine of her

10-year prison sentence, was elected unanimously as general secretary.

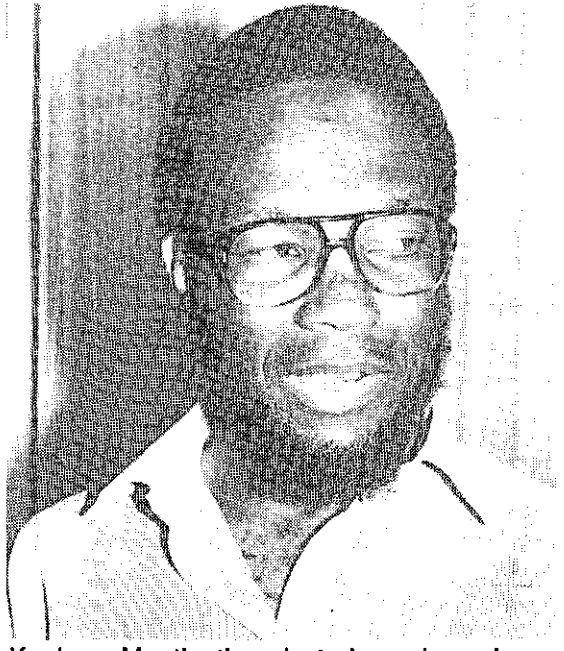
Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) president, Cassiem Saloojee, a former treason trialist, will serve as treasurer.

Five days after her being charged as an accused in the Stompie Seipei case, Winie Mandela seems to have made a storming comeback when she was elected as an

additional executive member.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander and Robben Island inmate, Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale, was also elected as an additional member.

Other executive committee members are Atteridgeville civic leader, Dr Abie Nkomo, trade unionists Amos Masondo of Soweto, former Delmas treason trialist, Bavumile Vilakazi of Sebokeng and Cyril Jantjies, the Thokoza civic leader, Andrew Mapheto, recently released from Robben Island after serving nearly 11 years and Mohammed Valli Moosa, a former emergency detainee and UDF official.



Kgalema Motlanthe, elected unanimously

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Youths get together to talk about talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE youth wings of political organisations ranging from the National Party to the Azanian People's Organisation have been invited to attend a youth conference on negotiations at the Peninsula Technikon.

Invited to attend next Saturday's conference, where the Pretoria Minute will be explained, are the New Unity Movement, Democratic Party and religious groups.

An invitation has also been sent to the Conservative Party, said South African Youth Congress member Mr Richard Martin at a Press conference yesterday.

ACROSS IDEOLOGY

"We are trying to get the youth groupings from various organisations together and are cutting across the ideological divide," he said.

"This should be seen as part of the campaign by the ANC to take the Pretoria Minute to the people ... part of the conference is to facilitate this."

The ANC would also be given an opportunity to listen to the "youth's perspective of issues".

Mr Maxwell Moss, regional president Sayco, said the conference was not an attempt to break away from the ANC.

Sayco said in a statement it wished to dispel all distortions that "we are part of a dissident group within the ANC that is against negotiations. We want to affirm our own active support for the ANC in their efforts to create peace and justice."

Speakers at next Saturday's conference include regional ANC executive members Mr Bulelani Nqcuca, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Dullah Omar.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

ANC project aims to raise R12,5-b

Sowetan 4/10/90

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

PLANS are afoot overseas to raise more than R12,5 billion to set up a development operation for the ANC in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The operation, which will handle the raising of funds locally and from overseas, is expected to create enormous investment potential as it will not be tied to existing South African banks or the Government.

ANC economist Mr Tito Mboweni said the idea was mooted after the organisation's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, held talks with business people overseas to fund the "reconstruction" of a post apartheid South Africa.

He said funds would be raised both from governments and the private sector. They had agreed to put the money together to create some form of investment bank in South Africa.

A working committee, comprising business

people and ANC representatives, has been set up to study the possibility of creating such an institution.

The move comes at the time when anti-apartheid organisations, including the ANC, have called for economic sanctions against South Africa, although it is understood that some countries are moving away from their original stances in the wake of reforms introduced by President FW de Klerk.

Loans

However, a spokesman for the US embassy, Mr Barry Wattley, said in Pretoria yesterday that new private sector investment was permitted for firms owned by South African blacks.

He said the main thrust of US anti-apartheid legislation prevented investment in South Africa by American companies, although there were exceptions.

The ban did not include loans for education, housing and on humanitarian grounds.

He did not have information about the establishment of a bank for the ANC, nor any US banks which were willing to participate.

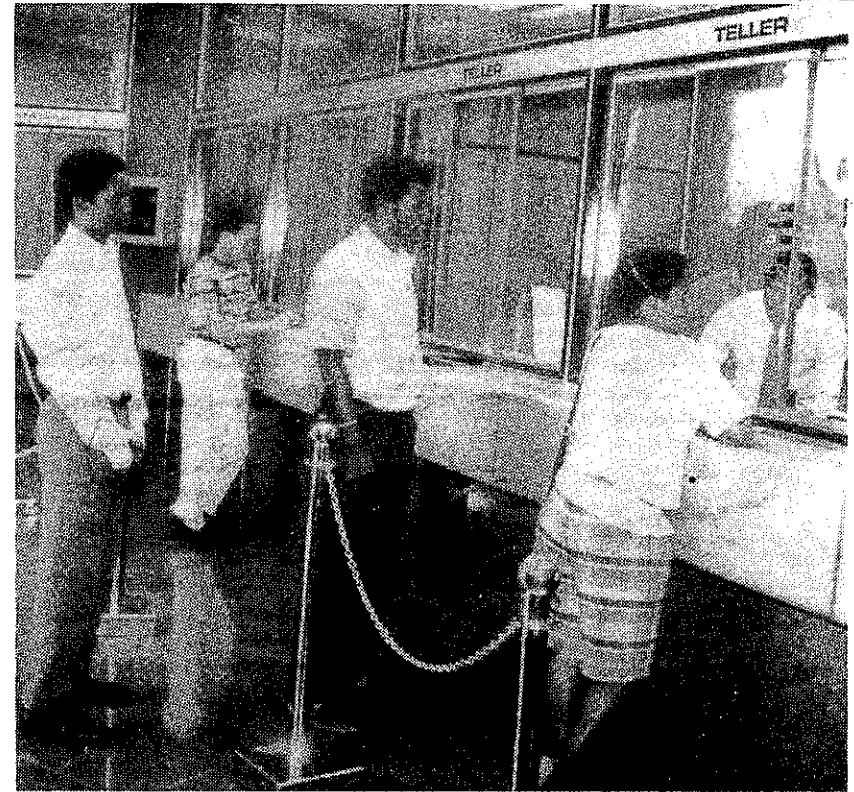
The Registrar of Banks at the Reserve Bank, Mr Hennie van Greuning, said in Pretoria that he was not aware of any move by the ANC to open a bank. Anybody who wanted to establish a bank would have to get approval from his department, through the Bank's Act.

He said that capital, expertise and other aspects would be criteria for anybody to establish a bank in South Africa.

He welcomed anybody or group, especially blacks, to open a bank in the interest of the public, although he was of the opinion that the country was overbanked.

He said, however, that any political party would have problems starting a bank.

THE African Bank, which claims to have survived 14 years of storms, has opened this new luxurious branch near its head office 50 Marshall Street Johannesburg. This brings to 11 the number of branches already in operation. The bank is in the process of opening others in Nelspruit, Lusi-kisiki, Queenstown and Bisho.



Azapo turns down State's offer of talks

Sowetan 4/10/90

11A



THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has turned down the Government's invitation to take part in exploratory constitutional talks.

Expressing a commitment to "peace based on justice for the land and people of South Africa", Azapo president Professor Gomolemo Mosala said in Cape Town the organisation made a distinction "between constitutional discussions aimed at producing a new constitution for a new society and talks aimed at enlisting the participation of liberation movements in the removal of measures that keep black people in prison and under legal political and socio-economic conditions of suppression and exploitation".

"A government which claims to be committed to change must use its own instruments of State rule to remove those measures and conditions without drawing in those who are committed to the creation of a new and a just society for their people.

"We will not negotiate the release of our political prisoners, the removal of the Land Act and other Acts which characterise the apartheid system," he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

Azapo was committed to a constituent assembly as the starting point for constitutional negotiations.

Such an assembly should be elected on the basis of "a universal franchise, convened under circumstances of safety and freedom for all its participants and refereed by an independent party".

Azapo's position was that negotiations should take place at a neutral venue, under an independent and impartial mediator.

African state

Publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the thinking in Azapo was that this country could become an African state in the ranks of the Organisation for African Unity.

The first step towards talks should be a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations "to determine the agenda for constitutional discussions".

"We have spoken to all organisations and have secured agreements in principle on the need for a consultative conference," Moodley said.

CAH-71445
sday, October 4 1990

Project started to welcome exiles

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A REPATRIATION committee for exiles, drawn from all major liberation movements, is negotiating to buy a city building to house temporarily most of the 328 Western Cape exiles expected back by the end of the month.

The intended purchase is part of a multi-million-rand project by the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), which consists of the SA Council of Churches, the SA Bishops Conference, the World Council for Regional Peace, the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

It was reliably learnt yesterday that the building, which has 200 rooms, a communal kitchen and a lounge area, is in the Bo-Kaap and was built in the early 1940s.

Imam Hassan Solomon, NCC regional chairman, said at a press conference that projected national budgets for health and welfare, legal protection and

housing and resettlement totalled R62,5 million.

Nine repatriation task forces had been set up in the Cape Town area and more were being established in rural areas, he added.

Workshops on political sensitivity, counselling of families, people-tracing skills and housing had begun.

Members would impress upon exiles that local conditions were "far removed" from those in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

"There's no question of new houses, instant quality education and jobs — we are looking at a very difficult and different situation here," Imam Solomon said.

Priority would be given to skilled exiles returning first to help set up the reception structures.

Church groups were specifically chosen because of their neutrality. There was "no question" of political bias being allowed within the NCC.

The ANC had submitted a re-

gional list of 243 adult exiles and 85 dependants from Worcester, Paarl and the Peninsula area to the government. These people were among the 3 000 exiles under dispute between the ANC and the government over the conditions of their repatriation, he confirmed.

Asked about the controversial issue of Aids screening of exiles, many of whom had been in high-risk African countries, Imam Solomon said screening was "out of the question".

When pressed, however, he said an Aids test could form part of a "routine medical check up" for returning exiles.

The NCC would also "not ignore any help" the government might offer and would "take note" of objections to this by the PAC and Azapo, he added.

Government spokesmen at Constitutional Development Services, the Ministry of Justice and the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs declined to comment.

ANC takes Botswana's lead for economic plan

CAPT Tint 4/10/80

From IAN HOBBS

114 12 17

GENEVA. — Botswana's flourishing mixed economy has become a role model strongly influencing the ANC's new economic thinking, to be revealed in a watershed policy discussion document.

Delegates at the two-day World Economic Forum conference, which ended in Geneva on Tuesday night, said Botswana was "a jewel in the economic and political crown of thorns in Southern Africa" for others to emulate.

Mr Tito Mboweni, representing the ANC's economic department at the Geneva conference, said he could not comment on the discussion document, which was the responsibility of Mr Max Sisulu, head of the department in Lusaka.

But he said it was no secret that the ANC admired and respected Botswana's economic management.

He said the ANC was being advised on Botswana's "socially responsible" working relationship with the private sector, particularly the roles of

government and the mining houses in the use of mineral resources.

Mr Mboweni said: "We have had extremely valuable discussions in Geneva on vital issues like Botswana's 50-50 arrangement with De Beers."

One very profitable result of coming to Geneva was "warm and civilised talks" with Mr Nicholas Oppenheimer, deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation and De Beers.

He said they had cleared up "misconceptions" and agreed to meet as often as possible to tackle mutual problems.

Mr Mboweni said he had welcomed the presence in Geneva of the CP delegation led by Mr Koos van der Merwe.

"This is what it was all about. Getting all sides together so everyone could realise the mutual potential for the region and South Africa when we get rid of the political obstacles.

"It was very interesting to note that Mr Van der Merwe was the only white man there who spoke an African language. He spoke Sesutu very elegantly. That says a lot to us."

Exile Prof Davies back, joins UWC

copy in 4/10/90

114

Political Staff

A FORMER Cape Town resident, South African affairs specialist Professor Rob Davies, has returned from exile and joined the University of the Western Cape, UWC disclosed yesterday.

He has been appointed to UWC's Centre for Southern African Studies as co-director to Professor Peter Vale, who joined UWC earlier this year.

Prof Davies completed his doctorate at the University of Sussex.

He was in exile for 19 years. For the past 11 years he worked at the Eduardo Mondlane University's Centre for Southern African Studies in Mozambique.

Prof Davies said he was attracted to UWC "as a research institution and because of its contribution to the national democratic struggle".

ANC focus on local and regional issues at two key meetings (11A)

By GAVIN EVANS

TWO key events which may influence ANC policy on local and regional issues take place in Johannesburg this weekend.

The ANC meets leaders of the non-independent homelands in Soweto tomorrow, while a four-day "Consultative Conference on Local Government and Planning", ends on Sunday. This follows a meeting on Wednesday between President FW de Klerk and "first- and second-tier leaders", including those from the non-independent homelands, and a speech by De Klerk on local and regional issues in Pietermaritzburg yesterday.

The high-powered ANC-convened local government conference, at the Rand International Hotel, is aimed at helping formulate policy on the restructuring of metropolitan areas and towns, ANC

representative Thery Matlala said.

It will be attended by delegates and observers from the ANC, civic associations, trade unions, the Urban Foundation, service organisations, embassies, academics and overseas specialists.

The event was opened last night by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu who called for a new plan to correct the "serious imbalances in South Africa as a result of past and present local government policies".

ANC National Executive Committee member Thozamile Botha, who is one of the keynote speakers at the event, said its prime aim was to "arrive at a common approach to the restructuring of our metropolitan areas and towns", and to "discuss variations in the manner in which local government will be structured".

He said the conference would draw up a document to guide the ANC and allied

organisations in negotiations on local-level issues.

"We call on white municipalities to dissolve and replace the existing structures with local, non-racial constituent assemblies that will negotiate the restructuring of the city." Botha said that if the constituent assembly approach was accepted it would act as a link to the negotiations process at the national level.

● Tomorrow's meeting between the ANC and homeland leaders will take place at Nelson Mandela's home in Soweto — without kwaZulu and Inka-tha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC representative Jill Marcus said all leaders of the non-independent homelands were expected to attend the three-hour consultative meeting.

It is believed that among the issues under discussion will be their role in the negotiations process, which was also a key

in their meeting with De Klerk at the Union Buildings on Wednesday.

Leaders of the non-independent homelands, the chairman of the Ministers' Council and provincial administrators met De Klerk and members of his Cabinet in what was described as a "conference of political leaders who hold offices in governmental executives".

According to a statement issued after the meeting the leaders were given reports by De Klerk on his United States visit; Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on the unrest situation, and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen on the negotiations process, which were followed by discussion on these issues.

They also discussed the repeal of the Land Acts and the meeting "strongly urged the government to make acceptable transitional arrangements with a

view to the protection of specific community interests in connection with land tenure".

Opening the Administrators' Conference in Pietermaritzburg yesterday De Klerk said it was clear the present system of provincial government could not continue.

He said a new system "will have to fit into the broad constitutional framework and be capable of promoting the overall objectives of the democratic state we envisage in a new South Africa". He predicted the powers of national government would be reduced, and those of local and regional government increased.

De Klerk also announced that the Cabinet had decided to provide an additional R50-million for health services in the Natal/kwaZulu region.

FIM 5/10/90

11A



Hani ... in from the cold

leased since September 1 even though the deadline for all of them — and estimated 3 500 — is the end of April.

The return of exiles, which in terms of the minute should have begun on Monday, with all home by the end of April, is still mired in confusion. ANC officials will meet government on Thursday to discuss the issue; apparently government has been dragging its heels on granting indemnities to exiles.

In accordance with the minute the ANC has classified an estimated 100 000 exiles into seven categories:

- Ordinary members of the liberation movements;
- Trained soldiers;
- Conscientious objectors;
- Defectors from the liberation movement;
- Prisoners held by the ANC;
- Members of non-aligned organisations; and
- Individuals who left SA for other (presumably non-political) reasons.

Under the minute indemnities have to be granted to these groups — and not to individuals — by not later than the end of this year.

However, the National Consultative Committee on repatriation, convened by SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, has still to receive its full budget of R50m from foreign donors. Chikane's council also comprises representatives of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, ANC, PAC, Azapo and Black Consciousness Movement.

While Operation Iron Fist appears to have suppressed the violence it has left the air murky between the ANC and government. At a press conference on Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said it was interesting to note that violence had flared again a day after President F W de Klerk's return from the US. He contends the lull was created to provide "space" for De Klerk's US visit. If Mandela is to be taken seriously on this — and his suggestion is absurd — it demonstrates just how much credibility still has to be built up.

The razzmatazz of overseas trips by De Klerk and Mandela has so far camouflaged the fact that the peace process has stalled, with fine words increasingly obscured by sour accusations and a lack of action on the ground.

As the FM went to press, Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was reported to have finally declined an invitation to attend the

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meeting between the ANC and leaders of non-independent homelands at Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. The refusal should not have come as a surprise: Buthelezi expressed reservations that he had been invited in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is not an encouraging development. ■

tial agents in August last year.

The point was raised by agent Dawid Human, co-director of PWV Housing Agency, in Fairland. Manie Smith, a former director of PWV Housing, joined Taylor's Fortune Homes last year.

The meeting was attended by Human; Bartel Pieterse and Dennis Graham of Graham Pieterse cc; Ivan Dembo of Projects Air Land Sea; and Frans van Eeden, a former trust official who is now a director of the iKairos agency. According to the minutes the agents informed Khayaletu's Dirk Ackermann of their "frustrations, mistrust and fears" concerning Fortune Homes.

Taylor reacted to the *FM* on Monday. He denies his company presents any competition to the residential agents, or that there is a conflict of interest.

He says Fortune Homes acts on behalf of developers. "We do the paperwork for the contractors. When we receive an application we take it to the trust, or the commission or a building society. About 15%-20% of the financing is done through Khayaletu." He says his company gets paid a stipulated commission per house sold: "R100 per house from the commission and R500 per house from the trust. Normal commissions are paid by the building societies."

Taylor says he is now involved with the construction of the Ultra City complex near Halfway House, Transvaal, through Founders Facilitators (a subsidiary of Sege Holding, the holding company of Prestasi Makelaars, of which he is a director).

Taylor's involvement with Fortune Homes — and the subsequent meeting with Ackermann — were recently mentioned in another document which initially had been compiled to serve as a petition to Planning & Provincial Affairs Minister Hennis Kriel.

It was intended to form part of a written complaint by residential agent Ivan Dembo and fellow directors Trevor Horner and Linda O'Donovan, after their contract with Khayaletu had been cancelled.

However, Dembo tells the *FM* that legal action is being considered against the trust instead of a petition to Kriel. *Eddie Botha*



Hani ... in from the cold

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NEGOTIATIONS F.M 5/10/90

PEACE ON HOLD (11A)

The Pretoria Minute, which on August 6 seemed like the first positive step toward the "new SA," is being swamped in a bureaucratic quagmire created by both sides.

The joint monitoring group to track the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle has made little progress. It has still not even arrived at a definition of "armed struggle." The month-long refusal to grant indemnity to ANC chief-of-staff Chris Hanani is part of the delay. Government sources, in turn, complain at the ANC's unbelievable slowness in submitting names to complement police on the agreed 96-man monitoring group.

Only 45 political prisoners have been re-

CURRENT AFFAIRS

meeting between the ANC and leaders of non-independent homelands at Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. The refusal should not have come as a surprise: Buthelezi expressed reservations that he had been invited in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is not an encouraging development. ■

Sayco starts township clean-up

Star 5/10/90
By Stan Hlophe

The Sebokeng branch of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) is to launch an environmental awareness campaign in the township tomorrow.

The theme of the campaign is: "Peaceful unity for health as a right — not a privilege."

The Vaal Civic Association, the ANC and

several local organisations will be involved.

A prize for the cleanest area will be awarded at a rally at 3 pm in the stadium in Zone 11.

Organisers have appealed to the community, truck owners and businessmen to help make the campaign a success. Businessmen who wish to donate

money should contact Sayco office bearers at the Zone 14 Community Hall.

Sayco will also stage a "Run with Sayco and Run for Freedom" 10 km race starting from Mphatlalitsane Hall in Zone 14 on Kruger Day, October 10. Registration fee is 50c and everyone is welcome.

Ban on rugby tours stays — ANC

Political Staff

The ANC's position on the international sports moratorium against South Africa had not changed and the organisation would therefore not back South Africa's return to world rugby next year, ANC national executive committee member Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

He was responding to reports in British newspapers quoting South

African Rugby Board (SARB) president Danie Craven as saying he had received assurances from ANC leaders that they were prepared, given the recent political changes in the country, to support South Africa's return to international rugby.

"That is not true," Mr Tshwete said. "We have never held a meeting with the SARB. Our position on the sports mora-

torium against South Africa remains the same."

He said the country could not return to international rugby so long as there were two rugby bodies, the SARB and the South African Rugby Union. It was for this reason that the ANC backed the merger talks between the two groups.

Once the merger occurred, the situation would be reviewed.

Viljoen ^{CHC Trip}
surprised at ^{5/10/90}
Azapo stand ¹¹⁴

AZAPO was excluding itself from negotiations for a new constitution by refusing to participate in exploratory talks with the government, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

Dr Viljoen said he was surprised by Azapo's decision to opt out of exploratory talks as the organisation had specifically requested an invitation from the government in this regard.

He said events leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution were gaining momentum and Azapo was marginalising itself from this process.

Mandela cancels visits to Paris and Moscow

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress has confirmed the postponement of deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to France and the Soviet Union.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the visit was cancelled because the date was "unsuitable to both parties".

"The ANC looks forward to fixing a date which is mutually acceptable," she said.

Mr Mandela will now leave six days later on October 14 and go direct to India. He is also scheduled to visit Malaysia, Brunei, Australia and Japan.

Hani will be at joint group meeting

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The joint ANC-government working group dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle gets down to business today with Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani present for the first time.

The government has reinstated his temporary immunity, which had been withdrawn on August 19.

Government sources said only the agenda for the talks had been determined at the three previous meetings of the joint working group.

The Pretoria Minute determined the target date for the group's report as September 15.

Today's meeting is expected to define terms such as the armed struggle and the parties bound by it.

The government is likely to push for the inclusion of mass action and Umkhonto we Sizwe recruitment in the definition of the armed struggle.

The ANC team expected to attend today's meeting is Mr Hani, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The government team comprises Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, General B J Beukes of the security police, Mr Johan Geysler of the Department of Justice, Dr H P Fourie of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr M Spaarwater of the National Intelligence Service.

● An ANC delegation led by Mr Nelson Mandela will have talks today with the leaders of all the non-independent national states with the exception of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sayco in bid to end youth feuds

11A

Sowetan
5/10/90

THE executive committee of the South African Youth Congress is to meet this week to discuss the possibility of holding talks with Black Consciousness structures in a bid to resolve the inter-organisational

By SY MAKARINGE
fighting at Bekkersdal.

Mr Mpho Lekgoro, an executive member of Sayco, said at a Press conference earlier this week that the fighting between Sayco members and those of the Azanian

Youth Organisation at Bekkersdal, which dated back several months, had reached "an unpalatable level".

He said Sayco was prepared to do everything in its power to resolve the conflict.

Lekgoro said four people, two of them

members of Sayco's Bekkersdal branch, were in a critical condition at Leratong Hospital with multiple stab wounds.

There have been accusations from both sides as to who was responsible for the violence.

Many people have been injured since the fighting started several months ago.

Lekgoro said, however, that Sayco believed the conflict was "a strategy by the State or those close to it to weaken organisations by destabilising our communities".

He said Sayco's executive would meet today to decide on options to resolve the conflict. One option was to hold a meeting with BC structures in the area.

Benny Alexander does not believe South Africa will resolve the constitution crisis quickly

Picture: KEVIN CARTER

Will the pack join the PAC?

w/Max 5/10-11/10/90

11A

BENNY ALEXANDER, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, knows how to keep a straight face. In the shifting world of South African politics, where political realities, constituency demands and public image need to be reconciled, that is a valuable talent.

For instance, the slogan "One settler, one bullet" makes some people's hair stand on end. But Alexander has a reassuring explanation. "The slogan is only trying to address the differences between an armed revolution and random terror," he says.

"When you place bombs in pot plants at Wimpy bars, irrespective of who's coming, that is not really armed revolutionary conduct. The slogan is trying to say, stop that terror and aim your bullets at the security forces instead."

Though Alexander is confident that the PAC will win one person, one vote elections, he is willing to concede that the movement faces difficulties. He feels the organisation has not done enough yet to turn its latent support, the "political football fans", into card-carrying members.

At last count, he says, the PAC had signed up three-quarters of a million members, which is about six times the African National Congress' tally since both organisations were unbanned in February.

The question that is foremost in the public mind is how the PAC will respond to the government's invitation to it to talk. Every halting step the ANC has taken towards negotiations with Pretoria has been closely observed by the PAC, because it is the path that it might have to follow.

Alexander says that usually the ANC waits for the PAC to "take its wise decisions, and then follows us". He claims the ANC followed the PAC "when we went for non-racialism, when they were multi-racialist. They followed us on the quest for a single nation. Now they are following us for a constituent assembly".

This time, he says, the PAC is content

The Pan Africanist Congress, which claims a membership of 750 000, is confident it will win a one person one vote election. But what is the reality behind the rhetoric? PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK talks to PAC general secretary Benny Alexander

to watch the fallout from the ANC's involvement with the National Party.

He sums up the ANC's performance by saying "they're blundering terribly". He believes the government has forced the ANC into an untenable position of being jointly responsible for law and order in the townships.

"The people are suffering and they want to rise up and give vent to their feelings of hurt, and the ANC is responsible for seeing that they don't do that," he says. "That's why the ANC makes a lot of contradictory statements. We just leave them to blunder."

But the moment of truth is dawning for the PAC as well.

Though a meeting in Harare two weeks ago of the PAC's top leaders from inside and outside South Africa failed to come out with a definitive stand after press speculation that they were on the verge of agreeing to talks, a stand has to be taken soon. Alexander says PAC president Zethu Mthopeng will announce the decision after all bodies of opinion in the PAC have been consulted.

However, even if they do go in, Alexander does not hold out hope for a rapid movement towards a new constitution in South Africa.

"Two factors determine the usefulness of negotiations," he says. "One is the meaningfulness of the items on the agenda. Two is the quality of the outcome."

"If the quality of the outcome is regarded as a sell-out or below the expectations of the people, then it will be a case of 'hosanna' today, but tomorrow they will crucify you."

"As long as there is no effective majority rule, which is not on the agenda and which the government is not likely to

agree to in the short term, I cannot foresee a settlement."

Alexander says whichever side the PAC comes out on, the decision whether to talk will not be determined by his "objective analysis" that the talks are likely to fail.

Only the "intensification of the struggle" — including the armed struggle — will force the government to concede majority rule at the end of the day, says Alexander. Despite its low-level armed struggle to date, Alexander says the PAC does not face the same problems as the ANC, which has lost support from the Eastern bloc.

"They can only use up the ammunition they have," he says. "The Soviet Union and other countries have told them that's all. We still have support from China, from African countries and from Muslim countries. The PAC can continue irrespective of Soviet-American collaboration."

Alexander sees the invitation itself as indicating that the government is aware that "there will be no peace with the PAC. In terms of the West and the South African regime the PAC is the least preferred alternative," says Alexander with a hint of pride. The PAC's economic policies include large-scale nationalisation of industry and the redistribution of the land.

Despite its strident rhetoric, the PAC has a remarkably moderate bottom line: a democratic one person, one vote in a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa. Socialism is not on the table at this stage.

"You cannot make demands for socialism to the government," points out Alex-

ander. "You cannot bring unrealistic demands to your opponents."

He refuses to say whether the PAC has any white members. "The PAC does not have white or black members — only Africans." An African is a person who is indigenous or a person who is not indigenous but who pays his only allegiance to Africa — its people, its development, says Alexander.

"Settlers are defined in the same way as in Palestine. Those who dispossess land through colonial wars and who rule through the barrel of a gun, denying people of their rights."

He adds that the PAC's economic policy makes it unattractive to many people in the "privileged class" — and says he would be "very surprised" if businessmen joined "because we have strong policy on the redistribution of wealth."

"If you bear in mind that most white activists don't come from the working class then you can understand why many of them won't come to the PAC."

If the PAC does agree to go in, it will face the same problems as the ANC of having to explain to the militant youth what it is doing talking to the enemy.

"The last structure to be created in the PAC was the student one," he says, "because we know the students can lead us into adventurism and a lot of unnecessary conflict and can throw the whole revolution into the sea."

"We need a very strong discipline. Our students must not involve themselves in further brutalisation."

"One of the problems we have is the traumatising of the African people by liberation movements. Coming down the road, you see some people's fear when they see the crowd because they don't know who you are, why you are coming there. You see them close their doors, take their children inside."

"They don't know who you are, why you are coming there. That's why a lot of people are saying they don't want (State President FW) De Klerk to disappear from the scene because if the liberation movements traumatise us who's going to protect us?"

It's no to Gorby as 11A Mandela stays home for FW ^{w/ Mand} 5/10-11/10/90

By GAVIN EVANS

NELSON Mandela will no longer be leaving for the Soviet Union on Monday — and the African National Congress is still hoping an urgent meeting with the government can be arranged to discuss the current violence.

ANC representative Gill Marcus said yesterday that Mandela and State President FW de Klerk were in contact with each other, and that Mandela's international trip had been postponed — “but these two are not necessarily connected.

“We have requested a meeting with the government and we are hoping that it will take place.”

She said the exact date of Mandela's departure was still to be confirmed.

Another senior ANC source said yesterday that it was now “almost certain” that the ANC and the government would meet over the next week, but this would not have the status of a “third summit meeting”.

WIMAN 5/10 - 11/10/90

Constitutional assembly. No talks - Azapo

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY (11A)

THE Azanian People's Organisation said this week negotiations on a future South Africa had to take place outside the country — in a constituent assembly.

The organisation said that a neutral venue "where the threat of De Klerk's security forces did not exist" had to be chosen.

In a press conference this week Azapo announced its refusal to enter talks about talks with the government, but said it was prepared to participate in constitutional negotiations in a constituent assembly.

"Such an assembly could be held in Zimbabwe, but it should rather be as far outside the country as possible," said Azapo president Jerry Mosala.

The organisation was responding to an invitation from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer to join the exploratory talks.

Its decision comes in the wake of a consultation with the external Black Consciousness Movement of Azania over the weekend in Harare.

Last week it was reported that the BCMA had advised Azapo to go to the negotiating table because it would marginalise itself by rejecting negotiations.

However, Mosala said his organisation had "been able to convince the BCMA that staying away from exploratory talks would not be detrimental. It is our absence at the constitutional talks that will marginalise us."

"Our demands at constitutional talks will be the return of the land to the landless, an economic system where people have ownership, control and full participation in the creation, distribution and sharing of wealth," Mosala added.

Azapo has set conditions for the structure of constitutional talks:

- A constituent assembly, overseen by an independent party, must be elected on the basis of one person one vote to decide on the new constitution.

- The election of the assembly should be overseen by an independent party — possibly the United Nations, the Front-line states, the Organisation for African Unity or a combination of these.

The BCMA has endorsed Azapo's position and in a joint communique the two organisations rejected State President FW de Klerk's process of negotiations as undemocratic, prescriptive and divisive — "in summoning resistance organisations separately and disparately".

In recent weeks several organisations had received letters from the government inviting them to participate in the ongoing talks.

The Pan Africanist Congress is still considering its response. Two weeks ago the PAC leadership referred the invitation back to its membership for discussion.

This week the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation rejected the government's invitation.

Yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said Azapo was "marginalising itself" from

the negotiations for a new constitution by refusing to participate in exploratory talks with the government.

"Instead of becoming part of the solution, Azapo is standing aside and merely raising further objection," he said.

More debate on talks

THE debate on the Government's invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to participate in exploratory talks will be taken a step further when the organisation's student wing holds its first national congress this weekend.

More than 5 000 delegates of the Pan Africanist Students Congress from 80 regions throughout the country are expected at the Botshabelo Arena, near Bloemfontein, tomorrow and on Sunday to debate the issue of negotiating with the Government.

Resolutions taken at the congress will be sent to the PAC's national congress in November, the first to be held inside the country since the organisation was banned nearly three decades ago.

The Witwatersrand region of Paso at the weekend rejected the invitation by

By SY MAKARINGE

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen. (11A)

Speakers saw negotiations as an attempt by the Government to co-opt liberation movements into the system.

This followed the meeting of the PAC leadership in Harare about a week ago at which it was decided to refer the matter to its structures for "exhaustive discussion" before responding to the offer.

The structures included Paso, the African Women's Organisation and the Azanian National Youth Unity.

Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela said yesterday the theme of the national congress would be "Mobilise and consolidate for the people's war".

5/10/70
to refer

of "all types of disparity".

R1 780 a month while his female counter-part grossed R1 549 a month.

Azapo marginalising itself ^(11A) Viljoen

MIKE ROBERTSON

AZAPO had marginalised itself by refusing to take part in exploratory talks on negotiations with government, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Viljoen, government's chief negotiator, said he found Azapo's public refusal to accept government's invitation to talks surprising as the organisation had specifically requested an invitation.

Events leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution were gathering momentum, he said.

"Instead of becoming part of the solution by being involved and addressing obstacles Azapo is standing aside and merely raising further objections," Viljoen said.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports

that Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala told a Press conference this week that his organisation might well be marginalised from exploratory talks "but not from the process of liberating our people."

Mosala said that while Azapo was prepared to participate in constitutional negotiations once a constituent assembly had been democratically constituted, he did not believe exploratory talks "can produce anything meaningful for our people."

"The kind of talks that are taking place at the moment can in no ways be regarded as democratic because none of the (participating) organisations have a proper mandate," he said.

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Leaders speak with one voice

Soweto 8/10/90

11A



Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo and Kangwane's Mr Enos Mabuza at a press conference after the ANC's meeting homeland leader's at Mandela's house on Friday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

THE African National Congress and leaders of the self-governing states, excluding Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu, will in future work as a united front to formulate strategies for talks with the Government.

Addressing the media after a meeting with five homeland leaders at his Orlando West home on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi did not attend.

BY KENOSI MODISANE

Buthelezi had earlier indicated that he would attend only if he was invited as leader of Inkatha Freedom Party and not as a homeland leader.

"This is inconsistent because he has hardly missed a meeting when President De Klerk invited him as a homeland leader," said Mandela.

Commenting on the possibility of a one-on-one meeting with Buthelezi, Mandela said: "I would meet him as an individual. It makes no dif-

ference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mandela, however, said the climate was not ideal for such a meeting with him.

Commenting on the meeting with the five homeland leaders, Mandela said the ANC had briefed them on the recent violence in the Reef townships "and they all agreed that a third force was involved".

"We all agreed that the violence is not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus. And that it is not at all a tribal conflict. It is

orchestrated by certain faceless forces. And the Government must take full responsibility for the conduct of their own state agencies orchestrating the violence," added Mandela.

He said the leaders had also "agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems." It is the only way problems will be resolved."

Apart from Buthelezi, Qwaqwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's did also not attend. They were however, represented.

Leaders speak with one voice

Sowetan 5/10/90

11A



Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramodike, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Alfred Nzo and Kangwane's Mr Enos Mabuza at a press conference after the ANC's meeting homeland leader's at Mandela's house on Friday. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

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Sowetan 5/11/90

ANC move on councils



THE African National Congress last night began its four-day conference on local government which would almost certainly end with a call on white municipalities to disband in favour of local constituent assemblies.

Addressing the conference in Johannesburg, ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu called for a new but realistic plan to correct the serious imbalances in South Africa as a result of past and present local government policy.

Warning

Opening an ANC-convened national consultative conference in Johannesburg on local government, he warned, however, it would be a slow and complex process to reverse the imbalances.

The four-day conference is being attended by delegates from the ANC,

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

civic associations, trade unions, service organisations and academics.

The Urban Foundation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and embassies were also invited.

"We, South Africans, should not be arrogant and say we know all the answers because, quite simply, we do not," Sisulu said.

"White South Africa

at best has been applying outdated and inappropriate First World standards and solutions from Europe and North America at costs the country could ill afford.

Disband

"We need to belatedly join the discussions and development debates and humbly learn from the experience of the international community - especially those of Africa,

Asia and Latin America - and we must start here today at this very conference."

According to Mr Thozamile Botha, head of the ANC committee on local government, the conference will almost certainly call on white municipalities to disband in favour of local constituent assemblies as a first step towards creating "one-city, one-municipality" entities.

Policy

Sisulu, in his opening address, warned it was not enough to only identify and define local government policy.

"We need to initiate action and implement programmes which will lead to the immediate improvement in the quality of life for the majority of our deprived urban and rural communities."

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Buthelezi stands firm on talks with Mandela

Sowetan 5/10/90
INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday reiterated he would not attend today's meeting between the Afri-

By SY MAKARINGE
can National Congress and homeland leaders. Speaking to the Press at Jan Smuts Airport

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shortly after returning from Geneva, Buthelezi said he rejected the invitation because Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, had not yet clarified issues he had raised with him during a telephone conversation on September 19.

Today's meeting will be held at Mandela's Orlando West, Soweto, home at 10am.

It will be attended by Mr Nelson Ramodike of Leboya; Dr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and KwaNdebele leader Mr James Mahlangu.

Buthelezi said although he did not despise "my other brothers in the self-governing territories", he believed the discussions on the violence should initially be "between people whose followers or supporters are involved in the conflict".

He said the last time he had heard from Mandela was when the ANC leader phoned him from Pietersburg.

6/10/90 (18)

8 Azapo members still held

The eight members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) arrested recently during a raid at the home of Azapo's Soweto chairman, Monwabisi Duna, were still in custody, a Soweto police spokesman has confirmed. The men from Port Elizabeth and East London were arrested for alleged breach of the recently gazetted unrest areas regulations, after police surrounded Mr Duna's Dlamini home on September 21. In terms of the regulation, suspects can be detained for 30 days and Law and Order Minister can extend the detention period to any length of time. Fines of up to R20 000 or 10 years' jail can be levied on people found guilty. — Staff Reporter.

11A 8/26/90

Alone on a high

IN the minefield that is South Africa's political environment a number of men and women are treading a very narrow path where one foot wrong could spell disaster — and one of them is blindfolded.

That person is African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela and his is the most difficult and challenging path of them all. It is no place for the faint-hearted and the demands generated along the way so far would have sent many men half his age into premature retirement.

Most of these demands are a consequence of the extremely diverse interests contained within the ANC which until February this year were united by a single over-riding objective — to rid South Africa of apartheid and install a government based on the will of the people.

Now that this objective is closer than ever before two questions arise. First, a government based on the will of which particular people? Second, what strategies are to be employed in order to facilitate the last few steps to that objective?

Like all other political groupings the ANC is not a monolithic mass thinking the same thoughts and speaking with one voice. The problem is that it is not a political party. It is a liberation movement making the painful and often hazardous transition to becoming a political party. Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Namibia's Sam Nujoma would be able to testify to just how difficult that process can be.

Political parties have the formalised structures to allow information to travel down from the leaders to the people and then up again. These structures absorb grievances and widely divergent points of view so that the party appears to speak with one voice. They also allow wide and often conflicting opinions to be integrated and digested so that the party also appears to think alike.

But decades of oppression and restriction did not allow the "illegal" ANC to build such structures, and there has not been enough time yet for the "legal" ANC to make up lost ground.

Thus in many respects the ANC has become a victim of its own popularity where the charisma, skill, popularity, credibility and intellect of men such as Mandela have become the key mechanisms for holding the organisation together.

Under such conditions who Mandela was addressing and under what circumstances became key variables in attempting to interpret his statements. The problem is compounded by the fact that while Mandela (and for that matter the ANC itself) obviously hold certain individual members of the Government in high esteem (President de Klerk for example) and have a degree of trust in their motives, the same cannot be said of Mandela's views on the State itself.

Thus while he may trust De Klerk Mandela has to continually question the degree to which De Klerk can exercise full control over the State, particularly the forces of coercion at his disposal, and the degree to which the

Nelson Mandela's Mission Impossible

GARY VAN STADEN

various elements which constitute the State share his vision.

Against such a background, and given the often conflicting demands and concerns of the various sections of his constituency, Mandela cannot avoid making statements that essentially contradict previous statements.

The obvious example came during the peak of the recent township violence when Mandela clearly called on De Klerk to use the coercive power of the State to end the violence and then, when De Klerk responded by doing just that, he denounced it.

Was this the sign of a man who was losing his grip? The constraints within which Mandela has to act, and the skill with which he has thus far effected his task, indicate otherwise.

In the first instance just cited Mandela was talking to De Klerk, a man he admits to admiring and trusting, and he was responding to the demands of that section the ANC's constituency most affected by the violence.

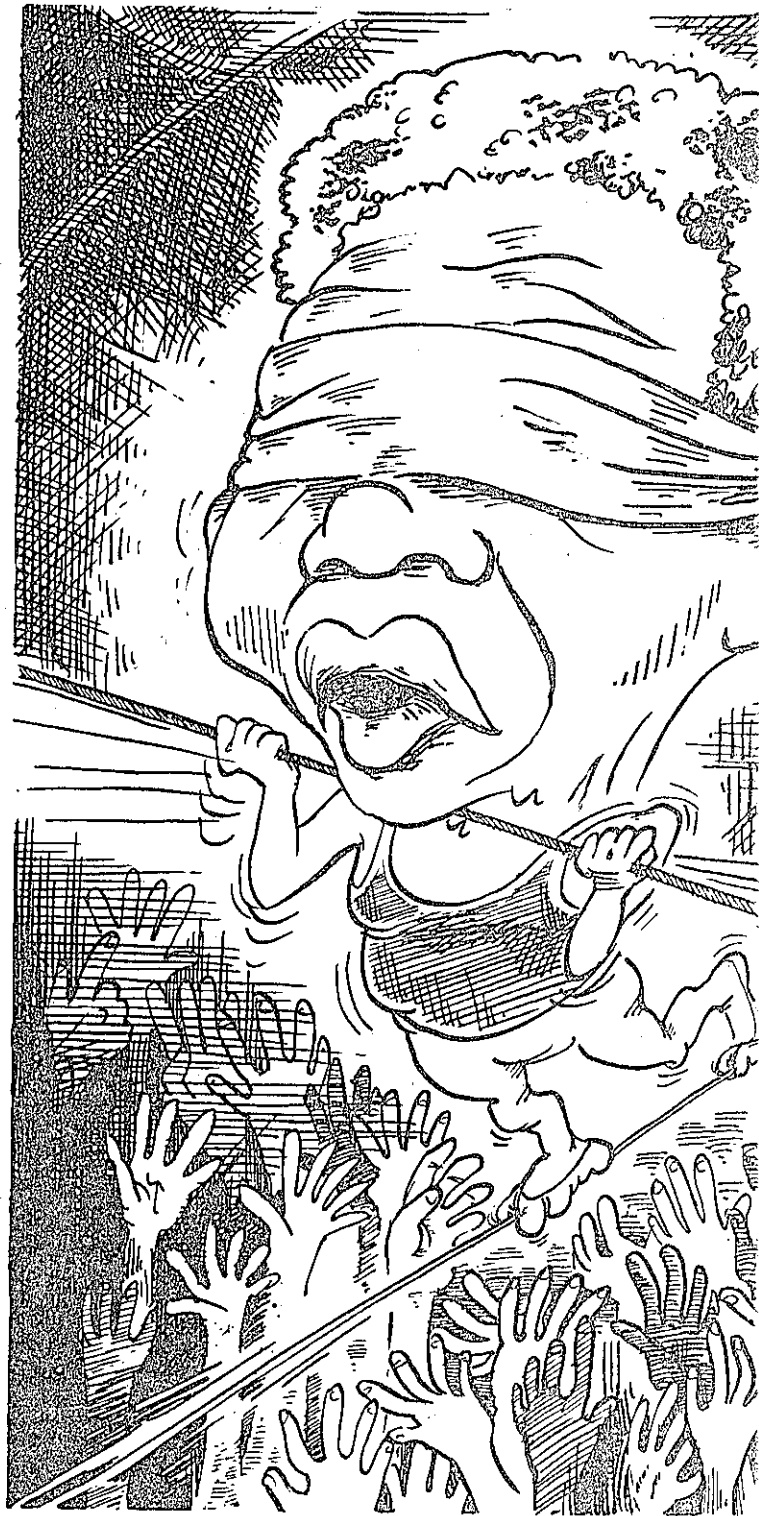
His later turnabout, however, was more likely to have been the consequence of his deep distrust of the security forces and having to respond to the demands of a different section of the ANC's constituency, than it was a reflection of his own state of mind.

And these pressures and demands which keep the ANC leadership — not only Mandela — bobbing around like corks in a sea of uncertainty are going to continue until the ANC puts together the formalised democratic structures which are able to absorb and resolve conflicting demands and concerns within the organisation itself.

Issues such as whether or not Mandela meets Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, how the compromises which accompany and negotiation process are to be articulated and acted on in the South African context and internal disputes such as that currently raging over Winnie Mandela can then be subjected to normal party processes and resolved.

These complaints, disagreements, disputes and debates over strategy and tactics are not a sign of weakness in the ANC. If anything they indicate the strength of the organisation. But what does remain a great weakness is the lack of institutionalised democratic structures to deal with them.

Despite the value of the bridging role currently being played by men such as Mandela, it must of necessity be a short-term solution. Tensions are building up within the ANC as dis-



putes and disagreements grow more heated as the stakes get higher and the skill of its leaders cannot be relied upon indefinitely to absorb this pressure.

In addition the credibility of ANC leaders, not only among the organisations supporters but more importantly among its opponents, is vital to the negotiation process. This credibility is currently in the process of being undermined.

As regards the tensions within the ANC over what to do next and how best to do it, these have reached the point where many observers and some insiders have predicted a split in the organisation. This talk is nothing new,

but what is new is that the latest round of rumours seem to have a much more solid foundation.

A central element of this foundation is the fact that it is not just unity at stake now but real political power and that brings a new batch of tensions all on its own.

It serves no purpose to dismiss these rumours as the work of "agents of the system" or other political opponents. The object would be to recognise the problems and work on creating the mechanisms to resolve or absorb them.

Unless it faces up to some fundamental problems and pretty quickly too, the ANC may well face a real

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organisation will come apart at the seams.

There is little point in the ANC crying "foul". First, its opponents are exploiting and not creating weaknesses and, second, the ANC's business is politics. It is not dealing with the Boy Scout movement.

Its opponents can also not be blamed for an apparent lack of discipline among some of the movement's most important leaders. The media has tended to focus on Winnie Mandela in this regard and in many respects the criticism has been unfair.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff and national executive committee member Chris Hani and old stalwarts Harry Gwala, Ahmed Kathrada and others have been equally guilty of some breaches of discipline, particularly in respect of the suspension of the armed struggle issue.

Hani in particular has a considerable responsibility. He is highly respected and admired by a particularly volatile segment of the ANC's constituency, a respect and admiration he earned the hard way by dodging South African hit squads and frequently operating inside South Africa under the noses of the security forces.

There are thus many within the ranks of the ANC who will listen to Hani before they listen to anyone else and that is a heavy responsibility to shoulder in the present climate.

Winnie too has a particularly heavy load to carry, and one under which she has frequently stumbled. While it would be absurd to suggest, as some have, that she commands no respect or popularity in her own right — she clearly does — it is equally absurd to react to criticism of her by resorting, again as some have, to racist and reductionist arguments such as "white liberals are afraid of her black radicalism".

If she was merely following the ANC line on the suspension of armed struggle then why was it necessary for Walter Silulu to rebuke her, even if in the gentlest of terms.

Winnie Mandela, like Hani, does command enormous respect and popularity within sections of the ANC's constituency, and rightly so. Her contribution to the liberation struggle cannot be doubted but she has also clearly made enemies within the ANC itself and often acted as her own worst enemy. But none of this lessens her responsibility.

It is across all of these kinds of issues that Nelson Mandela must stand and somehow act to foster unity and purpose in the ANC. It is hardly surprising that sometimes he appears to falter and the task would probably have proved impossible for a lesser man.

Whatever happens to and within the ANC over the next few months will affect the future of us all and that is not something the organisation can afford to approach lightly.

Sometime in the future, four, five, six years down the line the ANC will probably form the next government of our country. Despite all the problems that prospect remains something that many welcome and await eagerly. But it is also a prospect that could easily become terrifying.

© The author is senior research officer at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

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but what is new is that the latest round of rumours seem to have a much more solid foundation.

A central element of this foundation is the fact that it is not just unity at stake now but real political power and that brings a new batch of tensions all on its own.

It serves no purpose to dismiss these rumours as the work of "agents of the system" or other political opponents. The object would be to recognise the problems and work on creating the mechanisms to resolve or absorb them.

Unless it faces up to some fundamental problems and pretty quickly too, the ANC may well face a real

crisis in the near future and one which will not go away by attempting to blame the State, the regime its agents or anything else.

It is also naive in the extreme for the ANC to believe that its political opponents — particularly the National Party Government — will not exploit any weaknesses that may and have already emerged.

As noted previously the ANC's weakness is a lack of formalised democratic institutions and the unhealthy tension this creates, and its opponents are going to exploit that weakness as far as they can and help to build as much tension as they can within the ANC in the hope that the

Taylor

Buthlezi shuns ANC talks with homelands

HELEN GRANGE

ALL non-independent homeland leaders — except for KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the Government, ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting non-independent homeland leaders at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said it was regrettable that Chief Buthelezi could not join the briefing on the violence and discussions on negotiations.

Reason

The reason given by Chief Buthelezi for his absence was that he was invited as a homeland leader rather than as leader of Inkatha, Mr Mandela said.

"This is inconsistent, because when President (F W) de Klerk invites him as a homeland leader, he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting," Mr Mandela said.

Third force

Mr Mandela said it was agreed by all leaders at the meeting that there was a third force orchestrating violence in the townships and that it was not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus as alleged by the media.

The Government had to take full responsibility for the conduct of its own agencies orchestrating

TO PAGE 2.

Saturday Star October 6 1990

Buthlezi

FROM PAGE 1

the violence, Mr Mandela said.

The leaders at the meeting had agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems. "It is the only way problems will be resolved," the ANC leader said.

Asked whether there was a chance of a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said it was "always possible" but that the climate was not ideal.

"I would meet him as an individual. I am not concerned with labels. It

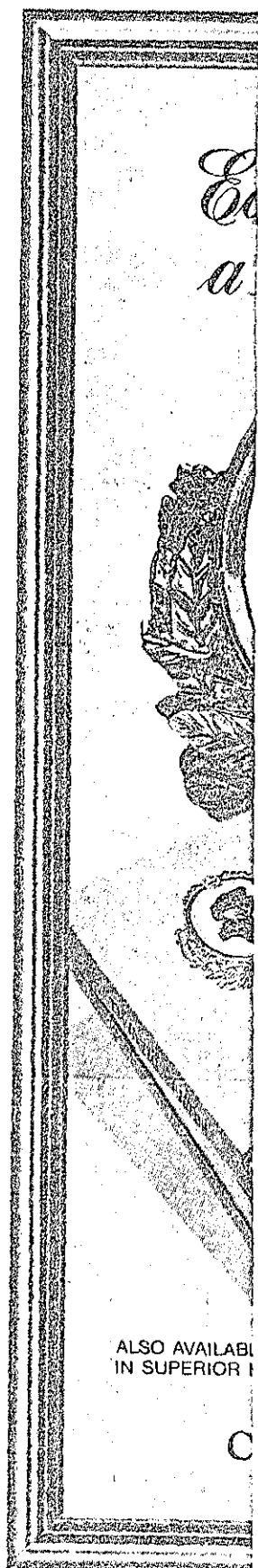
makes no difference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mr Mandela would not confirm or deny reports of a top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town on Monday. "The Government has not denied what's already in the papers," he said.

Two other homeland leaders were absent, but were represented. They were QwaQwa's Chief TK Mopeli and KwaNdebele's Prince Mahlangu.

Those who attended were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane and Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

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ALSO AVAILABLE IN SUPERIOR

Sacob calls for talks with ANC

IN its reaction to the African National Congress economic policy document the South African Chamber of Business said yesterday that it represented some closing of the gap between rhetoric and reality.

Referring to the announcement as a huge step for the ANC it cautioned that it still weighed heavily in favour of collectivism, nationalisation and other interventionist economic measures, reports the SABC.

SACOB conceded that some common ground had been found between the ANC and itself, but there were some major differences to be overcome.

It called for a top-level meeting between SACOB and the ANC to discuss an overall economic strategy.

Encouraging

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said that the document contained encouraging intentions but it was not clear what the ANC wanted to do.

It said that more attention had been given to the current problems, rather than offering solutions to the problems.

Those solutions that were given were based on over-optimism and naive perceptions which would be very difficult to implement. This could lead to unrealistic expectations.— Sapa.

32-6 (0) 90 (11A)

Some blacks are willing to join Nats

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE National Party has received some inquiries from blacks eager to join the "new NP" — despite the fact that the Cape and Transvaal congresses have not yet formally agreed to the opening of the party.

A NP spokesman in Pretoria said, although the party had received calls — not more than 50 — from people interested in joining the party, no one has been signed up yet.

"We have not signed up anyone because the NP is not fully geared to practically accept non-white members. The decision to go multi-racial still has to be endorsed by the Cape and Transvaal congresses," the spokesman said.

After the congresses had given their support to an open NP, the party would immediately alter its constitution and policy to accommodate membership of all races.

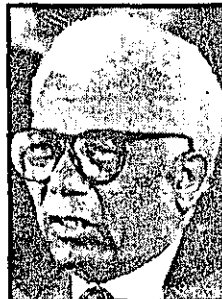
When the decision to open NP ranks was announced, Walter Sisulu, the ANC's internal leader, said the move was a progressive trend which was welcomed.

Some blacks approached by Saturday Star said they were willing to join any party, including the NP, which would fight for equal rights for all South Africans.

They said if the NP policy was right, blacks who wanted to be members should not be intimidated or victimised. People should be allowed to exercise their democratic right to join a party of their choice.

One person who has said he would join the Nats "tomorrow" was TV personality Justus Tshungu. "I would consider joining the party because there is so much fighting among our parties," Mr Tshungu said. "I prefer to ride a horse which has proved that it has the resistance to run the distance."

Mr Tshungu said that at last the Nationalists were truly committed to building the South African nation, by ditching their segregatory policies and concentrating on broad nationhood.



**Walter Sisulu ...
progressive trend.**

He said the majority of black people would hesitate to join the Nats because of township intimidation. "Their houses may be burned down should their affiliation be known," he said.

I also spoke to people who dismissed the opening of NP ranks to blacks as cosmetic.

Said Johannes Mokoena, a teacher from Killarney in Soweto: "(President) F W de Klerk should have thought first of repealing apartheid laws such as the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts, before asking us to join the NP."

"He should also have thought of offering the black man a vote because what would the use be of belonging to a ruling party for which you cannot vote."

Mr Mokoena's sentiments were echoed by social worker Puleng Hlatswayo of Vosloorus.

Ms Hlatswayo said she believed the opening of NP membership to blacks was an exercise to impress the international community.

"It will not benefit any South African, black or white," she said.

A prominent Soweto civic leader, who chose to remain anonymous, said the NP move was a desperate one.

"I think supporters of the NP started to defect after the ANC and other organisation were unbanned. The Nats, seeing that they might not have a constituency during the next elections, opted for the only way available to them — enticing millions of blacks in the country," the civic leader said.

ANC-led government within four years — Malan

South Africa will have a new negotiated constitution and a new, ANC-led government in place within two to four years, says Wynand Malan, former co-leader of the Democratic Party.

Mr Malan gave this message to the Building Industries Federation at the opening of its annual congress in Durban yesterday.

He said in his keynote address: "Whites will have vacated the centre of power politics and we will find the National Party culture leading an accommodated opposition in Parliament.

"The commitment of the ANC leadership and NP Government to a political settlement and the acceptance of their joint sponsorship of the process leading up to a settlement should never be under-estimated.

"It is total and irreversible. There is no turning back."

He had no doubt that violence during the transition could and would be managed.

He also believed that while the Government and the ANC were committed to the process of negotiation they were both still "emotionally lacking."

"The Government in its statements still speaks as if it will carry the burden of authority into the next decade and more, while the ANC fails to accept responsibility for anything but political successes."

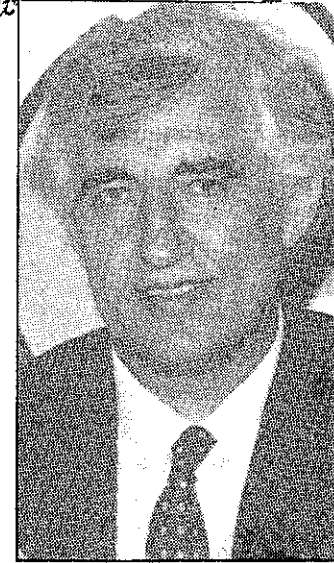
In the change from spears to ploughshares, and with the emergence of social security, the private sector could play a major role in guaranteeing apprenticeships or job training op-

portunities. (11A) Ste 16/10/92

"The business community seems to be unable to come to grips with the reality of a black government whose priority will be equitable distribution economic politics.

"We continue to hear the rhetoric of privatisation versus nationalisation, of market versus control, of socialism versus capitalism."

Unless the business sector accepted that the national goal of a future government would be the enhancing of the living standards of their power base and actively became involved in planning such policies with the government planners, it would be unable to influence positively government policies towards markets and growth.



Wynand Malan

The new ANC president of the Western Cape, Mr Christmas Tinto, has weathered many political storms, but rather than being embittered by the past, he believes peace can come to South Africa. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE profiles the man from the early days of apartheid.

Meet Mr Christmas Tinto

W/C ARGUS 6/10/90

11A

VETERAN ACTIVIST STILL HUNG UP ON PEACE

MR Christmas Tinto, the new president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape, has lived through many a political storm since the early days of the apartheid era.

As a veteran political activist, he has had more than his fair share of troubles, imprisonment, tragedy and harassment at the hands of National Party regimes.

And yet, after all that, at age 64, he is all but embittered in his political attitudes. His manner is calm and friendly, his appearance distinguished, his thinking positive and tolerant. He looks like a clergyman or an academic rather than the hawker of second-hand clothing he has been through times of trouble and turmoil.

As a politician Mr Tinto is a man of few words — but what he says is well considered and to the point.

His message, offered on behalf of the ANC: "We want peace and we believe it can ultimately be achieved by agreement."

OF his task as regional ANC president he says: "There's a lot of work to be done. The ANC was banned for a long time and many people, especially the youth, have never known about it and have never been involved in it, largely as a result of propaganda and pressures from the government."

The organisation now had to be rebuilt and all indications were that it was doing so successfully. Some of its 315 branches established so far had as many as 3 000 members each. Much interest was being shown by black, white and coloured people.

"But we are not clear on whether the NP knows where it is going." This uncertainty, he explains, is caused by the presence of a conservative group inside the NP.

Mr Tinto believes all political organisations — including the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Azapo, the Conservative Party and other right-wing groupings — should take part in the proposed constitutional negotiations.

CHRISTMAS Fihla Tinto, the fifth of six children of Minah and Mesheck Tinto, a Christian peasant farmer, was born on Christmas Day, 1925, in the Mqanduli district of Transkei.

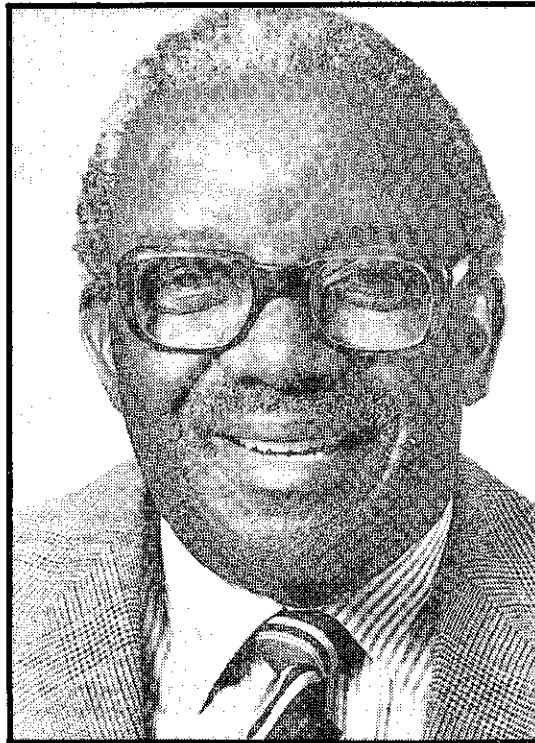
At an early age he found himself swept into currents of protest and revolt ...

After passing Standard Six in 1940, he enrolled at St John's College, Umtata, but was expelled in 1942 after taking a leading role in a student protest against poor food. As a result of this and his father's angry reaction to it, he decided to leave home.

He contracted to work for a mine in Boksburg — but from the outset he became embroiled in protest actions. On arrival at the mine compound, he and his companions heard gunfire and learnt that workers were on strike over low wages. As Mr Tinto could speak English, he was asked to join a deputation to the manager's office. They refused management's offer, the police were called in, but violence was averted.

Afterwards Mr Tinto was taken away and was told not to return to the mine. He then went to a mine in Springs where, after working four weeks, he became involved in wage demands.

He was eventually arrested by police, detained



New ANC president of Western Cape, Mr Christmas Tinto.

for three days, and on the fourth day he was taken to Germiston station handcuffed and deported to Transkei. Subsequently he left for to Cape Town. After working at Elgin for six months he moved to Langa in 1945.

WHILE working for a dairy, he again became involved in workers' demands for higher wages and was dismissed by his employers.

In September 1951 Mr Tinto attended a meeting called by the ANC on Cape Town's Grand Parade. Speakers attacked the government's racial policies. Mr Tinto joined the Langa branch of the ANC and in 1954 was elected its Chief Volunteer.

It happened that Mr Tinto's branch of the ANC in Langa had three Ovambo members — Mr Kosongwezi, Mr Toivo Ja Toivo, and Mr Gureb who were recruited while on holiday. The ANC national executive was informed of their recruitment and advised them that on their return to SWA they should form a political organisation known as the Ovambo People's Organisation. This subsequently led to the formation of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO).

During the 1950s, Mr Tinto attended ANC workshops, lectures and large meetings. He heard speakers such as Mr Jimmy la Guma, Mr Moses Kotane, Mr Frank Carneson, Mr Solly Sachs, Mr Brian Bunting, and his wife Sonia, and Mr Sam Kahn.

IN March 1960, Mr Tinto took part in the march of 30 000 from Langa to Caledon Square, Cape Town, which led to the first state of emergency being declared under the Verwoerd regime.

The following year he was delegated to attend the All-Africa Conference in Maritzburg where the reasons for the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, were outlined and approved. Subsequently he was fired from his job at a hospital after he had been told to choose between his ANC activities and his work in a government department.

The SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) then asked Mr Tinto to work for the Railway Workers' Union and he continued organising until 1963 when he was arrested with others, including Mr Bernard Huna, Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Zolile Malindi.

A group of 45 people was charged with sabotage and Mr Tinto was one of 20 sentenced to six years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

He appealed successfully and was released in 1965 after serving six months. He was again detained under 180-day legislation and released without charge.

DURING the 1976 uprising, Mr Tinto was detained in Pollsmoor Prison in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Others detained with him were Mr Elijah Loza, who died in detention, Mr Joseph Mtyekisane and Mr Joseph Ndabezitha, both of whom died a few weeks after their release. As a result of injuries while in detention, Mr Tinto was taken to Valkenberg Mental Hospital to recover, following which he was detained at Malmesbury.

He was subsequently charged with recruiting students to undergo military training with the ANC and on September 14, 1977, was found guilty and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. He served 16 months on Robben Island until his release in 1978 following a successful appeal.

On his arrival at home he found his wife, Pauline Nontombi, terminally ill and she died a few months later.

In 1983, at the national launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Tinto became vice-president for the Western Cape. He played a key role in various UDF campaigns and was subsequently re-elected.

FOLLOWING the imposition of a state of emergency, Mr Tinto and others were detained. He was released on December 30 1985.

He married his second wife, Cindy Bulelwa Gajana, in 1983 and they have twins. He also has five children from his first marriage.

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PAC man
CMF 7th 13 6/10/90
dies in hail
of bullets
 UMTATA A founder
 member of the PAC was
 gunned down here on
 Thursday night.

A former PAC treasur-
 er, Mr Selby Themba
 Ngendane, 62, was shot
 and killed as he was
 about to park his car at
 his home.

According to police,
 nine AK-47 cartridges
 were found in the
 vicinity of the shooting.

Mr Ngendae's car had
 several bullet holes and
 there were several other
 holes on the wall of his
 house.

He died on the spot in a
 pool of blood next to his
 car. — Sapa

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ANC 'in accord' with homelands

ANC trip 6/10/96 114

JOHANNESBURG. — Homeland leaders and the ANC had decided to bury the hatchet and from now on would speak with one voice, Mr Nelson Mandela said in Soweto yesterday.

At a news conference following a meeting between the ANC and the non-independent homeland leaders, Mr Mandela said his organisation had briefed them on the latest violence and the next steps in talks between the government and the ANC.

He said all the leaders had agreed that a third force was orchestrating the violence which had been widespread throughout the country during the past two months.

"We have all agreed this violence is not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus. It's not a tribal conflict at all. It is orchestrated by certain faceless forces in this country."

Mr Mandela said he regretted the absence of KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Mr Buthelezi had missed an opportunity to exchange views with other homeland leaders on the violence and on the way forward in discussions with the government.

Commenting on Mr Buthelezi's statement that he would not attend the meeting because he was not a homeland leader, Mr Mandela said he found this inconsistent.

"When he is invited by President

F W de Klerk as a homeland leader he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting."

Answering a question on the possibility of a one-on-one meeting with Mr Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said he would meet him as an individual and was not interested in labels.

However, the climate was not right for such a meeting, Mr Mandela said. He would not elaborate.

Referring to the violence, he said the government had to accept responsibility for the conduct of its own agents, who were orchestrating the fighting.

He and the homeland leaders would in future act as a united force when formulating tactics for talks with the government, he said.

The homeland leaders who attended were Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Enos Mabusu of KaNgwane and Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa. QwaQwa's Chief T K Mopeli was represented by his brother Chief R H Mopeli, and KwaNdebele's Prince Mhlangu was represented by Mr Steve Makona.

The ANC delegation consisted of Mr Mandela, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and head of the ANC national organising committee Mr Steve Tshwete. — Sapa

APR 11 1975
Azayo refuses
talks invitation

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) has turned down an invitation to participate in regional conferences on negotiations organised by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

The Charterist Sayco and the Black Consciousness Azayo hold opposing views on political negotiations with the government.

Azayo deputy president Mr George Ngwenya said if Sayco was genuine about Azayo's participation they would have included it in the planning and convening of the conferences. — Sapa

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ANC: 'Arrest killer constable'

JOHANNESBURG. — A special constable who allegedly shot dead three youths in the Umlazi home of an ANC lawyer should be arrested immediately, the ANC said yesterday.

The KwaZulu police said the three men were wanted in connection with the death of another man and were armed.

In a statement released here yesterday, the ANC condemned the killings and demanded that "charges of murder be immediately brought against the constable."

The ANC named the three youths killed as Mr Sibusisi Nene, 20, Thulani Mkize, 16, and Mati Mbuyiso, 15. A fourth man, Mr Philane Kwale, survived.

The four, all from Pinetown, were working on Mr Kwenza Mlaba's new home before he moved in.

The ANC alleged the constable, later identified by the survivor, entered the house and shot the three men dead.

The Sowetan newspaper reported yesterday that KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Lindelihle Khanyile said on Thursday that

members of the Umlazi detective branch, acting on a tip-off, had gone to a house in N section where three suspects — wanted in connection with the August 14 death of Mr Bheki Makhanya — had been hiding.

Col Khanyile said inside the house the police were confronted by three armed men. A shootout followed, with police killing the alleged suspects.

He said police confiscated three firearms and found a portable radio and clothing identified as those of Mr Makhanya. — Sapa

'Mixed' economy outlined by ANC

CAM THS 6/10/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — A future ANC-led government would implement a strict national economic development strategy which would give priority to "redistribution through affirmative action", according to an ANC discussion document released yesterday.

The post-apartheid economy would be mixed, based on close co-operation between all sectors involved and geared towards growth and worker productivity.

An ANC-led government would use fiscal policy as the major means of promoting growth and redistribution.

The controversial issue of nationalisation is only mentioned once by name in the document — in the context of the public sector.

Any public utilities which are privatised at the time when a democratic government takes over will be subject to immediate renationalisation, the ANC says.

Referring to the mining industry the ANC talks about giving consideration to the nature and extent of state intervention and ownership.

The organisation also says "the current conglomerate control of mining finance is an impediment to an alternative strategy for the sector".

"So too is the current trend towards privatisation and deregulation, which amounts to abdicating the state's responsi-

bility for ensuring that the mineral wealth, which is the heritage of all South Africans, benefits the nation as a whole.

"A new government would need to explore various options in respect of ownership patterns in the mining industry."

Land reform is also an ANC priority. It would implement a land reform programme "capable of simultaneously addressing a major national grievance, responding to the acute land hunger and increasing food production".

On the issue of much-needed capital to finance economic reconstruction in a post-apartheid South Africa, the ANC says a future government would have to avoid running up large budget deficits.

Domestic savings

It would also have to break from the practice of the present government of financing budget deficits by large loans.

"The ANC is of the view that the main emphasis in financing the reconstruction of the mixed economy should be placed on domestic savings.

"Foreign investment should be seen as a supplement to domestic savings and not as a substitute."

Domestic savings would be generated by aiming for a high employment, high wage and high productivity economy.

The ANC says a future democratic government would need to make major changes in allocating expenditure items.

Significant savings can be made through: Eliminating the duplications created by the racially-exclusive administrative structures like homelands, and reducing expenditure on the security services — which includes converting military plants to cater for civilian needs.

Such savings should be used to increase expenditure on education, health, housing and welfare services, "particularly for the poorest and most deprived members of the community".

However, while the ANC says the redistribution of expenditure patterns will make significant contributions initially in a post-apartheid society, it warns that in the longer term financing these services will require increasing tax revenue.

"Over time, economic growth could be expected to widen the tax base. But a future government will also need to undertake tax reform."

It says: "The present tax burden is carried disproportionately by individuals through both personal direct taxation and indirect taxation. The ANC supports shifting more of the tax burden towards corporations, in part by closing loopholes and applying the principle of progressive taxation, in which individuals with higher incomes pay proportionately more."

An ANC-led government will also consider levying capital gains and wealth taxes and introducing higher estate taxes — particularly where speculative activities are concerned. — Sapa

Boesak's 'problems' with ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PAMPHLETS distributed in Cape Town yesterday alleging an "unholy alliance" between ANC leaders Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Johnny Issel to "get rid" of Dr Allan Boesak were dismissed by the ANC as another state dirty tricks campaign.

However, Dr Boesak told the Cape Times yesterday that problems — of both an ideological and personal nature — did indeed exist between himself and ANC leaders in the Western Cape.

He did not wish to go into details but said he might make a major statement on the issue in the near future.

Dr Boesak, who said he was still considering whether to become a member of the ANC, also confirmed reports that Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had visited him to urge that he keep a low public profile for the time being.

However, Dr Boesak also dismissed the pamphlets, distributed in the name of the so-called "Boesak Support Committee," as "silly rubbish" aimed at creating division in the ranks of the ANC.

Dr Boesak said he had nothing to do with pamphlets which were distributed at bus stops and at other public areas in Athlone, Wynberg, Belhar and elsewhere this week.

He said there was no such thing as the "Boesak Support Committee", adding that the pamphlets appeared to an example of "mischief-making" by dirty tricks operatives within the defence force or the security police.

"It is very clear that the language and style of the pamphlets are the same as those which used to attack me not so long ago," Dr Boesak said.

Mr Manuel, the ANC's publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said yesterday: "We have seen this type of pamphlet being thrown around in the dark in the past.

"I would like to challenge the Minister of Defence (General Magnus Malan) to say unequivocally

To page 2

From page 1

that the dirty tricks department and other covert departments established by the SADF have been disbanded," he said.

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria last night categorically denied any involvement in, or any knowledge of the pamphlet, which claimed that there was a plot to deny Dr Boesak a leadership position in Cape Town.

Speaking about his relationship with the ANC, Dr Boesak said he had not joined the ANC yet, although he had been responding to a number of invitations to attend ANC meetings and launches in the Cape.

However, there was still "a state of confusion" about his position with regard to some ANC leaders in the Western Cape.

He confirmed that Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had come to see him recently about his role in the ANC but emphasised that "problems between me and certain people in the ANC originated more than a year ago".

Asked to elaborate on the sort of problems he was experiencing, Dr Boesak responded: "I am not sure I want to talk about this."

Pressed on whether the problems were of an ideological or personal nature, he said: "Probably both." A major statement would be forthcoming, he said.

A recent article published by the Vrye Weekblad quoted ANC Western Cape president Mr Christmas Tinto as saying he did not know why Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had been to see Dr Boesak about his relationship with the ANC as the two had not been given a mandate to do this.

The newspaper went on to quote Mr Tinto as saying: "We also don't know

why Boesak was asked to withdraw. In any case, when do we as a party intervene in the private lives and problems of others. None of us are perfect or angels.

"All I know is that the national executive committee of the ANC asked us to recruit members and establish local structures. Definitely not to give attention to personal problems.

"But I know those two. We were together in the UDF for years. I think their problem is that their leadership positions may be endangered if Boesak comes into the party."

Mr Manuel said last night he did not wish to comment on the Vrye Weekblad article.

The ANC's regional congress in the Western Cape last weekend had decided to establish a commission to investigate the article and he did not wish to pre-empt the work of the commission, he said.

Police bury Reef bodies

By CHARLES MOGALE

9/11/90

POLICE have already given pauper's burials to 196 Reef unrest victims because their bodies could not be identified at the mortuaries.

A police spokesman said the bodies were buried in separate graves in Germiston this week. Last month 212 bodies were given paupers' funerals, and more than 100 unidentified bodies are still lying unclaimed in Reef mortuaries.

Most were victims of the recent violence which erupted between hostel dwellers and township residents.

The police burials come at a time when the South African Council of Churches has appealed to churches and other organisations to "adopt a body" to give decent burials to the victims.

A police spokesman said relatives who come forward can still exhume their bodies for family reburials.

"We are keeping their pictures, and all the graves are numbered," he said.

The police have also called on people whose relatives have disappeared recently to come forward and see if they are among the victims.



By SEKOLA SELLO
Political Editor

THE ANC's draft economic policy document which was made public this week has been cautiously received by big business.

While the corporate world was playing a wait-and-see game pending the unveiling of a final document which will form the economic policy of the organisation, some aspects of the draft found favour with business people.

The feeling is that it is still too early to give a considered opinion on the document. However, the perception that the ANC has made a significant shift from its previous stance of sweeping nationalisation has been welcomed by some business people. But they are still unsure of the movement's exact position.

The 18-page document refers to nationalisation only once and in generalised terms. However, the specific mention in the document of the Anglo-American Corporation, Rembrandt, Old Mutual and Sanlam, has given industrialists the jitters.

The document does not say whether these four giants would be nationalised if the ANC came to power.

Business approves of shift in ANC nationalisation policy

Everything is left to the imagination. It says of the four conglomerates: "The bulk of productive resources are concentrated in the hands of a tiny minority."

"Four large corporations control the vast bulk of all production, distribution and exchange."

The draft document covers issues ranging from the heritage of poverty, inequality and stagnation; the necessity for a new growth plan; the overall goals of economic policy; key elements of a national development strategy; financing and reconstruction; tasks of government in reconstructing a mixed economy and the role of civil society and external economic relations.

According to the document, political liberation and constitutional changes need to be accompanied by socio-economic changes. It further states that the

economy needs fundamental restructuring.

Some business people interpret the last statement as indicating that the ANC may still be considering sweeping nationalisation. They ask how fundamental economic restructuring can occur without massive state intervention.

South African Chamber of Business director general (Sacob), Raymond Parsons, has proposed a top level meeting with the ANC to discuss "future economic strategies".

Parsons says he welcomes what he sees as "more realism in ANC thinking", but expressed disappointment that nationalisation and collectivism still appeared high on the organisation's agenda.

He also warned that as it stands the draft docu-

ment will not be reassuring to some of South Africa's major trading partners such as Britain, Germany and France.

Anglo American spokesman Bobby Godsell says his organisation differs in some areas with the document.

"Whereas it repeatedly talks about growth through redistribution, we would seek redistribution through growth."

He added that Anglo would also like to debate the document in depth with the ANC.

Barlow Rand's Ken Ironside describes it as "flexible and commendable in its search for a workable economic model".

Stockbroker Tighe Payne feels that on paper the document says the right things, but is not practical. A spokesman for the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos), Joas Mogale, warned against nationalisation, saying this would "whittle down the little wealth left".

Spokesman for mining house giant, General Mining Union Corporation (Gencor), Naas Steenkamp, refused to comment, and so did a spokesman for Rembrandt.

S Times 7/10/90

F W and Mandela to hold talks on violence

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss the violence in black townships.

Government sources yesterday described the meeting as "very important", but said a major summit on the scale of the Groote Schuur and Union Buildings meetings was not expected in the near future.

"Too many summits too often will demean the status of such high-level encounters," said a senior source.

It is expected that Mr Mandela will present Mr De Klerk with three ANC demands on how the Government should tackle the violence:

- All "hit squads" should be disbanded immediately;
 - Members of the SAP should only be issued with weapons used to combat ordinary crime;
 - Independent monitoring groups should be established to investigate police action.
- Speaking at the launch of the new SA Democratic

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and MARION DUNCAN

Teachers' Union, Mr Mandela yesterday again accused the Government of backing "Renamo-style" violence by Inkatha supporters.

He said Inkatha was training special "township killers" in the white suburbs of Johannesburg, as well as in Caprivi.

In a hard-hitting address to an appreciative crowd, he said: "There is something more to this — and I mean the direct cause of this violence.

"It is that some State agencies are using some well-trained death squads. It is the OCB. It is the military secur-

ity. It is the National Intelligence Service.

"They are using organisations like Koevoet, the Askaris and other organisations."

Later, at Chief Albert Luthuli's grave on the Natal North Coast, Mr Mandela issued an ultimatum to President De Klerk to stop the violence immediately.

ANC officials claimed five supporters were murdered on their way to the Mandela rally.

● Mr Mandela yesterday paid a surprise visit to Communist Party and ANC activist Mac Maharaj in a Durban hospital. Mr Maharaj was detained in July in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the Government.

MANDELA CHILD DIES IN ATTACK

cl/press 7/10/90

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Founder of PAC gunned down outside home

A FOUNDER member of the PAC, 62-year-old Selby Themba Ngendane, was gunned down outside his house in Nyatli Street, Northeast, in Umtata on Thursday night.

Nine spent AK-47 cartridges were found beside his body. His car was riddled with bullets.



Gang shot up couple's home and hurled in grenades

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE 15-month-old baby of Monde Mandela – a second cousin to the ANC deputy president – was shot dead in her mother's arms during an attack on their Meadowlands home by an unknown group of men in the early hours of yesterday morning.

The bullet that killed baby Gloria also severed several fingers of Mandela's wife Suzan while Mandela had extensive burns. Both were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

Police spokesman Lt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said unknown attackers hurled a grenade and fired shots at the Mandelas' Meadowlands home about 2.45am.

The house and contents were completely destroyed.

Neighbours who are close to Mandela's family said they are not sure how the attackers got into the house.



Gang shot up couple's home and hurled in grenades

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE 15-month-old baby of Monde Mandela – a second cousin to the ANC deputy president – was shot dead in her mother's arms during an attack on their Meadowlands home by an unknown group of men in the early hours of yesterday morning.

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Police spokesman Lt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said unknown attackers hurled a grenade and fired shots at the Mandelas' Meadowlands home about 2.45am.

The house and contents were completely destroyed.

Neighbours who spoke to Mandela and his wife after the attackers had fled told *City Press* how Mandela had put up a lone and desperate battle to try to save his family during the attack.

The neighbours said Suzan wept bitterly as she related how her baby was hit by a bullet while she held her in her arms, hoping she would not be hurt.

Adelaide Mabophe, who lives next door in a row of semi-detached houses, said Mandela told them he caught the first hand-grenade that was hurled into their house and threw it back at the attackers.

She said he caught two other hand-grenades and put them in a bucket of water. Three other hand-grenades were thrown and ripped through the house, damaging the wall that separates the Mandela home from their neighbours.

Joe Radebe, Mandela's brother-in-law, said yesterday morning's attack was the third attempt on the lives of the family.

He said three weeks ago their home was attacked by unknown gunmen who fled when Mandela challenged them to a fair fight.

Adelaide Mabophe said at about 2.15am yesterday she and her family were woken by gunshots and later by a blast.

"I ran to the kitchen and opened the door when I spotted two men near the house – one armed with a huge firearm and wearing a striped T-shirt. I quickly closed the door and remained in the house until they had left.

"Later, I saw Suzan come running out of her house carrying her baby in her arms, followed by her husband. I followed them to the house of another neighbour, Mavis Masina, where she told us her baby had been killed."

Neighbours said when they tried to call an ambulance they found the attackers had cut all the telephone wires.

Next-door neighbour Adelaide Mabophe, in the shattered Mandela home. She said she was woken by gunshots and a blast. "I ran to the kitchen and opened the door when I spotted two men near the house – one armed with a huge firearm." She closed the door and stayed there until they left.

By PLOI EVANS MBOWENI

ANC exiles' return negotiated

Special Correspondent

TENSION between the government and the ANC about the security situation could soon be eased as a result of various positive developments during the past week.

In Pretoria, Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani

agreement. According to the agreement, ANC prisoners whose offences were of a political nature, will be released in groups over a period. The first ANC exiles – including women and children – will soon return to South Africa. They will not include the large majority of ANC members who have re-

were promoting or opposing a specific cause.

According to the Pretoria Minute, the process of release of prisoners and the return of exiles must be completed not later than April 30 next year.

The joint working group of the ANC and the government – which

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political party 115

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE first national Islamic political party in South Africa is to be launched later this month. It is the brainchild of the principal of a Cape Town private college, 36-year-old Mr Naushad Omar, a quantity surveyor.

The three main aims of the Islamic Party of South Africa will be: to promote the ideology of Islam in the social, political and economic fields in a post-apartheid South Africa; to protect the interests of Islam and Muslims; and to make contact with political parties in other countries to strengthen the Pan-Islam Movement. *S Times 7/10/70*

Mr Omar said that in the past the Muslim community and Muslim civic bodies have aligned themselves with other groupings who fought for a nonracial and anti-apartheid South Africa. The new party will offer them a new "political home".

Founder of PAC gunned down outside home

7/10/90

A FOUNDER member of the PAC, 62-year-old Selby Themba Ngendane, was gunned down outside his house in Nyathi Street, Northcrest, in Umtata on Thursday night.

Nine spent AK-47 cartridges were found beside his body. His car was riddled with bullets.

Ngendane was one of the group which broke away from the ANC in 1959 to form the PAC.

He was the first PAC treasurer and shadow minister of foreign affairs.

According to a family friend, Ngendane was busy with both internal and external meetings trying to revive the spirit of the PAC's old guard.

Another close friend said he did not rule out the possibility the killing was politically motivated.

An Umtata lawyer described Ngendane as a most influential person. He revealed there were mixed feelings within the present executive about Ngendane being invited to rejoin the PAC.

Ngendane's cousin, Louis Mtshizana, recalled how Ngendane fled to Zambia - then Northern Rhodesia - in 1960, evading arrest back home, but was arrested in that country and brought back to South Africa.

A few months later, while on bail, he again fled the country to Botswana and was arrested there and brought back to stand trial. He finally served six years on Robben Island for politically related offences.

Ngendane died with the stigma of having testified for the State at the trial of a PAC man who was jailed for 20 years on Robben Island. This is believed to be one of the reasons some PAC executive members were against Ngendane being allowed to return to the fold.



Selby Ngendane ... shot outside his house

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Aug 8/10/90

NEW

Shongweni, rare valley of peace

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By Graham Spence

Once it was called the valley of death, now it is the valley of peace.

For the rugged valley of Shongweni, home to about 55 000 people, is the only township in Natal where peace has held fast for more than a year.

On Thursday last week, this remarkable peace pact was acknowledged by President F W de Klerk during a whistle-stop tour of Natal's flashpoints.

Warring

At the Charles Memorial School he presented Bibles signed by himself to Thulani Zulu, a leader of the United Democratic Front, and Victor Sibisi, a leader of Inkatha, to mark the first anniversary of the accord between these two previously warring groups.

Mr Zulu, Mr Sibisi and John Mkhize, the self-appointed mediator in the district, said afterwards there was tangible proof that the valley of death, barely a year ago the scene of probably the most brutal conflict in the region, was "healthy" again.

Mr Mkhize, a popular local shopkeeper and regarded as being non-partisan, said the community was largely apolitical before Inkatha began recruiting in the early '80s.

Then, after a devastating drought came the 1986 floods. This tragedy led to a volatile political situation, resulting in the first Inkatha-UDF clashes. The area was divided into two hostile camps.

"Carnage and destruction were everywhere," said Mr Mkhize, "and it was a major task to rebuild the community. But peace is now written

in our hearts, and that is why it is holding. There were no documents or signatures; the people here just want it to work."

The peace is largely thanks to the remarkable work of the police and particularly to the dedication of Major Ray Harrald, who was stationed in the area on detachment duty last year.

Now stationed in Pretoria, Major Harrald said: "I believe this is what positive policing is all about, where we managed to get the trust of the community who didn't even trust each other."

He said the police were first approached in August last year after a woman was thrown off a bus and killed.

"I called a meeting on August 13, which was almost a disaster. Inkatha supporters arrived heavily armed, and first I had to persuade them to leave their weapons outside the hall. They agreed, but less than an hour later they claimed they were being insulted, and rushed outside to arm themselves again.

Nodding

"By then Inkatha were ranting for a fight, but Victor (Sibisi) managed to persuade his people to lay down their arms and come into the hall again.

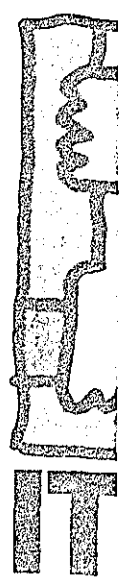
"I said that unless everyone had God's peace in their hearts, they wouldn't find peace in this valley. I think that's what did it. Suddenly I saw everyone nodding."

He later spoke to the two leaders and arranged a peace meeting for August 27.

"We expected about 100 people. Instead there were at least 700, and I knew we had won," Major Harrald said.



SACOB
SABEK



Beauty helps out ... Miss So year's Ithuba Day on October six centres around the countr where celebrities will help rais

Star 8/9/90 (11)

We'll win post-apartheid poll, says PAC

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Two of the men in key positions in the Pan Africanist Congress leadership, defence secretary Sabelo Phama and administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi, believe the PAC will sweep to victory in the first post-apartheid election.

They say surveys showing majority support for the ANC, with the PAC trailing a distant second, are biased.

"We believe we are the custodians of the genuine aspirations of the (black) people," Mr Mkhwanazi said. "We are based on the important question of the return of the land. This being the case, we stand for the interests of the oppressed majority and we believe they will give us the chance to lead them.

"... We believe in a true democracy and we will give in to the final democratic deci-

sion of the masses of our people in a free, fair election."

Both Mr Mkhwanazi and Mr Phama have been with the PAC since its formation in 1959, and are optimistic they will be with it when it becomes the country's "first government".

Neither Mr Phama nor Mr Mkhwanazi would give numbers in response to questions about the PAC's external membership or the strength of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). This information, they said, was secret.

Mr Mkhwanazi was born at Empangeni in Natal in 1928. He went to school on the south coast, and after matriculation proceeded to Adams College where he trained as a teacher.

He was the PAC's regional secretary in Natal and in 1963 skipped the country to live in



Joe Mkhwanazi.

Swaziland, where he was the PAC chief representative for more than 15 years.

In 1978 Mr Mkhwanazi left Swaziland for England where he stayed for two years while furthering his studies, before the PAC summoned him to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In the same year he was ap-

pointed to the organisation's central committee.

He later became secretary for labour and in 1981 was appointed as administrative secretary.

Mr Phama (41) was born in Umtata, Transkei. He joined the PAC at the age of 13 in 1962. He matriculated from Ngangelizwe High School, Umtata, in 1967.

In 1970 Mr Phama worked and studied part-time at the University of the Witwatersrand. Two years later he moved to the University of Fort Hare where he was expelled during a strike in 1973.

Between 1974 and 1975 he was involved in PAC underground activities while assisting his brother in a building business. It was during these years that the young Mr Phama first met then PAC

president and founder member Robert Sobukwe, incumbent PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and his vice-president Clarence Makwethu.

In 1975 he left the country. In 1976 he received military training in China. On his return to Dar es Salaam he assisted in the PAC's publicity department, specialising in ideological training for Apla.

Mr Phama and a group of more than 20 Apla cadres sneaked into the country in 1978 and were later arrested in Transkei, where they were detained for over two years before being released on bail and skipping the country.

In 1982 Mr Phama was elected to the PAC's central committee before being appointed as the organisation's secretary for defence.

ANC calls for one person, one vote local poll

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A national one person, one vote election for interim local government structures should take place before a new constitutional dispensation came into being, the African National Congress proposed yesterday.

These structures could be elected only once all apartheid laws had been scrapped and all municipalities had been disbanded.

Non-racial interim structures would then replace existing municipalities, the ANC said after a four-day consultative conference on local government in Johannesburg.

The non-racial municipal election, which should be funded by the State, could take place only once a new electoral system — including the demarcation of constituencies — had been negotiated on a national level, the ANC's head of local government, Thozamile Botha, said.

The conference, organised by the ANC in co-operation with the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape, was the first of several ANC-organised conferences to discuss constitutional matters.

A conference on land issues is to be held later this month outside Pretoria, while electoral systems are to be discussed at a conference in Cape Town next month.

In a statement released after the conference — attended by delegates from the ANC, United Democratic Front and other organisations — the ANC said that various civic associations should engage in negotiations with provincial administrations on issues such as service provision, Sapa reports.

The statement added the civic associations should be independent of local authorities and autonomous of political organisations, but could enter into alliances with political and other organisations on issues that sought to improve the quality of community life.

"To ensure community participation, People's Assemblies should be established and the civic and political organisations should draw up a Charter on Local Government.

"... Land should be made available to the homeless and landless."

The Government's policy on privatisation of housing was rejected by delegates, "as it is not designed to solve the housing crisis but to shift responsibility for providing housing ... from the State".

Mr Botha said a shared tax basis should be implemented immediately.

"We believe that in order to raise people's standard of living in the townships, and to restructure the apartheid boundaries, we need to begin now to share resources," he said.

Star 8/10/90

119

DP asks ANC: Spell it out

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has welcomed the ANC's recognition in its latest policy document that economic growth is a vital prerequisite for addressing social and economic inequalities.

But it has questioned the African National Congress's continued reliance on State intervention in the economy, especially the mining industry, and has asked for greater clarity on its redistribution policy.

DP deputy financial spokesman Jasper Walsh was reacting to the ANC draft economic policy document, which is being circulated in ANC structures for comment before being discussed at the ANC national congress in December.

Conservative Party finance spokesman Casper Uys said the document made it clear the ANC wanted the best of both worlds.

"They ask for a policy of redistribution of income and wealth and the restructuring of the economy, but don't say how they would do it.

"They are against deficit budgeting, but at the same time ask for a massive injection of financing for social needs such as housing and education."

Mr Walsh said the DP agreed with the ANC that the wide gaps of income and wealth in South Africa required special corrective action, in education, training and in land resettlement and housing.

ANC govt 'would avoid secrecy'

By Julianne du Toit
8/10/95

"We are a generation that will never speak freely on the phone. In any future government there must a minimum of spying and secrecy," said Albie Sachs of the ANC at a panel discussion of the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) last night.

He was answering a question on possible censoring of State information by an ANC government.

The four speakers, Sowetan assistant editor Thami Mazwai, Pan-African Congress (PAC) secretary-general Benny Alexander, legal expert

Gilbert Marcus and Mr Sachs, discussed freedom of speech before an audience of about 200 at the Market Theatre Warehouse.

The media were not blameless in being distant from the community, said Mr Alexander.

"The bourgeois liberal media reflected their own views. The oppressed were not happy and the alternative media started.

"But the alternative media in turn became very sectarian. We need alternatives to alternative media."

Mr Marcus pointed out that since 1927 there

had been Acts which made punishable anything which fomented racial hatred, but the Government had misused the Act, prosecuting only leftwingers.

Mr Mazwai said the press was threatened by industry, which funded it. Newspapers would not write stories criticising companies that gave them advertising. He said journalists censored themselves.

"For instance, being a PAC journalist, I will try to put its best points across to the masses. But I will try to dig out all the skeletons from the ANC's cupboard."

SA media 'monopoly' criticised

Staff Reporter

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela has criticised the "monopoly" control of the South African media.

He accepted his "Newsmaker of the Year" award from the Indicator newspaper at a banquet in Lenasia on Friday night.

Mr Mandela said four newspaper groups — Argus, Times Media, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — controlled 95 percent of the country's

newspapers.

He criticised also the political coverage of the SABC.

Mr Mandela outlined the ANC's media policy.

He said the organisation would guarantee freedom of the press, but stressed that such freedom would have to be within the country's constitution. The press would not, for example, be allowed to propagate racism.

George Bizos, SC, one of the defence lawyers in

the Rivonia trial, and Ismail Mahomed, SC, were named joint overall winners of the Indicator Human Rights Award 1990. They were chosen by readers of the Lenasia-based alternative weekly.

The Indicator's honorary Human Rights Award went to Joe Thloloe, deputy editor of Sowetan and a founder of the Union of Black Journalists and the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

Cape
Times
8/14/90
11A



Mr Oliver Tambo

Tambo in SA soon

DURBAN. — The president and leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, will be back in South Africa next month to attend a congress of the ANC.

The packed crowd of more than 30 000 people in Wadley Stadium in Maritzburg roared its approval when this announcement was made yesterday afternoon by Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy leader of the ANC.

Mr Mandela did not give any details of the time or venue of the congress. — Sapa

PAC's record 'dismal' Hani

CAT FMS 8/10/90
114

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC was being accused of "selling out" by a liberation organisation with an invisible military wing whose dismal record left it with no other strategy but to attack those who had forced the government to negotiate.

This was said yesterday by Mr Chris Hani, leader of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, who lashed out at the PAC before a crowd of 3 500 cheering ANC supporters at the Nyanga rugby stadium.

His address was followed by those of several tribal chiefs and members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa).

Mr Hani asked where the PAC was "when we were attacking police stations".

'No trick'

"The Tanzanian government took them (the PAC) out of their camp because there were only 14 people there — they were driven out of Uganda because they couldn't form an army — we saw them killing and shooting each other in Tanzania," he charged.

On the other hand the ANC's sustained struggle had now seen the South African government forced to the negotiating table, he said.

There was no "trick" in the government talking to the ANC —



COMRADES ... Mr Chris Hani (left) with the president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders, Chief Zanemvula Nonkonyane.

the government had simply tried all other options and failed, he said.

Mr Hani emphasised that the ANC was only suspending the armed struggle "in order to see how far negotiations take us" and would not hesitate to "go back to the bush and take it up again" if talks failed.

The PAC spoke of "one settler, one bullet", yet the government refused him (Hani) indemnity because he spoke "radical language".

He also warned the mayor of strife-torn Old Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, that he was "going on the wrong track" and urged him to rejoin the ANC.

Of the current Transvaal township violence, he said the ANC should not be "infected by the whites with this tribal nonsense".

Mr Zanemvula Nonkonyane, president of Contralesa, said his organisation would be summoning Mr Ngxobongwana to "try and thrash out causes of this local violence".

"The ANC believes in unity not in differences — we are all oppressed by the white government which is using people like Gatsha Buthelezi just as Zimbabwe's whites used Muzorewa," he said.

"There is no such thing as a Ciskeian and Transkeian — we are all Capetonians," he added.

Cape Times 8/10/90 (112) (A)

Dhlomo calls for all apartheid laws to go

PORT ELIZABETH. — Remaining apartheid legislation should be abolished during the next session of Parliament and should not be brought to the negotiating table, former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said at the Cape Youth Congress of the National Party here on Saturday.

Dr Dhlomo, now an independent political commentator, said no constitutional model could be successful without it having addressed the fears of both white and black South Africans.

He said that, despite the significant changes in South Africa, much still had to be done.

Although he could not prescribe to the NP, he would suggest that all the remaining apartheid legislation be abolished during the next session of Parliament, including the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act.

The benefits to be gained from abolishing these acts far outweighed the disadvantages: Sanctions would be lifted, black support for the government would increase and whites would have time to get used to changes. — Sapa

'Force' claims

Mandela says he has proof of third force

DEPUTY ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will try to convince President FW de Klerk today that a "third force" of government officials is deliberately provoking the current bloodshed in South African townships.

Mr Mandela said at the weekend he had proof that the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and military intelligence were using black agents to stage vicious random attacks in black townships.

"We have taken affidavits from a wide variety of people and we have no doubt that these organisations are behind these slaughters," Mr Mandela told a rally at Groutville in Natal on Saturday.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk are expected to discuss these allegations when they meet today in Cape Town.

The Office of the State President could not confirm the meeting, saying it was policy not to disclose Mr De Klerk's engagements unless he wanted them disclosed, but a number of ANC officials said it was on.

Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Cape Times after a rally in Nyanga yesterday that Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk "are definitely meeting" today.

The ANC had been submitting to the government affidavits backing the allegations about "elements within the security forces", ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said.

However, she said Mr Mandela would definitely not hand over affidavits about the "third force" at the meeting.

Law and order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet denied that the government had received any such affidavits from the ANC.

"The ANC should come up with hard-core evidence to back their allegations and then we will investigate the matter," Brigadier Mellet said.

At the Groutville rally, however, Mr Mandela said the ANC would present affidavits supporting these claims to the president.

He again made "Third force" allegations in his speech.

He said the NIS, the CCB and military intelligence with Koevoet and Askaris (former ANC guerillas "turned" after detention by security police) were all behind the violence.



Chief Zanemvula Nonkonyane, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders, at an ANC rally in Nyanga yesterday.

● Chris Hani slams PAC — Page 5

"Instead of maintaining law and order, the security forces are using certain organisations as a smokescreen to continue killing

our people. What they want to do is destroy the ANC," Mr Mandela said.

He added that he was not claiming that Mr De Klerk was "working directly" with these agencies, but the fact that there was co-ordination between the NIS, CCB, military intelligence and government departments in this regard was "of grave concern".

"There are moments when I sincerely doubt whether I should continue talking to De Klerk, when he is unable to carry out his obligations to maintain law and order.

"In any other country where so many people are dying the state president would come out clearly and condemn that slaughter. That is not happening in our country," Mr Mandela said.

"Since July 27 the violence in the Transvaal has been very intense. Then a few days before Mr De Klerk goes to America, there is suddenly a lull.

"I said to our people not to be fooled into thinking that the violence was over. The lull is rather the calm before the storm, enabling Mr De Klerk to go to the USA under conditions of peace. And when he returns this violence is going to happen again."

"That is exactly what happened. The night after De Klerk saw Bush, seven mutilated bodies were found near the railway line at

Riverlea. The government's death squads were on the rampage again.

"It is quite clear that there is a connection between the refusal of the government to deal with the violence and the enemies who are instigating it."

However, Mr Mandela appealed to the crowd not to be provoked into resorting to violence against "other organisations" — he did not mention names — which he claimed were being used as a smokescreen by NIS and military intelligence.

About 800 people have been hacked, shot and burned to death around Johannesburg since mid-August in fighting between supporters of the ANC and Zulu migrant workers who favour the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Late last month the government imposed heavy armed patrols and a night-time curfew on townships around Johannesburg.

Since then the violence has diminished and on Friday the government lifted the curfew there, while retailing it in other townships.

Mr Mandela later accused Inkatha of involvement in the killing of five people at Groutville on Saturday afternoon.

Speaking at an ANC rally in Maritzburg yesterday, Mr Mandela said the people had

PAC acts to protect members - Alexander

11A
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5/10/90

THE recent spate of misfortunes and deaths in the PAC have compelled the organisation's executive committee to look into the protection of its members, particularly in the rural areas, the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said yesterday.

Alexander said that during its meeting this weekend the national executive committee discussed the "assassination" of PAC founder-member Mr Selby Themba Ngendani.

Alexander said Ngendani's death was one of the serious spate of misfortunes, including the death of former Robben Island prisoner Mr Jeff Masemola and the accident which nearly affected his (Alexander's) life, that have forced the NEC to safeguard PAC members.

By DON SEOKANE

Ngendani was gunned down outside his house in Northcrest, Umtata, on Thursday night. Spent AK-47 cartridges were found beside his body and his car was also riddled with bullets.

He was among the people who pioneered the formation of the PAC in 1959 after breaking from the ANC. He served six years on Robben Island for politically-related offences.

Conveying condolences to the bereaved family, Alexander said the PAC was shocked by the death of Ngendani and said the organisation strongly condemned the assassination.



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Biday 8/10/90

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ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela laid a wreath on Saturday at the Stanger grave of Albert Luthuli, the first South African to win the Nobel Peace Prize. Luthuli was ANC president in the 1950s. Picture: REUTERS

Biday 8/10/90
**Two policemen
killed in unrest**

THREE people — including two off-duty policemen — were killed in Soweto and Tembisa on the East Rand, police said yesterday in unrest reports for the previous 48 hours.

In Soweto, one policeman was stabbed to death and another was found on Saturday morning with a pistol next to his body.

Incidents of unrest were also reported from Tembisa and Crossroads.

A police spokesman said the burnt body of a man was recovered in Tembisa.

In a separate incident, a private vehicle was badly damaged after being set alight in the township.

At Crossroads in the Western Cape, private homes were badly damaged in firebomb attacks.

Meanwhile, at Kagane outside Potchefstroom, three people were arrested after stoning a police vehicle on Friday night. — Sapa.

Azapo attacked over talks stance

By IDO LEKOTA

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Azanian Peoples Organisation was "marginalising or excluding" itself by rejecting the Government's invitation to join the exploratory constitutional talks. Sowetan 8/10/70

In a statement the minister said the events leading to the negotiation of a new constitution were gathering momentum.

"Instead of becoming part of the solution by being involved in addressing obstacles Azapo is standing aside and merely raising further objections."

Responding to the invitation Azapo's president Professor iumeleng Mosala said the government must remove apartheid without drawing in "those who are committed to the creation of a new and just society for their people".

ANC to talk from strong position, says Pahad

11A
Sowetan
8/10/79

THE African National Congress is entering the negotiating process from a position of strength, according to Mr Aziz Pahad, a member of the organisation's national executive committee.

Pahad was speaking at a public meeting in Actonville, Benoni, where the Benoni branch of the ANC was introducing members of its executive committee to other organisations in the region.

Pahad said the ANC was entering an era in the history of the struggle where it believed the prospect of finding a political solution was a reality.

"It's our belief that negotiations are part of the struggle. Negotiations

By SY MAKARINGE

cannot be a substitute of our struggle but it can't be denied that we have pushed the regime out of certain trenches," Pahad said.

He said, however, that the organisation was faced with serious dangers which could not be underestimated.

He said forces such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau, the Askaris and other groups were bent on weakening the organisation by intimidating its members.

"We're on our last mile towards our goal. But we can't succeed if we're not united," Pahad said.

ANC's use of Bop is attacked

Sowetan
8/10/90

118



THE African National Congress had repeatedly stated that Bophuthatswana was an obstacle to its objectives for a future southern Africa and that it had to therefore be made ungovernable, the Bophuthatswana State Affairs Minister said on Saturday.

The ANC had stated that the territory should cease to exist and that every possible means would be used to achieve that objective, he said.

State Affairs and Civil Aviation Minister Rowen Cronje made these pronouncements during the handing over of the colour to the Bophuthatswana Defence Force Parachute Battalion.

He told guests that Lehurutshe was one of the main regions used by what he called subversive elements to illegally enter Bophuthatswana. It was also used to smuggle arms and explosives via Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

Policy

Cronje noted that the Pan Africanist Congress had adhered to a continued policy of armed struggle. Although the ANC had committed itself to suspending its armed struggle, there were influential figures within the organisation who had made it clear that the training and activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe were had not been abandoned.

"The number of people who infiltrate for

military training through Lehurutshe and other regions gives strong reasons to give credence to this view," he said. "The ANC and its associated organisations - like the civic associations, action committees, interim committees and the like - are politically active in Bophuthatswana."

Cronje said his government and its supporters would defend Bophuthatswana and all that the territory stood for. "We believe in discussion and negotiation to resolve problems and differences and we abhor violence and confrontation, but do not underestimate our resolve and determination to preserve, protect and defend what is precious to us," he said. - Sapa



Major Olivier confronts Jackie Selebi of the ANC at the demo march.

ANC youth chief averts violence at protest march

Sowe for 8/10/90



THE surprise arrival of African National Congress youth leader Mr Jackie Selebi in Soweto on Saturday prevented potential violence between police and hundreds of ANC supporters gathered in the township for a protest march to the Protea police station.

More than 20 armed police in armoured vehicles took up positions at the township's Elkah stadium where the crowd had gathered for a march demanding the release of political prisoners, detainees, and an end to the curfew and State of Emergency.

Confrontation threatened to erupt between the crowd and police under the command of Major Steve Olivier over the legality of the march. Police declared the march illegal, but the marchers in-

sisted they had the right to march without permission.

Olivier then gave the crowd five minutes to disperse but Selebi requested that the crowd should be given more time so the ANC leader could consult them.

Emotions

As emotions ran high journalists appealed to Olivier to exercise restraint by giving leaders more time to consult the crowd. Five minutes then elapsed and Olivier gave in.

Selebi then addressed the crowd, saying the march had been postponed to next Saturday.

He then told the crowd to disperse and they responded. - Sapa.

Mandela, De Klerk to meet on ANC claims

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk are expected to meet soon to discuss the ANC claims that the security forces were involved in the recent violence in Reef townships.

The meeting may be today, but this could not be confirmed yesterday.

The office of the State President would not confirm the meeting, saying it was policy to disclose the President's engagements only when he desired this.

ANC official Andrew Mlangeni confirmed that Mandela was going to Cape Town today, but could not confirm he would meet De Klerk.

WILSON ZWANE

Another ANC official Gill Marcus said that at the meeting Mandela would definitely not hand over affidavits backing his allegations about a "third force" orchestrating the violence.

The ANC had submitted to government affidavits backing its allegations of involvement in township violence of certain "elements within the security forces", Marcus said.

But Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet denied that government had received any such affidavits from the ANC.

"The ANC should come up with hard-core evidence to back their allegations and then we will investigate the matter," Mellet said.

Allegations of a "third force" involved in township violence were made by Mandela again when he addressed a rally in Groutville, Natal, at the weekend, Sapa reports.

In his speech Mandela said the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the CCB and military intelligence, with Koevoet and askaris (former ANC guerrillas who had changed sides after detention by security police) were all behind the violence.

6/10/90 8/10/90

CAPT TIPS 8/10/80 (114) 

Mandela child dies in night attack

JOHANNESBURG. — The explosion on Saturday which killed one-year-old Gloria Mandela, a relative of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and which badly injured her parents, completely destroyed the house where she lay asleep and severely damaged a neighbour's home.

African National Congress spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus, who visited the scene on Saturday, said the roof had been blown off and the wall adjoining a neigh-

bour's home was blown out.

The house was one of a block of six in a very poor area in Meadowlands, Soweto. It belonged to Mr Monde Mandela, 43, Mr Nelson Mandela's second cousin, and Mrs Susan Mandela, 29.

Gas cylinders used inside the house for heating had exploded, compounding the damage.

Mr and Mrs Mandela, both badly burned, were taken to Baragwanath Hospital for treatment. A

nurse at the hospital said they had been admitted to the surgical ward.

A statement from the ANC said the attack was a "grenade and shotgun attack".

Police said no motive had been established for the attack.

"We don't want to say whether they were targets or victims of a random shooting," a spokesman said. "We do not want to speculate at this stage what the motive was. Police are investigating." — Sapa

ANC unhappy about indemnity cut-off move

Star 9/10/90

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By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

The ANC was unhappy today about some details announced by President de Klerk regarding the indemnity cut-off effect from midnight yesterday.

It said a number of vital issues remained to be thrashed out by the two parties' joint working group.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC was unhappy about three of the four stipulations made by Mr de Klerk. The organisation would raise these issues through the joint working group.

Miss Marcus said the ANC believed people either on trial or facing trial for politically related offences had to be covered by yesterday's clemency and immunity deadline. Consequently, their prosecution would have to be halted.

While the ANC accepted that the

granting of indemnity would not be automatic, it insisted that the process of indemnifying returning exiles had to be as quick and smooth as possible. If all 20 000 exiles had to submit individual applications, the result would "a long and painfully slow process".

The ANC also responded to Mr de Klerk's statement in Port Elizabeth yesterday that it was not meeting its obligations in terms of the Pretoria Minute which stipulated that all armed action and related activities were suspended.

Miss Marcus said a difference of interpretation was responsible for the misunderstanding. As far as the ANC was concerned, the suspension of the armed struggle did not mean an end to recruiting and training Umkhonto weSizwe members.

● Clemency deadline — Page 3.

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Star 9/10/90 (11A)

Maritzburg's first ANC public 'show'

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — More than 1 000 people packed Maritzburg City Hall last night for the first African National Congress meeting in a public venue in the centre of the city.

The meeting was an important moment in the history of the city and the Natal Midlands, the chairman, Professor Colin Gardner, told an enthusiastic audience, mostly blacks.

Futile

"This venerable and handsome city hall, which has in the past witnessed many of the debates and struggles of white politics as well as musical concerts and various other mainly white social events, now, for the first time, becomes the venue for the real politics of South Africa.

"In the past, in this hall, white speakers have put forward to white audiences policies they have claimed to be appropriate for black people."

He said the process had been painful and futile.

Professor Gardner said the beginnings of a democratic opening of the South African political system within the white population had been voiced in the city hall.

"Now we find ourselves in a new situation. The pressures on the old system have finally told. It was simply impossible for the Government to carry on.

"It is to Mr F W de Klerk's credit that he has had the courage to recognise reality, though, as Mr Nelson Mandela has pointed out, very serious problems and difficulties remain."

ਸਿਟੀ ੧/੧੧/੯੦ (111)

PAC's Alexander denies television report

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) secretary-general Benny Alexander denied an SABC-TV report yesterday that he had rejected the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks.

He called on the SABC to retract the report on

Good Morning South Africa.

It claimed he had rejected the Government's invitation and that the PAC would hold a meeting in Harare this month to discuss the matter.

"I categorically deny having issued this or any other statement on the Government's invitation in recent days.

"I further deny that we will be having a meeting in Harare this month and that I or any person acting on my behalf had issued such a statement," Mr Alexander said.

Mr Alexander said he had been embarrassed by the report.

He demanded a public retraction "on all your

broadcast(s) today (Monday)".

A spokesman for SABC-TV News said the report, which the SABC had used in good faith, came from Agence France Presse.

The SABC broadcast Mr Alexander's denial last night.

● PAC/ANC dispute
— Page 6.

PAC disputes Hani's view that military wing is weak

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Sapa

A row has erupted between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress over weekend allegations by Chris Hani that the PAC's military wing is ineffective and as good as non-existent.

Mr Hani, a member of the ANC's national executive committee and chief of staff of the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), was quoted in press reports as saying that while the PAC claimed to have a military wing — the Azanian People's Liberation Army — its contribution to the liberation struggle was insignificant.

The organisation had yet to equal the record of his MK, he said.

He was speaking at a political rally of squatters and hostel dwellers at Nyanga in the Cape Peninsula on Sunday.



Chris Hani.

In response to Mr Hani's statement, the PAC has threatened to evict MK cadres from a camp in an undisclosed African state if Mr Hani continues to criticise the organisation.

In a statement yesterday, PAC political secretary Mpolose Manqangwana said: "We are

warning Mr Hani that if he does not forthwith discontinue attacking us, we will evict his cadres from our camp and reduce them to squatters."

Mr Manqangwana said the PAC held firm to its view that the ANC was selling out, not because it was talking to the Government, but because it had agreed to become "an auxiliary to the security police in joint committees and (has) formed an alliance with the enemy".

What the MK chief of staff had to explain, Mr Manqangwana said, was the ANC's unilateral suspension of the armed struggle "while the PAC and the Government (are) continuing to fight".

Responding, the ANC said the PAC statement was a personal attack on Mr Hani which could not be expected from a national liberation organisation.

CAP- TIPS 9/10/90

11A (11A) (11A)

PAC threatens to evict ANC cadres

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE PAC yesterday threatened to evict ANC cadres from one of its camps in Africa if Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani continues to criticise the organisation.

It also said Mr Hani was "now attacking the PAC to win the confidence of his alliance partners, who are killing our people daily on the Reef".

The strong attack follows a statement by Mr Hani at the weekend that the PAC did not have an army and that it was marginalising itself when it accused the ANC of selling out.

The statement, issued by the PAC secretary for political af-

fairs Mr Mpolose Manqangwana, said: "The continued armed struggle of the ANC is a joke, as it is well-known that they have been kicked out of Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Eastern Europe.

"PAC came to their rescue by offering part of one of our camps in one of the African states.

"We are now warning Mr Hani that if he does not forthwith discontinue attacking us, we will evict his cadres from our camp and reduce them to squatters."

The PAC was amused by the sudden outburst of radicalism from Mr Hani, "who suffers from the itch of the revolutionary phase but who recently was quite subdued, as his indemnity conditions require him to be a good boy only in relation to the government and not the PAC".

It reiterated its stand that the ANC was selling out, not because they were talking but because they had agreed to become auxiliary to the security police in joint committees. And they had formed an alliance with the government in which they were compelled to suspend the armed struggle.

● Sapa reports that the ANC described the PAC statement as a personal attack on Mr Hani, which was not to be expected from a national liberation organisation.

Saying that Mr Hani had the right to express his views, the ANC department of information and publicity said relations between the two organisations should not be determined by attacks in the press, but by "responsible dialogue".

Press records history unfairly, seminar told

Sowetan 9/10/90



THE mass media in South Africa is presenting historians with a huge problem because it is not recording day-to-day history fairly, *Sowetan* staffer Mathatha Tsedu said at a seminar in Broedersroom at the weekend.

The three-day seminar was called by the media unit of the Advice Centres Association for officials of 14 centres in the Transvaal.

The centres give free advice to township residents on issues such as legal problems, evictions and unfair labour practices.

Tsedu said liberals and their media have been using their power as Press barons to propagate and defend the system of capitalism.

"Any black person who does not criticise capitalism is groomed and

built up as the chief spokesman of black people all over.

"On the other hand, people who speak for socialism are shunned and vilified. The barons further use their power over the media to popularise our struggle for land and social justice, as a struggle for the mere removal of apartheid.

"Those who will use these newspaper cuttings

to compile a proper history, will be faced with the enormous task of looking for a lot of unpublished material to reflect the true history of this country."

Sessions

Penrose Studios' Chrissy Peter and *Sowetan* chief sub-editor Ivan Fynn conducted sessions on how the media works including editing,

sub-editing, layout and design for the benefit of the ACA's *ACA News*.

Sowetan sub-editor Mike Tissong discussed sub-editing, the writing of press releases and presenting Press conferences.

Sunday Star journalist Nomavenda Mathiane discussed feature writing and Thabo Leshilo of *The Star* discussed the writing of news stories.

Mandela appeals to businessmen

11A

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

DEPUTY president of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to the business community to "pay very careful attention" to the discussion document on the economic policy of the ANC.

Addressing a dinner held in honour of 64 South African black business people who will be going on an "observation mission to the United States", he said that the ANC wanted input on the document so that "we would have the benefit of your expertise" before it reached its final stage. *Sowetan 9/10/90*

He said: "We believe that this document makes it clear to all businessmen and businesswomen, in South Africa and abroad, that the ANC is honestly engaged in finding a way to end the imbalances from the policies of race discrimination in South Africa..."

The PAC threatens to kick out ANC cadres

Sowetan 9/10/90

11A

THE PAC has threatened to evict cadres of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from a camp in an undisclosed African state if MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani continues to criticise the organisation.

In a statement yesterday the PAC's political secretary, Mr Mpolose Manqangwana, says his organisation once offered the ANC one of its bases in the African state when the ANC, he claims, was "kicked out".

Asked which African state the PAC camp was in, PAC (Internal) publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoele said:

"It would not be in the interest of ... the PAC and the state concerned to disclose its name."

Claims

Manqangwana was apparently reacting to Hani's claims at the weekend that the PAC had a "dismal liberation record".

Hani was reported to have told more than 3 000 supporters in Nyanga in the Western Cape that the Tanzanian Government had expelled the PAC from their camp there because there were "only 14 people there" and that they were "driven out of Uganda because they couldn't form an army".

The ANC said the PAC statement was a per-

sonal attack on Hani which could not be expected from a national liberation organisation.

Saying Hani had the right to express his views, the ANC department of

information and publicity said relations between the two organisations should not be determined by attacks in the Press, but by "responsible dialogue". - Sapa.

APDN

42 arrested in squatter camp

4/2 arrested in squatter camp
BLOWN 9/10/90
FORTY-two people were arrested in the Winterveldt squatter settlement north of Pretoria at the weekend in connection with the running of "peoples' courts", Bophuthatswana police said yesterday.

Spokesman Col Dave George said police were investigating several other allegations against the 42 accused, whom he said would appear in court soon.

Police confiscated large quantities of petrol during the swoop, he said.

In a separate incident, Col George said two houses were petrol-bombed in neighbouring Ga-Rankuwa in the early hours of yesterday morning. There were no injuries, and damage was reported to be minimal. — Sapa.

Mandela's claims challenged

Political Staff (11A)

CAPE TOWN — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been asked to provide the police with evidence he might have to support claims of five murders at Groutville at the weekend.

The Law and Order Ministry said in a statement yesterday Mandela had been quoted in a number of newspapers accusing Inkatha of involvement in killings near Stanger on Saturday. He had also been quoted as saying nine of the attackers had been arrested.

"The SAP station commander at Stanger has no knowledge of any such murders or arrests," the statement said. It added that should the evidence be provided, the police would investigate the matter thoroughly.

PEANUTS

By C



Extracts from the TB Davie Memorial lecture delivered at UCT last week by Mr Walter Sisulu, a member of the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

THE ANC has never supported the slogan "no education before liberation" because we believe that education must be one of the weapons that we use to achieve our liberation. We need doctors and lawyers and teachers and accountants to help run the new South Africa.

We are desperately short of such people in the black community. There will be much ground to cover to redress this imbalance and enable black people to take their rightful place in society and government.

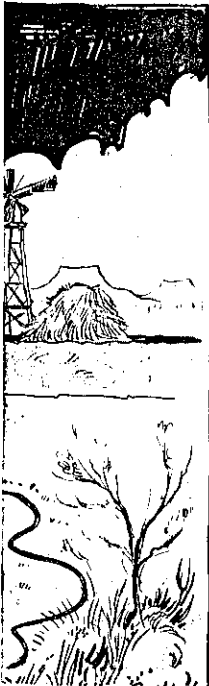
At the same time we need an education system that empowers our people. It must be an education system that consciously aims to provide us with the tools to free ourselves. We need an education system that honestly aligns itself with the cause of democracy.

We are not asking for scholars to stop being objective in their analysis. We don't want to be taught lies...

Need knowledge

Our people need to know the truth about their past. That there was a proud history before the arrival of Van Riebeeck. They need to know how they were robbed of their land and the heroic struggles to resist conquest.

Our people need to understand the present. We need knowledge to uncover what lies be-



Education is one step on way to black liberation

CAPE TOWN 9/10/90

11A

hind fine words that result in impoverishment and disempowerment. This is the job of sociologists, economists, political scientists and others.

This is what your training has equipped you to do. We want such analysis to be done. But it should be presented in a manner that is simple and accessible to ordinary people. Information must reach well beyond the few who now are fortunate to enter a university.

Standard two

We must remember that education is not only what is learnt in schools and universities.

I did not go beyond standard two. The little knowledge I have gained in my 78 years has been learnt in the struggle to free our people. When I was fired from my job as a baker's "boy", it was not necessary for me to read a textbook to understand that what I was experiencing was national oppression.

When I was assaulted on the job, I did not need a degree to know that this was gross injustice and a violation of my basic human rights...

It is important to bear in mind that the crises remain that forced the government to unban the ANC, release political prisoners and respond to the negotiation and peace initiatives proposed by the ANC.

System corrupt

The economy is stagnating, there is still a lack of investment, and the flight of capital continues. Business still experiences a loss of confidence in the future. Poverty is no longer just a black experience, for there is increasing impoverishment among the white community.

Secondly, there is the continued disintegration of the white ruling bloc as a coherent political force. Fragmentation to both left and right continues, while those who remain within the NP are increasingly confused. The NP can no longer rely either on the civil service or the security forces, both the South African Police and the South African Defence Force, to carry out policy.



WALTER SISULU: Crucial need in black community for professional skills.

Thirdly, there is a great moral dilemma throughout white society as a result of the acknowledgement that apartheid is evil, and that it has failed. There is general recognition that the Bantustan system, the tricameral Parliament, the community councils and other collaborationist bodies have collapsed. There is a widespread defection of black security forces — police, prison officers and soldiers — to our side.

Finally, there is a recognition that the education crisis cannot be resolved by the present government. They, too, have in practice acknowledged this and failed to even take the minimum steps such as providing text books, classrooms or facilities.

Our children have been deprived of their future not only by government policy of inferior education, but also by the embezzlement of public funds. However, we do not hold only those individuals directly involved in such massive fraud responsible. The whole system is corrupt, and responsibility rests squarely with the government.

I would like to give our

perspective on the wave of violence sweeping our country. We see this violence as a systematic, orchestrated campaign to destabilise our country and weaken the ANC.

We are not dealing with individual acts of terrorism. We are dealing with highly trained death squads, whose motivation is to kill and create an atmosphere of terror. What we are witnessing is something that has not been seen in our country before. But it is not new to the region. There are stark similarities between this violence and that waged by SADF surrogate forces, namely MNR and Unita, against Mozambique and Angola.

Importance

This violence is not an issue that affects black people alone. What is called for is a national response. The very insulation of the white community from the terrible trauma inflicted on the black communities provides the conditions for such violence to continue.

Whites have a responsibility, for what is happening is of national importance and will affect the very fabric of our society and the possibilities for peaceful change.

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Cape Times 9/10/90

Whites, blacks must unite — ANC

Own Correspondent 11A
MARITZBURG. — A stark should be made now for all South Africans to come together to understand and respect one another and build a new South Africa, Mr Harry Gwala, the ANC's Natal Midlands convenor, said last night.

Speaking to more than 1 000 people at the ANC's first meeting in the Maritzburg City Hall, he said there could not be peace in South Africa with apartheid.

"We are prepared to sacrifice our lives to see that apartheid is not only dismantled but that its ashes are thrown into the high seas ... apartheid must be destroyed.

"We have no problem with the

people of South Africa. We are all South Africans, black and white," he said.

Earlier, he said there was a deliberate campaign by the local press and the "capitalist international press" to wage war against the ANC.

The meeting represented an important and memorable moment in the history of Maritzburg and the Natal Midlands, the chairman, Professor Colin Gardner, told the audience.

"This venerable and handsome city hall, which has in the past witnessed many of the debates and struggles of white politics as well as various mainly white social events, now for the first time becomes the venue for the real politics of South Africa," he said.

FW's deadline for political pardons

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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE way has now been cleared for indemnity for exiles and political prisoners — one of the major obstacles that existed between the government and the ANC.

The announcement that noon, October 8, was the cut-off date for indemnity was one of three moves made by the government yesterday which were aimed at reducing tension between it and the ANC.

● In a separate move, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said a judge would conduct an inquest into the deaths of 11 people shot by security forces on September 4 in Sebokeng.

This is the first time a judge has been appointed to head an inquest in South Africa.

● The government also agreed to deal "expeditiously" with ANC submissions concerning the continued detention of some of their leaders and members under security legislation.

The three steps came after President F W de Klerk

met a high-ranking ANC delegation, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, in Cape Town yesterday afternoon.

The talks ended with a joint statement that negotiations between the government and the ANC are on course, despite "different current perceptions" on violence in South Africa.

Statements by Mr Mandela that a "third force" of government officials was deliberately provoking bloodshed in South African townships had threatened to derail the talks between the government and the ANC.

But their joint statement, issued after a longer-than-expected 3½-hour meeting, clearly suggests that progress was made on the issue of violence.

Although the joint statement by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela did not refer to the "third force", the three moves are clearly intend to diffuse tensions between the government and the ANC over security issues.

After the meeting Mr Mandela read out the joint statement to reporters, but refused to answer any questions. "It is a very sensitive matter. I ask you to accept the statement as it is," he said.

ANC aides said difficult issues were involved in the talks, but that they had been encouraged by the discussions' length.

Mr Mandela was expected to have handed over

sworn affidavits gathered by the ANC on the role of the "third force", but there has been no indication whether these are to be released publicly.

In a separate statement released after the talks, Mr De Klerk said the cut-off date for indemnity and immunity would apply only to acts committed before noon yesterday, and he stressed that "no pending or current legal process is suspended by this announcement".

He emphasised: "No indemnity for anyone or for any event or offence is granted automatically."

Applications for indemnity would have to be made through pre-determined channels, and "only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity".

This also applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom have been freed since August 6. In accordance with the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, 15 more will be released this week.

The procedures, guidelines and related matters will be announced by Mr Coetsee by Friday, October 12.

Mr De Klerk's statement indicates that the problems surrounding the return of exiles and the granting of indemnity for those who could be prosecuted have now been resolved.

He said that in terms of the Indemnity Act, which

was passed this year, the president was vested with the power to grant indemnity against civil and criminal proceedings to people or categories of people "with a view to peaceful solutions for the Republic of South Africa".

The process by which indemnity could be acquired was the subject of discussions between the ANC and the government.

"It is, however, a process which may apply more widely than to ANC-related individuals only.

"The government has now decided to activate the process for indemnity, after the ANC had indicated that the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity was affirmed by them."

Mr De Klerk said this announcement should not be confused with his statement that all individuals who surrendered whatever arms illegally possessed or controlled before October 31 would be granted special indemnity.

Mr De Klerk called on the public and all organisa-

To page 2

- Sebokeng probe 'too restricted' — Page 2
- Mandela to meet prisoners today — Page 2

P.T.O.

Government, ANC meet over unrest

AN ANC delegation led by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, met State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet for three hours of "sensitive" talks at his Tuynhuys office in Cape Town yesterday.

The two delegations issued a brief joint statement after the talks, saying note had been taken of "different perceptions" of the cause and handling of current violence and that there was agreement to do their utmost to end it. *11A* ~~SEDA~~

The State President also issued a separate statement saying the Government had decided to activate the process of indemnity provided by legislation passed this year, after the ANC had affirmed the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity. *Sowetan 9/11/90* ~~SEDA~~

Indemnity and immunity against prosecution or civil suits for "political offences" would apply only

● To Page 2

Meeting over violence

● From Page 1

to acts committed before noon yesterday, the State President said.

De Klerk emphasised, however, that no one would receive indemnity automatically and that the Government would not suspend any pending or current legal process.

He also announced that 15 more prisoners

Sowetan 9/11/90 would be released this week in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobic Coetsec, would announce relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters on Friday.

De Klerk said this statement should not be confused with his call to all individuals to hand to the police whatever arms they illegally possessed or controlled.

Special indemnity applied to those who did so before October 30 while the police continued to locate and remove all illegal arms and explosives.

The meeting between the two parties started shortly after 11am. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

Assisted

De Klerk was assisted by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

After the meeting, Mandela told reporters at Tuynhuys's gates and that there would be no questions taken as "this is a very sensitive issue".

The issue of detention of ANC leaders had been

11A raised, the statement said. There had been an in-depth review of the recent spate of violence.

"Note was taken of the different current perceptions concerning the causes and handling of this violence. There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

"The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation.

"The Government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions."

Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the process of negotiations on course and act in such a way to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective. *Saph.*

Details of talks to be made known

230 11A
Sowetan
9/10/90

DETAILS of the deliberations by the working group set up by the ANC and Government on the definition of "political" offences and the return of exiles, may be released in Pretoria this week, a Government spokesman said in Pretoria on Monday.

He said suggestions that a report of the working group would be released on Monday were "speculative".

The group was established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute.

The African National Congress nominated as its members Jacob Zuma, Penuel Maduna, Joe Nhlanhla, Aziz Pahad, Matthews

Phosa and Sipho Ndlovu, while the Government's group is headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The group was charged with the formulation of guidelines for the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of "political offences" committed inside and outside South Africa.

Rejected

A row developed last week when the Government charged that information supplied on 3 000 ANC exiles was incomplete, while ANC officials rejected the format of a Government questionnaire exiles are required to complete in order to qualify for indemnity. - Sapa

Govt stops the clock for indemnity

BIDAM 9/10/90

118

GOVERNMENT had "activated" the indemnity process and set yesterday as the cut-off date for people to qualify for clemency or immunity from prosecution, President F.W. de Klerk announced yesterday.

Anyone who committed a political offence after noon yesterday would not be eligible for the clemency or indemnity provided for in the Pretoria Minute, he said.

In a statement issued after his meeting in Cape Town with Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders, De Klerk stressed that no pending or current legal process would be suspended because of his announcement, and that no indemnity would be granted automatically.

De Klerk and senior Cabinet members met the ANC delegation to discuss the recent wave of violence in the country.

In a separate, joint statement after their meeting, Mandela and De Klerk said they had reviewed in depth "the recent spate of violence in SA. The different perceptions of the causes and handling of the violence were noted."

There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

"The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation. The government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions.

"Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the negotiation process on course and to act in such a way as to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust neces-

ALAN FINE and LESLEY LAMBERT

sary to achieve this objective," they said.

De Klerk was accompanied by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Other members of the ANC delegation were Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo and Jacob Zuma.

Sapa reports that after the meeting Mandela read the joint statement aloud to a large gathering of media representatives at the gates of Tuynhuys, and said there would be no questions as "this is a very sensitive issue".

De Klerk said government had decided to "activate" the indemnity process after the ANC indicated its acceptance of the latest report of the working group on immunity and indemnity.

Details of the report are not available.

The August 6 Pretoria Minute and the earlier working committee report appended to it did not deal with the question of a "cut-off date" regarding political offences.

ANC and government sources indicated at the time that this was deliberate because, while it was accepted the ANC required time to spread word of its decision to suspend armed action, government did not wish it to appear that potential offenders would have carte blanche to commit violent political acts until a cut-off date had been set.

An ANC official said yesterday the organisation would not comment on De Klerk's statement until tomorrow, as it

To Page 2

Indemnity

raised complex issues and needed to be considered thoroughly.

"Application for indemnity must be made through pre-determined channels, and only those who fall within the guidelines for so-called 'political offences' will qualify for indemnity," he said.

The same applied to the release of prisoners, 45 of whom had been freed since August 6. Fifteen more would be released this week.

De Klerk said Justice Minister Kobie

From Page 1

Coetsee would announce "relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters by Friday".

Dullah Omar, a prominent ANC member and lawyer in the western Cape, said last night it appeared that all exiles would have to submit individual applications for indemnity.

"According to my information, the ANC has handed in a list of the names of the 3 000 people who wish to return now. I do not think it has submitted separate applications yet."

Mandela to meet ANC prisoners in city today

CAT trip 9/10/90 11A

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela is to meet ANC political prisoners, including between 20 and 30 from Robben Island, in Cape Town this morning.

The meeting follows talks last week between 17 PAC prisoners, the organisation's secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille, and its Western Cape co-ordinator, Mr Barney Desai.

As with last week's talks, today's meeting will be held at Pollsmoor Prison.

Mr Mandela is likely to explain the latest developments regarding indemnity and immunity, including the

method being used to release prisoners.

He is also likely to explain the latest developments in the negotiations with the government and solicit the views of ANC members in prison on this process.

ANC prisoners on Robben Island, unhappy about the lack of consultation between them and ANC leaders, staged a short hunger strike recently.

There was also a sit-in recently in the lobby of the US embassy by relatives and friends of ANC prisoners who were dissatisfied about the pace at which prisoners were being released and the lack of information about the indemnity process.

Business input ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ vital — Mandela

CAP's Trust 9/10/90 (114)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has urged business to help counter allegations that the ANC was out to destroy the South African economy and has appealed for the private sector's input on the organisation's recently-released economic policy document.

Addressing a farewell dinner here at the weekend for 64 black businessmen going on a study tour of the US, Mr Mandela said the business community had nothing to fear from the ANC's role.

"The ANC is dedicated to the fullest development of our country's economy."

He said the ANC wanted input from business personalities on the discussion document regarding his organisation's economic policy. "We want your input so that before it reaches its final stage we would have had the benefit of your expertise."

Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane said South Africa should try to produce a new breed of black entrepreneur as soon as possible.

Sta- 10/10/90 (11A)

Peace talks in danger of falling apart - Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that high-level peace talks between the ANC and the IFP were "in danger of falling apart" if the ANC did not take steps to control inflammatory utterances by its members about himself.

Responding to "various attacks" on himself allegedly made by Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa president Zanemvula Nonkonyana in Cape Town at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi said it had been agreed between IFP and ANC leaders in the organisations' two meetings last month that "killing talk" by ANC spokesmen had to cease.

Chief Buthelezi said he had "very real hopes" that black South Africans would resolve their political differences, which had cost so many lives, in the ANC-IFP discussion. The continuation of the public ven-

detta against himself and the IFP by the ANC and its supporters had placed the talks "in very real jeopardy".

The KwaZulu leader said an attack on himself was made in the presence of ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani. If the ANC sincerely wanted peace and reconciliation it would have to "do something about this ongoing ghastly rhetoric, and do it now".

Saying he was "desperately seeking ways and means to ensure a lasting peace", Chief Buthelezi called on the ANC to instruct its officials and supporters to immediately desist from "virulently attacking Inkatha" on public platforms.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not comment on Chief Buthelezi's call until she had had a chance to read his full statement.

● The annual conference of the Inkatha Women's Brigade will be held in Ulundi at the weekend, it was announced yesterday.

Talks held on new constitution

Political Staff

AK645 10/10/90

11A

DURBAN. — Exploratory talks on how to go about drawing up a new constitution have taken place between the government and the African National Congress.



Mr Mbeki

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, said this at a Press briefing in Durban yesterday.

The two sides agreed in the Pretoria Minute signed on August 6 that the way was open "to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution", and that exploratory talks would be held before their next summit.

Mr Mbeki said yesterday that one exploratory meeting had taken place. It had discussed how the exploratory process should proceed, what issues would be dealt with and what prepa-

ration needed to be made.

The ANC was preparing for the second meeting where it planned to "get into matters of substance".

The ANC and government agreed that all political forces had to be involved in the process of making the new constitution.

Everything needed to be done to draw all political forces into the process, he said. The exploratory talks would ask who the political forces were, and how to draw them in.

Mr Mbeki envisaged representatives of all political forces meeting thereafter. There was no particular reason why this process should not start next month.

The government kept saying the discussions on the constitution would only start next year, but never explained why, Mr Mbeki said.

"I do not think it is something we have to wait for next year for. The ANC wants to avoid any undue delay. We say to government there is a need to begin as quickly as possible."

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1990/10/10

DURBAN

ANC AND GOVT IN WAR OF WORDS

11A (circled) 3/10/90 (circled) C/Pres 10/90



But both sides insist talks are still on the rails

By DESMOND BLOW and SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week released a seven-page document on which Monday's talks with the government were based - amid a war of words which erupted soon after the meeting.

The ANC accused the government of breaching an agreement after President FW de Klerk issued a separate statement on the cut-off date for indemnity.

De Klerk in turn accused the ANC of breaching the agreement by issuing the document and said he found it a pity - as it would force the government to publicly reject allegations made in it.

There were however no indications that the war of words would endanger talks.

But, it seems the two parties still conflict on many points and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has temporarily suspended the negotiated release of political prisoners until "the ANC clarifies its Press statement".

Coetsee said once this was cleared up the government was ready to move on the reports of the working groups, a statement the ANC immediately welcomed, saying the "faithful" implementation of the agreements was all it had been seeking.

Before his departure to Britain and Portugal this week, De Klerk said he still believed in the integrity of most of the important leaders of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, on their commitment to peace.

However, he said some of the ANC leaders interpreted the Pretoria minute in a "restrictive" manner.

The ANC was less kind. Accusing De Klerk of "a breach of faith", ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma said Nelson Mandela and the ANC had been forced to call into question the integrity of De Klerk.

The ANC released a seven page extract of their submissions made by Nelson Mandela to De Klerk at their Teyateyan meeting on Monday.

The government, they claimed, had reneged on the agreement by issuing a separate statement in which he

AWB men blinded me, says gardener

By ELIAS MALULEKE C/Pres 14/10/90

A SOWETO family man has lost sight in one eye after he was attacked by two white colleagues who are allegedly AWB members. The men work for the Soweto electricity department.

Albert Ramokgalapa, 55, a father of eight and a gardener employed by the Electricity Department in Nancefield, alleged he was attacked while he tended a garden last week Friday.

He was blinded in the right eye after he was sprayed in the face with water from a power hosepipe.

He alleged he was also called "kaffir" as the two whites grappled with him on the ground while he was still blinded by the water and could not defend himself.

The attack led to more than 200 workers employed by the department downing tools this week to demand the immediate dismissal of the two whites.

The employees also complained to management that the whites were AWB members and carried firearms at work.

They claimed the men had been seen on television in the company of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, and allegedly acted as his bodyguards.

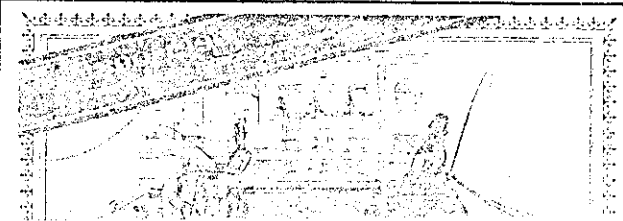
The strike ended on Friday after the workers were addressed by Soweto Council technical committee chairperson councillor Mavis Maseko and another councillor.

The two alleged assailants are technicians in the electrical engineering department and were described by workers as "racists".

One of the alleged attackers has since been suspended from duty with-



Albert Ramokgalapa... allegedly blinded in his right eye by AWB members. B Pic: ELIAS MALULEKE



Chief warns on ANC 'vendetta'

CHIEF TEL 10/10 (80)

Political Staff

IF the ANC carried on with its vendetta against the Inkatha Freedom Party, the prospects for peace could be shattered and the situation could easily get out of hand again, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

He also called on the ANC to instruct its officials and supporters "to desist, forthwith, from virulently attacking Inkatha and its leadership on public platforms".

Chief Buthelezi issued a statement yesterday in reaction to the speech made by Mr Zanemvula Nonkonyana, the president of Contralesa, the ANC-linked body of chiefs, at a meeting at the weekend in Nyanga.

The meeting was also addressed by the head of the ANC's military wing and a member of its national executive committee, Mr Chris Hani.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Mr Nonkonyana indulged in various attacks on me personally and perpetuated the kind of killing talk which has been responsible, to date, for exacerbating tensions.

"This kind of puerile rhetoric ultimately results in violence and tragic loss of lives. This must stop.

"I loathe the violence. Inkatha seeks peace. I urge that talk which could cost lives must stop," he said.

A TOTAL of 496 Olympic gold medals (all somewhat tarnished), an economy hardly capable of producing a widget; the world's most concentrated output of sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide and coal dust; nine million workers of limited skill, 85 000 secret police officers of great skill but no obvious future function, their six million files and an estimated half million informers...

This is a summary of what Matthew Engel describes in the Guardian as "baggage of a misspent life" which the former German Democratic Republic brought along when it pulled in to shack up with its more prosperous brother, the Federal Republic of Germany.

With "great joy" the German people celebrated unification (peaceful annexation of the GDR). With an overtly welcoming applause and muted apprehension Western Europe watched. Yes, and with just a whiff of embarrassment I looked on.

Solidarity

Much has been written about the "great joy" and "the muted apprehension". It is about my "whiff of embarrassment" that I want to write about.

It is just 18 months since I was fêted in the GDR as "an important religious leader from South Africa who has come to thank us for our comradely support and active solidarity in their struggle against tyranny". Thank them I did. No other country has been as unshamed about supporting our struggle on the terms required by our people and not in terms of their understanding of what we ought to be doing. The GDR openly and materially supported our armed struggle.

Bureaucracy

And now... Sechaba, the monthly journal of the ANC, is published in London, our embassy in East Berlin has been closed and the only democratically-elected Prime Minister of the GDR, Lothar de Maizière, laments the support that they lent to terrorists. (And, of course, I am no longer important. That, however, is another story.) I now wonder about

the worth of that solidarity. Our struggle and our movement would never have arrived at this point in our liberation struggle had it not been for systems which are now in ruins. (I cannot say countries, for countries are people and it is now evident that these people had nothing but contempt for the communist system.) What is the worth of a struggle for freedom that builds its victory on the tyranny of others? Are we any different from those Voortrekkers who sought freedom from the British on the backs of the indigenous population?

(Why must I be obsessed with these "moralisms". Am I nothing but a sophisticated preacher? But then, is that not what is at the heart of our struggle? Freedom, Justice, Democracy... Is it, or are these merely convenient slogans with a utilitarian value during the first stage of the national democrat-

Germany: What price solidarity with struggle?

CPL TWP 10/10/90 (11A)



VIEWPOINT
by FARID ESACK

ic revolution? If so, will someone please inform the passengers, stop the bus and let me off?)

Of course it wasn't a one-way solidarity. We also supported them. How could we? — A system that required one-tenth of its population to spy on the rest. We, a people who willingly sacrificed lives and limbs, careers and families, for justice and freedom...

We denounced that tiny minority on the left who ceaselessly screamed into the dark that Eastern Europe was not a socialist utopia but a fascist bureaucracy — the far Left, the workerists and the Trotskyites became terms of abuse. They, a fringe minority consistently disregarded as insignificant, were correct.

Popular support

If nothing, then, the arrogance of our populism and majoritarianism is now laid bare. There are others on the fringes as well among whom are the Pan-Africanists and the black consciousness crowds. Outposts for closet black racists and naive adventurists? Yes, I for one certainly think so. Possibly not.

The ANC and its allies have the support of at least 80% of the black people of our country and have indeed made the most sacrifices for it. Let that not delude us into believing that we are sole repositories of truth. Can a dictum employed by a famous Muslim jurist, Idris bin Shafi, be offered? "I am correct in all my opinions, but they are only my opinions and are possibly wrong. My opponents are wrong, but that is my opinion



LOTHAR DE MAIZIÈRE: Led the East away from the wreckage of socialist ideals — including support for the oppressed in South Africa.

about their views. They are possible correct."

Crass liberalism? Possibly. It is, however, only this attitude that will allow us not to destroy — amongst others — the far Left in the face of the overwhelming popular support that we enjoy. We may be needing them in future. I mean, they were right on one major issue — the nature of the Soviet system. They — or others — may possibly be right on other things as well.

Were we the only ones building light on darkness? How can I still identify with the left after being so frank about the "tyranny of Eastern Europe", one may ask.

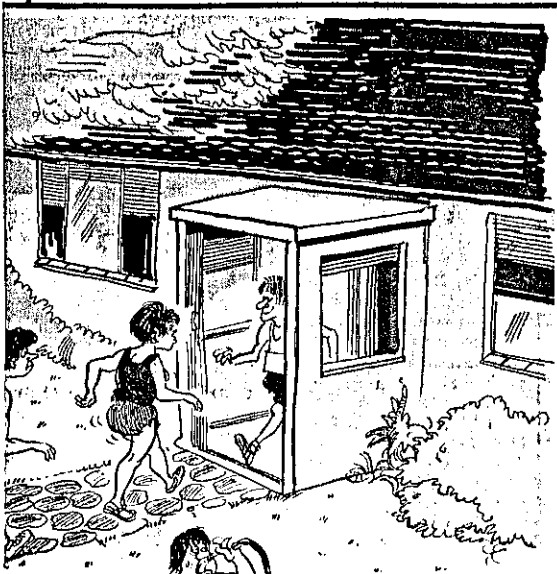
Exploitation

Yes, the demoralised, raped and poverty-stricken brother has pulled in to shack up with the prosperous and wealthy brother. West Germany has a GNP of DM944 bn (R563 bn), a trade surplus in 1989 of

DM134 bn (R80 bn) and an annual savings volume close to DM200 bn (R119 bn). All very impressive, but where does it come from? Ask the Turkish *gastarbeiters* who live on the fringes of German society, the impoverished workers in the Mercedes Benz plants in the Eastern Cape, the Kurds in Iraq who died under Saddam's Western-developed mustard gas, the 12-year-old children who sell their bodies in downtown Manila...

What does this have to do with the wealth of Germany? Everything. Wealth of that kind can only be built on exploitation and poverty. As Ali bin Abi Talib said: When I see the pockets of the concentration of wealth, I search for the oceans of poverty.

"There will be no re-run of the thirties, the world can trust us," promised Theo Zommer, editor of *Der Spiegel*. Nothing is said about the eighties. The Left is far more indispensable than ever.



Mandela greets prison pals

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MR Nelson Mandela was reunited with former fellow prisoners yesterday on his first return as a free man to Robben Island in eight years.

The spirit of comradeship was so strong that emotions ran wild, he told reporters later.

Mr Mandela briefed some of the estimated 260 remaining island prisoners on release procedures and negotiations over returning exiles.

He was accompanied by Mr Jacob Zuma, head of the ANC's military in-

telligence, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general.

Mr Mandela said they left the prisoners with a "clear impression about what's going on and of the phasing of political prisoner releases".

Asked if he would like the island closed as a prison, he replied: "I hope that with the democratic changes... it will not be necessary for us to have any prisons," adding jocularly to the questioner: "I'm sure you'll behave."

While he did not have an opportunity to visit his old cell or tour the prison, inmates had left a clear impression that conditions had im-

proved.

The ANC expects the release today of several prisoners from Robben Island and three Transvaal prisons, Sapa reports.

A fleet of buses and taxis has been arranged to transport people to the harbour area from as far as Paarl and several relatives and friends will fly into D F Malan Airport for reception celebrations.

The prisoner release was announced on Monday by the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

According to the ANC, the released men will include (origin, where

known, in brackets):

From Robben Island: B Z Banda and M A Budaza (both Witbank), J Boesak (Oudtshoorn), W Cele, M J Cikozeni (East London), S W Dinga (PE), P P Ditsebe, T Sekonyela (both Bloemfontein), W V Gunge, T Hendricks (Paarl), B P Kumane and J R Ligoabe (both Johannesburg), J J Maabe, M J Mkize (Natal), A S Sobhuwa (Guguletu).

From Pretoria: I G J Marais.

From Modderbee: I L Lekuthla.

From Johannesburg: T J Kumalo.

A spokesman for Prison Services said it was not the first time Mr Mandela had visited political prisoners since his release.



JAIL REVISITED . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela steps from the Robben Island ferry yesterday after briefing the island's 260 remaining political prisoners.

Picture: MIKE HUTCHINGS

Tension on eve of talks

South 11/10 - 17/10/90

110
110

DURBAN. — Inkatha and the ANC are preparing to meet next Monday for a further round of peace talks aimed at ending the bloody conflict in Natal, amid warnings that the peace process is in jeopardy.

This week, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi threatened to pull out of the talks if the ANC continued to make "inflammatory utterances" against Inkatha.

The threat was a response to comments made by Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani and Contralesa president Mr Zanemvula Nonkonyana in Cape Town last weekend.

Tough stance

Buthelezi said that Nonkonyana's attack on him had "perpetrated the kind of killing talk responsible for exacerbating tensions".

He warned that the peace talks were in danger of "falling apart" unless the ANC

During a visit to Natal last weekend, Mandela said "certain organisations" were being used as a "smokescreen" by the National Intelligence Service in Natal and the Transvaal.

In an apparent reference to Inkatha, Mandela said: "Some black leaders want to rise to power on the dead bodies of their own flesh and blood."

Summit

The hardhitting speech was a deviation from previous speeches in the war-torn province where Mandela held out the hope of reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha.

Central to the new war of words was Buthelezi's refusal to attend the ANC

summit with homeland leaders at the end of last month.

Inkatha central committee chairperson Mr Frank Mdl'alose said Mandela must meet Buthelezi on a one-to-one basis before Buthelezi would attend homeland meetings.

Freeze

Despite the "freeze" in the atmosphere, a third round of talks between members of the ANC NEC and Inkatha's central committee is planned to take place in Durban on Monday.

The talks will centre on joint monitoring of the violence with a report-back from the two-person committee appointed to investigate joint monitoring at the last round of talks.

Exile



Imam Hassan Solomons, member of the exiles' reception committee

South
11/10-17/10/90



confusion

INSTEAD of providing clarity to thousands of exiles hoping to return home within days, the meeting between State President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has sowed even more confusion.

In countries throughout the world, exiles are still in the dark

By REHANA ROSSOUW and MUSA NDWANDWE

about who comes home first and how it will happen.

Exiles say they do not know what criteria were used by the ANC to draw up a list of almost 6 000 people they want indemnified.

"Let me put it this way: none of us is packing our bags yet," said the ANC's spokesperson in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina.

Sebina said exiles had assumed that there would be a general amnesty from October 1.

They had since discovered from South African newspaper reports that indemnity would not be automatic.

"All we know is what we read in the press," Sebina said.

Criteria

"We read that there is a list of 3 000 names handed to the government but we don't know who in the ANC drew up the list or what criteria were used.

"As far as I know, not a single exile in Lusaka has been informed that his name is on a list."

Sebina said he had heard the list would be published in a Government Gazette this week.

MOIRA LEVY reports from London that exiles in the United Kingdom were as unclear on the question of automatic indemnity.

Setback

The National Coordination Committee for Repatriation (NCC) reports that the ANC has added further names to the list of exiles they want indemnified, bringing the total to almost 6 000.

However, the committee has suffered a serious setback in its planning for a big homcoming as its coffers are virtually empty, according to committee member, Imam Hassan Solomons.

At a two-day meeting attended by representatives from 19 regions this week, members decided they would approach business and traders' associations in a bid to alleviate the crisis.

● The great rush home — See page 7



WELCOME HOME: Alton Sobuwa, released from Robben Island this week, is mobbed after returning to Nyanga East

Turmoil in softball ranks

Leaders off on visit to four continents

(11A)

LEADERS of the Azanian Peoples Organisation are to leave on a visit to four continents this week.

The organisation's publicity secretary, Mr

Strini Moodley, said that he, Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala and treasurer-general Mr Peter Jones would visit Britain, Europe, Asia and north and south America as

guests of political groups in the various countries.

They would also use the opportunity to meet government officials.

Moodley said they would inform their hosts

of the latest developments in South Africa.

Mosala would also visit Canada, the United States, Brazil and Chile. Moodley would visit India. - Sapa.

Tension on eve of talks

South 11/10 - 17/10/90

11B

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The threat was a response to comments made by Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani and Contralesa president Mr Zancmvula Nonkonyana in Cape Town last weekend.

Tough stance

Buthelezi said that Nonkonyana's attack on him had "perpetrated the kind of killing talk responsible for exacerbating tensions".

He warned that the peace talks were in danger of "falling apart" unless the ANC took immediate steps to curb such comments.

Buthelezi's tough stance and an equally tough stance from the ANC's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela have ruled out a meeting between the two in the near future.

During a visit to Natal last weekend, Mandela said "certain organisations" were being used as a "smokescreen" by the National Intelligence Service in Natal and the Transvaal.

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Azapo in fresh bid for peace

J/A

Soweto
11/10/90

A PEACE forum initiated by the Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday agreed to form a committee to convene further meetings involving black political groups in a bid to end violence.

The agreement was reached at a meeting attended by political organisations at Funda Centre in Soweto.

Organisations which took part in the forum included the African National Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, National Council of Trade Unions, Azanian National Youth Unity and the Azanian Youth Organisation.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Congress of South African Trade Unions did not take part.

Yesterday's forum was a follow-up to the meeting called by Azapo on September 19 to discuss violence, political tolerance and the question of negotiating with the Government.

By IDO LEKOTA

A third round of talks involving all the groups is expected to be held within the next few weeks.

Yesterday's meeting recommended that the convening group, to be made up of members of all participating organisations, should establish a code of conduct which would be binding to all their members in the campaign for peace.

The code would be based on principles which include political tolerance, the establishment of joint working structures.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala said the forum should encourage the participating organisations to call a consultative conference where the question of negotiations would be addressed.

He said the conference should be called in a spirit that "negotiations should not be the basis for violence among the political groups".

'State shirking responsibility for housing'

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's policy on privatisation of housing has been strongly rejected by delegates who attended last weekend's ANC national consultative conference on local government and planning.

Privatisation was not designed to solve the housing crisis but to shift responsibility for providing housing and services from the state, participants said.

The conference resolved that land should be

made available to the homeless.

A conference on land issues is to be held outside Pretoria this month.

The ANC at the weekend presented its guidelines on local government which call for existing councils to be scrapped and replaced by nonracial, local interim bodies.

Conclude agreements

The democratically-elected interim bodies would forward proposals to be taken up during national negotiations.

Addressing a press conference at the end of a three-day conference in Johannesburg, Mr Thozamile Botha, convener of the ANC's local government committee, said: "Existing local struc-

tures should not conclude agreements with city councils or other bodies because that may be taken at a national level."

However, he stressed that civic associations should engage in negotiations with provincial administrations on the delivery of services.

Botha said the regime should stop formulating new laws that apply to "our people, as we are moving towards a new South Africa".

He said legislation was being passed in parliament without black participation and "those very acts have implications for a post-apartheid South Africa. Let our people participate in the constitutional dispensation and formulate the kinds of laws that will govern us."

Botha said he was convinced that the two objec-

tives the conference had set itself had been achieved. These were to have an integrated approach of local government negotiations at local level and to look at regional differences so that plans could be made timeously.

A statement released at the end of the conference said the delegates representing civic bodies, trade unions, the ANC and the United Democratic Front had also resolved "that all apartheid legislation should be abolished before the transformation of local government structures can begin".

Botha said the next step for the ANC after the conference would be to prepare a document based on the discussions and resolutions at the conference for national discussion.

The statement added that civic associations should be independent of local authorities and autonomous of political organisations but could enter into alliances with political and other organisations on issues which sought to improve the quality of community life.

Shared tax basis

"To ensure community participation, people's assemblies should be established and the civic and the political organisations should draw up a charter on local government."

Delegates adopted resolutions on democratisation of local government, civic structures, local metropolitan and regional government, administration and training, an approach to local government negotiations, rural local government, finance of local government and housing.

The conference also called for the immediate implementation of a shared tax basis.

Earlier Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's constitutional department, said the conference was part of the ANC's programme to prepare a new constitution for the country.

The conference was addressed by local and foreign local government experts. Foreign experts came from Zimbabwe, Sweden, Nicaragua, India and the United States.

South 11/10-17/10/90

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South 11/10 17/10/90

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Nurture a culture of political tolerance

AS South Africa moves to a new political era, it has become more urgent than ever to develop a culture of political tolerance.

The example needs to be set from the top down.

The biting clash of words between the ANC's Chris Hani and the PAC this week is indicative of a tradition of political intolerance among South Africans.

When the differences between two of South Africa's leading liberation movements are carried into the press as personal attacks on their leadership, the image of both organisations is tarnished and attempts to build cooperation on the ground are undermined.

The tragic results of this intolerance can be seen in the frequent outbursts of

Political tolerance is indivisible from a multiparty democracy — especially in South Africa where politics is volatile and violence an easy alternative:

violence in our townships.

While there is no doubt that the underlying reasons for the violence in Natal and the Reef are economic and political, it is also clear that intolerance is responsible for hundreds of deaths.

Without tolerance, there could be a total lack of control.

A peaceful township today could become a bloodbath tomorrow simply because a few individuals differ politically.

The time has come to move beyond the politics of the necklacé, the panga and the impis.

Members of PAC and ANC should realise that both organisations have the right

to exist, canvass members and convert people to their points of view.

Both organisations have, and continue to play, a major role in the liberation struggle.

It is useless to talk of building a broad patriotic front if the major political players in the liberation movement continue to attack each other.

Political debate between organisations should never be allowed to degenerate into slanging matches between individuals.

Unfortunately, intolerance is widespread. There are frequent clashes between a range of political, trade union and community organisations.

Even within organisations, individuals, cliques and factions spend more time and energy fighting one another than their common enemy.

If South Africa is to have a democratic future, all who call themselves democrats should adopt the principle that while they may disagree with others, they will defend the other's "right to be wrong".

Instead of mud-slinging and brute force, people should win support for their positions and prove the correctness of their politics by debate, work on the ground and the recruitment of members.

Political tolerance is indivisible from a multi-party democracy — and in a country like South Africa, where politics is extremely volatile and violence an easy alternative, it must be encouraged and nurtured.

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Ex-prisoners call on Govt to act quickly

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Fifteen freed ANC prisoners, including six who were due for release in 1995, have urged the Government to move quickly in removing obstacles so that negotiations can begin in earnest.

The group, whose offences included terrorism and treason, vowed to continue the struggle through community organisations.

Spokesman for the group Vronda Z Banda said at Cowley House yesterday: "We call on all peace-loving South Africans to support the peace initiative. We also urge those who don't support the ANC to give peace a chance."

Titus Hendricks of Paarl, who was serving seven years, said the mood on Robben Island was quite good.

There were about 246 prisoners still on the island and most were optimistic, he said.

Mr Banda denied there was uncertainty among the prisoners about the release programme.

"The prisoners understand the details of the Pretoria Minute and its arguments. People are just waiting for the process to be completed."

Alton S "Vietnam" Sobuwa of Nyanga, who was one of the accused in the Oscar Mpetha trial, said he had mixed feelings as he had left comrades behind.

Several members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union were marshals when the elated, toyi-toying former prisoners entered Cowley House.

Others released were Mzwakhe Hespro Cikozani of East London, sentenced in 1983 to 12 years; Jeffrey Legoabe and Bennet Komane, both of Soweto, sentenced in 1979 to 16 years; Petrus Sekonyela of Bloemfontein, sentenced in 1988 to four years; Sipiwe Wellington Dinca of Port Elizabeth, sentenced in 1983 to 12 years; Johannes Altai Boesak of Oudtshoorn, sentenced in 1986 to seven years; Wellington Vukile Gumenge of Port Elizabeth, sentenced in 1984 to 10 years; Thlomelang David Maape, sentenced in 1988 to four years; Wanda Cele of Umgababa, sentenced in 1988 to four years; Parks Peter Tebogo of Dewetsdorp, sentenced in 1987 to seven years; Moses Jabulani Mkhize of Maritzburg, sentenced in 1987 to six years; and Ashley Budaza of Port Elizabeth, sentenced in 1987 to six years in prison.

'Curfew could be lifted'

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11/10/90 (11A)

We won't give up arms, vows ANC

Political Staff and Sapa

The African National Congress has vowed that its cadres will not surrender their arms.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said the Government's call for people to surrender arms ran counter to paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute.

"In the circumstances, our cadres will not surrender their arms to the Government."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said in Grahamstown yesterday the ANC would decide when to stop recruiting and training.

Speaking at Rhodes University, he said he expected the ANC to stop the recruiting "when it feels we have not only crossed the Rubicon but advanced thousands of kilometres beyond it".

He called for mass action demanding a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution resulting in democratic elections.

Mr Hani claimed the hidden force behind the recent township violence was the South African Defence Force special forces, including the Civil Co-operation Bureau. He said these forces were bent on destroying the negotiation process.

Delaying

Although the violence was directly perpetrated by blacks, the attackers used sophisticated weapons, were allowed to use hostels as their operational bases and were never arrested.

On the granting of indemnity and clemency, the ANC also yesterday called on the Government not to engage in delaying tactics.

It said it welcomed the October 8 midnight cut-off date, but vehemently rejected Mr de Klerk's statement that pending and current legal processes would run their course.

"What is the logic of determining a cut-off date and in the same breath pursuing legal processes or continuing to punish those whose only crime is their opposition to apartheid?"

The ANC said it was its understanding that once a cut-off date had been announced all political prisoners would be released, all pending or current legal proceedings and processes would be halted and all detainees released immediately.

Vital Sacob and ANC talks likely

(11A)

Sowetan Correspondent

THE South African Chamber of Business hinted this week that talks with the African National Congress about a bold new blueprint for the economic future of South Africa may be imminent. *sdwef 11/10/70*

Sacob director-general Mr Raymond Parsons said there had already been signals of a positive response from the ANC about weekend proposals that top-level meetings should be held to seek wider consensus on future economic strategies outlined by each side.

"We are already busy with the structure of an agenda," he told a news conference in Johannesburg. A date had yet to be fixed for discussions.

Talks between big business and the ANC hierarchy were suggested by Sacob in the wake of the release of an ANC document setting out the economic policies that should be pursued in a post-apartheid era.

The document is now expected to be debated inside the ANC at branch level before the declaration of any formal economic manifesto - expected to be ironed out in the next few weeks.

Sacob has already welcomed what it saw as more realism in ANC thinking - but voiced disappointment that nationalisation and collectivism still appeared to be high on the ANC agenda at the moment.

ANC leader Meli dies in sleep

THE former editor of the official African National Congress publication *Sechaba*, Mr Francis Meli, died in his sleep in a Johannesburg hotel on Monday, the ANC said.

His real name was Allan Madolwana. *Sowetan 11/10/90*

Meli last year published *South Africa Belongs to Us*, a comprehensive history of the ANC, to follow his shorter history of the movement released on its 70th anniversary in 1982.

He was a member of the ANC Na-

tional Executive Committee and aided the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the late 1970s, according to ANC spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe.

He was ill for some time last year.

He left South Africa in the early 1960s and returned for the first time in May this year.

"His death has robbed the ANC and the people of South Africa of a stalwart of our struggle who still had much to contribute to freedom in our country," the ANC said. - *Sapa*.

BCMA hideout discovered in Botswana

11/10/90
11A

Sowetan 11/10/90

GABORONE - Botswana police have uncovered a Black Consciousness Movement of Azania training camp about 75km south of the capital Gaborone, and arrested an undisclosed number of South Africans.

Sapa's correspondent reports the camp was discovered behind a hill in Lobatse last weekend.

A statement from Botswana Police acting commissioner Norman Moleboge described the camp as a "spot resembling a hideout".

During the search for arms caches police found two bodies with multiple gun-shot wounds in a grave about two kilometres from the hideout.

Sources in Gaborone said the killings were politically motivated. They suspected dissident members of the movement had been killed.

Police the same weekend arrested four other South Africans at Ramatlabama border post for unlawful possession of arms and ammunition.

They appeared briefly in a Lobatse court and were remanded in custody pending investigations.

The Botswana government has a long-standing policy of not allowing groups or individuals to use the country as a launching base for attacks on neighbouring countries. - Sapa.

TV report denied

Sowetan 11/10/90

11A

PAN Africanist Congress secretary general Benny Alexander has denied SABC-TV1 reports that he had rejected the Government's invitation to the PAC to

hold exploratory talks.

Alexander said Monday's *Good Morning South Africa* news broadcast, which claimed he had rejected the Government's invitation and that the PAC would hold a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe this month to discuss the matter, was completely devoid of truth.

The SABC on Monday broadcast Alexander's denial. -
Sowetan Correspondent.

Hundreds expected at East Cape ANC launch

By MONO BADELA

A GROUP of old men will have reason to reflect, smile and feel glad at heart after this weekend.

The launch of ANC regional structures in their area on Saturday has nostalgic significance for them.

Leaders like Govan

Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, who is an the Internal Leadership Core of the movement and chairperson an of the SACP, Simon Pakama Mkalipi, former treason trialist and blind for 30 years, Henry Fazzie, Pebco's president, Edgar Ngoyi and Joe Mati of Mdantsane, have have been members of the ANC for more than 40

ANC launch

years now.

Like thousands of other card-carrying members of the movement, they will be there when the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei regions launch this weekend.

Before the ANC was

banned, the Cape was organised as one region.

Mhlaba, who spent almost 27 years in prison with other Rivonia trialists, told SOUTH he last attended an ANC regional conference in Cradock in 1953.

"I really feel excited, I feel

like a young man. It means that we have won one of the major battles — that of the unbanning of the ANC. It has been one of our major demands that the movement should be unbanned," Mr Mhlaba said.

He said he and former trea-

son trialist Mbeki would be attending the conference.

"In fact, I have been allocated the task of being a returning officer during election time."

The Rev Arnold Stofile, convenor of the ANC interim committee in the Border region, said:

"Saturday will be a great day for some of the stalwarts of the movement, many of whom have spent long periods on Robben Island.



Mhlaba

"These old freedom fighters will undoubtedly be with us as we relaunch the movement in this area. They will be there to guide us. We can't fail in their presence."

The border region is one of the biggest of the 14 regions of the ANC covering towns like East London, Queenstown, King William's Town, Bisho, Mdantsane, the second largest township in the country, Peddie, Dimbaza, Keiskamahock Aliwal North, Sterkstroom, Burghersdorp, Jamestown, Ventersstad, Barkley East, Berlin, Frankfort, Indwe, Molteno, Lady Grey, Stutterheim and Cathcart.

"Saturday will show the revival of the ANC as a dynamic and mass-based organisation in this area," Stofile said.

Depth

"We believe the movement took the correct approach of breaking up the province into various regions.

"This has ensured a depth in organisation as many people in the rural areas are now being afforded the opportunity to be participate in the ANC."

Stofile said he expected 700 delegates to attend the relaunch of the Border region.

Opportunity

Chief of Staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Chris Hani, will be the main speaker at the Border launch.

The relaunch of the ANC in the eastern Cape will afford the SACP general secretary, Joe Slovo, an opportunity to speak, for the first time after his return from exile, to ANC supporters in Port Elizabeth.

He and another ANC NEC member, Steve Tshwete, have been billed to address a rally to celebrate the relaunch at the Dan Qeque Stadium on Sunday.

Target

The Eastern Cape region is also one of the biggest of the ANC regions with 51 branches already launched.

Mike Xhego, the region's publicity secretary, said the region was set a target of 500 000 fully-paid members by the time of the national conference.

Door-to-door recruiting of members has started.

"When Mandela visited the area earlier in the year, more 500 000 came to see him. We can again accomplish this. We have the capacity to register half a million people," Xhego said.

ANC plan for youths

THE 1,5 million-strong South African Youth Congress is to be gradually phased out to make way for the African National Congress Youth League next year.

This was announced at a Press conference on Tuesday where the ANC's internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu signed up about 30 members of the interim committee of the youth league.

The new league will be formally launched on

By SY MAKARINGE

April 6 - the day on which famous ANC cadre Solomon Mahlangu was hanged for his part in the Goch Street shooting more than 10 years ago.

Members of the interim national executive committee will be announced at a rally on October 27 at a venue still to be decided.

Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba said the

projected membership of the ANC Youth League was more than three-quarters of South Africa's youths. (11A)

He said it would consist of youths from inside and outside the country, as well as from fraternal structures such as the Congress of South African Students and the South African National Students Congress.

"The ANC Youth League commits our youth to fight against oppression," Mokaba said.

SACP reveals Cape leaders

THE South African Communist Party's (SACP) working group in the Western Cape was named this week as the organisation geared up to begin building branches in the region. South 1110 - 17/10/90

The group of 15 has been charged with the responsibility of building branches which will eventually elect a regional leadership.

"This is part of the process of the re-emergence of the SACP as a legal national organisation," said working group member, Mr Murray Michel.



Alexander



Carolus



September



Sonto

"The Party has hired offices at the Vuyisile Mini Centre in Guguletu and set in motion other organisational processes related to the establishment of the organisation in the region."

Public meeting

Last Friday, the SACP held its first public meeting in Cape Town to which members of the ANC and Cosatu were invited.

Membership forms were available at the meeting which was addressed by SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

Members were assured that they would be placed in branches within the next few weeks.

The Party's national interim leadership core, announced at its re-launch in July, met in Cape Town last Saturday to discuss national organisational work.

TO PAGE THREE

FROM PAGE ONE

The working group includes Ms Ray Alexander, Mr Reggie September and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the national interim leadership core of the SACP.

Also named were Mr Mountain Qumbela, a former Robben Islander and UDF executive committee member; Mr Lumko Huna, another former Islander; Mr Roseberry Sonto, a former president of the Cape Youth Congress; Ms Noma-India Mfeketo, former secretary of the United Womens Congress; Michel, a former trade unionist; Mr Alan Roberts, national organiser of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU); Mr Willem Pieterse, Cosatu Western Cape treasurer; Ms Desi Angelis, a stalwart in women's organisations; Mr Garth Strachan, who recently returned from exile; Ms Liz Abrahams, a Paarl trade unionist; Mr Zollic Malindi, former UDF Western Cape president and Mr Jack Simons, an ANC legal expert.

Protest over Vlok claims

ANTI-apartheid organisations are to stage a lunch-hour picket protest in Johannesburg today over Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's dismissal of claims of security force involvement in the recent Reef violence.

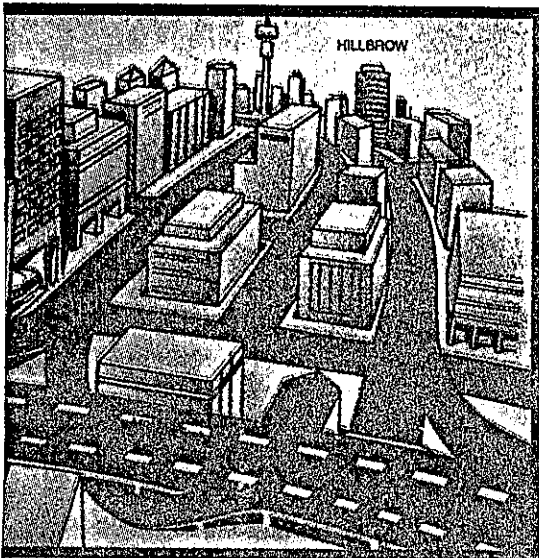
Vlok this week told the NP Cape Congress in Port Elizabeth that information in affidavits submitted to government by SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary-general Frank Chikane did not tally with the accusations Chikane made to President F W de Klerk.

The affidavits were investigated and turned out to be fabrications, unsigned or unsworn statements or compilations from newspaper reports.

Quoting from a sworn statement made by someone from the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, Vlok said conclusions in that affidavit had not been based on the person's own observations but had been drawn from unsworn statements.

Chikane could not be reached for comment but a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) spokesman said the SACC had not submitted affidavits but a memorandum outlining the grievances relating to security force involvement in the violence.

Stop the Violence Campaign, which includes the ANC, Black Sash, LHR and Human Rights Commission — said it had organised today's picket as government had "shown extreme reluctance to bring the perpetrators of violence to trial".



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SACP calls for mass action

PETER DELMAR

THE SA Communist Party has called for increased mass action on a number of unspecified fronts.

This statement followed the second meeting of its internal leadership group since the party's re-launch in July.

The SACP said Tuesday's meeting in Cape Town had agreed the process leading to negotiations, and negotiations themselves, were not the only site of struggle.

Rejecting government attempts to "compel us and persuade us to abandon mass struggle", the statement said a war of attrition was being waged against the party and its leaders, including Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj.

Mass action should be stepped up to "defend and enhance the interests of the people," it said.

The SACP repeated the ANC allegation that recent township violence was orchestrated by groups within the state.

ANC backs union talks

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has become involved in trade union attempts to resolve two industrial disputes in the Western Cape.

The ANC intervention in labour affairs was announced on Tuesday by Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) official Nosie Peterse at a media conference. The conference pledged community support for the reinstatement of more than 300 abattoir workers, who held a wild-cat strike over backpay.

Labour, religious and community bodies also called on the Cape Slaughtering, Dressing and Flaying management to open talks with the union.

A delegation, including representatives of the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF, the Muslim Judicial Council and Combined Muslim Traders, plans to meet management tomorrow.

In a similar move, the ANC's Woodstock, Cape, branch initiated a meeting with Cape Gas management on Friday to discuss a lockout of workers. — Sapa.

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AT ITT SHERATON LITTLE THING

Protest over Vlok claims

8/10/90 WILSON ZWANE (11A) 
ANTI-apartheid organisations are to stage a lunch-hour picket protest in Johannesburg today over Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's dismissal of claims of security force involvement in the recent Reef violence.

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Stop the Violence Campaign, which includes the ANC, Black Sash, LHR and Human Rights Commission — said it had organised today's picket as government had "shown extreme reluctance to bring the perpetrators of violence to trial".

AT ITI SHERATON LITTLE THINGS MEAN A LOT ■ AT ITI SHERATON LITTLE THINGS MEAN A LOT ■ AT ITI



Titus Hendricks is carried shoulder high from Cowley House in Woodstock after he and 14 other ANC members were released from Robben Island yesterday. Hendricks, from Paarl, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for terrorism in 1986. The released men called for "all peace loving South Africans" to support the "peace initiative" and urged ANC members to "give peace a chance". They called on government to quickly remove all remaining obstacles so that negotiations could begin in earnest. Picture: REUTERS

ANC slams government for stand on political offences

B. van 11/10/90
 THE ANC and government appeared to be at odds yesterday over aspects of the report by their joint working group on political offences.

The ANC accused President F W de Klerk of going "totally against" the Pretoria Minute by saying that legal processes already under way would not be suspended after his announcement of October 8 as the cut-off date for indemnity from prosecution for political offences.

The organisation added that De Klerk's statement also "cuts across the letter and spirit" of the report by the joint government/ANC working group on political offences and indemnity-related issues.

It said in a strongly worded statement that it and the still-secret working group report believed that no one should be imprisoned or in enforced exile after a cut-off date was determined.

Government is expected to release the contents of the report tomorrow. The working group was set up after the Groote Schuur summit in May to consider the question of indemnifying and releasing ANC-related political prisoners and exiles

PETER DELMAR
and ALAN FINE

— one of the major obstacles to negotiations identified by the ANC.

The ANC said that according to its understanding of the report, once a cut-off date had been established all political prisoners would be released and legal proceedings stopped "forthwith". Government would also be obliged to grant unconditional indemnity to all those guilty of political offences, whether inside or outside SA.

The ANC described government's call for people to surrender arms as being counter to Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute in terms of which another joint working group was established to resolve outstanding issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

"The fate of our arms is an issue which is being addressed by this working group, led by NEC member and MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani," the statement said.

□ The ANC claimed yesterday there were still 3 500 political prisoners, and 358 political trials were under way.

20 DECEMBER
1990

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Mrs. D.
Christians/kar

Mrs.
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Offices
UCT

Dear Madam

Re : Letter
of
appointment

Receipt of
your letter
dated 10
December
1990 is
hereby
acknowledged
and the
contents
thereof

ANC moots tax on white property deals

11A LINDEN BIRNS

THE ANC has proposed a windfall profits tax on property deals in white suburbs to recompense people "dispossessed" of their land under apartheid legislation.

It has also suggested a punitive tax on underutilised property in low density residential areas. 5/Dec 11/10/90

The "proposals and not hard-core policies" were read out by ANC land commission member Bongiwe Njobe at a Building Industry Federation of SA (Bifsa) housing issues workshop in Midrand on Tuesday.

The workshop was attended by representatives of government, the TPA, the UDF, financial institutions, builders and allied companies, economists, academics and building union officials.

Njobe said the windfall tax would be levied on whites who made profits from selling property that had originally been occupied by blacks. She said this could be extended to all residential property deals involving whites, but did not give details.

Njobe said there had to be strategies to end the disparity between exclusive white suburbs and their poorer neighbouring black townships, to result in the establishment of democratic municipalities.

These should also include concentration on the better utilisation of property in white urban areas, Njobe said.

"There should be a tax on this property as it would provide an incentive for landowners to build cottages on their property which they could use for stimulating the rent market," Njobe said.

She also expressed the ANC's reservations about the continued availability of urban land on the free market.

"This would mean that people in outlying rural areas would still be unable to afford metropolitan urban serviced sites and would be forced to continue squatting and building shacks," Njobe said.

Township infrastructure and services desperately need to be upgraded and this should be done at the expense of whites who enjoyed the privilege of established infrastructures and services, she said.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 12

CPM (197) 11/10/90 (104)

Freed men call for peace

Staff Reporter

FIFTEEN Robben Island political prisoners released yesterday called for "all peace-loving South Africans" to support the "peace initiative" and urged their fellow ANC members to support the ANC to "give peace a chance".

In the most conciliatory statement yet by newly released political prisoners, Mr Vronda Banda of Orlando West, jailed for 12 years for treason in 1983, urged the government quickly to remove all remaining obstacles, "so that negotiations can begin in earnest".

The remarks, made on behalf of the group, came a day after Mr Nelson Mandela paid his first visit to Robben Island since be-

ing transferred as an inmate from there to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982.

However, none of yesterday's 15 men were among the delegation of 20 prisoners who met Mr Mandela on the island on Tuesday.

The group said that of the 246 prisoners remaining on the island, 17 were PAC members and the rest ANC.

Of those released, three were from the Western Cape. They were Mr Titus Hendricks, of Paarl (seven years, terrorism, sentenced 1986), Mr Johannes Altau Boesak, of Oudtshoorn (seven years, sabotage, sentenced 1986) and Mr Alton Sobuwa of Nyanga East (terrorism and murder, 12 years, sentenced 1983).

Western Cape ANC executive member Mr Reggie September said a national and international

campaign was under way to fund an infrastructure for released political prisoners and returning exiles.

"But it's also normal for the community to give assistance to someone who comes back into the fold — poor people do that," he added to huge applause from relatives and supporters at the Cowley House reception in Salt River.

The prisoners said the first they heard of their release was on Monday morning.

Others released (crime, sentence, year convicted) were: Mr Mzwakhe Cikozi of East London (terrorism and receiving military training, 12 years, 1983), Mr Jeffrey Legoabe of Soweto (treason, 16 years, 1979), Mr Bennet Komane of Soweto (treason and terrorism, 16 years, 1979), Mr Siphwe Dina of PE (treason, 12 years, 1983), Mr Wellington Gumenge of PE (treason, 10 years, 1984), Mr Petrus Sekonyela of Bloemfontein (possession of hand grenades, four years, 1988), Mr Thlomeleang Mape of Bophuthatswana (terrorism, four years, 1988), Mr Wanda Cole, of Umgababa, Natal (arson, four years, 1988), Mr Parks Ditsabe, Dewetsdorp (terrorism, seven years, 1987), Mr Moses Mkhize of Maritzburg (terrorism, six years, 1987) and Mr Madoda Budaza of PE (terrorism, possessions of arms and ammunition, six years, 1987).

ANC historian Francis Meli dies

Copy from B 11/10/80
JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Francis Meli, former editor of Sechaba, the official ANC publication, died in his sleep in a hotel here on Monday, the ANC said.

His real name was Allan Madolwana.

Dr Meli last year published "South Africa Belongs to Us", a comprehensive history of the ANC, to follow his shorter history of the movement released on its 70th anniversary in 1982.

He was a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and aided the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the late 1970's, according

to ANC spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe.

He was ill for some time last year.

He spent some of his exile in Lusaka, where he helped establish the ANC's Department of Information, and some in London where he edited the recently unbanned Sechaba.

Born in 1942, Dr Meli studied at Fort Hare University and later travelled to East Germany, where he obtained a doctorate in history from the University of Leipzig.

He left SA in the early 1960's and returned for the first time in May this year. — Sapa

Dear Comrades *New Nation 12/10-18/10/90*

We are a group of workers from Alberton. We have decided to meet together to discuss the things that you write about in Learning Nation. We are very interested in what you said about the transfer of power. We would like to let comrades know what our point is on this very important matter.

We realise from the Learning Nation that history can teach us a lot of very important lessons. These lessons are of particular importance to us in South Africa at this time in our history, a time of great struggle, violence and confusion. We need to seek a clear way forward and be sure about who controls the power in this land of ours and about how this power is going to be transferred.

We read about what happened in countries such as France and Russia and also Nicaragua, Namibia and Zimbabwe. We must learn from some of those mistakes. We decided that the best thing for all of us in South Africa is for a constituent assembly to take place. This won't take place out of nothing. For a constituent assembly to work, everybody has to come together

and build the ANC into a strong fighting organisation. To do this, we must build our ANC branches and become involved in the day to day life of our organisation. We must not quietly wait for our leaders alone to decide our future. We must tell our leaders what kind of constitution we want. We must organise for this. Because we are workers, we believe it to be important that the Workers' Charter must be part of the new constitution and must be sorted out before the constituent assembly takes place. A constituent assembly will only be democratic if we have strong mass organisations, not like in Zimbabwe where organisations were weak and so they were forced into a bad settlement for the majority. There must be a free and non-racial election so that all the people can choose representatives to the constituent assembly. A constituent assembly is the only democratic choice ahead of us. We must not make the mistake of passing this by and choosing for an interim government. This will not give the people any voice.

Forward to a constituent assembly!

Alberton worker comrades.

11A

Mandela's an outside bet for the Nobel prize

By GAVIN EVANS

12/10/90
18/10/90

NELSON Mandela is one of the dark horses in the running for the Nobel Peace Prize to be announced on Monday.

Speculation is that Mandela is fourth in line to walk off with the world's most prestigious prize. The two hot favourites are Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Czechoslovakian poet, playwright and president Vaclav Havel. Also in line to succeed the Dalai Lama as Nobel laureate is leading Chinese astrophysicist-cum-dissident leader Fang Lizhi.

Yesterday, the Nobel Literature Prize was awarded to Mexican poet and essayist Octavio Paz. The Swedish Academy of Letters said he got the prize for "impassioned writing with wide horizons, characterised by sensuous intelligence and humanistic integrity".

11A

His best-known book is probably *The Labyrinth of Solitude* in which Paz offers insights into modern Mexico.

For the peace prize, Gorbachev is a front-runner because of his role in slowing down the arms race, and for allowing the collapse of Eastern bloc communist regimes. Counting against him is his government's reluctance to allow its own republics to go their own way.

Czech president Havel would be popular more because of what he represents than because of a central role in peace-making. A leading international literary figure who retains rock cult hero Frank Zappa as a roving ambassador, he developed an original philosophy of peaceful resistance in his country.

Fang Lizhi's success would be another thumb in the nose for China. Last year

the Beijing regime seethed at Tibet's Dalai Lama getting it, but they have since done nothing to improve their human rights record. Perhaps China's most prominent dissident, Fang Lizhi was one of the leaders of the June 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, and took refuge in the US embassy for more than a year before diplomatic pressure allowed him a safe exit.

Aside from Nelson Mandela's immense international stature, his candidature is strengthened by his role in the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle. Counting against him is the fact that the negotiations process is currently looking shaky, and that nearly 1 000 people have been killed in township violence. The world might prefer for Mandela and FW de Klerk to share such an award — but only after a settlement.

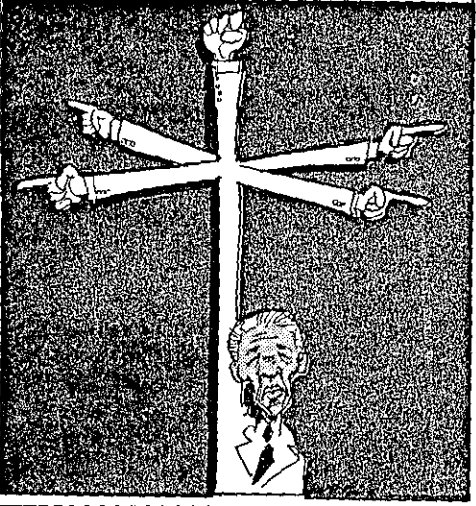
IDEOLOGY F17 12/10/90 (11A)

FORKED TONGUE

Nationalisation and sanctions are still firmly on the agenda of the ANC. That's according to a speech by Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, at a farewell dinner for 64 black businessmen who left on an observation mission to the US on Monday. The speech appeared to produce several puzzling contradictions.

The recently released ANC economic policy "working document" — which Mandela urged businessmen to comment on — takes a far softer line, suggesting there will be no new nationalisation. However, Mandela's latest speech, while not directly calling for nationalisation, gave a lengthy justification of such a policy.

Saying that State intervention had long been a part of the economic life of SA, he said that Afrikaner nationalism had called for greater and greater nationalisation in many fields. "Many proponents of free enterprise now were themselves calling for the nationalisation of gold mines."



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CURRENT AFFAIRS

F/M 12/10/90

ESY 11A

Turning to sanctions, Mandela said sanctions were seen as an essential means to end apartheid, and would not be removed. "Sanctions are not there to destroy the economy but to build it. The business community must ask if it was consistently in opposition to apartheid against forces that were leading to SA's economic destruction.

"We want foreign capital to play its fullest part. We want stability, but that stability will only come when we have ended illiteracy, poverty and disease." The ANC appears to think that the war on disadvantage will be able to be won without foreign investment.

In a strong call for affirmative action — the first from any ANC leader — Mandela said: "Without affirmative action apartheid will end and its immoral consequences will remain, including black poverty, illiteracy and disease." Mandela says the ANC has "no firm commitment to any specific economic model" but sees affirmative action as necessary to remove existing imbalances in education, housing and job opportunities.

Referring to the recent government announcement of the intention to abolish the Land Act, Mandela said that though the ANC wanted all racial laws to be removed, "more is required than the abolition of law. Affirmative action is needed, resulting in all people having fair access to land. The law (the Land Act) must go, but in such a way that it redresses massive imbalances without disrupting the economy."

What can he mean?

Charlene Smith

ANC tax plan frankly

racist says DP's Leon

Star 12/10/90 (11A) 
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Tony Leon, says the proposal by the African National Congress of a windfall tax on whites who make profits from selling property is "frankly racist".

He was commenting yesterday on the proposal made on Wednesday by Mrs B Njobe of the ANC Land Commission.

The intention of Mrs Njobe's proposal was to end disparity between exclusive white suburbs and black neighbouring townships.

Mr Leon said: "What about the many blacks who are daily buying property in my constituency, particularly in the Kew, Lyndhurst and Bramley suburbs?"

"It is quite wrong to visit the sins of previous generations of racist dispossessors of land on the

current generation of homeowners.

"Contrary to popular mythology, the average white is not possessed of numerous sources of income and investment.

"For most whites — as with other property owners — the residential home is the single most significant investment he or she possesses.

"To threaten such an investment is simply to create insecurity, instability and to encourage a skills and capital flight out of the country, at a time when South Africa can least afford it," he said.

Mr Leon said the plan would lead to a huge exchange of household properties among whites or to the creation of fictitious close corporations before the tax was implemented, and thereafter would lead to the collapse of the property market.

ANC 'may be forced to resume armed struggle'

Star 12/10/90 (L1A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba

If the ANC ever found itself banned again, it would have no option but to resort to the armed struggle, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned President F W de Klerk in Cape Town earlier this week.

This emerged from extracts released yesterday of the ANC delegation's submission to the Government during their meeting in Cape Town on Monday.

Mr Mandela, who staunchly defended Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani against constant criticism by various Government spokesmen for his insistence that the organisation continues to recruit and train MK guerillas, said Mr Hani had never done anything illegal.

Mr Mandela said the worst that had been said by Mr Hani, detained ANC and SACP leader Mac Maharaj or ANC/SACP leader Ronnie Kasrils was that if negotiations failed, the ANC would resort to other methods to attain democracy.

"You surely cannot expect us to say that, come what may and whatever we are of-

fered, and whatever actions you take against us, we will never abandon negotiations," Mr Mandela told President de Klerk.

"It should be plainly understood that if we once again face a situation in which all constitutional avenues for an advance to democracy are closed, we will have no option but to use other methods. If this is 'war talk', then I too plead guilty.

Mayhem

"Nor can we be faulted for insisting on the rights of self-defence when State forces show either an unwillingness or an incapacity to prevent the kind of organised mayhem which persisted for so long in the Transvaal townships."

Mr Mandela accused the Government and its security apparatus of double standards in their dealing with the ANC. Examples he gave included:

● While the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had an established network of armed commandos with military training camps, and nothing was done about it, Mr Hani was vehemently criticised for saying MK

continued to recruit and train cadres, and his limited indemnity was consequently withdrawn.

● Allegations of torture of right-wing prisoners by the Right had drawn immediate Government action while similar claims by the ANC "met with a blank denial".

● It had taken Mr Mandela a long time to be permitted to see Mr Maharaj in detention, whereas "the white right wing is told that they should apply in respect of their detainees and their requests would be favourably considered".

● Many right-wing detainees facing terrorism charges had been released on bail while ANC members, facing lesser charges, had been kept in custody.

Mr Mandela blamed the recent wave of violence on opportunistic right-wing elements, conservative elements in the security establishment and elements in Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

He called for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the causes of the violence and the manner it was handled by the authorities.

6 Sta 12/10/90 (11A)

ANC challenges Govt: 'Let's have election'

By Peter Fabricius and
Kaizer Nyatumba

The Government is aiming to become part of a moderate multiracial alliance that it believes could beat the ANC to power, but the ANC replied today with a challenge: "Let's have an election."

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen revealed at a press briefing yesterday that the Government had finally gone beyond the idea of group protection and now felt the best way whites could guarantee a say in the future South Africa was through participation in a moderate multiracial alliance.

Protection

Dr Viljoen said he had recently acquired a "new vision" about protecting white rights in the new South Africa.

He used to think protecting the rights of Afrikaners and whites in general would depend on enshrining minority rights in the constitution, but ever since President de Klerk had elaborated the idea of the NP building alliances and opening the party, he had realised the NP had a role to play — as part of a bigger whole, based on political principles.

But there was no question of

forming an alliance with the ANC, as the differences in principle between them were "large and fundamental".

Dr Viljoen said the NP would continue to have a role as the representative of "that group to which its present supporters belong".

The ANC today "took note" of Dr Viljoen's plans, saying it had known all along it was the Government's intention to isolate the ANC and form an alliance against it.

"That is their strategy," said ANC spokesman Gill Marcus. "We don't know what their prospects are. Let's have an election and find out. We do know what we want to achieve, and that is a democratic political transformation. This is the plan we will present to the electorate."

Miss Marcus said Dr Viljoen's success in forming a broad NP alliance which would beat the ANC depended on the situation on the ground. It was for this reason that it was important a climate conducive of freedom of expression and free political activity was created.

"Obviously," said Miss Marcus, "we take into account all their strategies against us, but what we are saying is that if they want to test the pub-

lic's opinions and allegiances, they must create a climate within which freedom of expression and political mobilisation are guaranteed to all."

Dr Viljoen, at the briefing yesterday, disclosed that the Government is close to bringing all major parties into negotiations to discuss the structure and functioning of the formal negotiating forum.

Timetable

He said that, despite delays, he still believed it was possible to stick to the timetable of getting formal negotiations going by early next year.

The negotiations would go ahead no matter who was present. Others could catch up later, but the ANC would be on board from the start.

Dr Viljoen confirmed that the Government had already had exploratory talks with the ANC on getting discussions going about the next stage of negotiations.

However, they had agreed that before continuing, they would wait for the outcome of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the practical implications of the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

TOP LINE-UP FOR SACP LOCAL LAUNCH

Party to build up W Cape branches

Staff Reporters

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Western Cape has formed a working group to re-establish the party and branches in the region.

The group's line-up consists of top local people from the ANC, trade unions and civic and women's structures.

Among them are Cape members of the Internal Leadership Group of the SACP — former trade unionist and exile Ms Ray Alexander, ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Reggie September and local ANC leader and UDF publicity secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus.

The other members of the group are: Former UDF president Mr Zollie Malindi; trade unionist and ANC Women's League chairwoman in Paarl Ms Liz Abrahams; Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) organiser Mr Mountain Qumbela; WCCA member Mr Lumko Huna; WCCA secretary Mr Roseberry Sonto; former United Women's Congress (UWCO) chairwo-



WORKING GROUP ... SACP working group members (from left) Ms NomaIndia Mfeketo, Mr Alan Roberts, Mr Garth Strachan and Mr Roseberry Sonto outside their office in Guguletu.

CAP 7/12/80 11A

Picture: OBED ZILWA

man Ms NomaIndia Mfeketo; UWCO member Ms Desi Angelis; ANC legal expert Professor Jack Simons; trade unionist Mr Murray Michel; Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) national organiser Mr Alan Roberts, and Fawu member Mr Willem Pietersen.

The group will work on education and training, and the distribution of SACP literature.

"In keeping with national perspectives, the SACP in the region will play its part in cementing the tripartite alliance led by the ANC

and including Cosatu," it said in a statement.

Regional SACP structures will be built in a bid to "win a primary place as political leader of the working class", said the group.

Mr Garth Strachan — who worked for the Anti-

Apartheid Movement in London and the ANC in Lusaka — will man the SACP office, which has been rented from Fawu at the Vuyisile Mini-centre in Guguletu.

Mr Strachan recently returned after 15 years of exile in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Britain.

No non-racial cities under apartheid — ANC expert

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress has urged civic associations to guard against subverting the thrust of national constitutional negotiations as they engage local and provincial authorities in talks about service provisions.

It is also taking concrete steps to help civic structures avoid concluding pacts that will lend legitimacy to these structures.

Hard on the heels of the ANC's intervention, made during its conference on local government matters last week, comes the announcement by the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) — with more than 30 affiliates — that it is to step up mass action to secure the resignation of township councillors.

Work stayaways, rent boycotts and mass protests are being discussed as possible forms of action.

Cast says it intends reviewing aspects of recent agreements reached between its affiliates and the authorities, looking for "loopholes" to free civics from the provisions of the agreements.

The developments are an implicit indictment of the formation last month of the Metropolitan Chamber for the Central Witwatersrand — where the civic-linked Soweto People's Delegation sits side-by-side with the councils of Soweto, Dobsonville and Diepmeadow as well as the Johannesburg City Council and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, ANC local government expert Thozamile Botha warned against easy assumptions that joint structures or undertakings to work towards a joint tax base for cities and their satellite townships represented a real solution.

"It is not possible to have a non-apartheid city under apartheid," he stressed. "We need to guard against entering joint working groups where the danger is that our organisations might be co-opted, might be forced to involve themselves in delivering services — and in the end not be able to deliver the goods."

Assuming authority without having resources and real power was foolhardy, he insisted. "We are saying that civics should not formally commit themselves on matters where there are implications for national negotiations."

This did not mean that civic associations should refrain from negotiating around services.

Sharing the ANC view that civic negotiations do not all end in agreements advantageous to residents, Cast announced this week it would "develop broad parameters within which negotiations will take place ... and ensure that weaker civic organisations are not pressured into unfavourable agreements".

Botha illustrated how civic associations could be "steam rolled" into agreements which ran counter to the central thrust of constitutional negotiations for non-racial democratic government.

In Stutterheim, for instance, after the collapse of the town council, officials tried to persuade civic association representatives to take up advisory positions on the white municipality. This proposal had been shunned, he said.

A free *Sowetan* Press 12/10/90 the focus

By SONTI MASEKO

ONE of the highlights of *Sowetan's* Nation Building Festival events, which started on September 29, is the Freedom of the Press seminar at Vista University's Soweto campus next Friday.

The seminar will be the climax of a campaign by *Sowetan* to educate the public about liberation and freedom of expression.

Says *Sowetan* Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste: "Liberation without freedom of speech is meaningless."

Freedom

The Press Day will be a whole day event from 8.30am to 6.30pm. Refreshments will be served throughout the day.

Political leaders, trade union federations and editors will participate in panel discussions on Press freedom.

Speakers from the ANC, PAC, New Unity Movement and trade unions will talk on the constitutional future of the country and freedom of speech.


The Azanian Peoples Organisation and Inkatha Freedom Party are still to respond to the invitation.

President of the Association of Democratic Journalists Mr Tyrone August will participate in a discussion on the "Struggle for Press Freedom" sharing the platform with the Media Workers Association and the African Writers Association.

12/10/90

ANC and FW in row over break of faith

11A



THE Government had refused to release ANC leader Mac Maharaj despite a personal guarantee by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that he would stand trial, the organisation said yesterday.

The issue on Maharaj is one of the submissions made by Mandela at a meeting between the ANC and the Government in Cape Town on Monday.

Yesterday the ANC released extracts of submissions made at the talks, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

But these allegations were denied last night by President FW de Klerk at a hastily convened Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before he left for Britain and Portugal.

The ANC had accused

By SY MAKARINGE

the Government of "double standards", saying rightwingers were being released on bail soon after their arrest.

In Maharaj's case, the docket had been handed to the Attorney-General. This meant investigations had been completed, but he was still in jail.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the two parties had agreed that submissions made at the meeting would be confidential.

However, the ANC had decided to reveal some of the extracts because of breach of faith by the Government.

Reacting to the allegations last night, De Klerk said: "I find it a pity that they have breached the agreement which was

reached because they will now force us to publicly react and reject the allegations.

"It is important that we keep the negotiation process on track and I find it a pity that after three days suddenly there is criticism ... and a negative statement is made almost the moment I am due to meet some heads of government during my overseas visit."

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BCMA six fail to appear in court

Sowetan 12/10/90
GABORONE - Six of the eight Black Consciousness Movement of Azania members arrested in Botswana on Sunday were yesterday due to have appeared in a magistrate's court for a remand hearing following the discovery of an alleged military camp and two decomposed bodies by the Lobatse police. *11A* *(K)*

They are facing charges of murder and possession of weapons of war. The other two BCMA members, who have not been identified, have not been charged, a Sapa correspondent reports. At the time of going to press we had not yet heard from our correspondent.

A Botswana police official said the BCMA members failed to appear in court yesterday. *(K)*

Those facing charges are Nkutsoeu Motau, alias Skaap (27), Harrison Phiri (21), Louis Lebohang Koatlane (23), Neville Thabiso Alexander (17), Nick Bell (29) and Bethuel Motaung (24). All gave addresses in Gaborone, except Alexander who submitted a Harare address.

Police said no information could be divulged before an investigation of the matter had been completed.

Earlier, the police announced that the members had been arrested after the discovery of a training camp of the movement 75km south of the capital of Gaborone at the weekend. - Sapa.

04 5-11

We're not involved, says PAC

Sowetan 12/10/90
THE Pan Africanist Congress did not instruct the gang of youths who attacked white people near Durban's beachfront on Tuesday, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen of the police public relations division in Pretoria has confirmed that when police arrested some suspects, they took possession of PAC membership cards, badges and green, yellow and black shirts.

"At this stage we are investigating all pos-

sibilities and one of them is that PAC members could have been responsible for the attack," Barkhuizen said.

In a statement today, Alexander said the PAC was still investigating

119 reports that people who went on the rampage stabbing whites were wearing PAC badges and T-shirts".

The PAC had a number of branches in the Durban-Maritzburg area

and other parts of Natal, Alexander said.

"The problem we are encountering in our investigations is the fact that we do not know where the alleged leader stayed.

"Our branches in Natal are still investigating. A statement will be made as soon as we have something to report.

"What we can say with absolute certainty is that the national leadership of the PAC did not instruct anybody to go on the rampage," Alexander said. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

6 BCM men in Gaborone court

Capt. T. 12/10/90 (11A) (12)

GABORONE. — Six of the eight Black Consciousness Movement of Azania members arrested in Botswana on Sunday appeared in a magistrate's court for a remand hearing yesterday, following the discovery of an alleged military camp and two decomposed bodies by the Lobatse police.

They are facing charges of murder and possession of weapons of war. The other two members were not charged, a Sapa correspondent reports.

Acting Commissioner of Police Mr Norman Moleboge said a large number of South Africans were arrested, but others were later released.

He said they recovered two pistols and 19 rounds of live ammunition on Sunday and some spent cartridges.

Mr Moleboge said the killings involving the discovery of the two decomposed bodies were politically motivated. — Sapa

Azapo is urged to join talks

11A

Sowetan
12/10/90

THE Government would try to persuade the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) to rescind its decision and join in exploratory constitutional talks, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Pretoria, Viljoen said, "We have not written Azapo off yet. Our doors will remain open for them to join in the talks."

Azapo's national president, Professor Jerry Mosala, announced last week that the organisation had turned down the Government's invitation.

He said a government

By MONK NKOMO

committed to change should "use its own instruments of State rule" to remove discriminatory laws and conditions.

Change

Viljoen said he was optimistic that the Pan Africanist Congress, which has also been invited to the talks but had not yet made a firm decision, was going to join in exploratory constitutional talks with the Government, the African National Congress and other parties committed to peaceful and democratic change in South Africa.

The Minister said he had a new vision for South Africa with the

formation of a multi-party democracy. He stressed that the Government was not going to form an alliance with the ANC after the completion of the negotiating process.

"Their ideals and proposed constitution differed tremendously with ours", said Viljoen.

He expected all concerned parties to be ready and "on the train for real negotiations" early next year.

The Minister said the Government had recently held talks with certain rightwing organisations.

Viljoen and the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, met leaders of the National Forum and their president John Mavuso yesterday morning.

PAC approaches the turning point

W/Mad 12/10 - 16/10/90

THE Pan Africanist Congress is facing the most crucial period in its history as plans go forward for next month's congress — the first to be held inside the country since the organisation's banning more than 30 years ago.

Two pivotal issues, negotiations and the economy, have to be tackled. And it is these decisions that will decide the future of the PAC.

Congress delegates will have to state clearly whether the organisation will join the African National Congress and the government at the negotiation table. As yet the PAC has not responded to an invitation from State President FW de Klerk to join the talks.

The second major item on the agenda is the discussion over the PAC's economic blueprint. The document has still to be ratified by the organisation's grassroots support. So far the discussion/debate paper has sparked controversy in the media and among its youth:

Education, women and manpower development are other issues to be discussed at the congress to be held in Johannesburg from November 9 to 11 and attended by 1 000 delegates.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander says a response to De Klerk's invitation will be made "not later than the congress". At the moment the organisation is testing grassroots response to the invitation "via our various structures".

South African Institute of International Affairs political researcher Gary van Staden says the PAC faces a particularly challenging period where it needs to go beyond the rhetorical "no negotiations".

As talks between the government and the ANC become more frequent, it would not be surprising if other liberation organisations begin to fear marginalisation, he adds.

The political environment has forced the PAC to be more flexible on the negotiations question.

"A year ago there was a very firm line that talks were out of the question unless very specific issues were addressed.

"This is changing and it may imply that they are ready to join the process — but may need more encouragement from De

The spectre of marginalisation hangs heavily over the Pan Africanist Congress. It must decide now whether it will enter into talks with the government.

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

Klerk," says Van Staden.

Van Staden believes it is in the government's long-term interests to get other credible black organisations to the negotiating table so as not to face the ANC alone. "We have seen tactics employed by the government to split the ANC to make them a less imposing force at the negotiating table."

The response to De Klerk's invitation, says Alexander, "is a tactical matter which the PAC leaders and member are currently considering".

However, any decision the PAC may take on negotiations is fraught with difficulties: does the PAC have the power to prevent an implementation of a settlement if it refuses to participate in negotiations; will its more radical structures support a decision to join the talks?

Says Van Staden: "The PAC is dealing with an even more militant youth wing than the ANC. There are cracks in the ANC over the question of negotiations — not all structures support it."

At a conference two weeks ago the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation decided to reject the government's invitation. This weekend Azanian National Youth Unity is to hold a national workshop to determine its position on the invitation.

Whatever decision is taken, says Alexander, "there will be no problems from the members because it (the decision) will come from them".

He adds that if the PAC rejects the talks the organisation — which is recognised by, among others, the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth — "has the power to prevent negotiations from betraying the genuine aspirations of the masses". If the PAC joins the talks "we will also pre-

vent such a betrayal".

If the PAC decides not to go to the negotiating table, can it prevent the process from continuing?

Although there is no empirical data on PAC support, there is the feeling that it is not strong enough to do this, says Van Staden.

An option is for the PAC and other organisations to push for a constituent assembly. Through such an assembly the PAC would be able to ascertain its real support, says Van Staden.

Because it is doubtful the ANC will win an outright majority at such a forum, the PAC can expect to influence the decision-making process.

If the government is serious about negotiations then the PAC will be marginalising itself by not joining the talks, Van Staden says. "They do not have the support base."

However, if the PAC remains out of the talks it needs to identify the main areas to apply pressure — the armed struggle and sanctions — if it is to have any impact on the political front. "No other organisation besides the ANC is going to convince the international community to maintain sanctions," he says, adding that the PAC's armed struggle has not been very intensive.

The ability of the PAC to influence the international sphere will also be determined by its decisions on the economy.

The long-term objectives of the PAC need to be spelt out more clearly in the economic document, says Alexander, and additions are to be made to the paper.

Alexander says the PAC sees a socialist solution for Africa. "The PAC believes that African states taking on the imperialists single-handedly cannot succeed. The idea is to link up economies, and form a political union, with the ultimate objective of forming a monolithic giant state — the objective being the development and liberation of Africa."

The organisation is to reveal its programme of action piecemeal after the national congress. Says Alexander: "It is an unfolding programme for liberation."

11A

ANC interims hand over the reins 11A

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN: Several surprises may be in store in the elections this weekend of the African National Congress' regional leadership in the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei.

The election of executive committees is a major item on the agenda of three conferences, due to be held over two days, in Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Umtata. W/M 12/10 - 18/10/90

The interim committees, appointed by the ANC, are due to hand over to executives elected by representatives of each region's branches.

According to one source, up to half of the members on the Eastern Cape committee may be dropped.

The organisation has acknowledged that there was dissatisfaction about the appointment of the interim committees — although it is unclear what alternative method could have been followed.

ANC and South African Communist

Party leader Govan Mbeki said this week that the conferences would entrench democratic procedures within the organisation.

"Since the unbanning of the ANC, people were appointed to positions to facilitate the re-emergence of the organisation. These appointees have successfully laid down the basis on which democratic elections can now take place."

In Transkei, the conference will take place at the University of Transkei in Umtata. There are 10 500 members in the region, belonging to 28 branches.

In Port Elizabeth, delegates representing 20 000 members from at least 51 branches are expected at the Co-operative Centre in Korsten.

In Border, membership figures stand at 28 000. The conference will take place in eZibeleni, outside Queenstown. — Ecna

A glaring absence at peace summit

W/M 12/10-18/10/90
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY (118)

THE all-in peace summit of liberation organisations planned by the Azanian People's Organisation was convened again this week — with the glaring absence of co-convenors, the Pan Africanist Congress.

Last week the PAC said they would attend the meeting after being invited by Azapo to co-convene the meeting.

However, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said the organisation's absence was not a principled decision but was due to "unforeseen technical circumstances".

"The PAC would be consulting Azapo for a report on the summit, and would be attending future meetings," Alexander added.

PAC youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity did, however, attend the meeting.

The African National Congress was represented.

Top ANC economist 'defects' to PAC

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

W/Mail 12/10-18/10/90
A TOP economist who recently returned from exile and was tipped for a senior position in the African National Congress' economics department crossed the political divide to the Pan Africanist Congress a fortnight ago.

Dr Siphso Solly Dlamini, a specialist in economic risk analysis and presently working in the PAC economics department, spoke exclusively to *The Weekly Mail* this week about his "defection".

Dlamini was the first African to obtain his PhD in economics, at the age of 27, and worked at the Kenyan Development Bank before his return.

Apparently, Dlamini's placement in the ANC economics department had been discussed only by top ANC officials. Dlamini filled in for ANC Southern Natal convenor Patrick Lekota in Durban while Lekota was in the United States during September, where he was "privy to confidential information and given much responsibility".

"The ANC are still my friends but they are misunderstanding the plight of black people. I attended many meetings and realised the ANC does not consult with grassroots membership, decisions are

taken at top level and enforced."

Dlamini was also not happy about the ANC's economic policy, saying "nobody is sure what it is".

"There is no indication of how they intend uplifting poverty — at least the PAC is issuing some guidelines."

But it seems the ANC still considers Dlamini to be part of its ranks.

On Tuesday Dlamini met Tito Mboweni at the ANC economic offices in Johannesburg, where he was apparently advised to speak with the chief administrator, R Makakgothi. "I do not think he (Mboweni) was convinced I had joined the PAC." Mboweni also gave him the ANC economic policy document which was discussed at a workshop in Harare recently.

The PAC legal department wrote to the ANC towards the end of September informing them of Dlamini's position.

"In Durban I began to doubt whether I could continue believing in the ANC," Dlamini said, "and I phoned PAC president Zeph Mothopeng."

ANC representative Sakkie Macozoma said he did not know of the incident but that the ANC had no problem with people changing political allegiances.

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...many rabble roused Transvaal Provincial Administration officials, from whom the company had to get the

relatives attending funerals from afar. Plandev intends to cater for everybody — regardless of race or creed.

Clients can buy a unit for R2 500 — payable in cash or over five years — where three people can be buried.

Minister flees after 'educate us' plea

W/M and 12/110 - 18/10/90
DEPUTY Minister of Education Piet Marais took fright when confronted this week by placard-waving pupils at the entrance of Walmer township, Port Elizabeth.

He was to discuss the demand for a high school with the Residents' Upgrading and Co-ordinating Steering Committee but wouldn't go into the township when he was met by hundreds of pupils waving placards bearing such threatening slogans as "We want to be educated". The venue was quickly changed from Ntombekhaya Mgbasi Foundation Development Centre to the Methodist church in the nearby white residential area.

After the meeting, Marais said he would assemble his senior officials "to see what we could do". — Pen

Islamic political party to be formed

W/M and 12/110 - 18/10/90
By GLENDA DANIELS

A NATIONAL Islamic political party — "somewhere between the African National Congress and the Democratic Party" — is to be formed in Cape Town this month.

"We feel that Islam is the ideology of the future," said party founder Naushad Omar.

The principal of a private college, Omar is somewhat shy about disclosing the number of people who have so far joined the party. No meetings have as yet been held, he says, adding that the press will be invited when this happens.

He said the party would not be a radical one "like the Qibla movement which supports the Pan Africanist Congress", and is distrustful of the ANC.

While the party will be an Islamic one, the 36-year-old educationist welcomes

118 the support of all. "Anyone who supports our constitution they can join, be they Christian or Jew."

He is, in fact, hoping that most of the people who join the party will be non-Muslim, because "Islam is the ideology of the future".

Omar smiles as he says the party will, if it comes to power, be very strict on alcohol. "If the price of a beer is now R2 it will go up to R6."

However, Omar's plans have been met with criticism from the Call of Islam. The formation of an Islamic Party is inappropriate in the present political climate, says national secretary Ebrahim Rassol.

"Interaction, as opposed to retreating into exclusivity, is necessary. With the violence in the country, to consolidate a Muslims is to sow disunity."

SACP sets up Western Cape group 11A

By GAVIN EVANS *W/11/61 12/10-18/10/90*
A MIXTURE of trade unionists, community activists and recently returned exiles make up the 15-member South African Communist Party Western Cape Interim Leadership Group (ILG) which was announced yesterday.

SACP central committee member Esop Pahad said the members of the ILGs in the Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei will be announced over the next four weeks.

The Western Cape committee includes: Reg September (ANC national executive committee and SACP central committee member); Ray Alexander (SACP central committee member and veteran South African Congress of Trade Unions leader); Jack Simons (SACP member since the 1930s); Garth Strachan (senior ANC and SACP leader from Zimbabwe who returned to South Africa last month); Zöllie Malindi (former Western Cape United Democratic Front president and veteran ANC and SACP leader); Cheryl Carolus (former Western Cape UDF leader and member of the SACP national ILG and the ANC's Grootte Schuur negotiating team); Mountain Qumbela (former Robben Island prisoner, UDF regional executive member and civic association leader); Alan Roberts (Food

and Allied Workers' Union national organiser); Nosie Pieterse (Fawu and Cosatu regional executive committee member); Liz Abrahams (ANC women's leader, Paarl civic leader and former Food and Canning Workers' Union organiser); Noma-India Mfeketo (ANC Western Cape women's leader); Rose Sonto (member of the UDF and Western Cape Civic Association executives and former Western Cape South African Youth Congress leader); Lumko Huna (ANC and civic activist and Kagiso Trust worker); Desie Angelis (University of Cape Town lecturer) and Murray Michel (University of the Western Cape researcher).

Committee member Alan Roberts said offices were being set up and that they would decide on interim portfolios at the weekend.

Pahad said the SACP's national ILG held a meeting in Cape Town this week, the second since its public launch 10 weeks ago. He said the meeting focused on the need for regional structures to get moving in setting up branches "as a matter of urgency.

"No branches have been set up yet, and this will be one of the main tasks of the regional ILGs. The branches are the life-blood of the party."

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ANC in surprise attack on 'FW's integrity'

w/mca 12/10-18/10/90

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress yesterday launched an unprecedented attack on the integrity of President FW de Klerk, revealing major strains in the relationship between the country's two main negotiating partners.

Accusing the government of duplicity, the ANC took the unusual step of releasing hard-hitting excerpts of the confidential submission that an ANC delegation, under the movement's deputy president Nelson Mandela, made at Monday's meeting with De Klerk.

Until now the movement has been careful to isolate De Klerk from its rhetorical attacks on the government, sticking by Mandela's line that De Klerk is a "man of integrity".

However, the attack at the press conference yesterday was made by Department of Information officials and not by any senior members of the ANC's national executive committee.

Nor was there any sign that the negotiating process was being placed in any real jeopardy.

The ANC accused the government of betraying an agreement to keep the intention to meet confidential and of diminishing the importance of Monday's talks by immediately launching a broadside on the ANC at the Cape National Party Congress.

In a hastily-called press conference last night De Klerk rejected the ANC's allegations that the government had committed a breach of faith.

He said he had heard that the ANC had made public a document with many "unfounded" allegations which he had rejected at Monday's discussions.

What the ANC revealed in its statement yesterday is real concern that it is being outmanoeuvred by the government and fears that the rank and file do not think it is standing up sufficiently to De Klerk.

The release of the document appears designed to let ANC rank and file know what transpired at Tuynhuys.

Among other things, De Klerk accused the ANC of utilising suspension of the armed struggle merely as "a temporary strategy".

In response the ANC charged that: "This concerted propaganda offensive is designed, as is the campaign of violence, to weaken the ANC and to create an image of vacillation and division so that, amongst our people, there is a loss of confidence in the movement."

Included among the ANC submissions to De Klerk were:

● That the Reef violence, carried out by a sophisticated and professional "killing machine", served the "strategy of the rightwing, some of whom undoubtedly continue to have a strong presence in the police, army and security forces". It was calculated to put the ANC in a difficult position.

● That the conflict had been linked in the media to secret training bases for Inkatha members in Caprivi, run by officers of the South African Defence Force. "A reluctance to subject such widespread allegations to impartial inquiry fuels popular perception that there are forces close to you, Mr President, with a double agenda," Mandela told De Klerk in the document.

● That the government itself was veering away from the spirit and letter of aspects of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, particularly in relation to the question of the ANC's undertaking to suspend armed struggle.

● That the law was applied in a discriminatory fashion to ANC followers. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was allowed to run armed commandos and training camps. "How then can we be expected to advise our people that MK must cease to establish a similar network, including training in self-protection?"

In addition, detention under section 29 of the Internal Security Act was more stringently applied to ANC members than to others.

For example, while ANC and South African Communist Party allegations of torture met with blank denial, rightwing claims evoked immediate undertakings to investigate; while Inkatha leader Themba Khoza was brought to court forthwith after allegedly issuing weapons and was granted bail, ANC leader Mac Maharaj was still in detention three months after arrest.

SRC leader asks for tolerance

Art 7 info 12/10/98
Political Staff 11A
A PLEA for tolerance, patience and goodwill to straddle political divisions was made yesterday by the president of the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council, Mr Robert Mopp.

He said the affiliation of the Azanian Students' Convention (Azasco), formerly the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), to the SRC was an important step towards ensuring political tolerance.

"The gains we've made now need to be consolidated and expanded.

"We should ensure that we respond to the range of issues and problems of the day in such a manner that the structures are strengthened, consolidated and expanded," Mr Mopp said.

"Tolerance, patience and goodwill are essential traits for straddling the divides in our midst."

He said a worrying factor on the campus was the lack of participation in organisations of, especially, coloured students.

"Forums need to be created where perceived problems from all sides of the spectrum can be addressed meaningfully."

FW talks clash

Cape Times 12/10/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the government clashed yesterday in one of the most serious rows yet over negotiations.

And shortly before leaving for Europe last night, President F W de Klerk stepped in to try to defuse the row.

A few hours before his departure on a four-day European tour, the ANC accused Mr De Klerk of a serious breach of confidentiality and took the unprecedented step of releasing details of its meeting with government earlier this week.

Releasing the ANC statement, Ms Gill Marcus and Mr Saki Macozoma said government actions this week had jeopardised the entire negotiation process and that the ANC had been forced to "call into question the integrity of F W de Klerk".

At a hastily convened media conference at Jan Smuts Airport before his departure for Portugal and Britain, Mr De Klerk stressed the importance of keeping the negotiation process on track.

"I find it a pity that after three days suddenly there is criticism . . . and that a negative statement is made almost the moment when I am due to meet some heads of government during my overseas visit."

Earlier in the day, the Minister of Constitutional

Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, announced in Pretoria that full-scale negotiations would have to start early next year — despite existing problems.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela authorised the ANC to release submissions he made at a meeting held with the government in Cape Town on Monday — following public statements Mr De Klerk made after the meeting.

The agreement was that both sides would confine comments to a brief, joint statement.

Last night Mr De Klerk rejected the allegations. "I find it a pity that they have breached the agreement . . . because they will now force us . . . to publicly reject the allegations contained in that statement."

Mr De Klerk said he had the impression that the ANC was under pressure and that it was starting to blame the government.

"We are not doing anything to put them under pressure.

"However unjust their statement is, we'll deal with it in a manner which can never negatively affect the negotiation process which is tender and which we are at the threshold of.

"I hope that the leadership of the ANC will also refrain from any act or statement which will unnecessarily endanger this and will make sure of their facts before they make an attack on the integrity of the government."

Yesterday's ANC statement accused Mr De Klerk of "double-talk" by telling the NP's Cape congress that the ANC had adopted positions that jeopardised negotiations. This was in "sharp conflict with the discussions earlier in the day", it said.

In his seven-page submission, Mr Mandela warned the government of growing evidence pointing to a "departure by government from the letter and spirit of certain aspects of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes".

Mr Mandela insisted that the existence of ANC arms caches did not conflict with the Pretoria Minute.

The government's refusal to grant indemnity to national executive members Mr Mac Marahaj and Mr Ronnie Kasrils conflicted with agreements between the ANC and the government if, as had been claimed, they had done so because of alleged possession of weapons.

The submissions also showed that Mr Mandela had given the government a personal undertaking that Mr Maharaj — currently in detention under the Internal Security Act — would stand trial if released on bail.

Meanwhile, Mr Viljoen told a press conference in Pretoria that full-scale negotiations would have to start early next year — and that the government expected the ANC to be a participant.

Mr Viljoen said the government had considered, although not seriously, proposals to hold a constituent

assembly election once basic outlines of a constitution had been agreed on by a negotiating forum. Those elected in such an election would then fill in the finer details.

A referendum for all South Africans could be held in which provision was made to identify the white result. This would enable Mr De Klerk to fulfil his election promise.

Mr Viljoen said the first task of the negotiating forum when it began work early next year would be to discuss aspects such as a bill of rights which all parties had accepted in principle.

He believed there would "a lot of benefit" in trying to come to an early accord on certain basic constitutional principles such as a multi-party state, a unitary SA and the need to hold regular elections.

He said that as an interim measure, the government was prepared to negotiate channels by which organisations outside the existing tricameral system could influence decisions taken in Parliament.

He was convinced SA would have a new negotiated constitution before 1993 when the next tricameral election has to be held.

● Mr Viljoen said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would today release details of the agreement between the ANC and government on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

ANC must participate — Viljoen

Govt outlines strategy on negotiations

B/Dam 12/10/90



FULL-scale negotiations would have to start early next year and, despite existing problems, government expected the ANC to participate, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Starting such negotiations without the ANC would be an admission of failure, Viljoen told a Pretoria Press conference.

However, only hours later the ANC's information and publicity department issued a statement accusing government of undermining efforts to achieve a settlement and calling into question President F W de Klerk's integrity.

Viljoen said government could not wait indefinitely before beginning negotiations and organisations that were not prepared to take part from the outset would have to catch up. Azapo, by not agreeing to participate, had marginalised itself. While gov-

MIKE ROBERTSON

ernment was still waiting for a PAC response, much work would be necessary before that organisation could take part as it was "a leading expert in war talk".

Viljoen said that, because government had worked so hard with the ANC towards getting a negotiating process under way, it would be an admission of failure to start without it. This did not mean the ANC was the only important player. But, like Inkatha, the ANC was a player of such importance government would not want to begin negotiations without it.

Government had set its sights on a "Groot Beraad" including all participants who had agreed to try to negotiate a settlement, he said.

The ANC's participation in such a meet-

□ To Page 2

Talks

B/Dam 12/10/90

ing would depend on progress achieved by the armed action working committee.

"When it comes to the real McCoy, there must be an end to violence and intimidation."

Viljoen said his upbeat prediction was based on recent speeches and statements that indicated government and the ANC could "find ourselves" on issues such as the demand for a constituent assembly election on which there had been sharp differences initially.

He believed this was mainly due to government's acceptance that there would have to be democratic approval for what was agreed to at the negotiating table.

Government believed this could be achieved by a referendum for all South Africans in which provision was made to identify the white result. This would enable De Klerk to fulfil his election promise.

Viljoen said government had considered proposals to hold constituent assembly



□ From Page 1

elections once a negotiating forum had agreed to basic outlines for a constitution.

He said government would agree to such a suggestion only if other parties accepted it should not take place in such a way that the NP's insistence on protection for minorities was "wiped off the table".

Viljoen said the first task of the negotiating forum, when it began work early next year, would be to discuss aspects such as a bill of rights, which all parties had accepted in principle.

He believed there would be "a lot of benefit" in trying to come to an early accord on basic constitutional principles such as a multi-party state, a unitary SA and the need to hold regular elections.

As an interim measure, government was prepared to negotiate channels by which organisations outside the tricameral system could influence decisions taken in Parliament. But, he stressed, government was not prepared to abdicate power.

Govt halts release of prisoners

Star
13/10/90

11A

62 7 Saturday Star October 13 1990

Prisoners

FROM PAGE 1

ing in Cape Town on Monday and acted in bad faith when he addressed the National Party's Cape congress that night.

The ANC questioned the Government's bona fides and Mr de Klerk's integrity. The ANC released a document which served as the basis for Monday's discussions, in which it attacked the Government on security issues.

Shortly before flying to Portugal on Thursday, Mr de Klerk denied the charge. He asked why the ANC had made this claim three days later, and shortly before he was due to go overseas?

He said the ANC was under pressure because of its adherence to policies which had proved a dismal failure throughout the world.

Responding to the attack, the ANC said last night that its differences with the Government would be taken up at unspecified discussions between the two parties.

According to a statement released last night, the ANC said it was only seeking the full implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes as agreed between itself and the Government.

It said it was encouraged that the Government was prepared to proceed according to the letter and spirit of the working group report.



h as Wolf-Peter Pfumfer and Jan van Beukering lead husband and wife team Arnold and Estelle Matthee

DURBAN — THE release of political prisoners has been temporarily held up by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, as relations between the Government and the African National Congress worsened this week amid allegations of bad faith, broken confidences and headline exchanges.

Details worked out by a joint ANC-Government committee for the release of prisoners have been clouded in secrecy, and Mr Coetsee said yesterday it was not possible to proceed with the process.

He said the Government was ready to move "in a phased manner" on two reports drawn up by the working group established by the Groote Schuur Minute — one dealing with the definition of political offences, time scales, norms and mechanisms, and the other on a plan for the release of prisoners and granting of indemnity.

Accepted

Both reports had been accepted by the Government and the ANC, he said.

The Government said on Monday that it would announce guidelines defining political offences by yesterday.

Yesterday Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines and related procedures "until clarity is reached on certain press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen, nevertheless purporting to be official".

"These pronouncements appear to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the working group reports expressly accepted by the ANC."

Coetsee slams statements by 'faceless' ANC

MARTIN CHALLENGOR

Mr Coetsee said this decision had been conveyed to the ANC. "The Government is ready to proceed according to the letter and spirit of these documents once the ANC has clarified its press statements in this regard," Mr Coetsee said.

But in a response that differed markedly from the hostile words exchanged this week between the ANC and the Government, the ANC said last night that it was "encouraged that Mr Coetsee has stated that the Government is ready to proceed according to the letter and spirit of the reports of the working groups to which both parties have agreed".

"The faithful implementation of the agreements is all the ANC has been seeking."

Political observers believe that a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela will now have to take place to clear the air between the two sides, as happened in the past when relations between the two former deadly enemies began to fade.

Both sides have said they remained committed to negotiations.

The ANC said on Thursday that President de Klerk had betrayed confidences of the ANC-Government meeting.

TO PAGE 2.

13/10/90

Dissident's murder covered up — ANC

NICHOLAS Dyasop, the African National Congress dissident who narrowly escaped death from an assassin's bullet in June, has accused Transkei's police of covering up the murder of his co-dissident, Siphon Pungulwa.

Mr Dyasop, one of eight ANC dissidents who returned to South Africa in May after being detained without trial by the ANC in Angola, told Saturday Star: "Transkei police are deeply involved in a cover-up."

Followed

He quoted the commander of the Umtata police station as saying he had been ordered to lay off the case by politicians.

Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa, who is known to have cordial relations with top ANC leaders, denied that Transkei police were covering up for the assassins, alleged by Mr Dyasop to be ANC men.

According to Mr Dyasop, he and Mr Pungulwa were followed by two men after they visited

PATRICK LAURENCE

the ANC office in Umtata and shot at. One of the assassins had been present in the office, he said.

Mr Dyasop was not hit and managed to escape but Mr Pungulwa was hit in the leg and later shot dead. "I could hear more shots and cries from Siphon," Mr Dyasop said.

In a later statement to Saturday Star on October 7 Mr Dyasop charged that Transkei police had made three appointments to meet him to investigate the killing but failed to turn up on all three occasions.

They had promised to bring him photographs of suspects to see whether they included the alleged killers, Mr Dyasop said.

The first appointment was to meet in Johannesburg in July, the second was to meet at a police station in East London on October 4, and the third was to meet at the same East London venue on

October 5.

The venues were outside Transkei because Mr Dyasop did not feel safe in Transkei after the murder.

Mr Dyasop said: "I feel it is my right, and in my interests to track down those who killed my friend... Why does Chris Hani (chief of staff of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe) not even comment on the death of a former body guard of three years?"

After accusing the ANC of meeting dissidents "secretly" in a bid to dissuade them from talking to the media, he said: "Now that Transkei police do not want to investigate the case, I have to fight for a judicial commission of inquiry into the atrocities committed by the ANC in exile."

Pausing for emphasis, Mr Dyasop added: "I do not take the death of Siphon as an isolated event but as a continuation of what happened in exile."

Commenting on Mr Dyasop's reluctance to go to Transkei to assist in the investigation, General Holomisa said: "He is free to come here with the protection of the South African Police or on his own."

He accused Mr Dyasop and his co-dissidents of working with the SAP and the SABC in a bid to blame the Transkei authorities and to discredit the ANC.

Abused

The dissidents, however, have emphasised their quarrel is not with the ANC per se but with individuals in the ANC who allegedly abused their power by crushing dissent and detaining dissenters.

"We re-affirm our support for the original principles upon which the ANC was based. Our high regard for Mr Nelson Mandela is in no way diminished. We therefore appeal to him... to ensure that our demands for public inquiries do not fall on deaf ears."

CAPE TOWN 13/10/90
**ANC man shot
dead at meeting**

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mdantsane trade unionist Mr Jeff Wabena was shot dead during an African National Congress branch meeting last night.

A witness, who declined to be named, said Mr Wabena had just finished speaking at the ANC NU10 branch meeting when a man wearing a stocking over his head burst into the house in Mdantsane with a handgun and shot him four times in the upper chest at point blank range.

Mr Wabena was reported dead on arrival at Cecilia Makiwane hospital.

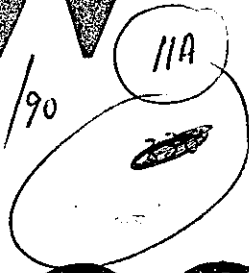
Ciskei police could not be reached for comment last night.

Mr Wabena was chairman of the ANC's NU10 branch and national co-ordinator of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwu).

Yesterday's was the fourth attempt on Mr Wabena's life since 1988, his attorney Mr Hintsu Siwisa said last night.

Row delays exiles' return

CAPT TINTS 13/10/90



THE growing row between the government and the ANC took a serious turn last night when the Minister of Justice effectively stopped the process for the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Following the ANC's accusation on Thursday of a breach of faith by President F W de Klerk, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, last night declined to release the guidelines on "political" offences until the ANC had cleared up press statements by "faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen".

Inside:
DE KLERK: EUROPE HAS TO HELP RESCUE AFRICA
See PAGE 3

And in Pretoria, a government spokesman confirmed that this "may delay" the further release of "political" prisoners and the return of exiles.

Mr Coetsee was apparently referring to allegations by the ANC's Mr Saki Macozoma and Ms Gill Marcus on Thursday that the government had committed a breach of faith by releasing information stemming from

Monday's meeting with the ANC in Cape Town.

Mr Coetsee said in Pretoria last night that the government would have released the guidelines yesterday.

"It is, however, not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines and related procedures until clarity is reached on certain press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen, nevertheless purporting to be official."

Mr Coetsee said these pronouncements appeared to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the working group reports accepted by the ANC.

He said the decision had been conveyed to the ANC.

"The government is ready to proceed ac-

ording to the letter and spirit of these documents once the ANC has clarified their press statements in this regard."

The ANC said that differences between itself and the government would be taken up at unspecified discussions between the two parties.

According to a placatory ANC statement released by its Department of Information and Publicity last night, the ANC was seeking only the full implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes as agreed to between the government and the ANC.

"The ANC has taken note of the press statement released by Mr Coetsee today and the issues it raises," the ANC statement said.

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P.T.O.

Ideas on economy are moving closer

cl/press 14/10/90

(11A) (11)

THE working document on economic policy which the ANC has drawn up after a meeting in Harare last month, shows many remarkable similarities to the government's economic plans.

But the economic division of the ANC, headed by Tito Mboweni, goes out of its way to cover up these similarities.

Economic terminology usually used by economists in the private sector is avoided. Instead, terms are used which would be more acceptable to ANC supporters.

In the 1985 Kleu Report on industrial policy it was accepted in government circles that the policy of export replacement, devised to encourage growth, was something of the past. It had been applied successfully since the 1930s.

In the long-term economic policy document accepted in 1987 after the historic Pretoria meeting between the government and the private sector, three growth areas were identified. These were export, inward industrialisation – industrialisation for the local market – and import replacement. It was decided to implement all three, but with the accent on export promotion.

Contrary to this, inward industrialisation was only to be encouraged passively. All that would be done was to remove obstacles in its way by deregulation.

Import replacement would initially take a back seat.

Inward industrialisation was put forward by senior vice-president of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr Jan Lombard. In the late 1970s he formulated the theory that the productivity and income of blacks would increase as they became better educated and came into contact with the formal business sector.

The demand for basic consumer goods like food, clothes and household appliances, would rise. All these products could be manufactured locally without building factories equipped with expensive imported machinery.

The Gross National Product (GNP) would grow,

The economic thinking of the ANC, the government and the private sector are moving closer to each other, a special financial correspondent reports.

while the demand for luxury imported goods would change to more simple consumer goods. The new pattern would lessen South Africa's thirst for imported goods.

The process has gained momentum because progress has been made with deregulation. A start has also been made on creating infrastructure for new black cities and increasing expenditure on social services such as education, medical services and housing in the black communities.

The latest ANC document shows remarkable similarities to this approach towards growth.

The accent is placed on inward industrialisation – now called growth by redistribution – with export promotion taking a close second place. Import replacement is totally ignored.

While the government supports inward industrialisation passively, the ANC wants to promote it actively. The document spells out in broad terms how momentum should be given to this process of "growth by redistribution" (read "inward industrialisation").

The idea of "growth by redistribution" has already been promoted for a considerable time by development economists at universities such as Stellenbosch, the Western Cape and Cape Town.

It is accepted internationally that an extremely unequal distribution of wealth and welfare can hamper economic growth.

It happens because the needs of rich people have largely been met. Should their income be increased further, they will only spend a fraction and save the rest.

On the other hand, poor people spend all their money. When policies are applied to ensure a gradual process of equalisation, the demand for goods increases faster than when the income of wealthy people is increased.

Inward industrialisation is used to ensure a more equal distribution of income.

A moderate approach is being proposed by the ANC. Until recently, criticism of the ANC's economic policy was based on concern that the ANC would want to carry out economic restructuring – through nationalisation, for example – dramatically and quickly. This would be detrimental to business and investor's confidence.

In the ANC's new document the need to carry out restructuring fast and dramatically falls away. Nationalisation is no longer mentioned. Most of the measures billed to ensure "growth by redistribution" will be introduced over a period.

The latest working document – which can be called the second generation of the ANC's economic thinking – is still a generation behind that of the South African Chamber of Business' recent document on the economy.

While the ANC document still ponders what the growth engine for the economy must be, the Sacob document accepts it must be exports and industrialisation.

It then concentrates on ways and means of involving blacks more productively into the mainstream of the economy.

The latest ANC document confirms that the public debate on a new economic system for South Africa is bearing fruit. While the Sacob document shows to what extent the business community has already reviewed its "radical" views, the ANC document shows to what extent the ANC has changed its direction since the beginning of this year.

There is still much to be said in this debate. But it has already moved past the emotive issue of nationalisation.

Working document represents a shift in ANC economic thinking

C/PRESS 14/10/90

THE ANC's working document on a new economic system contains several ideas not previously mentioned by the organisation.

The point of departure of the September document is that market forces on their own cannot achieve enough to remove inequalities in the economy. To achieve this, the government of the day must assist.

For this purpose a national development plan (NDP) will be drawn up. The government will co-ordinate its implementation. Inputs will be invited from all interested groups, including the private sector.

The key elements of the NDP include:

- The creation of a new pattern of demand (see report on this page);
- A national welfare programme supported by the government;
- Employers and employees will be compelled to contribute towards an unemployment insurance plan;
- The state will provide sufficient serviced building sites, but will not become involved in the construction of houses. This will be left to the communities;
- The manufacturing sector will be turned into the growth engine of the economy;
- The system of taxation will be used to encourage the development of new mines;
- Ways and means of adding value to South Africa's minerals before they are exported, will be investigated;
- A commission to draw up a policy for land reform has been formed;
- Accent will be on environment-friendly growth; and
- Legislation and programmes will be introduced to eliminate inequalities in the workplace. Comprehensive education and training programmes will be

launched. Special efforts will be made to train blacks for technical, professional and managerial jobs.

Other ideas, apart from the NDP, include:

- The banking sector will be rationalised and restructured. The creation of new financial institutions to be controlled by the state, will be considered;
- The system of taxation will be changed gradually. The tax burden will be moved to companies;
- The system of foreign currency control will be retained and reviewed;
- A high level of economic management will be maintained. Large shortages, increases in public debt and the practice of financing running expenditure by means of loans, will be avoided;
- Trade unions are guaranteed a central role in developing economic policy; and
- The private sector will play a central role in the creation of wealth.

APOLOGY

CITY PRESS hereby tenders an apology to Mr Abdul Bhamjee for any embarrassment or inconvenience caused by the publication of a letter under the heading "ARE BLACKS REALLY SUCH FAILURES" in our editions of March 17 and 19, 1989.

We unconditionally withdraw the allegations of impropriety made against Mr Bhamjee in the letter. The matter between Mr Bhamjee and *City Press* was settled for an undisclosed sum.

C/110 14/10/92

Knifeman believed he was God's son

By S'BU MNGADI

Bus victims from same area as beach attackers

MOST of the passengers on the Putco bus attacked this week came from the same squatter camp as the eight youths held by police after they rampaged through Durban's beachfront, stabbing eight whites.

A crack police team was on Thursday appointed to head investigations into the cold-blooded killing of six people and the injuring of 27 others in a bus near KwaMashu on Tuesday night - amid an SAP spokesman's dismissal as "pure speculation" allegations that whites were involved in the ambush.

Because of the dark and the speed of the attack, none of the survivors interviewed by *City Press* were able to identify the killers.

Mandla Nene, a Durban City Council security guard, said the attackers' vehicle - an Opel Monza - drew alongside the bus before its occupants sprayed it with bullets.

He was seated in the third seat from the back.

The packed Putco bus was taking passengers from Durban's Lorne Street to Inanda New Town A, when it was ambushed near Duffs Road at about 10.30pm on Tuesday.

Many of the passengers came from New Town A and a squatter camp bordering Ntuzuma and New Town.

Sipho Cele, 19, told *City Press* he knew many of the passengers, because they came from his squatter camp - named "Training" after the nearby Ntuzuma College of Education.

All except one of the eight youths held under emergency regulations after their rampage on Durban's beachfront on Tuesday morning, which left eight white people with stab wounds, came from Qeleze squatter camp in the same area. Cele recognised them from the names given to him by *City Press*.

About 30 youths allegedly invaded a urios shop on the beachfront and helped themselves to hunting knives from a counter.

The gang then went on the rampage, attacking and stabbing a number of whites. The eight youths who are being held under emergency regulations are Sith-nbiso Tembe, 24; Zamokuhle Sithole, 24; qe Ngcobo, 26; Mduduzi Buthelezi, 19; beki Radebe, 19; and three minors.

Most of the youths wore PAC badges or shirts, police said. The badges read: "Vic-y, no compromise". The T-shirts read

"PAC of Azania" on the front and "Armed people, liberate Azania, Uboqo Akaletiwa" on the back.

According to residents of the squatter camp, the alleged leader of the group, Jeqe Ngcobo, who is still in serious condition at Addington Hospital, was a "lunatic".

He led a sect called the "Nine Vites" and was often seen preaching down the streets of Ntuzuma, Inanda New Town and the squatter camp.

Describing the bizarre background of Ngcobo, residents said he believed God's real name was "Holy John Africa" and was African. Ngcobo believed he was Holy John Africa's son.

According to police, he had also told them in the past that Mongolians, Mohammedans and Christians had liberated themselves between the years one and 1990. He believed blacks would liberate themselves in 1990 - hence the "Nine Vites".

Meanwhile police public relations officer in Durban, Lieut Bala Naidoo, warned it was irresponsible to blame any person for the bus ambush.

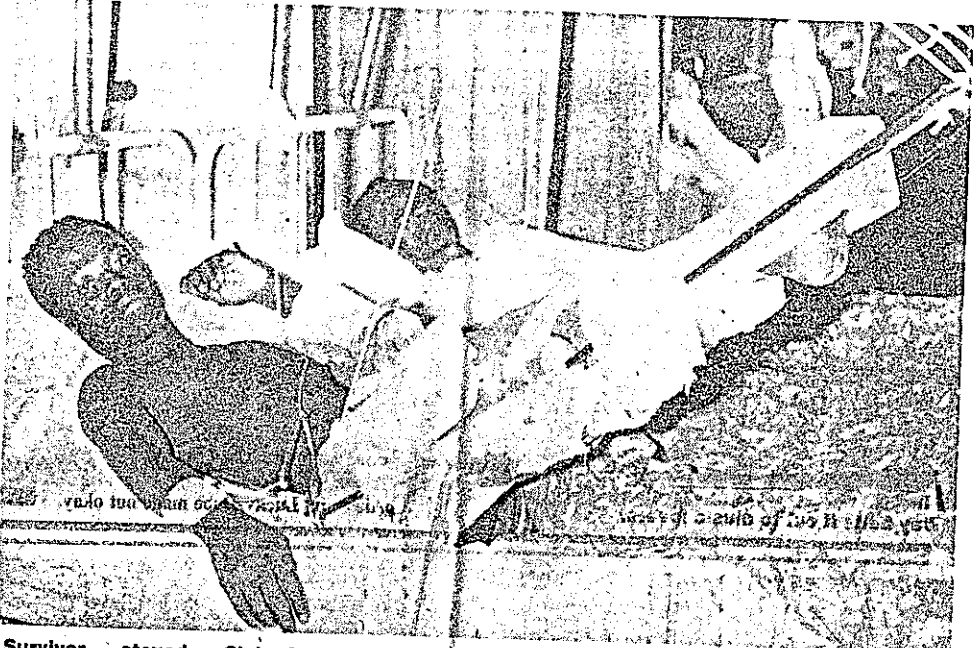
"We will not make further comments until the matter is fully investigated. But one thing is certain - we will not leave any stone unturned to bring the culprits to book," Naidoo said.

Police said they were definitely investigating the possibility the PAC could be involved in Tuesday's beachfront attack.

Police said they had found a book containing the PAC constitution and PAC badges on the scene. In addition several of the eight people being held were carrying PAC membership cards.

The PAC has also launched its own investigation into the stabbings, while at the same time denying the organisation was involved, said PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

Residents of Ntuzuma and the nearby squatter camp, told *City Press* Ngcobo had been preaching for the whole of Monday and had invited youths to the beach for a night vigil. The youths stayed overnight at the beachfront.



Survivor... Steve Siphos Cele (front) saw a fellow passengers' chest ripped open by bullets.

Happy holiday mood on fatal bus

By S'BU MNGADI

SIPHO Cele, 19, was taking a nap on a bus when he was violently woken by a volley of bullets which ripped through his right thigh, fracturing his femur.

A woman sitting near Cele, two seats from the driver, collapsed in a heap as her chest burst open when bullets struck a Putco bus destined for Inanda's New Town A.

Cele, a temporary labourer with a Durban stevedoring company, had taken the bus which left Durban's Lorne Street at 10.30pm, tired after his second working day.

"My body was still aching from the day's work at the harbour and I had dragged myself to the bus terminus," he said.

The mood inside the bus was jovial as many people were not working the following day, Kruger Day. "Other people were taking a nap like myself," Cele recounted.

He suddenly heard the window on his right side shatter and his body was violently shaken. "I felt as if my right leg had been cut off. It became numb. Almost at the same time the woman on my left had her chest ripped open by bullets. She collapsed without uttering a sound."

The shooting lasted for about a minute.

Some passengers pleaded with the driver not to lose control.

Driver Joking Msomi's only reply was: "I am dying. I have also been shot." He managed to drive the bus for about 30 metres before pulling it off Duffs Road.

Unable to move his legs, Cele lay on the floor as other passengers stumbled over him. After crawling out, he hid in tall grass nearby in case the attackers returned.

The bus driver died a few min-

utes later. Passengers were full of praise for the bravery he showed in controlling the bus.

Police confirmed nearly every passenger in the bus was hurt in the attack that left six people dead and 27 injured. They said RI and AK47 automatic rifles were used.

Mandla Nene, a Durban City Council security guard, was seated in the third seat from the back of the bus when he noticed an Opel Monza-type car pull up alongside on the two-lane Duffs Road near the Corobrik factory.

The occupants fired a volley of bullets for about 50 meters before speeding past.

Those injured in the attack were treated at King Edward VIII Hospital and Osindisweni Hospital in Verulam.

Detectives from the SAP Special Investigation Unit will investigate the case.

~~SECRET~~ (11A)

Sachs: Warmth needed

By ZB MOLEFE

Apartheid's crime was to deny our humanity

ALBIE Sachs refuses to be bitter.

Instead a warm smile crosses his ravaged features which recall the horrific Maputo bomb blast which nearly killed him two years ago.

His right arm was blown off when he opened the door of a booby-trapped car intended for ANC East Berlin chief Indres Naidoo.

Naidoo says: "I could not believe my eyes ... parts of the car were scattered many metres away. There was blood everywhere and worst of all, pieces of flesh were lying about on the street."

Despite the attack and the months of solitary confinement before he was driven into 24 years of exile, Sachs is calm and not revengeful.

"Why should I be bitter? It is not a question of forgiveness. It is more the question of who we are."

"We are not like them.

"We are not like them. We must never allow ourselves to be like them ... to make us take their values, their cruelty."

He was amazed how people responded to his tragedy "I found people crying for me.

"They wanted me to be alive. I felt it through the nurses, the doctors. Everybody."

When he was transferred to a London hospital he experienced the same human warmth.

This is the very thing he has tried to bring out in his books.

"I think South Africans are longing to find that humanity. But our society has made it difficult. I think this is the crime of apartheid," he says.

How does he react to Afrikaners and apartheid now that he is back from exile?

"Samora (former Mozambican President Machel) used to say racism knows no frontiers. Afrikaners in their fight for freedom at some stage suffered domination and oppression.

"Now they are being asked to liberate themselves from something they imposed on themselves and others."

But he finds the element of confession in the Afrikaner Calvinistic tradition unsettling. "I don't want anybody to get on their knees and confess. I want us to get on with a new South Africa."

You soon realise you

cannot talk to Sachs about anything without bringing in the question of art as a political weapon. Or its handmaiden, the cultural worker.

He is very careful to say that he is not pointing fingers, because he himself used the term cultural worker for almost 20 years.

"But sometimes we can hide behind this thing, cultural worker. Not take responsibility for what we are doing. I think a painter should paint; a writer must write, the musician must make music.

"We mustn't attach the word 'worker' to give us a proletarian characteristic. If I am not a worker in the sense it is understood, I mustn't be-

come a pseudo-worker by using a label."

He agrees art had been used as a weapon of liberation, but this had become a barrier "to the freedom we want to enjoy".

"I have this image of snakes as a reptile that needs its skin to protect itself. As it reaches a certain stage it must shed this skin to be able to move properly.

"I think we (artists) are like that. It's like armour that protected us, but it (art as a liberation weapon) can become heavy. Now my view is that we have reached that stage to explore, to take chances. We need to be open."

How does Sachs, as a constitutional lawyer, see the future?

"My major task is to contribute as a member of the ANC constitutional committee, to provide back-up for the (ANC) leadership who will be negotiating."

PAC cell smashed in bush raid

By HERMAN JANSEN
Gaborone

THE arrest in Botswana of two separate groups belonging to South African liberation movements has sparked off fears of renewed terrorist infiltration into South Africa.

Botswana police deputy commissioner Norman Moleboge has denied a link between the arrest of the two groups, which were rounded up within hours of each other in a village near the South African border, a Lobatse mountain hideout and a "safe-house" in Gaborone.

But the Sunday Times can reveal that four men arrested this week near the Ramatlabana border post with South Africa for being in possession "of arms of war" are members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Said Mr Moleboge: "During interrogation they told my men they belonged to the PAC."

IAA
Serious

The men were carrying three AK-47 rifles, 451 rounds of ammunition and 12 hand-grenades when they were arrested.

The names listed on the charge sheet are Mzimkhulu Bixa, 25, of Port Elizabeth; Aron Gqaga, 25, of East London; Lawrence May, 22; and Ratumelo Mokgotho, 35, of Bophuthatswana.

Three of the men made brief appearances in court and are still in custody.

Meanwhile, the second-in-command of the ultra-militant Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was arrested in another swoop by Botswana police after the discovery of a BCMA "hide-out" near the South African border.

Nkutzoeu "Skaap" Motsau, 37, secretary of defence in the central committee of the BCMA and its military wing Azania, was arrested in a Gaborone "safe-house" with



HIDEOUT ... teacher Sandile McBrian-Mpughose in the 'safe-house' where Botswana police arrested two BCMA members
Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

a group of other South African exiles last weekend.

Motsau, who grew up in the Free State and left South Africa in 1983, appeared briefly in the Gaborone Magistrate's Court on Thursday in connection with the murder of two BCMA members.

South Africans Tsekane Seepa and Sizwe Dlamini were killed during in-fighting within the movement. Their bullet-riddled bodies were found in graves near a secret camp in the Lobatse hills.

The other men held in connection with the killings have been named as Harrison Phiri, 21, Louis Koalane, 23, Neville Alexandra, 17, Nick Bell, 29, and Bethuel

Motaung, 24 — most of whose addresses were given as a "safe-house" in Partial location in Gaborone.

The six are in custody and will appear in court again on October 25.

But Mr Moleboge played down the significance of the discovery of the secret camp.

"I would rather call it a hide-out in the area where these people had been staying. Some were arrested there," he said.

"We found three handguns, 19 rounds of ammunition, sleeping bags and eating utensils. There were no buildings — they used a depression in a cliff."

Fifteen BCMA members

and sympathisers were originally rounded up for questioning about the killings.

One of the men detained for four days, but later released, was Sandile McBrian-Mpughose, 28, a Gaborone teacher.

Mr McBrian-Mpughose, a former "resources person" for Azapo and a "language adviser" to the BCMA, said only Mr Motsau and Mr Motaung were arrested at the safe-house.

A spokesman for the BCMA in Harare said yesterday the movement viewed the arrests in a "very serious light" and BCMA leaders were already in Botswana seeking clarification.

Mandela secures release of marchers

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday intervened to secure the release of 32 marchers arrested by police in Soweto.

The 32 took part in a march which demanded the release of political prisoners.

The decision to free the ANC supporters came after a meeting between Mandela and regional commander of the Soweto police, Maj-Gen Johan Swart.

Mandela met the police chief at the Moroka police station just hours before he flew to India.

Addressing hundreds of cheering ANC supporters at Rockville's Elkah Stadium, Mandela said it was decided the protest march should be post-

poned to next weekend, and that permission should be sought.

It had also been agreed that no charges would be laid against the 32, who were warned to appear at the Protea Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

Mandela also urged police, who had locked five people in the back of their van, to release them.

A senior police officer on the scene, who refused to identify himself, said the five would first be taken to the Moroka police station from where they would be released.

The ANC leader then said goodbye to the crowd before departing for Jan Smuts Airport.

Earlier yesterday, police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the marchers. Several people were injured.

The situation became tense when a large contingent of police in armoured vehicles patrolled the streets, while others stood guard at the Elka Stadium where the march started.

Police liaison officer Maj-Ray Harrald said police had warned a gathering of the marchers that their intended action was illegal. The marchers had been warned that action would be taken if they proceeded with the march.

When they broke the agreement at 11am they were warned again and when they began to leave the stadium,

teargas and rubber bullets were fired.

Maj Harrald added that six people – three men and three women – were injured as a result of police action and were taken to Baragwanath Hospital for treatment.

Police armed with shotguns chased youths into yards of nearby houses, while some protesters – most of them women – handed themselves over to the police for arrest.

South African Youth Congress (Sayco) official Parks Tau said organisers of the march had not yet established the number of injured. Three ambulances had arrived on the scene and emergency officials helped the injured. – Sapa.

ANC man shot dead

MDANTSANE trade unionist Jeff Wabena was shot dead during an ANC branch meeting in the township on Friday night. *Callen 11/10/90* *944 11A*

A witness said Wabena had just finished speaking when a man wearing a stocking over his head burst into the house with a handgun and shot him four times in the chest. *944*

He was reported dead on arrival at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

Ciskei police could not be reached for comment.

Wabena was chairman of the ANC NU10 branch and an official of the SA Domestic Workers' Union.

It was the fourth attack on Wabena's life, his lawyer Hintsia Siwisa said.

Azapo world jaunt

Sunday Times Reporter

MEMBERS of the Azanian People's Organisation left this weekend for an international fundraising tour. The high-powered team — comprising publicity secretary Strini Moodley, president Ithumeleng Mosala and vice-president Peter Jones — will meet members of government and anti-apartheid organisations in England, the

Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and India over the next few weeks. (11A)

Accompanying the party will be a member of the external wing of Azapo, Mosibudi Mangena, of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Mr Moodley said the team would also explain Azapo's stance on negotiations for a new constitution.

ANC slammed for lack of direction

STimes 11/10/70 11A

By MANDLA TYALA

THE ANC has been shaken by criticism from its members over the handling of the recent Transvaal violence.

A top organiser has slammed ANC leaders for failing to give clear direction during the carnage which claimed 750 lives.

The concern has been echoed by the Rev Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Conference, who this week lay responsibility for the blood of the hundreds of slain people on the shoulders of leaders who refused to talk to other leaders — a clear reference to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's refusal to talk to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the root of the problem is a clash of perspectives: grassroots supporters feel the leaders should be providing the solutions, while top leadership believes local

structures should be supplying them.

PWV regional organiser and former Robben Island prisoner Andrew Mapheto has criticised the ANC in two publications — *Work in Progress*, a journal of left-wing opinion, and *Democracy in Action*, mouthpiece of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

Among Mr Mapheto's main points are:

- ANC members missed the presence and guidance of national leadership during the violence;

- People felt the ANC was paralysed and had "fallen prey to De Klerk's sweet talk";

- The image of the organisation took a powerful knock among ordinary people be-

cause of the lack of communication between the leadership and structures on the ground;

- There was an absence of "clear, considered response from the national leadership".

Mr Mapheto said: "In some instances, the youth demanded that no peace be entertained with Inkatha or the police.

"They accused the civics of selling out or acting without mandate.

"In short, there is a great deal of ignorance about some crucial ANC policies and unless attempts are made to provide an organisational reference point, vigilante groups may fill the vacuum."

In another article, Mr Mapheto said: "The collective perspective of leadership needs to be seriously reviewed since there is no evidence to support the notion that it has reached people on the ground.

Violence

"We must acknowledge that the ANC is transforming its operation from being an exiled movement to a legal entity within the country.

"This has its own limitations, which are often transferred into criticism about our ability to lead."

The ANC has conceded some of the points raised by Mr Mapheto, but maintains his overall criticism was "too harsh".

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said: "The expectation that top ANC leaders would be in every township and at every incident is unrealistic.

"Our view is that the question of co-ordination can best be handled by local leadership."

- Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before flying to India, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said he was convinced President F W de Klerk was committed to fundamental change in SA.

"I am convinced Mr De Klerk wants peace in this country," he replied when asked whether he doubted Mr De Klerk's integrity.

"We have already set in motion the machinery for resolving the differences that have now arisen. We are not neglecting this issue," Mr Mandela added.

"It is our initiative."

Angry parents fuming over ANC indoctrination camp for kids

FURIOUS parents have hit out at the organisers of a youth leadership camp, claiming it was used to "indoctrinate youths in ANC politics".

The camp's programme included discussions on violence, racism and politics — and one of the participants was a convicted ANC activist involved in a terror bombing.

Sixty schoolchildren of all races, aged between 16 and 18, were invited to the weekend youth leadership development course by a committee of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre Educational Trust in August this year.

By SHARON CHETTY

Now parents of some of the white schoolchildren and Dr Joban Steenkamp, Nationalist MP for Umhlathuzana, have slammed the Shell Trust sponsored by the multi-national oil company — "for allowing blatant left-wing politicians to brainwash the children".

And the trust has apologised to those parents who were offended by the discussions at the camp.

According to Dr Steenkamp, the parents objected to:

- The playing of an "ice-breaker"

game that had the children divided into their four race groups and imitating racial stereotypes.

While the whites were referred to as Boers, they had to describe the Indian, black and coloured children as "lazy, uncivilized, violent, unintelligent, drunken, immoral and cunning".

- The presence of ANC member Greta Apelgren who was charged and convicted for her role in the bombing of Durban's Magoo's Bar along with Death Row prisoner Robert McBride. Others were either ex-prisoners or former detainees. Parents say these claims were con-

firmed by "national intelligence sources."

- There was a bias towards the ANC and no other political viewpoints were put forward.

- Discussions centred only on political topics, and various types of violence were discussed.

- Homeland leaders were described as "collaborators" and an anti-white, anti-SAP, and anti-Inkatha viewpoint was propagated.

- The only religious element was a debate on whether churches should support violence by giving money to local "revolutionary" movements — meaning the ANC.

The programme did not include any scientific or academic content.

Dr Steenkamp, representing the group of outraged parents, said the youth camp organisers "clearly formed part of the ANC's hidden agenda" and wanted to propagate left-wing politics.

"They have used the Shell Trust's name to further their own political ends which I find totally unacceptable," he told the Sunday Times this week.

Terry McCulloch, of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre, based at the University of Natal in Durban, said he had met

with a "few" parents this week to discuss their grievances.

Mr McCulloch said a youth sub-committee which reported to an action committee had organised the course.

"The subject matter was set by the youth sub-committee with input from previous course participants and the course was led by people who were not on the staff of the centre," he said.

Mr McCulloch said he apologised to parents and pupils who had found the course offensive and said the centre was prepared to offer the affected students another course

under different leadership. He added: "The trustees had already taken certain steps and more would be taken to ensure that the high standards which have been a hallmark of the centre's work will apply to all programmes and courses run by or on behalf of the Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre Educational Trust."

Camp organiser John Paul said he was "surprised" at the complaints.

"All the youth, including the white schoolchildren, thoroughly enjoyed themselves and said at the end of the weekend that they had learnt a lot," he said.

They said that they were glad to have been shown different historical viewpoints and another side to our history.

"During the discussions everyone participated actively and put their viewpoints across strongly," said Mr Paul.

"We asked for the children's criticisms and alterations on the programme at the beginning, but nobody wanted it changed."

"Everyone agreed that the course was educational and was an eye-opener," Mr Paul added.

Social worker Miss Apelgren refused to comment.

Plea for Blacks to rebuild structures

(11A)
Sowetan
12/10/90

BLACKS should stop being spectators in socio-political issues, including school boycotts, that directly affect them, *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste said in Pretoria at the weekend.

Addressing a crowd of about 3 000 people at a fund-raising dinner at the Atteridgeville Community Hall on Saturday, Klaaste urged blacks to rebuild structures which had collapsed and to stop relying solely on political organisations or influential leaders to resolve their problems.

Klaaste, who was given a standing ovation

By MONK NKOMO

after his speech on "Nation Building", was guest speaker at the ceremony which was organised by the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Cultural Association.

Klaaste said colonialisation and slavery had destroyed large areas of "our land", and appealed to blacks to "pick up the pieces and rebuild our nation while there is still time".

Parents were today spectators in socio-political issues including school boycotts that directly affected them,

Klaaste said.

He added that there was a tendency in the black community to run to political organisations and influential leaders whenever there was a crisis in the townships.

"Children have lost respect for us because we cannot attend and resolve our own problems," he said.

Citing examples of collapsing structures and black culture, Klaaste said the youth today had turned graveyards into "political stomping grounds and nobody has tried to stop them from these disgraceful acts".

FW faces storm over ANC issues

11A

Sowden 15/10/90

STATE President FW de Klerk returns to South Africa today after a four-day visit abroad and will land in the middle of a storm between his Government and the African National Congress over the release last week of submissions made by the ANC at a meeting in Cape Town.

One of the major issues immediately facing him is the withholding of a report of the joint working group established in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria

By SY MAKARINGE

Minutes dealing with the definition and release of political prisoners, and the granting of indemnity.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said at the weekend that it was not possible to proceed with the announcement of these guidelines "until clarity is reached on certain Press statements by faceless and apparently uninformed ANC spokesmen."

Conflict

He said this appeared to be in direct conflict with the Groote Schuur

and Pretoria Minutes.

Coetsee said the decision to withhold the report was conveyed to the ANC. The Government was ready to proceed with the peace process once the ANC had clarified its Press statements, he said.

The ANC on Thursday released extracts of submissions made by the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a meeting in Cape Town last Monday, claiming a serious breach of faith on the part of the Government.

The two parties had

agreed that the submissions made at the meeting should be confidential.

The organisation questioned De Klerk's integrity and accused the Government of applying double standards.

Process

Mandela, however, has made it clear that the ANC was still determined that the peace process it had undertaken would succeed.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for the Far East, Mandela said he was convinced De Klerk was committed to fundamental change.

Mandela, Buthelezi friendship tested by struggle

Visions apart

Sowetan 15/10/90

11A



NELSON Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are old friends who find themselves in a power struggle, propelled by violence, that could delay the opportunity for blacks to govern South Africa.

The nation's two most powerful black leaders have known each other since the 1940s. Both want black majority rule, but they have different visions of the future and neither appears ready for concessions that might stop the bloodshed between their supporters.

"If the violence becomes endemic, this country could be worse off after liberation than before," a newspaper said recently.

Fighting

Mandela, leading the African National Congress, and Chief Buthelezi, conservative head of Inkatha Freedom Party, blame each other for the fighting.

"People are actually dying because the ANC will not talk with Inkatha and Mandela will not talk with me," Buthelezi said.

But Buthelezi, who also leads the KwaZulu homeland, has rejected an invitation to join other homeland leaders in talking with Mandela.

Buthelezi insists on a meeting between the two of them.

Mandela, who is even willing to meet rightwing whites, has refused.

ANC leaders say the Inkatha leader has orchestrated the factional fighting to bring about such a meeting and enhance his stature.

The quick-tempered Buthelezi bristles at the suggestion and accuses the ANC of trying to crush its black rivals.

Violence between followers of the ANC and Inkatha in black townships around Johannesburg has claimed about 800 lives since early August, but has eased somewhat in the past weeks.

In Natal, the ANC-Inkatha conflict has left about 5 000 dead since 1986.

President FW de Klerk says he wants to negotiate the end of the apartheid policy that denies political power to blacks, but that no progress is possible until the factional fighting is under control.

Mandela also wants to negotiate. But his militant young supporters in the black townships demand arms and want results.

The Inkatha leader, at 62, a decade younger than Mandela, insists his organisation be represented at black-white peace talks.

He claims the ANC wants to exclude him.

His supporters often are blamed for initiating attacks.

There are strong suspicions, though unproven, that some Inkatha supporters have acted with at least tacit approval from some sectors of the police.

The ANC, the largest black opposition group, is socialist-oriented and has fought the Government with boycotts, protests, calls for sanctions and a guerrilla campaign that was suspended in August.

Inkatha rejects those tactics and favours capitalism.

Power, more than ideology, is the focus of their conflict.

Followers

Thousands of young men beyond the leadership's control are waging what amounts to gang warfare.

In many neighbourhoods, a road becomes the dividing line between ANC and Inkatha followers.

Young men fight in the name of "Mandela" or "Buthelezi," but know little about the groups the men lead.

Buthelezi's well-tailored suits, capitalist economics and opposition to violence against the Government make him appear less threatening to whites than other black leaders.

The Government has hinted at seeking an alliance with him.

When clad in his leopard skins at Zulu ceremonies, Buthelezi also is the politician who appeals most

strongly to tribal loyalties and the Zulu warrior tradition.

He sees tribalism as a fact that must be addressed in any political settlement.

Zulus, although divided politically, are the country's largest tribe, numbering about 7 million.

Inkatha claims 1.8 million members, virtually all Zulus. While the organisation is strong among the rural poor, the ANC gets much of its support from urban, educated, middle-class blacks.

The ANC plays down ethnic differences and has national support that cuts across tribal lines. Most observers believe it would get the most votes if the country's 30 million blacks were allowed to cast ballots.

Mandela and Buthelezi both joined the ANC in the 1940s, and exchanged warm letters during Mandela's 27 years in prison.

"I remain indebted to him because of our friendship and the support that he has given to me," Mandela has said.

Exiled ANC leaders gave their blessing to Inkatha's formation in 1975, but were against Buthelezi becoming leader of the KwaZulu homeland. The ANC sees the 10 black homelands as part of the apartheid system, while Buthelezi considers them a step toward majority rule. - *Sapa-AP*

THE media has a vital role to play in helping create the climate essential for democracy, notwithstanding the myriad of laws restricting freedom of the press. These laws should be abolished.

At the turn of the century quite a number of independent, African-owned newspapers existed. They were the people's voice, one of the channels for the expression of their views and aspirations. Outstanding leaders of our people, such as John Dube who established *Ilanga*, and Sol Plaatje, both of whom were instrumental in giving birth to the African National Congress, were key figures in this process.

These independent newspapers had relatively short lives and were taken over by the monopolies. Their orientation changed dramatically, and they became tools used against our people.

The wheel has now turned full circle. Once again we have independent newspapers, such as *The Indicator*. They write and portray events and issues

from the perspective of the people, rather than that of the commercial press. We would like to pay tribute to some of the outstanding editors and journalists who have kept alive the spirit of the right to know through very difficult times.

We readily recall the courage of a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Laurence Gandar, particularly over the prisons' expose of Harold Strachan, the tenacity of the late Percy Qoboza as one after the other *The World* and *Post* were banned. We pay homage to legendary figures like Henry Nxumalo, Nat Nakasa and Can Themba who continue to inspire some of today's journalists.

The form and content of communication has changed fundamentally since I went to prison. To you who have been part of the technological revolution, perhaps it is not so extraordinary.

Integrity

But this very technology places an even greater burden of responsibility on those who wield these powers. Today's communication takes place in and invades the privacy of our homes. The news carried by television commands great authority. This means the highest integrity is demanded of both media owners and media workers.

The ANC viewpoint is

Media's vital role for democracy

CAH Tink's
15/10/90
11A

Extract of an address on freedom of expression by Nelson Mandela at the Newsmaker of the Year Award function in Lenasia last week.

that discussion and discussion is a right and is to be encouraged. We reiterate our commitment to freedom of expression.

Integral to freedom of expression is the free flow of information. This also concerns the source of information and the ability to convey timely and accurate information. This will play a crucial role in the process of transformation to democracy that is presently under way.

We are fighting for the right to express our humanity. We want open debate, contrary views, opposition and the ballot box. We will not be the new censors.

Censors

We need a strong, independent and courageous press to communicate across the divides that wreck our country, be they political, linguistic or cultural. The freer the press, the greater the possibilities for individual rights and personal liberty, for building a nation imbued with a spirit of tolerance and humanity.

It is necessary to say a few words about self-censorship and manipulation of the media. Decades of Draconian legislation and intense

harassment of the press have taken their toll.

The media is often ready to sit back and wait to be fed information, to accept what is said as the gospel truth. It is sad to say that investigative journalism, the search for the truth, is not really one of the hallmarks of the South African media today. There is a tendency to pre-empt government repression and act as our own censors.

While we do not for an instant underestimate the pressures that have been brought to bear on the media, particularly the print media, it is vital that this complacency and timidity is combated.

There is also another danger arising from this style of work that depends on being fed information, and that is manipulation of the media. There have been many instances in the past where this has occurred. But one only has to look at recent events — the hysteria, misinformation and disinformation that surrounded the "Operation Vula" incident — for an example of what I mean.

In this instance it was reported that Joe Slovo was present at a meeting in Tongaat. Yet even a superficial investigation would have revealed that he was in fact out of the country.

The state media has inconsistently functioned as a propaganda arm of the ruling party. To its shame there are many occasions, past and present, where the press has acted no differently. We certainly hope that the process of transition that is under way will also fundamentally affect attitudes that have enabled and condoned such violations of press freedom.

The new South Africa should be free from such deceit and artifice. We



SOL PLAATJE: Instrumental in giving birth to the ANC



LAURENCE GANDAR: Editor with courage

want a people who are informed, and who are therefore empowered to make considered judgments on all issues affecting their lives and the life of the nation.

This leads us to ask: What about the concentrated ownership of the press? The essence of monopoly ownership contradicts all of the above.

Control

We all know that four groups — Argus, Times Media, Perskor and Nasionale Pers — control virtually 95% of the print media in this country. Of this 50% rests with Argus.

So what is to be done with these monopolies? For a start, democratisation and the opening up of ownership is essential.

What of the SABC, both radio and television? Again it is vital to open up ownership. The ANC certainly does not want to take over the SABC. We are firmly committed to a broadcasting system that is not controlled or its content determined by political party interests, ours or any other. Radio should serve the communities, and ownership and possibilities of broadcasting should not be determined by who can afford

licence fees or studio running costs. Radio and television should serve the interests of the nation as a whole.

We reject the task force that has been set up by the SABC to investigate itself. The future of the SABC and broadcasting is a matter for all of us to determine.

We support the campaign for an open media, and hope that the way forward in the broad media will be decided by all of us together, politicians and media workers, communities and professionals.

Although we are deeply committed to the freedom of association, speech, assembly etc, we recognise that no such freedom is absolute. Such freedoms exist within the framework of the constitution of the land.

We have said that we will not allow the preaching of racism, and hope that this, in line with numerous human rights documents and as in post-war Germany, will be enshrined in our constitution. Therefore any violation will not be a matter of censorship — and I sincerely hope we should not have a censorship board in a free South Africa — but a matter for the courts and the due process of the law.

thanks God
arlboro man

their rights be re- for the next five years to buy
to divide the Sovi- all the butts in Philip Morris."
p into Smoking and "When it comes to smoking,
ing sections. The Russians have it made."
ill live in Siberia — "Not exactly," Boris said.
smokers in the "We're still lacking."
"In what?" I asked.
d the tobacco deal "Matches. The US deal
didn't include matches."

Unity Movt president Tabata dies

CNC 15/10/90
III

Staff Reporter

ONE of the foremost theoreticians of the liberation struggle and Unity Movement president Mr Isaac Bangani Tabata, 81, has died in Harare after a long illness.

Mr Tabata, who went into exile in 1963, was also president of the African People's Democratic Union (Apdusa).

An outstanding orator, he had a political career which spanned 60 years.

He was the first African leader to receive a five-year banning order, in 1956.

Mr Tabata was the author of the famous pamphlet "The Boycott as Weapon of Struggle", and the 1959 tract "Education for Barbarism", which was about Bantu Education in South Africa.

After the Suppression of Communism Act was passed, he was one of the first people listed and all his works were thus effectively banned.

Mr Tabata was born near Queenstown in the Cape, and educated at Lovedale and Fort Hare University.

He and Ms Jane Gool, whom he later married, were involved in resistance to the 1936 Land Act before it became law.

He was arrested in 1948 in Pondoland while organising resistance against a "rehabilitation scheme".

In 1961 he and others formed Apdusa, and two years later he went into exile to seek recognition and support for the Unity Movement and the struggle in South Africa.

An Apdusa member said yesterday that Mr Tabata's efforts abroad had been "systematically balked".

The Unity Movement is a left-wing organisation slightly outside the mainstream of resistance to apartheid. It is famous for its policy of "non-collaboration with the instruments of oppression".



Mr I B Tabata

I was impressed by Joe Slovo the other day.

He appeared on a television programme which must have been awaited eagerly by those like me, who thought Slovo would have extreme difficulty explaining his position vis-a-vis religion to such

Darkly sinister

Sowetan 15/10/90

11A

an obviously religious audience. Joe Slovo is a Communist.

He is also an atheist. These positions are con-

sidered to be darkly sinister, deeply suspicious, alien, activist to the Calvinist mind and, I daresay to many South Africans.

May I, in parenthesis, say something about some SABCTV interviewers whose approach to interviewing is crude and clumsy. There was, for instance the programme which featured ANC economists.

The interviewers showed they had the knives out for the ANC.

Difficult

I know it is difficult, but the good interviewer is not blatantly partisan even if the occasional thrust and par of the sword make things more interesting.

The SABC should take a leaf from Chris Givens of 702 Radio. In fact, we all should. Chris does a solid, no-holds-barred job even if the debate is hostile.

Joe Slovo handled his plainly unpopular position concerning religion skillfully. He is a Communist, being leader of the SACP and an atheist to boot.

The interview was good for the SABCTV and South Africa, especially as so many white South Africans have an irrational fear and hate for Communism.

Many other people believe that Communism is not only anti-religion but anti-Christ.

To see a self-proclaimed Communist comporting himself in such a civilised, relaxed and liberative way, will do the debate a power of good.

I will beg your indulgence just a little more by making another detour. I do not exactly know which ideological cap fits my head, but I have been called a black liberal with great bitterness by a friend. More painfully he said there was nothing

worse than a black liberal.

The other day I met an Afrikaner intellectual wellknown to me, who sounded just as unbendable, baleful, full of bile, with the harshness of the Old Testament, as my black black friend.

They are strangely on opposite poles of the political divide, but of a set piece in their stony commitment. But for the detail, they sound exactly the same.

Committed

If to be committed, to be a revolutionary or activist means being so con-foundedly closed, so rigidly doctrinaire, then I had rather have the liberative confidence, tolerance, savvy of the New Testament.

Such people feel me with great sadness and weary the very depths of my soul. For the very passion of such people - many of them at heart wonderful guys - and I



ON
THE
LINE

Aggrey
Klaaste

might be subjective, but they are not very happy people.

The chief reason behind their stance is they take themselves just too serious. And then make the other mistake by believing they are the centre of the world. While we all do that, not to put too fine a point on it, these chaps do it with chilling passion.

The Afrikaner intellectual (no names no pack-drill) said with the most astonishing venom I have heard lately that Slovo was a fraud.

It was attacking the man, not his principles. It was taking a swipe at Slovo to say he was a

supporter of Stalinism and so on and so forth. I am Christian myself and hold no brief for Communism. But I believe I would enjoy an intellectual exchange with someone like Slovo.

Th academic cleric on the Slovo interview had such understanding. There was a lack of the hardness that so fills dogmatism. While Slovo quoted a Communist scholar, who said we should be striving to bring heaven to earth and not the other way round, he was open enough to be convinced by religious people that there was heaven up there, or hell down there, in the nether-world.

CMA T975 15/10/90 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

PRETORIA. — The chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hanı, said yesterday that he hoped negotiations would succeed because the ANC did not want to resume the armed struggle.

Addressing an ANC rally in Mamelodi, Mr Hanı said: "I don't enjoy fighting because I've seen a lot of comrades dying."

He said the present negotiations should lead to the transfer of power from a minority to a democratic majority.

"We have no secret agenda and are ready to

Hanı says he's not eager to fight again

take on the government in open elections," he said.

He also said there would be no further need of the SADF in a future SA because the country would have "a new army of all our people".

Accusing the SADF of having been "a faithful servant of the govern-

ment", he said there would be no further need for the SADF in a future South Africa, because the country would have "a new army of all our people".

While the SADF had been deployed to consolidate apartheid and racism, an army should uphold democratic laws and be accountable to a

civilian government, Mr Hanı said.

He said the government wanted to negotiate with a weakened ANC, and it was not surprising that it was attacking the ANC and trying to alienate it from the masses.

Referring to the unsolved assassination of Dr Fabian Ribeiro in

Cape Times, Monday.

Mamelodi and Mr Dirk Coetzee's allegations that he had been part of "killing machinery", Mr Hanı demanded that the government explain "the disappearance of so many of our comrades".

He said: "It's useless to say the government has changed. We want a practical demonstration that those who killed our people are brought to book."

His arrival at the Mamelodi stadium was marked by cries of "Hanı, Hanı" and clenched-fist salutes from the crowd of about 2 500. — Sapa

Mandela 'has never advocated socialism'

Political Staff

Cape Times 15/10/90

A STATEMENT by the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, that he had never advocated socialism was featured yesterday in a British newspaper, the Sunday Telegraph.

Mr Mandela made the statement in an interview with the Financial Mail and his comments were repeated in yesterday's Sunday Telegraph.

In the interview, he disputed a claim about his "so-called hardline attitude on socialism".

Mr Mandela added: "I have never advocated socialism at all; in none of my speeches have I advocated socialism."

He said he had not departed from the point of view he stated in 1956 that the Freedom Charter would lead

to the flourishing of capitalism among Africans as never before.

Mr Mandela also said he did not think there was any organisation which was more flexible than the ANC in regard to nationalisation.

"In the Freedom Charter we declared for the nationalisation of the mines, financial institutions and monopoly industry.

"We selected only these three sectors because of the important role they play in the economic development of this country.

"In the meetings we have had with South African business we have made it clear we are not committed to nationalisation.

"State participation is just one of the options which we are examining" to address the imbalance in the control of the country's economy.

Cape Times 15/10/90
11A

Mbeki denies ANC repatriation 'foul-up'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The repatriation of an estimated 30 000 exiled ANC members is not being headed by Mrs Winnie Mandela but by Mr Jackie Selebi, a member of the organisation's National Executive Committee, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said yesterday.

In a letter to the Independent on Sunday yesterday, the ANC secretary for international affairs also denied a series of allegations of mismanagement of the repatriation process, made by columnist R W Johnson, who is Fellow in Politics at Magdalen College, Oxford.

Mr Mbeki said that at the ANC's initiative, a National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation of South African exiles (NCC) was established in South Africa.

"Detailed discussions have begun

with donor governments regarding disbursement of funds they have voted for the repatriation process. These funds were requested by the ANC but will, in the main, be disbursed through the NCC."

This counters Mr Johnson's claim that Mrs Mandela would find herself "handling large sums of money for distribution to various exiles".

He also denied a claim by Mr Johnson that census forms distributed to exiles contained a "loyalty pledge" to the ANC.

On a further claim that the ANC was about to "mess up" the whole repatriation process, Mr Mbeki said: "We are taking all necessary steps to ensure that no mess occurs, precisely because we are dealing with the lives and welfare of human beings who have already suffered pain because of exile."

**ANC to
request
indemnity
for 6 000**

CHP-7245 15/10/90
HP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The ANC will soon submit to government the names of 6 000 of its exiled supporters needing indemnity — double the previous number it hoped would be allowed to return immediately to SA.

A spokesman for the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC), which is overseeing repatriation and reception plans, confirmed the number of exiles expected to return.

ANC sources said yesterday that all but a handful of the exiles expected to return soon were guilty only of leaving the country illegally.

They predicted that the ANC would decide today or tomorrow how to respond to the government's decision on Friday not to release the joint working group reports on political offences, indemnity and the release of prisoners.

Indian award for Mandela 11/11

NEW DELHI - India announced yesterday it was awarding its highest civilian honour to Mr Nelson Mandela. ~~Mr~~

Mandela, only the second non-Indian to be given the Bharat Ratna, will receive the award tomorrow from President Ramaswamy Venkataraman. *Swelam 15/10/90*

The only other non-Indian to receive the award was Afghanistan's Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. *Sapa-Reuter.*

Star 16/10/90 (11A) (11)

India gives Mandela R2-m, pledges more

NEW DELHI — The Indian government has set aside a R2,8-million fund that will be “readily available” to the ANC in a free South Africa.

And, presenting Nelson Mandela with a cheque for about R2 million, Prime Minister V P Singh told him a larger aid package would be worked out.

The ANC deputy leader was given what amounted to a State welcome, including a guard of honour at the presidential palace but excluding a 21-gun salute.

Speaking at the ceremony, Mr Mandela told

his hosts that Indian statesman Mahatma Gandhi — who began his movement while in South Africa — “is our own national hero”, adding that Indians and oppressed blacks had suffered the inhuman treatment together.

“History has condemned us to seek each other out and deal with each other as members of the same family,” he said.

He told his hosts that his talks with the South African Government were “constructive and on course”. — Sapa-
Reuter.

ANC, govt to patch up their differences

8102716/10/90

THE ANC and government are set to patch up their recent differences and put the release of political prisoners and granting of indemnity back on track at a working group meeting today.

But ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday delays in finalising the return of exiles could force the organisation to postpone its congress due to begin on December 16 in Bloemfontein.

He said a routine working group meeting had been planned for today before the row between the parties last week.

"We assume (Justice Minister) Kobie Coetsee will seek the clarification he referred to in his statement on Friday, and expect to sort out the differences in interpretation which emerged last week."

Coetsee announced on Friday that government was unwilling to announce the guidelines and procedures "for the release of prisoners and the granting of indemnity in a phased manner" that had been agreed to by the parties, until the ANC had clarified statements that appeared to contradict the working group reports and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes.

ALAN FINE and
PETER DELMAR

Macozoma said it appeared to the ANC that government bureaucrats had quoted aspects of the working group accord on indemnity out of context.

"We do not believe government's political leadership would see it this way."

Other top ANC sources said yesterday they were convinced the release and indemnity process would soon be back on track and that the working group report could be released today.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman said: "The matter is progressing satisfactorily." He declined to elaborate.

Macozoma said the ANC's greatest concern was the impression created by government that each ANC member in exile would have to complete a detailed form on his or her life and political history.

The ANC believed most exiles would fall into groups categorised by the working group report, and the ANC would apply for indemnity on their behalf collectively.

□ To Page 2

ANC/govt

8102716/10/90

It was only "residual" individuals — those whose entitlement to indemnity government would question — the ANC felt would have to give detailed information.

The working group report was an elaboration of the report appended to the Pretoria Minute and defined certain categories of political offences.

Macozoma would not elaborate, as the report's contents were still confidential. But he agreed that an example of such a category could be ANC members who had received military training in exile but not carried out any operations in SA.

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The ANC was still concerned about confidentiality. Instances such as government "leaks" about confidential meetings and "verbal attacks" on deputy president Nelson Mandela by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok served to undermine the ANC's standing with its constituency.

The ANC's conference was likely to be discussed at a national executive meeting this week.

ANC sources said there had been pressure from members in exile for the postponement of the conference. They felt they should have a say in leadership elections.

ANC 'jibe' angers PAC leader Desai

6 Dwellen 16/01/90

PAC stalwart Mr Barney Desai is angry over "insinuations" by the ANC that he had returned to South Africa as a direct result of the present negotiation process and indemnity offers.

Reacting to remarks by the ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma that he (Desai) had returned because of the indemnity offer and that other PAC exiles "will take advantage" of the situation, Desai said he was angry and that the remarks were "ill-founded and ill-conceived".

Desai said he had decided to test the February 2 speech by State President FW de Klerk and applied to return.

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"I spoke to my lawyers, who consulted with the authorities and then advised me that I would not be arrested.

"The only condition was that I had to speak to the South African Police upon arrival," he said.

Desai had insisted that he first meet his family and then the SAP. This was agreed upon and he came back.

The PAC's Mr Benny Alexander said recently that the organisation would not encourage its exiles to return as they would arrive back to a situation that had not changed substantially

since 1960.

He said the recent changes were superficial as blacks were still confined to the townships, Bantu Education and subject to discriminatory laws.

Meanwhile, the ANC reported that about 6 000 exiles for whom it would seek indemnity were just the first wave of thousands more expected back.

The present list of names would be submitted to the Government "soon", Macozoma said.

There are an estimated 20 000 exiles the ANC hopes to repatriate in the next few months, most of whom are in neighbouring African states.

Differences not serious - De Klerk

22/11/90

11/11

De Klerk
16/10/90

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said on his return to South Africa yesterday that he believed the current differences between the Government and the ANC would be overcome without any real problem.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a brief visit to Portugal and Britain, De Klerk said he had been kept abreast of developments between the Government and the ANC over the last few days.

"We must realise that in the process ahead certain tensions will arise from time to time.

"I don't regard the present situation as alarming and sincerely believe that any differences between the Government and the ANC would be bridged without any real problem," he said.

De Klerk disclosed that neither British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher nor Portuguese President Mario Soares would be visiting South Africa in the foreseeable future, as both were becoming involved in upcoming elections. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Mazwai for UN seminar

Sowetan 16/10/90



SOWETAN senior assistant editor Mr Thami Mazwai leaves tonight for a special hearing of the United Nations in Geneva where he will be one of the participants in hearings on progress made towards change in South Africa.

The African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress will be sending full delegations.

Mazwai is one of three participants whose contribution to the debate will not be linked to any



THAMI MAZWAI

political organisation.

This is the second time Mazwai will address a UN-sponsored hearing. His first appearance before the world body was in 1985 at its UN headquarters in New York.

(11A)

PAC chief urged to stand down

JOHANNESBURG. — Barely three days after PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng was admitted to hospital for treatment of an advanced condition of cancer, an apparent faction of the organisation is disputing his leadership, urging him to stand down as president.

The group, who call themselves the Sobukwe Forum, claimed in a statement from the United Kingdom this week that Mr Mothopeng's presidency was unconstitutional, and urged him to join what they termed the "PAC of (Robert) Sobukwe".

Mr Mothopeng, the Sobukwe Forum claimed, was presented for the presidency by a Dar es Salaam-based faction of the PAC who had later called themselves the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) and who had adopted the slogan "One settler, one bullet".

The Sobukwe Forum statement was issued by the group's chairman, Mr Makhaola DP Bolofo, from an address in Buckinghamshire, England.

In explaining the origin of the PAM, the Sobukwe Forum said that after the banning of the PAC and the imprisonment of many of its leaders, some members fled to the US, some to Europe and others to parts of Africa.

"A small group of the younger members went to Dar es Salaam where they were subverted and financed by the Chinese, adopted Maoist principles and formed themselves into what they called the Central Committee. Later they renamed their organisation, calling it the Pan Africanist Movement," said the Sobukwe Forum.

In another startling claim, the Forum links Mr Mothopeng to the activities of the

PAC's Selby Ngendane shortly before he was gunned down by an unknown assassin in Transkei earlier in October.

The statement says that shortly before he met his death on October 4, Mr Ngendane had made an emotional appeal in writing to Mr Mothopeng asking him to renounce his title as president of the PAC and to join his colleagues in the the true National Executive Committee.

The Sobukwe Forum also claimed that at the time of his death Mr Ngendane had argued that since the PAC had been unbanned, all ad hoc structures of the organisation that had sprouted during the years of exile and underground politics should dissolve.

The Sobukwe Forum said vain attempts had been made in the past few months to reconcile the two opposing groups. — Sapa

Keep up anti-SA sanctions, Mandela asks India

CHT Tind
16/10/20
114

NEW DELHI — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for continued sanctions against Pretoria, saying apartheid was the root cause of recent violence among blacks.

He also said the violence was orchestrated by pro-apartheid forces.

"It is calculated to weaken the ANC and abort the process of achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict created and maintained by apartheid," he added.

"Apartheid is in the last throes of its demise and the present violence is indicative of that," he told a cheering throng of about 12 000 people at the Indira Gandhi Stadium.

New phase

"We have landed at a new phase of history," Mr Mandela said, adding that recent political developments were "victories of the people achieved by courageous resistance and sacrifice".

The final step was the dismantling of apartheid. "That is why we have called for the maintenance of sanctions."

Mr Mandela arrived in New Delhi to a welcome befitting a head of state.

Cavalry troopers led his cavalcade past flag-waving schoolchildren to the presidential palace where he reviewed a military guard of hon-



WARM WELCOME . . . Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by Indian Prime Minister Mr V P Singh yesterday as he arrives on a five-day visit to a head-of-state welcome. Picture: REUTER

our:

Mr Mandela said it had long been his ambition to visit India, and praised Mahatma Gandhi as the inspiration for the movement against apartheid in South Africa.

Gandhi led India to independence in 1947 with

his revolutionary non-violent campaign.

"It was Mahatma Gandhi who first applied and organised the discipline of political resistance and established the tradition of non-violent struggle in South Africa," he told reporters at the arrival cere-

mony.

"We have since been influenced by that perception," Mr Mandela said at the start of the tour that will take him to Brunei, Australia, Indonesia, Japan and Malaysia.

Mr Mandela is to receive India's highest ci-

vilian award, the Bharat Ratna, during an official ceremony today.

Tomorrow he is to fly to Agra to visit the Taj Mahal before travelling on to the Hindu holy city of Varanasi to receive a doctorate from the Banaras Hindu University. Sapa-Reuter

'Liberation won't feed the hungry'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Political liberation alone will not solve the problems posed by the "vast arm" of South Africa's poor, says Mr Mpho Mashinini, deputy director of Operation Hunger.

Mr Mashinini, a former political prisoner, is in the United Kingdom with Operation Hunger executive director Mrs Ina Perlman, to appeal for funds from British development charities.

Interviewed in the Sunday Telegraph, Mr Mashinini said: "We need international intervention. There is a big crisis here."

Operation Hunger feeds more than a million children every day. But it estimates there could be another four million undernourished children in South Africa whom it cannot help due to lack of funds.

Political liberation, Mr Mashinini said, was no longer going to be adequate to solve the problems of the poor. "We need to face our economic and educational problems now, otherwise we will be taken unawares and left behind."

And Mr Mashinini says the problems are "rising wherever we look".

"For example, the young boys whom the ANC called the Young Lions and who led the revolution full-time on the streets for five years, suddenly find that the adventure is over as we enter a new political phase.

"They have become the Lost Generation. They are not in school, because they now consider it boring and there are no jobs."

Exile issue on agenda today

CAT Tim¹⁸ 16/10/90
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was confident that the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would be put back on track at a working group meeting in Pretoria today, spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

However, he indicated that delays in finalising the return of exiles could force the organisation to postpone its conference scheduled to begin on December 16 in Bloemfontein.

Mr Macozoma said a routine working group meeting had been planned for today before the row between the two sides blew up last week.

"We assume (Justice Minister) Mr Kobie Coetsee will seek the clarification he referred to in his statement on Friday, and expect to sort out the differences in interpretation," he said.

Mr Macozoma explained that, of greatest concern to the ANC, was the impression created by government — "inconsistent with the working group report" — that each individual member of the ANC in exile would have to complete a detailed form on his or her life and political history.

In the ANC's view, most exiles fall into groups categorised by the working group report, and the ANC would apply for indemnity collectively.

● Mr Chris Hani is due to lead the ANC's delegation for the first time at the meeting today.

Crossroad residents form own ANC branch

By VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

ANC
17/10/90

DISENCHANTED ANC members in Crossroads have formed their own branch after accusing Crossroads ANC chairman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe of organising children to attack and loot their houses.

The residents in the Unathi section claimed Mr Nongwe wanted to force them to leave the camp.

They were also adamant that they did not want to be controlled by Mr Nongwe, who would "bully" them.

COLLECTIONS

Others claimed Mr Nongwe's headmen collect money from the residents' in areas under his rule.

These alleged collections include "lawyers' fees" and for funerals for Mr Nongwe's supporters.

The residents said they were upset because although they all belonged to the ANC, Mr Nongwe attacked them.

But Mr Nongwe denied the allegations.

He said: "I am not aware of any money being collected from the people. I also reject that the people had been threatened in way."

A mother of six said: "Mr Nongwe's henchmen harass us and loot our houses.

"We don't want to be involved in the squabbles of power-hungry people."

Another resident said: "In August we went to see the ANC after some of our houses were attacked by Mr Nongwe's supporters.

"The ANC officials promised to approach Mr Nongwe but the attacks on us continued.

"We heard that we should leave the area because we were occupying it unlawfully. We refused to leave because we were paying rent and we were not breaking any law."

ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said the bone of contention in Old Crossroads was the scarcity of houses.

ANC, Govt keep
mum on talks

Political Staff

Discussions continued yesterday between the Government/ANC working group on the thorny issue of the ANC's suspension of armed action.

Both sides remained tight-lipped after more than three hours of talks at Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's office in Pretoria.

The Government team led by Mr Vlok comprised Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and officials from the security police, Constitutional Development and Justice departments, and National Intelligence Service.

Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, led the ANC team.

**'CP is talking
to black leaders'**

St. 17/10/90
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Conservative Party is holding talks with black leaders and will announce details soon, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

And he accepted President de Klerk's invitation for talks as long as they were held in public debate so that Mr de Klerk could clarify certain policy statements in the open.

Opening the CP national congress in the Durban City Hall, attended by about 1 400 people, he said certain black leaders and organisations — such as President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Inkatha and the independent churches — were the "natural allies" of whites who opposed the "tyranny and oppression" of the African National Congress and SA Communist Party.

Row as ANC bids for sole right to R25 m US aid

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The political debate on South Africa in Washington has shifted for the time being from sanctions to the issue of which political organisations should receive the benefit of US funding.

A new argument is developing behind the scenes as to how the R25 million recently provided by Congress for the development of South Africa's political opposition should be shared.

Congressman Bill Gray, highest ranking black in the Congress, has written to the Bush Administration asking that the entire \$10 million should be given to the African National Congress.

Conservative groups, such as the Heritage Foundation, have been lobbying the administration intensively to reduce the ANC's share as much as

possible and to ensure that other groups, particularly Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, gets money and equitable treatment.

Moves are afoot to encourage Chief Buthelezi to visit the US, where he can meet Congressmen and, organisers hope, President Bush and other senior administration officials.

Congress will be the final arbiter as to how the money is to be split up, but right now there is a tussle between the US Agency for International Development (AID), the primary dispenser of other US foreign aid to South Africa, and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

The South African government has reportedly taken a poor view of initiatives to fund the ANC exclusively and has put pressure on the US government to ensure all opposition groups are treated fairly.

AK648 17/10/90

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Stayaway threat over Bop actions

11/11
17/10/90
Sowetan

lifting of the state of emergency and a referendum to be held to "test the aspirations of the people".

The spokesman called on ANC members to intensify the struggle against Bophuthatswana Government.

The UDF condemned the killing of Mr Mtshevene, saying President Mangope's govern-

ment had no respect for law.

"We urge the people in Winterveldt and Pretoria to intensify the struggle for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa," said a UDF spokesman.

A Bophuthatswana police spokesman said he could not immediately comment on the matter but would do so later. - Sapa

will be buried on October 24, the day of the stayaway.

About 42 people had also been detained during the "police raids" said the spokesman.

"The Winterveldt ANC branch stongly condemns these actions and we wish to reiterate our stand that the Bophuthatswana Government is the product of

apartheid. As such we call for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa."

The ANC also demanded the release of all political prisoners, the

ANC Winterveldt branch, who did not wish to be named for fear of reprisal, said President Lucas Mangope was using "banditary tactics" to silence opposition in Bophuthatswana in which Winterveldt falls.

The ANC called for a mass stayaway in honour of one of their members, Mr Morgan Mtshevene, who allegedly died during police action in the area on October 5. Mtshevene

The United Democratic Front and the Winterveldt branch of the African National Congress yesterday threatened to embark on "intensified mass action" in the face of continuing alleged police harassment, detentions and the existance of the state of emergency in Bophuthatswana.

A spokesman of the

Editor Mr Aggrey was to challenge his 35 days detention as 41-day detention could be... University's Soweto... after being shot by police.

The great rush home

South 11/10 - 17/10/90

From BULELWA PAYI and BEVERLEY GARSON GRAHAMSTOWN.

Groups preparing for the return of the exiles are still battling to get the machinery in place to receive them.

The first exiles had been expected early this month, but their return was delayed after a row over the way in which indemnity is granted.

Mr Jackie Selebi of the ANC said the movement hoped the first group would arrive in South Africa by the end of the month.

Meanwhile, committees involved in the issue are struggling to get ready for the returnees. Ms Venita Meyer, spokesperson for the national coordinating committee on repatriation, said the committee was behind schedule with its preparations.

Homelessness

While the return of the first group of exiles was imminent, uncertainty still surrounded accommodation and employment for them.

"We are expecting the first group of exiles to arrive soon and we are still behind with our plans to welcome them, but we are fast moving forward," she said.

The South African Council of Churches says 40 000 returnees are expected. About 40 percent of these are expected to return to the Eastern Cape, a region where levels of unemployment and homelessness are already high.

Organisers have warned that exiles cannot expect instant jobs and houses. "We can't afford to buy houses for everyone who is returning; we can only provide temporary accommodation.



Then they will have to stand in housing queues like everyone else," Meyer said.

It was the responsibility of the government to provide housing for the exiles.

Monthly grants would be given to the exiles for a limited period of time.

"These people will have to look for jobs to support themselves. Fortunately, many companies and universities have contacted us to tell us they were keen to give jobs to those exiles who are returning with skills.

"It won't be a problem for exiles returning with skills to find employment, but those with a lower standard of education—like the men who were trained to be soldiers—might find it more difficult," Meyer said.

Meyer said there would be primary centres where people could stay for a day and secondary centres where they could stay a little longer. These two centres would later be combined.

Attention is also being given to problems of psychological readjustment, both for the exiles and the families they will be returning to, with counselling being organised. A five-day workshop on counselling was held in Durban at the beginning of October.

"We are guarding against any conflict by proper planning, but if it occurs it will have to be resolved at a local, regional or — if there is no solution — national level," Meyer said.

The Eastern Cape chairperson of the repatriation committee, the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, said committees have been set up in all Eastern Cape region where exiles were expected. The committees would look at issues of health, employment, education, accommodation, communication, transport and finance for the returnees.

Clarke said: "We see our role as creating an environment that will be receptive for the returning exiles."

Committees in small towns of the Albany region are trying to get figures on how many people left their area and to look at available resources to welcome them back.

The Port Elizabeth town clerk, Mr Pat Botha, said the municipality was in the process of looking for land in the metropolitan area which could be used for building houses for the returnees.

However, the municipality was waiting for figures on the number of exiles returning to the area.

Education

"It's extremely difficult to start planning because we do not know what in come group those people belong to. We do not know whether some will prefer to buy property or opt for low-income housing".

In the Border, preparations are under way. According to Mr Phila Ngqumb of the communication sub-committee of the Border's repatriation committee, 45 exiles are expected to return this month.

The committee was looking for accommodation and jobs for them and was trying to find out which exiles had a technical education.

"While we will attempt to look for accommodation for the returnees, it is the government's responsibility to provide the exiles with houses," Ngqumb said. — ANA

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Mandela 'snubs aborigines'

SYDNEY — Nelson Mandela, due to visit Australia on October 24, has snubbed the aborigines by keeping silent on their plight, a radical aboriginal lawyer said yesterday. *B.D.M. 17/10/90*

Michael Mansell of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Legal Service said aborigines, who were as oppressed as blacks in SA, planned to protest against Mandela's Australian visit if the ANC deputy president stayed silent on their situation. *(11A)*

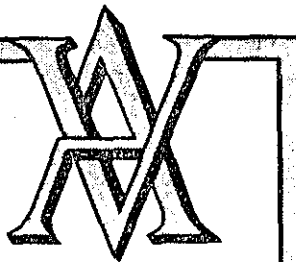
He said aborigines would protest in Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne, stops on Mandela's itinerary.

Chief ANC representative in Australia Eddie Funde said Mandela, by declining to discuss the situation of the aborigines, was adhering to ANC policy of not commenting on domestic issues in nations outside SA. — Reuter.

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(11A)



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, wearing a garland of homespun cotton, lays a wreath at the memorial to Indian independence leader Mahatma Gandhi in New Delhi. Mandela is in India on a five-day visit. Picture: REUTER

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PAC leader CAM & TRIPS 17/10/90 11R fights for his life in hospital

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng was fighting for his life in Johannesburg Hospital last night.

The organisation said in a statement yesterday he was admitted to the hospital on Sunday suffering from pneumonia and a blood infection.

It said Mr Mothopeng, 77, was re-admitted just three days after being discharged from the same hospital. He is suffering from cancer that has affected his lungs and heart.



Mr Zeph Mothopeng

Doctors were battling to save Mr Mothopeng's life, the statement said, adding

it believed his will to see the struggle reach its logical conclusion was the only thing keeping him alive.

Secrecy over group's decision on talks

11A

THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation's resolution on negotiations has been kept under wraps and will only be unveiled when its mother body - the Pan Africanist Congress - holds its national congress next month, writes SY MAKARINGE.

Paso debated the issue at its first annual congress in Botshabelo about a week ago.

This followed the PAC's decision last month to refer the Government's invitation to all its structures for "exhaustive debate". Sowetan 17/10/90

Paso's publicity secretary, Mr Eugene Matoti, said yesterday that the movement would not make the decision public until the PAC held its national congress, the first inside the country since the organisation was banned nearly three decades ago.

Mr Philip Dlamini, the PAC's secretary for legal affairs, told more than 500 delegates that the Government's invitation should not be taken for granted.

Latest talks end anger over exiles

11/17/70
17/10/70

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A meeting of the joint ANC/government working group on political offences yesterday effectively ended last week's slanging match between the two sides, sources said.

The sources described the discussions here as "constructive" and said it was likely that the group's report would be released by the government next week.

It appeared that differences in interpretation, which contributed to last week's hiccup in the process, had been ironed out and the mechanism for the further release of prisoners and return of exiles would be set in motion soon.

Sources said the differences had largely concerned whether it would be necessary for each individual candidate for indemnity to provide detailed information, or whether many could be dealt with collectively.

The report is expected to be submitted to the leadership of both organisations after changes have been made.

● The working group dealing with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle also met here yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani led the ANC delegation for the first time, while Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok headed the government side.

It is understood that Umkhonto commander Mr Joe Modise and ANC information chief Mr Pallo Jordan did not attend.

Mandela is accused of snubbing Aborigines

Southern 17/10/90

118

SYDNEY - Black South African leader Nelson Mandela, due on a visit here next week, has snubbed the Aborigines in Australia by his silence on their plight, a radical Aboriginal lawyer said yesterday.

Michael Mansell of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Legal Service said Aborigines plan to protest against Mandela's visit to Australia beginning on October 24, if the African National Congress (ANC)

deputy president stays silent on their situation.

"They (the ANC) seem to believe that the quality of their struggle is far superior to anyone else," said Aboriginal lawyer Michael Mansell, adding that Australia's Aborigines are as oppressed as black South Africans.

He said Aborigines will protest in Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne,

stops in Mandela's itinerary.

An ANC spokesman said Mandela, by declining to discuss the situation of Aborigines, is keeping to ANC policy of not commenting on domestic issues in nations outside South Africa.

"It is a general policy that we can go to any country but we just don't comment on internal matters," said Eddie Funde,

the ANC's chief representative in Australia.

Funde said Mandela plans to meet Aborigines early in his tour, and "listen to them about their situation".

"(The policy) does not mean I have not addressed Aboriginal people, talked to them of the South African situation nor that they have not told me about their situation," Funde said. - *Sapa-Reuters*



South 18/10-24/10/90 11A

East Cape ANC aims for half a million

From XOLA SIGONYELA and PHILA NGQUMBA PORT ELIZABETH. —

The Eastern Cape regional conference of the ANC has set itself the task of recruiting 500 000 members by the December national conference.

The conference resolved that all branches in the region should form organising committees to facilitate the recruitment drive.

National Executive Committee member Reggie September told more than 200 delegates that the ANC was entering a new era during which it would have to move away from the politics of protest to challenging for power.

In opening the conference, the first in 30 years, he said: "In the process of building the organisation we need to channel the skills, the energy, the courage which

went into challenging the regime on the street into challenging them in the political arena."

He commended the coloured communities in the region for their "complete rejection of the bankruptcy of the Labour Party" and called on them to join the ANC.

The Eastern Cape was "very much the home of the ANC," he said.

At a rally attended by thou-

sands to mark the end of the conference, Thozamile Botha, founder member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), said the ANC was not responsible for the inequalities caused by apartheid.

He said there were attempts by the state to separate local negotiations from national negotiations in an attempt to "depoliticise the struggle on the ground".

The conference resolved that people in strife-torn areas should be organised around the principles and policies of the ANC while educating ANC members, and the people in general, about the politics of tolerance.

Members elected to the Eastern Cape regional executive were: Benson Fihla (chairperson), Edgar Ngoyi (vice-chairperson); Gugile Nkwinti (secretary), Marian Lacey (assistant secretary), Dennis Neer (treasurer) and Mike Xego (publicity secretary).

Additional members were Ernest Malgas, from PE; Mzwabantu Jantjies (Graaf Reinet); Vuyisile Thole (Uitenhage); Gavin Hartford (PE and suburbs), Siphon Miggels (Jansenville), R. Shweni (Middleburg, Cape) Niela Hoosain (Malabar); Lamie Niegaart (Northern Areas) and A. Moodley (Malabar).

The Border region elected former political prisoner, the Reverend Arnold Stofile, as chairperson.

Smuts Ngonyama was elected vice-chairperson, Lucille Meyer as secretary, MacDonald Fani as treasurer and Hintsa Siwisa as publicity secretary.

Included as additional members are six former Robben Island prisoners, Fikile Mlanda, Malgid Ntsebe, Joe Mati, Mfengu Makalima, Bigpower Zweni and Tshezi Mafanya, Bones Skulu and Sam Kwelita.

Serving on the same structure as an ex-officio member is the regional chairperson of the ANC Women's League, Nosomi Balindtela. — ECNA

Star 12/10/90 (11A)

Mandela promotes sanctions



Nelson Mandela lays a wreath at the memorial to India's independence leader Mahatma Gandhi in New Delhi.

© Picture by Reuter

On the surface, Nelson Mandela's Far East tour is all about pomp and praise, with precious little in the way of real political content.

This is misleading. In fact, besides the razzmatazz, the ANC deputy president must discharge an earnest task before his return to South Africa at the beginning of November: chiefly, he needs to plug the ever-widening holes in the sanctions dyke.

In an interview before he left for India with Mr Mandela, ANC deputy head of international affairs Stanley Mabizela conceded that State President F W de Klerk had achieved considerable diplomatic success in the course of his recent foreign forays, and said part of the purpose of the ANC's Far East trip was to "stop that trend".

Seek assistance

Mr Mabizela, who returned recently to South Africa from exile, is deputy to ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, and is regarded as an influential figure within the organisation.

He said that while Mr Mandela would receive a rapturous welcome in India, Malaysia, Brunei, Australia, Indonesia and Japan as an "international-

Nelson Mandela is spending most of his time in the Far East accepting accolades from wellwishers. But, as Star political writer **SHAUN JOHNSON** reports, he has an urgent message to deliver to his hosts behind closed doors — to reverse the trend, initiated by the State President, to relax sanctions against South Africa.

ly recognised champion of human rights", he would also be "seeking the assistance (of those countries) in ensuring that sanctions are maintained.

'Not true'

"Some people think we are still being unnecessarily hard, that the eradication of apartheid has indeed reached the point of irreversibility, and we have to explain that is not true."

The governments of India and Malaysia were of particular importance in this regard, as India enjoys an influential position within the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement, while Malaysia currently occupies the chair of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa.

"We shall be urging these governments to use their influence with other members, asking them please to stick by us,

to maintain sanctions."

Mr Mabizela admitted that the ANC was aware "that indeed there are some areas (in the world) where the sanctions question is collapsing. This is to be found in many countries, particularly in Africa.

"We have got to view these things objectively," he said. "With the countries of Africa, which are the biggest busters of sanctions, one has got to accept the reality on the ground.

Votes

"Economically, they are having a tough time of it, and they think that if they could link up with South Africa as soon as possible, they could solve some of these economic problems which are bearing down on them so severely.

"This is why some of them have decided even to go against some of their own votes at the Organisation of African Unity or at the United Nations, and

reopen trade relations with South Africa".

Mr Mabizela said the ANC hoped the latest Mandela tour would arrest the trend.

He would not go so far as to say the Mandela trip would "regain the initiative" from President de Klerk, who he saw as "very persuasive in the way he goes about things". However, he was sure "that the opposing position" would be taken note of.

Move afoot

"If you remember," he said, "at the time that Mr Mandela undertook his tour to Europe, Africa and the United States, a big move was afoot in the European Community to lift sanctions altogether.

"The tour reversed that, and it is from that point of view that this tour becomes very important."

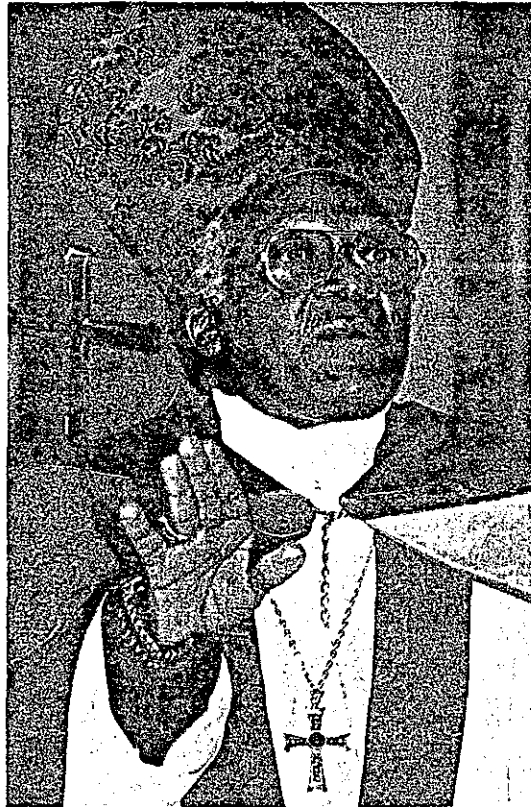
He said the ANC remained resolute in its belief that sanctions should not be lifted until "all apartheid laws" had been eradicated.

This was likely to be the last trip for Mr Mandela this year, although a number of countries want him to visit, including Ghana, Senegal, New Zealand, China, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Cuba.

Tutu calls for summit of black leaders

ARCAS 18/10/90

By JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter



Picture: ADIL BRADLOW, AP

Archbishop Desmond Tutu addressing the Anglican synod in Rondebosch last night in which he called for a summit of black leaders at Bishops court to hammer out a joint strategy for negotiations.

Buthelezi hesitant over summit call

Sapa Correspondent
in Ulundi

KWAZULU chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night that he wanted to nurture the peace talks in Durban between Inkatha and the African National Congress — and could not see how they could “over-fly these peace talks to all of a sudden meet in a summit” at Bishops court.

He would, however, place Archbishop Desmond Tutu's invitation for a summit of black leaders before the central committee of the

Inkatha Freedom Party and the caucus of the KwaZulu legislative assembly for guidance — before giving his final word.

He welcomed Inkatha's peace talks with the ANC in addressing the violence. “This needs to be nurtured and encouraged as it might finally result in a meeting of the leadership of those two organisations involved in the violence, even at the top level.

“I cannot see how we can over-fly these peace talks to meet all of a sudden in a summit at Bishops court.”

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is to invite the leaders of all major black political movements to an urgent summit at Bishops court to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

In his opening address at the 56th session of the synod of the Anglican diocese of Cape Town in Rondebosch yesterday, Archbishop Tutu also called for Defence Minister General Magnus Malan to be fired because of evidence to the Harms Commission; for a constituent assembly to be convened urgently and an interim coalition government to be established; and for the present government to apologise for its former apartheid policies.

In a lengthy and hard-hitting address, Archbishop Tutu said black leaders needed to adopt a code of conduct in their political dealings and to decide how to handle factional violence and to promote unity and peace.

The Church, he said, had a special responsibility to bring black leaders together and its commitment to the liberation of their people was “uncompromising”, although it had no party political alignments.

“In consequence, I propose to call a meeting of all black political leaders at Bishops court soon. The aim would be for a black political summit, the importance of which would be undisputed, so that our people would judge leaders who refused to attend as enemies of unity, peace and liberation.”

The archbishop said he believed much of the violence in South Africa was being stoked by a “sinister Third Force” opposed to President De Klerk's initiatives.

“He must act firmly against those in the security forces who want to derail the negotiation process.”

There was no culture of tolerance in South Africa. “When someone disagrees with you then they are *ipso facto* your enemy and there is one thing to do with an enemy — liquidate him.”

The Harms Commission had revealed that people “fairly high up” in the security establishment had ordered the assassination of those perceived to be enemies, the Archbishop said.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan should be fired. It was difficult to imagine how the commission would be able to give him a clean bill of health after its failure to call him to give evidence.

“If we say General Malan must go, we do not suggest that he is guilty. It would be obeying a convention observed in democratic countries that a cabinet minister must resign when his underlings are found guilty of a serious misdemeanour.

The Archbishop — a former Nobel Peace Prize winner — said Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev deserved this year's prize for the “startling” changes in Eastern Europe.

President De Klerk equally deserved “considerable credit” for his “unexpected and outstanding courage”, as did ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for his willingness to forgive and his commitment to a non-racial, just and democratic South Africa.

“I take my hat off to both these men. If they get negotiations underway, I undertake to nominate them for the joint award of the Noble Peace Prize. They will have deserved it richly,” he said.

But Archbishop Tutu also called on senior government members to apologise for apartheid.

“We blacks for our part are ready to forgive but the other party must be contrite and ready to do reparation to demonstrate the seriousness of their contrition, and then reconciliation can

happen... We cannot just say ‘Let bygones be bygones.’”

President De Klerk's initiatives deserved to succeed and he needed “the engine of a thriving economy”, Archbishop Tutu said.

“Sanctions have proved thoroughly effective for we would not be where we are without them, but it is important that we recognise that the problem is not sanctions but apartheid.

“Get rid of apartheid and there will be no justification for sanctions.”

“It can't be said to be irreversible when we still have the ridiculous charade of Mr Clase and his pretend open schools policy.

“It can't be irreversible when you still have the Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts.”

Other points made by Archbishop Tutu in his address included a call for a constituent assembly to be convened “quickly”, an interim coalition government to be established; the establishment of a special force comprising both police and members of liberation movements to uphold law and order, especially in unrest areas; and the establishment of a permanent judicial commission to investigate allegations against members of the security forces.

Tutu to call meeting on negotiations

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu is to invite the leaders of all major black political movements to an urgent summit at Bishopscourt to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

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violence and to promote unity and peace. Star 18/10/90

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The Harms Commission had revealed that people "fairly high up" in the security establishment had ordered the assassination of those perceived to be enemies, the Archbishop said.

Fired

Now that the commission had reported, General Malan should be fired.

"If we say General Malan must go, we do not suggest that he is guilty. It would be obeying a convention observed in democratic countries that a Cabinet Minister must resign when his underlings are found guilty of a

serious misdemeanour."

The Archbishop also called on senior Government members to apologise for apartheid.

"We blacks for our part are ready to forgive but the other party must be contrite and ready to do reparation to demonstrate the seriousness of their contrition, and then reconciliation can happen."

He called on the police to take action against the AWE by disarming them and charging them for "uttering such insulting, racist slurs..."

President de Klerk's initiatives deserved to succeed and he needed "the engine of a thriving economy", Archbishop Tutu said.

Once the process of ridding South Africa of its apartheid "albatross" was irreversible, he would call for sanctions to be lifted and for "massive investment or reinvestment".



Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

(11A) Stat 18/10/90

Mandela's cruel dilemma

On balance, most Western governments are well pleased with the progress South Africa has been making towards a negotiated settlement. Even the Dutch, the Danes and the Norwegians are nodding approval.

Credit for this, naturally, is given to President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, whose standing in the West remains high, in spite of the ups and downs South Africa has gone through since Mr de Klerk's seminal February 2 statement.

The two men have kept their eye on the ball of negotiations, and South Africans, it is felt, should be grateful for their emergence at such a critical moment in the country's history.

At the same time, a note of deep concern is being sounded here over the violence that besets South Africa. While everyone recognises that the police are part of the problem rather than the solution — that Mr de Klerk depends on them — the view is current here that no one is really coming to grips with the problem.

Hesitation

Mr Mandela himself does not escape criticism, because he has shown apparent hesitation in exercising authority over his people. If he cannot break the cycle of violence, it is said, who can?

ANC-Inkatha relations were allowed to collapse long before Mr Mandela was released from prison, and one of Mr Mandela's first initiatives after his release was to try to make the peace. But, some officials want to know, has he tried hard enough?

For as long as there is violence, they say, the police will intervene, and for as long as the police intervene, the black backlash will weaken the legitimacy of the peace negotiators. This, surely, is reason enough to redouble efforts to end the violence.

Most Western government officials to whom I have spoken accept there is a limit beyond which Mr

Dateline
London
STANLEY
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Mandela cannot push his authority without losing it, with calamitous results for the peace initiative.

They accept, too, it is in South Africa's interests for the ANC and the National Party to be as representative as possible of their communities if the peace talks are to succeed — that fragmentation of either party would only weaken the peace process.

But, having said that, a view in Whitehall is that the ANC should start looking forward now, not always over its shoulder, and accept the consequences of forward-thinking. This is high risk politics, but the alternative — as it was for Mr de Klerk — is catastrophe.

Power-sharing is around the corner, and the ANC's priority should be to start calculating what South Africa's needs will be in a post-apartheid society. The first step should be to signal the end of sanctions, which are crumbling anyway, and then bring greater clarity to its vague economic policies, so foreign governments and investors know

what to expect. Whitehall has been looking forward to the ANC's December 16 conference to usher in this new approach. Reports from South Africa about the ANC's state of unpreparedness for the December 16 conference, however, suggest that Whitehall will be disappointed — that the conference will be given over mainly to the election of office-bearers, public relations and political manoeuvring.

This has raised the question here whether the ANC can persist for much longer with its strategy of leading a broad black front to the negotiating table — desirable though it is for the ANC to remain a powerful force in black politics.

Illusion

From this distance, black unity is seen as an illusion. Now that Mr de Klerk has taken the lid off 42 years of repression, fragmentation must be expected, not a closing of the ranks. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. And the challenge to the ANC will come not so much from its rivals, like the PAC and Black Consciousness Movement, which are only just stirring into life, as from groups within its own ranks, like the radicals and trade unionists.

Will Mr Mandela's position be any different then from Mr de Klerk's? The nettle Mr de Klerk grasped was the nettle of Afrikaner unity. He sacrificed it in the cause of reform, presided over the final dissolution of Afrikaner nationalism, and yet is still in business.

This is the question South Africa watchers here would like to put to Mr Mandela: Can he take the peace initiative through to a successful conclusion, or will it become bogged down in appeasement of too many warring factions? The question really is whether or not reform is compatible — not only with white, but also black unity.

The parallel with Mr de Klerk has flaws. Mr de Klerk launched his initiative from a position of strength — as State President and leader of a political party with a vast and well-grounded organisation. Mr Mandela's only asset is his charisma, and this is also the ANC's only asset. The organisational structures have simply not been built yet to safeguard this charisma. They are in the hands of others who, when the time comes, may or may not rest their loyalty with the ANC.

The dilemma is that if Mr Mandela waits until the organisational structures are in place to protect the peace process, the momentum may be lost. Yet if he does what Mr de Klerk did — watch his own people desert him in droves and revile everything he stands for — will he write himself, and the ANC, out of the country's black leadership?

As I said, these are thoughts from afar, hesitatingly advanced by those watchers, most of them reasonably well-informed, who monitor South Africa's painful advance towards democracy.

They submit their views humbly, because they are profoundly aware that already black radicals are voicing their disillusionment with Mr Mandela, and if he makes a false move at the December 16 conference, it could be the beginning of the end of his extraordinary contribution to the new political era.



Nelson Mandela . . . showing hesitation in exercising authority over his people?

ANC rethink on congress

South 18/10 - 24/10/90

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG. — The historic ANC national conference scheduled for December 16 may be called off, according to sources close to the movement.

The ANC is due to hold a "crucial" national executive committee meeting on Friday at which the issue will be debated.

A lengthy delay on the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners may force the organisation to decide to hold a consultative (external) conference instead.

There has been speculation for some time that the movement would not be able to proceed with a national conference in December because not enough exiles would have returned to participate in it.

The national conference may be held in June or later next year.

There are serious doubts that the crucial issue of the repatriation of 22 000 ANC exiles and the preparations for a fully-fledged ANC national conference could be tackled simultaneously.

Feverish

"They are two important aspects in the history of the organisation, and time and thorough preparation for both are necessary," an exiled ANC member explained.

A postponement of the conference would come as a blow to people inside the country feverishly making preparations for the December 16 conference — the first such gathering to be held inside the country in the past 30 years.

However, many of the people who elected the current NEC and helped to adopt the current constitution are all still in exile.

Sources close to the National Repatriation Committee were doubtful that rank-and-file exiles would have returned in sufficient numbers to enable a national conference to take place in December.

The ANC has given the government the names of 3 000 exiles whom it wanted to be back home by October 1.

Malan calls for end to 'inciting propaganda'

Sowetan 18/10/90 113

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has called for an end to "inciting, propogandistic" radio broadcasts from frontline states assisting the ANC.

Lecturing at the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University

of Pretoria, General Malan said these broadcasts, especially those of Radio Freedom, were destructive and did not match the nature and spirit of attitudes flowering at present.

"I want to ask those

states who assist the ANC in this regard to discontinue. The ANC does not need this assistance any longer. Nothing prevents them from recruiting members in an orderly manner and establishing themselves as a political party," he said.

In another attack on the ANC's military leader Chris Hani, General Malan said Mr Hani's training of a "type of alternative army, wherever it is taking place, is unnecessary". The ANC was also still continuing infiltration, albeit greatly scaled down, from certain states.

"It is indeed time that MK (Umkonto We Sizwe, ANC military wing) adheres to the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute ... I trust that the states of southern Africa who prefer reconciliation will also take cognisance of this," he said.

Talking on South Africa's security position, General Malan said he was convinced the practice of exporting revolution to South Africa was disappearing.

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Japan takes no action for racial insult

Sowetan 18/10/90

TOKYO - Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, fending off criticism in parliament, said yesterday he would not dismiss his Justice Minister for comparing American blacks to foreign prostitutes in Japan.

Kaifu told parliament for the second successive day that Justice Minister Seiroku Kajiyama deeply regretted his remark and had apologised.

The Prime Minister brushed aside opposition demands that he sack

Kajiyama for a gaffe that has outraged black communities in Japan and the United States.

After a tour of Tokyo's red-light area in September, Kajiyama told reporters American blacks and foreign prostitutes working in Japan were similar because both ruined good neighbourhoods.

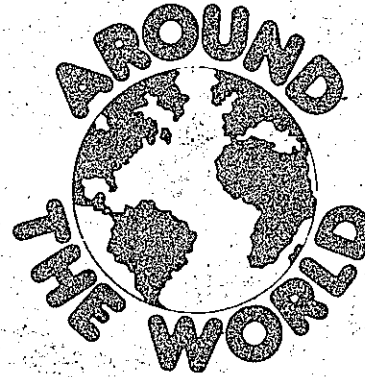
Wary of US anger, Kaifu said yesterday the government was planning ways to enlighten Japanese people about minority groups.

Mr Misoji Sakamoto,

chief government spokesman, said the Prime Minister was considering a formal apology to the United States for the slur.

He said Kajiyama yesterday sent a letter of apology to the US congressional Black Caucus.

The Caucus has called for a boycott of Japanese goods in the United States and passage of a resolution submitted to Congress calling on Washington to demand that Tokyo sack the Justice Minister and apologise to Americans. - Sapa-Reuter



Mandela receives R13-m from India

NEW DELHI - ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela ended an official visit to the Indian capital yesterday and left for some tourist spots, carrying a 13-million-rand cheque in his pocket for his movement. Sowetan 18/10/90

"We have received everything we have asked for - love, affection and material support," Mandela said at an official send-off ceremony at the presidential residence.

He departs tomorrow for Brunei. (114) (169)

At a banquet on Tuesday night, Prime Minister VP Singh presented Mandela with a check for 5 million dollars from the government "as a token of solidarity" for the anti-apartheid movement. - Sapa-

Novelist wins top British literary award

LONDON - Critic and novelist AS Byatt on Tuesday won the Booker Prize, Britain's most prestigious literary award, for her tale of two young scholars probing the lives of two imaginary Victorian poets.

The five judges deliberated two hours before awarding the prize worth almost R100 000 to Byatt for "Possession," one of six finalists in the 21-year-old competition.

Ascending to the podium after television executive Sir Denis Forman, chairman of the judge's panel, announced the prize at a banquet, Byatt said her book was about the joy of reading.

"My book was written on a kind of high about

the pleasures of reading," Byatt told the audience at London's Elizabethan Guildhall, seat of the city's Lord Mayor. She added that the Booker Prize was beneficial because it caused excitement about books.

Passion

"Modern scholars have partly forgotten how to read with passion," she told British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television earlier.

Having recently also won the R109 000 Irish Times Aer Lingus prize for international fiction for the same work, the author said after the ceremony she "should think carefully about what to do with the money." - Sapa-AP

Americans are unhappy

Freedom of Press Day

Sowetan 18/10/90

at Vista tomorrow

SOWETAN'S Nation Building Festival reaches a high point with the Freedom of the Press Day at Vista University, Soweto campus, tomorrow.

The seminar is the culmination of articles published in *Sowetan* to educate the general public about liberation and freedom of expression.

"Liberation without freedom of speech is meaningless; there cannot be freedom unless everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, which includes freedom to hold opinions without interference," said Mr Aggrey Klaaste,

editor of *Sowetan*.

The seminar will coincide with the banning of 19 Black Consciousness organisations and two black newspapers the *World* and the *Weekend World* on October 19, 1977.

All day

The Press Day will be a whole day event starting at 8.30am and ending at 6.30pm.

Tickets for the event are available at the *Sowetan* offices

Refreshments will be

served throughout the day.

The seminar promises lively discussions on social and political issues concerning the future government of South Africa.

Former Zimbabwean journalist and son of an ANC stalwart Mr Moeletsi Mbeki, now back from exile, will represent Cosatu, sharing a platform with Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Mahlomola Skosana on the *Struggle for Press Freedom*.

Speakers from political organisations, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, New Unity Movement are to give inputs on the constitutional future of the country and freedom of speech.

Others

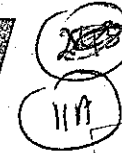
Participants from the ANC will include former exiles Mr Joel Netshitenzhe and Mr Zola Skweyiya, who is in the organisation's legal department.

Representatives of political parties include Azapo's Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, New

Unity Movement's Dr Usuf Chikte and Mr G Ndlovu and PAC's publicity secretary, Mr Benny Ntoele.

President of the Association of Democratic Journalists Mr Tyrone August and Mr Sihembele Khala, general secretary of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, will participate in a discussion on the *Struggle for Press Freedom*, sharing the platform with the African Writers Association.

Editors from newspapers and magazines will discuss "Wading our Way to Press Freedom."



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Tour challenge for Mandela

ON the surface, Mr Nelson Mandela's Far East tour is all pomp and praise, with precious little in the way of real political content. This is misleading.

In fact, besides the razzmatazz, the ANC deputy president must discharge an earnest task before his return to South Africa: chiefly, he needs to plug the ever-widening holes in the sanctions dike.

ANC deputy head of international affairs Stanley Mabizela, conceded that State President FW

de Klerk had achieved considerable diplomatic success in the course of his recent foreign forays, and said part of the purpose of the ANC's Far East trip was to "stop that trend".

Welcome

He said that while Mandela would receive a rapturous welcome in India, Malaysia, Brunei, Australia, Indonesia and Japan as an "internationally recognised champion of human rights", he would also be "seeking assistance in

ensuring that sanctions are maintained.

"Some people think we are still being unnecessarily hard, that the eradication of apartheid has indeed reached the point of irreversibility, and we have to explain that that is not true."

India and Malaysia were of particular importance in this regard, as India enjoys an influential position within the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement, while Malaysia currently oc-

cupies the chair of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa.

"We shall be urging these governments to use their influence with other members, asking them please to stick by us, to maintain sanctions."

Sanctions

Mabizela admitted that the ANC was aware "that indeed there are some areas where the sanctions question is collapsing. This is to be found in many countries, particularly in Africa.

"The countries of Africa are the biggest busters of sanctions. Economically, they are having a tough time of it, and they think that if they could link up with South Africa as soon as possible, they could solve some of these economic problems which are bearing down on them so severely."

He said the ANC remained resolute in its belief that sanctions should not be lifted until "all apartheid laws" had been eradicated. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Sowetan 18/10/90

NA

Looking at ways to peace

11A

South
19/10-24/10/90

SOUTH Africa will get a political settlement fairly soon, it seems. Both the main actors at this stage — still the National Party and the African National Congress — are out to achieve one.

Their relationship comes under occasional strain but is soon patched up again. And when the NP/ANC settlement train gets going early next year, it will be difficult for other political actors not to get on.

Referee

Yet there are question marks on how the process will unfold.

The questions are: Who writes the constitution? What legitimacy can the writers, and what they write, have? Can the NP be both referee and player?

The ANC has a clear answer to all those questions: There ought to be elections to establish who represents whom at the constitution writing. That is, there should be an elected constituent assembly, somewhat as the one in Namibia.

That would give immediate legitimacy to the forum and to the new constitution.

Of course, the NP cannot remain as the government of the day while it is just another party to the making of a new constitution.

But the NP has an equally clear position on these matters: It is the govern-

A constitutional change by negotiations can come about by a gradual and an organic process, writes HARALD PAKENDORF, the former editor of *Vad-erland*.

He says the National Party and the ANC are already softening their positions on a constituent assembly and moving toward each other:

ment of a sovereign state, duly elected and believes in its right to govern.

It will not give up that right and it will not allow elections for a constituent assembly: the form in which the vote is to be given is exactly what the negotiations are going to be about.

It would appear, then, that writing a constitution is going to be almost impossible, unless one looks beyond the political headlines and public position-taking.

Then one will see that both parties are already beginning to soften their positions and are moving towards each other.

Thus the ANC has begun to say it would prefer an elected constituent assembly and has added that the process



Harald Pakendorf

will be tested publicly at some stage — a significant softening of its former position.

The NP has begun to say that it accepts the process will have to be tested and has moved away from an all-white referendum to the idea of an all-race referendum.

Thus, a meeting of minds is not impossible: the assembly which writes the constitution will not be elected but it is likely that its product will be the subject of a referendum. This will give it, and in retrospect its authors, legitimacy.

The assembly will probably come into being through the organic process we already see unfolding: the NP and the ANC meet and talk, the ANC and

Inkatha talk, the NP and Inkatha talk, the DP and the ANC talk and so on — all talking to one other without calling for elections first.

Everybody knows who is what leader of which organisation.

Then gradually, instead of talking only one to another, they begin to talk all together. And this becomes the constituent assembly.

A model for who will rule while the constitution is being written may be that the assembly not only writes the constitution but also constitutes working groups on matters of immediate importance.

Consensus

These groups report back and the government — the NP in another form — is bound to take these as binding if it wishes to continue to work towards consensus on the constitution itself.

Thus, all the participants in the assembly begin to have a direct say in the day-to-day running of the government while final sovereignty remains with the NP government. But it will now be a government which has begun to admit others into the corridors of power and thus is itself changed.

Thus we may see an organic process through which the transition is gradual and not one where one flag is drawn and another is raised on a particular day.

It is a process which will include all South Africans and ought to make for a peaceful, orderly transition during which all actors remain on stage.

ANC, Inkatha to tour areas of violence

¹⁸¹¹⁰⁻²⁴¹¹⁰⁴⁰
DURBAN. — ANC and Inkatha leaders will jointly visit Natal's trouble spots to do "on the spot reviews" in an effort to restore peace.

This was the outcome of a meeting between members of the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and the Inkatha Central Committee in Durban on Monday.

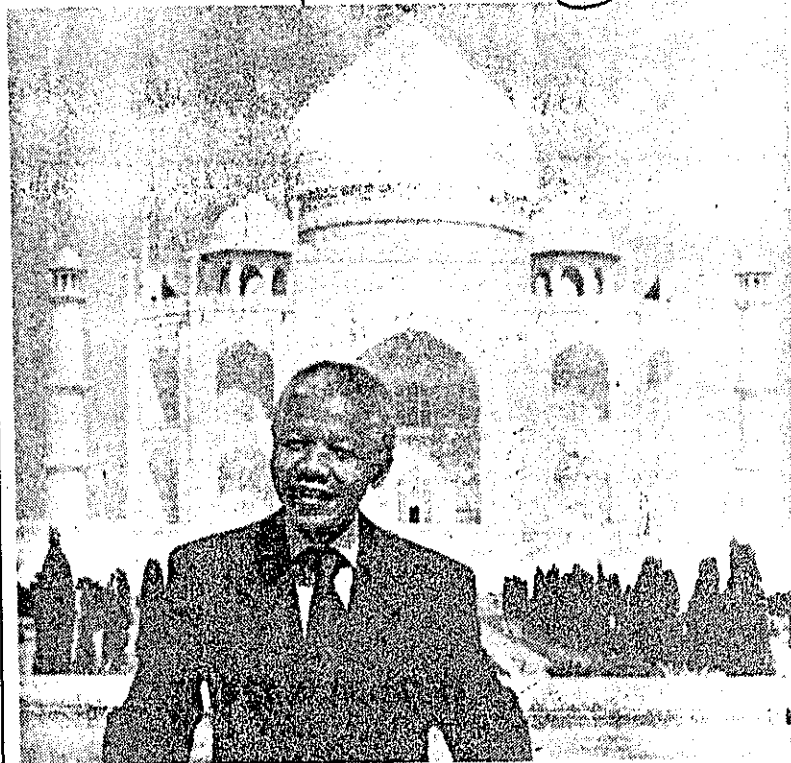
The watershed agreement means that for the first time leaders from the two organisations will jointly monitor the violence.

The ANC delegation was led by NEC member, Mr John Nkademeng, and the Inkatha delegation was led by chairperson, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Well-placed sources confirmed that ANC and Inkatha leaders would first visit Ndwedwe, followed by KwaMakhutha, Empangeni and Mpumalanga as part of the agreement.

B/PM 18/10/90

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ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday visited the Taj Mahal, in the northern Indian city of Agra, after the conclusion of his official visit to the capital, New Delhi. His sightseeing was scheduled to include the Hindu holy city of Varanasi as well as Calcutta. Tomorrow he leaves for Brunel, the second stop on a six-nation tour of Asia and Australia. On Tuesday night, the Indian government presented him with a \$5m cheque for the ANC. Picture: REUTERS

Hani is full of praise after talks with Vlok

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday he was confident that the joint working group on the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle would complete its work within the next two weeks.

Hani paid government and his opposite number on the working group, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, unusual compliments during an interview with Capital Radio.

The militant Umkhonto chief of staff, who leads the ANC delegation to the working group, said Tuesday's meeting had gone "very well".

His comments confirmed the two sides were finally making good progress — after recent setbacks — on removing obstacles to negotiations.

PETER DELMAR

Both sides spoke frankly about the problems under discussion, he said, adding that some of these problems were serious.

"But I am happy that we are sitting down in a good atmosphere and being frank with each other.

"I think government has been courageous ... to sit down with people like us, who they formerly labelled terrorists".

The working group would be meeting next week, although a date had not yet been established, Hani said.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday he expected Justice Minister Kobie Coet-

see to release details of the political offences working group's report next week.

Coetsee suspended releasing details until government had cleared up attacks by the ANC on government.

Sapa reports that Hani said in an interview yesterday that a democratic SA government elected by the majority of people should proceed to form a new army.

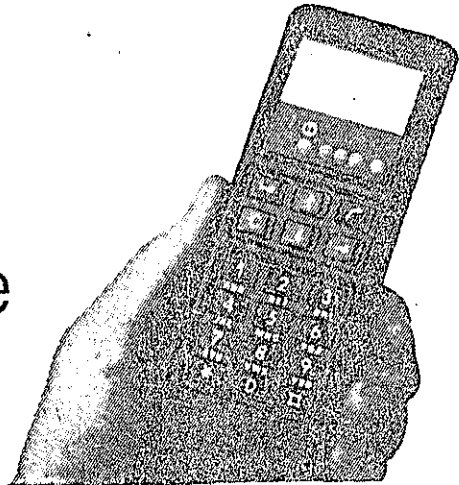
The SADF had been used to bolster apartheid and had committed excesses in the process. It was an army that was used to destabilise SA and the whole of Southern Africa.

"Therefore we need an army that is going to uphold the democratic norms in this country."

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PAC leadership battle set to be two-way affair

PETER DELMAR

PAC chairman Johnson Malambo and vice president Clarence Makwetu have emerged as the front-runners to succeed ailing president Zeph Mothopeng.

The PAC is expected to name a successor to Mothopeng — whose medical condition remained critical yesterday — at its annual congress next month. It is also likely to take a stand on government's invitation to join constitutional negotiations.

Since taking over the PAC leadership in 1986, Mothopeng has been prevented from exercising effective control over the movement by imprisonment and illness. It is considered unlikely he will remain president after his latest illness.

Transkei

Wits Institute of International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden said yesterday the choice of Mothopeng's successor would probably be strongly influenced by whether the PAC decided that its external leadership should return to SA.

Harare-based Malambo would be considered the favourite if the congress decided to integrate the positions of chairman and president to create a united, focused leadership in SA, Van Staden said.

However, Makwetu, who is based in Transkei, had considerable support, Van Staden said. A leadership election was unlikely to have a significant bearing on whether or not the PAC entered negotiations.

PAC spokesman Benny Ntoele said yesterday that most members of the organisation's national executive had gathered in Johannesburg and an emergency meeting might be held if circumstances required it.

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18/10/90

ANC requests pose dilemma for big business

CAT Trinks 18/10/90
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has launched a multi-million rand initiative to raise funds from SA's corporate sector, a move which has created huge dilemmas for the business community.

It is understood that senior ANC leaders, including Mr Nelson Mandela, have met a range of top businessmen in the last few weeks to broach the subject of monetary donations and payments in kind for activities ranging from resettlement of exiles to office equipment.

Indications are that the organisation is seeking large amounts — well into seven figures from the larger corporations.

Business Day has tracked down two corporations which have already been approached.

One of the former, Anglo American, refused to comment at all on the approach believed to have been made by Mr Mandela.

Citing the extreme sensitivity of the issue, the other two — also leaders of the South African business community — agreed to talk to Business Day on condition that they were not identified.

Neither has yet given, nor is ready to give, a firm response. They indicated requests to fund party political activities raised dilemmas in principle. And as far as the ANC in particular was

From page 1

ANC funds

CAT Trinks 18/10/90
11A

concerned, there was concern at the organisation's hostile attitude to big business.

There was a general resistance towards getting involved in party political funding for the purpose of buying business and financial favours. A representative of one company said he believed that if businesses were going to be involved in funding political parties they would have to be more evenhanded than they had been in the past.

His approach, if party funding was to become the norm, would be to support all groups which upheld values such as commitments to negotiating a new SA, to economic growth, to multi-party democracy and to the rule of law.

Both spokesmen made it clear they would feel a great deal more comfortable if the requests were for specific social projects — like the resettlement of exiles — rather than pure party political activities.

The second said basic policy was not to sponsor political parties, and his company was most unlikely to fund pure political activities "although we would be foolish not to at least consider any request".

ANC economic policy, and particularly its attitude towards large businesses, would be an important issue, one spokesman said.

Few informed businessmen believed that nationalisation was a serious policy option for the ANC, but there was concern about ANC policy on dismembering conglomerates. "We would certainly first demand answers to questions about their intentions on economic policy, and particularly whether they expect us to support a party whose strategy is to break us up," he said.

A further serious dilemma was anticipated anger on the part of non-exiles should the companies make large donations to exiles. "This would mean giving exiles privileged access to housing while many of our own employees are not adequately housed," one spokesman said.

Repeated attempts to reach the ANC's treasury department for comment were unsuccessful.

To page 2

Tour challenge for Mandela

Sowetan 18/10/90

(22) (118)

ON the surface, Mr Nelson Mandela's Far East tour is all pomp and praise, with precious little in the way of real political content. This is misleading.

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He said the ANC remained resolute in its belief that sanctions should not be lifted until "all apartheid laws" had been eradicated. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Blacks must prepare their political machinery

BLACK people will soon, for the first time since 1652, become co-partners in governing and administering South Africa.

They must now contribute their share of office-holders on all levels of government and administration.

They have never before had the opportunities to participate in politics in the real sense of the word: that was the exclusive right of the whites.

The result - they never had the opportunities to gain experience in politics and to produce the trained politicians and administrators with the necessary know-how.

There has never been a real need to establish political parties which formed the very foundations of democratic government.

The masses of the people (the voters) were also excluded from gaining the necessary knowledge of how to participate in politics and of how to form political parties.

This extends to the recruitment of members and formation of networks of branches.

Principles

It also includes the formulation of programmes, of principles and of policies and the organising of party congresses where very often party politics are formulated.

To gain all this experience take decades, generations.

It is now expected of the black people to gain all this knowledge and practical experience in order that within a few years they will be able to compete with whites.

For the first time in the history of South Africa since 1910, blacks will have a meaningful voice in the central system of government, in the so-called new South Africa.

Since 1910, blacks have only had limited powers. Between 1910 and 1936 limited numbers of blacks in the Cape Pro-

vince had only a qualified vote.

The ballot box method of gaining political power was never part of their system of government.

In municipal government blacks had only advisory powers and for the past 15 years they have had local government with limited powers.

They therefore have had no practical experience of and exposure to participating in modern, Western-style democratic parliamentary government; only traditional tribal forms of government in homelands with a smattering of parliamentary government.

Are there indeed among the black people these experienced parliamentarians and public servants?

Electorate

Is the black electorate ready to grasp what the significance of the vote is and how to use it in a responsible way?

Blacks have been forced to use non-parliamentary methods to make their views and needs known to government.

Many of them have grown up in political environments where they became part of violent means of making their political and economic needs heard by the authorities.

This was achieved with protest meetings, demonstrations, riots, stay-aways and strikes.

By what process are they now going to adjust themselves, after abandoning these violent means of expressing their political views, to modern democratic parliamentary political systems?

For Mandela, Buthelezi, Slovo, FW de Klerk, and others to speak to/appeal/beg the masses

to stop the fighting, the violence and the chaos is not going to help to create order, cohesion, political stability or rational actions.

The root cause of all the turmoil in the black towns and in the cities of South Africa should first of all be addressed and rectified - and that is going to take generations.

This is not something which can be done overnight.

The proof

Proof of this is to be found in looking at the time it took whites to participate in political life in a meaningful and orderly way.

They did not acquire the skills, expertise and political processes without proper training and active participation in politics over many years

... For 40 years it was not possible for black leaders of quality and experience to emerge.

As soon as people with leadership qualities appeared on the political scene, they were harassed, intimidated, detained, deported, driven underground, jailed, and worse.

The result was that there was always a lack of recognised leaders.

Modern

Take the case of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues.

It has been impossible for them to establish leadership or authority over people and party supporters in this time.

They have just started to establish political parties and all the machinery which is required to make a success of political participation in modern times.

Because of all this the black people in the urban areas of South Africa

remained leaderless and unorganised.

In the end they may face the white electorate over the conference table as unequals and less than fully prepared to negotiate a constitution for the so-called new South Africa.

Before black people go to the conference table they must make sure that

their political machinery is properly organised and that they have the support of hundreds of thousands of enrolled card-carrying members, organised into networks of branches countrywide.

If they go unprepared, they may find that they will be out-manoeuvred by the white political partners. - Sapa.

Veteran political scientist Willem Kleynhans (right) discusses problems which will have to be faced as South Africa moves towards full participation in politics by all its people.



11A

Sowetan 18/10/90

11A

Youth taking over ANC?

11A
Sowetan
18/10/90

IF young blacks had already become a major factor in strategic decision-making, effective control of the ANC "has passed on to the next generation".

And if that was true, said John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations in Durban. "We risk being in for a very, very rough time in the next few years".

He was addressing the Building Industry Federation (South Africa) congress which opened in Durban this week.

Mr Kane-Berman said the activist youth of today seemed more aggressive than ever before.

While the youth of 1976 had still tried to win

over the opposition rather than using force, today's activists used force as a matter of course.

Their behaviour had alarmed even Nelson Mandela enough for him to have appealed for tolerance.

Kane-Berman added that although it was frequently argued that activist youths were beyond control of the leadership, there seemed to have been no organised attempt to control them.

A possible reason for this was that political leaders were using the youth as a force in mass mobilisation - one of the ANC's most important political strategies, given the loss of the policy of armed struggle and that

sanctions seemed to be on the wane.

"Stayaways and boycotts are the order of the day", said Mr Kane-Berman.

He said urban black youth had been in the vanguard of political challenge of State authority since 1976 and had become a potentially explosive factor which threatened stabilisation.

Officially opening the congress, former Democratic Party co-leader Wynand Malan said South Africa would have a negotiated constitution within two to four years, including a Bill of Rights, federal elements, multi-party politics and limited segmental autonomy. - *Sapa.*

Tutu calls for summit

COPY TIPS 18/10/90 (114) ~~114~~

Staff Reporter

BLACK leaders should meet for an urgent "peace" summit, Archbishop Desmond Tutu charged last night.

He called for black leaders of substantial political movements to get together to plan a joint strategy on negotiations and to adopt a code of conduct for political dealings.

They had to decide on how to handle factional violence and promote unity and peace.

He proposed Bishops court as the venue for the summit — and said those who refused to attend would be seen as "enemies of unity, peace and liberation".

The archbishop delivered his call at the three-yearly synod of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town.

Lifting sanctions

Archbishop Tutu, who spurred the sanctions drive against South Africa, also listed his prerequisites for the lifting of the measures for the first time.

They are: The scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts, the establishment of a single education department and a start to serious negotiations.

"Once Mr De Klerk can announce that he proposes to repeal these abominations in the next session of Parliament... then I promise that at that moment I will stand up and say to our friends, 'Lift sanctions'."

The archbishop warned that President



CALL ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town Synod in Rondebosch last night.

F W De Klerk should act firmly against a "third force" in the security establishment that wanted to derail the negotiation process.

He called for:

- The removal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, from the cabinet due to his "political responsibility" for the actions of alleged assassination squads.

- The formation of a special police force

comprising members of the police and liberation movements to uphold law and order, especially in the unrest areas.

- A permanent judicial commission to investigate allegations against members of the security forces, and for a group of "trusted lawyers, religious and authentic community leaders" to monitor security activities and help scotch allegations of police partiality and power abuse.

- The government to grant offices in the Union Buildings to the ANC executive committee and to establish an interim coalition government once a constituent assembly had been convened.

He also praised Mr De Klerk' reform initiatives and undertook to nominate him and the vice-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, for the Nobel Peace Prize if they got negotiations underway.

He urged political leaders and their adherents to show tolerance and maturity.

Last night the ANC said they would discuss Archbishop Tutu's call before issuing a response.

The ANC had, however, already received an invitation to attend the meeting, a spokesman said.

KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he wanted to nurture the ongoing peace talks in Durban between Inkatha and the ANC — and could not see how they could "over-fly these peace talks to all of a sudden meet in a summit" at Bishops court.

He would however put Archbishop Tutu's suggestion to the Central Committee of his party and the caucus of the KwaZulu Assembly before giving his final word.

ANC and CP will share forum platform

Sowetan 18/10/90

lit

By SY MAKARINGE

THE African National Congress and the Conservative Party will share the same platform when two of their outspoken and prominent members address young professionals in Johannesburg next Monday.

The conference, under

the theme "Young Management Challenge", was organised by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the now-defunct Progressive Federal Party, in conjunction with Communications Services, fol-

lowing numerous requests from young businesspeople.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC's director of international affairs, will deliver a paper on the irreversibility of the transitional process, while Mr Koos van der Merwe, of-

cial spokesman for the CP, will speak on the proposed partitioning of South Africa.

The CP has in the past refused to be involved in political debates with members of the ANC.

Earlier this year Van der Merwe walked out of a meeting hosted by ABC-TV anchorman Ted Koppel at Wits University, saying he did not want to share the same platform with the ANC.

The meeting, broadcast live on ABC televi-

sion in the United States, was attended by participants from a wide spectrum of political persuasions.

Monday's meeting, which will be closed to the Press, will also be addressed by Miss Nomavenda Mathiane,

former deputy editor of *Frontline* magazine and now special writer for *The Star*.

Mathiane, who earlier this year spent six weeks on the *Guardian* newspaper in London, will talk on the future of the black youth.

Mandela approached Anglo

ANC wants funding from big business

B/Day 18/10/90

THE ANC has launched an initiative to raise millions of rands in funds from SA's corporate sector, a move that has created huge dilemmas for the business community.

It is understood that senior ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, have met a range of top businessmen in the past few weeks to broach the subject of monetary donations and payments in kind for activities ranging from the resettlement of exiles to the purchase of office equipment.

Indications are that the organisation is seeking large amounts — well into seven figures from the larger corporations.

Business Day has tracked down two corporations that have been approached, and one that has reason to believe it will receive a request "any minute now".

One of the former, Anglo American, refused to comment at all on the approach made by Mandela at an October 3 meeting with chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson and former chairman Gavin Relly. The encounter was described at the time as "private and informal".

Citing the extreme sensitivity of the issue, the other two — also leaders in the SA business community — agreed to talk to Business Day only on condition that they were not identified.

Neither has yet given, or is ready to give, a firm response. They indicated requests to fund party political activities raised dilemmas in principle. Regarding the ANC in particular, there was concern about its hostile attitude to big business.

There was a general resistance towards getting involved in party political funding for the purpose of buying business or finan-

ALAN FINE

cial favours. One company's representative said he believed that if businesses were going to be involved in funding political parties, they would have to be more even-handed than they had been in the past.

He agreed there had been substantial corporate funding of the NP and the DP and its predecessors. It now had to be recognised that company stakeholders supported a range of parties.

His approach, if party funding was to become the norm, would be to support all groups that upheld values such as commitments to negotiating a new SA, to economic growth, to multi-party democracy and to the rule of law.

"There are obviously groups which would not qualify in terms of these principles — for instance, the CP, and the PAC too for as long as it refuses to participate in the negotiating process," he said.

He added it would be a cynical view to assume that providing funding to the NP and the ANC was a way for companies to "hedge their bets". If there was to be corporate funding of political parties, the goal should be to "contribute to a constructive political process".

Both he and the spokesman for the second company made it clear they would feel more comfortable if the requests were for specific social projects — such as the resettlement of exiles — rather than for pure party political activities.

The second spokesman said it was basic policy not to sponsor political parties and

□ To Page 2

ANC B/Day 18/10/90

his company was unlikely to fund pure political activities "although we would be foolish not to consider any request".

ANC economic policy, particularly its attitude to large businesses, would be an important issue, one spokesman said.

Few businessmen believed that nationalisation was a serious policy option for the ANC, but there was concern about its policy on dismembering conglomerates.

"We would certainly first demand answers to questions about their intentions on economic policy, and particularly whe-

□ From Page 1

ther they expect us to support a party whose strategy is to break us up," he said.

A further dilemma on the part of both spokesmen was expected anger on the part of non-exiles, should the companies make large donations to exiles.

"This would, for example, mean giving exiles privileged access to housing while many of our own employees are not adequately housed," one said.

Repeated attempts to reach the ANC's treasury department for comment were unsuccessful.

FIM 19/10/90 (11A)

should rather refer to it as a government of national unity. It is part of the negotiation process and cannot be seen in isolation.

"People in that interim government will all be members of a constituent assembly, but not all can be government ministers. At the same time, someone must run the country, but without one party governing. That government will have responsibility over instruments of power (such as the army and police). What the government fears is the ghost of the ANC — a ghost they created."

He says those who feel excluded from talks should see "no sinister plan to exclude them. We have brought certain issues to the government such as the release of political prisoners and the return of our exiles; other parties have the opportunity for discussions too."

Phosa maintains the ANC cannot continue to talk about negotiations and ignore the need for elected representatives at the negotiations table. "A constituent assembly was good for Namibia and there is no reason why it should not be successful here. I don't think white people have anything to fear. They are not the minority; Vendas, Indians and Swazis may be, but not whites. They should participate in this process that will help usher in a new democratic SA."

He said the ANC would not be able to prescribe the form elections should take: this would be a product of discussion. However, any elections would have to be guided by non-racial principles which could see white candidates in black areas or vice-versa. "I foresee people like Joe Slovo being elected in black areas."

"There needs to be a delimitation of seats or constituencies and people must contest openly and sell their policies." Phosa foresees that an ultimate parliament would be far larger than the present one.

He says the amendments to the ANC constitutional guidelines are due out soon. "I prefer to say we have added flesh to bones and that it will be more of a position paper on a constitution, than guidelines." Like the ANC discussion paper on the economy, the paper would be open to debate before being submitted to the ANC's December 16 National Consultative Conference.

Phosa says the ANC has no particular constitutional preference and is drawing from various constitutions.

NEGOTIATIONS

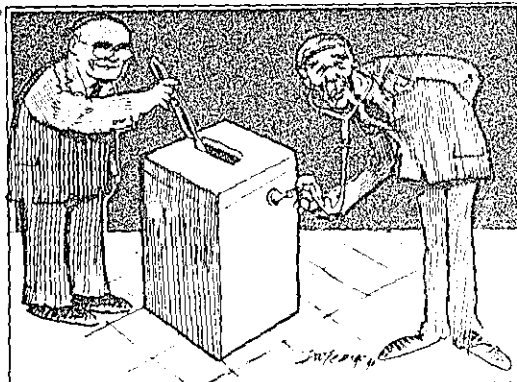
MUDDLE AHEAD

FIM 19/10/90

If the ANC has its way, next year will see elections for all, followed by an "interim government" and a "constituent assembly" leading to a new constitution (see *Leaders*).

Matthews Phosa, ANC constitutional spokesman, says elections are vital to ensure that those who negotiate have a mandate. "Anyone else is an impostor, particularly those leaders of bantustans who say they are leaders, when those things are a direct product of apartheid. We need to clear the deck and get people to choose who will represent them."

He acknowledges that the NP is opposed to the concept of an interim government produced by elections. "They see it as surrender. Perhaps we



NATAL

FIM 19/10/90

11A

GOOD SENSE

While some supporters of the ANC and Inkatha continue their deadly political fight — contained by “Operation Ironfist” and other security measures — and leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi still refuse to meet, at least the organisations are talking at senior committee level. High-ranking delegations met for the third time in Durban on Monday in what seems to have been the most sincere round of discussions to date.

Nobody expects the violence to disappear overnight but, following the considerable success of two local “peace accords” in Natal — which still seem to be holding — the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to visit flash-points to review the situation on the ground.

Though not spelt out after Monday’s meeting between the two delegations — led by the ANC’s John Nkadimeng and Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose — it seems clear the purpose of the joint visits is to try to



Buthelezi ... a question of dignity

emulate the accords in Empangeni and Ndwedwe, which have established relative peace.

Both organisations also appealed to followers to stop using violence to settle differences and even to avoid “using foul language” and show respect for each other — an important symbolic gesture aimed at Buthelezi. The most heated reactions from the Inkatha leader are provoked by what he calls the “vilification campaign” some members of the ANC are mounting against him.

The committee meetings — the next is set for November 8 — also represent a change in strategy to try to end the violence. It is now widely acknowledged that Mandela misjudged badly on his first visit to Natal soon after his release, when he called on the warring factions to throw their weapons into the sea.

The only response was an immediate in-

FIM 19/10/90

crease in the level of violence and the ANC leader lost support from both the radical youth (who saw his peace call as evidence of going soft) and more moderate people (who were dismayed at how ineffectual was the call for peace).

It now seems that the ANC and Inkatha are adopting a bottom-up approach towards tackling the violence, trying to get conditions on the ground peaceful before the leaders meet.

This makes good sense — at last. Despite the present stand-off, Mandela and Buthelezi are going to have to meet. Both must be acutely aware of the importance of timing — if they do get together and call for peace and nothing happens, what could they do next? Better to have the groundwork done.

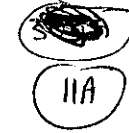
Increased security measures from government are only a temporary solution. The ace would be visible peace between Mandela and Buthelezi and nobody wants to waste that card.

When the great meeting finally takes place, the peace will simply have to stick. ■

TALKS AND NEGOTIATIONS

F1M 19/10/90

THE POWER OF SPEECH



One of the many problems we have is that the two main political groups (the NP and ANC) consist mainly of people who have to negotiate in a second language — English. The potential for misunderstanding is enormous.

An illustration of the problem emerged this week (see *Current Affairs*). Chief Nat negotiator Gerrit Viljoen talks about the “negotiation train” departing next year — but there is no clarity about its destination nor even the stations on the way. The ANC is raising concepts like “interim government” and “government of national unity,” which are apparently unacceptable to government.

Let us be quite clear about this.

If a general election is held with the purpose of voting people into a sovereign parliament, there can be no such thing as an “interim” government: it will be the next government. In fact, an interim government is a political impossibility in SA because (in contrast to Zimbabwe and Namibia)

there is no sovereign colonial power about to withdraw and, therefore, capable of acting as a disinterested referee.

If an assembly were to be elected specifically to negotiate a new constitution — but not to govern — then the present NP government would have to continue running the country until a new system is ready. A possible extension of Nat rule would be the co-option into the Cabinet of senior ANC members — unlikely, but not inconceivable.

In short, the present constitution stays until it is replaced by a new one. And until a new one has been negotiated the present government is not going to give up power.

But is this what Viljoen means when he says “the negotiation train is leaving”? Does the ANC understand that, under SA conditions, an “interim government” is a meaningless concept?

When the two sides do achieve some clarity of thought, let us hope they find the words to express it. ■



IEIR MIND

burnt in Italian power stations comes from Richards Bay and Italy is now SA's biggest market in the EC.

Confindustria, the industry umbrella organisation, has just had a delegation in SA looking at investment opportunities. Adolfo Battaglia, the Republican (liberal) Minister of Industry has visited SA and Trade, Industry & Tourism Minister Kent Durr has been to Italy, among other places.

Finally, last week, the Socialist Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis said he wanted relations with SA normalised as soon as possible.

It is not clear, however, whether Italy will use the closing weeks of its EC presidency to get there. Britain, having taken the lead, is now nudging the EC towards taking what will be a largely symbolic step in formally ending sanctions — but one which will have important repercussions on the US Congress — and overcoming the last of the hardliners, Ireland and Denmark.

SA is on the agenda for next week's meeting of heads of government in Rome but, according to the UK Foreign Office, the topic will take its place among a list of more pressing matters headed by European responses to the Gulf crisis, German reunification and British entry to the exchange rate mechanism of the European Monetary System.

There are also worries about US reaction to the failure of EC agriculture ministers to agree to reduce farm subsidies sufficiently.

Discussion about SA is likely to be a general review of events and reports from the UK, Holland and Luxembourg on De Klerk's visits. But it could produce results in the more important communiqué which will follow Italy's end of term summit in December.

John Cavill

GOVERNMENT POLICY ^{FIM 19/10/90}

UNTHINKABLE VISION ^{11A}

When black American civil rights leader Martin Luther King said in the Sixties that he had "a dream," it marked the end of official racial discrimination in that country. Last week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen announced: "I have acquired a new vision..." ^(scribble)

Viljoen explained this vision to a group of political journalists. It is the realisation that the NP can become part of the majority in a new dispensation. Compare it to his earlier philosophy that the future of minorities had to lie in the entrenchment of protection for those groups and Viljoen's vision illustrates the 180° turn by the De Klerk administration

^{FIM 19/10/90} ^(scribble)
— the salvation of whites does not rest with group (that is, racially based) rights.

Both De Klerk and Viljoen had previously been the most outspoken supporters of group rights and the protection of racial minorities. The sudden change, explains DP leader Zach de Beer, is proof that the Nats are now seeking a broader membership, along with new alliances, principles and policies. Having decided to dispense with its artificial protection, the NP is simply too small in its present form to be effective in the new SA.



Viljoen ... visions of trains

present form to be effective in the new SA.

Viljoen certainly raised new and difficult questions. Discussing his new vision that minorities could retain some hold on power, the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily *Beeld* warned in an editorial that government would be behaving irresponsibly if it could not back up such claims with research.

Earlier in the year, Stellenbosch political scientist Willie Esterhuysen — regarded as a Nat insider since the exit of P W Botha — suggested to the *FM* that the NP should open its ranks, change its name and form an alliance with the ANC. Viljoen openly discarded these ideas.

This week Esterhuysen, who had just returned from overseas, told the *FM* that he had read about Viljoen's rejection of an alliance with the ANC with "some surprise." Esterhuysen says it is to be expected that certain differences still exist which would make an alliance difficult now. However, Viljoen's statement may only be strategy, says Esterhuysen.

While it is to be welcomed that the Nats want to drop the group concept, Viljoen's vision cannot be ascribed as a mere change of heart. Strengthening the belief among Nats that they could actually beat the ANC at the ballot box is an increasing feeling among political commentators that the ANC is in dire need of restructuring.

Newsweek correspondent Joseph Con-

The protagonists of Crossroads

A notable feature of Mr Jeffrey Nongwe's war against Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana is that he is able to wage it from inside the sprawling camp.

Unlike his predecessors who were forced out of the area the moment there was any sign of dissension, Mr Nongwe, a former lieutenant of the mayor, has stood his ground.

In 1983, Oliver Memani left Crossroads to set up the KTC squatter camp after an unsuccessful rebellion. Four years later, Mr Prince Gobingca moved to Khayelitsha after a similar attempt to overthrow Mr Ngxobongwana.

Last week, events in the battle-scarred camp seemed to tilt in Mr Nongwe's favour as some of the mayor's supporters moved out of the camp.

Slipping

The roots of the current conflict can be found in a dispute over housing funds which made Mr Nongwe and 13 other headmen part company with Mr Ngxobongwana.

They accused Mr Ngxobongwana of misusing the funds, but a subsequent government investigation failed to find any substance in their allegations.

But Mr Nongwe's actions resulted in the once-mighty Mr Ngxobongwana slowly slipping from grace among the people who adored him.

His militant speeches used to draw drowning applause from his followers in the ear-

Once they were colleagues . . . now bitter enemies

Jeffrey Nongwe

Johnson Ngxobongwana

Controversial Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana is no stranger to opposition to his iron-fist rule. In fact, he has survived at least two major attempts to oust him, but recent events in the area seem to suggest that this time, he may be on the losing side. Staff Reporter VUYO BAVUMA examines the background of Mr Ngxobongwana's reign.

ly 80s when he was president of the Western Cape Civic Association and he proved to be an asset in the struggle against the notorious Piet Koornhof Bills which planned to curtail the movement of people in the so-called "white" urban areas.

Impregnable

In these stormy times, the Crossroads leader was detained and once stood trial for public violence.

But in the later half of 1984, Mr Ngxobongwana drifted away from the progressive political organisations.

The two so-called "witdoeke" wars in 1985 and 1986, which led to many people being killed and their houses torched, sealed the division between him and the local political activists.

Subsequent opposition to Mr Ngxobongwana's rule in the camp was successfully suppressed. In 1987 dissenter Mr Gobingca was forced to leave the camp after being shot and injured by unknown men.

In fact, Mr Ngxobongwana's rule seemed impregnable.

But Mr Nongwe's opposition altered the course of events.

The first cracks in the Ngxobongwana empire appeared when his councillors were removed from the committee of a local high school, now known as Mandela High School.

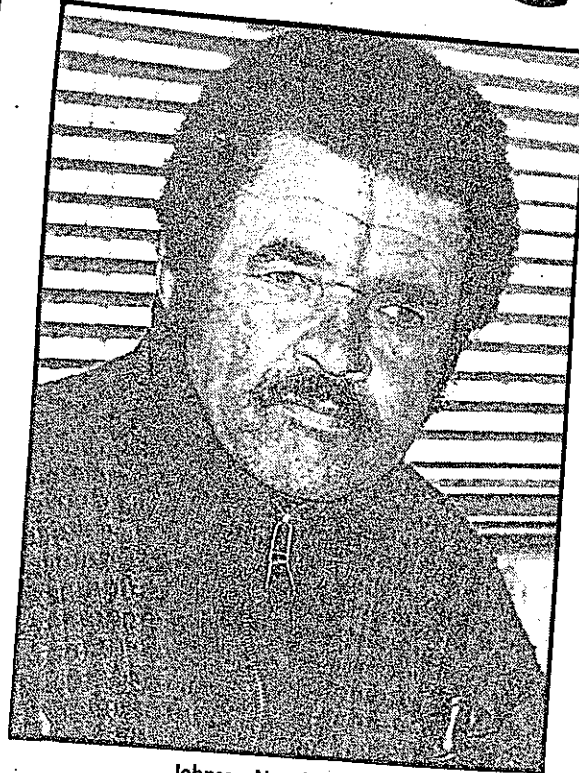
This was after the councillors allegedly tried to refuse the pupils under the control of Mr Nongwe access to the school.

The move was followed by the "expulsion" of 14 white teachers from the school. A parents-teachers-students association which included UDF and National Education Coordinating Committee members was formed.

For the first time since the early 80s, anti-government politics returned to Crossroads and were not suppressed by the Ngxobongwana rule.

But the killings and burning of shacks by the warring factions continued unabated.

In August houses of Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters in their traditional stronghold, Section One, were razed.



Johnson Ngxobongwana

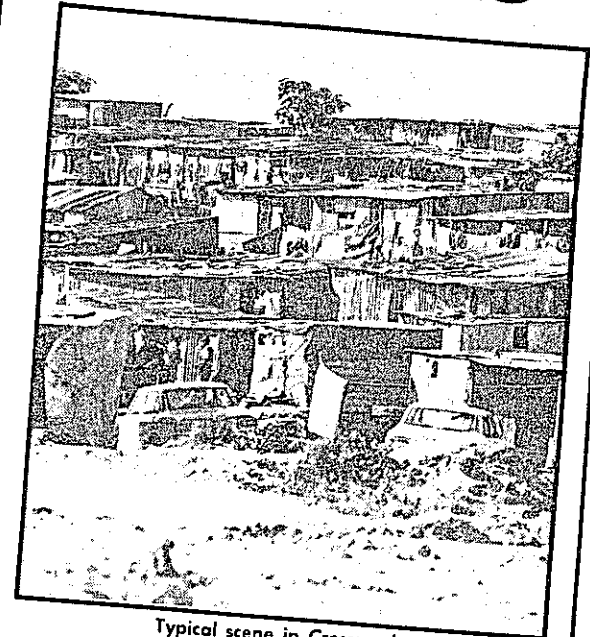
Later Noxolo Higher Primary School — where Mr Ngxobongwana used to host government officials — was damaged in arson attacks.

On August 24, the Pan Africanist Congress stepped into the area and vowed to protect its members — most of whom were pro-Ngxobongwana supporters.

Four days earlier Mr Nongwe was elected as a chairman of the ANC Crossroads branch.

But despite these political developments, some residents in the camp disagreed that the conflict was between "the ANC and the PAC members."

They said it followed large scale corruption, allegedly on



Typical scene in Crossroads

the part of the mayor.

In September matters came to a head when Mr Ngxobongwana's brick house was looted and burnt to the ground by youths.

Significantly, for the better part of the year, Mr Ngxobongwana spent time in Ciskei away from his people. Even now, he does not live among them.

As the violence continued, some of Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters — apparently tired of the 13-month feud — moved out of the camp.

Last week hundreds moved to a botanical nature reserve along Faure road, half a kilometre outside Khayelitsha.

Some residents of the new brick houses have left the camp as the violence against them continues.

Recent peace initiatives by police have failed as the tide turns against Mr Ngxobongwana's rule.

Last week disenchanted ANC members in Unathi section formed their own branch after they accused Mr Nongwe of using children to attack and loot their houses.

their own new branch which they said had more than 300 members. They are now planning to launch the new

"We are having problems in Old Crossroads

years later, Mr Prince Gobongwe challenged Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's authority, he was one of the mayor's loyal lieutenants.

Through the "witdoeke" wars in 1985 and 1986, Mr Nongwe was one of the councillors, but in August last year, Mr Nongwe stood up against his former colleague.

His main objection was that the mayor had allegedly misappropriated funds earmarked for housing funds. One of the trump cards held by Mr Nongwe was that he was always among his power-base in Crossroads — unlike his rival who spent long spells in Ciskei.

Like the previous adversaries of Mr Ngxobongwana, Mr Nongwe forged alliances with local political organisations with ANC-leaning. In certain quarters, scepticism was expressed about Mr Nongwe's "past" but many felt he was an important ally to have, when his power base is considered.

Months after the liberation movements were unbanned, Mr Nongwe hoisted a ANC

against the notorious Piet Koornhof Bills which planned to curtail the movement of people in the so-called "white" urban areas.

In these stormy times, the Crossroads leader was detained and once stood trial for public violence.

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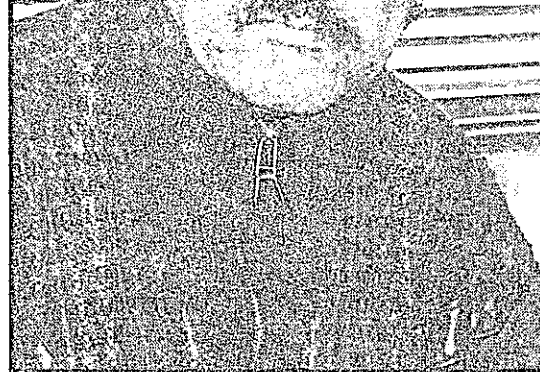
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Once they were colleagues . . . now bitter enemies

Jeffrey Nongwe

Through the "witdoeke" wars in 1985 and 1986 Mr Jeffrey Nongwe was one of his Johnson Ngxobongwana's councillors. But in August last year he challenged his authority in Crossroads. Staff Reporter VUYO BAVUMA examines his career.

flag on a pole near his house. It was then that Mr Nongwe began to intensify his fight against Mr Ngxobongwana and his supporters.

On August 19 he sealed his political ties when he was elected chairman of the ANC's Old Crossroads branch at an enthusiastic meeting of 3 000 residents.

His marriage with the political organisation flourished as Mr Nongwe was elected to serve on several structures including a funeral committee of the slain senior ANC official, Mr Trevor Vilakazi.

The target of his initial focus during the 14-month feud was the attack on pro-Ngxobongwana's supporters, mainly in the Section One area.

The houses of the latter group were torched and many of their supporters killed.

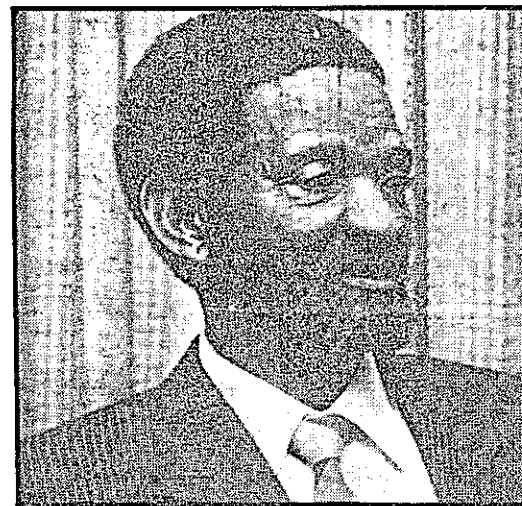
Most gave up the struggle and fled to Faure.

Amid the battle, rumours — reminiscent of the Ngxobongwana's heyday — emerged from the Unathi section who also belonged to the ANC.

The crux of the allegations of the disgruntled members was that Mr Nongwe's "henchmen" looted and set their opponents' houses on fire.

The residents also claimed that, as under Ngxobongwana's reign, they were being forced by Mr Nongwe's followers to pay for alleged funeral and lawyers' fees.

To them, the ex-lieutenant of the "ousted" Mr Ngxobongwana faction was acting no differently to his former colleague.



Jeffrey Nongwe

They also claimed on two occasions that Mr Nongwe sent anonymous letters which threatened them with harm if they did not leave the area.

The "rationale" behind the attacks on their houses was that they had been "allocated houses unfairly during the

Ngxobongwana rule."

Most of them stood their ground in Unathi as they believed they were "lawful occupants" of their houses. They also indicated they paid monthly rentals of R55.

Matters came to a head when the residents formed

their own new branch which they said had more than 300 members. They are now planning to launch the new branch at the end October.

In August the members of the branch met the local ANC executive about Mr Nongwe's conduct in a bid to solve the conflict.

Solved

In his house, with the ANC's flag fluttering on a pole, Mr Nongwe dismissed all the allegations of the Unathi Section.

He said the conflict in the area would be solved when the residents moved to the Section One, the territory formerly occupied by Mr Ngxobongwana supporters.

"We believe that the residents' adjacent to Boys' Town be accommodated first. This is because they stay in a waterlogged area."

"It is the kids of those people who are throw stones at us. We no longer use that route."

Mr Nongwe had been trying to arrange meetings with the residents' representatives, but none arrived.

"We are having problems in Old Crossroads but we are working on them organisationally. We had a choice of writing off Mr Nongwe's supporters but we'll take them on." — Trevor Manuel, publicity secretary of the ANC.

The publicity secretary of the ANC, Mr Trevor Manuel, said there was no doubt that Mr Nongwe had popular support, but this did not mean he was faultless.

"We are having problems in Old Crossroads but we are working on them organisationally. We had a choice of writing off Mr Nongwe's supporters but we'll take them on."

Early this month Mr Nongwe was acquitted on seven charges of arson and malicious damage to property amounting to R26 000. The charges arose from the violence in the camp.

Tough choices lie ahead

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ Star 19/10/90

The outcome of political change in all societies depends on a lesser or greater degree on two broad sets of factors. One comprises the socio-economic conditions within which a new system will take root, usually referred to as the pre-requisites. A second influence is the mode of transition; how the political system changes and the forces and constraints that arise in the strategic process of transition.

Pre-negotiations between major protagonists are obviously well advanced. Substantive constitutional and policy-directed negotiation will begin early in 1991.

Some of these salient features are assessed in the brief and selective propositions below:

- The Government is negotiating from a position of ambiguity, but not weakness. The present Government has never been in danger of losing control of the broader, overarching agencies of administration and control.

Ambiguity

- The "costs" of continued minority dominance since 1987, while serious, have been those of degree rather than categorical pressures. Social protest and instability have lowered investor confidence, internal economic sanctions have reduced the prospects of external investment but have left exports relatively unaffected.

- The major protagonist of government, the ANC, is likewise negotiat-



What kind of transition faces South Africa? **LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits Graduate School of Business Administration, discusses the options in an article published in the latest edition of "Indicator" — the Quarterly Review of Natal University's Centre for Social and Development Studies.

some black local authority leaders, black religious elites who are rising above party-political divisions in the black community (especially Archbishop Tutu) and with some parties in the existing Parliament (the Labour Party and the Democratic Party, or parts of them) to avoid stark opposition from these quarters.

- The ANC and its alliance partners enjoy virtually no penetration of support into the middle and senior ranks of the relatively large and coherent bureaucracy and security establishment. Without support from the National Party, they could not assume the government of the country. The notion of an autonomous takeover by the ANC is far-fetched.

- Both the Government and the ANC (should) realise that if, in the process of settlement, they weaken or fragment each other, they will have to deal with less-reasonable and less-conciliatory alternative protagonists, among most of whom even the principle of compromise is at this stage unacceptable.

Taken together, these features illustrate a cardinal feature of the

transition being "sponsored" by the National Party Government.

Revolutionary takeover is impossible in South Africa. The Government and the ANC are already locked-in strained interdependence, which, after all, is the fundamental reason why they are negotiating with each other at all.

An interim period of co-responsibility in government by the ANC and the National Party is virtually the only conceivable outcome.

Obviously one must concede that possible outflanking of both the ANC and the NP by militant or resistant political forces could derail the present process.

Pressure

One would suggest, however, that the derailment, if it occurs, would amount to a delay. The essential stalemate in political forces will resurrect the process in due course.

The prospects of conjoint rule, or a form of co-determination, at least for a while, say nothing about its likely democratic content.

It is often optimistically assumed that mass pressure or democratic

scinded in the ruling "alliance" and carries with it the powerful symbolic reassurance of the support of the security agencies, it will emerge with unchallenged popularity among a clear majority of whites, probably most Indians, the stable employed adult generation of coloured people and, according to some recent opinion polls, some 20 to 25 percent of blacks.

This would amount to roughly 35 to 45 percent of the total electorate, sufficient at least to deprive the ANC of an overall majority.

The ANC has larger problems. At present, conflicts are occurring on the ground between black factions which could lead to the alienation from the ANC of many traditionally oriented Zulus.

Even more importantly, perhaps, is the fact that the sub-categories among the ANC's potential constituents have not only very intensely felt expectations for economic redress and policy-change but that the expectations are far from uniform.

The ANC has hardly the basis for a party programme. If it is to avoid fragmentation and severe internal dissent, the ANC will have to adopt a style of what can be politely termed "imperative co-ordination". It will have to use its middle-level activists, committee personnel, shop-stewards and street gangs to impose discipline.

One might conclude that:

- Both the ANC and the NP are not going to substantially scale down claims to executive power. The compromise is unlikely to involve power for one and merely rights for the other.

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how, but they do." —
less than 97 per-
July 10 this year.

We want real change in all fields now — Mbeki

SUN CITY — South Africa needs urgent and substantial social restructuring and not mere cosmetic changes, says ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

At the 34th annual convention of the Institute of Personnel Management at Sun City yesterday, Mr Mbeki said South Africa's social problems could not be corrected through slight amendments or "tidying up small aberrations and embarrassing deviations from a system which was otherwise sound and acceptable".

Transforming

The ANC was in a hurry for change, he said.

"We do not believe it should be deferred from today to another day. Neither do we believe that it should be protracted as a matter of deliberate policy."

No social activity should be excepted from the process of transformation, including the economy, education, the social services, the civil service and the security forces.

"Obviously this process has to encompass politics and the Constitution, leading to the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country."

Mr Mbeki said the legitimacy and permanence of change depended on a national consensus concerning the fundamental features of the new society and on every person's participation in the process of change.

No one should feel they had no chance of taking part or were excluded in one way or another.

"To bridge the enormous gaps that divide

our society, we must together seek to agree on a whole series of consensual frameworks which would define the broad structure of the new South Africa within which we would enjoy our individual freedoms and discharge our responsibilities."

Violence, he said, threatened to derail the peace process.

"It is, therefore, clear that a situation of sharp and continuing public violence can never be conducive to an atmosphere favouring a peaceful and negotiated settlement.

"It was for the purpose of promoting such a settlement that the ANC decided to suspend all armed actions. We have stuck to this agreement and urge all others who proclaim a commitment to peace to do nothing to incite a violent conflict."

— Sapa.

Red carpets, protests for globe-trotting SA leaders

By GAVIN EVANS

RED carpet treatment — as well as vigorous anti-apartheid protests — awaits State President FW de Klerk during his three-day visit to the Netherlands and Luxembourg this week.

De Klerk will set foot in The Hague on Tuesday morning, a week after his return to South Africa from a successful trip to Portugal and Britain.

And as De Klerk prepared to leave, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela was receiving a tumultuous welcome in Calcutta on the first leg of his three-week Asian-Australian tour.

Mandela, who leaves Calcutta for Jakarta today, has been received like a visiting head of state by the Indian government.

When he arrived in Calcutta yesterday, most of the cabinet of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu was at the airport to receive him and the crowds in the street, which welcomed his cavalcade and attended a rally at the city's Eden Garden cricket stadium, were estimated at 100 000.

The two major purposes of Mandela's tour are to help ensure that sanctions against South Africa are maintained and to raise money for the ANC — with R13,5-million having been donated in India so far.

After a week in India, Mandela will visit Brunei on Sunday and will arrive in Australia for a four-day visit on Monday. He will spend Friday in Indonesia and will visit Japan for a week, returning to Johannesburg on November 4.

De Klerk's Dutch itinerary includes meetings with Dutch President Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Affairs Minister Hans van den Broek, lunch with Queen Beatrix on Wednesday, and a parliamentary session which he will address. He leaves for Luxembourg on Thursday and is expected to return home on Friday.

The Dutch anti-apartheid movement has announced that it will hold a series of protest actions to express its opposition to the official welcome given De Klerk.

These will include presenting a "widely supported" petition to the Dutch gov-



FW de Klerk



Nelson Mandela

ernment, a protest meeting to be addressed by Zarina Maharaj, wife of detained ANC and South African Communist Party leader Mac Maharaj, and pickets in front of the Dutch parliament.

On Monday De Klerk returned from a four-day visit to Portugal and Britain which saw him meeting Portuguese President Dr Mario Soares and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and addressing British businessmen on sanctions and related issues aboard the Queen Elizabeth II ocean liner.

De Klerk's trip was described by a Downing Street representative as "very positive and constructive". He added that "the prime minister is very much in support of Mr de Klerk".

De Klerk opened the NP's Transvaal Congress yesterday evening. The congress is expected to follow Natal, the Free State and the Cape in agreeing to open the party's ranks to all races.

PAC

The Tembisa branch of the Pan Africanist Congress has invited all residents of the township, irrespective of their political beliefs, to attend a public meeting at the Tembisa multi-purpose centre at 6.30pm tonight.

Co-ordinator Mr George Kgomo said the discussions would centre around the Government's invitations to political organisations, including the PAC, to enter into exploratory talks.

ANC

The Sebokeng branch of the African National Congress will hold a special general meeting at the Lutheran Church in Sebokeng on Sunday.

A spokesman for the branch, Mr Thomas Maleka, said the meeting would discuss, among other things, the formation of the ANC Women's League branch in the township.

The meeting, which starts at 2pm, will also elect additional members into the executive.

SOBUKWE

Mr Benny Alexander, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, will address a rally at the Tembi Shopping Centre Hall in Tembisa tomorrow where the local branch of the PAC will be formally launched.

The meeting will also be addressed by Mrs Veronica Sobukwe, wife of Robert Sobukwe, PAC's first president who died of cancer in Kimberley about 12 years ago.

The meeting starts at 12.30pm.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The Meadowlands branch of the African National Congress Women's League will be formally launched at the Bapedi Hall on Sunday.

The meeting starts at 10am.

The rally will be addressed by speakers from the Meadowlands Civic Association. Everyone is invited to attend.

ANC wants real change immediately ^{11A} Mbeki

B1224 19/10/90

Reports:
ACHMED KARIEM

THE restructuring and renewal of a common homeland in SA is urgent and should be effected as quickly and peacefully as possible, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

In his address to the Institute of Personnel Management convention at Sun City, he said the ANC was in a hurry for change and did not believe it should be deferred.

Mbeki said the process of transformation had to encompass politics and the constitution — leading to a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

This process also had to include the economy, education, the social services, the civil service and the security forces despite resistance from some quarters. Change had to be substantial and substantive and not peripheral and cosmetic, he added.



● MBEKI

"We believe that the defects in our social organism are structural and cannot be corrected through slight amendments and a process of tidying up small aberrations and embarrassing deviations from a system which is otherwise sound and acceptable."

Mbeki said everybody in SA should

participate in this process of change.

"We do not accept the notion that there is a select group of people who have the gift of wisdom, and who should therefore appropriate to themselves the right to decide the future of SA on behalf of the rest."

Agreement must be sought as a series of consensual frameworks that would define the broad structure of the new SA within which individual freedoms were enjoyed.

Mbeki said the ANC supported the process and outcome of the negotiations between Cosatu, Nactu, Saccola and government.

"In the process of these negotiations, the parties involved agreed on a set of principles which will undoubtedly contribute to a reduction of the level of confrontation in the conduct of industrial relations ..."

He said one of the aims of Cosatu's Workers' Charter was to democratise the economy by ensuring better participation of workers in the decision-making process.

Mandela gets royal welcome

Sowetan 17/10/90

11A

CALCUTTA - The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, received a tumultuous welcome in Calcutta yesterday when he arrived in India's Marxist stronghold.

Tens of thousands of people lined the streets cheering Mandela as he drove into the chaos of Calcutta, one of the world's most crowded cities.

The Indian government has been treating Mandela like a visiting head of state during his five-day visit, but in Calcutta he received a welcome usually reserved for royalty.

Pictures of Mandela and paper bunting festooned the streets. Huge cardboard cutouts, showing him with a clenched



NELSON MANDELA

fist, dominated many city intersections.

Mandela arrived from the Hindu holy city of Benares in an Indian Air Force plane flying the flag of the ANC, and the West Bengal state's ruling Marxist leaders rolled out the red carpet for him.

Almost the entire Cabinet of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu was at the air-

port to receive the ANC's deputy president.

Schoolchildren struck brass gongs and tens of thousands of people waved Indian and ANC flags as Mandela's motorcade drove to the governor's palace.

Long-time residents said they could not recall a similar reception for a visiting dignitary since Britain's Queen Elizabeth came nearly 30 years ago.

Mandela was to address a public rally later in the day at the city's famous Eden Garden cricket stadium, which has a seating capacity of nearly 100 000.

It was not known if Mandela would meet the 1979 Nobel Peace prize winner, Mother Teresa whose Missionaries of Charity runs homes for the destitute and dying in Calcutta. - Sapa-Reuter

We favour the road to peace, says Mbeki

11A
Soweto
17/10/90

THE Government and the ANC were convinced of each other's good faith and intention to work for a just and peaceful solution.

This was said by ANC director of internal affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki in an address to more than 1 000 managers at the Institute of Personnel Management convention at Sun City yesterday.

"We believe that the process in which the Government and ANC are engaged, concerning the removal of obstacles to negotiations, remains on course."

Violence

He said the violence that erupted in the Transvaal last month had threatened to derail the negotiations.

"It is therefore clear that a situation of sharp and continuing public violence can never be

By LEN MASEKO

conducive to an atmosphere favouring a peaceful and negotiated settlement."

The ANC believed that all political forces in the country should be involved in negotiating a new constitution.

Oppressed

Businessman Mr George Negoia said the question which arose in the minds of many people was how a "new South Africa" would look like.

"Obviously there would be a difference of expectations between the oppressed community and the privileged white community," he said.

"To the oppressed, a new South Africa would mean the end of poverty, prospects of employment, housing and education for all."

PAC keeps mum on talks invitation

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY (11A)

A STONY silence envelopes the Pan Africanist Congress and its affiliates as they ponder State President FW de Klerk's invitation to pull up a chair at the negotiating table. *Wits 19/10-28/10/90*

The RSVP De Klerk expects will have to wait until the national conference of the organisation in just over a fortnight, according to the Pan Africanist Student's Organisation (Paso).

This week Paso said it had resolved at its national congress in Bloemfontein two weeks ago to shelve announcing its position on negotiations. And the Azanian National Youth Unity, which held its national workshop last weekend, is also withholding its decision on talks.

The decision to postpone the reply to the government heightens speculation that the decision is crucial for the future of the PAC.

The external mission of the PAC decided in Harare last month to refer the is-

sue of participating in talks to its members and, said PAC general secretary Benny Alexander, the matter was still being discussed by its structures.

There is every indication that the African Women's Organisation, which is still to hold its congress, will not preempt the official PAC announcement at the national conference.

Paso general secretary Lawrence Nqandela said his organisation had decided to wait until the conference to "avoid distortion" of the PAC's stand on talks. Paso's resolution comes two weeks after its Wits region agreed at the regional congress to reject De Klerk's invitation.

Lungelo Mbandozayo was elected president of Paso; Eugene Motati, publicity and information secretary; Thabiso Manine, deputy president tertiary; Junior Dlaiwe deputy president secondary level and Vusi Moyeni, national organiser.

Welcome to the party! ANC, Cosatu members lead new team

By GAVIN EVANS

11/8 W/Mant 19/110 - 25/10/90

THE South African Communist Party yesterday announced the names of 23 regional leaders — most of them top African National Congress and Cosatu activists.

The composition of the SACP's Transvaal Interim Leadership Group (ILG), which will help set up party structures in the Free State, suggests that close links between the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SACP are still being forged.

At least 10 of its members hold positions in the ANC — five are in national departments and five are former ANC prisoners.

In keeping with the party's claim that atheism is no longer a pre-requisite for SACP membership, the group also includes two activists, Nomvula Mkonyane and Mike Roussos, involved in church activities.

The group indicates a strong bias towards workers and union organisers with 13 of the 23 members being active or former unionists. Some of these, such as Bobby Marie of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, do not come from the ANC tradition within Cosatu.

SACP official Geraldine Fraser said the group would "soon be reinforced by other structures" in the Transvaal and Free State. A new SACP central committee

will be elected at its next conference on July 29 1991.

The members of the Transvaal ILG, who include 19 men and four women, 21 blacks and two whites, were introduced to representatives of the ANC, Cosatu, and various UDF affiliates at a meeting at the weekend. These organisations were also asked by the SACP "to help build the party".

Fraser said three other women had been approached "but they felt they were not quite ready to hold leadership positions at the regional level and felt they could make a greater contribution at the branch level".

SACP central committee member Essop Pahad said over 10 000 people had applied to join the party since its national launch on July 29.

The Transvaal committee includes:

Elias Motsoaledi, (66), former Rivonia trialist life prisoner released last year after 25 years on Robben Island; Jerry Majatladi (34), National Union of Mineworkers publicity secretary, former Robben Island prisoner, Pretoria ANC leader; Duma Nkosi (35), South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union president, former Robben Island prisoner, Katlehong Civic leader; Gwide Mantashe (38), NUM national organiser, ANC Vosloorus branch committee member and civic leader; Bob Mabaso, Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association vice-president; Bobby Marie (37), National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa national organiser; Stan Nkosi (43), lawyer, ANC department of political education official, former South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union general secretary, former Robben Island prisoner; Sam Chikwa, worker and Transport and

General Workers' Union executive member.

Mike Roussos (34), ANC logistics department head, former Sarhwi education secretary, Catholic church activist; Ismael Momoiat (32), TIC general secretary and Johannesburg UDF leader; Mandla Nkomfe (29), ANC department of political education official, South African Youth Congress Southern Transvaal education officer and Soweto Civic Association activist; Lisa Seftel (31), Cosatu campaigns co-ordinator and former Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee general secretary; Firoz Cachalia (32), lawyer researching constitutional law for ANC, Transvaal Indian Congress publicity secretary; James Maseko (27), South African National Students' Congress national general secretary; Ignatius Jacobs, Sayco official; Paul Mashitile (30), UDF regional secretary, Alexandra ANC and civic leader; Zwelenzima Vavi, Cosatu regional secretary and Vaal community leader; Vusi Mavuso, Chemical Worker's Industrial Union PWV branch secretary.

Vulindlele Mathkola (30), former Robben Island prisoner, Sayco southern Transvaal leader; Andrew Zulu, worker and Numsa and Cosatu Witwatersrand chairman; Joyce Kgoali, worker and South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union member; Bennie Monama (30), lawyer, former Sansco member and UDF activist; Nomvula Mkonyane, Kagiso community leader and church activist, Federation of Transvaal Women leader.

Since the SACP's national launch, the names of 58 SACP national and regional leaders have been announced. Speculation about white and Indian domination of the party may be unfounded. The SACP leaders include 48 men and 10 women, 48 blacks (33 African, eight coloured and seven Indian) and 10 whites.

'Nothing in the way of negotiations now'

FW lifts emergency

CM-Trip 19/10/90

(Handwritten scribbles and initials)

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the state of emergency in Natal, enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

South Africa stood on the threshold of real negotiations, he said later at the opening of the Transvaal congress of the National Party.

"Stumbling blocks have been removed. The door is now fully open.

"Let us get on with the job. Let us put petty politics and manoeuvring aside."

Mr De Klerk told more than 1 500 people gathered in the city hall here last night that support for reconciliation through negotiation was "growing by the day".

Earlier he had told a media conference that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told the conference however that security force levels in Natal townships would not be reduced. They were needed in case of renewed outbreaks of violence.

For the first time since June 1986 no state of emergency is in force anywhere in South Africa.

The announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha who agreed it would help pave the way to full-blown constitutional negotiations.

And the move was met with immediate positive reaction abroad.

The White House warmly welcomed the announcement.

Spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater termed the move "another important landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in South Africa" and credited Mr De Klerk with political courage and leadership.

Momentum

"As the President George Bush said on the occasion of President De Klerk's visit to Washington, we believe that the process of change in South Africa has become irreversible. The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal reflects that reality."

A spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "There is now a heavy responsibility on all South African political leaders to restrain their followers from further violence and maintain the momentum towards negotiation."

The ANC said yesterday that the step taken was part of the process necessary for the removal of obstacles in the path of negotiations.

"We hope this will be extended to eradicate the remaining obstacles, in particular the release of all political prisoners and detainees and the repeal of all security legislation.

"The lifting of the state of emergency should be accompanied by the withdrawal of troops such as 32 Battalion from Natal," the statement added.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was his fervent hope that the move would give peace initiatives "greatly added scope" to succeed. He called on everybody in the KwaZulu-Natal region to make a concerted effort to put an end to political violence "once and for all".

Responding to questions after his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a timetable for a new constitution, as negotiations were in essence a multi-party process and could not



SHOT . . . Police (above) fire teargas from an armoured vehicle yesterday to break up a protest by Toekomsrus residents against the suspension of electricity and water supplies. Below: The body of a man shot dead by police lies beside an armoured vehicle after security forces fired on the demonstrators. © Report — Page 7

Picture: REUTERS

FW to visit Morocco

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk will visit Morocco next week.

President De Klerk's trip was confirmed last night in a brief statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"On their way to Europe, the State President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs will pay a working visit to Morocco," the statement said.

Mr De Klerk is expected to hold talks with King Hassan during his brief visit to Morocco's capital of Rabat.

Morocco, which has strongly supported the international campaign against Iraq since the conquest of Kuwait and has sent troops to Saudi Arabia, is regarded as one of the moderate Arab states.

After leaving Morocco, Mr De Klerk will travel to Holland on Tuesday for an official state visit where he will meet Queen Beatrix and Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers.

Commuters pushed off Joburg train

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifteen commuters were thrown from a Pretoria-Johannesburg train yesterday morning.

Police said the incident occurred between the Birchleigh and Kiebeeck railway stations near Kempton Park.

The 15 injured passengers were admitted to hospitals in the Kempton Park area. Four of them were in a critical condition.

No arrests have yet been made. — Sapa



As a protest against this government's policies I refuse to pay my driving licence.

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

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Responding to questions after his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a timetable for a new constitution, as negotiations were in essence a multi-party process and could not simply be bipartisan.

The government had a four-year limit before the next elections were due but it would obviously prefer to honour its commitment to test the opinion of the existing electorate sooner than then.

It would seek a mandate from the electorate for a totally new constitution in which everyone would have a vote of equal value.

"If the negotiations are not concluded before the next election is due, we will be forced to hold another election."

He was confident the National Party would be "part of the winning side" in the election held under the new constitution.

Commenting on Archbishop Desmond Tutu's plans to convene a summit of black leaders to formulate a joint strategy to negotiations, he said he welcomed each initiative to bring more stability to the country, but he would not comment on the archbishop's method of doing this.

Mr De Klerk said the leadership of extra-parlia-



SHOT . . . Police (above) fire to break up a protest yesterday to break up a protest the suspension of electricity a body of a man shot dead by vehicle after security forces fire port — Page 7



ANC in big drive for funds to aid exiles



*Sowetan
19/10/90.*

THE African National Congress is planning a multi-million-rand drive to widen its financial base to provide special assistance programmes to help its members returning from years of exile.

ANC head of finance Mr Vusi Khanyile said yesterday that businessmen and companies would be approached, "along with all levels of society".

Khanyile also confirmed that members of the ANC executive committee were having discussions with overseas experts about the creation of a special new develop-

ment bank.

He stressed that the proposed bank was not intended to serve the ANC alone.

"It will be a new financial institution to mobilise funds for development projects aimed at the encouragement of a transformation in society as a whole."

Khanyile denied reports that the organisation had already approached specific corporate giants.

Talks between various business leaders and the ANC executive committee so far had centred on an exchange of views about political changes and the shape of a new society, he said.

However, businessmen and companies would be invited to contribute to the fund-raising programme when it was launched at national level.

"The ANC needs funds for a wide range of requirements. We still need to tackle improvements in the ANC infrastructure as a legal entity in the country and put the movement in a position where it can carry out its full political responsibilities."

South African Chamber of Business said:

"The question of which political parties to fund - whether black or white - is a decision which companies alone must take."

UDF and ANC vary about Lebowa government boycott

11A
[Handwritten marks]

A NORTHERN Transvaal president of UDF, Mr Louis Mnguni, yesterday said his organisation had no knowledge of the agreement reached between the Lebowa government and the ANC recently and they will continue to boycott all activities of the bantustan.

In an interview with a Pietersburg based newspaper, *Times*, Mnguni said the talks which the ANC held with the homeland leaders does not mean the organisation has reconciled itself with the "abominable system".

However, the "Lebowakgomo Minute" signed between the ANC's national executive members, Mr Elias Motswaledi and Wilton Mkwayi, and Ramodike's government in Lebowakgomo recently stipulates that the ANC would stop calling for boycotts of the homeland structures.

But Mnguni said there was no such minute in exist-

BY RUSSEL MOLEFE

tence and his organisation was forced to conclude that reports in the media of such agreement was intended to discredit the "present serious and patriotic talks" between the ANC and the Government.

He said the relationship the ANC has with the homeland leaders was on the basis of the struggle against the bantustans as internal organs of rule by apartheid colonialism. "This does negate the right of our people to wage mass action against the system", Mnguni said.

He added that demands for people's education and more and better arable land were directed against the system, no matter who was involved in it and not against any individual.

Top Azapo men to speak

TWO prominent members of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Mr Lybon Mabasa and Mr Nkosi Mofala, will address a workers rally at Garankuwa Stadium on Sunday. *Sowetan 19/10/90 (11A)*

The aim of the rally, which will coincide with the commemoration of the banning of 19 Black Consciousness formations on October 19 1977, is to galvanise support for Vametco workers who have been on strike for the past two months. *(11A)*

R270m needed for exiles

ALAN FINE

THE repatriation of all SA political exiles could cost up to R270m, figures supplied by ANC treasury department head Vusi Khanyile show.

In a discussion on the ANC's fundraising activities, Khanyile said the organisation was working on a figure of about R13 500 to resettle each of the estimated 20 000 exiles. This included their maintenance for their first few months back home.

Khanyile described yesterday's report that the ANC was approaching the SA business community for funding as "premature".

He said the ANC's national internal fundraising strategy was still being developed.

He said deputy president Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders had met many SA business leaders for discussions on a wide range of issues and it was "unfair to reduce that contact to ANC fundraising activity". He added that he was not saying that there would not be fundraising from business.

"An organisation of our size and nature needs a broad base for generating income to fund a multitude of activities. An important one is to rebuild it as a legal move-

ment. Another is the repatriation programme, and it also has ongoing commitments outside SA.

"It also has an obligation to the broader SA community, for example, political intervention to contribute to a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement — like defusing violence around the country.

"For this we will tap all possible sources of funds including donations from individuals and business."

Asked whether he believed ANC policy was compatible with the interests of large business organisations, Khanyile said: "The ANC has worked out its policies. People who share these views are free to support us. If they decide it is not in their interests that is their choice."

He said among issues discussed with businessmen was the question of their employing returning exiles.

Khanyile said while the ANC's income had not fallen significantly since being unbanned, these new activities meant its financial needs had risen substantially.

● Comment: Page 12

11A
8/Dec 19/10/90

Who'll rule in A

(11A)

Ste 20/10/90

Members don't want hierarchy set in stone . . .

SHAUN JOHNSON

THE key question of precisely who will wield power in the ANC when it hammers out a final deal with the Government is a major factor behind the current confusion about the organisation's national conference, scheduled for December 16.

A significant number of ANC members, both in South Africa and still abroad, want the conference postponed or downgraded in importance, according to sources. They believe that if the conference goes ahead as planned — and effectively sets the new ANC hierarchy in stone — several high officials will keep their positions "undemocratically".

Only a fraction of the large number of ANC members still in exile (some estimates run into tens of thousands) will have been repatriated by December. Many of them, it is alleged, would vote against some of those in the current leadership with whom they worked abroad and regard as "dead wood".

There has been particular unhappiness about a proposal that exiles be "represented" at the conference by ANC officials who would cast bloc votes on their behalf.

Weight

It is this dissatisfaction, coupled with considerable organisational complications, which reportedly prompted ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to propose before his departure for the Far East that the December gathering be held outside South Africa, and be styled a "consultative conference". While important, a consultative conference does not carry the weight of the landmark deliberations back at home.

It is now probable that the long-awaited conference — which would have set the seal on the "homecoming" of the movement after three decades of illegality as well as the apportioning of leadership positions between external and internal activists — will be rescheduled for next year. This means that decisions taken at the consultative meeting (Zambia and Tanzania have been mooted as possible venues) will be subject to review within a few months of them having been taken.

The London-based journal *FrontFile* claims in its latest edition that the positions of ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise will be vulnerable if the conference is postponed until the return of exiles is complete.

It could not be established whether ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo's position would come under review at the consultative conference. Earlier this month Mr Mandela confirmed that Mr Tambo would return to South Africa before the end of the year.

The ANC's conference organiser, James Stuart, was unavailable for comment.

● Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS reports that the Government believes that it might be necessary to withdraw some of its Cabinet Ministers from the Cabinet so that they can devote themselves to the negotiation process without a clash of interests.

Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe gave this indication yesterday at a press briefing at the *Transvaal National Party congress* which endorsed the decision to open the party to all races.

economist 'defects'

Star 20/10/90

'Nationalisation no solution to problems'

JOVIAL RANTAO

and thereby create employment opportunities.

He is not opposed to big corporations nor to monopolies. These, he said, were essential for an economy as small as South Africa's.

"In most instances they provide the economics of scale which otherwise would not be possible. This also helps to keep prices of products low.

"Monopolies are the only ones who are able to generate capital projects needed in SA. They are the best thing that can happen to an entrepreneur because by nature they are involved in capital intensive manufacturing on production, whereas an entrepreneur is involved in the service industry."

But, he said, big corporations must provide share incentives to their workers as a way of redistributing wealth.

On the question of land, he said that land should not be taken from its legal owners because that would be a violation of individual rights. If land was needed it "should be bought from the owners and rented to peasant farmers".

The lifting of sanctions would provide an enormous market opportunity for both black and white entrepreneurs. "We are not going to attract foreign markets by using the existing economic policy that is being discussed by political organisations, including the ANC and PAC," he said.

Under-educated

He said the problems of upgrading skills and technology in a new SA applied as much to the white community as it did to the black. "Statistics show that 30 percent of the whites are not very well educated. Some of them cannot speak an international language such as English. Their careers are not up to international standards. They cannot sell their skills in the international market," he said.

Dr Dlamini thought the PAC would, at some stage, participate in negotiations.

© The ANC this week summoned Dr Dlamini to a meeting where he was asked to explain why he had crossed the floor to a rival organisation.

The meeting, held on Wednesday at 11 am, was between Dr Dlamini and the ANC's Andrew Mlangeni, who helped Dr Dlamini with his return from exile.

"Comrade Mlangeni recognised that I had a democratic right to choose which organisation to join," Dr Dlamini said.

© See Page 11

DR SIPHO Dlamini, an economist who was tipped for a senior position in the ANC's economics department, has "defected" to the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) because, he says, he discovered that the ANC was not consulting its members at grassroots level before taking decisions.

Now head of the PAC's economics department, Dr Dlamini denied reports which said he quit the ANC because it was shifting from nationalisation as a means of redistributing wealth in a post-apartheid South Africa.

He said he believed nationalisation would not help the country in the long term.

Scare

"Nationalisation can only help a country on a short-term basis of about five years or so. However, if we want a long-term solution we have to forget about nationalising everything because that can only scare foreign investors away," Dr Dlamini said.

He recognised that the ANC could not suddenly stop preaching nationalisation to its supporters.

He did not discuss his defection with the ANC because "it was my decision. I don't think discussing it with them would have made any difference".

"The turning point of my relationship with the ANC was my recent visit to Natal to search for my relatives. I attended ANC-sponsored meetings, from which I picked up that the organisation was not consulting its members at grassroots level. There was a lot of disorganisation in branches, especially in Natal. Some people were not aware of what the organisation was about."

Dr Dlamini (33) is a part-time economics tutor at both Wits and Vista universities. Born in White River, he was the first black man to obtain a PhD in economics — a distinction made even more noteworthy in that he was only 27 at the time.

He said that South Africa should work towards an export-led mixed economy, which would involve free enterprise.

"It is no use taking the existing cake and dividing it into smaller pieces among the masses. We have to produce more goods which we can sell overseas," Dr Dlamini explained, adding that it would take the country about 10 years to achieve a mixed economy, if the present economic policies were exercised.

The State should also facilitate investment opportunities by way of tax incentives to those starting industries



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W H COETZER (STILL LIFE)

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SALE —

21st October 1990 10:00 am sharp

Sunday 21st October from 10 am

Inquiry contact: SLS AUCTIONEERS 3814, Fax: 788-

Tinus de Jongh oil — W H Coetzer oil — Gregoire Boonzaier — Erich Mayer oil — J H Pierneef — Clement Senekoe — Maud Sumner oil — A F de Breunski oil — Henry Moore — S Carter — Hugo Naude — W M Timlin etc.

'Mutants thrive on love'

VISITORS to Gateshead this year would have been excused for thinking that it was the Day of the Triffids, not a garden festival.

Even the Bishop of Durham, the Rt Rev David Jenkins, was heard to mutter something about "mutants".

The picture shows a 1-m high pumpkin that would have kept the residents in fritters for several days, if not weeks, while the 5-m carrot would have made an awful lot of soup. Also on display was a head of celery weighing over 20 kg and a 4,3 m parsnip.

The carrot, the celery and the parsnip — all the products of Bernard Lavery — are to feature in the Guinness Book of Records. His method is not only successful, but it also partly exonerates the Prince of Wales's gardening tip that earned him a "loony green" label. "I talk to them nicely," said Mr Lavery. "And if they don't grow, I give them a bit of hassle."

LIQUIDATION OF FINAL BALANCE

Mercedes-Benz motor car — exotic and classic Persian carpets — from all nomads — antique Khellims — 15 selected South African well-known and old important international oil paintings and international furniture engravings — large collection of (posthumous) — ladies' and gents' gold wrist

Strangest bedf

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20

11A

PATRICK LAURENCE

Can ANC, big business pay a joint d

THE image of the African National Congress, metaphorical cap in hand, seeking donations from big business, startles the mind and arouses suspicions of disinformation.

Yet, in a carefully phrased statement, the ANC acknowledges its leaders have approached business barons as part of its "strategy of internal fund-raising".

There is, of course, nothing unusual about politicians seeking funds from business or of businessmen lobbying for favours from politicians.

The ANC has, however, declared ideological war on big business in the past. Asserting that apartheid and capitalism are "two sides of the same bloody coin", its spokesmen have accused business of conniving with Government to sustain apartheid.

Thus, while it was not surprising that the former chairman of Anglo-American, Gavin Relly, led a party of businessmen to Zambia in 1985 to confer with ANC leaders, an ANC approach to capitalist moguls for funds still merits headline treatment.

The ANC remains formally committed to the Freedom Charter, clauses of which are calculated to induce neuralgia, if not worse, in the august chambers of commerce, industry and mines.

"The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all the people of South Africa, shall be restored to the people," the Freedom Charter declares. "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

There have been sophisticated attempts to argue that the Charter is not a mandate for socialism and nationalisation, i.e. for State ownership, in the name of people, of the means of production. But against these arguments there is the testimony of Nelson Mandela himself.

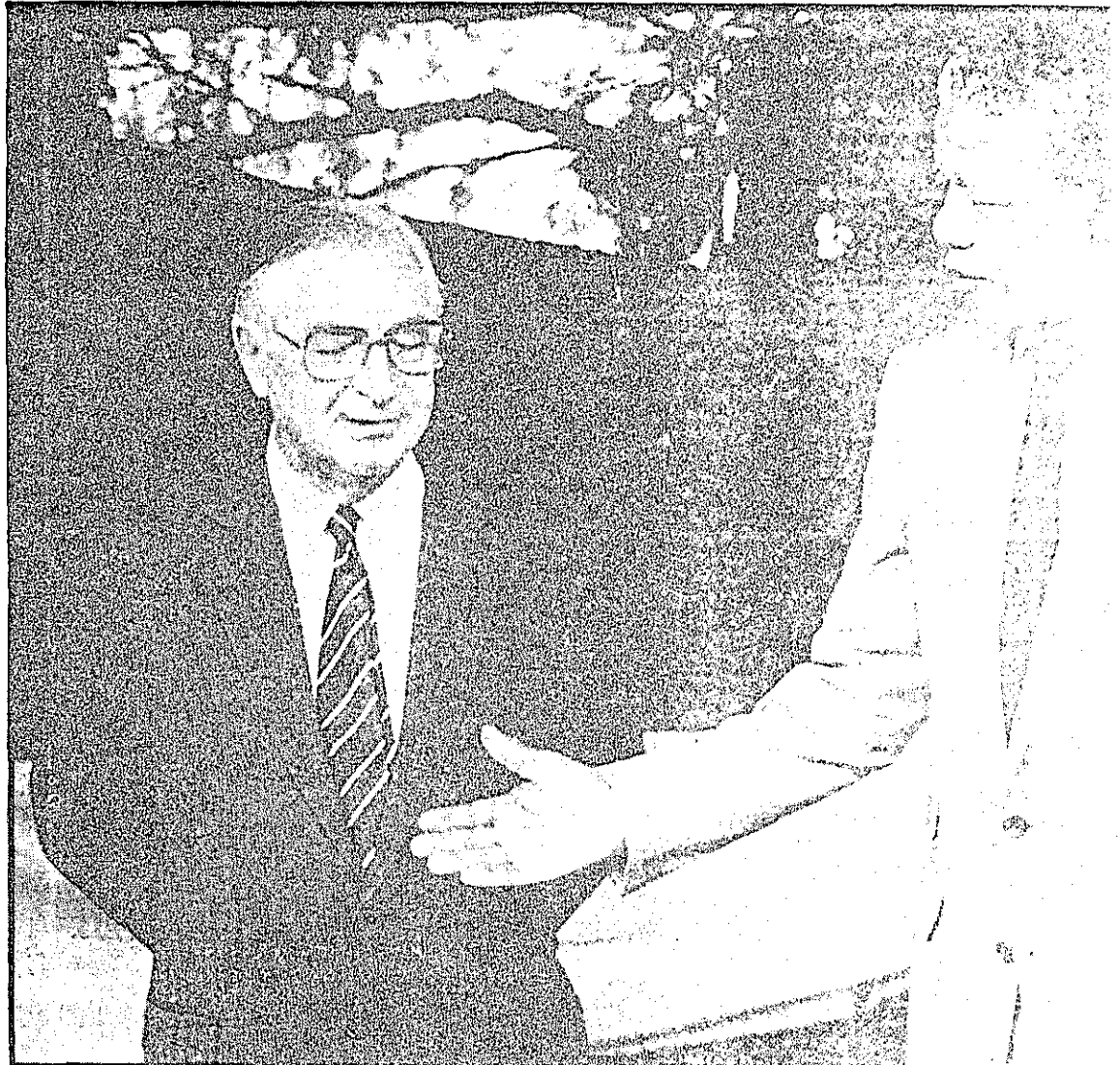
Writing from prison less than a month before his release, Mr Mandela declared: "The nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable."

Mr Mandela was apparently stung by newspaper reports insinuating that he had become a sybarite who had acquired a taste for fine wine and good food and who favoured development of a black capitalist class above the achievement of socialism.

Exhorting a trusted comrade to give the widest publicity to his views, he said: "Black economic empowerment is a goal we fully support, but in our situation State control of sectors of the economy is unavoidable."

Barely a month later, in a speech at the Grand Parade in Cape Town, a few hours after his release from prison, Mr Mandela offered no solace to South African or, for that matter, international capitalists. He again provided little or no succour to big business in his speech, a few days later, to 100 000 people in Soccer City, Soweto. The result was disastrous.

As Front File put it: "The Johannesburg Stock Exchange panicked. Foreign investors, particularly Americans, dumped large holdings of South African gold shares and prices



UNEASY RELATIONSHIP: Mr Mandela and Mr Relly after their meeting in Soweto earlier this year. The ANC has abandoned its commitment to nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry from big business but there is no guarantee that the movement has abandoned its commitment to nationalisation of wealth.

of gold and platinum stock dropped in London and New York by 25 percent. Both rand and finrand weakened."

But in May, when he addressed businessmen at a major conference in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela, was more judicious; he now realised how sensitive the nationalisation question was and how ill-chosen words could seriously harm the South African economy, to the detriment of all.

"We are very conscious of the critical importance of... the confidence in the future of both the national and international business communities and investors," Mr Mandela said.

He was reassuring on the question of nationalisation, rejecting as false the view that "the only words in the (ANC's) economic vocabulary are nationalisation and redistribution".

He did not, however, shirk discussion of another controversial aspect of South Africa's economy: the concentration of wealth in a few hands.

It was an issue which had to be addressed.

"It is said that less than 10 corporate conglomerates control almost

For the business barons in command of much of the economy, ownership without control cannot be an attractive notion. By talking to the ANC and by replenishing its coffers, their plan may be to ensure that the 'moderates' in the ANC triumph over the communists.

90 percent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange," he pointedly noted. He reckoned that the number of directors controlling these companies was less than 1 000, almost all of them white males.

It was clearly not enough to deracialise and democratise South Africa politically. "If we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order and in bringing in a new one charac-

terised by the notions of justice and equity, it is quite obvious that the economic power relations, represented by the reality of excessive concentration of power in a few white hands, have to change."

Mr Mandela then invited the business leaders to discuss with the ANC "nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned". The ANC, he insisted, had "no blue-

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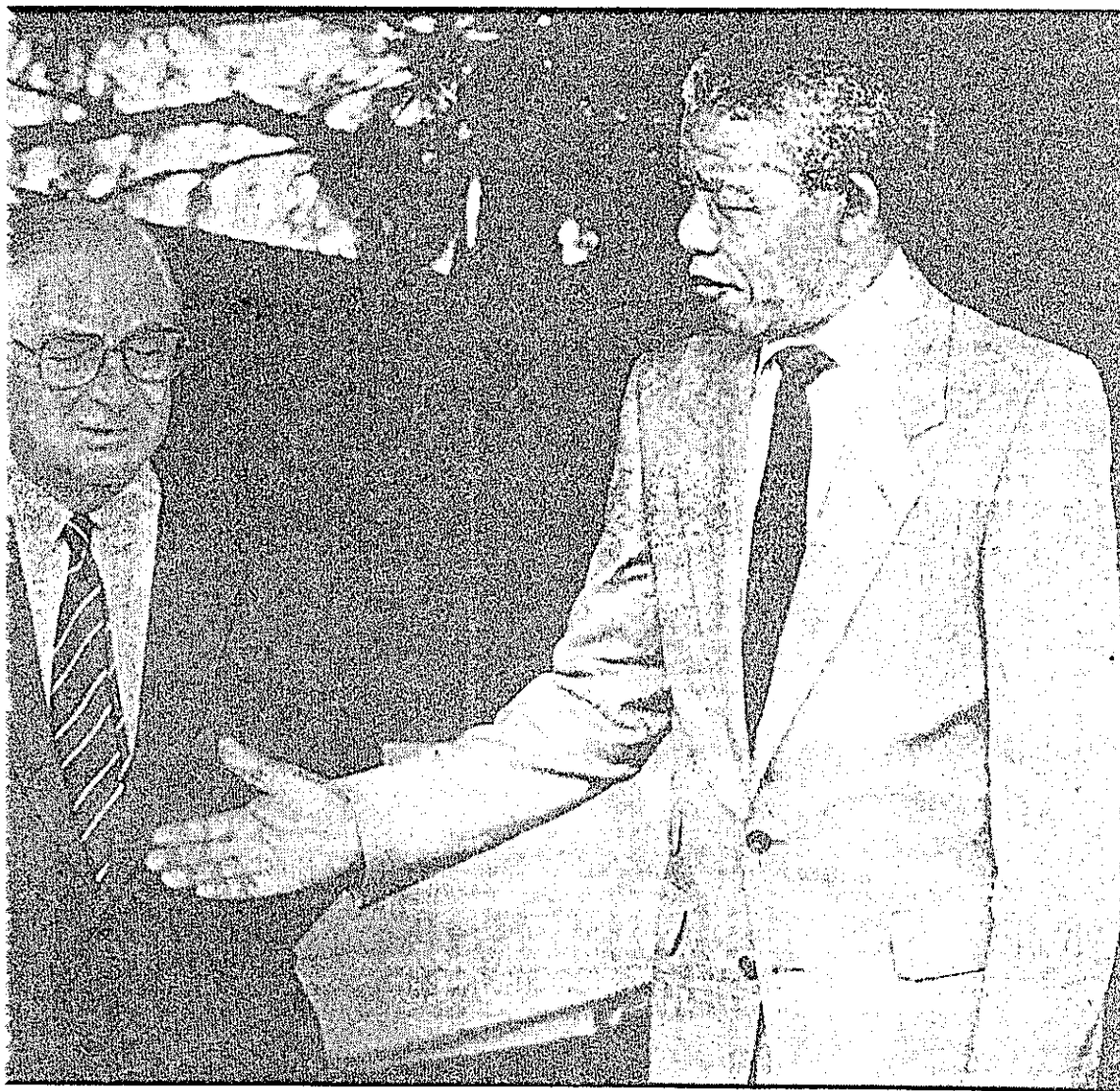
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Best bedfellows

Star 20/10/90

(114)

C, big business pay a joint dividend?



Mr Mandela and Mr Rely after their meeting in Soweto earlier this year. The ANC now needs money but there is no guarantee that the movement has abandoned its commitment to nationalisation and redistribution of wealth.

For the business barons in command of much of the economy, ownership without control cannot be an attractive notion. By talking to the ANC and by replenishing its coffers, their plan may be to ensure that the 'moderates' in the ANC triumph over the communists.

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Mr Mandela then invited the business leaders to discuss with the ANC "nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned". The ANC, he insisted, had "no blue-

print" as to what sectors of the economy should be nationalised.

He minced no words, however, in stating the ANC's premises: "We are firmly opposed to the process of privatisation on which the Government has embarked. (It) cannot but reinforce the economic power relations which we assert have to be changed."

The next major shift came with the recent release for publication and debate of the ANC's "discussion document on economic policy".

The document has one distinguishing feature: it does not mention the word "nationalisation", much less advocate it. Avoidance of the word cannot be accidental.

It speaks, instead, about the need for "growth through redistribution" and "economic restructuring" to correct "racial and gender imbalances through affirmative action".

There is a partial or qualified commitment to a market economy: the ANC recognises that "market relations are an essential component of a mixed economy" but it believes that market forces alone will merely "perpetuate the existing disparities of

income and wealth".

It proposes State direction of the public or State-controlled sectors of the economy in terms of a "national development plan".

Where the public sector was used by the National Party to promote "sectional interests" — presumably those of whites in general and Afrikaners in particular — an ANC Government will deploy it to meet the basic needs of the whole community.

The document refers specifically to housing, transport, electricity, roads and water. It offers the assurance that "commandist planning methods" will not be used.

(Commandist is a new word used to condemn the dictatorial methods used by communist regimes during the high tide of Stalinism.)

The apparent softening of the ANC's stance on nationalisation set the scene for its approach to big business for financial assistance for fulfilment of its huge tasks.

These include repatriation and settlement of 20 000 or more exiles. They do not exclude winning the first post-apartheid election.

The rapprochement of the ANC and big business may raise, in the minds of the far-right, the spectre of an ANC-AAC alliance, AAC standing for the Anglo-American Corporation as a symbol of big business.

Against that, however, there is another question: has the ANC really abandoned its quest to nationalise the mines, banks and "monopoly industries" or has it merely chosen to move more cautiously or, as its foes would have it, more stealthily?

At the moment it is a supplicant desperately in need of funds but there is no guarantee that it will remain as reasonable if it wins power.

Its long-standing partner in the pursuit of power, the South African Communist Party, remains committed to socialism. But, according to its general secretary, Joe Slovo, its commitment is a socialism liberated from "commandist Stalinism", a socialism wedded to democracy.

"Nationalisation," says Mr Slovo, "is not a catch-all solution for the problem of social ownership."

He adds: "The purely legal transfer of ownership to the State does not mean we can assure the redistribution of wealth."

"There has been a high degree of nationalisation within capitalism (without a redistribution of wealth)."

Calling for a more refined understanding of nationalisation, Mr Slovo says: "What isn't negotiable is that the new power which takes over must be ... able to achieve effective control over the direction of the economy for the purpose of beginning to redistribute wealth."

For him the critical issue in correcting the economic inequities of the present order is not ownership, but control.

ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki agrees: "Any democratic government will have to alter the structures in the economy to create a system which can redress the (gross) imbalances. The issue is who controls the wealth in order to effect a more equitable system of redistribution."

For the business barons in command of much of the economy, ownership without control cannot be an attractive notion. By talking to the ANC and by replenishing its coffers, their plan may be to ensure that the "moderates" in the ANC triumph over the communists.

Malan calls for 'real' MK leader

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said today he was willing to meet the "real" head of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, but not its controversial chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, who was "sort of secretary".

General Malan told the Transvaal National Party congress here that Mr Joe Modise was meant to be the leader of MK, but there was apparently some confusion over this, which was "typical of MK's poor organisation and lack of discipline".

General Malan added that he was willing to meet the real chief of MK "once they decide who it is", but only if both sides could guarantee beforehand that there was a mutual under-

standing of each other's terminology and that each side could openly inspect the other's military capacity.

In another speech today security Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok again lashed the ANC for making allegations about the security forces without offering evidence.

The unrest situation was under control, but it was volatile. He warned that the "smallest spark" could cause an explosion of violence.

This was evident in Vosloorus, where cutting electricity had led to unrest.

He appealed to Nationalists to take care in what they said and did, to be reasonable and just at all times, and to avoid stirring up confrontation and violence.

Staff Reporter

IN a new Azanian constitution the number of newspapers owned by one company would be limited, while smaller papers would be subsidised, PAC local co-ordinator Mr Barney Desai said yesterday.

He was speaking at a panel discussion on press freedom organised by the Association of Democratic Journalists in St George's Cathedral Hall.

Mr Desai was concerned that big monopolies like the Argus should be broken. "This would mini-

Press monopolies must go Desai

mise the monopoly of news management," he said.

Newspapers outside the mainstream — the so-called "alternative press" — were not without bias, he said.

"With very few exceptions they follow the party line."

Mass-circulation Sunday newspapers with "ethnic inserts" (supplements) were "an insult to us all", the former newspaper

and magazine editor said.

South Africa could not afford an uninformed or misinformed public which made ill-considered judgements.

Mr Deesai suggested that a press council "with teeth" be set up to deal with unethical or gross misconduct by journalists.

The bias in South African television was "obscene", he added. "Perhaps one of the

ways to correct this would be to have a board of governors running a public corporation."

Mr Ryland Fisher, regional chairman of the ADJ, who chaired the discussion, apologised for the non-arrival of ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the SA Communist Party.

● Ms Carolus said she regretted not attending the meeting but was forced to appear, together with her husband Mr Graeme Bloch, in Montague Magistrate's Court.

SACP, ANC committed to alliance

WHEN we were operating underground, those who saw (and continue to see), the ANC-SACP alliance as the biggest obstacle to the economic and political order they sought to protect, had all the opportunity to talk about us without allowing our people to hear from us.

The new situation certainly allows for a relatively free public debate and discussion of every party's political agenda. With media restrictions having been withdrawn, it is possible to accurately report what is happening in society and for the voice of change – of which communists are an integral part – to be heard.

The article by Sekola Sello which appeared in last week's *City Press* under the heading: "Useful Idiots' Hijacked by the South African Communist Party?", concentrated on sensation at the expense of rational discussion of the issues raised.

Of course, we in the SACP are used to the old, cold-war, anti-communist stereotypes. But Sello's article was misinformed even about the stereotypes.

A lot of "observations" and "fears" allegedly articulated by "labour" and "political" analysts (God bless them, I don't know who they are) appear not to understand the delicacy of what was being analysed.

For instance, Chris Dlamini, Moses Mayekiso, John Gomomo and I are described as "confirmed workerists". He goes on to say that these analysts have argued that should a conflict of interests arise in the alliance, the "workerists" would dump the ANC and align themselves with the cause of workers.

It is certainly a mistake for those analysts to stick to the label "workerists" and leave the matter there.

This is precisely what we mean when we say that the delicacy of analysis is being overlooked! Those who have had something to do with the struggle have come to understand a "workerist" as a person who seeks to separate the trade union movement from the broad political struggle.

Our long track record in the mass democratic movement as well as in the underground revolutionary movement does not make us guilty of such a crime.

The gossipers who write columns in *Africa Confidential* and *Business Day* have always stereotyped us as anti-workerist.

The stereotyped predictions that after liberation,

11A C/Press 27/10/90
Sydney Mufamadi, member of the interim leadership group of the SACP, responds to an article by *City Press* political editor Sekola Sello last week about the leadership role Cosatu officials play in the SACP.

national movements would dump working class politicians, is garbled by Sello into the opposite: the workerists will dump the national movement. For the record, the SACP is not a nationalist movement, it is a party of the working class.

The SACP programme which is available at our offices states "the path to power lies with the masses". This view lies at the core of the thinking of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance.

Anybody who suggests the SACP is riding piggy-back on Cosatu or on the ANC, is insulting the intelligence of our people. Even to suggest that piggy-backing is a feature of Leninist tradition shows the idiocy of a journalist trained under conditions where reporting is predominantly in the hands of monopoly capitalists.

It is our view (backed by experience) that both apartheid and monopoly capitalism seek to limit the horizons of people and to misinform them about reality. If Sello's article was not intended to do that, it nevertheless had unfortunate consequences.

Sello also observes "the history of Africa is full of alliances between nationalist movements and trade unions during the struggle for independence – only for unionists to be dumped after Uhuru".

So-called popular wisdom has it that a similar scenario exists in South Africa today. We would be the first people to admit that the South African struggle has much in common with those of the rest of Africa and elsewhere. Nevertheless, those similarities cannot be pressed too far without making serious mistakes. Our situation is not a carbon copy of any other situation.

Because of the more advanced capitalist system in our country, we have a very large and highly conscious working class. This has served as a socio-political base for the emergence and growth of a Communist Party in our country.

The ANC developed its revolutionary nationalism on the same base.

This also explains why the membership of Cosatu is so convinced that there is no earthly hope for an equitable distribution of wealth without democracy.

It is this similarity of viewpoints which gives rise to an alliance based on mutual respect.

The alliance should be understood as an expression of common participation in a common struggle.

All the forces that suffer the injustices of apartheid must be rallied to fight apartheid. These forces come together not because they are being manipulated by anybody. Rather, they come together because they all have an interest in the dismantling of apartheid and its replacement with non-racial, non-sexist and exploitation-free democracy.

Our own history proves that we have always sought to combine the struggle for liberation and the struggle for socialism. This explains why we have in South Africa a party of the working class and a broad front for liberation in one alliance.

For years we have had to contend with enemy propaganda which tried to create rivalry between our party and its allies. Even in recent times when the Red Flag is flying so high in our country, these efforts have not abated. Attempts are still being made to portray us as a "Broederbond" within the ANC, Cosatu and many "unsuspecting" organisations.

An example which is still fresh in our minds was the description of our consultative conference which took place in Tongaat, shortly after our unbanning, as a "Red Plot". If it was a "Red Plot", then it was a "plot" designed to enable the "Reds" to occupy the legal space won by years of struggle.

Fears expressed by "analysts" are not shared by us. We are certainly excited by the prospects which lie ahead. We expect those who fear us to continue to look for ways of destroying the optimism of our people.

Our people's commitment to the alliance was well put by the president of the ANC, Comrade OR Tambo, who once said: "Those who ask us to desert our allies, ask us to forget the enduring bonds that we have developed together in the trenches. By its commitment and actions, the SACP has earned itself the honourable place of being a worthy and indispensable component of the liberation movement."

Long Live the Alliance of Our People!

Victims of 'brutality' speak out

Cliffen
21/10/90

(23) (11A)

(24)

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE ANC press conference room in Klerksdorp this week resembled a hospital casualty section.

More than seven victims of alleged police brutality, some as young as ten years, were paraded before the Press.

They told of horrifying experiences in the Western Transvaal township of Jouberton.

Many more are said to be lying in Tshepong Hospital with injuries allegedly inflicted by members of the security forces last weekend.

The Jouberton Civic Association (JCA), Sayco and other community structures supported the ANC's demand for an independent judicial probe into the violence - allegedly perpetrated by security forces and individual cops acting as vigilantes.

The Press conference follows four weeks' unrest in the the Jouberton township, leading to the deaths of three residents.

The dead were identified as Alfred Mbolweni and William Mbakaqane, who were shot last Saturday, and Raymond Morapedi, 16, who was allegedly shot by police on September 23.

Little Jacob Ntshalintshali, 10, sporting a bandaged wound in the forehead and his friend, Isaac Mere, 12, with birdshot wounds in the back, told the conference they were hit by pellets which penetrated a corrugated-iron shack.

With tears in her eyes, Maggy Phakedi, 28, who was with Mbolweni when he was killed, said she feared for her

ANC wants probe of cop actions

life. She alleged policemen involved in Mbolweni's shooting said they would come back for her.

JCA members Stephen Tswaedi, Jonas Masinki and Salvation Mathe, with fresh wounds in their faces, said a policeman known as Sonnyboy Scane and three others had forced them to lie flat on the ground before beating, kicking and hitting them with fists. Another victim showed injured hands, claiming policemen hit his hands with stones.

Lawyer Iqbal Motala, who represents most of the victims, said affidavits had been handed to the police, but none of the culprits had been suspended or arrested.

ANC Western Transvaal convenor Zacharia Molekane demanded a judicial commission of inquiry into police action.

ANC regional secretary Tyrone Vengadasamy said a judicial commission, headed by a commissioner from the African Bar Council or the World Court, was "imperative".

The Klerksdorp police public relations officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Steve van Rooyen, could not confirm the allegations.



Xhosa workers and their families gather their furniture and belongings for the trek back home. PICS: JOSEPH OESI-ZUMA

By S'BU MNGADI

"I STRUCK, struck and struck with my panga at those Xhosas we found sleeping, fleeing or had fallen because of their injuries. I don't know if anyone died as a result of my blows. The task of finishing them off was left to those at the back of the raiding party."

These are the words of a mineworker, describing how more than 1 000 Zulu-speaking workers at Iscor's Hlobane Colliery were forced out of their beds by Zulu colleagues and told to attack Xhosa workers on Monday.

The worker, who refused to identify himself, told *City Press* he tried in vain to find out who had declared the war. He was warned he would be killed if he continued with his questions.

Ten people were killed and 52 injured in the violence. Most of the victims were Xhosa speaking. About 600 others, who had sought refuge at the nearby Draaifontein SAP station, quit their jobs after the mayhem and were bussed to the Transkei, Ciskei, Border and elsewhere.

Two weeks ago 1 000 workers were also repatriated to Transkei after clashes at the Duncoal quarry.

The Eshowe man told *City Press* the residents of his Zulu-only hostel were woken up at about 9pm on Monday by hard knocks on the door. On lifting his head, he noticed about 20 of his colleagues and strangers waking everyone up.

They were ordered to dress, arm and, if possible, "fortify" themselves with muti.

The mineworker reluctantly joined

I WAS FORCED TO ATTACK THE XHOSAS!

the raiders who had assembled in the yard outside, armed to the teeth. They then ran amok and moved from hostel to hostel looking for Xhosas. Colleagues were forced to identify Xhosas and their rooms.

All this, he claimed, took place in full view of the mine security who did not bother to intervene.

The head of Hlobane security, Chris van Zyl, refused to comment when *City Press* asked why.

During the rampage the worker came across many Xhosa colleagues who looked at him, hoping he would spare their lives. Some recognised him and cried: "You are also killing us."

He did not attack those he knew but pretended to attack, so as to scare them away, while his fellow Zulu attackers unleashed their assortment of weapons with fury, and killed right before his eyes.

He avoided the dying eyes of people he knew, by simply turning his head away.

"I only attacked those I did not work

Hotheads start rampage after alleged taunts

with. I don't know if I killed anyone. The task of finishing them off was left to those at the back."

Although ethnic tension has been simmering for a long time, the Zulus did not as a group declare war on the Xhosas, he said.

It was certain "hotheads" among them who were in collusion with people from outside the mine.

Zulu-speaking mineworkers who challenged the raiding party to try and protect their Xhosa colleagues were also attacked - and are now among the dead and injured, he said.

But he does not regret the Zulus went on the rampage, killing people in their

sleep. It was important, he claimed, that it be proved "who is who on the battlefield".

He said he had heard "rumours" that Xhosas had taunted Zulus for a long time.

The taunts were that all senior positions were held by Xhosas because Zulus were stupid: ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela can go to Parliament and talk to State President FW de Klerk, while Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi can't; when South Africa is finally liberated the Zulu king (Zweithini Goodwill) will be Mandela's tea-maker.

He conceded he had not heard a single Xhosa-speaking colleague making these utterances, but it was "strongly rumoured" at the colliery.

The worker said he hoped now that the Xhosas had been forced out of the colliery, there would be peace and Zulus would be "elevated" to senior positions.

Several of the Xhosa workers bussed home told *City Press* they dared not stay on in their jobs at the colliery.

Philiso Pali 26, a belt attendant, is a member of the National Union of Mineworkers (Num), although public activities of the union ceased in May 1987 when violence between it and the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) erupted, claiming the lives of 12 Num activists. No one was charged in connection with the 12 deaths.

Pali said he and 12 members of his extended family were sleeping in a five-roomed house at the married quarters section on Monday night, when the house was attacked by people chanting "Usuthu!, Usuthu!".

The attackers - some his colleagues - forced their way in, waving pangas, axes, guns, spears and knobkerries. Four members of the family - including a four-year-old boy - sustained serious injuries.

Bleeding profusely from the head and body, Pali single-handedly rescued the injured from the house which had

been set alight. However, he discovered his uncle, Elijah Senzela 55, was dead and burning by the time he got to him.

Pali also said the attack took place in full view of mine security.

He is convinced many of his Zulu colleagues had not known of the impending attack, but had nevertheless joined the aggressors in fear for their lives.

"At the Vryheid hospital, I had come across two Zulus who claimed they had been attacked by fellow Zulus because they had resisted joining them," he said.

Jerry Majatladi of Num said these attacks by Inkatha supporters come after mineworkers organised by Num had successful strikes at Iscor mines for higher wages and decent working conditions.

South Africa, Transkei, Ciskei, and KwaZulu set up a mediating committee on Friday which will "proceed without delay" to Hlobane and Duncoal for talks with workers and management. Thereafter they will travel to Transkei and Ciskei to interview workers who fled. The committee must report in two weeks, reports Sapa.



No work back home, but... "we dare not stay at the colliery," these workers said before leaving.

I DID not attack those I knew, but pretended to attack so as to scare them away, while my fellow Zulu attackers killed right before my eyes. I avoided the dying eyes of people I knew - by simply turning my head away.

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER MATRIC EXAMS

Exam papers and scripts safe

Strictly under lock and key.

All question papers for the October/November examinations have been set by qualified senior examiners and experienced moderators.

This assurance was given by a spokesman for the Department of Education and Training, who also added that it

was done under the watchful eye of the Joint Matriculation Board - as is the case with the papers of all other examining bodies.

Meticulous security measures have been made to ensure the safe transportation of the examination papers. Papers will be transported to the various examination centres on a daily basis.

The Department of Education and Training has seriously warned that any person who unlawfully tries to gain access to examination papers will be guilty of an offence and will be prosecuted.

Same dates and times throughout

All candidates in the Republic of South Africa, the Self-governing Territories and in Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei write the question papers for all subjects on exactly the same day and at precisely the same time.

Scripts will be collected from schools daily, and the department again gave the assurance that no unauthorised persons will be allowed access to the marking centres. He also said that markers will be expected to submit proof of their official appointment together with identification documents before they will be allowed access.

How and where scripts will be marked

The Department of Education and Training has chosen marking centres in and around Pretoria where strict control and supervision can be guaranteed at all times.

The department indicated that no marking will be done at the Show Grounds in Pretoria this year.

Dr Bernhard Louw gave the assurance on behalf of his department that no unauthorised persons will be allowed access to the marking centres. He also said that markers will be expected to submit proof of their official appointment together with identification documents before they will be allowed access.

Marking will be done during official hours only and examiners will not be allowed to mark scripts at home or anywhere else away from authorised marking centres.

According to Dr Louw qualified, experienced markers with suitable qualifications in and teaching experience of the specific subject they will be marking have been appointed as sub-examiners.

These sub-examiners will be marking the scripts under the strict supervision of moderators and chief examiners.



ANC youth league relaunched

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

11A

THE ANC will relaunch its youth league at a mass rally on Saturday.

Founder members of ANCYL in 1944 included Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. *S Times 2/10/90*

The organisation was inactive while the ANC was a banned organisation, but a rally at Orlando stadium next weekend will witness its rebirth.

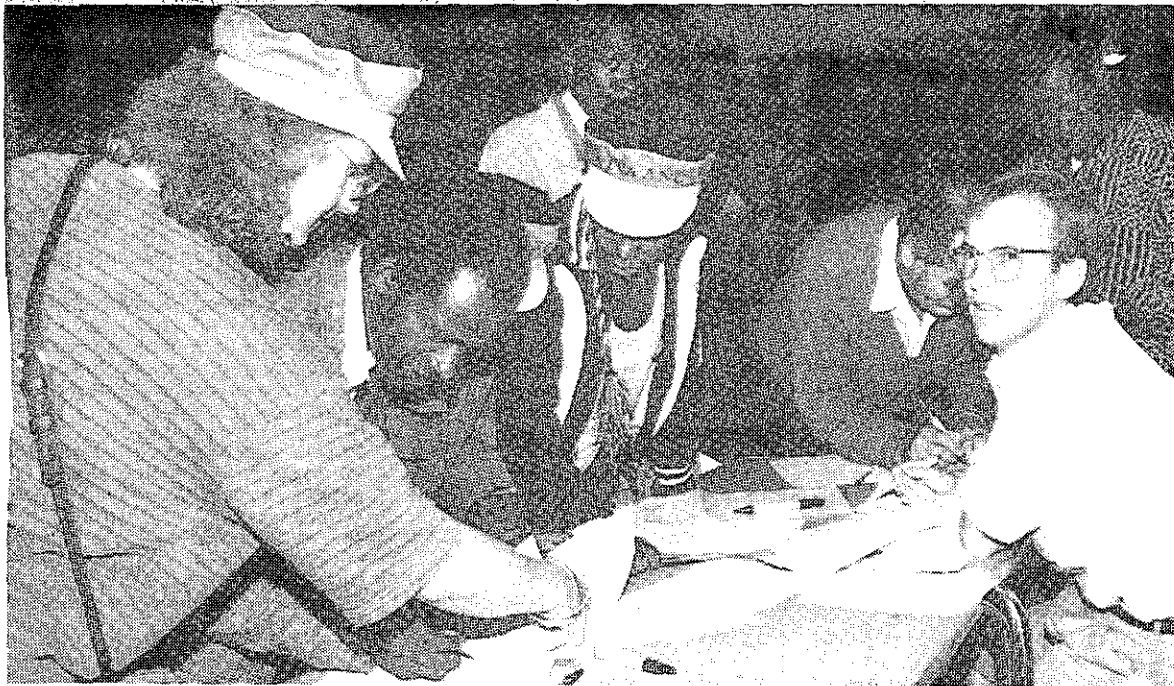
Newspaper advertisements for the launch call on all "freedom-loving youth of our

country, the students, unemployed and working youth, the youth in sports, arts and culture, the religious sector, youth in the urban and rural areas" to join.

The recruitment drive is aimed at members between the ages of 14 and 30.

ANCYL will fall under the political leadership of the ANC and will incorporate the present ANC Youth Section and the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) after a "common perspective" has been reached.

It will operate within the existing 14 regions of the ANC.



SIGNING UP . . . supporters fill in forms at the ANC's branch in Pretoria

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

ANC quietly invades CP country

By STEPHANIE HULL

THE ANC quietly launched a branch in the heart of Conservative Party country this week.

A meeting of the ANC's Pretoria branch on Thursday was not widely publicised for fear that the AWB would get wind of it.

"We would prefer not to be named because in a place like Pretoria one is obviously afraid," said a spokesman for the branch.

"We may be over-reacting in our fear, but it is nerve-racking to start something like this in Pretoria."

Despite these fears, there was no AWB presence at the meeting.

The spokesman said a committee had been elected at the meeting which was well-attended by members and well-wishers from nearby ANC branches.

"We had Patrick 'Terror' Lekota speaking to us and there was a strong feeling of optimism," he said.

The branch had a membership of more than 100, he said, most of them white and tertiary educated.

"There is a cross-section of academics, scientists and members of institutes and then some domestic workers. We

still have to work on recruitment at worker level."

The spokesman said the branch was awaiting reaction to the news of its launch.

"This is a historic occasion. The last time there was a left-wing organisation in Pretoria was in the late 50s when the Liberal Party stood here. Surprisingly, we have some members now who were members of that party."

The branch evolved from a group known as the Pretoria Co-ordinating Body, which includes a number of anti-apartheid organisations.

SITimes 21/10/90

118

Rivals in struggle for PAC leadership

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

11A

9 D
A SUCCESSION battle is raging between external and internal factions of the PAC while its critically ill president fights for his life in hospital.

21/10/72
In Johannesburg PAC chairman Johnson Malambo and vice-president Clarence Makwetu have emerged as main contenders for Zeph Mothopeng's presidency.

However, a new challenge has emerged in London from a PAC faction calling itself the Sobukwe Forum.

SPMILS
The group alleges that Mr Mothopeng, who is being treated in Johannesburg Hospital for cancer, pneumonia and a blood infection, was given the presidency "unconstitutionally" by a faction of the PAC based in Dar es Salaam.

Barney Desai, Western Cape co-ordinator of the PAC, said in Cape Town yesterday that there was no point in making claims for the PAC leadership from abroad now that the organisation was legally established in South Africa.

Malan invites ANC to inspect SADF

By LESTER VENTER

MINISTER of Defence Magnus Malan has invited ANC military chiefs to inspect the SA Defence Force.

But the invitation has more than one sting in its tail. He wants a return invitation to do the same to MK, the ANC's military wing.

And he first wants MK to sort out whether Joe Modise, its commander, or Chris Hani, its chief of staff, is the real boss.

The general was referring at yesterday's National Party's Transvaal Congress to various claims by Mr Hani, including one that Malan is avoiding a meeting.

Attitudes

Gen Malan again ruled out the possibility of integrating the SADF and MK.

"Political parties do not have military wings," he said.

"If the ANC wants to get into step with Western and civilised attitudes, and with democratic developments in South Africa, it will have to realise this."

On a meeting with MK chiefs, Gen Malan chided: "As far as I am concerned, I will not meet at any time with the real chief, after they decide who the real chief is."

With his tongue partly in cheek, Gen Malan said that in a reciprocal inspection he would want to see MK's weapons.

BMW refuses ANC's request for free cars

S Times 2/11/90

By DOMINIC JONES

THE ANC has asked BMW for a fleet of luxury cars worth nearly R1-million.

But the German car maker turned it down.

The ANC wanted BMW South Africa to give it 16 free cars about four months ago, but the request was refused because, said BMW, it did not give away vehicles to groups or organisations.

Disclosure of the BMW incident comes amid reports of an ANC drive to raise millions of rands from South African companies.

It was reported this week that senior ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were understood to have

met a wide range of top businessmen with the hope of getting donations and payments in kind.

No companies have been identified.

Workers

In a statement this week, BMW South Africa confirmed it had received a request from the ANC for the donation of 16 cars.

"This request was turned down in line with the company's policy of not donating vehicles to any groups or

organisations," the statement said. A BMW spokesman refused to say what type of car was involved, but it is believed they were 3-series, which range in price from R39 000 to R68 000.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday he was not aware his organisation had approached BMW and could not comment.

Earlier this year, Mr Mandela received a red Mercedes-Benz 500 SE worth R218 000 from black workers at the company's East London plant.

Workers "paid" for the car by putting in free overtime.

Flying FW jets off again

PICK



No decision yet on ANC talks request

Sowetan 2/10/90

THE Government was yesterday still "considering" a request from the ANC for a top-level meeting this week before Mr Nelson Mandela leaves on an overseas visit at the weekend.

A Government-spokesman in Pretoria would not comment beyond saying that "the matter is under consideration".

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the

organisation had requested the meeting in order to "look at the present situation and the way forward". (11A)

"The ANC has grave misgivings about the measures adopted in response to the violence.

"It is only in South Africa where efforts to restore calm could lead to a policy called Iron Fist."

The situation warranted a meeting at the highest level, she said.

The meeting would have to be held before October 6 when Mandela leaves for Natal from where he was going abroad on October 7. - Sapa.

Modise asked to visit SADF

11A
~~11A~~
~~2~~

Sowetan
22/10/90

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, invited the leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Joe Modise, to meet him and to visit the South African Defence Force.

The invitation is part of a reciprocal one to visit Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Addressing the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria, Malan also invited Modise to be his guest on an extended tour of all departments of the SADF.

Keen

Referring to reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani had accused him of avoiding a meeting, Malan said he was unaware Hani was so keen to meet him.

"Mr Hani is not MK's leader. He is the so-called chief of staff, which is a kind of secretary. The chief is Mr Joe Modise.

"Mr Hani is either presumptuous and going over his leader's head, or he is speaking for himself and Mr Modise should say if he agrees with Mr Hani's viewpoint.

Leader

"As far as I am concerned, I will meet the real leader at any time. Before we do that, how-

ever, it is important that we establish a foundation by ensuring that we understand one another's terminology and concepts.

"I invite Mr Modise as my guest to visit our successful organisation. It will be a comprehensive visit in which he can gain first-hand knowledge of

the SADF's technological capabilities and the striking force of the Army, Air Force and Navy."

Malan said MK would then have to show the SADF how it looked. It would be no more than right for MK to show the SADF its weapons and

where they were hidden. It was also important to know of the training of MK soldiers.

"The SADF is the pride of South Africa. I have no problems for having an inspection. I trust Mr Modise and Mr Hani would feel the same about Umkhonto we Sizwe." - Sapa

Group challenges PAC president

BARELY three days after PAC president Zeph Mothopeng was admitted to hospital for advanced cancer, a London-based breakaway group is disputing his leadership.

The group, who call themselves the Sobukwe Forum, claimed in a statement Mothopeng's

presidency was unconstitutional.

Mothopeng, the Sobukwe Forum claimed, was made president by a Dar-es-Salaam-based faction of the PAC who had later called themselves the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM).

The allegations have been dismissed by the PAC chief executive in Harare, Mr Thobile Gola, as the statements of a group which broke away in 1967.

Gola said: "According to them there should be no other leadership since 1959 although

Sobukwe and others are no longer there."

"The central committee has been the leadership of the PAC through these years and its appointment of Mothopeng was a conscious decision. PAM was also its brainchild and got its instructions

and programmes from the central committee."

The Sobukwe Forum statement was issued by the group's chairman, Mr Makhaola DP Bolofo, from an address in Buckinghamshire, England.

The Sobukwe Forum

said: "A small group of the younger members went to Dar-es-Salaam where they were subverted and financed by the Chinese, adopted Maoist principles and formed themselves into what they called the Central Committee. Later they renamed their organisation, call-

ing it the Pan Africanist Movement."

Gola said: "We only used the Maoist principles as a guide we did not make it our ideology. The slogan was not devised by PAM but its a long standing slogan for the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA)." - Sapa

Sowetan 22/10/90

11A

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11A

Hani urges youth to join Umkhonto army

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto We Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani has urged young people to join the organisation to prepare an army for the eventuality that the government was not serious about negotiations.

Addressing an ANC meeting in Soweto yesterday, Mr Hani said the oppressed could not afford to wait longer than five years for liberation.

MALAN'S REMARKS

Mr Hani was invited to clarify the position of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the light of recent remarks by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that recruitment for the ANC military arm should be halted during the negotiation process.

"As far as I know the government has not banned Umkhonto and suspension of the armed struggle does not mean the peoples' army should no longer exist," he said.

Of General Malan's suggestion this weekend that he should meet Umkhonto's commander-in-chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Hani said: "Malan is modifying his dislike for our army. He now wants to speak to our commander-in-chief."

In an apparent reference to reports that General Malan suggested Umkhonto We Sizwe should show the SADF where its weapons were hidden, Mr Hani said: "MK weapons are the property of the people. You must not surrender them."

"The SADF can never be our army. It is being used to entrench apartheid. South Africa's future army will be determined by a democratic electorate."

Regarding the cutting of electricity and water supplies to some townships, Mr Hani said the affected communities should not be bullied by undemocratically elected councils.

While praising President De Klerk for being vigilant and a better leader than his predecessors, he said Mr De Klerk should not be trusted.

Of significance, said Mr Hani, was that Mr De Klerk had seen the old way as suicidal. He was trying to buy time, however, so as to negotiate with a weak ANC. "We must not give them this chance," Mr Hani said. — Sapa.

ANC opens in mixed area

5/6/90 22/10/90

Staff Reporter

Paarl and Malvern.

The Johannesburg East branch of the ANC was launched yesterday.

Sixty new members were signed up, bringing the membership to 210.

Newly elected secretary, Benita Pavlicevic, said the turnout had been "good" with 135 members attending.

The new branch includes the suburbs of Doornfontein, Troyeville, Kensington, Bez Valley, Jeppe, Bertrams, Judiths

The cultural diversity of the area forced the branch to issue leaflets in six languages: Sotho, Zulu, Afrikaans, English, Portuguese and Italian.

● Sapa reports that more than 8 000 people yesterday attended the official launch of the Thabong Civic Organisation in Welkom.

Spokesman Lazarus Masoka said one of the resolutions adopted was to demand the resignation of the Thabong Town Council.

Sta 22/10/90

Magnus softening his line - Hani

By Peter Fabricius
and Sapa

General Magnus Malan was modifying his dislike "for our army", Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was responding to comments by the Minister of Defence at the congress of the Transvaal National Party at the weekend.

"The general now wants to speak to our commander-in-chief," said Mr Hani.

General Malan said at the congress that he was willing to meet MK commander Joe Modise

but made it clear he was against ANC calls for integration of MK into the SA Defence Force.

But he poured scorn on a call by Mr Hani for a meeting with him.

General Malan said he could not understand Mr Hani's desire to meet him. It sounded like an appeal in a "lonely hearts" column.

Mr Hani was only MK's chief of staff "which is nothing other than a sort of secretary".

Mr Hani responded to some of General Malan's statements at a meeting of the Mzimhlope branch of the ANC in Soweto yesterday.

General Malan said he was ready to meet Mr Modise at any time but set several conditions.

He invited Mr Modise to visit the SADF to get first-hand evidence of its technological capability and hit-power, and the "exceptional morale, training and fighting ability" of its soldiers.

But, as a quid pro quo, Umkhonto we Sizwe would have to show the SADF how it looked.

Said Mr Hani at the meeting yesterday: "MK weapons are the property of the people. You must not surrender them to the enemy. The SADF can never be our future

army. It is presently being used to entrench apartheid. South Africa's future army will be determined by a democratic electorate."

While praising President F W de Klerk for being vigilant and a better leader than his predecessors, he said Mr de Klerk should not be trusted.

Of significance, said Mr Hani, was that Mr de Klerk had seen the old way as suicidal. The President was however trying to buy time so as to negotiate with a weak ANC.

"We must not give them this chance," Mr Hani said.

Apr 22/10/90

11A

Mandela's Aussie visit 'an obscenity'

Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — The three-day visit to Australia by Nelson Mandela, vice-president of the African National Congress, has split the Aboriginal community.

Aboriginal leaders, angered by Mr Mandela's declaration that he would not use his high profile in the world community to become involved in the affairs of Australia's Aborigines, have accused him of being a sell-out.

Hypocrites

Aboriginal activist Gary Foley, accused Mr Mandela and the ANC of being hypocrites and described his trip as "a political obscenity".

"Mr Mandela's decision not to talk about Aboriginal issues is a condition of getting money out of the Australian Federal Government," he said.

"Why do you think he's coming out to Australia? It's not to get a better tan. He's out here to seek financial support for the ANC from the Australian Gov-

ernment and broader-based groups.

"In essence, I think it's a political obscenity for him to be coming out here and sucking up to all the people who wouldn't have lifted a finger for him when he was in jail.

"He's turning his back on all the people who supported him and the ANC when he was in jail," said Mr Foley.

Former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser hit back at criticism levelled at Mr Mandela's stand during his Australian tour and described as "pathetic" calls to Aborigines to speak out against Mr Mandela.

"It (the situation of the Australian Aborigine) has no relevance, no connection to the situation of blacks in South Africa."

● The Melbourne City Council's decision to grant Mr Mandela the freedom of the city has been labelled a political stunt.

The former Labour Lord Mayor, Bill Devaney, led the move to formally acknowledge Mr Mandela's outstanding leadership and struggle to abolish apartheid.

However, two independent councillors, Richard Meldrum and Lyn Hatton, boycotted the council vote, claiming Mel-

bourne should keep its nose out of international politics.

Arrangements have been made to make a presentation at the Melbourne Town Hall when Mr Mandela visits the city on Thursday.

Mr Meldrum described the presentation as a political stunt aimed at restoring Labour's flagging popularity and said the honour was more appropriate to Australian figures such as Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

Mr Meldrum said: "Mr Mandela frightens me."

Appropriate

The Lord Mayor, Richard Wynne, said it was appropriate for Melbourne to recognise Mr Mandela's struggles when he visited the city.

"Twenty-seven years in jail — isn't that enough?" he asked.

● Mr Hawke is to seek the views of Mr Mandela about the relaxation of sporting and economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Hawke said today the country would want to lift sports sanctions when it was apparent the reform process in South Africa was long lasting.



Released . . . 'The Government can show its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act,' says recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, pictured here with his wife Khethiwe. © Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Released prisoner plans to work for ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Recently released political prisoner Stephen Marais, who was reunited with his wife and two children last week, intends to work full-time for the organisation for whose activities he went to jail — the ANC.

Mr Marais (33) was one of 21 political prisoners released from prison on Wednesday last week in terms of the Pretoria Minute agreement.

Mr Marais said he fully supported the talks between the ANC and the Government.

"What the Government is trying to do is quite clear — it

wants to create a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance-type of an organisation which will get about 50 percent of the vote.

"What gives me hope, however, is the fact that there is no alternative to the talks . . . and I think both sides realise this."

Mr Marais said the Government could prove its sincerity by scrapping Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and either releasing or charging those detained under the Act.

Mr Marais was arrested in the Transkei in March 1986. He was found guilty of terrorism and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The sentence was re-

duced to seven years on appeal.

Born in Stellenbosch, Mr Marais matriculated at the Paul Roos Gymnasium in 1974. In January 1975 he spent a week in the army before getting a six-month exemption from conscription for medical reasons. In the same year he enrolled for a BA Fine Arts at the University of Cape Town.

When he received a military call-up towards the end of his studies in 1978, Mr Marais went to live in Lesotho. On his return to the Cape two years later he got a job with the Environmental Development Agency and in 1983 he joined the ANC.

US Press gives Slovo red carpet treatment

Sowetan 22/10/90

11A

NEW YORK - Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP and a member of the ANC's national executive, appears to have made his peace with American capitalism - at least to the point of being lionized by the American media which has previously ignored him.

A dedicated Marxist spurned by the American Press throughout his years in exile - and who almost certainly would have been denied entry into the US under anti-Communist immigration and visitor entry laws - Slovo has been wooed in particular by the *New York Times*, which has published two lengthy interviews with him in three days.

In both interviews, Slovo is presented as a kindly, avuncular figure who is seen as an important political figure in South Africa, a former "clandestine guerilla leader" who is as much concerned with allaying white fears as seeking black freedoms.

Radio and TV stations have also sought out the 64-year-old socialist, eager to hear his views on how he has found the "new" South Africa.

Theme

One common theme through all the interviews has been Slovo's description of how blacks in Johannesburg have confidently adapted to the changes.

"You walk down the streets in Johannesburg," he told *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, "and the place, I wouldn't say is owned by the blacks, but they walk around as if they're about to own it. Which wasn't the case when I left in 1963.

"There was a hang-dog, submissive, slightly fearful visage in those days - but no more."



JOE SLOVO

He also recalled in the *Times* his first impressions on his return. "I remember when I first got back to Johannesburg, I saw a black man walking down the street holding the hand of a blonde woman, and I went into a sort of panic. I was sure a mob was about to attack them.

Register

"The whole integration of blacks into the society, into positions in business, is new. When I left, you would never even see a black behind a cash register."

In nearly all his replies to questions, Slovo went to some length to dispel any belief that he is a hard-line militant, pointing out in one interview that in a meeting with President FW de Klerk only last week "we reminded him" that the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle "came as a result of a proposal I made."

He also rejected the prospect of one-party rule in South Africa, describing it as a "recipe for tyranny."

tion of swooping into their homes to confiscate their property.

"At the same time, he insists that South Africa's economic structures must change," it said.

"We are doing our best to de-demonize our movement," Slovo told one interviewer. "We find that when we are together with even some of the most hardline whites, they at least begin to have a doubt about their impressions of us."

"I have the advantage of starting off with such a bad reputation that if they see me smiling, they think maybe I'm not so bad," he added.

Slovo is in New York, his first visit to the US, for the International Conference on the Future of Socialism, a meeting of Marxists from about 20 countries that is sponsored by *The Monthly Review*, a left-wing publication, and the *New York Marxist School*. - *Sowetan Foreign Service*

The New York Times described him as a man who spends much of his energy trying to assure whites that he has no in-

Top Swedish delegation in SA

6/10/90 22/10/90
SWEDEN's deputy foreign affairs Minister Bengt Säre-Söderbergh will meet his SA counterpart Leon Wessels this week. He is on a six-day visit at the invitation of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

The Swedish Deputy Minister (Department of International Development Cooperation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs) arrived in SA yesterday as part of a delegation that includes the Stockholm Stock Exchange GM.

They are here to take part in a seminar

SUSAN RUSSELL

with the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF aimed at sharing Sweden's experiences in developing its political, economic and welfare structures. (11A)

Bengt Säre-Söderbergh confirmed he would meet Wessels this week.

He said Sweden had been giving humanitarian aid to the ANC and victims of apartheid for about 25 years and the idea of the

□ To Page 2

Swedes in SA

6/10/90 22/10/90
seminar was to discuss and examine the working experiences of the Swedish state.

Asked whether the visit could lead to a reversal of Sweden's 1976 ban on further investment in SA, Säre-Söderbergh said his country had always linked the matter of investment and sanctions to apartheid, which would not be immediately abolished.

The delegation toured Soweto yesterday.

Part of the group is due to go to Cape Town today, while others will go to Dur-

ban, before attending the seminar outside Johannesburg later this week.

The delegation is scheduled to leave SA on Saturday.

Other members of the delegation are Jan Karlsson, special adviser to the Swedish prime minister; former deputy minister of social affairs and labour Ernst Michanek; political scientist Anders Mellbourn; Stockholm Stock Exchange GM Bengt Rydén; and the National Institute for Civil Service Training and Development head Göran Andersson.

From Page 1

ANC refuses to meet Mangope

Sowetan
THE ANC would not meet Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope until he had met their demands for free political activity and the lifting of the state of emergency in the homeland, the organisation's Eersterust branch said yesterday.

23/10/90
It claimed Mangope had urgently requested a meeting with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela two weeks ago to discuss the "situation in Bophuthatswana".

A spokesman for the branch said even if Mangope agreed to the preconditions, talks

11A
would only be held on a very "low level" with civic associations and youth congresses.

The reincorporation of Bophuthatswana was still a central issue and the ANC spokesman urged the people of Bophuthatswana to "intensify the struggle". -Sapa.

A SUMMIT proposed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu has hit snags with some of the potential participants expressing reservations about the initiative.

Opening the Anglican diocese of Cape Town on Wednesday, Tutu said he would invite leaders of the major black political movements to an urgent summit to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

He said black leaders needed to adopt a code of conduct in their political dealings, and to decide how to handle factional violence and to promote unity and peace.

In his response, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

Tutu's political summit hits snags

11A
Sowetan 23/10/90

By SY MAKARINGE

president of Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said initiatives taken by Inkatha and the African National Congress to address the violence in Natal needed to be nurtured and encouraged.

He said these peace talks might result in a meeting of the leaders.

"I cannot see how we can overfly these peace

talks to meet all of a sudden in a summit at Bishops court," Buthelezi said.

He said he would, however, refer Tutu's invitation to Inkatha's central committee and the caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for guidance before giving his final response.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation said Tutu's call for a summit was in no way different from the

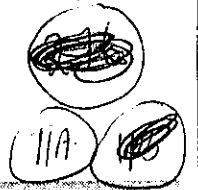
initiatives Azapo had already taken.

"We hope Bishop Tutu will be able to advance his motivations for the Bishops court summit in a manner which will not undermine all well meant initiatives which are already in motion."

Azapo was referring to two meetings it initiated to address the continuing violence and to find a common strategy on negotiations.

The source of the conflict in Natal

Sowetan 23/10/90



The *Sunday Tribune* has released a seminal 50-page special section as part of an initiative - in association with associates - to find answers to the problem bedeviling the peaceful and prosperous future of the Natal and Kwa-Zulu region.

The editor of *Tribune*, Jonathan Hobday conceived and arranged for this section. It has valuable insights to understanding violence caused by South Africa's history which exploded with such tragedy and drama in Natal, and later in other parts of the country. As Natal-KwaZulu was the source of this phenomenon, the special section has useful lessons for all of us. Today's focus piece is taken from the section by Doug Hindson, Deputy Director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (Durban-Westville University) and Mike Morris, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Social and Development Studies (University of Natal, Durban).



People in Natal fleeing the conflict between Inkatha and the UDF.

EFFORTS to explain the violence in Natal have polarised along political lines.

Researchers linked to Inkatha have stressed the role of the deteriorating socio-economic conditions in urban areas and have singled out black youth as the major perpetrators of the violence.

Writers associated with the ANC/UDF Cosatu alliance have emphasised political rivalry and blamed Inkatha-allied vigilantes and warlords.

Whatever the merits of the ideological battle between political organisations, such polarised approaches have inhibited understanding of the causes of violence and have consequently been a poor guide to resolving the conflict.

Political rivalry has unquestionably played a major part in the conflict. But the ideological and political determinants of violence are rooted in underlying social and material conditions in the black residential areas.

We need to deal with the immediate problem of political conflict to end the violence. But long-

FOCUS

term solutions will not be found unless social and material conditions which sustain it are also addressed.

The conflict has three main dimensions, each of which needs attention. These are political rivalry, antagonisms between youth and warlord structures and Social divisions in the black residential areas.

Rivalry

Why does the rivalry between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC/Cosatu alliance take the form of violent confrontation?

In South Africa the use of violence to impose the policies of apartheid has been ingrained in the practices of the state over decades, especially through the agency of township administration and the police.

Black peoples' exclusion from national democratic processes and their experience of state repression has legitimised violence as a means to ef-

fect social change.

In Natal, Inkatha has become the object of attack because it is associated with township administration, the Kwa-Zulu Police and the South African police.

These agencies are extensions of the central state and are thus perceived to be part and parcel of the apartheid regime.

The rivalry also stems from competition. In the late 1970s Inkatha refused to fall into line with ANC policy and sought to build up a political organisation in Natal which rivalled that of the ANC.

Inkatha's role in township and homeland administration gave it access to considerable resources for political recruitment. But these advantages have now become its greatest political liabilities.

Much of the opposition to Inkatha is focussed on its involvement in a discredited administration and collusion with feared and hated repressive forces.

It must be acknowledged that the violence also stems from political calculation. In the mid-1980s tendencies

within the ANC believed state power could be taken by force. The state believed it could use its armed might to reimpose its own order. In Natal, some within the ANC believed that Inkatha's power could be broken by arming the youth.

As its political support in the urban areas of Natal and the Transvaal dwindled, Inkatha, too, increasingly resorted to brute force to maintain its political control.

In practice the development of violent means to bring about change - or resist it - has brought none of the protagonists closer to political hegemony.

Peace

Nevertheless the costs to all parties in the conflict, to all South Africans, are immeasurable.

Growing realisation of the political futility of violence and its immense socialism cost underlies the present tentative moves towards peace nationally and in parts of Natal.

Increasingly there is acceptance that political differences can and should be settled in open democratic forums, not

through armed combat.

The roots of the violence and the factors which sustain it go far deeper than political affiliation and the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance.

The weakening of state control in the aftermath of the township uprisings of the mid-1980s led to the formation of competing local centres of power within the black residential areas: the youth structures allied mostly to the ANC, and the warlords allied, for the most part, to Inkatha.

Inkatha increasingly turned to the shack dwellers for recruitment as it lost ground within the formal townships of Natal.

Since shack dwellers have no *de jure* rights to the land, *de facto* control is established through their own capacity to defend a piece of ground.

In these circumstances shack dwellers turn readily to local squatter leaders and warlords with whom they trade obedience and levies, tribute and other payments for residential security.

Continued tomorrow.

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Mandela, Buthelezi talks get ANC nod

Ste 23/10/90
11A

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The ANC's highest decision-making body, the national executive committee (NEC), has finally given its blessing to a meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC announced that the NEC and Inkatha's central committee would meet in the near future.

The meeting would be held to strengthen efforts to end the protracted violence in the country.

Declined

Mr Mandela, apparently under pressure from within the ANC, has up to now declined several invitations to meet Chief Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mr Mandela, currently on an international tour, was "fully aware" of the decision.

Chief Buthelezi said late last night that the meeting had not been officially brought to the attention of Inkatha, but he confirmed that the proposal was consistent with recommendations he had made.

Govt to continue reform if talks fail – Viljoen

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Should negotiations break down, the South African Government would keep striving, through gradual reform, to restore a climate conducive to their resumption, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has written in an American publication.

In the Journal of Democra-

cy, released in the US this month, Dr Viljoen said normal or "real" politics could begin only after a new constitution has been implemented.

"The socio-economic inequalities and the development needs of South Africa are so great that any government faces a formidable challenge that cannot be successfully met without the active co-operation of every South African and the constructive assistance of well-disposed foreign governments," he said.

"Many foreign governments

have devoted themselves over the decades to the furtherance of what is now happening in South Africa and it would make a mockery of their endeavours should they now refrain from actively supporting the process."

Dr Viljoen said a commitment to the protection of minorities was not a ruse to continue the injustices of apartheid. What was involved in minority protection was the ability to maintain one's own identity and community life.



Crossroads mayor says he wants to join Nats

ARGUS
25/10/90
11/11

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

MEETING THE PEOPLE: Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in Crossroads yesterday.

CONTROVERSIAL Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana wants to join the National Party because black political organisations are "rotten".

He made this announcement yesterday at a meeting held in the bush at Faure where more than 100 of his supporters have taken refuge.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring, also attended the meeting.

'Never join ANC'

Mr Ngxobongwana drew loud applause from white officials and Khayelitsha town councillors when he announced his intentions.

He said: "Today I want to tell you something for the first time: I will never join the ANC because they are killers. There's only one party I want to join and that is the National Party. I will ask Mr Vlok to send me a membership card."

Claiming that the Pan Africanist Congress was "better" because it was doing its utmost to end the violence in Crossroads, Mr Ngxobongwana lashed out at the ANC which he alleged was "rotten".

He said white policemen operating in Crossroads had never been seen attacking people and did not take sides.

Mr Ngxobongwana said he would never return to Crossroads.

"I'll be mayor right here in the bush," he said to applause.

Because the people did not want to return to Crossroads, an area could be found for them in Philippi, Mr Vlok said.

Mr Ngxobongwana will convey this offer to the refugees.



Buthelezi to meet Mandela ARGUS 23/10/90 11A at last

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's highest decision-making body, the national executive committee, has at last approved a meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a statement yesterday the ANC said that its executive and Inkatha's central committee would meet in the near future, with the two leaders taking part.

The decision could end bickering between the organisations about a meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi.

Welcomed steps

Mr Mandela, apparently under pressure from within his organisation, has declined several invitations to meet Mr Buthelezi.

In the statement the ANC welcomed the steps which had been taken jointly by the ANC and Inkatha to end the violence.

It commended the joint efforts of the ANC and Cosatu to end the violence and agreed that new initiatives should be taken where necessary to "reinforce progress towards a situation of peace throughout the country".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mr Mandela, who is overseas, was "fully aware" of the decision.

Asked if Mr Buthelezi had been told, she said he should be aware of the development since it had stemmed from regular contact between leading members of the two organisations.

Mr Buthelezi last night said in a statement that the proposal to meet was consistent with recommendations he had made "for some time now".

"Once the matter is officially brought to our attention the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party will consider the proposal and go into such matters as a mutually acceptable time and venue for such a proposed meeting," the statement said.

Other announcements made by the national executive committee yesterday included:

- Significant progress had been made since the ANC's unbanning to establish structures inside the country. However, more work needed to be done.

- Existing structures would be strengthened to expedite the work of reaching the many people who wished to join the ANC but who organisers had so far not been able to contact.

- The ANC faced a serious shortage of resources relative to the challenges it faced. The Treasury would take urgent measures to intensify the work of the organisation and general funds and material resources.

- The ANC welcomed the progress concerning the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and looked forward to the speedy implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

- ANC may delay congress, page 20.

Authors failed to end violence

11A
23/10/90

By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

WRITERS contributed to the ongoing carnage and internecine violence through their failure to develop new holistic people molded on the ethics of tolerance, compassion and empathy, poet Don Mattera told a gathering of writers.

He was speaking at the Congress of South African Writers' reading session on *Writers against Violence* at Funda Centre



DON MATTERA

in Soweto at the weekend.

Mattera's paper was titled *Writer's unity in a violent situation*.

"I believe we have failed through our actions and writings as cultural activists because our goals, visions and aspirations are anchored into party partisan loyalties and sectarian interests.

"The near obliteration of our cultural identity made it easy for the state to manipulate the ideological positions among the various political contestants, a condition which largely succeeds because of the powerful instruments of institutionalised violence, both psychological and physical, as well as the state's and commercial media's massive propaganda offensive and superiority."

Mattera said the scope and aftermath of the recent violence among the oppressed shows that perpetrators gained ground

"because revolutionary forces - writers and other activist artists included - have lost the humanising will and initiative needed to galvanise the masses".

Mattera shared the platform with returned exile Mr Keorapetse Kgositsile who spoke on *The Writer and exile as violence*; Mrs Boitumela Mofokeng who read a paper on *The Writer and Repression* and Mr Dikobe Martins who talked about *Prison: Writing under repressive conditions*.

ANC agrees to talks on violence

Buthelezi and Mandela set to meet soon

THE long-awaited meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is almost certain to take place within weeks.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday its national executive committee (NEC) had decided at the weekend to meet the central committee of Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party "within the near future".

The statement also signalled the ANC's intention to press ahead with plans to hold its national conference in December, despite recent concern that it would be postponed due to the delayed implementation of mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and the return of ANC exiles.

The planned summit would be aimed at strengthening efforts to end violence, the ANC said.

In reaction, Buthelezi said last night the proposed meeting was consistent with recommendations which Inkatha leaders had made for some time.

He said the Inkatha central committee would consider the ANC proposal once this had been formally received, as well as the question of a mutually acceptable time and venue.

It is understood the meeting was facilitated by discussions between Inkatha and ANC representatives on a joint committee on the Natal violence.

Sources said yesterday it was possible the meeting would be the first in a series of encounters at top leadership level.

PETER DELMAR

It was unlikely, however, that the full NEC and Inkatha central committee would be represented as this would involve more than 100 people, the sources said.

Although the discussions would probably include various topics other than violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Inkatha sources said the movement would almost certainly resist any attempt to reach a joint strategy on constitutional negotiations.

Efforts to bring the two leaders together, particularly after factional violence spread to the Transvaal this year, have failed repeatedly.

Earlier this month Buthelezi declined an ANC invitation to meet Mandela with other non-independent homeland leaders.

It is believed that Buthelezi's refusal to attend was mostly related to the fact that he was invited as a homeland Chief Minister and not as Inkatha leader.

The ANC is understood to have resisted a one-on-one meeting between the two because it believed such an encounter would give Buthelezi greater recognition than it believed he deserved.

The proposed summit will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mandela and Buthelezi since the ANC leader was released from prison in February.

Yesterday's ANC statement said the two-day "regular" NEC meeting had also discussed efforts by the "democratic

□ To Page 2

Summit

movement" as a whole to end violence.

It commended efforts in this regard undertaken by the ANC and Cosatu, and welcomed the initiatives of the joint ANC-Inkatha committee, which has met regularly on the Natal violence.

The statement said the ANC had received a report on preparations for the organisation's national congress, scheduled for December and the first in three decades to be held inside SA.

It indicated the conference would go ahead, adding the NEC had decided that preparations should be speeded up.

Discussion documents for the conference would be distributed to all ANC branches and the committee preparing for the conference would maintain close contact with ANC regional committees.

The meeting welcomed a report on progress being made by the ANC/government joint working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement said.

□ From Page 1

SA ambassador criticises Mandela

(11A)
Soweto
23/10/90

SYDNEY - South African Ambassador David Tohill criticized African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday for playing on the "heart-strings of the Western democracies" in fund-raising efforts around the world.

Only hours before Mandela was scheduled to arrive in Canberra, the federal capital, for a four-day visit, Tohill told a Foreign Correspondents Association luncheon that Mandela is not the clear-cut leader of all blacks in South Africa.

"Many Australians seem to believe that the negotiations (for a new South African Constitution) are a subterfuge that will bring about a handover of power to the ANC, whereupon Mr Mandela will become the country's first black president," said Tohill.

"However, the ANC itself recognises that it is not the only spokesman for black opinion. Their level of support cannot be quantified until an election is held," Tohill said.

He referred to Mandela as a "creation of the international media."

Mandela's itinerary includes a public rally outside Sydney's Opera House on Wednesday and a fund-raising dinner that evening at a downtown hotel.

Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans, however, said in Canberra that sanctions against South Africa would not be lifted because "not enough has changed yet."

Tohill said those who believed sanctions were the reason for South African reforms were "captives of their political fantasies." -Sapa-AP

Aborigines less friendly to Mandela

Sowetan 23/10/90

DARWIN, Australia - Anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela was received as an honoured guest by the Australian government yesterday but some aborigines were less friendly.

Mandela arrived for a five-day stay in Australia after visits to India and Indonesia, which supplied a presidential jet for the flight to Darwin.

Mandela transferred to an Australian air force jet reserved for top dignitaries for the four-hour trip to the capital, Canberra, where he was staying overnight before talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke today.

Hawke said at the weekend that Australia might begin easing sanctions against South Africa if significant progress is made in dismantling apartheid.

Mandela, 72, deputy



BOB HAWKE

leader of the African National Congress, will also attend ANC fund-raising dinners and rallies in Sydney and Melbourne.

His trip is opposed by some of Australia's 230 000 Aborigines, descended from the continent's original inhabitants. Aborigines now make up 1.5 per cent of the population.

Aboriginal lawyer and activist Michael Mansell, who has set up what he calls a provisional aboriginal government,



NELSON MANDELA

told reporters last week Mandela was dealing a blow to Aborigines by accepting an invitation from the federal government.

"The stigma of Nelson Mandela linking arms with the Australian government will be shoved in our face every time we say something," Mansell said.

We want to expose by way of protest the way in which the Australian government is seeking to use the Mandela visit," he added. - Sapa-Reuter



Nelson Mandela was introduced to SA ambassador David Tothill, left, by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans when Mandela arrived in Canberra for a five-day Australian visit yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

12 appear in Durban court after stabbings

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Eight men and four youths appeared briefly in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the stabbing of eight people, one of them fatally, on Durban's beachfront two weeks ago.

They were remanded by magistrate G J Maree until December 6.

One of the men, Howmone Ngcobo, 40, made a special request to the court for assistance "as I sustained bullet wounds all over my body".

Senior public prosecutor C Meiring said he would make arrangements for Ngcobo to be admitted to the prison hospital.

Basil Buthelezi, 21, told the court he was a student and wanted to write exams, while Welcome Hadebe wanted to know why they could not have bail.

Meiring said if bail applications were made he would get from the attorney-general a certificate in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act forbidding the granting of bail.

'Mandela playing on West's heart-strings'

SYDNEY — SA Ambassador David Tothill criticised ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday for playing on the "heart-strings of the Western democracies" in fund-raising efforts around the world. (11A)

Mandela was received as an honoured guest by the Australian government yesterday when he arrived for a five-day stay following visits to India and Indonesia. He will hold talks with Prime Minister Bob Hawke today.

Only hours before Mandela arrived in Canberra, Tothill told a Foreign Correspondents Association luncheon that Mandela was not the clear-cut leader of all SA's blacks. (13 Day 23/10/90)

"The ANC itself recognises that it is not the only spokesman for black opinion. Their level of support cannot be quantified until an election is held.

"Mr Mandela and the ANC... know how to pull on the heart-strings of the Western democracies," Tothill said.

Tothill said SA's "irreversible" programme for reform meant sanctions against his country should end.

Later Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans lowered expectations raised by Hawke at the weekend that Australia might be planning to lift sporting and other sanctions.

He said "not enough has changed yet".

"The Separate Amenities Act has been repealed, but there are many other pillars of apartheid still remaining intact including, in particular, the constitutional prohibition on black people voting."

Mandela's visit is opposed by some of Australia's 230 000 Aborigines, who make up 1.5% of the population.

Aboriginal lawyer and activist Michael Mansell told reporters last week: "The stigma of Nelson Mandela linking arms with the Australian government will be shoved in our face every time we say something." — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Summit 'soon'

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23/10/90
11A

Buthelezi, Mandela set to meet after ANC invitation to Inkatha



Chief Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The long-awaited meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is almost certain to take place within weeks.

The ANC said yesterday that its national executive committee (NEC) had decided at the weekend to meet the central committee of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party "in the near future".

This signals the ANC's intention to press ahead with plans to hold its national conference in December, de-

spite recent concern that it would be postponed because of the delay in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The planned summit would be aimed at strengthening efforts to end violence, the ANC said.

Chief Buthelezi said last night that Inkatha's central committee would consider the ANC proposal once this had been formally received.

It is understood the meeting was facilitated by discussions between Inkatha and ANC representatives on a joint committee on the Natal violence.

Sources said yesterday that it was possible that the initial meeting would be the first in a series at top leadership level.

Although the discussions would probably include various topics other than violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Inkatha sources said the movement would almost certainly resist any attempt to reach a joint strategy on constitutional negotiations.

Efforts to bring the two leaders together, particularly after factional violence spread to the Transvaal this year, have repeatedly failed.

Earlier this month, Chief Buthelezi declined an ANC invitation to meet Mr Mandela with other non-independent homeland leaders. It is believed that Chief Buthelezi's refusal to attend was mostly related to the fact that he was invited as a homeland chief minister and not as Inkatha leader.

The ANC is understood to have resisted a one-on-one meeting between the two because it believed such an encounter would give Chief Buthelezi greater recognition than it believed he deserved.

The proposed summit will be the first face-to-face encounter between the two since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February.

An ANC statement yesterday welcomed a report on progress being made by the ANC/government joint working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of the exiles.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement said.



Mr Mandela

NEW HAVEN, Connecticut — In view of the dramatic events that have been unfolding in the societies of Eastern Europe during the past few years, especially during this past year, it is quite understandable that the entire world should be discussing the question: Has socialism failed?

Most of the crude anti-socialist politicians and propagandists answer this question with a resounding yes! Most former members of the former "communist" parties are no longer sure how this question should be answered. They have in effect tended to adopt the same position as the Social Democratic parties did in Europe after 1914.

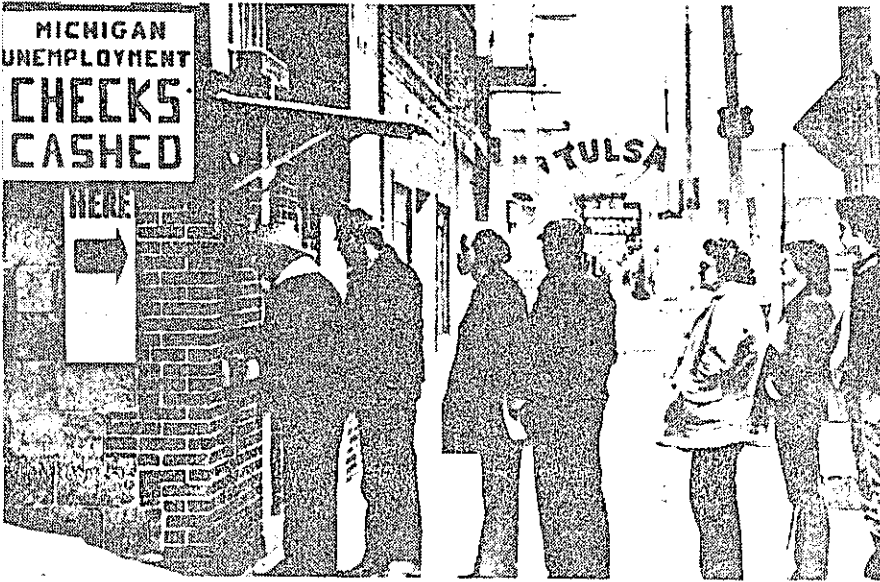
Many, perhaps very many, have simply defected and are now full-blown free-marketters and propagandists for the very capitalist system of private profit and exploitation which a few months ago they had considered as the root of all evil in the world.

Some of us have always found the triumphalist response of the cruder apologists for the capitalist system to be vulgar and short-sighted. We have condemned the superficial analysis and opportunistic responses of those ex-communists who are now embracing the capitalist ethic of private profit obtained from the exploitation of the labour power of the working people.

We have repeatedly pointed out that only a very few capitalist countries in the world, some 10 or 12 perhaps, can be said to have "made good", even if in those very societies there is much social misery, disease, loneliness, crime, racism, sexism and violence.

For the rest, we have pointed out that all the capitalist countries in

Capitalism does not offer much of an alternative



HARD TIMES . . . Unemployed queue for benefit payments in Detroit, the heartland of the US capitalist "success".

the "Third World" continue to live in desperate poverty with terrifying statistics for unemployment, illiteracy, famine, child mortality, plagues such as the Aids virus, anti-social violence, wars, corruption and a general dead-endism.

Capitalist failure

Our own country is an example of precisely this failure of capitalism to deliver the goods. For, in South Africa, as we all know today, the overwhelming majority of our people live below the minimum subsistence level: we have between 30% and 40% illiteracy, about the same average of unemployment, major health, educational and welfare inequalities and, of course, vicious racism, sexism, violent crime — one of the highest rates in the world — a frightening prison population and an unenviable record for the judicial execution of people.

For us in South Africa, therefore, the question: Has socialism failed? has an added significance. For it means, if

believe that perhaps there is something in this.

Well, after living in the US for the past few weeks, I can't say that I find any grounds for optimism about this kind of reasoning. This is a society that is supposed to have done away with racial segregation and discrimination during the past 30 years and more. This country is for most hopefuls, especially those in Eastern Europe, the very pinnacle of capitalism and of the "free market". But even if one were blind to the all too visible signs of urban decay and degradation, the looming and actual environmental disaster, the economic and social facts scream out loudly: capitalism has not succeeded, not even in the very citadel of the world capitalist system!



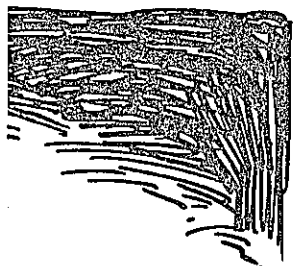
VIEWPOINT

by NEVILLE ALEXANDER

York Times of September 27 wrote:

Last year . . . 12.8% of all Americans had income below the official poverty level, which was \$12 675 (R31 687) for a family of four. The poverty rate for 1989 was the lowest in the 1980s but was higher than for any year in the 1970s. The rate was 13% in 1988 and 13.4% in 1987. The bureau estimated that the number of Americans living in poverty declined to 31.5 m in 1989, from 31.7 m in 1988.

However, according to some economists, the situation is much worse since unemployment has increased rapidly in the wake of the recession that has hit the economy. When one considers that the figures quoted here come at the end of seven fat years of "consecutive expansion" then it is obvious



therefore, the question: Has socialism failed? has has an added significance. For it means, if we answer yes, as so many are all of a sudden doing today, that we have nothing to live for since, clearly, capitalism in South Africa has failed utterly for almost four-fifths of the population. But No! Hold it! We are told by the free-marketeers, including the Cape Times, what has failed in South Africa is not capitalism but racial capitalism. If we do away with apartheid and racial discrimination, the capitalist system can still save all of us. It can still give all of us an equal chance, if we are prepared to take it. And many former sceptics in the liberation movement, precisely because of the experience of Eastern Europe, seem to

loudly, capitalism has not succeeded, not even in the very citadel of the world capitalist system!

Unequal wealth

It is good to ask ourselves the question, Has socialism failed? But we dare not stop asking ourselves the even more important question: Has capitalism succeeded? Especially since we are being made to believe that capitalism, not socialism — real or surreal — is the answer to the problems of humanity.

Look at the facts in the US. According to the latest report of the US Census Bureau, there has been "a slight decline" in the number of poor people but a "substantial increase" in the unequal distribution of income (wealth). The New

figures quoted here come at the end of seven fat years of "consecutive expansion", then it is obvious that poverty and inequality are structural features of US capitalism at the very best of times.

Moreover, these figures are based on a measure of who is "poor" that was worked out in 1963 when, for example, the average family spent one-third of its income on food. Today, the average family in the US spends one-fifth of its income on food. And this "minimum subsistence level" does not include items such as expenditure on electricity or increases in the costs of housing!

Real debate

Of children under the age of 18, 19,6% are living in poverty, as defined; 22,5% (that is, almost one out of four) children under the age of six, a disastrous 50% of black children, 40% of Hispanic children and 17% of white children under the age of six. (In the US, these racial labels are normal.)

According to the census bureau: for the most affluent 5% of all families in the United States, average income rose to \$148 438 (R371 095) in 1989, from \$120 253 (R300 632) in 1979... In the same 10-year period... the average income of the poorest one-fifth of all families declined to \$9 431 (R23 577), from \$9 990 (R24 975).

These are only the cold figures. When one walks along the streets of the cities — where one can do so safely — one cannot help noticing the signs of human decay: the beggars and drug addicts, the youthful gangsters and all the others whom some people call "deadheads" with shuddering indifference and callousness. Of course, the US is a wealthy country. Most people live in comfort, many in luxury. But that is the side which the rest of the world has learned to envy. There is another side, the one I have hinted at here.

Capitalism or socialism? Let there be a real debate. And let us call things by their name as long as we are allowed to do so in our country.

Dr Alexander, chairman of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, is visiting the United States.

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LETTERS Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Japanese abortion law worth noting

From Mrs D CLEMINSHAW, Civil Rights League (Claremont):

IN RESPONSE to Charles O'Connor (Cape Times, October 10), the exercise of old-fashioned restraint has merit, and not only in relation to sexual activity. But one cannot ignore the social reality that this message alone is insufficient to make any impact on the rapidly swelling population, or on sex related diseases.

So logically, we need a multi-pronged approach, including sex education at school, and far from prohibiting contraceptives and abortion, these should be offered as part of a carefully considered programme to uplift and improve the quality of life of all.

Mr O'Connor suggests that abortion should be "outlawed". Abortion is a criminal offence in our law, except when permitted for certain limited cases, and even then the sworn certificates of three doctors are required, resulting in potentially hazardous delays. An estimat-

ed 200 000 illegal abortions occur annually, with imaginable disastrous consequences.

The experience in Japan is useful. Abortion as a crime, distinct from an ethical issue, was not part of their early tradition, but was regarded as a Christian view. Christians being in a minority, the crime of abortion appeared to be based on the morals of an alien religion. However, with the Westernisation of Japan, its legal system came to adopt the law making abortion criminal.

After WW II, Japan faced serious difficulties, including a complete collapse of the social system and economy, starvation and an uncontrolled increase in population. Abortion was then legalised in some circumstances, including for economic reasons (not allowed in South Africa), and vigorous efforts to disseminate knowledge of contraception were undertaken.

There was a dramatic drop in the birth-rate and decline in population growth that enabled Japan to reconstruct its economy.

We should institute a permanent commission, comprised mainly of women, on a non-racial basis, to investigate all aspects of this sensitive issue, and to advise the Minister of Health in regard to reforming the law.

Our view is that a woman impregnated with an unwanted child should be allowed to make an informed and counselled decision, in privacy with her doctor, for abortion within the first 12 weeks.

Professor John de Gruchy

Due to a slip during the production process, a letter published on October 12 from the Gospel Defence League (concerning a TV discussion between Mr Joe Slovo and Prof John de Gruchy) incorrectly referred to the latter as Dr Grunchy.

'No rush' to lift sanctions

Aussies backtrack after Hawke's hint on sports links

23/10/90
CMT 11/17/85
HT

SYDNEY — The Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Gareth Evans, has moved to lower expectations raised by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, that Australia might be planning to lift sporting sanctions against South Africa.

Speaking to reporters as Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Australia yesterday, he said he did not think anyone was "going to rush into the lifting of any sanctions".

While a weekend statement by Mr Hawke that he hoped Australia would be able to lift the sanctions "as soon as it's reasonable" was strongly qualified, it led to newspaper headlines suggesting such a move was imminent.

Speaking on a current-affairs programme of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr Evans said there was reason for supposing that a start might be made on the lifting of sanctions relatively soon but more evidence of profound and irreversible

Mandela runs into flak Down Under

SYDNEY. — Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Australia yesterday running into criticism from the South African ambassador to Australia and a lawyer who claims to lead a provisional aboriginal government.

In Canberra Mr David Tohill, the SA ambassador, accused Mr Mandela of playing on the "heart-strings of the Western democracies" in fundraising efforts around the world.

He told a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch that Mr Mandela was not the clear-cut leader of all blacks in SA.

Last week aboriginal lawyer Mr Michael Mansell told reporters: "The stigma of Nelson Mandela link-

change was needed.

"It is important to appreciate that a lot of those basic pillars of apartheid remain very much intact," Mr Evans

ing arms with the Australian government will be shoved in our face every time we say something.

"We want to expose by way of protest the way in which the Australian government is seeking to use the Mandela visit."

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke said sporting sanctions against South Africa could soon be lifted.

"From my point of view, I hope that as soon as it's reasonable now we will be able to lift the sanctions.

"If they fully integrate the society and develop the talents of their population, they could be very, very formidable opponents." — Sapa-AP

said. "Until some of those things do start to get chalked up, it's almost certainly premature to be lifting any of the sanctions."

Mr Evans said the Prime Minister had mentioned sporting sanctions but was not seeking to differentiate between sporting and other sanctions.

Mr Evans said Australia's intention was to act in concert, particularly with Commonwealth countries with which it had been in close dialogue.

Speaking on ABC Radio on the eve of Mr Mandela's visit, Mr Hawke said South African President F W de Klerk acknowledged that sanctions had accelerated reform of the apartheid system.

"They've made it clear that the pressures that have been put on them by the rest of the world, including Australia, is a thing which has now brought them to the table," Mr Hawke said. "We've always wanted not to bring South Africa to its knees, but to bring it to the negotiating table." — Daily Telegraph and UPI



Umkhonto chief Chris Hanu.

Hanu praises De Klerk for his 'courage'

11A

Sowetan 24/10/90

MR Chris Hanu, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, said yesterday the National Party had taken "courageous steps" by unbanning the the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Speaking during a Radio 702 talk show, Hanu said State President FW de Klerk stood alone among other former leaders of the National Party.

But, he said, more would have to be done before ANC cadres could consider handing over their weapons to the Government and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC was willing to play the role of facilitator in organising the release of prisoners like Odille Harrington, jailed in Zimbabwe for spying, and was already taking steps to release Government agents being held in its own camps, Hanu said.

Negotiations with Inkatha were going ahead

and a delegation headed by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would meet a delegation headed by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi soon, he said.

Hanu said an Untag-style force such as that used for Namibia's independence elections would not be necessary to monitor a future election. What South Africa needed was a constituent assembly.

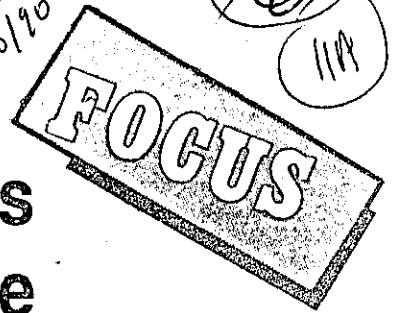
Germany's unification and the resultant loss of military support from East Germany had come as a blow to the ANC, although it was still receiving "humanitarian" aid from Germany, he said.

Questioned on how he could believe socialism would succeed in South Africa when it had failed in Europe, he said the country's future economy would be decided by democratic vote.

- Sowetan Correspondent.

The poor versus the destitute

Soweto
24/10/90



This is part two of an article by Doug Hindson of the University of Durban Westville and Mike Morris of the University of Natal that appeared in the *Sunday Tribune*. It explains the reasons behind the conflict in Natal and the difficulty of resolving all the political, economical and land issues inherent in the fight.

Social divisions lead to violence

THE warlords depend on sub-lieutenants to exercise control, ensure community discipline, stifle dissent and extract payments.

The warlord authority structure is fraught with internal rivalry, intrigue and disloyalty.

In the formal townships, and now in growing numbers of squatter areas, ANC-aligned youths have formed civic defence organisations. These organisations act as armed units in times of conflict with neighbouring squatter communities.

Like the squatter warlords, the youth organisations obtain levies from residents and seek to underpin their power by securing urban development for their communities; extra land, improved residential infrastructure, housing, services.

Conflict

The violence has become intractable partly because of the relationship between the local and national organisations involved in the conflict.

To gain power locally, the ANC/Inkatha, and increasingly, the agencies of the State are forced to operate through the local warlord or youth power centres.

Equally, local power groups turn for support to regional and national org-

nisations: Inkatha and the homeland or national Government on the one hand and the UDF/ANC national bodies on the other.

On its own no side in a local conflict can win a conclusive victory because its powers and capacities are determined in part by its links to the larger organisations or State agencies.

Equally, agreement at the national level, for example between the Government and the ANC, can be undermined by the outbreak of violence at the local or regional level.

Difficulty

This makes it exceedingly difficult to secure peace.

The situation is further complicated by the breakdown of some State departments and the weakening of executive control over others. The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards have not yet been replaced by effective local governments in the black residential areas.

The transition from confrontation to rapprochement between the Government and the ANC has produced internal tensions and divisions within the army and police, and elements within these forces are increasingly operating in terms of their own agendas.

The relationship between the executive of the ANC leadership and its armed wing Umkhonto

we Sizwe, has also been strained by the suspension of the armed struggle and moves towards negotiation at leadership level.

Having as yet to construct a cohesive political organisation within South Africa, the ANC is especially vulnerable to competing and contradictory pressures from its membership and potential supporters.

This makes it difficult for the leadership to exert authority over the youth structures within the townships.

Growth

The decomposition of central state control and present lack of cohesion within the extra-parliamentary organisations has created space for the growth and increasing autonomy, not only of youth and warlord organisations, but also a range of criminal and clandestine agencies.

It is widely believed that the ultimate cause of violence is the system of apartheid. This view can be misleading, for the violence has escalated in the context of the weakening and partial abandonment of apartheid.

The harsh reality is that racial, ethnic and class antagonisms held in check under classic apartheid have resurfaced in the climate of liberalisation and deracialisation.

Until recently, State reforms have accentuated rather than dampened conflict. Economic liberalisation has not been

matched by political incorporation of the mass of the people in the national democratic process.

Furthermore, the major legislative foundations of apartheid have been retained, such as the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

Thus partial liberalisation has unleashed frustrations and aspirations long suppressed without removing major sources of grievance.

New social divisions have begun to emerge within the black population based on differences in employment opportunities, income and access to urban residential resources. The old racial divisions of the apartheid period have been overlaid by increasing class differentiation within the black urban areas.

Upsurge

In the final upsurge of violence in Inanda in 1985, for example, the main targets were Indian and African traders, councillors and the visibly wealthier.

Since then the antagonism has been reasserted in many places: a fight between communities that differ in terms of their access to the resources of residential life - land, housing, water, services. It has become a conflict between townships and squatter camps; between the poor and the extremely impoverished.

The position of the older men with land and families in the rural areas

makes them especially vulnerable in times of strikes, stayaways and boycotts because their right to stay in town is directly dependent on keeping their jobs.

This has not always been adequately appreciated by township youths because these youths are not forced to leave the cities if they lose their jobs.

Shack dwellers, too, represent a permanent, albeit relatively impoverished section of the urban population. Many are permanent residents who have moved to vacant land nearby because of the lack of housing and overcrowding in the formal townships.

Divisions

The position in the Transvaal townships is further complicated by residual divisions along ethnic lines. Though never fully successful, the State purchased a policy of ethnic segregation during the 1960s and 19670s.

It sought to bring township residents under homeland authority.

Cross-cutting social and residual ethnic divisions in the Transvaal have provided the context for violent upheaval, but such divisions were not inherently antagonistic.

They have been brought to the fore by the political conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. Clandestine forces have intervened in order, it seems, to weaken the ANC and set back the negotiation process.

Vital ANC congress postponed

Govt fear of big delay in negotiations

Stc
24/10/90

11A ~~11A~~

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government expressed concern today that the ANC's decision to postpone its national congress for six months might delay the start of real constitutional negotiations.

The ANC confirmed today that its all-important first national congress inside South Africa — which would choose a new leadership — had been postponed from December until next June.

The main reason given was that many exiles would not have returned in time for the December conference.

The process of indemnifying exiles was not yet resolved and the ANC said it did not think the Government should be given in effect a veto right on who should attend the conference — by deciding which exiles would be allowed back.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed that under the Pretoria Minute all exiles would have been returned by April next year. This was why the congress had been pushed forward to June next year.

The December gathering would now become a "con-

sultative conference" which would decide on strategy and tactics but not on the leadership, Miss Marcus said.

The gathering would be held in Johannesburg.

She said she did not think the postponement would delay the start of negotiations. These could begin under the present leadership.

There was complete consensus within the ANC about negotiations, Miss Marcus said.

Blow

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen, said he thought it was possible that the postponement of the leadership elections might delay negotiations.

"We hope not, of course. We would like to move into real constitutional negotiations as soon as possible."

Observers believe the decision to postpone the conference is a blow to some "old guard" and formerly exiled leaders, such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

ANC sources believe many exiles would vote against

these men because of their allegedly poor performance as leaders abroad.

Miss Marcus rejected speculation that the congress had been delayed because of fears in the ANC that a militant internal leadership might take over the organisation and take a hard line in negotiations.

She said the internal leadership was already represented in the ANC national executive committee and that reports of rivalry between hawks and doves were an invention of journalists.

She conceded there could be problems if the ANC went into negotiations with one set of leaders who were then changed "midstream" at the June conference.

But this assumed that the leadership would be changed.

Miss Marcus said delegates from around the world would attend the December consultative conference.

She expressed the hope that differences between the Government and the ANC on the procedures for indemnifying exiles had been resolved and that the report of a joint Government/ANC working group on the subject would be released this week.

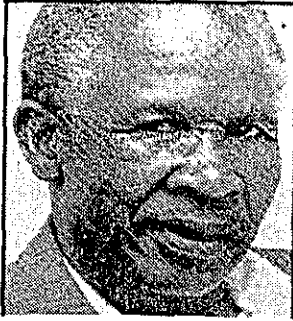
The Justice Department was unable to confirm this today.

Star 24/10/90

Vice-president Makwetu set to take PAC helm

By Patrick Laurence

10A



Clarence Makwetu . . . automatically becomes acting PAC president.

Pan Africanist Congress vice-president Clarence Makwetu is poised to take the helm of the PAC after the death yesterday of its president, Zephania Mothopeng.

Like Mr Mothopeng, Transkei-based Mr Makwetu is a founder member of the PAC, having served as the chairman of its Western Cape region in the brief period after its formation in

1959 and its banning in 1960. Mr Makwetu, a self-effacing man with an ability to work quietly but efficiently behind the scenes, was elected vice-president of the PAC after the organisation was unbanned by President de Klerk in February.

In terms of the PAC constitution, Mr Makwetu takes over automatically as acting president until a successor to Mr Mothopeng is elected by the PAC's national conference.

The national conference was scheduled to be held in Johannesburg from November 9 to 11 but Mr Mothopeng's death may force the PAC's national executive to postpone it.

The PAC national executive meets later today to decide when and where Mr Mothopeng's funeral should take place and whether it will be necessary to defer the national conference.

● Fearless apartheid fighter — Page 11.

The struggle ends for a founding father

REV
24/10/90
11A

From the South African Press Association, and MONTSHIWA MOROKE, in Johannesburg

ZEPHANIA Mothopeng, founder member of the militant Pan Africanist Congress, died in the Johannesburg hospital on Tuesday at the age of 77, after suffering from

PROFILE

cancer for many years.

Mothopeng was admitted to the hospital in a critical condition on October 15, his chest and lung cancer aggravated by acute pneumonia.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Methodist church's Reverend Dr Peter Storey visited the ailing leader hours before his death and prayed with him.

PAC members had earlier on Tuesday expressed hopes that his condition was improving.

University

Mothopeng, who broke away from the African National Congress to help form the militant PAC, was born on September 10, 1913, near Vrede, in the Free State. He matriculated from the St Peter's School in Johannesburg in 1937, and obtained his Natal Post-Matric Teachers' Certificate from Adams College, Amanzimtoti, in 1940. He later obtained a BA degree from Unisa.

In 1941 he started teaching at the Orlando Secondary School, becoming vice-principal of the school in 1952. However, his firm stand against the introduction of Bantu Education resulted in the loss of his teaching post.

Mothopeng's political career began when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early 1940s and served on its national executive.

He became a leader of a so-called "Africanist" grouping within the ANC, which brought out its own magazine, *The Africanist*.

In 1959, having become increasingly critical of the ANC's contact



The likely successor, Clarence Makwetu, currently internal vice president of the Pan Africanist Congress

with progressive members of other racial groups, Mothopeng and others broke away from the ANC and founded the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mothopeng was jailed three times for his political activities, and served time in numerous prisons country-wide.

In 1960 he was imprisoned for two years for his role in the PAC pass campaign.

He was again detained in March 1963 under the 90-day Detention Act and convicted in 1964 for furthering the aims of the PAC.

He was jailed at Leeuwkop prison, then Robben Island, where he spent three months in hospital following a leg injury.

After his discharge in 1967, he was immediately served with a banning order and banished to Witsieshoek in QwaQwa, but was later permitted to live at home in Phomolong, Orando West, Soweto.

His longest stretch in prison began in 1976, after he was sentenced to 15 years impris-

onment under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the PAC.

Imprisoned

He was elected president of the PAC in 1986 while imprisoned.

Mothopeng was diagnosed as having throat cancer while in prison.

The disease rapidly spread to other parts of his body and in 1988, after 12 years in prison, the government decided to release him.

The ailing leader, who had become a symbol of the black struggle, lived the last years of his life only a few blocks from fellow black nationalists Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, but his militant stance kept them apart.

In his first public statement after being freed, Mothopeng urged his supporters to continue the armed struggle.

Mothopeng opposed talks with the government, on the grounds of the PAC's refusal to recognise a white-led government and its opposition to

the notion of power-sharing.

"The question is one of the repossession of our land from foreign colonial oppressors," he said in an interview earlier this year.

"Our liberation will be brought about by the Africans themselves, by having to struggle for it.

"They will not achieve it at the negotiating tables," he said.

After visiting him in hospital with Dr Storey yesterday, Archbishop Tutu said he had gone to the hospital in a dual capacity, as a church leader and also because Mr Mothopeng was an Anglican.

Message

"We are here as representatives of church leaders. We came to pay a pastoral visit to Mr Mothopeng as one of the leaders of our people.

"We are glad we came," Bishop Tutu said.

Dr Storey said they had also brought a message from the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who had spent a number of years with Mr Mothopeng on Robben Island.

"Bishop Mogoba asked us to bring him greetings. They had a pastoral relationship and the bishop holds him (Mothopeng) in high esteem," Dr Storey said.

Clarence Makwetu, internal vice president of the PAC, is the favourite to succeed Mr Mothopeng.

Transkei-based Mr Makwetu is widely respected in PAC circles.

Mr Makwetu, who was elected as the first president of the Pan Africanist Movement at its founding congress last November, is a committee man who shuns publicity.

When the PAC was unbanned in February, the Pan Africanist Movement was dissolved and Mr Mothopeng elected vice president of the PAC.

As vice president he will take over as the PAC's acting president until a successor is formally elected. But, according to well-placed observers, he is almost certain to be chosen to succeed Mr Mothopeng.

Viljoen concern about ANC congress delay

Political Staff *Arb 24/10/90*
JOHANNESBURG. — The government expressed concern today that the ANC's decision to postpone its national congress for six months might delay real negotiations.

The ANC confirmed that its national congress to choose a new leadership had been postponed from December until June.

The main reason was that many exiles would not have returned in time for a December conference. The process of indemnifying exiles was not yet resolved and they did not think the government should be given in effect a veto right on who

should attend the conference by deciding which exiles would be allowed back.

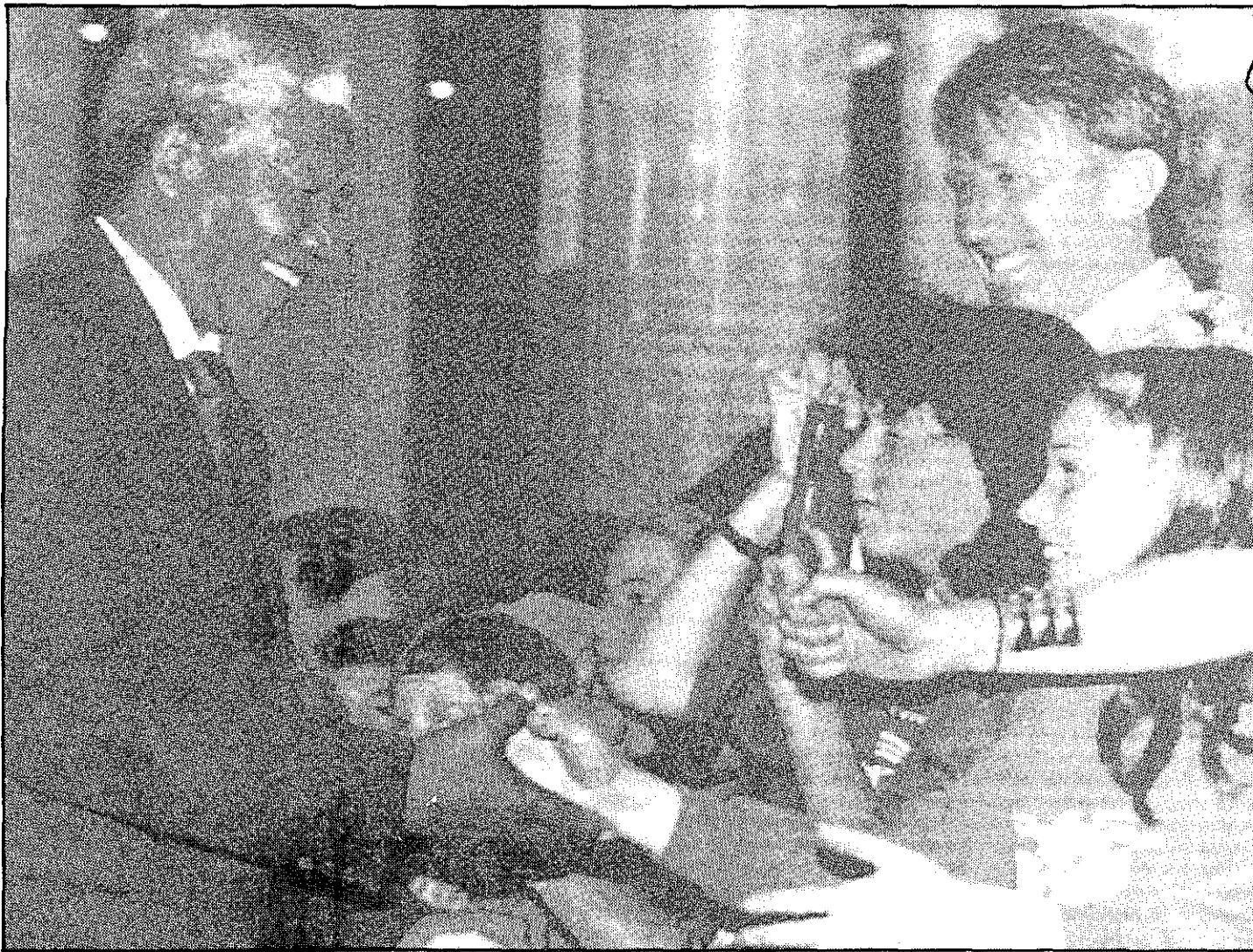
ANC spokeswoman Miss Gill Marcus confirmed that under the Pretoria Minute all exiles would have returned by next April.

The December gathering would now be a "consultative conference", Miss Marcus said.

She said she did not think the postponement would delay the start of negotiations. These could begin under the present leadership. There was consensus in the ANC about negotiations.

The government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen, said he thought it possible the postponement of ANC leadership elections might delay negotiations.

"We hope not, of course. We would like to move into real constitutional negotiations as soon as possible."



Greetings from Down Under . . . Nelson Mandela, in Australia for a five-day visit, shakes hands with schoolchildren in the Great Hall of Parliament House in Canberra yesterday. Mr Mandela was having talks with Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke. Picture: Reuter.

ANC leader walks out of radio show

CANBERRA — An angry Nelson Mandela walked out of an Australian radio studio yesterday when an interviewer unexpectedly brought Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the conversation in a telephone hook-up with South Africa.

"Was that Buthelezi? In fairness, you should have told me," Mr Mandela told interviewer Paul Murphy of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

"Mr Mandela, yes, I should tell you that I have just been talking to Chief Buthelezi," said Murphy, adding: "I don't know whether you want to listen to what he has to say."

Mr Mandela, annoyed, said: "I don't. In fairness, you should have told me the full picture beforehand."

He then left the studio as aides remonstrated with ABC staff.

The incident came only a day after the ANC's national executive committee announced that it had finally given its blessing to a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

The meeting is aimed at ending violence in the townships.

Mr Mandela declined to give a date for the meeting, but said: "To discuss problems . . . even without reaching a solution, you create a new atmosphere, an atmosphere of hope."

Chief Buthelezi, after Mr Mandela's departure, told reporters he believed talks with the ANC leader could end township violence.

Asked earlier to react to Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke's comments that a new constitution might emerge in the next year or two, Mr Mandela replied: "I wouldn't regard that estimate as being unreasonable in the light of the progress we have made this year." — Sapa-Reuter.

CPA T. F. 11A

October 24 1990 5

Buthlezi awaits talks go-ahead

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Talks about the format, date and venue for a meeting between the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could start immediately if the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed to the meeting.

This was said at Ulundi yesterday by Chief Buthelezi, when he met a delegation from the National Peoples' Party under the leadership of Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Chief Buthelezi said he was encouraged by a statement from the ANC's national executive in which they gave their blessing to such a meeting.

This was progress, he said, and a move away from the polarisation which had characterised relationships between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party since 1979.

Mandela and Buthelezi set to meet

11A

Sowetan
24/10/90

THE ANC leadership has agreed that its executive, including Mr Nelson Mandela, meet with the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party including Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee and the International Leadership Core in Johannesburg over the weekend.

In an announcement by the ANC's Department of Information no date or venue has yet been set for the meeting, but it will be

part of an on-going process to bring about peace to the violence-riddled Natal which has claimed over 4 000 lives in the unrest.

The spokesman said that the meeting welcomed the steps being taken jointly by the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"It further agreed that a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and the Central Committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party be held in the near future, with the participation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela, to

strengthen the efforts aimed at ending the violence," said the spokesman.

He added that the meeting also discussed the efforts that the Democratic Movement as a whole was doing to end the violence in the country.

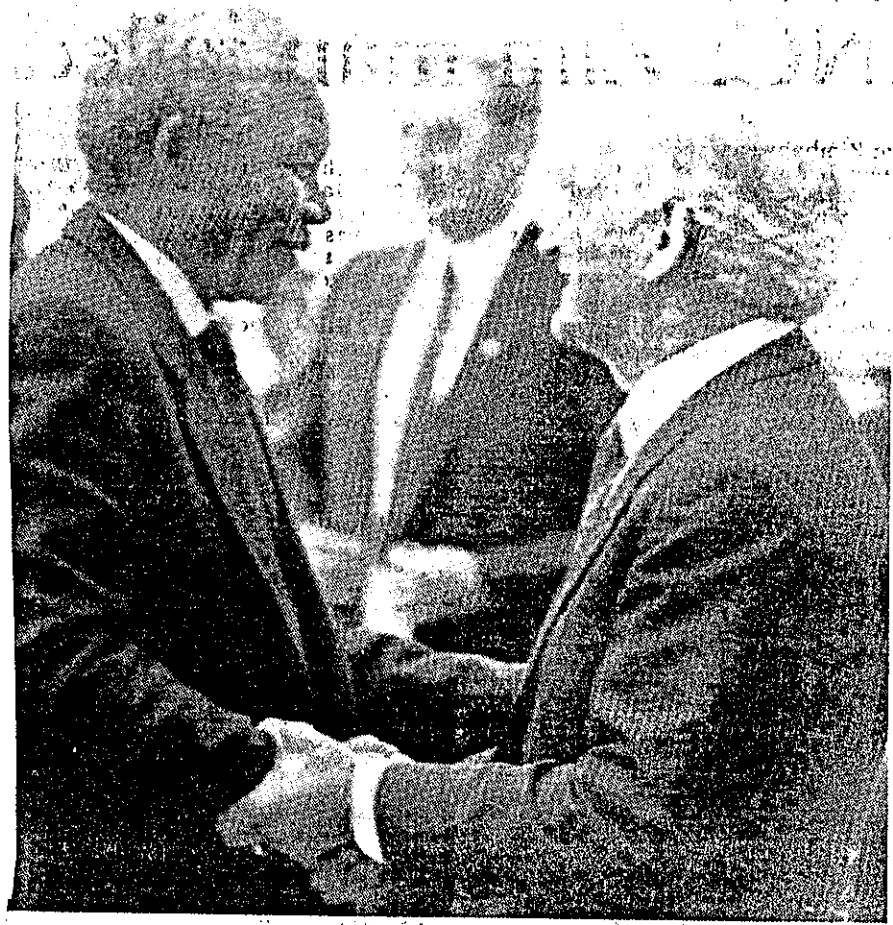
"It commended the work being carried out jointly by the ANC and Cosatu in this regard and agreed that, where necessary, new initiatives be taken to reinforce progress towards a situation of peace throughout the country," said the spokesman. - *Own correspondent*

24/10/90

11

Cape Times, Wednesday,

Thank you Australia — Mandela



MANDELA DOWN UNDER ... Mr Nelson Mandela is greeted by Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke in Canberra yesterday.

Picture:
REUTERS

CANBERRA. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke and the Australian people yesterday for their opposition to apartheid and urged them not to drop sanctions against Pretoria.

Mr Mandela, who arrived in the Australian capital on Monday night from Indonesia, was driven to Parliament House in a special armoured anti-terrorist limousine amid tight security.

As he left the vehicle, he was accosted by Aboriginal activist Mr Michael Mansell.

"What about the Aborigines, Mr Mandela, what about the Aborigines?" Mr Mansell yelled from behind a large black and yellow Aborigine flag.

However, Mr Mandela appeared not to hear the shout or see the flag. He was warmly greeted by Mr Hawke and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Gareth Evans.

In a lunch speech, he appealed to the Australian government not to drop sanctions.

"Australia has made a significant and consistent contribution to the sports and cultural boycott, specifically under the Gleneagles Agreement.

"This campaign must be maintained inside South Africa, especially in rugby, cricket, tennis and athletics.

"We are optimistic that with the maintenance of economic sanctions we will hasten the achievement of freedom for South Africans who have yearned and fought for so long and sacrificed so much."

Mr Mandela accused the "fanatic right wing" within the ranks of the SA government security forces of orchestrating the black-on-black violence.

"It is an attempt to weaken the African National Congress and to derail the peace process," he said.

Mr Mandela said the lifting of some sanctions to reward President De Klerk, which the Australian Opposition has proposed, would allow extreme right wing groups in South Africa to claim that the president was responding to Western pressure.

Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation by the 1 000 official guests at the end of his speech.

● The Azanian Peoples' Organisation said South Africa's blacks and the Aborigines had both been dispossessed of their land and expressed solidarity with the Aborigines on the occasion of Mr Mandela's visit.

● Mr Mandela will address the Japanese parliament on October 30 and will meet various Ministers and business leaders.

He will visit Malaysia from November 1 to 4, two weeks later than scheduled. — Sapa-Reuter

JOHANNESBURG. — A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday ruled that a magistrate erred when he postponed the trial date of Mrs Winnie Mandela, who is scheduled to appear in court on charges of kidnapping and assault.

Mr Justice KV Dijkhorst, in a 30-minute judgment, granted an application by Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres, who sought a declaratory order.

Mr Von Lieres

Court erred on Winnie's trial date

launched his application on Friday after magistrate Mr TF Veldman recently postponed Mrs Mandela's trial on kidnapping and assault charges to February 4. The Supreme Court

had set October 30 as trial date, but after an application by Mrs Mandela's defence lawyer, Mr Veldman agreed to postpone the trial.

In his challenge, Mr Von Lieres said he agreed with the new date, but contested the right of a magistrate to change a Supreme Court decision.

Mr Justice Dijkhorst subsequently ruled that a magistrate was not empowered to change a trial date set by the Supreme Court. — Sapa

Mandela storms out of studio over Buthelezi

CANBERRA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela angrily walked out of an Australian radio studio yesterday when an interviewer unexpectedly brought Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the conversation in a telephone hook-up with SA.

"Was that Buthelezi? In fairness you should have told me," Mandela told interviewer Paul Murphy of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Murphy said: "I don't know whether you want to listen to what he has to say."

Mandela, annoyed, said "I don't. In fairness you should have told me the full pic-

ture beforehand." He then left the studio.

Planned talks between Mandela, who is on a five-day tour of Australia, and Buthelezi, were announced in SA on Monday.

Mandela earlier told a news conference that hopes for an end to township violence had been raised by the planned meeting.

He did not give a date for the meeting. Buthelezi, after Mandela's departure from the studio, said he believed talks with Mandela could end township violence.

He said the leaders should be seen by their followers to be "really advocating peace".

Mandela said at the news conference

that SA could have a democratic and non-racial constitution in one or two years.

Earlier, Mandela held private talks with Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke in parliament and in a speech at a lunch urged Australia to maintain sporting and economic sanctions.

Outside parliament Aboriginal activist Michael Mansell asked Mandela to compare the struggle of black South Africans with the plight of Aborigines but he was drowned out by applause for Mandela from white Australians. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Picture: Page 3

SIDNEY 2 4/10/70

Current leadership stays in place

ANC's first congress is postponed

11A
Bloem
24/10/90

THE ANC has scrapped plans to hold its national conference in December.

The conference, the first inside SA since the ANC was banned in 1960, was to have been held in Bloemfontein on December 16, the anniversary of the organisation's founding in 1912.

The decision means that full-scale constitutional negotiations are likely to start before the ANC rank-and-file gets a chance to elect a new leadership.

The delayed return of ANC exiles has forced the organisation to postpone the conference — and the re-election of its top leadership — until June next year.

Observers believe the election of a new-look ANC leadership could conceivably have strained the negotiating process, particularly if militant internal leaders were elected to top positions.

The decision to postpone the national conference came despite strong indications yesterday that the process of releasing prisoners and granting exiles indemnity would soon be back on track and that a government/ANC report on the subject would be released this week.

National executive committee (NEC) member James Stuart said yesterday the ANC was still planning an "extraordinary" conference for December and confirmed that this would be held in Johannesburg.

The December conference, to be atten-

PETER DELMAR

ded by hundreds of mostly internal ANC delegates, would set the ANC negotiating team "parameters" or a "bottom line" on negotiations, Stuart said.

The main reason for postponing the full national conference was the fact that most exiles would not have returned by December, he said, and a number of exiles would have been candidates for the elections. It would also have been unfair to exclude them as delegates and voters.

The ANC, Stuart said, had decided to stage the full national conference in June because the agreement on the return of exiles reached between government and the ANC and spelt out in the Pretoria Minute stipulated that exiles would all return by the end of April.

The ANC was yesterday busy informing its regions of the decision.

Informed sources said that the report of the joint government/ANC working group on the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would probably be released today or tomorrow.

All indications were that differences of interpretation on procedures to be followed had been ironed out and that the process of releasing prisoners and grant-

□ To Page 2

ANC

Bloem
24/10/90

ing exiles indemnity would resume. The two sides would continue to work towards the deadlines outlined in the group's previous report at the Pretoria summit meeting in August.

The ANC said in a statement on Monday that a weekend NEC meeting had reviewed agreements with government on the subject and welcomed a report that progress had been made in resolving differences.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant

11A □ From Page 1

provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement added. □ The ANC/government working group established to consider issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle met in Pretoria again yesterday.

There was no indication from either side last night on what progress had been made at the meeting, although it had been expected that the group would complete its work either this week or the next.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani led the ANC delegation. Umkhonto commander Joe Modise did not attend.

ANC calls

CAPT TRUITS 24/10/90

11A

off congress

Own Correspondent

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Observers believe the election of a new-look ANC leadership could conceivably have strained the negotiating process, particularly if militant internal leaders were elected to top positions.

The decision to postpone the national conference came despite strong indications yesterday that the process of releasing prisoners and granting exiles indemnity would soon be back on track and that a government-ANC report on the subject would be released this week, possibly today.

National executive committee (NEC) member Mr James Stuart said yesterday that the ANC was still planning an "extraordinary" conference for December and confirmed that this would be held in Johannesburg and not outside SA as previously predicted.

The December conference, to be attended by hundreds of mostly internal ANC delegates from around the country, would set the ANC negotiating team "parameters" or a "bottom line" on negotiations, Mr Stuart said.

The ANC, Mr Stuart said, had decided to

stage the full national conference in June because the agreement on the return of exiles reached between government and the ANC and spelt out in the Pretoria Minute stipulated that exiles would all return by the end of April.

A number of ANC exiles would have been candidates for the elections, and it would also have been unfair to exclude them as delegates and voters.

Holding the conference in June would give exiles time to "find their feet", he added.

The ANC was yesterday busy informing its regions of the decision.

Informed sources said yesterday that the report of the joint government-ANC working group on the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would probably be released today or tomorrow.

All indications were that the two sides had ironed out their differences of interpretation on procedures to be followed and that the process of releasing prisoners and granting exiles indemnity would be immediately resumed.

The two sides would continue to work towards the deadlines contained in the group's previous report at the Pretoria summit meeting in August.

The ANC said in a statement on Monday that a weekend NEC meeting had reviewed agreements with government on the subject and welcomed a report that progress had been made in resolving differences.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement added.

Funding squeeze for Natal groups

11A Own Correspondent

DURBAN — More than 20 anti-apartheid organisations in Natal face possible closure because of substantial cuts in funding by the EC's Kagiso Trust.

Established in 1987 to "assist victims of apartheid", the Kagiso Trust has come under increasing pressure from lobby groups to move its funding activities away from political organisations.

Kagiso Natal chairman Mike Sutcliffe said the trust was "restructuring and redirecting its operations toward developmental organisations". He said international funders had decided to slash funding for organisations with a "more political profile".

Sutcliffe said the majority of the organisations facing possible closure were part of Kagiso's civic and advice centres programme in Durban and Maritzburg, including the Durban Central Residents Association (DCRA).

Funding for the New African newspaper is expected by sources within Kagiso to dry up by the end of the year. 15/10/90

It is understood if the affected organisations wish to continue their operations, they will have to generate their own funds.

New African co-editor Siphokhumalo yesterday denied the newspaper would close as a result of the fund withdrawal.

He said Kagiso had not yet informed him of any decision to withdraw funds.

Sutcliffe said funds available to Kagiso were not adequate to address the needs of the civic and advice centres' programme.

DCRA chairman Sayed-Iqbal Mohamed said they could last only another month and a half before closing their offices.

CAP-
Tim P.
24/10/90

PAC

leader

dies in

hospital

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, 77, died of cancer in Johannesburg Hospital yesterday.

Mr Mothopeng's doctor, Dr Aflam Dasoo, said last night that the staff of the hospital had done their best but the PAC leader "didn't have a chance".

Apart from the cancer, which had spread to both lungs, he had developed pneumonia with a concurrent infection of the blood, and died at 4.55pm of respiratory failure.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church delivered a pastoral sermon shortly before he died.

Mr Mothopeng was not capable of speaking before he died, but he had reached out toward Archbishop Tutu during the archbishop's sermon.

Dr Dasoo said it was very important for the PAC leader to have died on South African soil after having fought a long battle.

A PAC spokesman said last night that "a revolutionary does not die", but admitted Mr Mothopeng had "fallen".

© Obituary — Page 2

Tributes pour in for 'lion of Azania'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Zephania Mothopeng, founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress, died in Johannesburg Hospital yesterday after suffering from cancer for many years.

He was admitted to the hospital in a critical condition on October 15, with his chest and lung cancer aggravated by acute pneumonia.

Mr Mothopeng served just four years as PAC president before his death. Imprisonment, bannings and ill-health prevented the grizzled 77-year-old from ever taking effective control of the movement.

The PAC, in a statement released by the Ziana national news agency in Harare, said "the lion of Azania has fallen".

"Comrade Mothopeng played a leading role in the formation of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) and revitalisation of PAC structures throughout the country."

Reaction to Mr Mothopeng's death came rapidly from the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the US ambassador, Mr William Swing.

The ANC expressed "immense sadness" at his death, saying it had left the people of South Africa much poorer, in a statement released by internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Azapo urged people engaged in internecine violence to lay down their arms and pay tribute to the late PAC president.

"We would like to urge all oppressed people, irrespective of affiliation, to rise up and salute this great leader of the revolution," said Azapo deputy



Mr Zeph Mothopeng

president Dr Nchaube Mokoape.

Both the ANC and Azapo offered condolences to the PAC and Mr Mothopeng's family.

Mr Swing said his government mourned Mr Mothopeng's death.

"Zeph Mothopeng spent his entire adult life in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and in the effort to build a just society."

Mr Mothopeng, who broke away from the ANC to help form the militant PAC, was born on September 10, 1913, near Vrede, in the Free State.

He matriculated from St Peter's School in Johannesburg in 1937 and obtained his Natal Post-Matric Teachers' Certificate from Adams College, Amanzimtoti, in 1940.

He later obtained a BA degree from Unisa.

In 1941 he started teaching at Orlando Secondary School, becoming vice-principal in 1952. However, his firm stand against the introduction of Bantu Education resulted in the loss of his teaching post.

Mr Mothopeng's political career began when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early 1940s. He served on its national executive for a period.

In 1959, having become increasingly critical of the ANC's contact with progressive members of other racial groups, Mr Mothopeng broke away with others, such as Mr Anton Lembede and Mr Robert Sobukwe, to form the PAC.

Mr Mothopeng was jailed three times for his political activities, and served time in numerous prisons countrywide.

After his discharge in 1967, he was immediately served with a banning order and banished to Witsieshoek, QwaQwa, but was later permitted to live at home in Phomolong, Orlando West, Soweto.

The ailing leader lived the last years of his life only a few blocks from Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Sisulu, but his militant stance kept them apart. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

CAF
T-10
24/10/79
HR
~~HR~~

PAC denies beachfront attack

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC youth wing, Azanyu, has dissociated itself from the beachfront stabbing of eight whites, one of whom died, two weeks ago. Reacting to reports that the knife-wielding attackers were wearing PAC colours, the chairman of the Durban branch, Mr Bongani Zungu, said they were victims of disinformation by a religious zealot. Neither the PAC nor any of its affiliates were involved in the attack. Mr Zungu said the leader had acquired the T-shirts by claiming to be a PAC supporter and that he wanted to give the T-shirts to non-members. — Sapa

Mandela storms off radio show

11A
CMT TINTS
24/10/90

CANBERRA. — Mr Nelson Mandela angrily walked out of an Australian radio studio yesterday when an interviewer unexpectedly brought Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the conversation in a telephone hook-up with South Africa.

"Was that Buthelezi? In fairness you should have told me," Mr Mandela told interviewer Mr Paul Murphy of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC).

"Mr Mandela — yes I should tell you that I have just been talking to Chief Buthelezi," said Mr Murphy, adding: "I don't know whether you want to listen to what he has to say."

Mr Mandela, annoyed, said: "I don't. In fairness you should have told me the full picture beforehand."

He then left the studio in Australia's parliament building as his aides demonstrated with the staff.

Planned talks between Mr Mandela, who is on a five-day tour of Australia, and Chief Buthelezi were announced on Monday.

Mr Mandela earlier told a news conference that hopes for an end to township violence had been raised by his planned meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, after Mr Mandela's departure from the radio station, was asked whether he believed talks with Mr Mandela could end township violence.

"Yes, because I think that leaders should lead. I think we should be seen by our followers — both ANC and Inkatha followers — as really advocating peace," he said. — Sapa-AP

Future (11A)
won't be
settled by
ANC and
Nats alone

South Africa 25/10/70

THERE was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of a bilateral deal between the South African Government and the African National Congress, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations told the Ladies 100 Club in Bloemfontein on Tuesday night.

Kane-Berman said that a "winning hand" was not a bilateral deal, but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

This would have a beneficial effect in white politics. "If Buthelezi and other black people are there, many people on the right will have their fears reduced," said Kane-Berman.

The New South Africa was going to be "a lot more painful" than 8-9 months ago, but the plus-factors must be emphasised.

These included that the USSR was now in favour of negotiated solutions.

Kane-Berman said that, but for the fact that there had been a major change in domestic politics in the USSR, Nelson Mandela would "still be sitting on Robben Island".

WANT TO

Mandela wants the vote for all

(119)

Southern
25/10/90

SYDNEY - Mr Nelson Mandela warned the South African Government yesterday there would be a return to violence if the country's new constitution does not ensure voting rights for all blacks.

Mandela, the deputy president of the African National Congress, has promised there will be no armed struggle while the government of President FW de Klerk continues with its reform policies.

"But let me tell you



this, let me assure you, if the Government does not want to honor the agreements that we have made, if the Government continues to make statements

that they are not prepared to accept, without qualification, the principle of one-person, one-vote, then South Africa will be on fire again."

Mandela, on the second full day of a four-day visit to Australia, spoke to a crowd, estimated at between 10,000 and 30,000.

Violence

Mandela also reiterated his claim that the South African Government's security forces were behind recent violence between the ANC and the Zulu-based

Inkatha Freedom Party.

"You now have highly trained death squads who have acted with military precision. We have no doubts in our minds as to who is responsible. It does not fool us.

"Despite the magnificent efforts of De Klerk to help bring about fundamental changes, these forces are determined to derail this process. It is not black-on-black violence. It is now a violence which is inspired by the security forces." - Sapa-AP

South
25/10-31/10/90 (11A)

Exiles will enrich quest for a new SA

THE coming home of South Africa's exiled community is central to the peace process in this country.

The postponement this week of the ANC's national conference to June next year is indicative that the issue of the exiles and their speedy return and resettlement must be given high priority.

The thousands of South Africans who left their country is a manifestation of apartheid — like the jailing of Nelson Mandela and others, unjust and discriminatory laws and the enrichment of a few at the expense of many — that must be rectified.

The exiles are coming home and it is the responsibility of all concerned South Africans to make this possible.

However, there are several worrisome tendencies

emerging among the oppressed people and their organisations.

Unfounded fears are being fuelled that the exiles will be given preferential treatment in the allocation of jobs and housing.

Rumours are flourishing about jobs being offered to exiles at the expense of the thousands of unemployed inside the country and harming the promotion prospects of those who stayed behind.

Speculation is rife about universities and church and community organisations creating jobs for exiles.

Exiles have sacrificed much in their contribution to the struggle.

Most left South Africa at great expense to their personal wellbeing and safety. Most lived under trying conditions in their host countries, while many of them are soldiers who have lived dangerously on the battle-

field and who are likely to be the last to return.

Yet they are viewed with suspicion by their own people at home!

Despair at the failure of foreign donors or big capital to deliver on pledges made, or contribute at all, to the cost of the repatriation is of little use.

It is incumbent on all concerned South Africans to open their hearts, homes and pockets to bring our exiled compatriots home.

The state has identified the sensitive issue of the exiles as an easy way to sow discord and confusion in the ranks of the oppressed; extra care must be taken not to play into its hands.

Talking about exiles as though they were "aliens" simply strengthens the stratagems of the state.

The ANC also appears to be guilty of fobbing off on to the National Coordinating Committee for Repatria-

tion the task of ensuring the smooth return of the exiles.

Other organisations fool no one when they speak of leaving their exiled members "in the trenches" to continue the fight.

There is a desperate need for the democratic movement and the repatriation committee to work together.

A basic problem seems to be poor communication. Rumours, gossip and slander feed on inadequate information.

It is essential for organisations like the ANC to have an open line of communication to the exiles, cadres in our jails and the underground as well as its rank-and-file membership.

While the repatriation process presents vexing problems, the smooth return of the exiles and their rapid resettlement can only serve to enrich and strengthen the quest for a new South Africa.

ZEPHANIA Lekoane Mot-hopeng, Pan Africanist Congress leader, was so devoted to the liberation struggle that, on his release from prison on humanitarian grounds in November 1988, he chose to risk his deteriorating health rather than abandon his commitment to free his people from racial oppression.

To him the struggle for a free society was more important than his life.

Weak and ailing, Mot-hopeng — called the "Lion of Azania" — continued to carry the flag of the PAC by addressing numerous meetings and press conferences.

He carried this commitment with him until he was admitted to the Johannesburg General Hospital last Monday. He died on Tuesday at the age of 78.

Youth League

Mot-hopeng was elected PAC president by its central committee in Dar es Salaam in 1986 while he was still in prison.

He has been involved in African politics since the early 1940s when he joined the ANC Youth League and soon became a member of its national executive.

Despite ill health, he rejected the government's 1987 offer to release him if he renounced violence.

From the days of the ANC Youth League, Mot-hopeng became one of the leaders of the "Africanist" section of the ANC who were becoming increasingly critical of its contact with progressive members of other racial groups.

Mot-hopeng risked health for politics

South 25/10 - 31/10/90



PAN-AFRICANIST Congress president Zephanel Mot-hopeng died after a long illness on Tuesday. MONO BADELA profiles his political career:

The Africanists finally broke away from the movement in 1959 and formed the PAC under the leadership of the late Robert Sobukwe.

Mot-hopeng was arrested for planning the anti-pass campaign that resulted in the Sharpeville massacre and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

After his release from prison, he was banned and banished to a small place called Witsieshoek in the Orange Free State.

Underground

However, at the end of 1967 the banning order was amended to permit him to live at home in Orlando West, Johannesburg.

During the mid-1970s Mot-hopeng continued his political underground work for the PAC and twice in 1975 visited Sobukwe in Kimberley.

Mot-hopeng was arrested in August 1976. When the case against him and others commenced two years later, he was charged under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the PAC between 1963 and 1977.

The accused all refused to plead on



ZEPH MOTHOPENG: "Lion of Azania"

the grounds that they did not recognise the court; they believed it was an institution constituted under laws which they had no share in framing.

Mot-hopeng was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

After his release on compassionate grounds in 1988, Mot-hopeng flew to London for medical treatment for cancer of the throat. He returned to con-

tinue his political activities.

He was in the forefront when his organisation rejected negotiations with the government, saying the PAC would negotiate with the government only on condition that the land was returned to its rightful owners and when a constituent assembly had been convened.

Walter Sisulu, chairman of the Inter-national Leadership Core of the ANC, said

his organisation had learnt with "immense sadness" about Mot-hopeng's death this week.

"Comrade Zeph, as he was popularly known, was an ardent opponent of the apartheid system and a patriot dedicated to the liberation of our country," Sisulu said.

"A worker, teacher, articled clerk, political campaigner and prison graduate all in one, he dedicated his life to the betterment of the lot of the oppressed people."

Sisulu said these life experiences, specially the "terrible prison conditions he had to endure" inside apartheid's dungeons, finally took its toll on his life.

Untimely

The ANC extended its condolences to Mot-hopeng's family and to the PAC.

The general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), Cunningham Ngcukana said: "Mot-hopeng's death has been untimely and has saddened us.

"He will be mourned not only by his family or the PAC but by all in this country. He has made a sterling contribution."

In a statement released on Wednesday, Transkei president Tutor Ndamase said: "All men of goodwill are looking forward to the attainment, in the future South Africa, of the ideals for which Mr Mot-hopeng lived," said Ndamase.

1990

CITY LATE **

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Sta 25/10/90

(117)

Delay in ANC's December congress creates confusion

There is confusion among leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) about the reported postponement of the organisation's crucial December congress, but top sources confirmed today that the election of a new leadership had been postponed to June next year.

After ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday announced a decision to postpone the election, two senior members of the national executive said they were baffled by the statement and claimed it had not been authorised at a weekend national executive committee (NEC) meeting.

But today Miss Marcus confirmed what she had said

yesterday. She said the decision had been taken at the weekend NEC meeting. This was confirmed by reliable sources in the NEC.

Miss Marcus said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo would probably clear up the confusion today.

Anxious

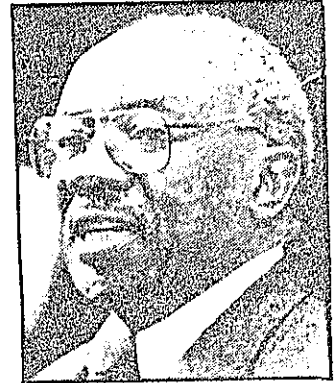
An NEC source believed the confusion could have arisen because the NEC had been anxious that news of the postponement should reach the ANC's lower echelons before being announced

in the press.

They indicated that this might have been why the two NEC members initially denied the announcement from Miss Marcus.

The NEC source dismissed as "unfounded" Government fears that the postponement of the congress could delay negotiation.

They said the consultative conference that would be held in December, although not dealing with the crucial leadership issue would still discuss strategy and tactics, including the ANC's approach to negotiations.



To clear up confusion ...
ANC secretary-general
Alfred Nzo.

Mourners told to join Umkhonto

By Mkeed Kottolo
Pretoria Bureau

Hundreds of mourners in Bophuthatswana yesterday heard speakers at the funeral of Morgan Sello Mtshweni call on youths to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to fight apartheid and its agents.

Allegations that Mr Mtshweni was killed by the homeland police and his body kept in a disused refrigerator at the government mortuary on the night of October 5 have been denied by Bophuthatswana police.

According to the police, Mr Mtshweni was killed on October 5 when occupants of a car at Baloyi Stand, Kromkuil, "opened fire on people standing in the vicinity".

The funeral was attended by senior ANC and SACP members, including Elias Motsoaledi; who urged the youths to join the struggle and fight side-by-side with the elderly against the homeland government and apartheid.

The Rev Makunyane of the Baptist Church called on the youths to join MK in case negotiations collapsed.

● Thirty six people on their way to Mr Mtshweni's vigil were reportedly detained by Bophuthatswana police early yesterday.

Mandela gives FW high praise



By Adrian Dunn
Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, yesterday praised President de Klerk for his "magnificent efforts" to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa.

A crowd of more than 20 000 gathered outside the Sydney Opera House to hear Mr Mandela say that there were, however, forces seeking to derail the peace process.

Bidding

He said the ANC had evidence that the recent bloody violence in townships was not "black on black warfare", but rather the work of death squads trained in the security forces. The Government had either lost control of the security forces, or the security forces were acting at the Government's bidding.

He warned that the country would be "on fire again" if it backed away from a commitment to one person, one vote.

As Mr Mandela spoke, supporters danced and sang "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica."

Earlier, Mr Mandela had met Aboriginal leaders, who reject-

ed recent criticism of him by some Aborigines.

"We want you to know that we dissociate ourselves and everyone we represent — and that is more than 99 percent of the Aborigines of Australia — from the disgraceful behaviour of one or two individuals," said Marcia Langton, a spokeswoman for the Aboriginal delegation.

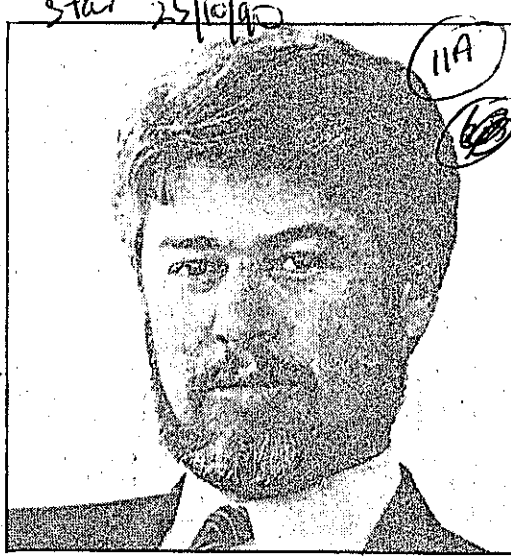
"They do not represent Aboriginal Australia and we are saying on behalf of the Aboriginal people that it was the greatest pleasure of our lives to meet a real hero."

Ms Langton added: "This man is the greatest man of the 20th century in that, through his lifelong commitment to dismantling racism, he has explained clearly to the entire world what a poisonous institution racism is."

Mr Mandela yesterday went further than his earlier Canberra talks in discussing Aborigines, saying he felt an empathy with them.

"As far as I can understand, they are striving to improve their lot. Any people who are trying to improve their living conditions have our sympathy because that is what we are doing in our country," he said.

Mr Mandela expressed interest in visiting the areas where they live.



John Kane-Berman

ANC, Govt 'don't have a winning hand'

BLOEMFONTEIN — There was no way that the future of South Africa could be settled by some kind of bilateral deal between the South African Government and the ANC, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations told the Ladies 100 Club in Bloemfontein this week.

Mr Kane-Berman said a "winning hand" was not a bilateral deal but a tripartite one between the Government, the ANC and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Other black movements would then find it difficult to stay outside the negotiation process.

This would have a beneficial effect in white politics.

Painful

"If Buthelezi and other black people are there, many people on the Right will have their fears reduced," said Mr Kane-Berman.

The New South Africa was going to be "a lot more painful" than eight to nine months ago, but the plus factors had to be emphasised.

These included that the Soviet Union was now in favour of negotiated solutions. But for the fact that there had been a major change in domestic politics in the

Soviet Union, Nelson Mandela would still be in prison.

The collapse of the communist monopolies undermined their credibility locally, while Africa was also recognising the folly of one-party socialist systems.

Sanctions were being eroded and President de Klerk had made "astronomical, breath-taking" breakthroughs in the international scene.

New plus factors in domestic politics were the increased realisation in the Conservative Party that its previous policies were unworkable and unsaleable.

"We can actually change society non-violently if we wish," he said.

Earlier Mr Kane-Berman had accused the South African press of "not doing its job properly". The public was not getting a true reflection of the degree of destabilisation going on in the black townships.

His figures, based on police reports, showed a 400 percent increase in attacks on black policemen and councillors from January to July.

He did not know whether the Government could get the ANC to give up its mass mobilisation policy.

Sanctions were not a major threat and the armed struggle was never a potent instrument, he said. — Sapa.



Makwetu still top contender as PAC chief

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Two men have emerged as possible contenders to succeed Mr Zephania Mothopeng as the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress: Mr Mark Shinnars, a "prison graduate," and Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo, the PAC secretary for education.

But Mr Clarence Makwetu, the PAC vice president who automatically took over as acting president after Mr Mothopeng's death on Tuesday, remains most likely to be chosen for the job.

The PAC president is elected by the organisation's national congress. The annual congress was due to be held in Johannesburg on November 9-11 but it now may be postponed because of Mr Mothopeng's death.

The PAC national executive met yesterday to decide whether to defer the congress and to make arrangements for Mr Mothopeng's funeral.

Soweto burial

A statement was expected later today, but, according to a well-placed observer, Mr Mothopeng will probably be buried in Soweto on November 3 after his followers pay homage to him at a mass funeral.

Mr Shinnars was recently re-

leased from prison. He was sentenced with Mr Mothopeng in the Bethal trial of 1978, having already served 10 years for his commitment to the then-outlawed PAC. He is a man with a warm smile and a steel will.

Mr Mbandazayo hails from the Transkei, where the PAC is vying with the African National Congress for the support of the people. Like Mr Makwetu — another Transkei-based man — he is a respected figure in PAC circles.

Tributes

Tributes to Mr Mothopeng continued to pour in yesterday and today.

Speaking on behalf of the Transkei, President Tutor Ndumase described Mr Mothopeng as a man who lived for his people rather than himself. Lesotho's military ruler, General Metsing Lehkanya, said: "He will be remembered for generations to come in the annals of the struggle for freedom in South Africa."

The presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Dr Stanley Mogoba, apparently anticipating a shift in the PAC's stand against negotiations, said: "Zeph Mothopeng... would have played an important role in negotiations when the PAC decided to become involved."

Postponed conference baffles top ANC brass

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leaders are perplexed by an official ANC announcement that the organisation's all-important national conference has been postponed from December to next June.

Two senior National Executive Committee (NEC) members said they were baffled by the announcement yesterday — issued by the ANC's department of information and publicity "on the instruction of the NEC".

According to the statement, the December gathering — which would have been the ANC's first national conference on South African soil since its unbanning — would now become a "consultative conference".

Elections for a new executive and policy decisions would now be made only in June.

DRAMATIC DECISION

The decision, which could delay the start of formal negotiations on a new constitution, was taken at a NEC meeting at the weekend, the statement said.

However, a statement issued after that meeting made no mention of the decision to postpone the conference.

In that statement, issued on Monday, the NEC said preparations for the conference would be stepped up and that discussion papers would soon be sent to branches on policy issues.

Yesterday the two NEC members said the decision to postpone the conference had not been taken at the weekend meeting. They were under the impression that plans for the conference were continuing as scheduled.

CITY



NATIONAL

Thursday October 25 1990

Race is on for PAC leadership

By Patrick Laurence

Two men emerged yesterday as possible contenders to succeed Zephania Mothopeng as president of the Pan-Africanist Congress: Mark Shinnars, a "prison graduate", and Mbandazayo, PAC secretary for education.

But Clarence Makwetu, the PAC vice-president who automatically took over as acting president after Mr Mothopeng's death, remained the man most likely to be chosen.

The PAC president is elected by the organisation's national congress. It was to be held in Johannesburg on November 9-11 but could now be postponed because of Mr Mothopeng's death.

Mass funeral

The PAC national executive met yesterday to decide whether to defer the congress and to make arrangements for Mr Mothopeng's funeral.

A statement was expected to be issued today. According to a well-placed observer, Mr Mothopeng will probably be buried in Soweto on November 3 after his followers have paid homage to him at a mass funeral.

Mr Shinnars was recently released from prison. He was sentenced with Mr Mothopeng in the Bethal trial of 1978, having already served 10 years for his commitment to the then outlawed PAC. He is a man with a warm smile and a steel will.

Mr Mbandazayo hails from Transkei, where the PAC is vying with the African National Congress for the support of the people. Mr Makwetu is also Transkei-based.

Tabata's family granted immunity

11A

80/12
25/10-31/10/90

THE Zimbabwean government has intervened to make it possible for the late Isaac Bangani Tabata, founder of the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA), to be buried near his birthplace in the Eastern Cape.

South Africa has no diplomatic relations with Zimbabwe, but the Trade Mission in Harare has been able to secure temporary immunity for several of exiles to attend Saturday's funeral.

This will make it possible Tabata's 86-year-old widow, Ms Jane Gool, and other top members of the movement to enter the country to attend Saturday's funeral in Lessyton, Queenstown.

Cape Town-born Gool was granted permission to remain in South Africa for a month.

Tabata, 81, died in exile in Harare two weeks ago after a long illness. His body has already been flown from Harare to South Africa.



Tabata as a younger man

UMSA's secretary, Mr Robert Wilcox, said that despite of the immunity, the organisation still feared that Ms Gool and other exiled members could still face prosecution.

"The Zimbabwean government approached Pretoria through the Trade Mission in Harare and the okay was given for people to enter the country.

"We are expecting quite a few people to come, even from as far as London," said Wilcox.

He said he was not in a position to disclose their

names as he wanted to respect their privacy.

"Buses will bring mourners to Lessyton from Cape Town, the Transkei and other areas."

PAC man
was never
ours, *Sowetan 25/10/90*
says ANC

THE African National Congress yesterday strongly denied that an alleged member of its economics department had defected to the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

In media reports last week, Mr Siphon Dlamini, a PhD graduate in economics, claimed he had defected to the PAC after disillusionment with the ANC.

In response, the ANC said it had conducted investigations and found his allegations to be groundless.

Member

"We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the person called Siphon Dlamini was not a member of the ANC and, as far as we could ascertain, never worked with our department of economic policy," the ANC said.

"He cannot, therefore, be said to have defected from the ANC because he was never a member.

"His membership of the PAC should not be used to promote a kind of PAC versus ANC scenario."

The organisation did not, however, respond to allegations by Dlamini that he had held a top-level meeting with senior ANC official Mr Andrew Mlangeni last week.

Sapa.

SACP to launch in 'Kei region

From VUYELWA QINGA

EAST LONDON. — The second regional launch of the South African Communist Party takes place in the Transkei this weekend. *South 25/10-31/10/90*

Transkei, with its predominantly rural population, may seem an unlikely recruiting ground for the party.

The SACP's working committee in Transkei, however, argues that only a "bookish armchair socialist could argue that South Africa's rural poor are not true proletarians who live entirely by selling their labour as a commodity on the market". A spokesperson said Communist Party politics in Transkei dated to the 1930s.

Party stalwarts like Joe Slovo, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Chris Hani will address the launch at the Independence Stadium on Sunday. — *ELNEWS*

We did not do it, says PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress youth wing, Azanyu, has disassociated itself from the beachfront stabbing of eight white people two weeks ago, one of whom died last week. *Durban 25/10/90*

Reacting to reports that the knife-wielding attackers were wearing PAC colours, chairman of the Durban branch of Azanyu Mr Bongani Zungu said they were victims of disinformation by a self-confessed religionist. *(11A)*

The PAC or any of its affiliates had never issued such instructions, he said.

Zungu said it had been established that the leader of the attack had acquired PAC T-shirts by convincing PAC recruits that he was a supporter of the organisation and wanted to give the T-shirts to non-members. - *Sapa*.

Govt study favours two-house parliament

PETER DELMAR

THE President's Council yesterday released a report proposing a two-chamber parliament, with one chamber elected on a basis of proportional representation and the other comprising ethnic and other interest groups.

The report was drawn up by the council's constitutional affairs committee at the request of President F.W. de Klerk a year ago.

He asked for guidelines on mechanisms for decision-making and the resolution of conflict.

The report recommends abolition of the President's Council.

In its reaction, the ANC said the report was aimed at entrenching minority rights and privileges.

ANC constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya said the report appeared to go against the organisation's impression that government was moving away from the concept of entrenched group rights.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen recently sketched a new vision of minorities sharing power through alliances.

The ANC, Skweyiya said, was alarmed that the proposed second chamber would have a veto right over the lower chamber, which was elected by popular vote.

This would give it the power to veto attempts to address land distribution and

□ To Page 2

Govt study

economic imbalances, he said.

Government sources said yesterday the council investigation had been requested a year ago and that government thinking on constitutional matters was undergoing a process of re-evaluation. The report was not its final thinking.

Sapa reports that President's Council chairman Willie van Niekerk said the report was intended to be non-prescriptive.

It was hoped that it would be of value as a basis for negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The document will be debated by the council today and tomorrow before being formally adopted.

It will then be submitted to President de

Klerk.

The report says that in a bicameral system a first chamber, elected on a countrywide proportional (rather than absolute majority) basis, would accurately reflect the countrywide support of each party and give each group "the opportunity of self-realisation".

"A second chamber will only be meaningful if it is not composed on the same basis as the first chamber."

Both chambers should be able to initiate and approve legislation and should enjoy equal powers.

The report said a holistic approach, which addressed basic human needs at grass roots level, ought to be followed.

□ From Page 1



MANDELA IN SYDNEY . . . Mr Nelson Mandela on the steps of the Sydney Opera House yesterday where he addressed thousands of people.

Picture: REUTERS

SYDNEY. — Mr Nelson Mandela, accepting in person the key to the city of Sydney awarded while he was in prison, said yesterday the 1989 South African elections were the last for whites only.

"We are determined that last year was the last time in which whites voted alone," he told a 30 000-strong crowd waving ANC flags.

"The birth of a new South Africa is at hand," the ANC deputy president announced from the steps of Sydney Opera House, and thanked Australia for its commitment to sanctions.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would return to the armed struggle — suspended earlier this year — if agreements he had made with President

CAH + TruKs 25/10/90 (114)

1989 'last time whites vote alone'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela tried three times to get the undivided attention of a Manhattan audience but was ignored — three times.

She rose to speak at a party given by the magazine *Essence* and cried out, "Amandla"! But the crowd carried on with their eating, drinking and talking. Twice more she shouted, "Amandla!", but was ignored both times.

She then began her speech but she was couldn't be heard over the noise of the revellers.

Mrs Mandela then took off her glasses and left. Her parting shot? "I guess you are all too tired."

FW de Klerk were not honoured.

He also reiterated his claim that Pretoria's security forces were behind recent violence between the ANC and Inkatha.

Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans told the rally the pillars of apartheid were still standing and Australia would not lift economic or sporting sanctions without consulting

Mr Mandela, the ANC and other nations.

Earlier Mr Mandela, on the third day of a five-day visit to Australia, met with a delegation of Aboriginal leaders.

An Aboriginal woman representing a community in outback Queensland broke down with emotion after the meeting, calling Mr Mandela the greatest man of the 20th Century.

She criticised black radicals who demanded that Mr Mandela link the struggle of black South Africans with the plight of Aborigines.

Mr Mandela yesterday flew to Sydney from Canberra, where he had met with Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke and other government leaders. He will fly to Melbourne today. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Cap 7/11/25/10/90
12A

Past ANC record on labour 'not adequate'

THE ANC had not paid enough attention to labour problems in the past, ANC Western Cape organiser Mr Reggie September said yesterday.

He was speaking at the launch of Cosatu's hard-hitting labour campaign organised "in defence of the working class".

Mr September pledged the ANC's support for Cosatu's campaign for the defence of workers — many of whom were on strike, locked out or dismissed.

"I do not think we have given ourselves enough time to deal with these questions. The struggle for democracy does not just involve the question of the vote, it must also involve the question of the possibility of economic development," said Mr September.

The ANC would work out ways to assist the workers in any way they could, he said.

Support for the labour action was also pledged by SA Communist Party Western Cape organiser Mr Garth Strachan and UDF executive member Mr Amos Lengisi.

Report on suspension of armed struggle is delayed

B Day 25/10/90

11A

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday he hoped the joint ANC/government group working on the armed struggle would complete its work by the end of the year — a major revision of his previous prediction that the group would finalise its report by next week.

The group is already five weeks behind the deadline set by the Pretoria Minute for it to complete a report on matters relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

The work of the group, which met in Pretoria on Tuesday, was delayed for weeks, particularly as a result of government's refusal to renew Hani's indemnity from prosecution.

Meanwhile the ANC yesterday listed a number of items which would be discussed at its consultative conference in December.

These would include constitutional negotiations and ANC demands for a constituent assembly and an

PETER DELMAR

interim government. Sanctions would also be on the agenda.

The statement confirmed the ANC had been forced to postpone its first full national conference to June next year because of delays with the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Yesterday Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen was reported to have expressed concern that the postponement of the leadership elections could delay talks.

In an interview yesterday, Hani said he was prepared to attend a meeting between Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Umkhonto commander Joe Modise as a "secretary".

He was responding to Malan's comment at the weekend that as chief of staff, Hani was a "sort of secretary" and that he should meet Modise, who was the real Umkhonto chief.



● HANI ... leader of the ANC team

Aborigines backed by Azapo

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has reaffirmed its solidarity with Australia's indigenous Aborigines.

Azapo's Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae said in a statement this week that the dispossession of the Aborigines' land and that of the African people of South Africa linked both communities in a collective black experience.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is visiting Australia. - Sapa.



NELSON MANDELA

Gowelen 25/10/90

11A

Youth body launched

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG.— South African youth are recreating a political tradition started by ANC stalwarts such as Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo when they relaunch the ANC Youth League this weekend.

The African National Congress Youth League—

banned for 30 years since 1960—was legalised along with the ANC, SACP and PAC in February. (11A)

It was first launched in 1944 by ANC "young turks" impatient with the conservative approach of the leadership and led to the adoption of a militant plan of action. South 25/10 - 31/10/90

The Provincial National Youth Committee of the

league has chosen ANC president Oliver Tambo's 73rd birthday (October 27) to relaunch the organisation.

The launch rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium will be addressed by ANC national executive committee members Walter Sisulu, Steve Tshwete and Chris Hani.

A message from Tambo prepared specifically for the occasion will be read.

A 30-member Provincial leadership core consisting of South African Youth Congress (Sayco) members was formed recently to oversee the process of the reestablishment of the Youth League.

Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba said when the league was relaunched, Sayco would "fade away as a youth body".

"We don't see a situation



Peter Mokaba

where we would have two political youth formations existing side by side," Mokaba said.

"Our national congress in April resolved that the process of building the Youth League would necessitate the disintegration of Sayco structures at local and national level."

Mokaba promises a movement which would be "qualitatively and quantitatively better than Sayco".

Senior ANC men to pay respect at Meli's funeral

11A



By VUYELWA QINGA

EAST LONDON. — Funeral services of the two African National Congress activists from Mdantsane who died within days of each other — Mr Alan Madolwana (Dr Francis Meli) and Mr Jeff Wabhena — will be held this weekend.

Meli, a member of the ANC's national executive committee and former editor of the organisation's publication, *Sechaba*, died in his sleep in Johannesburg.

Wabhena, national organiser of the SA Domestic Workers' Union, was gunned down at an ANC meeting in Mdantsane

South 25/10 - 31/10/90
two weeks ago.

Meli will be buried in a mass funeral in the Sisa Dukashe stadium at his home town of Mdantsane on Saturday.

Three NEC members, Mr John Nkadi-meng, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Alfred Nzo, are expected to attend the funeral.

Tshwete disclosed that a post-mortem conducted on Meli found that he had died of natural causes, and no inquest would be held into his death.

Wabhena will be buried on Sunday. He died on the eve of the ANC's regional conference when a masked gunman stormed into an ANC branch meeting and shot him. — *ELNEWS*

South 25/10 - 31/10/90

Congress in balance after death of leader

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — A former Western Cape leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress will take over the reins of the movement following the death this week of its president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Mothopeng's death is believed to be among the factors which have placed the PAC's first legal internal national congress in 30 years, scheduled from November 9 to 11, in the balance.

The 78-year-old PAC leader died in the Johannesburg General Hospital on Tuesday after a four-year battle against chest and lung cancer.

Leadership

PAC's assistant general secretary, Mr Philemon Tefu, said a decision on the proposed congress would be taken as soon as the organisation's leadership was able to meet.

The national conference is the only body empowered to decide on the succession to the presidency.

Mothopeng's successor, Transkei-based farmer Mr Clarence Makwetu, is a founder member of the PAC.

Makwetu was chairperson of the PAC's Western Cape region in the brief period following its formation in 1959 and its banning in 1960.

He was elected vice-president of the PAC after the organisation was unbanned earlier this year.

Commander

Besides Makwetu, the only potential contender is chairperson and commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Mr Johnson Phillip Mlambo.

A former Robben Island prisoner, Mlambo joined the PAC in 1959. He was arrested in a countrywide swoop in 1963 and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

While in prison he completed a B Sc degree in economics through London University.

In 1984 he left the country after his release.

Unlikely to figure in the leadership stakes are secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and internal secretary Mr Benny Alexander who already hold key positions.

● See tribute
on Page 19

New parties may lead to a second-class deal

Sowetan 25/10/90

11A

THE impending negotiations between the Government and black political organisations is spawning a proliferation of pro-Government parties and groupings within the black community.

These emergent parties, led largely by bantustan politicians, are seen by political commentators as an attempt by the Government to overpopulate the talks and ensure division within black ranks.

Four months ago, Inkatha Ye Nkululeko Ye Sizwe Cultural Movement changed into a political organisation. It is now called the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Since then, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has insisted that he be recognised as such. He has been said to downplay his "other role" as chief minister of KwaZulu.

Refusal

Buthelezi refused to attend a meeting called by the ANC, where all bantustan leaders were invited, saying he should be invited in his Inkatha capacity.

Last weekend Gazankulu's Ximoko Xa Rixaka held a two-day conference at Chachalani Hall, Giyani, under the theme "From Culture to Politics: Current political trends and the position of Ximoko Xa Rixaka in the new South Africa".

At the end of the conference on Sunday, the XXR had given way to a new party called Ximoko Progressive Party.

Ntsanwisi made much of the invitation extended to him by Anglican Ar-

FOCUS

By **MATHATHA TSEDU**

chbishop Desmond Tutu, to an Indaba of black leaders to plan strategies for negotiations.

He said the invitation, directed simply to Professor Ntsanwisi, was a recognition of his leadership role.

In Lebowa, Chief Nelson Ramodike dissolved his Lebowa People's Party and replaced it with the United People's Party of South Africa.

Acceptance

Ramodike has tried - as Ntsanwisi has also done - to emulate Inyandza of KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, which enjoys recognition and acceptance by the ANC.

In Venda, following the military takeover by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana in April this year, the overthrown Venda National Party has reorganised itself into a new party known as "Maanda Nga-u-Pfana".

The MNP, in line with its earlier mission while still in government, is dedicated towards participating in the negotiations and representing Venda-speaking people.

The military regimes in Trankei and Ciskei are assured of a place in the negotiations, as also Ramushwana, who has refused to reincorporate into South Africa before the conclusion of negotiations.

KwaNdebele and Qwaqwa are expected to find their own versions of similar parties soon.



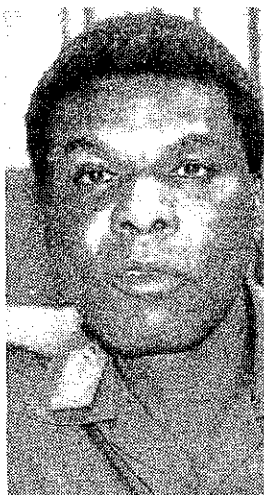
BUTHELEZI



MABUZA



RAMODIKE



RAMUSHWANA

The only doubtful starter in this scenario so far is Bophuthatswana, whose president, Chief Lucas Mangope, has steadfastly refused to be drawn into discussions on a New South Africa. Mangope has in fact said he would rather amalgamate with Botswana.

Political analysts believe that with the ANC so far the only credible black organisation that has thrown its full weight behind the negotiations process, De Klerk was instigating the birth of these

parties to create a plethora of seemingly independent and authentic black organisations for at least two reasons.

One would be to make sure that the ANC is not the only organisation at the table. The presence of the Inkathas and Ximokos would ensure "pliable" black voices that would temper any militancy from the ANC.

The other would be that in the event the talks deadlock between the ANC and De Klerk, and the ANC was to walk out,

there would remain at the table a crowd of these black organisations that would continue to talk and eventually reach some agreement with the Government in the name of the black people.

During the Lancaster negotiations between Zimbabwean nationalist forces and the settler rule of Ian Smith, British chairman Lord Carrington used Bishop Muzorewa's presence in the talks as a threat to go on what was dubbed a second class deal if Mugabe and Nkomo were to walk out.

Fears

The proliferation of basically pro-Government organisations that are to take part in the negotiations process is therefore being seen more as an effort to prepare for a second-class deal than a need by the organisations themselves to stake their claims to leadership roles.

There is however another view that the bantustan politicians are discarding the "government lackey and puppets" image for their own survival. It is argued by some commentators that Buthelezi's forceful emergence as Inkatha leader, and the now seemingly unquestioning acceptance by everyone that Inkatha is an important political player assured of a seat at the negotiations table, is influencing the other bantustan leaders to emulate his efforts.

But, which ever way, one thing is clear. The room and the table at which the talks are to take place will have to be sizeable indeed if it is to accommodate the crowd that is bound to pitch up to decide this country's fate.

PAC congress doubtful after leader's death

JOHANNESBURG. — The death of PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng has left members uncertain as to whether the organisation's first legal congress in 30 years — scheduled for November — will take place.

Mr Mothopeng died on Tuesday in Johannesburg General Hospital after succumbing to a four-year battle with chest and lung cancer. His condition had been aggravated by an acute attack of pneumonia.

PAC assistant general-secretary Mr Philemon Tefu said a decision on the congress was expected at a meeting here of national executive committee members.

In the interim, he added, vice-president Mr Clarence Makwetu would fill the vacuum caused by Mr Mothopeng's death. — Sapa

ANC denies 'defection'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday strongly denied that a member of its economics department had defected to the rival PAC.

It said Mr Siphso Dlamini, a PhD graduate in economics who claimed he had defected to the PAC after becoming disillusioned with the ANC, had never been a member of the organisation.

Mr Dlamini also said he had held a top-level meeting with the ANC's Mr Andrew Mlangeni last week. — Sapa

can skyscraper, the evolution of the space suit, and remaining proton experiments.

11:50: Topsport: Rapport Tour. Highlights of day 2.
0.20: Transmission ends

TV2

4.13: Cedric the Crow
4.25: Countries of the World
4.47: Road to Health
5.00: Transmission ends
5.57: Kontanga
6.27: Epilogue
6.30: In-depth programme
6.45: News (Z/X)
7.16: 526
7.45: Doors
8.15: Jazz
8.45: News (Z/X)

Tributes pour in for Mothopeng

WINDHOEK. — Anti-apartheid veteran Archbishop Trevor Huddleston was one of many leaders and organisations which yesterday paid tribute to PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who died in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

"He was a very committed and very strong opponent of everything apartheid meant," the head of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement said at the end of a six-day visit to Namibia.

"He was certainly a man of great integrity and obviously we hope that around the table when the conference (between all parties in South Africa) is convened, every party will be represented in the negotiating process and most certainly the PAC if it will agree to it."

Other tributes poured in yesterday.

● Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe expressed his sorrow and called Mr Mothopeng as a "brave and relentless fighter".

● President Tutor Ndamase of Transkei said Mr Mothopeng's family could take solace in the fact that he had lived not for himself, but for the people.

● The presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Dr Stanley Mngoba, said that the PAC has in Mr Mothopeng "a leader who was widely respected for his contribution to liberation and who would have played an important role in negotiations when the PAC decided to become involved."

"His death comes at a time when all people who desire peace

and freedom, but who wish to attain this through violent means, should think again of the futility of such violence."

● The president of Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "We respect him and shall always honour his memory for the price he paid for our liberation."

● The Azanian Youth Organisation said black youth in South Africa would always draw inspiration from people of Mr Mothopeng's stature.

Ziana national news agency reports that Iran has expressed its condolences along with the Lesotho government, the National Forum and the Black Health and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa. — Sapa

Cape burial for Unity Movement's Tabata

11A

THE funeral of the president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr Isaac Bangani Tabata, will be held on Saturday in Lesseyton, near Queenstown, an executive member of the organisation, Dr WM Tsotsi, said yesterday.

Tabata died in Harare, Zimbabwe, on October 13 after 27 years in exile.

Tsotsi said Tabata's corpse was to arrive in East London from Zimbabwe last night after which it would be transported to his home in Les-

seyton.

"The acting president of the organisation, Mr M Nikani, will be the main speaker at the ceremony."

Founding

Tabata was one of the founding members of the Non-European Unity Movement which, Tsotsi said, introduced into South African politics the concept of non-collaboration with State structures.

"The Unity Move-

ment worked strenuously against the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie spokesmen over the nationalist movement and sought an independent revolutionary line. Therefore, we expect thousands to attend his funeral."

Tsotsi denied reports that the Unity Movement was a Trotskyite-inclined organisation, saying that while many executive members subscribed to such principles, it was more a "national liberation movement". - Sapa.

50 we kw
23/10/90

Meeting ^(11A) postponed

Source
26/10/90

THE Pan-African Congress' first legal national conference in 30 years in South Africa - planned for November 9-11 in Johannesburg - has been postponed to December 7-9 as a result of the death of the organisation's president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

The organisation announced on Thursday that Mothopeng's funeral would take place on Saturday, November 3, at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto.

Visitors and dignitaries throughout the world have expressed the desire to attend the funeral if granted visas.

EXILES FIM 26/10/90

NOT PRODIGAL

(230)
(11A)

The ANC has called on business to donate R15m for a vocational training school for returning exiles. The organisation estimates, however, that it needs at least R250m to repatriate its 20 000 exiles.

Jackie Selibi, ANC National Executive Committee member and head of repatriation, says most returning exiles are unskilled. He says the ANC will be approaching Finance Minister Barend du Plessis for help. Another priority is the establishment of new schools to cope with the influx of exiles' children.

Selibi says the ANC has made few approaches to local companies and organisations for assistance because it is sensitive to the fact that there are already around 3m unemployed and that "while we are asking



Selibi ... new schools
and funds needed

for jobs for exiles, we can't separate that from our demand of jobs for all." While some chief executives are ignoring pleas for assistance because of the ANC's continued support for sanctions, other companies are investigating ways to help.

The ANC and government have been at loggerheads in recent weeks about the return of exiles. Repatriation was to have been granted in terms of categories of persons "and not on an individual basis," according to the Pretoria Minute of August 6. However, government has not met its side of the

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agreement and has demanded also that exiles must note which crimes they committed in SA — including leaving the country without a passport, as most did.

Selibi says that on September 25 the organisation gave the Justice Department a list of 3 000 people for repatriation in October but has still received no word on when they will be indemnified and allowed home.

However, indemnity is really the least of the problems. The biggest is logistical.

Once home exiles will be housed in reception centres — if they have no relatives, or anyone able to accommodate them — for up to 12 weeks. During this time they will receive a small stipend and will have to find somewhere to live. For the first two months after leaving the reception centre they will receive R1 000 a month from the ANC to cover accommodation and living costs. They will also receive a small grant to buy basic household furnishings and goods.

Most exiles will arrive with little more than suitcases of belongings and will battle to find work and housing — and to adjust to an ANC that no longer houses, feeds and clothes them (even if meagrely), as the ANC had always done.

The ANC is still waiting for most of the money promised by overseas donors to help with repatriation — and has apparently not yet received a cent of the US\$7m promised during Nelson Mandela's fanfared trip to the US in June.

Charlene Smith

'old guard'

w/ Mail 26/10 - 1/11/90

11A

By GAVIN EVANS

THE decision of the African National Congress to postpone its December national conference by six months opens the way for much of the old guard in the movement's leadership to be swept from office.

A December conference would have effectively excluded most ANC political prisoners and exiles, including virtually the entire Umkhonto weSizwe membership, from the event.

Furthermore, with the conference seven weeks away, few ANC branches had started the process of discussing the key issues to be tabled.

The statement by the movement's national executive committee, issued on Wednesday, is likely to put to rest tensions around the subject:

"The slow progress affecting the return of exiles and release of all political prisoners means that, even if they are released between now and December, they will not have real opportunity to take part in the vital process of debate and policy formulation which is the lifeblood of the branches of the ANC."

It added that the consultative conference agenda will include the state of the ANC and the nation, negotiations, interim government and constituent assembly proposals, constitutional developments and sanctions. All internal and external branches and regions will elect delegates to the event.

Over the past year ANC members in exile have been increasingly open with the press about their criticism of members of their national executive.

One reason is the stroke suffered last year by the ANC's highly respected president, Oliver Tambo, who, as one NEC member put it, "did the jobs of three people while president". His illness created a leadership vacuum which has not been filled by acting president Alfred Nzo.

A key turning point came in January when the Walter Sisulu group of released prisoners, their wives and some key United Democratic Front leaders visited Lusaka.

Key NEC leaders were accused by movement members of a host of sins including incompetence, bureaucratic and undemocratic behaviour and even womanising.

Those singled out for the harshest attacks included Nzo, 65, treasurer general Thomas Nkobi, 67, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise, 60, and security chief Joe Nhlanhla. Several other leading members were also in the firing line.

The last ANC national conference which elected the current executive (though several other members have since been appointed to the NEC), was held at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985.

Many of those in exile held out the hope that the proposed June 1990 consultative conference, which was planned for outside the country, would enable them to raise grievances and sweep much of the old guard from office.

But the unbanning of the ANC led to an NEC decision to postpone the event to December 16 and to hold it in Johannesburg.

Several senior ANC members told *The Weekly Mail* that had the conference gone ahead in June, up to half of the present NEC would have been voted out of office or would have declined to stand.

At the time they expressed the fear that these leaders would be able to return home with reputations untainted, and that the majority of exiles would not be home in time to rally support for alternative candidates.

As the NEC statement indicated, this situation has been compounded by delays and shifting deadlines for the release of political prisoners — which has caused considerable unease among those still inside, some of which has been allayed by deputy president Nelson Mandela's recent visit to Robben Island — as well as by the lack of adequate preparation at home.

For ANC members at home and in exile the advantage of the postponement is that it separates the immediate need for clearer policy guidelines from that of elections, and allows people more time to caucus and lobby support for the latter.

The downside for those wanting a new-look NEC, however, is that the current leadership will now stay in place and it will be another eight months before a pecking order will be established — and before, barring accident, Mandela can be elected ANC president.



Veteran Alfred Nzo

NO VOTE NOW (11A)

The ANC is unlikely to hold elections for its decision-making National Executive Committee (NEC) this year. This is a surprise; it was previously believed that much "dead wood" would be voted off the NEC and that new members — particularly from inside SA — would be elected.

Political observers and ANC members have been trying to predict who will fill the ANC's key posts after December 16 — the date of the National Consultative Conference, expected to be the ANC's most important decision-making gathering to date.

According to ANC sources, there is a belief that not only would elections be difficult with most exiles still not back — due to government bureaucracy — but few members know enough about potential NEC members at this stage to vote.

The conference will be held in Johannesburg on December 16 — the 38th anniversary of the launch of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The agenda will be more limited than originally thought, with smaller delegations. As the *FM* went to press the ANC's political committee was weighing these issues.

Earlier this week it called for a meeting "in the near future" between the National Executive Committee of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. These talks — if they take place — will bring Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela facing one another across a table for the first time. An attempt last month by the ANC to include Inkatha in a delegation of homeland leaders was rejected by Buthelezi.

Peace with Inkatha is important to the ANC. There is little doubt that the ANC regards violence of the sort that swept through the Transvaal recently as a danger to its support base.

Such violence makes the radical rhetoric of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at-

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tractive to some. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told a Lebowa audience last weekend that the PAC would continue its armed struggle (despite no evidence of its existence) "rather than act like slaves pleased to be given crumbs from the master's table."

ANC-Inkatha conflict also increases the likelihood of future Inkatha pacts with the NP. While this would not significantly undermine the ANC, it would create more schisms in the black community.

The ANC and government have also been at pains this past week to patch up recent disputes. President F W de Klerk has turned his wrath on the white right, while the ANC is adopting a low profile while waiting for government to speed up the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Matthew Phosa, a member of three ANC working groups with the government and a constitutional adviser, tells the *FM* that both sides had been "playing to their constituencies and becoming victims of their own propaganda." He says the recent skirmishes between the ANC and government were "very serious," but believes the negotiations process is in no danger.

The violence, in particular, remains a thorny problem. The ANC has asked for a witness protection programme to enable witnesses of violence to come forward and testify. Noting that people in Natal have been killed after making statements or testifying in court, Phosa says many people fear giving evidence. He says the ANC has yet to give government its affidavits suggesting white involvement in the violence, because of gov-

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ernment failure to start such a programme.

What about the offer of General Magnus Malan, made at last week's Transvaal NP Congress, to meet the leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe? The ANC says: "If Malan is serious we would welcome a formal letter of invitation. He knows where we are. These things require use of the proper channels, not pronouncements from public platforms."

However, admits Phosa, it would be surprising if discussions "were sweet talk with smiles. That would be very strange after more than 30 years of conflict. What sustains the talks is that both parties are committed to the negotiating process moving forward." ■

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Nelson Mandela always said to us that the Afrikaner would adjust the best to change, as they are the most patriotic. He may have been right."

Tshwete will not give names but he says the ANC has prominent Afrikaans members from the academic world, the Free State, the business sector and farmers — and is drawing people from the Democratic Party and the National Party. Zelda Dalling, wife of the DP's Sandton MP, is one well-publicised example. The Pretoria Central ANC branch has 75 white Afrikaner members.

He says the organisation had tended to focus on big business and students, but has been approached by white artisans and some unionists and farmers. The ANC is also considering house-to-house recruiting in white areas, following UDF successes in working-class areas in 1984, says Tshwete.

Last weekend, the organisation was a third of the way toward attaining its goal of 1 000 branches by mid-December, when it launched its 351st branch — Johannesburg East, covering Kensington, Jeppe, Bertrams and nearby suburbs. Recruitment pamphlets for the area were published in six languages: English, Afrikaans, Sotho, Portuguese, Italian and Zulu.

fear it will be a direct invitation to warlords to attack them." All the Cape branches have been established since the ANC began recruiting members and setting up branches in July.

Tshwete confirms that the ANC is not considering becoming a political party at this stage and possibly not until after a constituent assembly has been elected, because "we might need to marshal people behind us from across ideological lines." ■



Tshwete . . . members take time

Tshwete says that in the black community there are perceptions that membership of an organisation like Cosatu implies automatic membership of the ANC. "While about 75% of Cosatu members probably support the ANC, we certainly don't have that number as ANC members," Tshwete says.

The organisation also has administrative problems in processing membership data. "In Khayelitsha, I recently addressed 10 000 new members from 13 branches, but the head office computer does not reflect all those people yet and we don't have all the membership fees. The ANC is still relying on voluntary help and it takes time."

The fastest growing rural membership is in Transkei: the village of Butterworth alone has four big branches. In northern Natal, however, not a single branch has been launched because, claims the ANC, "people

RECRUITMENT FIM 26/10/90

BREAD AND BUTTER (11A)

The ANC is focusing on Afrikaans working- and middle-class whites as the organisation gears up for a huge membership target of one million people by the end of the year.

Steve Tshwete, ANC National Executive Committee member in charge of mass mobilisation, says interest from Afrikaners — farmers, artisans and middle-class — has been high. "While we were on Robben Island,

Political Editor John Patten discusses stumbling blocks to progress on political reform

It's time to take another risk

See 26/10/90

(JP) (Sizwe) (11A)

LACK of co-ordination of the reform effort between opposing political groups in South Africa is resulting to a large extent in the sabotage of constructive initiatives on both the economic and political fronts.

Part of the problem is that the African National Congress (ANC), while trying to participate in reform, also wishes to maintain pressure on the Government to keep its support. The other part is that the Government, while initiating reform, likes to bash the ANC to pacify anxious supporters and keep the Conservative Party (CP) at bay. It also has to battle with a very sick economy, made more unwell by political sanctions.

This problem is likely to continue for as long as party political tactics interfere with statesmanship and for as long as the economy is affected by political pressures.

If the ANC did not urge the retention of sanctions, perhaps the Government would not need to

keep interest rates so high to control spending and protect the balance of payments. But then, it could equally be argued that if the Government had treated the overall population fairly, sanctions would not have been applied in the first place.

Somewhere, the animosity needs to turn to co-operation, especially as the country enters a difficult period of recession, aggravated by high oil prices, a shaky gold price and domestic unrest.

When the Government argues that inflation must be brought down to levels similar to those of South Africa's trading partners, there is recognition of the need to sharpen the country's competitive edge in world markets. But when high interest rates designed to steady the economy for this purpose lead in the end to high unemployment, it has to be admitted that the country lacks the social welfare support systems necessary to make austerity measures

constructive.

Austerity may be good for inflation and the balance of payments, but it is doing horrible things to job opportunities. And high unemployment is doing damage to law and order, while making an end to township rent boycotts more difficult to achieve.

While the Government has good reason to emphasise that it cannot provide bridging finance indefinitely as black township residents use public services that cost millions without being willing to pay for them, the actual plight of many township residents is such that resumption of payment is not necessarily only a matter of political will.

Economic Co-ordination Minister Wim de Villiers spoke earlier this month of the need to increase shift work to make maximum use of industrial capacity, a way of cutting unit costs and increasing productivity.

Productivity, however, has very little place at present in the think-

ing of anti-apartheid groups and affiliated trade unions. They are still much more concerned with demanding an increased share of the benefits on existing productivity levels than in creating wealth through increased productivity.

In an economic recession, that attitude — even where based on justified demands — is likely to heighten political and employer-employee tensions, because job-cutting and a slow-down in job creation are the inevitable phenomena of the moment.

Economists estimate the country needs an economic growth rate of 5.6 percent just to take up the annual increase in workers entering the jobs market, yet it is known that the country's actual economic growth rate is well below this figure. The political implications of the difference are seriously disruptive of the reform process.

President de Klerk, since taking office 13 months ago, has done something uncharacteristic of a party politician. He has tried to

rise above point-scoring to address the question of what is right and just, regardless of past party political stances.

While he and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have kept their hands clean, party lieutenants such as Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani have rocked the boat with deliberate energy.

The two key parties sponsoring rapprochement urgently need to take a decision simultaneously to act above the level of petty politicking. If aggressive rhetoric was regarded as an insurance policy against the erosion of their respective power bases, then there is a more powerful argument they are overlooking.

Unless the process of negotiation can be pushed ahead without unnecessary tactical obstructionism, fast enough to allow constructive moves to counter the deteriorating economy, the danger is that the deepening recession could

cause unrest to overrun reform as it did in the mid-1980s.

Both the Government and the ANC have already taken the risk of openly engaging in pre-negotiation talks with a view to full-scale negotiation. They must now consciously buttress that decision by taking an even bigger risk — burying their rivalry and constructively assisting each other to get negotiation going.

For the ANC, that means suspending the armed struggle and dropping its call for international economic and sport sanctions. For the Government it means assisting in the return of dissident exiles to unbanned parties, releasing political prisoners or reducing tough sentences for the most serious crimes committed with a political motivation, and keeping tight control over the security forces in unrest situations. It also means taking account of economic hardship when setting economic policy.

For both it means calling a halt to counter-productive rhetoric. □

Sta 26/10/90

Aussie radio apologises to Mandela

MELBOURNE — The Australian Broadcasting Corporation apologised to Nelson Mandela for involving him in a phone hook-up with Mangosuthu Buthelezi which led to death threats against the ABC correspondent in South Africa.

"I have received a letter of apology from the ABC and this for me settles the matter completely," Mr Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela walked out of an ABC studio on Tuesday when Chief Buthelezi joined him on the air in a telephone link.

ABC's Johannesburg correspondent, Rob Raschke, subsequently received death threats.

"The night after the interview there were three calls," Raschke said.

"(They said) 'Your organisation in Australia has been trying to embarrass our leader. We will come round and fix you'.

He received more calls threatening "to put burning tyres" round his neck, he said. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Kaizer Nyatumba on the dilemma
facing several political parties

Star 26/10/90

Talking about talks about talks

TO negotiate or not to negotiate? That is the question an increasing number of South African political parties and organisations have had to grapple with since February 2 when President de Klerk changed the face and direction of South African politics with his bold announcements.

For a number of organisations to the Left and Right of the ruling National Party (NP) the decision has not been easy to make, and consequently pro- and anti-talks rhetoric has abounded as different organisations cautiously seek their followers' views.

Predictably, the Right charged vociferously that the Government was selling whites out and that they would, therefore, have nothing to do with the much-talked-about negotiations, while extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left remained suspicious of the Government's new-found liberalism and were consequently wary of negotiations.

But if the flux in which Mr de Klerk had plunged South African politics was not readily understood by the NP's foes, it was welcomed by those parties operating within the 1983 tricameral parliamentary system. Parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives boasted that their involvement in the system was vindicated and that South Africa was finally on the road to democracy, thanks to their political foresight.

Eight months after the February 2 speech, not all organisations have made up their minds regarding participation in negotiations.

Of the three major liberation movements in the country, at least one, the African National Congress (ANC) is already involved in talks with the Government. A few weeks after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from prison on February 11, the ANC national executive committee met in Zambia and decided to send a delegation to South Africa to hold talks with the Government.

It is now history that the ANC has held at least two high-profile

meetings with the Government, yielding the Groote Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute respectively.

Eager to bring the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) into the fold, the Government issued invitations to these organisations asking them to become involved in exploratory talks with a view to getting real negotiations off the ground as early as next year.

Azapo has rejected the invitation, thus prompting Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen to say events leading up to the negotiation of a new constitution were gathering momentum and Azapo was "marginalising or excluding itself from this process".

After holding a three-day consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe to discuss the talks invitation, the external and internal leadership of the PAC referred the matter to various PAC branches and structures in the country for exhaustive discussion.

However, the Government is assured of the involvement of homeland leaders, the coloured and Indian parties in the tricameral Parliament and organisations like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in negotiations.

In the House of Assembly, the Democratic Party (DP), fierce advocate of negotiations and western-style democracy for many years, is patiently waiting for the right moment to take its place at the negotiating table. The same, however, cannot be said of the official Opposition, the Conservative Party (CP), which has always insisted it would never talk to either the ANC or communists.

Along with Azapo and the CP are smaller, lesser-known extra-parliamentary organisations like the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Azania (Wosa), the New Unity Movement (NUM), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), the Boerestaat Party and countless others which presently reject negotiations. □

Inkatha, ANC leaders in township 'peace tour'

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DURBAN — Top Inkatha and African National Congress leaders toured the violence-torn Mapumalanga township yesterday in a demonstration to residents that the two rival organisations are committed to peace.

"We think we should be able to solve our problems, if any ... by discussion, not by killing and murdering," John Nkadimeng, a senior member of the ANC national executive committee, said to the group of journalists accompanying the tour.

"We are at one that we should stop insulting each other and we should get on our feet and start building ourself as a community," said Frank T. Mdlalose, the national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Fighting

Dr Mdlalose and Mr Nkadimeng referred to each other as "my brother".

Mapumalanga has been the scene of fierce fighting between supporters of the UDF and of Inkatha.

Violence has decreased since the SADF was sent into the township — two patrols of armed soldiers were seen walking through the township yesterday.

The ANC and Inkatha leaders spent most of their hour-long tour

viewing scores of burnt-out houses in the township.

The motorcade — five Mercedes Benz cars containing the politicians and 10 less luxurious cars with reporters and photographers — left residents agog.

Those present when the leaders made their one stop to meet the local people appeared delighted to meet the dignitaries.

Accompanying photographers were equally pleased when the delegation obliged to the request for photo opportunities and inspected the burnt shell of a house once occupied by Noel Ntsele, who now chairs the Mapumalanga ANC branch.

The visiting dignitaries included Mr Nkadimeng and Dr Mdlalose; Nqobizwe Nkehli, Mapumalanga's MP in the KwaZulu legislature; Velfhi Ndlovu, also a KwaZulu MP; Thabo Mbeki, the ANC spokesman on international affairs; Steven Sithabe, the KwaZulu interior minister; Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and an ANC national executive member; ANC security chief Joe Nhlanhla; Joe Jele, a senior ANC national executive member; Patrick Lekota, the ANC convenor for southern Natal; Joel Netshithenzhe, an ANC national executive member; and Musa Zondi, head of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Star 26/10/90 (11A)

Nzo explains confusion over postponing of ANC conference

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Confusion over whether the ANC's national executive committee had authorised a decision to postpone the organisation's national conference until next June resulted from a decision not to publicise the postponement until all regions and members had been informed, secretary-general Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

He issued a statement to clarify confusion on the matter following blunt denials by two NEC members to The Star that the NEC had authorised the postponement of the national conference.

The two NEC members, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Steve Tshwete, told The Star they were baffled by media reports that

the December conference had been changed to a "consultative" conference.

Mr Nzo yesterday said the confusion, which had been reflected in differing statements by NEC members to the press, stemmed from the NEC's decision at the weekend not to publicise the postponement.

He said the NEC had decided to reschedule its national conference, at which a new leadership would be elected, because a large number of exiles would not have returned by December and because "preparations for the conference had not reached the desired stage".

At the consultative conference, to be held in Johannesburg, the ANC would analyse the current political situation, its state of organisation and its future strategies and tactics, Mr Nzo said.

Youth for SA wants to talk to CP, PAC

26/10/90

11A

Political Reporter

After its landmark conference with the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco) last weekend, Youth for South Africa now plans to have talks with youth organisations of the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Youth for SA president Paul Fouche said yesterday he hoped a meeting with the PAC youth would take place before the year end.

Contact

The organisation, which could be placed slightly to the left of the National Party in the political spectrum, has already established working committees with Inkatha and Sayco, and is in regular contact with the youth formations of the NP and the Democratic Party.

Its executive, led for years by Marthinus van Schalkwyk, who resigned to become the NP's candidate in next month's Randburg by-election, had also had contact with the ANC.

Mr Fouche said these initiatives were not necessarily aimed at creating alliances, but at reconciliation among people who had been divided by apartheid.

"In most cases, we will not be able to find each other politically, but we can walk the road of reconciliation together and make each other co-responsible for the reconciliation process all South Africans have to embark on," he said.

The weekend conference with Sayco followed a joint announcement by the two organisations that they agreed on the need for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

ANC says Israel aims to wipe out Palestinians

So wefern 26/10/90

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The ANC on Wednesday night launched a scathing attack on the Israeli government accusing it of trying to wipe out Palestinians from the homeland.

Addressing a pro-Palestinian solidarity meeting attended by about 600 people in Lenasia near Johannesburg, ANC national executive member Mr Steve Tshwete said: "Successive Israeli governments have planned and carried out an outrageous campaign of terror with impunity."

"They have massacred and continued to slaughter hundreds of Palestinian women and children without any regard to international appeals that the problem can be negotiated peacefully."

Urging Israel to negotiate with the Palestinians, Tshwete said: "From the latest news screened on



— STEVE TSHETE

television this week, one cannot but conclude that the government of Israel is totally lost to the cause of peace, justice and democracy.

"Boasting of its strong financial and technological situation, it looks set to wipe the Palestinians off the face of that part of the world. What is disgusting about it all, is that this carnage is carried out by people who not long

ago had to be rescued by the democracies of the world from the clutches of a monster that they are now, wittingly or unwittingly, beginning to emulate.

Ironies

"Perhaps we are now being treated to one of those bitter ironies of history."

Tshwete said this came at a time when the Palestinians had conceded

Israel's right to exist as a state in its own rights.

He said the ANC fully supported that position: "The ANC recognises the right of Israel to exist within her own secure borders. The same applies to an independent Palestine."

He went on to describe Israeli actions as "naked barbarism".

The Call of Islam's Mr Ebrahim Rasool condemned Western countries for their hypocrisy, saying they were quick to take steps against Iraq's Saddam Hussein and not Israel.

Rasool also criticised President Hussein and Arab monarchs for failing the cause of Islam. He criticised Morocco's King Hassan for hosting President F W de Klerk, and said at the time of a new thrust in South Africa the Moroccan king had given Mr de Klerk "breathing space". - Sapa.

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Sowetan 26/10/90

ANC supports Cosatu move

THE African National Congress clearly needed to pay greater attention to problems on the labour front, ANC Western Cape organiser Mr Reggie September told a Press conference on Wednesday.
 "I do not think we

have given ourselves enough time to deal with these questions," September said at the launch of Cosatu's "campaign for the defence of the working class".
 Pledging ANC support, along with the United Democratic Front and SA Communist Party, for striking, locked out and dismissed workers in

the Cape, September said the ANC would have to work out ways to assist organised workers.
 "The struggle for democracy does not just involve the question of the vote, it must also involve the question of the possibility of economic development."
 Solving workers' problems was not just

limited to extending voting rights.
 "They also need security, houses and education, the same needs as everybody else in the country," said September.
 The ANC needed to consider means of developing support action for worker struggles, he said.
 - Sapa.



Police probe 'ANC-Cops link'

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Sowetan 26/10/90

POLICE have appointed a special squad of detectives to investigate allegations that special constables supporting the Afri-

can National Congress were attacking people in Crossroads.

The commissioner of police for the Western Cape, General Flip

Fourie, said a satellite police station in the troubled area was also being considered.

The new squad was formed following discussions between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and former Crossroads residents who fled because of violence.

The refugees told Vlok they had moved because they were being killed at the squatter camp in Section One. They claimed the attacks were mainly by special constables who allegedly supported Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Nongwe, a former ally of Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana

and now a bitter enemy, is the ANC's Crossroads branch chairman.

Names of special constables allegedly involved in the conflict were given to police by the Pan-Africanist Congress earlier this month.

The PAC said they had given police the names of 10 special constables, but the police said they had only four names.

"Many special constables have already appeared in court. Some were acquitted and others were dismissed from the force," said Fourie.

It was not known if the constables in the PAC list were among those who had appeared in court.

Funds for political activity to be cut

Switch in EC policy on aid to SA groups

BIDAM 26/10/90



TIM COHEN

A SWITCH in EC political policy means the Kagiso Trust, which will fund projects worth R90m this year, will cease giving money to a number of civic associations, cultural organisations and five newspapers.

The funding, which the EC has supplied for more than 10 years, will be phased out over the next two years.

Organisations hardest hit will be those engaging in political activity.

The Kagiso Trust administers aid supplied by the EC. The trustees include Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane and Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley.

Trust executive director Achmat Dangor said yesterday that although the total amount of funding would not decrease, the trust had changed its focus to development projects and was in the process of reappraising projects funded at present.

He said about 10% of the projects currently funded — and possibly more — would lose their funding in the next two years.

Urban-based civic organisations would be affected and cultural organisations would face drastic aid cuts during the next 12 months, he said.

The trust would focus on supplying bursaries, rural development projects and squatter camp projects, he said.

In the past the Kagiso Trust has not released the names of projects it funds.

Dangor said the trust administration

was in favour of doing so and was in the process of negotiating with beneficiaries who were not in favour of the publication of the amounts they received.

It is known that the trust funds five newspapers: the New Nation, Umafrika, South, Vrye Weekblad and the New African. Dangor said funding for these would be phased out over the next two years.

Funding for the New African formally ends at the end of this year, but Dangor said the trust would continue assisting the paper for another year.

He said the fact that the 1991 bursary programme budget was recently approved at R36m, an increase of R7m over 1990, demonstrated the fact that funds under the EC's Special Programme had increased over last year.

Dangor said the Kagiso Trust's change of focus towards development-orientated projects would of necessity mean a reappraisal of the projects funded by the group.

Particularly affected would be those that have traditionally only been engaged in "protest" against the system of apartheid, and are inherently incapable of changing.

"Increased demand for resources, particularly in the spheres of education, rural development and addressing the severe problems of squatter camps, does mean prioritising of funds..."

"Civic organisations being entities close to the people and in so much as such organisations can help build a civil society that

□ To Page 2

Kagiso

~~Handwritten scribbles~~ (11A)

□ From Page 1

can address local problems in a non-partisan way, will continue to receive our support.

BIDAM 26/10/90

"Those that cannot or who are unwilling to shed themselves of narrow, party political attitudes obviously will not," he said.

EC Southern Africa department head Wim Blonk said from Brussels yesterday that the EC had in principle decided to fund strictly developmental operations in SA and gradually phase out all other projects which were politically orientated and which did not comply with the new criteria.

Blonk said the Kagiso Trust, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), SA Council

of Churches (SACC) and trade unions, which are partners of the EC in SA, would be responsible for implementing the new decision.


Sapa reports that Blonk confirmed that the EC would be helping to fund the ANC's exile repatriation programme.

Dangor said yesterday that a R20m plan to repatriate SA's roughly 20 000 exiles had been endorsed by the Kagiso Trust.

He said the plan, under discussion by the SACC, had been accepted in principle by the EC.

But the community had not as yet presented a budget, and the fund had not been formally accepted by the body.

Aborigines give Mandela a miss

By Day 26/10/90 (11A) 

MELBOURNE — Aboriginal leaders in Melbourne boycotted Nelson Mandela's visit to the city yesterday, saying the ANC leader should voice more support for their cause.

Mandela, on the third day of a four-day visit to Australia, attended a fundraising rally yesterday. He also met state and federal government officials.

Mandela flew to Melbourne from Sydney, where on Wednesday he addressed

a crowd of about 10 000 from the steps of the opera house.

In Melbourne, Aborigines Advancement League chairman Marjorie Thorpe said the ANC deputy president was regarded as a hero of the black struggle.

"We believed that, and we would have liked him to make some statement about Aborigines in this country," she said.

"But he has really disap-

pointed a lot of people in this city."

Mandela said earlier in his trip that he would prefer to not comment on the plight of Australia's Aborigines, because he did not want to interfere in another country's internal affairs.

Australia is the fourth stop of a six-nation tour. Mandela has visited India, Brunei and Indonesia. He will travel to Japan and Malaysia before returning home. — Sapa-AP.

Confusion in ANC hierarchy over congress

11A

Sowetan 26/10/90

THERE is confusion in the ANC leadership about the reported postponement of its crucial December congress, but top sources confirmed yesterday that the election of a new leadership had been postponed to June next year.

After an announcement on Wednesday from ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus about the decision to postpone the election, two senior national executive committee members said

they were baffled by the announcement.

They claimed it had not been authorised at a weekend NEC meeting.

But yesterday Marcus stuck to her announcement that the decision had in fact been taken at the weekend NEC meeting, and this was confirmed by reliable sources in the NEC.

Confusion

An NEC source believed the confusion could have arisen because the NEC had been very anxious that the news of

the postponement should reach the ANC's lower echelons before it was announced in the Press.

The source indicated that this might have been why the two NEC members initially denied Marcus' announcement.

The NEC sources dismissed Government fears that the postponement of the congress could delay negotiations as "unfounded".

They said the consultative conference that will still be held in December will discuss the ANC's approach to negotiations.

- Sowetan Correspondent.

Reform - but cadres are still streaming out

11A
Soweto
26/10/77

FOCUS

By **WILLIAM MacLEAN**

EMBITTERED black youths are still streaming out of the country to escape white rule despite reforms that are bringing home an earlier generation of exiles.

Hundreds have gone to neighbouring black states this year for military training or academic studies or simply to seek refuge from township violence, black activists have said.

"Exile is better than rotting at home or being hunted down like an animal," said Sibusiso Ndebele, a Natal official of the African National Congress.

"The youths accept that political reform may eventually succeed but fear that by then they will all be killed."

Exiles

The activists forbade interviews with youths planning to go into exile, but government and United Nations officials in the tiny neighbouring kingdom of Swaziland said hundreds of youths had arrived from South Africa this year.

Described by aid workers as nervous and aggressive, the youths enter illegally in groups of up to 60 and ask for refugee status. Many are moved to guerrilla camps in Zambia.

The flow of exiles may have reached wider than Zambia and Tanzania, the only "frontline" states which admit hosting military camps for South African guerrillas.

Botswana said it had uncovered a guerrilla camp of the radical Black Consciousness Movement of Azania this month and

arrested an undisclosed number of people.

"For us the armed struggle continues. We train our cadres wherever we can," said a Zimbabwe-based official of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Two bouts of ferocious violence this year appear to have spurred the exodus.

The first was in March, when dozens died in a week-long battle in Natal between ANC loyalists and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's main rival for the leadership of the country's black majority.

The second was a six-week war in August and September between the two organisations in Johannesburg's townships in which almost 800 people were killed. In both cases the ANC accused State security personnel of siding with Inkatha.

Soldiers

"In Lusaka (Zambia) in April I saw children of five, seven and 10 years of age who had arrived from Natal five days earlier. They were traumatised," said ANC official Moss Chikane.

Some would-be exiles were keen to train as soldiers to help black liberation movements wage war, should talks with the South African



CHRIS HANI

Government on ending apartheid break down, the activists said.

Others were terrified by township violence or wanted to escape a collapsing black school system at home.

"Large numbers of young people are coming to say they want to leave the country for military training or to continue their studies," said Parks Mankahlana of the pro-ANC South African Youth Congress, the country's largest youth group.

"We will continue to encourage them to do so, although we are not involved in helping them practically," he said.

"There is still danger in the townships. The youth say they need arms and training to defend themselves, said Peter Skosana, Sayco leader in the Vaal region south of Johannesburg.

Those seeking exile would be referred to the ANC, which would consider an individual's needs and merits, he said.

Many men between the ages of 16 to 28, including teachers and government employees, were choosing exile, he said.

Benny Ntoele, a Johannesburg official of the PAC, said the organisation was working "vigorously" to find school places abroad for supporters unable to study at home. Military training would continue.

Sayco's Mankahlana said military training was necessary despite the ANC's suspension in August of its 30-year guerrilla campaign.

"Only the shooting has been suspended. The recruiting and training continues," he said.

ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe

leader Chris Hani said hundreds of youths had applied to join his guerrillas. Response to a recruitment campaign was "overwhelming. We can't handle it".

The activists said this year's landmark political changes, including the legalising of black movements, had done little to stem an outflow that began in 1976 when killings by police triggered a mass exodus of youth to ANC camps in exile.

Not all blacks support the latest departures.

"It is a tragedy and should not be encouraged," Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba said.

Task

"In 1976 many people left and became marooned abroad. These are children, the people who have suffered most. We want them back at school."

Chikane, who works for the ANC in the northern Transvaal and is on a liaison committee with the Government, said that if youths in his area were being encouraged to leave he would investigate to see if it was in the interests of reform.

The ANC is organising the return of more than 20 000 exiled members under the reforms it is negotiating with Pretoria.

"Our biggest task is getting people back inside, not getting people out," said chief ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus.

"But there is no hope of stopping this steady stream of people leaving until the violence in the country ends," she said. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Keys withheld to Sebe's palace

W/M 26/10 - 1/11/90
THERE'S still someone in Ciskei who'll fight for Lennox Sebe's interests — the lawyers conducting an inquiry into his affairs.

This week Ciskei's military rulers had planned to give *Weekly Mail* journalists an exclusive tour of the deposed president's private palace and his jailed son Kwane's home.

The private palace is a huge mansion, with three sets of security fences and bullet-proofed guard stations. Sebe left behind late model luxury cars; there's a swimming pool; a massive jungle-gym; and there are rumours of gold-plated taps.

The tour was stopped by the State Trust Board, whose lawyers refused to hand over the house keys. "It's an invasion of his privacy," said Board chairman A Theron. — elnews

ANC distances itself from 'defector'

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY
THE African National Congress has distanced itself from an economist who claimed to have switched political sides.

Dr Siphso Solly Dlamini, who was allegedly tipped for a senior position in the ANC's economics department told *The Weekly Mail* a fortnight ago that he had crossed to the rival Pan Africanist Congress because he was disillusioned with ANC policy. The recently returned exile has a PhD in economic risk analysis.

His switch came in the wake of discussions he said he was holding with high-ranking ANC officials about a senior position in the economics department.

However, in a statement this week, the ANC said Dlamini was "not a member of the ANC and never worked with our department of economic policy".

It said it had investigated the matter with its Nairobi office. The chief representative in Nairobi did not have Dlamini on record as a member, nor did he know of the Kenyan Development Bank where Dlamini claimed to have worked. "It will

be of great assistance if the said Siphso Dlamini stopped using the name of the ANC for his own dubious interests political or otherwise," it added. (11A)

The ANC did not respond to Dlamini's allegations that:

● The day before the *Weekly Mail* report, he was requested by ANC official R Makakgothi to meet to discuss his "position in the ANC"

● That Tuesday he met ANC economics head Tito Mboweni. Mboweni also gave him the latest ANC economic policy document

● Speaking to another *Weekly Mail* journalist that week Mboweni indicated he was unaware of Dlamini's shift

● Dlamini filled in for ANC Southern Natal convenor Patrick Lekota in Durban while Lekota was in the United States during September

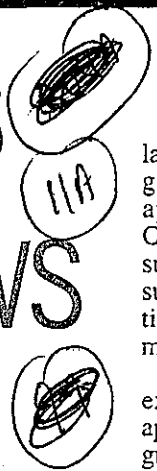
● ANC leader Andrew Mlangeni met him last week.

Dlamini stressed that while he was not a card-carrying member of the ANC, he was being tipped for a senior position.

1/11/90
26/10
W/M 26/10 - 1/11/90

DEBATE

Dutch uncles lower eyebrows somewhat



W/Mandela
26/10-1/11/90

DURING his visit to the Netherlands last summer, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela started his speech from the balcony of the Amsterdam Theatre in Afrikaans. The Dutch audience was shocked. Some people even whistled in protest.

This small scene shows the difficult relationship of the Dutch with their "ooms and tannies" overseas, and of course the problem of keeping pace with the changes in South Africa.

The same goes for this week's visit by President FW de Klerk. Only six months ago, Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek said it was "too early" to invite De Klerk, although elsewhere in Europe the South African president was hailed as the architect of post-apartheid.

De Klerk's visit this week was a relatively low-key affair — but compare the current atmosphere in Holland with the smell of the words "South Africa" a year ago.

Two Dutch governments almost fell over South African-related issues: the selling of nuclear equipment in 1975 and the oil boycott in 1980.

Demonstrations against apartheid were a predictable success, and the anti-apartheid movement flourished and had direct access to every politician it wished to see.

Streets which used to be called after the Afrikaner heroes of the Boer War were given new names such as Biko Square or Mandela Avenue.

A supermarket was burned down, forcing Dutch food chain Makro to leave South Africa. Shell garages were torched, and many motorists

The Dutch were shocked when Nelson Mandela addressed them in Afrikaans. Now they don't even protest when FW de Klerk visits their country.
MARTIN SOMMER reports from Amsterdam

supported the boycott against the petrol giant for its dealings with South Africa.

Positions were clear then and most Dutch agreed who the goodies and the baddies were.

This all changed, almost overnight, with Mandela's visit in June. To the astonishment and confusion of many, the ANC leader declared that De Klerk was a sincere man, and that the South African president really meant to end apartheid.

Protests faded away. Kees de Pater of the anti-apartheid Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (KZA) willingly admits "that it would now never be possible to organise a demonstration of 50 000 people, like the one we

Times are also changing for Holland's other major anti-apartheid organisation, the Anti-apartheidsbeweging Nederland. One of its leaders in this month's issue of *de Anti-Apartheidskoerant* suggested liquidating the organisation once apartheid had been dismantled.

Sociologists and historians tend to explain the Dutch protests against apartheid as an outlet for feelings of guilt over their colonial past.

And the Dutch have always had a tradition of foreign policy on a moral basis, to counter the power-policy of the bigger neighbours Great Britain and France: moral right to tackle might. Political ideas in Holland kept their moral overtones.

Of course, this does not take into account the historical ties between the Netherlands and South Africa, nor the developments in South Africa itself.

However, South Africa still remains politically explosive material, which explains why De Klerk's official visit has been played down.

Foreign minister Van den Broek recently suggested lifting sanctions step by step. "We cannot pretend that the times in which we and the other European countries decided to take economic sanctions against South Africa have not changed," he said.

The cultural boycott, once a subject of heated debate when writers like WF Hermans or Gerard Reve lectured in South Africa and were blacklisted, has now become a dead letter. Nobody gets excited anymore when a popular rock band like BZN applies for a visa to South Africa.



Nelson Mandela ... Confused the Dutch had two years ago in Amsterdam".

The once-fiery KZA never even formally protested against De Klerk's visit. The trade union FNV (one-million members) was disappointed not to have an appointment with the president.

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To talk or not to talk

THE negotiation process in South Africa was like a chess game in which a player could sacrifice a big piece, such as a knight, to gain an upperhand on his opponent and finally check-mating his opponent.

This assessment was made by Mr Philip Dlamini, legal secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, during a two-day national congress of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, recently.

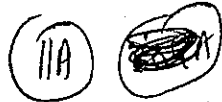
Comparison

Dlamini made this comparison on the eve of his organisation's national congress in which it will have to come out with a clear position on whether to negotiate with the Government following the invitation it received from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

If Dlamini's assessment can be used as a yardstick, it is clear that when President F W de Klerk unbanned all political organisations on February 2, he had not only carefully planned his move, but had also caught all the liberation movements, including the PAC, on the wrong foot.

De Klerk played his hand well and sacrificed some of the big pieces on the chessboard, knowing full well his intention was to reap the rewards in the end.

FW's moves, Zeph's death put pressure on PAC



By SY MAKARINGE

Dlamini admits that the PAC is also finding itself in a dilemma.

"De Klerk has made a move. We must also make a move. If we say 'no' (to negotiations) we're finished. If we say 'yes', we're finished. The answer is not 'yes' or 'no'. We must think properly before making a decision," Dlamini said.

Dilemma

The dilemma here is that the PAC might find itself marginalised if it refuses to enter into negotiations with the Government. If it does, it might find itself in a "trap".

With the date of its congress drawing closer, the PAC has to get to grips with this reality.

Last month, the PAC leadership in Harare decided to refer Viljoen's invitation to its structures for discussion as part of the organisation's "democratic centralism."

But the PAC, like all other liberation movements, had to contend with numerous insurmountable organisational problems since its

unbanning less than 10 months ago.

It is still battling to rebuild the structures which collapsed as a result of the banning.

Viljoen's invitation has not reached all the structures within the Pan Africanism ideology.

So far it is only Paso, its students' wing, which has managed to take the issue up to national level.

Paso's decision has been put under wraps and will only be unveiled on the PAC congress, for two reasons.

Firstly because it has received a directive from the PAC not to do so.

Secondly because it might influence other structures.

Tested

But these structures seem to be finding it difficult to get their act together.

The Azanian National Youth Unity and the African Women's Organisation have still to come up with their decisions, taken at regional and national levels, which they must put forward at the PAC congress.



PHILIP DLAMINI

Even the PAC itself has not yet tested the invitation at grassroots level. So far, only the Tembisa branch of the PAC is known to have discussed the issue at its meeting last weekend, although others might have done the same away from the spotlight.

The decision the branch took at the meeting was supposed to have been taken, along with those of other branches, to a regional or provincial congress for further discussions. No PAC regional congress is known to have taken place so far.

The organisation has not clearly spelt out when and where its national congress will be held, except to say it will be in November.

Its organisational problems have been exacerbated by the death this week of president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Most of the members of the internal leadership were at his bedside most of the time, leaving their Johannesburg offices virtually unmanned.

This comes at a time when Viljoen had already announced that full-scale negotiations might start in earnest at the beginning of next year. Which means that the PAC's congress must take place sooner rather than later.

From the look of things, the organisation will go to its congress without having received a proper mandate from its grassroots membership, the thing it set out to do when it received the invitation from the Government.

Danger

Alternatively, it will have to postpone it. But the danger here is that the situation would have changed completely by the time it came up with a clear position.

One cannot help but agree with Dlamini when he says De Klerk's move must not be taken for granted.

De Klerk is moving at a very fast pace, outwitting his opponents, opening National Party's ranks to all races, meeting most of the organisations' demands, thereby winning accolades and friends, black and white, inside and outside the country.

He has scrapped the Separate Amenities Act and both the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are also headed for the wastepaper basket.

Talking of sacrificing a queen or knight to check your opponent... whatever it is, De Klerk has something up his sleeve.

Relations with (11A) ANC are looking up, says Inkatha

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE: Durban
AN Inkatha publication has claimed that the restoration of good relations between itself and the African National Congress has never been as promising as it is at present.

The Durban-based Inkatha Institute said in an article published in the *South African Update* the realisation that peace on the ground would remain elusive unless there was reconciliation at the top, as well as the criticisms directed at ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for not wanting to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had contributed towards this position.

The article said there appeared to be acknowledgement by the ANC's "less hawkish" leadership that there was little point in pursuing the policy towards Inkatha that it had to date.

"Attempts to weaken Inkatha by direct attacks, or by the broader process of trying to marginalise it, lead to nothing less than violence."

It said there was a growing awareness among ANC moderates that they could not forever be held to ransom by grass-roots militants.

The article ended by saying that "there are signs that both sides are re-evaluating the causes of their long hostility, but it is unclear whether there is yet sufficient impetus to fully transcend these". WMA 26/6 - 11/1/90

A spokesman for the ANC said the possibility of a lasting peace existed.

"Our talks of peace have always centred on the position that we must allow differences and, as such, we will always try to solve differences through talking, rather than violence," he said.

PAC leader 'positive' about negotiations

ENTERING negotiations with government would not conflict with any PAC principles, the organisation's newly elected acting president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Makwetu has taken over the position after the death of Zeph Mothopeng on Tuesday. Mothopeng's funeral is to be held in Soweto on November 3.

Because of the funeral, the Africanist movement's national conference — at which it will vote for a new leadership and decide on government's invitation to negotiations — has been postponed for a month to December.

Speaking to journalists in the PAC's Jo-

PETER DELMAR

hannesburg offices yesterday, Makwetu, 61, said he did not envisage any major policy or strategy changes until after the conference.

Asked about constitutional negotiations, Makwetu said the PAC membership was "positive" about the issue.

He said this meant negotiations would not conflict with any of the organisation's principles.

Makwetu was flanked by PAC executive members and general secretary Benny Alexander, who said an announcement

would be made soon on whether the PAC's exiled leadership would attend the conference in Johannesburg.

The internal PAC leadership has been at pains recently to deny reports and widespread suggestions that its exiled leaders are closer to taking up the government invitation than local members.

Dar-es-Salaam-based PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo is expected to be a front-runner for the organisation's presidency.

Makwetu was deputy president until succeeding Mothopeng and was based in Transkei. A former ANC Youth League member in the 1950s, he was instrumental in launching the PAC in 1959.

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ANC, business have 'room for agreement'

^{13/10/10} ^{26/10/10} ^{11A} ^{11A}
RECENT policy statements showed there was much room for agreement on ideas and attitudes between the ANC and the business community, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at a function in Sandton, De Beer said the differences between the ANC and business were not as great as many would expect.

Quoting from the ANC draft economic policy document and the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) paper on economic options for SA, De Beer conceded that although there were distinct differences in emphasis when read as a whole, there were selective quotations showing that neither or-

GILLIAN HAYNE

ganisation had refused to recognise the possible validity of the other's attitude.

The ANC stated that "it is absolutely imperative to reverse the present trend towards stagnation and to promote economic growth" without which "we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and inequality".

Sacob, meanwhile, noted that "apartheid has been the cause of historical injustices and redressing these will require economic policies that go beyond the repealing of social laws and functional deregulation".

PETER DELMAR reports that De Beer told a party meeting in Johannesburg last night that the DP would have to be included in a future moderate government consisting of the ANC and NP.

De Beer said any "lurch to the right or left" which prevented the creation of a nonracial, moderate government would be disastrous for SA.

Recent developments had positioned the DP to play a more effective role "in the future than we have played in the past", he said.

A government of national unity would have to include at least large elements of the NP and ANC to hold the line against extremists.

AME Tracy
26/10/80 11A

PAC summit postponed

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Pan Africanist Congress's first legal national conference inside South Africa in 30 years — scheduled for November 9-11 in Johannesburg — has been postponed to December 7-9 as a result of the death of the organisation's president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng.

The militant organisation also announced yesterday that Mr Mothopeng's funeral would take place on November 3, at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto. — Sapa

Joint ANC/Inkatha ^{CAPE-Temp} call to end killings ^{26/10/90}

Own Correspondent.

DURBAN. — "We must solve our differences by discussion and not by killing," said Mr John Nkadi-meng, ANC National Executive Committee member and one of the joint chairmen of the Inkatha/ANC peace delegations which toured the ravaged Mpu-malanga township near Hammarsdale yesterday.

Aside from a peace accord signed in the Lower Umfolozi region on the Natal North Coast last month, yesterday's tour is seen as the most significant peace initiative between the two organisations.

The national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said: "We are all convinced that violence is wrong and should be decried. We must all stand together."

Mandela radio row: ABC director 'sorry'

CAPL 26/10/90 11A

MELBOURNE. — The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) has apologised to Mr Nelson Mandela for involving him in a phone hook-up with rival black leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi which led to death threats against the ABC correspondent in South Africa.

"I have received a letter of apology from the ABC and this for me settles the matter completely," Mr Mandela told reporters yesterday, the fourth day of his five-day tour of Australia. Mr Mandela walked out of an ABC

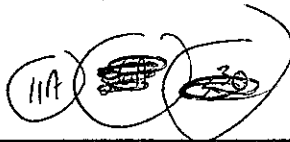
studio on Tuesday when Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, joined him on the air in a telephone link.

After the incident, telephone callers threatened to kill ABC Johannesburg correspondent Mr Rob Raschke.

"The night after the interview there were three calls, Mr Raschke said.

"They said: 'Your organisation in Australia has been trying to embarrass our leader. We will come round and fix you.'"

— Sapa-Reuter



EC's R20m fund for exiles

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A switch in European Community (EC) policy has forced the Kagiso Trust, which will fund projects worth R90m this year, to cease funding a host of civic associations, cultural organisations and five newspapers.

However, the EC is to fund part of the ANC exile repatriation back to South Africa, according to Dr Wim Blonk, director-general for the development division and head of the EC's Southern Africa department.

The trust's executive director, Mr Dangor, yesterday confirmed that a R20-million plan to repatriate South Africa's roughly 20 000 exiles had been endorsed by the Kagiso Trust.

He said the plan, under discussion by the SA Council of Churches, had been accepted in principle by the EC.

Mr Dangor said the funding for Kagiso's civic projects, which the EC has supplied for over 10 years, will be phased out over the next two years.

He said that although the total amount of funding would not decrease, the trust had changed its focus to development projects and was in

the process of reappraising projects funded at present.

He said about 10% of the projects currently funded — possibly more — would lose their funding over the next two years.

Urban-based civic organisations would be affected and cultural organisations formally supported would face drastic cuts during the next 12 months, he said.

The trust would focus on supplying bursaries, rural development projects, and squatter-camp projects.

Funding for the trust fund's five newspapers — the New Nation, Uma-

frika, South, Vrye Weekblad and the New African — would be phased out over the next two years.

Beneficiaries of the fund particularly affected would be those that have traditionally been engaged only in protest against the system of apartheid, and are inherently incapable of changing.

"Increased demand for resources, particularly in the spheres of education, rural development and addressing the severe problems of squatter camps, does mean prioritising of funds available to Kagiso Trust," Mr Dangor said.

11A
CMT - Inks 26/10/90

Israeli govt like Hitler, says ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior ANC official, making the movement's strongest public attack on Israel, has accused the country of conducting a campaign of terror in its occupied territories and beginning to emulate Adolf Hitler.

Mr Steve Tshwete, a member of the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee, told a pro-Palestinian solidarity meeting on Wednesday night that "successive Israeli governments have planned and carried out an outrageous campaign of terror with impunity".

The meeting was called in part to condemn the killing of 20 Palestinians on Jerusalem's Temple Mount by Israeli police on October 8. UPI

Winnie fails to appear in court

Re: 27/10/90

(114)

FOR the second time this year, Winnie Mandela has failed to appear in court to face charges of alleged business irregularities.

A warrant for her arrest was issued on Thursday when she missed an appearance in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on the charges involving alleged failure to pay unemployment insurance for employees of her food shop, reports Sapa. She allegedly failed to pay contributions to the insurance fund between January and August and also allegedly failed to file necessary documents.

In March, a warrant for her arrest was issued for failing to appear in court to face similar charges. That warrant was cancelled, and a fine of R100 and more than R200 owed to the unemployment insurance fund were paid on her behalf in April. — Associated Press.

1114

BUSINESS

'Wholesale nationalisation not the answer'

Own Correspondent

WILD COAST. — The PAC recognises that wholesale nationalisation is not the answer to SA's future economic prosperity — and the organisation would not impose restraints on foreign companies operating in SA if it came to power.

This apparent departure from previously stated hardline policies was made by Siphso Dhlamini, a senior PAC economist, who addressed nearly 200 businessmen at the Black Management Forum's conference at the Wild Coast yesterday.

Dhlamini told delegates that "the PAC is aware that the future economy of Azania will rely heavily on encouraging the production of more goods that can be sold overseas."

The organisation also recognised that the lifting of sanc-

tions would bring opportunities for both black and white businessmen and the PAC would try to encourage the establishment of new export markets, offering incentives to potential investors and would also not interfere in international markets.

He said that as a result of the unbanning of the PAC, the organisation had drawn up a document for discussion among its members which also dealt with the question of free enterprise.

Elaborating on his remarks in an interview afterwards, Dhlamini said "we are not against nationalisation". And, while the question of redistribution of wealth would have to be recognised, the PAC did not see wholesale nationalisation as the answer for future economic programmes.

Asked whether he thought

recent policy changes by the PAC would be supported by rank and file members, he said: "They know that the PAC will never abandon the interest of the black people."

"We want to give whites the assurance that they have nothing to fear, and that whatever they fear will be addressed by the PAC at its conference next month."

Dhlamini, who was awarded a PHD in economics from Makerere University Uganda, said one option the PAC was considering as a means of redistributing wealth was the creation of a special fund which would lend money to employees to enable them to buy shares in companies.

Initially these shares would only be for workers "in the upper-income bracket". The sys-

tem would gradually be expanded as the population became better educated.

The question of improving wages would be "a matter for the state". The PAC would also launch a massive campaign to fight illiteracy.

● ANC international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki, delivering a key note address at the conference, called for a "lively and healthy" national debate on the future economic policies SA should pursue.

There were too many slogans thrown about. The relative merits of "nationalisation", "free enterprise" and "redistribution" were tossed about almost as swear words, instead of being seriously debated or discussed.

He said there was an urgent need for the democratisation of the economy which meant the

derationalisation of the distribution of income, of the structure of ownership of assets and of the decision making process.

He said he was concerned that corporate SA had not entered the economic debate "more seriously than it has up to now".

He did however welcome the recent remarks of Mike Rosholt on this question. Rosholt had acknowledged that there should be a redistribution of incomes.

Yet he did not appear to favour a redistribution of assets. There seemed to be a tendency to ignore this question.

"But we cannot ignore the racial imbalance in turns of the ownership of assets."

He also said that the "natural selection process" for managers was unfair because it was a racist selection.

11A

'Negotiations do not conflict with principles' — PAC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Entering negotiations with government would not conflict with any PAC principles, according to the new acting president of the organisation, Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Mr Makwetu took over as PAC acting president following the death of Mr Zeph Mothopeng on Tuesday. Mr Mothopeng's funeral service is to be held at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on November 3.

The Africanist movement's national conference — at which it will vote for a

new leadership and decide on government's invitation to negotiations — has been postponed for a month to December because of the funeral.

Speaking to journalists for the first time in the PAC's Johannesburg offices yesterday, Mr Makwetu, 61, said he did not envisage any major policy or strategy changes until after the conference.

Asked about constitutional negotiations, Makwetu said the PAC membership was "positive" about the issue.

He said this meant negotiations would not conflict with any of the organisation's principles. He declined to comment on his personal views on the subject, saying the PAC grassroots membership had been consulted and would take a decision in December.

Mr Makwetu was flanked by PAC executive members and general secretary mr Benny Alexander.

Mr Alexander said an announcement would be made soon on whether the

PAC's exiled leadership would attend the conference in Johannesburg.

The internal PAC leadership has been at pains recently to deny reports and widespread suggestions that its exiled leaders are closer to taking up the government invitation than local members.

Dar-es-Salaam-based PAC chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo is expected to be a frontrunner for the organisation's presidency.

Transkei-based Mr Makwetu, who was

deputy president Mothopeng, said more time in Johannesburg acting president

A former ANC in the 1950s, he launching the P.

Mr Makwetu Transkei president. He was frequent oned and served Island in the 194 with the PAC.

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Workers laud dead leaders

Political Correspondent

THE Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) yesterday paid tribute to two "revolutionary leaders" who devoted their lives to fighting apartheid and capitalism — PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng and Unity Movement president Mr Isaac Tabata.

Mr Mothopeng died in Johannesburg this week and Mr Tabata died in Harare last week.

Wosa acting chairperson Mr Frank van der Horst said of Mr Mothopeng: "Your shining example and political integrity will always inspire us in our struggle for freedom."

He added that Mr Tabata had been a "political giant".

Buthelezi calls on Shell to go public

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged the Shell petroleum company to state publicly its commitment to a multi-party democracy in South Africa following a furore over a youth programme sponsored by the multinational.

The programme came under severe attack in Natal for its alleged pro-ANC bias.

In a bid to rebut the flood of criticism, Shell SA chairman Mr John Kilroe earlier this month circulated a memorandum to employees and pensioners, dissociating the company from the programme's content.

"Any suggestions that Shell is either directly or indirectly involved in funding a political party or advancing its political programme are absolutely untrue," wrote Mr Kilroe.

He added that any future Shell Science and Mathematics Resource Centre Trust projects which promoted a political point of view, would not be tolerated.

In his challenge — made at Ulundi during a meeting with Mr Kilroe and Shell International director Mr M van den Bergh — Chief Buthelezi said a public statement on the kind of society the company envisaged was needed.

ANC Youth League relaunches today

JOHANNESBURG. — Forty-six years ago a group of youths, among them Mr Nelson Mandela, became dissatisfied with the manner in which things were done in the ANC and formed the Youth League.

Today, 30 years after the organisation and its structures were banned, the ANC Youth League will be relaunched at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto.

A keynote address will be delivered on behalf of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, and while the person is still unnamed, it is widely speculated to be the first captured woman guerilla, Ms Thandi Modise.

Other speakers include Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hani.

A provisional executive committee of the Youth League, which will most probably include a number of leading figures in the South African Youth Congress, will also be announced.

The ANC Youth League was launched in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg in April 1944.

The movement's founding president was a militant Durbanite, Mr Muziwakhe Lembede, with Mr Mandela as its general secretary. A noticeable exception in the Youth League was Mr Walter Sisulu, then a worker rather than a student. — Sapa

Shots fired at ANC man

PRETORIA. — Men in a white Nissan bakkie, believed by the ANC and United Democratic Front to be plain-clothed Bophuthatswana policemen, yesterday fired at the car in which UDF and ANC official Mr Daniel Mabena was travelling.

Mr Mabena, who was travelling to Pretoria from the Moretele district in Bophuthatswana, said he believed the three shots were a warning fired in an attempt to stop the car.

The white bakkie followed the car until it crossed the border.

Yesterday a Youth Congress member expressed concern about the continuing police harassment in the Moretele district. — Sapa

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27/10/90

SACP still speaks Stalin's language

STimes 28/10/90

PALLO JORDAN of the ANC, returns to his attack on the SACP's Joe Slovo over communism's discredited past

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THE alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party is, in British Labour Party terms, a very broad church.

What has held us together is a common commitment to a particular programmatic statement, the Freedom Charter.

We all squeeze our brushes with different degrees of intensity as to how we want to see the Freedom Charter applied in the South African context.

Comrade Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party, seems to miss what should be obvious to a Marxist — that no state can empower its security organs with the extraordinary powers those in Eastern Europe had, if there wasn't some underlying tension they were trying to contain and repress.

I asked him in a recent article why he didn't address this question in his pamphlet, *Has Socialism Failed?* I brought his attention to a long tradition of Marxist opposition to Stalinism and asked him to consider this — I did not ask him to leave the Marxist tradition in his criticism.

What I'm saying is that in his account of the SACP, Slovo as-

serts that the SACP turned its back on Stalinism a long time ago. This may be true of him and a whole number of individuals within the SACP.

But because of the Stalinist language that the SACP has carried with it over the years, there is a spirit of extreme intolerance which expresses itself regularly in the pages of its journals.

Impact

Everyone who is familiar with the journals of the SACP knows what I'm talking about. It might not be pleasant to admit it, but Slovo and others know it is true.

It is not sufficient for the SACP to say, "terrible things happened". It's not just a matter of personalities, or a matter of ill-will. Marxists have always held that the impact of personality, of ill-will, on the historic process can only be understood in the context of the material conditions in which the

particular actors, political and otherwise, are operating.

If you wish to understand the impact of the personality of Stalin on the development of socialist countries, you can't just explain it away by saying that Stalin was a paranoid personality.

If the SACP is going to look at the socialist countries in a critical fashion, it does not have to go outside of the Marxist tradition to do so. There is a tradition within Marxism that can be turned to.

To the extent to which the SACP can do so, it will, with rigour and honesty, glean something from what I call the tragedy of the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe.

I don't think what happened in Eastern Europe was inevitable. I don't believe, as some do, that socialism is inherently totalitarian. I believe it is inherently democratic and anti-authoritarian. But, given a certain historical context, it developed in an authoritarian and totalitarian fashion. I don't

believe that was an inevitable outcome.

What is unfortunate about what many communist parties, including the SACP, have done, is by so closely identifying socialism and communism with the authoritarian systems that emerged in Eastern Europe, they have, in fact, discredited socialism.

Applause

There were instances — such as 1968 — when the SACP applauded the suppression of the Prague Spring. They didn't have to do that.

There were other cases: they applauded what Jaruzelsky did to Solidarity in Poland; they applauded military coups. That is completely outside the Marxist tradition. They have discredited socialism by identifying it with such practices — and by applauding such practices.

● *Dr Jordan is director of the ANC's department of information. This is an abridged version of an interview which appeared in the October edition of Monitor, journal of the Human Rights Trust.*

Hopes for Inkatha. ANC talks

Sunday Times Reporter

A FACE-TO-FACE meeting between ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha could take place before Christmas.

This is the hope expressed by the two organisations whose recent peace efforts in Natal have considerably improved chances.

Joel Netshitenzhe, an ANC information department spokesman, said the talks would enjoy a "high priority" with Mr Mandela when he returned from abroad.

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YOUNG AND ANC: IS IT BACK TO THE FUTURE?

A GENERATION ago, in 1944, a group of young "radicals" transformed the ANC. Their names were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo.

Today they are the aged "conservatives" of the organisation and a new band of young political activists are poised to take over the reins from the Old Guard.

And the ANC Youth League — relaunched yesterday — could play a vital role.

Jackie Selebi, National Executive member responsible for youth affairs, this week explained his vision of the role of the country's populous and often angry black youth.

"The challenge awaiting the ANC is how to harness the vigour and impatience of the youth to energise the movement and speed up the process towards creating a new South Africa?"

It will not be the first time the ANC has turned to its youth to rejuvenate itself.

Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo all cut their political teeth in the ANCYL. And so did PAC founder Robert Sobukwe and former president Zeph Mothopeng, who died earlier this week.

But its influence stretches even further — both Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Transvaal executive committee member John Mavuso are youth league graduates.

Indolence

However, the driving forces behind the formation of the League were two activists whose names have almost been forgotten in recent years — Anton Lembede and A P Mda.

Had both not died at an early age the names of Lembede and Mda would have been as famous today as those of Mandela and Tambo.

The ANC in the 40s was a moribund and lethargic organisation. Led by respected academics and professional people such as Dr Pixley Seme and Dr Albert Xuma, it pursued moderate and gradualist goals. It was a movement of elites, of tribal chiefs and middle-class interests — some of its members even



Jackie Selebi (left) whose aim is to harness black youth in building a new South Africa. RIGHT: The turbulent youth who will provide the foot soldiers.



DRIES VAN HEERDEN, on the weekend the ANC Youth League is relaunched, asks whether history is not repeating itself in the life of the organisation

served on the discredited Native Representatives' Councils.

This political indolence was a source of immense frustration to the younger generation in the ANC — especially to Seme's young law partner, Anton Lembede.

On Easter Sunday 1944, the youth league was founded. Lembede, Mda, Sisulu, Mandela and journalist Jordan Ngubane soon emerged as the driving forces in the movement.

From the outset the relationship with senior ANC members was strained. Lembede in particular was highly critical of Xuma's leadership. He scathingly berated him for his "lack of courage".

Takeover

Eventually their activism paid off. In December 1949, they staged a successful takeover. Xuma was voted out of office and replaced by another medical man, Dr James Moroka. Sisulu was elected secretary-general.

However the foment inside the ANC did not stop there. The main issue was

the differences between liberals (called Charterists after the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955) and Africanists.

Lembede, Mda and the vast majority of youth leaguers belonged to the latter group which was highly critical of the ANC's increasingly close relationship with white liberals, and especially white communists.

Initially Mandela and Sisulu also supported the Africanist faction but they later switched sides.

Eventually, in 1959, the clash between Africanists and Charterists came to a head. Ideological differences could no longer be reconciled and the PAC was founded, led by, among others, Sobukwe, Mothopeng and Potlako Leballo.

The successful government action against black political organisations in the 60s and 70s also struck at the heart of the youth league. It, too, had to move underground, operating in public under a succession of pseudonyms.

In recent years it has been known as the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) — a movement that was disbanded yester-

day in tandem with the relaunching of the league.

Is there a historical parallel with what is happening today? Will the new league eventually develop into another independent force within the ANC and will the impatience of the youth again regress into a deep-seated frustration with the elderly and sometimes hesitant leadership?

Impatient

ANC executive member Jackie Selebi believes it a rather remote possibility.

"Like any other political movement, the ANC has to take serious notice of the views expressed by its youth," he said, in the Johannesburg offices of Sayco, from which he has directed the ANC's youth affairs since his return from exile in April.

"We appreciate that they are impatient... that they want drastic changes to have taken place yesterday. But we also sense an appreciation among our youth that the ANC leadership is involved in a delicate process which may take some time to complete."

For Selebi, yesterday's relaunch brought to a close a long relationship with the ANC youth dating from his

role as a student activist during the 1976 Soweto riots.

An age limit of 35 prevents him from being elected to any Youth League position, leaving him free to devote his full attention to his new task of organising the return of the estimated 22 000 ANC members in exile.

However, he played a leading part in drafting the new league constitution and setting out its aims and programme for the 90s.

"The youth league is not an exclusively political organisation," he says. "Its activities will cover a wide field, including cultural and sports events." The leadership structures on national, regional and local levels will reflect this wide scope of activities.

Education will be a primary concern. "The message that will be carried to every youth leaguer is that they should prepare themselves for power.

Campaign

"Shouting slogans and marching in the streets alone will not transform South African society.

"Our youth will have to devote their attention to their studies to enable them to play a leading role in the future," says Selebi.

High school pupils, for example, will be drafted during holidays into a mass literacy campaign — especially in the rural areas — to teach basic reading and writing skills to people who never had any education.

Selebi believes the revamped league can play an important part in preparing young ANC activists for the coming political changes. "All our activities will be geared towards leadership development," he says. "Our success — or failure — will determine the direction the country takes."

The pledges have a familiar ring: they were heard in 1944 as well.

ANC call: Go back to school

5 Times 28/10/90

By DRIES van HEERDEN

SENIOR leaders of the ANC yesterday urged black youths to return to school and prepare themselves for the running of the country.

Speaking at the relaunching of the ANC Youth League in Soweto, internal ANC leader Walter Sisulu told a crowd of more than 20 000: "The future will come to nought if you don't acquire the necessary skills.

"The wealth of the country should be redistributed ... yes. But it will be meaningless if we're not able to manage this wealth. The land should be shared, but we need the skills to ensure the nation is fed through agriculture."

And in a message read on behalf of ANC president Oli-

ver Tambo, he called on the Youth League to support the "back to school campaign".

"It is not enough only to criticise what is happening in SA," Mr Tambo said. "In future the true value of our people will be measured by the level of their creativity."

In his speech SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo hit out at attempts "by the government and media" to divide the ANC between "hawks" and "doves," and turn it into a "toothless, legless and armless organisation".

Eagles

"The ANC is united. We are the eagles of liberation," he said.

Mr Slovo, whose speech was preceded by lengthy praise-singing and toyi-toying, said there were attempts to split the alliance between the ANC and the SACP.

He said the ANC had come to the negotiating table "not as beggars, but as a proud organisation to claim what is ours". And while the organisation remained committed to a peaceful process it would not surrender its ultimate goals and aims.

ANC youth injection

SITimes 28/10/90

11A

THE ANC is preparing for a rejuvenation of its leadership in the wake of the organisation's decision to postpone its elections until June next year.

There is wide expectation among senior ANC sources that many of the older guard will not survive the elections.

One ANC member said yesterday: "Some of our leaders will by then have served longer than their allotted term. It may be an opportune moment for a younger generation to take over."

However, there is no question that any of the highly visible members of the "old guard", such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, will be ousted.

They are still held in very high regard by the rank-and-file, both for their international prestige and their symbolic value to the organisation.

By DRIES van HEERDEN

There is even talk that — depending on the status of his health — ANC president Oliver Tambo may be re-elected to the head of the movement. Mr Tambo — who turned 73 yesterday — is recuperating in London after suffering a stroke last year. However, he is expected to return to South Africa in time for the organisation's December 16 conference.

The conference will deal mainly with organisational matters and the ANC's stance on negotiations. The election of the leadership has been postponed for six months to — according to the ANC's official statement — allow for the return of an estimated 20 000 members still in exile.

In ANC circles there is agreement that a number of the older generation, who led the movement through its years in exile, will not survive an election. A large number of these leaders are in their 70s or late 60s.

The most important victims may be secretary-general Alfred Nzo, 65, and his right-hand man, treasurer Thomas Nkobi, 68. In the last months of their exile there were rumblings about the alleged incompetence of the ANC bureaucracy and its inability to secure overseas funds.

This unhappiness has increased since Mr Nzo moved his office to Johannesburg. He has been made the scapegoat for bad organisation at head office, a lacklustre performance at grass-roots level and an inability to get branches and regional structures off the ground.

If Mr Nzo falls victim to a mini-purge it can be expected that some of his deputies, such as Dan Tloome, Sindiso Mfuenyane and Henry Makgothi, may also be ousted. Others whose positions may be in danger is the commander-in-chief of Umkonkhonwe Sizwe, Joe Modise, and ANC security chief Joe Nhlanhla.

Such oustings will considerably strengthen the positions of a number of younger ANC leaders who have

They include the secretary for external affairs, Thabo Mbeki, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, publicity chief Pallo Jordan and "rising star" intelligence chief Jacob Zuma — all 48 years old.

It will also open the door for certain internal leaders to be elected to the NEC.

Among these candidates are said to be trade unionist and SACP executive member Chris Dlamini, 46, ANC Natal organiser Patrick "Terror" Lekota, 42, youth leader Peter Mokaba, 32, Southern Transvaal organiser Kealena Molanthe, former UDF leader Phiso Molefe, trade unionist Sydney Mufamadi, 57, and Western Cape leader Christmas Moya, 55.

SATHS COOPER, psychology lecturer at the University of the Western Cape and former vice-president of Azapo, looks at the effects of apartheid violence on individuals - mainly youths.

WE are living in exciting times of change and challenge.

But these are dangerous times as well.

The scourge of violence is of such dimensions that it directly affects us all, politically, socially, and economically.

Violence affects our sense of well-being, creating anxiety and distress in individuals, families, communities and organisations.

How can we understand this phenomenon of violence?

What can we do to rid ourselves of this problem?

In the aftermath of the Soweto uprisings, the World Health Organisation and the American Psychiatric Association studied the situation and declared apartheid the source of psychosocial stress.

In July this year in a national study of black and white, urban and rural populations in South Africa

YOUTHS HARD HIT BY APARTHEID VIOLENCE

conducted by the Institute for Black Research, 80 percent of those surveyed believed apartheid and repressive government policies plus practices were responsible for creating a climate of violence.

The SAP and SADF as agents of repression were also blamed.

More than 37 percent stated that specific socio-economic factors like poverty, unemployment and the shortage of land drove people to violence.

The white media, politicians and observers have been blaming the violence on a variety of other factors, including the struggle for power between the ANC and Inkatha.

Their perceptions differ drastically from the perceptions of ordinary South Africans.

In 1976 there was no struggle between the ANC

and Inkatha (which was not even fully formed then), but there was violence in our country.

It seems the ANC features directly after its unbanning in February this year, whereas UDF/Cosatu action featured before then.

Apartheid, by its very nature, is violent.

A generation has been brought up in a cauldron of violence since June 1976.

Its members have come to realise those who were there to protect them - the SAP and SADF - were instead brutalising them.

Very few positive role models have been available to this generation, many of whom have been brought up by someone other than a parent.

Apartheid's migrant labour and influx-control systems ensured families were disrupted, and that which is taken for

granted as the normal development process of children has been denied to the majority of black children.

This post-1976 generation has essentially been at the forefront of the struggle, which has sometimes been a dehumanising experience of internal conflict and misplaced energies.

That generation had nothing to lose then, except for its innocence and childhood.

The same scenario applied in the mid-Eighties.

However, those youths who were at the forefront of struggle at that time now have a lot to lose besides their innocence and childhood.

In the late-Seventies the youth leaders were in their mid-teens to early twenties.

Many of those who survived are now adults, unable to return to school

or find decent jobs.

Society is rewarding them by making them a lost generation.

Is there hope?

We cannot expect to move overnight from oppression to peace, security and stability. Apartheid has ensured that.

Neither can we change people's attitudes and perceptions overnight.

- But what we can change is our understanding of events today.

Here the burden lies with us all, especially political organisations which need to shift their slogans to education and leadership-development campaigns which result in community upliftment.

Those that were at the forefront of struggle need not be marginalised.

This will require more than lip-service commitment from leaders and organisations.

It will require the will and backing which private plus public organisations CAN muster.

Our country can do with upliftment, which the youth can provide, if we enable them to do so.

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THE KGB CONNECTION

A THE inside story of ties between the KGB and the ANC and secret links between Pretoria and Moscow to control a world market in precious minerals has been revealed by a Soviet defector.

The disclosures form part of a new book by former KGB double-agent Oleg Gordievsky, who was deputy head of the KGB in London.

KGB: The Inside Story, written jointly with British historian Christopher Andrew, created a furore in London by naming former Foreign Office official John Cairncross as the "fifth man" in the Philby-Maclean spy ring. But one chapter dealing exclusively with KGB operations in southern Africa has passed almost unnoticed in the 700-page volume. The chapter details, for the first time, attitudes by the Kremlin and the KGB towards the African National Congress and the South African government.

Gordievsky, who fed secrets to MI6 while working around the world as a KGB agent

SI Times 28/10/90 (11A)

Soviet defector tells of cash for the ANC and 'top secret contacts' with Pretoria

BY JEREMY BROOKS, London

for 10 years, described how money ferried through London by the KGB for the ANC was handed over, in banknotes, at a smart Kensington house.

Although the Soviets actively worked towards the overthrow of the SA government, the KGB was at the same time cultivating "top-secret contacts" with Pretoria to discuss ways of managing world markets for platinum, gold, diamonds and precious minerals.

KGB agents in five Western countries were specifically instructed to compile exhaustive information on South African busi-

nesses. Gordievsky, still in hiding in Britain after defecting in 1985, said that Moscow was disappointed at its lack of success in black Africa. In the early 1980s all remaining hopes were pinned on the ANC.

The Soviets had supplied arms worth R10-billion to Africa between 1976 and 1980. But their hopes in Mozambique and Angola vaporised as the Agostino Neto and Samora Machel governments became more unstable. A horrified Politburo also discovered they had backed the wrong horse — Joshua Nkomo — in Zimbabwe.

Robert Mugabe had offended Moscow by calling himself a Marxist-Leninist "of Maoist thought". In Ethiopia, another area where

Moscow had pinned its hopes, the socialist economy under the military junta was close to collapse.

The ANC and the South Africa Communist Party were different. The SACP, which played a major role in the ANC, was both pro-Soviet and better organised than its counterparts in the rest of Africa. Gordievsky said the KGB used to channel funds to both parties.

In six months at the end of 1982 he handed over R270 000 for the SACP and R575 000 for the ANC to "ANC vice-president" and SACP chairman Dr Yusef Dadoo in London.

When the money arrived at the London residency of the KGB, Gordievsky put on gloves to remove the Moscow bank wrappers and count out the notes.

He said Dr Dadoo would arrive at 18 Kensington Gardens, write out a receipt, and proceed to stuff the money into every available pocket of his suit and overcoat.

Gordievsky was struck by the way that Dadoo's thin frame filled out with dollar bills before he set off home on foot, unconcerned by the risk of theft en route.

Though Gordievsky found Dadoo's simplistic grasp of the Soviet system depressing, he



DEFECTOR Oleg Gordievsky, who lives in hiding after revealing KGB secrets

never lost respect for Dadoo himself. None of the banknotes stuffed into Dadoo's pockets was ever spent on himself.

"He (Dadoo) led an ascetic life, totally devoted to the liberation struggle in South Africa," said Gordievsky.

When Dr Dadoo died in 1983, funds to the ANC and SACP were then handed over by the Soviet ambassador in Lusaka instead. Arms were supplied covertly through Zambia, Tanzania, and Angola.

Despite the key role SACP members played in the ANC executive, Moscow saw little hope of the communists taking over the

ANC itself. Seven of the 22 National Executive committee members in the 1980s were SACP, Gordievsky said.

The KGB was worried the ANC would turn towards the West for support. KGB agents in Stockholm, New York, London, Paris, Rome and African capitals were "bombarded with instructions" to monitor threats to SACP influence and Western contacts within the ANC.

They were alarmed when the London office of the ANC showed resistance to newspaper articles supplied by a KGB agent working undercover as a Novosti correspondent. These articles were not being used in ANC newsletters and papers simply because they were "tedious and incompetent".

However, Moscow was worried the lack of interest reflected increasing Western influence.

In practice Moscow had little influence on ANC policy. The neo-Stalinist, pro-Soviet loyalism of the SACP old guard was a "wasting asset".

The ANC office in London said this week it was unaware of the details contained in KGB: The Inside Story. Spokesman Frans Ginwala pointed out that Dr Dadoo had never been ANC vice-president, as he was described in the book.

"If that is the level of information, then I don't place much reliance on the rest of it," she said.

Dr Dadoo died in London of cancer in September 1983. At the time he was a member of the ANC National Executive and vice-chairman of the body co-ordinating the military struggle — the Politico-Military Council.

Gordievsky also claims that while it was wooing the ANC, the Soviet Union also developed "top-secret contacts" with Pretoria to regulate the world-market in precious minerals.

"Because of the extreme sensitivity of these contacts and the outrage which their public revelation would provoke in black Africa, the KGB took a prominent part in arranging them," Gordievsky said.

"In 1984 the Kremlin decided to step up secret discussions with South Africa designed to regulate the international market.

"KGB residences in the US, Britain, West Germany, France and Switzerland were asked to supply intelligence on a whole series of South African financial institutions."

Gordievsky's wife and two daughters are still in the Soviet Union. Mrs Gordievsky was forced to divorce her husband after he defected in order to retain her job and keep her children at school.

Attempts to reunite the family have foundered despite talks between Foreign Secretary Howe and his Soviet counterpart.

Warrant for Winnie

By BERENG MTIMKULU

A WARRANT for the arrest of Winnie Mandela was issued this week in the Johannesburg District Court when she failed to appear in connection with an Unemployment Insurance Fund wrangle.

According to the charge sheet, Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, owns a food outlet in Johannesburg.

She is charged with failing to pay her contributions as an employer between January 1 and August 10 this year and failing to submit an official document.

At the request of prosecutor CF Oberholzer, a warrant of arrest was issued.

Who will succeed Zeph?

Office 23/10/90
(NA)

By SEKOLA SELLO

TWO men have emerged as favourites for the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress following the death of its president, Zephania Mothopeng, this week.

They are acting president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu, 62, and the Tanzanian-based Johnson Mlambo, 50. Two "dark horses", Mark Shinnars and Mahlubi Mbandazayo, are also said to be in the running, although the latter has dismissed these claims.

Mlambo, who is the organisation's chairman and commander of its armed forces, is an election favourite for the PAC's national conference in December.

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Return of the young ones

By SEKOLA SELLO

114 (11/10/90)

THE ANC Youth League, founded 46 years ago by militants including luminaries like Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, was relaunched at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

More than 20 000 people, mostly youths from all parts of the country, attended the rally.

ANC internal leadership, core co-ordinator Walter Sisulu opened the congress and reiterated the movement's

stand on negotiations - the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo repeated this theme, which the government has already rejected.

A lengthy message from ANC president Oliver Tambo was read out to the rally. He emphasised the importance of education in a post-apartheid South Africa. Tambo said that in the move towards democracy, education became "most important for the struggle".

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Invited in the incident and where they were
and address for more information or come personally.
N.B.: Be careful of tsotsis in Potgietersrus. Only take vehicles

★ ★ ★ 1990 ★ ★ ★

Fighter Makwetu has weathered the storm

Sowetan 29/10/90

11A

FOCUS

By SY MAKARINGE

THE slogan "The Press cannot build the PAC (and) it cannot destroy the PAC", chanted with vigour and emotion at Pan Africanist Congress rallies is, to many people, just an empty rhetorical hogwash.

But, to a large extent, there is an element of truth in the slogan as the Press has for many years deliberately shunned the PAC and relegated its activities to irrelevance.

This, perhaps, explains why the name of Mr Mlamli Clarence Makwetu, who temporarily took over the reins of the PAC after the death last week of its president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, still does not ring a bell to many people in this country.

Tipped

Makwetu, tipped as a strong candidate for the presidency of the organisation does not appear anywhere in the "who's who" list of recognised South African political leaders.

But Makwetu, like Mothopeng, also had his fair share of harassment. He has never had a peaceful moment in the 30-year history of the organisation.

Based in the remote village of Comfivaba, he has been arrested, restricted and banished to remote restricted and banished in an attempt to break his spirit and his will to free the "oppressed and dispossessed masses" from the racing apartheid policies.

Like a fighter that he is, Mak-

wetu weathered the storm and continued to preach the gospel of Pan Africanism as the fight against apartheid became stronger on all fronts.

His track record as a "freedom fighter" saw him being elected the first president of the Pan Africanist Movement, formed last year as a front organisation for the PAC before the latter's unbanning on February 2 this year.

When PAM was dissolved on March 10 this year as a result of the PAC's unbanning, Makwetu became the second-in-command of the PAC when he was elected vice-president.

After Mothopeng's death Makwetu was, in line with the PAC's constitution, elected acting president. He will hold this position until the organisation's national congress in December elects a new leader.

He is also in the short list of PAC stalwarts who will succeed Mothopeng.

Born in Comfivaba more than 61 years ago, Makwetu was one of disenchanted members of the African National Congress Youth League, including Mothopeng and PAC first president, Robert Sobukwe, who broke away from the mother body to form the PAC in 1959.

He and Philip Kgosana led the 1960 anti-pass demonstration campaign when they left their passes at home and presented themselves for arrest at the Langa police station.

He was arrested for his involvement in the campaign when the Government declared the first State of Emergency on March 29 1960.

After his release when emergency regulations were lifted six months later, Makwetu stayed in Cape Town where he continued with his political activities for a short while before he was banished to his home village of Comfivaba.

Detained

He was later detained without trial until September of the following year.

After his release, he returned to Cape Town where he was arrested under the Pass Laws in April 1962, cautioned and ordered back to the Transkei.

In 1963 he stood trial on charges of conducting an illegal meeting and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. He was sent back to Cape Town where he faced charges of promoting the aims of the PAC, but was acquitted.

He served an effective five years on Robben Island and released in 1968.

He was twice detained without trial between 1976 and 1977. Two years later he was arrested and detained without trial for five



Mr Mlamli Makwetu

months.

In December 1979, Makwetu was banished to the Libode district by his blood cousin, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, then paramount chief of the Transkei. He returned to his home village five years later where he continued farming.

In August 1986, Makwetu was again detained for four months without trial.

Judging by the price that he has paid for pursuing the aims of the PAC in so many years, it won't be surprising if Makwetu is elected to the hot seat at the organisation's national congress in December.

The only snag is that Makwetu lives in a remote area where he would find it difficult to coordinate the activities of the PAC nationwide.

* See Page 15

Patrick Laurence on Azapo and the PAC, ideological allies whose relations remain cool

After 29/10/90 (19)

Political brothers who differ

THE "Azanian revolution" would be advanced by an alliance between the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Gomolemo Mokoae of Azapo said at the end of a long interview.

There are no ideological differences between the black consciousness movement and Pan-Africanism, remarked Benny Ntsole of the PAC in a separate interview a few hours later.

Yet Azapo, the main vehicle of black consciousness, and the PAC, the chief exponent of Africanism, are political adversaries. Their rivalry saps their strength, making it easier for the Charterists — the African National Congress and its allies — to maintain their political ascendancy.

The differences between Azapo and the PAC are minute in the eyes of outsiders, particularly if they are white. So much so that Azapo and the PAC, black consciousness and Africanism, are often used interchangeably, much to the chagrin of Azapo and PAC cadres.

The Star spoke to Dr Mokoae and Mr Ntsole in a bid to identify the

salient similarities and differences between the two movements and to explore their attitudes to the prospect of a tactical alliance in the intensifying struggle for the allegiance of black people.

Dr Mokoae identified two central points of agreement: their insistence that "usurped" land should be restored to the dispossessed rightful owners and their agreement that "liberated South Africa" should be known as Azania.

Another common point emerged — with slightly less clarity — during the interview: their belief in black leadership.

Azapo restricts its membership to blacks. It defines blacks as people who are oppressed and discriminated against in South Africa, meaning Africans, coloureds and Indians. Whites are excluded; they are part of the problem.

Dr Mokoae talked frankly of Azapo's doctrines of "black exclusivity" and "black solidarity", defending them as an historically necessary antithesis to the thesis of "white racism".

He acknowledged that an anti-racist synthesis would eventually emerge from those opposing

forces. But, it was clear from his exposition, the time for that has not yet come.

In his view, however, the PAC's commitment to black leadership is less unequivocal: its definition of African varies, he said, from a biological concept restricting it to people with Negroid features, to a philosophical notion extending it to all people whose first loyalty was to Africa and whose attitude to the indigenous people was fraternal.

There were differences, too, on the land question, Dr Mokoae reckoned. Azapo "fused" the land and social questions, he said, meaning that Azapo is committed to "black communalism" and "scientific socialism".

He warned that restoration of the land to the dispossessed indigenes would not in itself solve the land question. It would merely lead, as in Kenya under Kenyatta, to the concentration of land in the hands of a small class of "colonialist stooges". The PAC, he contended, had not linked the land issue to socialism and hence the danger that it would take South Africa on the same course as Kenya.

Dr Mokoae highlighted two of Azapo's distinguishing features: its commitment to socialism, in the sense of black communalism and "scientific socialism" as practised in the Soviet Union and China; its belief in the principle of collective leadership and, as corollary, opposition to leadership cults.

Azapo and the PAC had different historical experiences which shaped their present outlook, he said.

The black consciousness movement was forged in reaction as "white paternalism". But the PAC was born out of opposition to communism. It was as hostile to "Moses Kotane as it was Joe Slovo". Its opposition was to communism per se, not to the colour of the communist.

Extrapolating from Dr Mokoae's remarks, it is clear that he is sceptical about the PAC's commitment to socialism and to the principle of collective leadership.

Mr Ntsole chose not to talk about differences between the PAC and Azapo but rather to define the PAC's outlook and objectives.

The PAC came into being in 1959 when the decolonisation in

Africa had started. Its aim was to contribute to the process in South Africa, then and today.

"South Africa is a colony," he said. The hand-over of power to local colonists in 1910 did not change the situation. The Act of Union was merely "an illegal contract between the British and the Boers".

The struggle for the land between the "settlers and the indigenous people" continued today and it was the PAC's task to help the indigenous people regain their birthright.

But, in seeking to end colonialism in South Africa, the PAC did not have a quarrel with black consciousness. The founders of black consciousness and Africanism were the descendants of slaves, who began their crusade against colonialism and racism in the last century.

Black consciousness and Africanism were two threads from the same cloth, Mr Ntsole said.

In the past three decades South Africa had witnessed two developments: the emergence of black consciousness movements after the banning of the PAC and the ANC in 1960, followed in recent

years by the public resurfacing of Africanism.

The first development had seen the birth of a succession of pro-black consciousness movements, from Steve Biko's Saso and BPC to Azapo; the second had witnessed the birth of the Pan-Africanist Movement and the resurgence of the PAC.

These developments had resulted in different "organisational positions". But there was no ideological justification for not working together or even uniting.

"The PAC has always stood for principled unity," Mr Ntsole said. "It has always extended the hand of friendship . . . If the black consciousness movement and the PAC are not united, it is not because the PAC doesn't want to have unity."

Yet relations between the two organisations remain cool.

Azapo did not attend the PAC conference of "oppressed people" which aimed at wider unity; the PAC did not attend Azapo's consultative conference with the same aim.

The historical bonds remain close, however, suggesting perhaps that the quarrel is temporary and reconcilable. □

Economist did not defect to PAC - ANC

THE ANC this week strongly denied an alleged member of its economics department had defected to the rival PAC.

In media reports last week, Siphso Dlamini, a PhD graduate in economics, claimed he had defected to the PAC after disillusionment with the ANC.

In response, the ANC said it had conducted investigations and found his allegations groundless.

It said: "We have therefore come to the conclusion that the person called Siphso Dlamini was not a member of the ANC and, as far as we could ascertain, never worked with our department of economic policy. He cannot, therefore, be said to have defected from the ANC because he was never a member.

"His membership of the PAC should not be used to promote a kind of PAC versus ANC scenario."

The ANC did not respond to allegations that Dlamini had held a top-level meeting with senior ANC official Andrew Mlangeni last week. - Sapa

SACP launched in Transkei

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Slovo threatens trials for racists

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo said yesterday the Government was jeopardising the negotiation process and warned of possible trials in a new South Africa for those supporting apartheid.

Mr Slovo was speaking in Umtata at the launch of the Transkei region of the SACP. With him were Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, now a member of the Transkei SACP interim structure, Numsa's Moses Mayekiso, and party stalwarts Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.

"We in the ANC, in the Communist Party, in Cosatu, are committed if possible to achieve people's democracy through the process of peace. But the danger comes not from us but from the other side," said Mr Slovo.

"Too many of them want to use the negotiating table as a terrain of struggle to destroy people's organisations."

Defending

He warned of possible action in the future against those seen as defending apartheid.

"In negotiations we have agreed that all political crimes committed before October 8 will have indemnity. And they say any crimes, political or not, after that will not have indemnity," Mr Slovo said.

"But crimes committed by the racists after October 8 will also not have indemnity in a future South Africa."

About 6 000 people attended the launch which was addressed by Mr Slovo, Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki. The

crowd was welcomed by Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Slovo said he was often asked if he trusted President de Klerk.

"We have said De Klerk has gone further than any other white leader in history to bring about transformation, even if we don't agree with the transformation, and that is why we believe it is worthwhile to continue to talk to him."

Hated

The problem was that "De Klerk is not the only one in power. Malan is also in power and we don't trust him."

"Vlok is also in power and his police have this year alone killed 200 in political demonstrations and wounded over 2 000".

Mr Slovo said that since the national launch in Johannesburg in July the SACP had received over 10 000 applications for membership.

"We believe people must be put above profits. No person should be allowed to live off the labour of another," he said.

He added: "If Jesus Christ had arrived here only a few years ago he would have been detained under the security laws, tortured, and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act."



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Inkatha declines Tutu's summit

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has questioned Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's impartiality and turned down the cleric's invitation to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend a meeting of black political leaders in Cape Town.

The IFP committee resolved at a meeting at Ulundi to question Archbishop Tutu's impartiality because he had given "ecclesiastical endorsement" to some ANC policies.

"We question the impartiality of Archbishop Tutu when he suggests that President F W de Klerk should provide Dr Nelson Mandela and his national executive with offices and facilities in Union Buildings."

Inkatha also invited Archbishop Tutu to clearly state whether he thought Chief Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation" as the clergyman had suggested would be the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend the Cape Town meeting.

HOPES KILLED

It was up to political leaders themselves to normalise their relationships with each other ... "it is they who are answerable to the people and not a dignitary like Archbishop Tutu".

The committee resolved to advise Chief Buthelezi to "graciously decline" Archbishop Tutu's invitation, so killing hopes of yet another opportunity for their leader to engage in face-to-face talks with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Another resolution, however, called on the ANC to add its voice to calls for a normalised relationship between the IFP and the ANC so that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela could "lead in their striving to normalise political relationships for the sake of democracy". — Sapa.

Star 29/10/90 (11A)

DP and ANC to monitor unrest

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In a unique local initiative, Democratic Party and ANC structures in the Free State started discussions last week on joint regional strategies to promote the creation of a democratic and non-racial dispensation.

DP and ANC leaders met in Bloemfontein following the adoption of a resolution at the recent DP provincial congress to "negotiate regional joint strategies with the ANC aimed at building a broad non-racial democratic alliance/pact" to

encourage the move towards the creation of a new South Africa".

A member of the DP's Free State/Northern Cape executive and of the DP's national council, Professor Dirk du Toit, said this initiative was in line with the DP's programme of action of seeking closer ties with the ANC and the National Party.

The programme committed the DP to the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation and alliances with organisations within and outside Parliament which were pursuing the objectives of negotiations and reconciliation.

"One of the issues discussed was to establish a joint unrest monitoring and prevention committee. A large number of the DP's black executive members were present," Professor du Toit said.

The only definite decision taken was that a follow-up meeting would take place before the year end.

DP sources said the resolution to seek closer ties with the ANC had been taken after DP leader Zach de Beer left the DP conference. They suspected he would not be "too happy" about the initiative.

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Constitutional matters high on Sacob conference agenda

Staff Reporter

Top politicians and business leaders are to attend the three-day annual convention of the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), starting in Johannesburg today.

A key aspect of the convention will be discussions on constitutional matters following the release of a report on South Africa's constitutional options by a Government-appointed committee.

Other motions include constitutional reform,

local government, education, security, agriculture and urbanisation.

President de Klerk is to address a banquet tomorrow night. In the afternoon a discussion on the role of big business in the future South Africa will take place.

Wednesday's programme centres on economics. Speakers will include ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, Development Bank of Southern Africa chief executive officer Simon Brand and Reserve Bank senior deputy governor Jan Lombard.

Tambo calls for unity in struggle

By Brian Sokutu

Deafening chants of "Happy birthday our president!" echoed through the Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on Saturday at the relaunch of the ANC Youth League.

The event coincided with the 73rd birthday of ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is still in exile.

More than 20 000 singing and toyi-toying people from as far afield as the Eastern Cape and Transkei attended the rally which saw the Youth League replacing the South African Youth Congress (Sayco).

Police in Casspirs kept a close watch on the proceedings outside the stadium.

Unity

Mr Tambo, in a message read out to the crowd, said an important task facing the ANC was to strive to form alliances with other anti-apartheid forces.

"Freedom is indivisible, and so must be the unity of all democratic forces," Mr Tambo said in a message read by human rights lawyer Pius Langa.

"The ANC Youth League has the historic obligation to zealously promote and jealously defend the unity in action of all progressive forces. This we do for the sake of our country and its youth."

The ANC, said Mr Tambo, had survived many decades of ruthless persecution because it had never lost sight of the need to defend unity.

He said some organisations with whom the ANC had to form alliances may not have been identified with the organisation in the past, but they had taken and were continuing to take steps away from apartheid.

"It is our duty to encourage and win them over to the side of the struggle. It is our responsibility to break down barriers of division and create a country where there will be neither whites nor blacks, just South Africans, free and united in diversity."

He urged the youth to be disciplined and called on the league to open the eyes of the youth to reality.

"The education front becomes the most important front of our struggle. It is no longer enough to criticise. Our true values should be measured by our level of creativity."

A banner bearing portraits of Mr Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu hung prominently next to the podium. In 1944, Mr Tambo, Mr Mandela and Mr Sisulu were founders of the Youth League. It and the ANC were banned in 1960.

The rally was addressed by South African Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo,

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

Peter Mokaba was appointed provisional chairman of the Youth League.

Other appointments to the provisional executive were: Lyndol Mafole (deputy chairman); Rapu Molekane (secretary-general); Uriel Abrahamse (secretary for administration); Bachana Mokwena (secretary for finance and projects); Ignatius Jacobs (deputy secretary for finance and projects); Tseke Morathi (secretary for student affairs), assisted by Derrick Masoek and Bizana Ngesi; Vusumuzi Mavimbela (secretary for political education), assisted by Phoebe Potgieter.

Arts

Dipuo Peters was appointed secretary for womens' affairs; Kgaogelo Lekgoro (secretary for organisation), assisted by Nyami Boo, Victor Motjope and Sampson Makwetla; Parks Mankahlana (secretary for publicity), assisted by Radithupa Mabitsela, Yacoob Omar and Mpho Lekgoro; Leila McKenna (secretary of arts), assisted by Johnny Sexwale and Mogamotsi Mogodire; Billy Masehla (secretary for labour), assisted by Norman Mashabane and Puso Tladi; Dan Sekonye (secretary for region) and Sharon Davids (secretary for pioneers).

Blanket nationalisation not answer for SA - PAC

Own Correspondent

MZAMBA (Transkei) — The PAC recognises that wholesale nationalisation is not the answer to SA's future economic prosperity and the organisation would not impose restraints on foreign companies operating in SA if it came to power.

This apparent departure from previously stated hardline policies was made by Dr Siphos Dhlamini, a senior PAC economist, who addressed nearly 200 businessmen at the Black Management Forum's conference at the Wild Coast last week.

Dr Dhlamini told delegates: "The PAC is aware that the future economy of Azania will rely heavily on encouraging the production of more goods that can be sold overseas."

Encourage

The organisation also recognised that the lifting of sanctions would bring opportunities for both black and white businessmen, and the PAC would try to encourage the establishment of new export markets, offering incentives to investors.

It would not interfere in international markets.

Dr Dhlamini said that as a result of the unbanning of the PAC, the organisation had drawn up a document for discussion among its members which also dealt with free enterprise.

Elaborating in an interview later, Dr Dhlamini said: "We are not against nationalisation."

While redistribution of wealth would have to be recognised, the PAC did not see wholesale

nationalisation as the answer for future economic programmes.

Asked whether he thought recent policy changes by the PAC would be supported by rank-and-file members, he said: "They know that the PAC will never abandon the interests of the black people."

In contrast to the often-heard chants of "One settler, one bullet" heard at PAC meetings, Dr Dhlamini adopted a more moderate line towards radical white organisations such as the AWB and the CP.

"We want to give whites the assurance that they have nothing to fear and that whatever they fear will be addressed by the PAC at its conference next month."

Dr Dhlamini said one option the PAC was considering as a means of redistributing wealth was the creation of a special fund which would lend money to employees to enable them to buy shares in companies.

Initially, these shares would only be for workers "in the upper-income bracket".

The question of improving wages would be "a matter for the State". The PAC would also launch a massive campaign to fight illiteracy.

ANC international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said it was time blacks stopped complaining about injustices suffered at the hands of the white man and concentrate on building the country they wanted.

Delivering the keynote address at the conference, Mr Mbeki said: "Many people have died in this struggle (but) it

seems we are now at a point when we can effect change.

"It is important for us as black people to forget a little bit about complaining about the past ... and about what the white man is doing to us.

"Instead, we must say: 'This is what we want our country to be and this is how we are going to do it.'"

Mr Mbeki called for a "lively and healthy" national debate on the future economic policies SA should pursue.

There were too many slogans used. The relative merits of "nationalisation", "free enterprise" and "redistribution" had been tossed about almost as swear words, instead of being seriously discussed.

Rapid

He said there was an urgent need for the democratisation of the economy.

This meant the de-rationalisation of the distribution of income, of the structure of ownership of assets and of the decision-making process.

There should be rapid movement towards a new constitution, Mr Mbeki added.

Mr Mbeki said he was concerned that corporate South Africa had not entered the economic debate "more seriously than it has up to now".

However, he welcomed the recent remarks of top businessman Mike Rosholt on this question.

Mr Rosholt had acknowledged there should be a redistribution of incomes, but he did not appear to favour a redistribution of assets.

Shaun Johnson on a discussion document which has prompted some awkward questions

ANC suffers an attack of the jitters

A very blunt question is being asked in some ANC circles: "Should we consider pulling out of negotiations with the Government?"

The relative lull now being experienced in the negotiations process — following a rollercoaster six-month period which saw the unbanning of organisations and the suspension of the ANC's armed struggle — has given rise to introspection and soul-searching about some of the decisions taken and compromises made by the ANC leadership.

In a paper titled "The Pretoria Minute and its aftermath: Do we continue the talks?", the head of the ANC's Department of Political Education, Raymond Suttner, says the decision to suspend armed action "has been difficult for many of our supporters to accept". "Radical" critics have spoken of "betrayal", and the ANC stands accused of making unilateral concessions "without corresponding concessions on the part of the apartheid regime", Suttner says.

He puts the questions which have been on the lips of many ANC supporters since the signing

of the Pretoria Minute: has the organisation suffered a major setback, and have its leaders been outmanoeuvred by the Government?

Suttner says the wave of violence on the Reef has compounded fears among rank-and-file ANC supporters that the leadership has erred, leaving the organisation defenceless by effectively immobilising its military wing. But, he argues, jittery ANC supporters must understand the context in which the Pretoria decisions were taken.

"While we have initiated the present (negotiations) process," says Suttner, "we do not automatically retain the initiative. We need at any particular moment to evaluate whether or not our action or inaction may lead us to lose the initiative and, in fact, endanger the achievement of our fundamental purpose ... a non racial, democratic South Africa (achieved) through peaceful means."

The ANC must concede, he says, that the requirements for negotiations set out in the Harare Declaration have not all been met — in particular the creation by Govern-

ment of a "conducive climate" — but members must ask themselves whether it is really essential to follow such prescriptions to the letter.

When there is blockage or stalemate, as in the case of the armed struggle, it sometimes becomes necessary to deviate from one's own course, says Suttner — in short, to make tactical compromises. "The object of the Declaration was not to have precise words adhered to (though deviations from these provisions cannot be done lightly). The object was to make speedy progress towards peace in a democratic ... South Africa."

Suttner suggests the ANC has to ask itself "how we are to achieve our strategic objectives while moving with tactical flexibility ... The ANC's main strength is political ... The armed struggle had been conceived as a political weapon in situation where open, legal political action was virtually impossible. The reopening of the legal terrain has meant that the possibilities and need for action in this area have become much greater than ever before."

The way forward for the ANC, in Suttner's view, is to accept the decisions represented by the Pretoria Minute ("The ANC has faced hard choices and has chosen to make tactical adjustments"), while ensuring the non-military political activity on the ground is stepped up. He does raise the question, however, of whether "the suspension of armed struggle could not have been avoided if the level of mass struggle had been higher, if that could not have been used to break through the blockage delaying the peace process".

ANC supporters must not flinch from pragmatic compromise, he argues: "At a particular stage we may facilitate our future gains by conceding more than the opposing forces", and the suspension of Umkhonto We Sizwe operations falls into this category of "justified compromise". "If a compromise is necessary ... we compromise ... The political terrain is where we are strong. While we have engaged the regime militarily, this is not our most powerful area."

The ANC's immediate task was

to "interpret the (Pretoria) Minute to the people and explain that it is essential that all of our members and the masses in general are involved in the process of negotiations."

Suttner concludes that the ANC should, under current circumstances, "continue talking". To pull out would, among other things, risk the continued incarceration of many of the organisation's best members as well as the long-awaited return of exiles.

But "this does not mean ... that we will continue with this process no matter what is done to our people ... We are taking steps to defend our people. The scale of recent violence has, however, been so great that we cannot pretend to be able to provide a defence umbrella that can repel this. If we are forced to return to the armed struggle, the responsibility lies squarely with the Government.

"We hope we can bring the Government to its senses ... We will rely on our main strength, the power of the people, the power of mass action, which can often achieve more than countless debates and arguments." □

UDF to rethink its future

THE UDF will hold a special national meeting early next year to decide its future role and the possible disbanding of the giant anti-apartheid front.

UDF executive member Titus Mafolo said at the weekend at least 500 delegates would attend the February congress to decide how the UDF would redefine its role after the unbanning of the ANC.

"The fact of the matter is that the UDF has ceased to play a leading role at a national level.

"What we are saying is that if the UDF is to continue, it must redefine its role," Mafolo said.

The UDF was launched in 1983 and has hundreds of affiliates representing a variety of anti-apartheid groups.

Mafolo said the future of the UDF was being discussed at various levels throughout the country and the congress would decide how to restructure the front.

PETER DELMAR

He said a number of organisations, including the Johannesburg Democratic Action Group, the SA Youth Congress and the Indian congresses, had disbanded after the unbanning of the ANC.

If it was decided that the UDF should be phased out, a number of organisations would have to be accommodated in new structures. These included youth and women's groups which did not join the ANC's leagues.

It is understood that while ANC leaders believed the UDF and the ANC were unnecessarily duplicating structures and functions, the ANC did not envisage "swallowing up" UDF-affiliated organisations.

ANC spokesmen have previously suggested community organisations and civic associations should form their own national and regional structures.

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Manifesto ¹¹⁸

YOUTH leaders of all races handed a manifesto to police liaison officer Major-General Herman Stadler yesterday, complaining of alleged police brutality, partiality and corruption, reports SABC radio news. *Soweto 29/10/90*

The manifesto was drawn up by members of youth clubs in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soweto, and the Pretoria junior city council.

The youths however also praised the police for good work and said they were prepared to help them in any way possible.

- Sapa



South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, her husband and ANC director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki (partly obscured) arrive at Orlando Stadium under heavy security escort on Saturday to attend the rally to relaunch the ANC Youth League.

Gowelan 29/10/90

Pic: LEN KUMALO.

(11A)

ANC Youth League backs talks

11A

Soweto
29/10/90

THE newly-launched ANC Youth League fully supported the negotiation process between the ANC and the Government, Mr Peter Mokaba, interim chairman of the youth league, said at the weekend.

Mokaba, fiery president of the South African Youth Congress until its dissolution at the weekend, was addressing more than 20 000 youths who attended the rebirth of the ANCYL at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on Saturday.

The re-launch coincided with the 73rd birthday of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who was elected general-secretary of the ANCYL when it was first founded in 1944.

Mokaba told youths, who came from all corners of the country, that the ANC was not negotiating for the sharing of power, but its transfer to the majority of the people.

"We're also fully in support of the suspension of the armed struggle because this is aimed at securing the release of our leaders and the return of exiles.

By SY MAKARINGE

"But when our leaders suspended the armed struggle, they did not suspend our right to defend ourselves against vigilantes," he said.

In a message relayed to the youth, Tambo, who is presently recuperating at a London clinic after suffering a stroke, said it was the duty of the ANCYL to give the youth the correct attitude to life in general and foster a sense of responsibility among them.

Discipline

"Without discipline there can be no organisation, and without organisation there will be no struggle. Discipline has never been a point of weakness, rather it is a virtue to be emulated," Tambo, who was elected honorary life president of the new-look ANCYL, said.

In his opening address, Mr Walter Sisulu, chairman of the ANC's internal leadership core and founder member of the original ANCYL, said the ANC was talking to the Government "about nothing else but the transfer of power from the minority Government."

Sisulu emphasised the need for youths to return to school to prepare themselves for the running of the country, saying "the future will come to nought if you don't acquire the necessary skills."

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Cosatu, said the youths must build an organisation that was accountable to the people.

Discover

Setback for Tutu's peace summit plan

11A

Don't know
29/10/90

THE peace summit proposed by Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu received a serious setback at the weekend when the Inkatha Freedom Party told its president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "graciously" decline the invitation.

The decision was taken at a meeting of In-

By SY MAKARINGE

katha's central committee meeting at Ulundi on Saturday.

In a statement released yesterday, the committee expressed its appreciation in the sincerity of Tutu's call but questioned his impartiality.

Oppressed

The organisation said Tutu postured the ANC as "the only group capable of representing the poor and the oppressed in the politics of negotiation".

"We question the impartiality of Archbishop Tutu when he suggests that President FW de Klerk should provide Dr Nelson Mandela (deputy president of the ANC) and his national executive with offices and facilities in the Union Buildings," the statement said.

It said Inkatha was of the opinion that political leaders should normalise the relationships themselves because it was they

who were answerable to the people "and not a dignitary like Archbishop Tutu".

The committee also challenged Tutu to "specifically, publicly and very clearly" state whether he thought Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation" as he (Tutu) had suggested would be the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend the summit.


Reaction

Tutu made the call for a summit of all black leaders when he opened the diocese of Cape Town's synod about two weeks ago.

In its reaction to the call, the Azanian Peoples Organisation said the summit was in no way different from initiatives the organisation had already taken.

It said Azapo hoped the Bishops court summit would not undermine those initiatives.

Tutu spurned

CAPE TOWN 29/10/90 (11A) 

Inkatha rejects archbishop's peace summit plan

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected an invitation from Archbishop Desmond Tutu to join a black leaders' summit, saying the Anglican cleric favoured the ANC.

Archbishop Tutu was in the Western Transvaal and could not be reached for comment. He made the call for a summit at the Cape Town Synod of the Anglican Church ten days ago.

The Inkatha committee resolved at a meeting at Ulundi to question Archbishop Tutu's impartiality because he had given "ecclesiastical endorsement" to

some ANC policies.

"We question the impartiality of Archbishop Tutu when he suggests that President F W de Klerk should provide Dr Nelson Mandela and his national executive with offices and facilities in Union Buildings," the committee said.

Inkatha also invited Archbishop Tutu to state clearly whether he thought Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation".

The archbishop had suggested this would be the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend his proposed Cape Town meeting.

It was up to political leaders themselves to norma-

lise their relationships with each other, the central committee said.

"They are answerable to the people, and a dignitary like Archbishop Tutu is not," the central committee said.

The committee resolved to advise Chief Buthelezi to "graciously decline" Archbishop Tutu's invitation.

However, the ANC's national executive committee resolved just over a week ago that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi should meet as leaders of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party respectively.

Chief Buthelezi has said his party "will consider the proposal and go into such matters as a mutually accept-

able time and venue".

It seems Bishops court is not a likely venue.

In calling for the summit, Archbishop Tutu was apparently trying to be the first to break the logjam and bring the ANC and Inkatha leaders to discuss the fighting between their followers which has killed thousands in Natal and the Transvaal.

Another IFP resolution called on the ANC to add its voice to calls for a "normal" relationship between the IFP and the ANC.

• A special general conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party is to be held on December 7 and 8. — Sapa and UPI

THE SA Communist Party faces a set of grave organisational and intellectual challenges — challenges which its 40-year experience of clandestine technique will do little to help it to meet.

In a sense, given the eight short months its cadres have had to adjust to the realities of legality, and the fact that most of them have additional duties to perform within the African National Congress, in the "Civics" and in the trade unions, the party is shaping up pretty well to its organisational responsibilities.

The launch of its Cape organisation in Guguletu on October 5 provided evidence of that. The SACP general secretary, Joe Slovo, and other central committee members addressed a sizeable, enthusiastic but sober audience. There was no demagoguery and the meeting largely consisted of a steady flow of questions touching on the future of the economy, cultural questions and the negotiation process. Party-membership forms were distributed and eagerly accepted.

Workers' demands

So far, so good. But the party's organisational problems are only beginning and the leadership is well aware of it. For one thing, the Guguletu meeting and others like it are characterised by workers' demands that there be more consultation on the ground, particularly with regard to negotiations. Slovo and his lieutenants agreed that there has not been enough consultation. They recognised that the peace processes themselves depend on the ANC and SACP carrying their mass constituency with them and that they cannot hope to do this if the impression is created that the talks are being conducted by tiny leadership cliques in a Tammany Hall atmosphere where secret deals and trade-offs are the order of the day.

However, proper consultation implies effective consultative mechanisms and these, in their turn, presuppose the very organisational structures the party is now setting up. In the nature of the case, this will be a slow, painstaking process. But equally, the negotiations process to which the SACP, no less than the ANC and

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY, a journalist formerly of the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times, who has returned to South Africa from exile. He spent five years in prison after conviction on charges under the Internal Security Act.

Government, is committed, must of its nature be a relatively rapid one. And one which — particularly in the present early phases — demands a degree of confidentiality and trust between the interlocutors.

Contradictory demands

Resolving the dilemma posed by the seemingly contradictory demands for internal democracy and open dealing, on the one hand, and for a fairly speedy constitutional settlement, on the other, is not going to be easy or painless. Yet, if it is not resolved, space will open up for fanatics on the far right and their unwitting accomplices in splinter groups elsewhere along the political spectrum.

These organisational questions are, of course, linked to debates currently preoccupying the parties' intelligentsia — and to the massive ideological and socio-political changes sweeping over Eastern Europe in general and the Soviet

Union in particular. The call for more democratic consultation, for instance, derives in part from the slogans about glasnost and perestroika which Soviet communists have employed in an effort to revitalise their society and reform their party, thus initiating an unprecedented debate about fundamentals within the world communist movement.

Moral values

Now there is nothing like unanimity within the SACP on all the issues raised by this debate, nor is it desirable or realistic to expect that there should be. The topics are too vast and too complex, ranging as they do from the role played by moral values in Marxist theory to the nature of democracy and the future of socialist internationalism. Slovo's own contribution to the exchange, a pamphlet called "Has Socialism failed?" in which he denounced the undemocratic practices of the Stalin and post-Stalin eras, was not intended as a definitive statement of his party's official view on these matters. In fact, there have been critical responses to it both from theoreticians in other communist parties and within his own.

Laudable as all this free discussion within the SACP may be and exciting as it certainly is, it must at some stage usher in concrete policy proposals and strategic perspectives. In particular, the SACP will have to address the ambivalence in its programme, the path to power between the so-called "insurrectionary" perspective and the view which sees democracy in South Africa as being achieved through those very negotiations to which the party committed itself when its leaders affixed their signatures to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

No easy walk to democracy for the SACP

11A

CALC TRIPS 27/10/90



HAMMER AND SICKLE . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Joe Slovo stand before a symbol of communism during a rally in South Africa.

The programme, as it stands, sees both options as possible scenarios leading to the creation of a unified, non-racial, democratic state. It asserts that there is no contradiction in its adoption of this generously open-ended analysis.

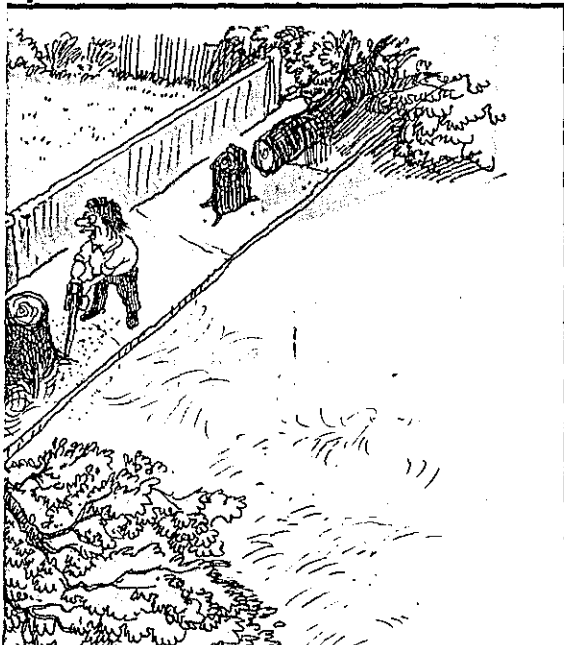
Popular uprising

Presently, however, despite the continuing violence in the Transvaal townships, the thrust of events continues to favour the negotiators. Thus the prospect that South Africa will become a democracy as a result of a popular uprising looks distant indeed.

Obviously, the way the party resolves this and other issues will affect the ANC. This is why it is unfortunate that Nelson Mandela and Mikhail Gorbachev have had to postpone their meeting in Moscow. Quite apart from the fact that such a meeting, when it eventually takes place (as it must), will add to the

ANC deputy president's already considerable international stature, Mandela genuinely needs to gain a first-hand understanding of the forces and doctrines which are reshaping Eastern Europe and redefining the very meaning of the Marxian creed.

When he does get to the USSR, Mandela will find, I suspect, that within the CPSU and on its fringes, there is a rich variety of applications which can be given to such key concepts as "democracy", "accountability", "restructuring", "openness", and even "revolution" — some of them sophisticated but difficult to explain to the ordinary and already confused Soviet citizens, others romantic and quite impracticable. The concrete experience of this diversity will be invaluable to him in coming to grips with the problems his SACP comrades are presently grappling with. He should make the trip soon.



Cape Town 29/10/90

Council/ANC meet on crisis in Khayelitsha

Municipal Reporter

TOP-LEVEL teams from Cape Town City Council and the Western Cape ANC met at the ANC offices in Athlone yesterday to discuss the growing crisis in Khayelitsha, where municipal services have been cut.

The council has held discussions with civic and community organisations in its area — many of them solidly pro-ANC — but it has never held such high-level talks with a political organisation.

The Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, was in the City Council delegation, according to a joint statement issued afterwards by council employee Ms Helen Zille.

In the ANC delegation were Mr Christmas Tinto, Western Cape ANC chairperson, and vice-chair Ms Hilda Ndude.

Four senior Western Cape Civic Association officials from Khayelitsha also attended the meeting: Mr J Ntsholo, Ms V Mathe, Mr Zuzile Ramnewana and Mr Phillip Smile.

The delegations agreed that the crisis affected Cape Town's people as a whole and that joint action by all those concerned about the situation was needed to address it.

Both delegations will report back to their constituencies "with a view to further discussions involving affected parties" to find an urgent resolution of the current crisis.

CAPE TIMES
29/10/50
Free State council quits *11A*

WELKOM. — The town council of Thabong one of the biggest black towns in the Free State — has resigned.

This follows the resignation scarcely a week ago of Mr Tom Boya as mayor of Daveyton.

The former mayor of Thabong, Mr Billy Mhlafu, said the council had resigned because the system of black local government had failed.
— Sapa

11A

UDF to disband in 1991?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF will hold a special national meeting early next year to decide its future role and the possible disbanding of the giant anti-apartheid front.

UDF executive member Mr Titus Mafolo said at the weekend that at least 500 delegates would attend the February congress to decide how the UDF would redefine its role after the unbanning of the ANC.

"The fact of the matter is that the UDF has ceased to play a leading role at a national level.

"What we are saying is that if the UDF is to continue, it must redefine its role," Mr Mafolo said.

The UDF was launched in 1983 and has hundreds of affiliates representing a variety of anti-apartheid groups.

Mr Mafolo said the future of the UDF was being discussed at various levels throughout the country and the congress would decide how to restructure the front.

He said a number of organisations, including the Johannesburg Democratic Action Group, the SA Youth Congress and the Indian congresses, had disbanded after the unbanning of the ANC.

It is understood that while ANC leaders believed the UDF and the ANC were unnecessarily duplicating structures and functions, the ANC did not envisage "swallowing up" UDF-affiliated organisations.

ANC officials have previously suggested that community organisations and civic associations should form their own national and regional structures.

ANC youth relaunch

App. 7c-13 29/10/90
JOHANNESBURG — The ANC Youth League was relaunched in Soweto on Saturday after a 30-year absence from the South African political arena.

The event coincided with the 73rd birthday anniversary of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

About 10 000 young people gathered in Orlando stadium where ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu described the relaunch as a "historic watershed in the liberation struggle".

The Youth League — which is open youth of all races — should unite the "mass of youth", he said.

Mr Rapu Molekane was named as the first secretary-general of the new Youth League. — Sapa

Winnie lauds Madolwana

EAST LONDON. — African National Congress social welfare department head Mrs Winnie Mandela delivered a short tribute on behalf of her husband at the funeral of an ANC national executive committee member, Dr Allan Madolwana, at Mdantsane stadium on Saturday.

Delivering a message from the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who is visiting Japan, Mrs Mandela said her husband was there to continue the work begun by Dr Madolwana, better known by his pen name of Francis Meli, without which "there probably would never have been a Pretoria Minute". — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 29/10/90 (11A) ~~11A~~

TOKYO. — Mr Nelson Mandela, welcomed in Osaka by more than 20 000 people chanting "bravo, Mandela", yesterday urged Japan to give direct financial support to the ANC.

"We ask this country to give us money that we ourselves, the African National Congress, can control," he said in an outdoor stadium at the start of a five-day visit to Japan.

Mr Mandela arrived in Japan yesterday for a visit to seek financial support and to urge Japan to maintain economic sanctions.

His visit coincides with Tokyo government plans to ease sanctions against South Africa.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Taro

Mandela asks Japan for money

Watanabe said recently that Japan was considering lifting sanctions following positive reforms by President F W de Klerk.

During his visit Mr Mandela will meet Prime Minister Mr Toshiki Kaifu.

He will address the Japanese parliament before departing on Thursday for Malaysia, the final stop of a five-nation Asia-Pacific tour.

Mr Mandela's visit also coincides with growing controversy here over a recent

slur against blacks by Japanese Justice Minister Mr Seiroku Kajiyama.

Upon his arrival at Tokyo's Narita Airport yesterday, Mr Mandela did not directly criticise Mr Kajiyama, but said he was confident that the Japanese people would show leadership in settling the problem.

Mr Kajiyama told reporters on September 21, after a midnight tour of Tokyo's red-light district, that foreign prostitutes he saw there would ruin good neighbourhoods "just like in America where the blacks came and drove out the whites".

Opposition parties and the Mandela Reception Committee, comprising Japanese experts in African affairs and civil-rights activists, have demanded that Mr Kaifu sack his justice minister. — Sapa-Reuter



A flag depicting ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, left, Oliver Tambo, centre, and Walter Sisulu hangs over Soweto's Orlando Stadium on Saturday at the rally relaunching the movement's Youth League after 30 years. Picture: REUTERS

ANC calls for immediate creation of an interim govt

ANC leaders appealed at the weekend for alliances with other political organisations and strongly repeated the ANC's insistence on the immediate creation of an interim government.

ANC president Oliver Tambo had a speech read on his behalf and internal leader Walter Sisulu also spoke at the relaunch rally of the ANC Youth League at Soweto's Orlando Stadium.

In his speech, Tambo, 73, confirmed he would return to SA in December.

More than 10 000 youths attended the rally, many of them in military fatigues.

Sisulu told the crowd the ANC had entered a new phase of struggle in which it was contesting the "fundamental question of power".

"We are talking about nothing but the transfer of power from the minority government to the people as a whole," Sisulu said.

The ANC, he added, should seek a broad front of those opposed to apartheid. His call was echoed by Tambo, who said the ANC should win over and seek alliances

PETER DELMAR

with those who had not identified with it in the past.

Sisulu urged the youth to repeat the ANC's call for an interim government.

"The demands for a constituent assembly must reverberate everywhere, including in the corridors of power. Only then will the Pretoria rulers sit up and listen."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo called for an intensified campaign for a constituent assembly.

In a strongly-worded speech, Naidoo said government had no legitimacy and should agree to an interim government immediately.

And SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo said if the people "stopped their clamour" the ANC would become "mere beggars at the negotiating table".

Slovo rejected government's stated intention to get white approval for a new constitution either through a referendum or election.

Court told of weapons smuggling

Stw 30/10/90

11A

Vula group 'had 15 safe houses'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Leaders of a planned armed insurrection smuggled large quantities of arms and ammunition into South Africa and bought or rented 15 properties to be used as "safe houses" for the operation, the Durban Regional Court was told yesterday.

Eight people, including Sathydranath (Mac) Maharaj (65), alleged overall commander of Operation Vula, are facing allegations of terrorism.

They are alleged to have conspired with Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and others to seize power through an armed uprising by a "people's army".

Mr Maharaj, Sipiwe Nyanda (40), Raymond Lala (32), Catherine Mvelase (25), Susanna Tshabalala (30), Dipak Patel (26), Pravin Jamnadas Gordhan (41) and Amnesh Munnessar Sankar (22) were greeted with shouts and clenched-fist salutes from the public gallery.

The noisy spectators were rebuked by the magistrate, Mr TD Reed.

Billy Nair, whose name appeared on the list of accused, was not present. Prosecutor P J Blomkamp said he had not yet been arrested.

According to the charge sheet, between July 1988 and July this year the eight conspired with Mr Slovo, Ronald (Ronnie) Kasrils and others to create a national underground network.

Recruiting

The network's task was recruitment, training, arming and leading a "people's army" or "revolutionary army". The "army" would be used to seize power from the Government in an armed insurrection.

The network, code-named "Vula", allegedly unlawfully transferred large amounts of money into the Republic to finance its activities and infiltration.

It is further alleged that they possessed large quantities of arms, ammunition, explosives, detonators and other equipment. They had smuggled these arms into the country and planned to smuggle in more.

Of the 15 houses they had acquired, 10 were in Durban and surrounding areas and five in the Johannesburg area. They also bought 10 cars, some of which were modified so that arms could be hidden in the petrol tanks.

Mr Z Yacoob, appearing for all the accused, said it was intended that a bail application be brought.

Mr Yacoob added that all the accused were members of the ANC and regarded it as the organisation to which they gave their loyalty.

All the accused claimed to have been assaulted in some way or other while in police custody. There were allegedly assaults, suffocations and interrogations for long periods without rest.

It was agreed that all eight should be remanded to Friday for a bail application.



My daddy . . . a child reaches up to her father as relatives cling to him after he ar

Babies' deaths: inquest to be held

Medical Reporter

An inquest into the death of babies from klebsiella septicaemia at Johannesburg private clinics — in which Sabax intravenous drips have been implicated — is to be held, the Department of Justice confirmed today.

The Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing, Sam de Beer, responsi-

ble for private clinics, said in a statement late last week that he would ask Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee to appoint a judge to head inquiries into the deaths of the babies in terms of the Inquests Act.

Mr de Beer said that in the interim, "all relevant documentation" was to be submitted to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand.

The announcement of an inquest comes despite calls for a commission of inquiry into the matter to clear up how contaminated drips could have been administered to babies.

Sabax said last Friday that the source of the contaminants had not yet been established.

© Sabax unit closed — Page 2.



Beauty packs a punch . . . Katya Malova (23), an employee in the information department of the KGB in Moscow, became Miss KGB after winning a competition which included shooting, karate, cooking and dancing.

Picture: Reuter.

SPECIAL

NO DISCOUNT

for 30/10/90 (11A)

FW yes to FIDA

President F W de Klerk has given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the upcoming negotiation process. FIDA president John Gototya made the announcement after meeting Mr de Klerk yesterday.

Spec 30/10/90 (11A)

Institutions must play social role, says ANC

By Duma Gqubule

Under an ANC government, financial and banking institutions would be required to invest a proportion of their assets in social investments, ANC economist Vella Pillay said yesterday.

He said at an Islamic Bank workshop on the role of banking in the new South Africa that financial markets had become veritable casinos where the trade in "money" had tended to replace the financial system's function as an efficient conduit for the investment of savings in productive activity.

Mr Pillay said an ANC government and its central bank would seek powers to enforce the direction of credit and its deployment in the national economy.

"Steps may need to be taken for a renewal of interest rate controls and the allocation of credit to preferred sectors such as housing and to secure re-

latively cheap sources of deficit financing for the democratic state," he said.

However, the special economic adviser to the Ministry of Finance, Dr Japie Jacobs, told the workshop it was a fallacy to contend that the capital market did not sufficiently direct savings into productive activity.

"There is no reason why I should share in the patent ignorance of the ANC about the functions and functioning of financial markets," he said.

Mr Jacobs said that while the authorities had to provide the basic legal framework within which the various categories of institutions operated, the evolution and development of financial institutions should best be left to market forces.

Mr Jacobs said SA was overbanked and that some mergers of deposit-taking institutions could be expected after they started operating under the Deposit-Taking Financial Institutions Act, 1990.

Stok 30/10/90



Naledi wounded tell of night of death

By Thabo Leshilo

Victims of Sunday night's shooting in Naledi, where 16 people were killed and at least 33 injured when alleged Inkatha hitmen fired indiscriminately at residents, yesterday described their experience from their hospital beds.

The victims claim the attack was to avenge an Inkatha member killed at Naledi Station en route to the organisation's protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Vincent Adams (25) of Protea North said he was at a "stokvel" (party) in Naledi when the attackers pounced.

"We were enjoying ourselves when we heard the sound of gunfire.

"The house was immediately surrounded by strange men who

opened fire, stabbed and hacked patrons without saying a word."

Mr Adams was first shot in the thigh, then in the back while he was lying on the ground.

Rethabile Lekhanya (17), a Std 7 pupil at Thomas-Mofolo Secondary School, said he was returning from buying more beers with a man known only as "Mjita", at whose home the party was being held, when they were both shot.

Firecrackers

He said that as they approached the house a car flicked its lights at them.

"We saw four men approach our car. I then heard 'pha, pha, pha' (the sound of gunfire). I felt a bullet tear my stomach. Another bullet hit me in the upper arm."

They drove to the Jabulani Fire Station where an ambulance took them to hospital. "Mjita" died on the way.

A mother of two, Pinki Mahlangu (34) from KwaThema, Springs, said she had accompanied friends from a "stokvel" in KwaThema to Naledi.

While waiting at the minibus after dropping off a friend at his home she heard what she thought were firecrackers.

She said that she saw a yellow Ford Sierra, which was parked behind their minibus, leave the scene with its lights off.

The occupants, allegedly white men wearing balaclavas, then shot at them, killing four and injuring eight.

She said the exposed arm of one man showed that he was white.

Star 30/10/90



Murder sparks wave of killings

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

Sixteen people were shot dead and at least 33 seriously injured in what appears to have been a spate of revenge attacks following the murder of an Inkatha supporter in Soweto at the weekend.

In one of the worst attacks, six men died in a hail of bullets on Sunday night when unidentified gunmen fired at them as they walked through a section of Naledi, Soweto, which borders the Merafe Hostel area.

Naledi residents said the attack came after Inkatha members from the hostel had threatened to kill 100 residents for each Inkatha member killed by Soweto residents.

Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade Transvaal chairman Themba Khoza yesterday appealed to Inkatha members not to carry out revenge attacks.

The Naledi attack and a series of separate shooting incidents follow the death of an Inkatha supporter who was

chopped and stabbed to death at Merafe Station just before 9 am on Saturday while waiting for a train to take him to an Inkatha rally in Johannesburg.

An ANC rally was held at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto on the same day.

In an attack at Orlando Station, a man narrowly escaped death when a crew aboard a police helicopter spotted him being set upon.

The man's attackers fled when police circled the area.

In another incident a short while later, a patrolling police unit saw a man being attacked near Nancefield. They went to his assistance and the attackers fled. He sustained serious stab wounds, police said.

In several other incidents in Naledi, five more people were killed, another five were declared dead on arrival at Baragwanath Hospital and at least 33 suffered bullet wounds when they were shot at by unknown assailants.

Soweto police said the attackers seemed to have shot at anything that moved. A minibus driver was driving in the area when he heard shots. He looked at his passengers and

found one shot dead and the other injured.

Major-General Johan Swart, Regional Commissioner of the Soweto police, said the SAP had launched an immediate plan of action to bring the attackers to justice.

"We sympathise with the relatives of the deceased and injured, and appeal to all residents of Soweto not to take the law into their own hands. Give the police a chance to solve this case," the general said.

He asked anyone with any information about the killings to telephone Soweto's murder and robbery squad on (011) 980-8104.

● Sapa reports that police have arrested a 20-year-old man, alleged to be a member of the ANC Youth League, in connection with the death of the Inkatha supporter at Merafe Station.

A spokesman for the newly launched ANC Youth League, Parks Mankahlana, said it was ridiculous to claim that the arrested youth was a member of the league because it had not registered any members, except "a few people" who would be responsible for the league's registration campaign.

Star 30/10/90

**Struggle will
continue,**

11A

warns PAC**By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff**

The Government's continued rejection of a constituent assembly left the PAC with no option but to intensify the struggle against apartheid, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander warned yesterday.

Speaking at a memorial service for PAC president Zephania Mothopeng at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg, Mr Alexander said the PAC was not opposed to negotiations taking place within the context of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

However, the Government continued to reject this notion.

Mr Alexander was referring to a revelation earlier on by the Rev Peter Storey of the Methodist Church that Mr Mothopeng had stated that the PAC was not against negotiations but would impose conditions.

Azanian National Youth Unity general secretary Carter Seleka said at the service that Mr Mothopeng would be remembered for his statesmanship.

● A number of memorial services for Mr Mothopeng will be held this week, The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports.

The service at Mothutlong near Brits will be held at the Rev Malefatlho's Gereformeerde Kerk at 6.30 pm tonight.

The Atteridgeville service is to be held at the Rev Brander's church in Ramushu Street.

A service will also be held at the Mamelodi West community centre tomorrow at 6.30 pm.

The 78-year-old leader will be buried on Saturday.

Bop police break up ANC meeting

SDW/pen
30/10/90
(11)

POLICE in Bophuthatswana broke up an ANC meeting in Thaba Nchu at the weekend and detained a member, the southern Free State branch of the organisation claimed yesterday.

The incident is apparently the latest in a series of actions by Bophuthatswana police against ANC activities since the movement declared itself legal in the homeland.

Bophuthatswana police could not immediately be reached for comment yesterday.

Branch chairman Mr Moeti Mokotedi was detained at the meeting but police later released him without being charged, the branch said in a statement.

Church

Shortly after the meeting had started police, armed with sub-machineguns, teargas canisters and sjamboks, "stormed" the church premises where it was being held, it claimed.

Police ordered the

crowd to disperse, declaring the meeting illegal under emergency rule which has been enforced in the territory since early this year.

The meeting had been called to "strategise" a stayaway planned for November 12.

The ANC branch, in reaction to the police action, said: "We view the harassment of our members in a very serious light and will steadfastly resist intimidation by Mangope's police." - Sapa.

Capt Tm 30/6/90
Azapo slams negotiations *119*

JOHANNESBURG. — A recently launched branch of Azapo here yesterday said its immediate task was to "expose the sham of negotiations" to its constituents.

on instructions and on behalf of Maree, who was in turn acting on

possession and a false SA identity document.

Further argument was postponed until next Monday.

ANC must cut its ties with communism, says De Beer

B. Paal 30/10/90
DP LEADER Zach de Beer suggested last night that the ANC cut its ties with the SACP and stop adhering to socialism as necessary steps towards forming a moderate, centrist government with the NP.

De Beer told a meeting in Queens-town that the sort of government needed to ensure political stability and foreign investment could not be formed without a coalition consisting of elements of the ANC and NP.

"The gap between the Nats and the ANC is not as wide as some people

11A
PETER DELMAR

have been suggesting. What is needed is for the ANC to cut their links with the Communist Party and abandon socialism as their economic policy and for the NP to dump its remaining apartheid policies," he said.

De Beer urged local DP leaders to make contact with the ANC and NP, adding that regular and constructive contact was taking place at leadership level.

Speaking in King William's Town

earlier yesterday, De Beer said he did not think an interim government at either national or regional level would be either feasible or practical.

"They would have no constitutional basis and no clear authority.

"Even the present structures, bad as they are, are better management units than interim government would be," he said.

He added, however, that every organ of government at every level should start urgent consultations with representatives of the majority

Secret force trying to derail talks, says Slovo

11A
Soweto
30/10/90

STRONG forces within the Government were doing everything possible to turn the clock back, South African Community Party general secretary and ANC NEC member Mr Joe Slovo said at the weekend.

Slovo was addressing about 20 000 people during the relaunch of the ANC Youth League at Orlando Stadium, Soweto.

"They want to separate the ANC from its people and their struggle. They want to divide the ANC into 'doves' and 'hawks', but they must know that there is only one ANC which consists of the eagles of liberation."

He said: "If the point is reached when there is no peaceful way forward we will know what to do."

"President de Klerk's honesty is not the only question because he is not the only one in power. Magnus Malan is also in power and we're convinced that he has his own agenda. Vlok is in power too."

He said there were people involved in death squads who occupied positions of power.

By **BRIAN SOKUTU**

"Our concessions like the suspension of armed action are often misinterpreted as a sign of weakness rather than a commitment to peace. Hardly a day passes without some Government Minister accusing us of doing things which endanger the peace process."

Peace

"They forget that it was the ANC which initiated the Harare Declaration which made the peace process possible. It was the ANC which put the talks on track after the Sebokeng massacre."

"It was the ANC which moved to break the logjam during the talks by suspending the armed struggle even before it was required to do so."

Slovo said some people like Mac Maharaj,

who had worked for a breakthrough for peace, had been rewarded with imprisonment.



mk

Mr De Klerk 30/10/90

Fida: Go-ahead for talks

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk has given the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance the go-ahead to participate in the upcoming negotiation process, Fida president Mr John Gogotya said yesterday.

Eleven members of Fida's national executive committee met Mr De Klerk at the Union Buildings to discuss Fida's participation in the negotiation process. The formation of ad hoc discussion groups between Fida and the government on such issues as security and local government was also discussed.

Mr Gogotya said after the meeting

that Mr De Klerk's response to the question of Fida participating in the negotiation process had been "no problem".

He added that Fida had a "feeder membership" of 400 000 to 600 000.

Mr Gogotya said Fida was prepared to negotiate with the African National Congress, but at this stage not prepared to form an alliance with the National Party because it still considered the party oppressive.

Fida said in a statement yesterday that it advocates the right to private economic initiative, the right to private property and to "one's own rewards". — Saba

Japan turns down ANC's \$25m request

TOKYO — Japan has rejected ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's plea for a \$25m donation to the ANC, saying it prefers to aid grassroots groups working for better living standards for blacks.

Mandela, who met Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and leading politicians, said the ANC wanted the money to help 20 000 exiles due to return to SA, AP-DJ reports.

Kaifu told Mandela during their 50-minute meeting that Japan was unable to grant the aid because its policy precluded it from assisting political parties.

Instead, Kaifu said funds would be offered to grassroots groups working to improve living and educational conditions in SA. Blacks would also be eligible to go to Japan for job training under UN auspices.

Mandela told Kaifu he was disappointed and he hoped to convince the leadership of the governing Liberal Democratic Party that the ANC had a special status.

Kaifu said Japan had given \$1,4m worth of assistance this year to SA blacks, Kyodo News Service reported.

The Daily Telegraph reports that Japan was hedging its bets by promising financial support for the anti-apartheid movement, while at the same time preparing to relax economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Tokyo is moving towards resuming economic ties with Pretoria which were suspended in line with a UN resolution.

Before meeting Kaifu, Mandela had repeated his request for \$25m at least three times during the day in other talks.

PETER DELMAR reports that Mandela has so far received at least R37m in donations from the Indian and Indonesian governments. Of this R25m was received from the Indonesian government.

It is not known whether the governments of Australia and Brunei, which Mandela visited in the past week, gave any money, or if any private donations were made.

In Brunei, Mandela met the sultan of the oil-rich state, who is generally regarded as the world's richest man with a personal fortune of \$25bn.

Earlier this month an ANC spokesman said the programme to repatriate 20 000 of its exiles was expected to cost R270m.

Call for code to control police

THE African National Congress has called for a code of conduct for the police acceptable to the community and the immediate suspension and charging of policemen implicated in violence.

In a statement yesterday the organisation expressed concern at the escalating violence on the Reef. *Sowetan 31/10/90*

It "condemned the wanton acts of terror in Naledi, Soweto, which resulted in 16 people being killed and 33 wounded" on Sunday.

"Speculation that these are 'revenge killings' will only add fuel to the flames," the statement said.

The ANC said it was concerned that no arrests had been made.

It urged people not to be provoked to fight and appealed for peace. -
Sapa.

NEWS

Star 31/10/90

11A

'Vula' accused must stay at prison hospital, court rules

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The request by counsel for two ANC members, allegedly involved in Operation Vula, to be detained at St Aidan's Hospital rather than a prison hospital was refused by magistrate Mr TD Reed in the Durban Regional Court yesterday.

ZM Yacoob asked the court on Monday whether ANC executive committee member, Sathindranath "Mac" Maharaj, and Amnesh Munnessar Sankar might be remanded to St

Aidan's Hospital and not to the prison hospital.

A decision was not, however, reached on Monday afternoon and Mr Maharaj and Mr Sankar spent the night at the Westville prison hospital.

Addressing Mr Reed, Mr Yacoob said that when the two got to the hospital on Monday, everything was in an "absolute mess" with no medicine and no medical personnel.

"There were simply no facilities at all," he said.

He said there was no objection to Mr Maharaj and Mr Sankar being detained at the prison hospital, but an order that they

first be taken to St Aidan's so that their medical files and personal belongings could be moved was sought.

Their doctors were prepared to treat them at the prison hospital, Mr Yacoob said.

Objecting to Mr Yacoob's request, PJ Blomkamp, for the State, said these matters were administrative ones which could be dealt with by the police and prison authorities.

He said Mr Reed did not have the power to order Mr Maharaj and Mr Sankar detained at St Aidan's Hospital.

Mr Yacoob said all he had

asked was that Mr Reed grant the request in the interest of ensuring that the two were morally, physically and spiritually able to stand trial. He said it seemed Mr Blomkamp was "absolutely reluctant" to try to resolve the matter in terms of "practicality and common-sense".

Giving judgment, Mr Reed said the legislature had not given the court any special powers. He believed the court had no power to make the order requested and could merely request the prison authorities to treat the matter as amicably as possible.

No go for Gucci's grandson

Star 31/10/90

Services today ^{11A}

for PAC leader

Political Staff

Memorial services for Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president Zephania Mothopeng were due to be held at various venues today and tomorrow, PAC organisers have announced.

Mr Mothopeng, who died of lung cancer at the age of 77 at Johannesburg Hospital last week, will be buried at the Avalon Cemetery in Soweto on Saturday.

Today's and tomorrow's memorial services follow a major service held at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on Monday, at which church leaders such as Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Father Dale White and the Reverend Peter Storey paid tribute to the

PAC leader.

Today's services are being held at Holy Cross Church in Orlando West, Soweto (6 pm); United Methodist Church, Thabong (6 pm); London Church, Kagiso (8 pm); NGK, Wattville (6 pm); KwaNobuhle Hall, Alexandra (7 pm); Soshanguve Hall, Soshanguve (6 pm); and Mamelodi Hall (6 pm).

Two other memorial services, one at the University of the North (Turfloop) and the other at the Lionel Kent Hall in Daveyton, Benoni, will be held at 7 pm.

The services have been organised by local Pan Africanist Congress branches.

PAC leaders will speak at a number of them.

Mokaba seen as ANC's man of tomorrow

BIDAY 31/10/90

PETER DELMAR

11A

AT THE age of only 31, Peter Mokaba, has emerged as one of the ANC's most important and powerful leaders.

Formerly SA Youth Congress (Sayco) president, Mokaba became the ANC Youth League's provisional chairman at its relaunch last weekend. The now defunct Sayco claimed a 1.5-million strong membership and Mokaba believes the Youth League can triple that.

He says that as in most Third World countries, the youth makes up more than half of SA's population. And in an organisation like the ANC, the politically aware youth are certain to dominate, at least numerically.

Mokaba believes that elections for a constituent assembly are "not very far away". For this reason the league is going all out to enrol members.

The league's head office is staffed by 25 full-time workers, some of them working on the basis that they will be paid sometime in the future.

There are also plans to establish offices in the ANC's 14 regions.

Mokaba agrees that the youth could "influence ANC policy decisively".

Those in the 18 to 35-year-old category are angrier and more militant than their parents and they want to see results "not today, but yesterday", he says.

It is tempting to portray Mokaba as a latter-day Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo — the men who launched the Youth League in the 1950s and spurred it towards greater militancy.



● MOKABA

Mokaba left the country in 1980 to undergo Umkhonto we Sizwe training. He served time on Robben Island and hit the headlines in August when a speech, in which he urged the struggle to be taken into white areas, was incorrectly attributed by some newspapers to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

While the impatience and expectations of younger members would spur the ANC leadership to "produce the goods" as they negotiated with government, Mokaba ruled out a league-led rebellion against negotiations.

"What the youth is saying is that we should not allow the government to legitimise itself through the negotiation process," he said.

"We are fighting for an interim government and we are fighting for a constituent assembly. These demands must be backed up by mass action on a wide front."

ANC appeals to Japan

TOKYO - Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Japan's Parliament to increase its support for the movement against apartheid, including help for easing poverty among blacks.

Mandela received a

standing ovation as he walked into the chamber, and said he was honoured by the unusual chance for a foreign non-government leader to address Japan's Parliament.

Mandela (72) did not refer directly to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's rejection on Monday of

his request for 25 million US dollars in aid for his African National Congress.

However Kaifu promised to aid non-political grass-roots groups.

In his 15 minute speech, Mandela called the lifting of the state of emergency and other

recent reforms in South Africa a "cause for optimism and encouragement."

But he said the ANC was handicapped in trying to achieve a complete end to apartheid by its lack of resources, and asked Japan's government and people for their "concrete

support."

"We need to discharge this responsibility but can only do so if we have the appropriate resources," he said.

Sowetan 3/10/90

ANC social welfare wing rents offices

THE ANC's social welfare department has taken about 300m² of office space in Southern Life Centre in Johannesburg, Anglo American Property Services (Ampros) Johannesburg office leasing manager John Maynard says.

The lease was signed at "a market-related rental". ^{11A} 610th 31/10/90

Other property brokers in Johannesburg confirmed the ANC was looking for accommodation.

They were, however, unable to say how

much space was being sought or whether the ANC was to buy or to rent offices.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC had been discussing its office accommodation needs for some time but had not reached a conclusion yet.

On whether they intended to buy or to rent space, Kathrada said: "We don't know what will be offered to us."

The ANC also did not yet know how much space it would be needing.

At present the ANC's main office is in Sauer Street.

Mandela slams Japanese snub

CAPE TOWN 31/10/90 (11A) (10)

TOKYO. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday voiced strong dissatisfaction with Japan's refusal to offer financial help to the ANC.

Mr Mandela told a press conference that Nigeria had provided \$5 million (about R13m) to the organisation. He compared this disparagingly with the \$1.8m (about R4.7m) in total grants from the Japanese government.

Mr Mandela had asked Japanese Prime Minister Mr Toshiki Kaifu for \$25m (about R65m) to help resettle South Africans returning from exile, as well as political prisoners.

But Mr Kaifu shied away from committing Japan to giving direct financial support to a foreign political organisation. He said Japan would provide aid to grassroots South African groups.

Japanese business leaders were also tapped for financial aid when Mr Mandela called on the Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organisations).

Keidanren officials said that £300 000 (about R1.5m) had been donated to non-white private firms and other projects. — Daily Telegraph and Sapa-AP

Sithole released in 'Vula' case

(11A)

Own Correspondent and Sapa

CAPL TIPS 31/10/90

PRETORIA. — ANC member Mr Jabulani Sithole, an accused in the "Operation Vula" trial, has been released without charges.

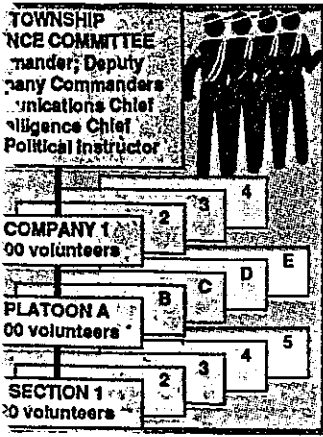
He was released on Monday from the Pretoria Central Prison less than an hour before nine of his fellow detainees appeared in the Durban Regional Court.

At the hearing in Durban on Monday, a request by counsel for two ANC members allegedly involved in an alleged plot to overthrow the South African government to be detained at St Aidan's Hospital rather than a prison hospital was refused by magistrate Mr T D Reed.

Mr Z M Yacoob had asked if ANC executive committee member Mr Sathyndranath "Mac" Maharaj and Mr Amnesh Munnessar Sankar might be sent back to St Aidan's Hospital and not to the Westville prison hospital, "where there were simply no facilities at all".

Mr Reed said the legislature had not given the court any special powers to meet such a request.

All eight accused were remanded until Friday, when a bail application will begin.



Communist Party planning township self-defence units

ALAN FINE

THE SA Communist Party has published a detailed plan for the creation of township self-defence units designed "to protect the community and to ensure law and order".

A key section of the proposal yet to be finalised is the question of arming members of these units.

SACP interim leadership group member Chris Dlamini said yesterday he believed this issue had been raised at discussions of the government/ANC working group addressing questions arising from the ANC undertaking to suspend armed actions.

Dlamini said the plan, aspects of which were published in the latest edition of the

party's newsletter, Umsebenzi, represented the SACP's contribution to a debate on the subject being discussed in all sections of the MDM — including the ANC, its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), youth groups and the trade unions.

The proposal argues that recent violence against township residents makes an "organised and disciplined force, guided by political leadership", a necessity.

The SACP argues its proposals are not out of line with SA practice generally.

Government permits Inkatha members

to carry "cultural" weapons, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok "tells the AWB with its military camps that there is nothing wrong with self-protection provided the commandos do not attack anyone . . . We do not intend to attack anyone."

The article details an example of a proposed structure for a township self-defence unit organised along para-military lines (see diagram). It also diagrammatically outlines the way different sections of a unit would be responsible for defending particular streets.

It envisages people with military skills, "such as MK ex-prisoners or reliable ex-

policemen", playing a key role. The proposal urges members of the MDM alliance to discuss their ideas with their communities to gain their acceptance before self-defence committees are established.

Regarding the arming of volunteers, Dlamini said there was a debate within the SACP over whether the units should apply to the police for ordinary firearm licenses, or whether it should be demanded that government permit the use of MK weapons.

"Government's interpretation of the

□ To Page 2

Self-defence

Pretoria Minute is that MK people should be disarmed. But some of us argue that this does not fall within the ambit of the agreement. We say only when a ceasefire is declared should both sides be disarmed," Dlamini explained.

He said this point was being discussed in the working group where the ANC delegation was led by MK and SACP leader Chris Hani.

The proposal stresses that unit members should be carefully selected volunteers. "Criminals and other unreliable elements" should be excluded and other potential recruits screened and checked by street committees to prevent infiltration by spies.

Recruits would have to undergo physical training, receive education on their role, and be trained to understand the needs of discipline.

□ From Page 1

Transkei the catalyst' - Holomisa



Major-General Bantu Holomisa

TRANSKEI, arguably the most significant of the independent homeland states born of the now abandoned Verwoerdian ideology of separate development, is bound to have an important bearing on who ultimately runs the new South Africa.

The first to get independence from Nationalist South Africa, Transkei could be first be re-incorporated into the fold from which it was constitutionally excised in 1976.

Perhaps what makes this country so significant now is the very assertion of independence by its present soldier ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa. He took command in a swift, bloodless coup on December 30 1987 and has held sway — formidably, though not tyrannically, diplomats say — ever since.

These reports, the first of a two-part series by Political Correspondent of The Argus MICHAEL MORRIS who visited Umtata last week, are based on interviews with General Holomisa, South Africa's ambassador to Transkei, Mr Gert Terblanche and others. Tomorrow's reports will take a broader view of Transkei and the people who live there.

ONLY days after the fall of President Stella Sigcau in a bloodless coup at the end of December 1987, a diplomat found the new young ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, behind the presidential desk, virtually concealed by heaps of files.

The 32-year-old South African-trained soldier and son of a chief was personally, and literally, immersing himself in the affairs of state.

Since then he has displayed a keenness to act on his political vision and a remarkable penchant for giving South Africa stick.

He believes in "government of limited overs" — swift decision-making and swift implementation.

His style is that of the commander rather than the politician. But while he eschews political ambition, he plays a role that is at the very heart of the power politics of the negotiation era.

Will he, as many believe, maintain military rule and deliver Transkei as an ANC bloc to a new unitary South Africa? Some diplomats believe this is his mission, specifically at the behest of the ANC, and they find it hard to accept his protestations to the contrary.

The wood-panelled Presidential suite General Holomisa now occupies is on the 11th floor of the Botha Sigcau building, the main government complex in Umtata's Leeds Road. We sat at a large round conference table.

Dressed in a light suit, with a white shirt and paisley tie, he appeared thoughtful and relaxed, delivering his judgments briskly and confidently and occasionally slapping the underside of the table to emphasise a point. He rather than I decided, courteously but firmly, when the interview was over. He spoke for two hours.

At 35, General Holomisa heads a country of some 2-million people by virtue of his and his fellow officers' sense of what was right. The coup they mounted to end what is thought of as the Matanzima era was "just an honest exercise that came purely from us".

'Had to act'

He dismisses speculation that it was inspired either by South Africa or the ANC.

"The reason both sides respect us is because we did it ourselves. We had to act. The corruption was intolerable."

The drive against corruption, which continues, has resulted in scores of successful court actions. Only when this process of cleaning up the administration ends, he says, will he and his Military Council "go back to barracks".

But there is more to the task he has set himself. His liberalisation of the economy has brought with it a capital

boost. There is more confidence among businessmen and investors. He has liberalised labour law and lifted the shackles on political activity. Security law has also been amended.

After a kind of "tyranny", as one Transkeian put it, "everything changed when Holomisa came to power".

For a man in his position, he is uncannily accessible to journalists: he can be reached on the telephone most times. He is reputed to be equally accessible to his subjects and it is meeting their needs that he counts as his highest priority.

One diplomat said he was "keen to be popular," but also that he was "formidable, intelligent and knows what's going on".

The General himself believes military rule has brought a significant measure of political and economic stability to Transkei.

Catalyst

"People knew we had direction and were not just pushing panic buttons. We have done a lot and the onus is now on the people, on the organisations themselves, to pursue their activities.

"We see ourselves as a facilitator in the political process. We'll offer protection, we'll help where we can, whether it's the ANC or the PAC. Transkei has been a catalyst in the unfolding political drama and South Africa could take a leaf from our book. This government is not a political party with a hidden agenda. We must consult broadly because after all nobody knows who is going to win in the end and nobody knows what attitude they will have towards us.

"It is also vital that we are not seen as pawns, to be used against our people."

Indeed, General Holomisa's determination not to be seen as a pawn of South Africa — as his predecessors often

were — seems to have stripped his criticism of Pretoria of any reserve it may otherwise have had.

"I am fully behind the peace process," he insists, but nevertheless doubts the South African government's sincerity.

"I am not a political scientist, just a military man, but I can make appreciations. And it seems to me the National Party government is more interested in international acceptance than making sure people are happy at home. We have not yet tasted freedom.

"The fact that the govern-

"We see ourselves as a facilitator in the political process. We'll offer protection, we'll help where we can, whether it's the ANC or the PAC. Transkei has been a catalyst in the unfolding political drama and South Africa could take a leaf from our book."

ment has not appointed a judicial inquiry into the violence and who is causing it is a problem. For us to trust them, they must listen to the demands of the people. They can shelve it now, but I am telling you that the day when Holomisa and others come nearer to having a say, this commission of inquiry will be held and we will find out the truth."

Highlighting the absence of the South African Defence Force from the negotiation process, he argues that as long violence is treated as what he describes as "merely a law and order exercise" there will be no faith in the process.

"The army must be there. They are the ones with the influence in government and without them there will be no trust in the process."

Leaning forward emphatically, General Holomisa

adds: "If FW were to win Holomisa's heart he would announce the scrapping of the Population Registration Act and set a date for the first elections for all people. I am not interested in this exercise of promoting reform overseas. Elections are overdue. They can set a date. Even if it's three or four years away, but at least it will be a definite date. Then the parties can look at options, discuss future arrangements. Then Holomisa will be convinced, and there will be confidence in the country.

"The whole point is that our freedom as oppressed

General says, "a military man, a straight-talker. I like that in him."

But an ANC man he says he is not.

"No, I am not a card-carrying member of any party," the General says.

"I would say that 80 or 90 percent of the things in life that refer to me as a black man appear in the consciousness of many ANC people. There are areas of common interest among us as oppressed people and I think the ANC has come nearer to the homelands as a result of our initiatives. We have good rapport with the PAC and we wish to maintain that, but their position remains one of non-collaboration."

It is a quality of the fluid times South Africa is now living through that the politics is laced with imponderables.

One of these could possibly concern the ambitions of the young General in Umtata. Just how ambitious is he?

Not welcome

"Politically, not at all. I would be frustrated with civilian government. It is too slow. I am a military man and I would go back to the army. I would not want to decorate myself without doing some more courses."

He laughs mischievously: "Maybe with my experience of toppling governments I wouldn't be welcome in the army of the new South Africa ... perhaps I could make a good mercenary elsewhere."

"But, no. Look, if it wasn't the army, I'd go back to sport."

General Holomisa is a football patron in Transkei and has coached sports teams in the past.

"Football's my favourite, but I know rugby and cricket too."

He grins a touch slyly: "I can tell you all about googlies and yorkers."

11A

Transkei spending too much money

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FROM a lush "campus" outside Umtata, South Africa's diplomats in Transkei overlook a lake and a distant hill dotted with huts and cattle and patched with small fields.

Campus, not compound, is what they call this home from home and it is as secure a piece of South Africa as you could get.

Apart from the barbed perimeter fence and the usual scanning equipment at the security gate, the embassy building itself is protected by the toughest looking burglar bars I have ever seen and the main front door has a solid bolt of at least a metre and half long. The place looked fit for a siege.

In fact, ambassador Mr Gert Pretorius de la Rose Terblanche, former journalist and National Party MP Bloemfontein North, is all for making the embassy more accessible to Transkeians and he candidly acknowledges that three quarters of his time is spent on aiding and promoting development in Transkei itself.

He has jokingly suggested putting up a sign at the entrance to the embassy saying: "Welcome all Transkeians — we are here to serve you."

Trite it may seem, but Mr Terblanche has had to work hard at maintaining sound relations with a military regime that has been stridently independent of the Pretoria-centric wisdom that generally pervades *bantustan* politics.

'Good friend'

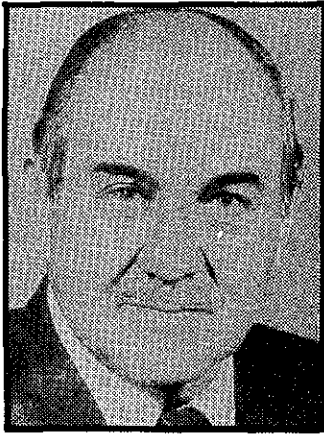
First secretary on the political desk, Mr Hekkie Roux, whose last posting was in Brazil, says the Umtata beat is an interesting and unusual one and worth it for that.

Clearly, a certain sensitivity is required in dealing with a young nation that at one and same time seems to assert its independence quite as much as it disclaims it.

Mr Terblanche counts the head of the Military Council Major-General Bantu Holomisa as a "good friend". Indeed, the General's fellow governors, he says, "are all my good friends" and he says relations between the embassy and the Umtata administration "have always been very good".

Developing the Transkei is a natural priority for the embassy of the parent state. Mr Terblanche has 12 top officials from Pretoria on his staff and a number of local personnel.

A junior among Foreign Affairs' legations, the *raison d'etre* of this outpost is nev-



Gert Terblanche

ertheless probably more important than others that are more genuinely foreign.

"If Transkei prospers, and if there's stability in Transkei, then that is good for South Africa," Mr Terblanche smiles. "So we're not sitting here twiddling our thumbs."

With due delicacy, he declines comment on touchier matters, of which there have been several since General Holomisa's ascendance in December 1987.

South Africa has expressed strong reservations about a referendum to test the views of Transkeians on reincorporation into South Africa. High government spending in Umtata has been criticised from Pretoria. There have also been allegations that Umtata has contravened Customs Union agreements. General Holomisa has fired back, accusing South Africa of undue interference, including Ministerial requests to drop court action in alleged corruption cases.

From South Africa's point of view, General Holomisa's most pressing claim is probably that the parent state has not given Transkei enough money over the years.

The General has claimed that Transkei has been "running on an overdraft from day one".

Diplomats say the problem frankly is that the military government in Transkei is spending too much money and that South Africa simply doesn't have the resources to sustain the spree.

Ambassador Terblanche, however, is careful not to stoke the embers.

He has got to know General Holomisa well since the coup three years ago and recognises him as a formidable leader with whom it is clearly in South Africa's interests to maintain sound relations.

For as long as nobody knows where Transkei will fit into the future constitutional format once negotiations are done, nurturing diplomatic equilibrium alone is a vital mission.

ANC papering over the cracks

DURBAN — Mounting tension between different left-wing factions within the ANC were partially responsible for the postponement of the organisation's annual national conference scheduled for December — and could result in an eventual split in the ANC.

However, ANC sources said last night that they hoped a split would not happen as they believed the majority of "splinter groups" would "see

sense" and work for unity of the Left within the ANC.

The national conference was postponed after pressure from ANC members both in South Africa and abroad who feared that several high officials would keep their positions "undemocratically".

An ANC official said there were many different factions within the ANC, such as the pro-socialism Marxist Workers' Tendency grouping, which was creating rising tension in the organisation.

"The recent campaign against

Militant Left problems could build up to a split

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

Winnie Mandela's social welfare appointment in the ANC came from a very Left faction in the ANC," he said. "All these splinter leftwing groupings, and also the Cosatu members who in general are more socialism-oriented than

some other members, could form some kind of labour party.

"However, at the moment these people realise that politically they won't get anywhere if they are just small groupings by themselves.

ANC sources said it was well-known in political circles that the last time a leftwing party made it into power anywhere in the world was in 1973, and thus people who differed in principle from the ANC "know it would be foolish for them to try to start a new party now".

The question of who will wield power in the ANC when it hammers out a final deal with the National Party Government during negotiations has been a major factor behind the recent confusion about the organisation's congress.

The ANC's decision to postpone its conference means that full-scale constitutional negotiations are likely to start before there is an opportunity to elect a new leadership.

The London-based journal Front File claimed in its latest edition that the positions of general secretary Alfred Nzo, treasurer general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise were going to be vulnerable if the conference was postponed until the ANC exiles returned.

● See Page 9.

CISSIE Gool was born in 1900 and grew up in the vibrant and colourful community of District Six where she was initiated into politics by her father, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman.

Although she married Dr AH Gool and had three children, Cissie's insatiable quest for knowledge led her to attend the University of Cape Town.

Her undaunting will eventually paid dividends: in 1933 she became the first black woman to graduate from UCT with a Master's degree in psychology. Although this would hardly merit a raised eyebrow today, at that time it was an outstanding achievement for a black woman.

Notwithstanding her tenacity and determination, Cissie was able to achieve this feat because of her privileged background: attending university is a luxury afforded usually to the wealthier in society. Had she come from the poorer classes, with all her intellectual wit and clarity, she would hardly have emerged a graduate.

But Cissie was a woman born before her time. She stated that it was impossible for her to be a mother and housewife only; she felt the two roles kept women in bondage.

Political awareness

This understanding of herself as a person within her own right, together with her political awareness and clarity of vision, eventually began to define her role in society.

Cissie's launch into the public political arena set the scene for her inevitable clashes with the authorities. In 1930 she spoke publicly for the first time at an African Peoples' Organisation (APO) meeting, called to protest against the Women's Enfranchisement Bill which gave the common roll vote to white women only.

After the meeting Cissie led a march of several thousand on the Houses of Parliament, where the orderly procession was allowed inside.

Once inside, she expressed the group's objections to the Bill to the ministers involved and demanded to see the Prime Minister, General JB Hertzog. She believed that direct confrontation was the only effective strategy to rectify any type of injustice.

For her entire political career, Cissie's emotive and powerful speaking ability, wit and sharp tongue were exercised as tools for direct confrontation — a strategy she used on South Africa's political threshold.

Long before the National Party, and the grand architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, came into power, Cissie predicted that fascism was on the rise in South Africa. She believed that the only way the oppressed could ward off this onslaught would be to form a united opposition front.

First president

This belief in the unity of the oppressed as well as her action-oriented personality led her to form the National Liberation League (NLL) in 1936 with the help of James la Guma and John Gomas. At the inauguration she was elected its first president.

Shortly after the launch of the League, Cissie addressed a mass meeting organised by the Anti-Fascist League and National Liberation League to protest against the Native Representation Bill (only whites could represent blacks in Parliament), the Native Land and Trust Bill (where black ownership of land was confined to certain areas) and the Industrial Conciliation Act (whereby the government could intervene in strikes).

Two weeks later she again addressed more than 2 000 striking garment workers and demanded that IL Bach, one of the largest garment factories, drop charges against strikers.

As support for the NLL grew, political divisions began to appear among its members. Some thought it better to work within the system, while others felt change could only come by challenging the government from the outside.

Because Cissie's ideologies and methods were moderate, she resigned as president of the league, but continued to speak

The Joan of Arc of the oppressed

In South Africa in the 1930s, it was unheard of that a woman voiced her political opinions in public, let alone a black Muslim woman. But Cissie Gool defied all conventional norms and became a challenging voice in the wilderness. BEVERLEY MITCHELL reports.

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frequently at the league's weekly meetings which covered a wide range of topics.

Towards the end of 1936 Cissie's political position began to change. Her militancy and disparagement of working with the white government was now being tempered with a belief that greater gains could be accomplished by fighting from within the system.

But she continued to encourage workers to join or form unions, and still believed that unified organisation was a principal way to achieve success. The ideological splits in the league had convinced Cissie that a broad-based organisation was essential to fight for the "non-European's" rights.

Thus, in the early part of 1937, the Non-European United Front was formed, representing 45 organisations. The NLL organised a conference for the front at which Cissie was unanimously elected as president and conference chairperson.

But due to the changing nature of Cissie's emphasis — that of working within the system — she campaigned for a Cape Town city council seat in 1937. This was as a

result of District Six residents' dissatisfaction with their councillor, a Mr Picard.

The working class community of District Six backed Cissie in her campaign, and only a few leftist intellectuals within the front questioned and cautioned against Cissie's move into collaborationist politics.

Victorious

After a marathon fight, Cissie emerged victorious and firmly placed herself in the annals of South African history. Never before had a black woman ousted an incumbent white city councillor from his seat.

Although many in the council differed with her on her political views, she commanded the respect of many and became known as "The Jeanne d'Arc of the coloured people". She served as a councillor for District Six for more than 20 years.

She became a central figure in Cape Town's politics, specially as they affected the non-white community.

Although she was now a city councillor, and despite the disputes within the NLL,

Cissie rejoined the group and was re-elected president in 1939.

This precipitated a major split within the league: in late-1939

Cissie's brother-in-law, Dr GH Gool and La Guma broke away and later formed the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in the early 40s.

This grouping objected to Cissie's collaborationist tactics and adopted a principled policy of non-collaboration.

Throughout her career as city councillor and anti-segregationist activist, Cissie was never without the support of her community. In 1939 she led an anti-segregation campaign which culminated in more than 20 000 people marching in Cape Town.

She led the march from the back of a lorry and addressed the crowd near the Grand Parade where she directed people to follow her to the Houses of Parliament. Police brutality stopped the march and innocent bystanders were injured.

In the 1940s Cissie continued to cam-

paigned vociferously for the plight of the oppressed and exploited in her community and also became integral to the anti-Coloured Affairs Department campaign, a hotly-debated issue.

She also became involved in the India League with the passing of the Asiatic Act (the "Ghetto Bill") in 1946. This Act authorised the removal of Indian people from their established trading and residential areas. Mass meetings of protest were organised all over South Africa and Cissie travelled to Johannesburg to attend the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Upon her return, she organised a meeting, urging people to join the Passive Resistance Movement which had started in Natal. A Cape Passive Resistance Council was established and Cissie was elected vice-chairperson.

She announced her active support of the resisters, and was arrested and imprisoned as a passive resister in the Land Tenure Act protests.

While she served her compulsory six-month prison sentence, her youngest son died. Upon his death, Cissie had been in jail for two months, but was released on compassionate grounds.

Protest meetings

When the Separate Representation of Voters Bill was introduced by the Nationalist Party who had been voted into power in 1948, many demonstrations and protest meetings were held, at which Cissie frequently called for the Bill's abolition.

It was now illegal to hold meetings without official authorisation, but Cissie fought on regardless. She continued to address large crowds and on April 24 1948 was cautioned by the court and discharged.

In 1953 the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) was formed; Cissie was one of its most active participants. It had been formed in response to the government's tampering with the Common Voters Roll to remove the coloured vote, an action which caused widespread alarm, and saw the beginning of a unified anti-apartheid campaign.

In 1954 Cissie was detained under the Suppression of Communism Act and served with a banning order. In 1956 she received a six-month prison sentence because she publicly stated that the government "handled political prisoners brutally".

She was arrested by the Special Branch on the pretext that she was a member of the Congress of the People, a communist conspiracy according to Afrikaners.

After her release Cissie was imprisoned more than six times. Despite this, she still felt it was her duty to defend and uphold the cause of the underprivileged.

Solitary confinement

After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, anyone the government considered a trouble-maker was arrested; this included Cissie. Although she was nearly 62 years old, she was held in solitary confinement for more than a month, the only coloured woman to be detained at that time.

When rumours of the Group Areas Act began making the rounds in District Six, Cissie was still a city councillor and studying at UCT for her law degree.

In 1963, to a standing ovation in Jameson Hall at UCT, Cissie (who was now 63) had a LLB degree

conferred on her. She was admitted as an advocate, becoming the first woman to make a breakthrough into an all-male preserve.

While she was preparing for her first case which had put tremendous strain on her, Cissie suddenly fell ill one night. The next morning, Cissie Gool, champion of the oppressed, died.

Her death left a vacuum in District Six. She was the only woman to be accorded a funeral procession through the streets of Cape Town. Her funeral was the second, since her father's death in 1940, for which grief-stricken mourners flanked the route to the cemetery three miles away.

The mayor of Cape Town and council dignitaries, dressed in their ceremonial robes, were at the graveside to pay tribute to her. She was a woman who had proved beyond any doubt that she was totally committed to the struggle for social, political and economic justice for people living without the basic necessities of life.

He has, amongst other things, been labelled a hardliner within the ANC national executive committee who is trying to scupper the peace process, accused of not fully supporting the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle, and attacked regularly by senior Government members.

In an exclusive interview last week, Hani, who joined the SACP before the ANC, spoke frankly about a wide range of issues pertinent to the unfolding process in South Africa.

Question: Do you think there is a contradiction between being a senior member of both the ANC and the SACP?

Hani: "I want to begin by saying that on the agenda of the Government is a campaign, containing a number of important elements, to weaken the ANC.

"The first element is to negotiate with the ANC without the support of the masses, and the second is to fragment the ANC by trying to divide the ANC from the SACP.

Alliance

"The Government wants to negotiate with a different ANC - not an ANC which is part of an alliance comprising the SACP and Cosatu.

"I have been in the ANC for 27 years - I joined the SACP in 1961 - and I've never during all these years had any problems being both a member of the ANC and the SACP because basically we have a common programme.

"We support a democratic South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter - both the ANC and the SACP unequivocally accept the Freedom Charter.

"Secondly, SACP members accept at this stage of our struggle in the leadership of the ANC.

"We feel that in the process of fighting for a democratic South Africa, the ANC should lead that process. And we have got some good reasons for this.

"We don't sit down as members of the SACP and say: 'Hey, we are going to have a meeting of the ANC national executive committee. What is going to be the SACP position?' There's nothing like that.

"It doesn't mean there are no differences of approach and strategies within the ANC amongst the leaders - now and then

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we discuss openly and we differ openly on a number of things.

"Yet outsiders and commentators do speculate about tensions, but ultimately when a majority decision is taken it's binding on all of us.

Question: What about the future relationship between the ANC and the SACP? Surely at some point there will be a logical split between the two, even if they remain allies?

Hani: "Correct. Those are the dynamics of the struggle. We could, though, reach a situation where we have the same candidates at elections.

"It might be decided that I should contest a particular seat under the banner of the SACP. However, I am sure there will be a common programme between the ANC and SACP because of shared priorities after a democratic transformation.

"Our first priority will be to strengthen our fledging democracy.

"Priority number two is to ensure we strengthen the culture of democracy in the country because we have emerged out of a very dark period of rule.

"Thirdly, both the ANC and the SACP must work out the best possible economic system to bring about social transformation.

"The ANC has initiated discussions on the future economy of our country and we are going to be participating in those discussions both as the ANC and the SACP.

Party

"The SACP might work out its own economic blueprint but I'm sure if the party does that, there will be lots of similarities.

"There is also the extreme possibility of the two parties integrating and working for democratic socialism.

"The possibility of our coming together and saying: 'Look, we all feel that we uphold socialism and are committed to socialism.'

"The strength of this alliance is going to be tested by the people themselves. We all agree it should not just be an alliance of the leadership - it should go to the regions, districts and to the grassroots."

Question: It seems you are advocating that the SACP should in future, in whatever form, act as the conscience for the working class?

Hani: "We are the conscience of the working class. We believe we should continuously struggle against exploitation, and for the improvement of working and living conditions of the working people.

"We want the ruling people to have a say in our parliament so that we can prevent the domination by those who have money and control the wealth of our country.

"We feel this commitment of the SACP to the interests of the working class will counter-balance, even at an early stage, the possible domination and stifling of democracy in our country.

Question: What do you think should be the future role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the SA Defence Force?

Hani: "My point of view, and that of the ANC, is that a democratic South African Government elected by our people should proceed to form a new army. They should define the guidelines for this process.

"Surely that army cannot be the SADF? The commanders of the SADF including the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, are trying to push for a situation where a new South African Government will be given the SADF as it is to be the new army in the country.

"I think that is really a ludicrous position. The SADF has got its history - its an army built by a minority government to control the majority of the people of this country.

"It has been used to bolster apartheid and it has committed excesses in the process. It was an army that was used to destabilise our country as well as to destabilise the whole of Southern Africa.

"Therefore we need an army that is going to uphold the democratic norms in this country.

"Yes, MK is an army of the ANC and therefore it's in a way partisan in the same way as the SADF is partisan.

"We accept the position that the new army must contain the best of MK and the SADF. We don't dismiss the SADF

'New govt should form a new army'

and any other armies that might be around.

"But it must be clearly defined so that the new army won't be used by any political group to entrench a political party in power. The army must also be non-partisan and non-political because when we say we believe in pluralism and a multi-party government, this means the army mustn't have a problem about serving whatever party is voted into power.

Question: At what stage and how do you foresee the formation of a new army?

Hani: "Well, I see MK and the SADF forming a new army when a new government has been elected. However, I would have loved a situation where we in MK and the SADF were beginning to discuss these things, especially now that the ANC has suspended the armed struggle.

"We should sit down and map out the parameters of this process because I believe we stand to gain by talking to one another, even at this stage."

Question: How do you envisage the process of forming a new SA army unfolding?

Hani: "I believe that when a new government is elected, and this is my own scenario, it should immediately appoint a parliamentary commission which would discuss the guidelines for the formation of a new South African army.

"The parliamentary commission should invite experts from all the armies in South Africa, including those in the bantustans, to sit down and discuss the formation of a new army: its projected strength and its programme of training so that we can standardise our training - because we are going to become one army.

"This can only be done by a parliamentary commission and nobody else."

Question: What is the earliest date at which you think this process can begin?

Hani: "I believe that immediately after a government is elected - I hope by that time the

SADF and MK will be confined to barracks.

"As for who is going to command this army, that will be done by the parliamentary commission and the minister of defence so that training is begun immediately and the process of integration is started."

Question: So who will be in charge of defence and security during the peace process - before we actually reach the stage of having a new government?

Hani: "I think it will depend on the constitutional process during the period of transition. If there is, as we say there should be, an interim government, I believe it should take over the question of defence and security.

"And if it decides to make the SADF - this is a hypothetical example -- the army during this process, the SADF would then move away from being under the control of the present government to being responsible to the interim government.

"The interim government could also say that MK must come back into the country and those MK members who've been underground inside the country should surface.

"Both the SADF and MK would then be confined to barracks because a situation would have been reached where we are preparing for a constituent assembly, and what would the role then be of the army?"

Question: Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, executive director of Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) has suggested establishing a South African equivalent of Untag (United Nations Transition Assistance Group). Such a non-partisan security force would comprise elements of all armies and police forces in South Africa, including the homelands, to ensure a smooth transition to a new constitution. What do you think?

Hani: "I don't think the idea should be dismissed out of hand. It represents new and fresh thinking in the present situation.

Chris Hani talks

On the future of MK and SADF

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CHRIS Hani has become one of the most controversial figures in the unfolding peace process in South Africa, according to Press reports.

At the height of the on-going conflict of opinion around the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Government removed his in-

demnity from prosecution after statements he reportedly made on the armed struggle.

Only after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela intervened personally and assured the Government that Hani, who is also a senior SA Communist Party (SACP) member, fully supported the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes did the Government reinstate his

'Working people must have a voice'



indemnity and he was allowed back into South Africa.

"The idea hasn't been placed before the ANC leadership but when it is I think it should be closely examined. I also think it should be placed before the Nationalist Party government because I think in people's minds the whole problem (of transition) is now beginning to be placed in focus. What if there is a deadlock or a stalemate in the talks? Who initiates the talks between the two parties? That's one angle of it.

"Secondly, the people in the townships have complained about the behaviour and the conduct of the security forces and

'Residents not happy with SAP protection'

the police. So wouldn't there be a need to deploy a neutral force, for instance, to ensure people feel protected and defended?

"There is the demand by township residents for self-defence units - I think that is an indication they are not happy with the

protection offered by the police.

"People are beginning to say: 'No these police are not defending us...'

"I know the Government has been at pains to deny it, but go to anybody in the township and they will say: 'Clearly those who are attacking us from the hostels seem to have had an umbrella of protection from the police. And whenever we regrouped and we advanced to attack we'd be teargassed'.

"I therefore think Slabbert's idea deserves serious study by both ourselves and the Government."

Time to talk, says Hani



JOHANNESBURG — Chris Hani has become one of the most controversial figures in the unfolding peace process in South Africa, according to press reports.

At the height of the conflict of opinion around the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the government removed his indemnity from prosecution after statements he reportedly made on the armed struggle. It was only reinstated after ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela gave the government personal assurances.

He has been labelled a hardliner within the ANC national executive committee, who is trying to scupper the peace process, and accused of not fully supporting the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

In an exclusive interview with Sapa Mr Hani this week spoke frankly about a wide range of issues perti-

nent to the unfolding process in South Africa.

Mr Hani was asked whether he thought there was a contradiction between his being a senior member of both the ANC and the SACP. He replied: "I have been in the ANC for 27 years and I've never had any problems being both a member of the ANC and the SACP, because basically we have a common programme."

"SACP members accept at this stage of our struggle the leadership of the ANC."

Surely, Mr Hani was asked, at some point there will be a logical split between the two, even if they remain allies?

Mr Hani replied: "Correct. Those are the dynamics of the struggle. We could, though, reach a situation where we have the same candidates at elections."

"There is also the extreme possibility of the two integrating and working for democratic socialism."

On the future role of the MK and the SADF, Mr Hani said that a democratic South African government elected by the people should form a new army.

"The commanders of the SADF, including the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, are trying to push for a situation where a new South African government will be given the SADF as it is, to be the

new army in the country.

"I think that is a ludicrous position. The SADF has its history — it's an army built by a minority government to control the majority of the people of this country."

"Therefore we need an army that is going to uphold the democratic norms in this country."

"We accept the position that the new army must contain the best of MK and the SADF. But it must be clearly defined so that the new army won't be used by any political group to entrench a political party in power."

Mr Hani explained how he saw this process unfolding. "I believe that when a new government is elected

— and this is my own scenario — it should immediately appoint a parliamentary commission which would discuss the guidelines for the formation of a new South African army."

"The parliamentary commission should invite experts from all the armies in South Africa, including those in the bantustans, to sit down and discuss the formation of a new army. Its (projected) strength and its programme of training so that we can standardise, because we are going to become one army."

He added that that he believed the earliest date this could happen was immediately after a government was elected, by which time he

hoped the SADF and MK would be confined to barracks.

Mr Hani said that although he had not sought a direct meeting with General Malan over these issues, he was "ready to talk."

"He has labelled Umkhonto we Sizwe a ragtag army. I have not reciprocated in a personal way and I have not abused him. I have always said the SADF is a professional and skilful army."

"That doesn't mean I approve its record — its record is a criminal one as far as I am concerned."

"I'm ready to talk to General Malan and the SADF and to discuss a number of issues. I think he has to make up his mind that either we talk or we fight, and we've said we don't want to fight."

On the future on South Africa Mr Hani said he was optimistic, but accepted that there were "many hurdles to be overcome". — Sapa

UDF — dead or alive?

South 18/10 - 24/10/90

(11A)

BEFORE organisations were unbanned in February this year, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was the flagship of the anti-apartheid movement within South Africa.

Since then — although some of the front's affiliates like the civics have flourished — the UDF has been noticeably inactive, in some regions almost totally silent.

People are now asking: Is the UDF still alive and should it continue to exist?

Before February 2, the UDF had a high-profile, overtly political role which it no longer has.

The front, with its ally Cosatu, bore the brunt of repression and spearheaded the struggle for democracy inside the country.

While front activists emphasised that the UDF was not the ANC by another name, it provided a home for ANC sympathisers and was instrumental in pressuring the authorities to unban the ANC.

The reemergence of the ANC has undoubtedly sapped the UDF's strength.

The UDF has lost two of its key sectors — the youth and the women — to the ANC.

Confusion

Members of other UDF affiliate organisations have joined the ANC and become active in its structures, leaving little time for UDF activities.

There was and continues to be considerable confusion about what these activities should be — given that the front no longer needs to perform a "care-taker" political role.

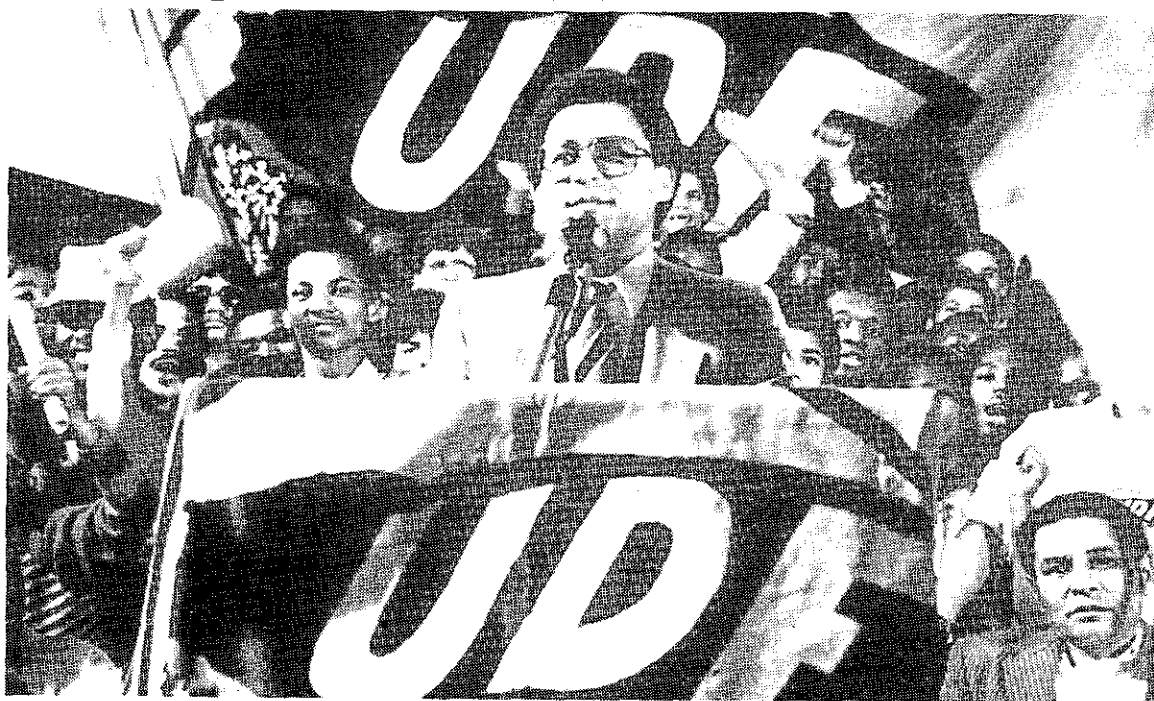
A UDF conference, held earlier this year to debate its future, emphasised the importance of building mass-based community structures.

UDF activists should help the ANC reestablish itself inside the country — one reason for the low-key presence of the UDF this year.

A national working committee meeting of the UDF in September examined some of the questions and came up with ideas for debate in regions.

According to Western Cape executive member Mr Graeme Bloch, reports from regions indicated that the UDF was active in some parts of the country, notably Border, the Northern Transvaal and

Is the United Democratic Front still alive? The election last month of key UDF officials onto the ANC Western Cape regional executive committee raised questions about the survival of the front. CHIARA CARTER and REHANA ROSSOUW discovered there was still a pulse beating in the heart of the UDF.



Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron, at the UDF launch in August 1983

the OFS.

But what has the UDF been doing?

Reflecting practical realities, the front has scaled down its activities.

In the Western Cape it has concentrated on building civics and addressing the issue of violence, participating in joint committees responding to the violence.

The violence is a key area of UDF activity nationally.

What emerged clearly at last month's meeting was the effect of political changes on the UDF.

The ANC has assumed leadership of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu/SACP alliance. The task of centre-stage political organisation has fallen away from the UDF.

Alienated

Bloch says it is in some ways good that the UDF's political role has diminished.

It leaves the way clear to draw in a range of groupings which were previously alienated either by the front's brand of politics or by a surfeit of politics.

"In a sense the UDF was too political," observed Bloch.

Publicity secretary of the Western Cape United Civics, Ms Zohra Ebrahim agreed.

She said most of the UDF's functions had been taken over by the ANC, which was now back in South Africa to "take up its own cudgel".

Ebrahim said until now the UDF had acted as a political organisation, not as a front of like-minded organisations.

Crunch

Ideally, the front should be a home for independent progressive organisations, like professional organisations which supported the Freedom Charter but were not aligned to a political party.

"The crunch will be to get sectoral groupings which are not that close to the ANC.

"This will determine the success or failure of the UDF," Ebrahim said.

The front intends initiating discussion within ANC branches and other organisations about the importance of grassroots organisation and the need for activists to work in these organisations.

But is it necessary to build a front of a myriad of small sectoral groups.

Instead of having a host of small organisations sapping the strength of a

limited number of activists, why not merge all organisations into the ANC?

The lessons of Eastern Europe and other third world countries have made activists emphasise sectoral structures.

Bloch describes sectoral organisations as "the first line of defence".

"There must be organisations in a post-apartheid South Africa which focus on specific needs at grassroots level," he said.

"These organisations must be independent of political organisations. The lesson of Eastern Europe is that you can't just have transmitter belts; there should be independent centres of power which can challenge government policy, for example around resource allocation.

Energy

"If women don't organise around women's issues no one else will. In the same way, if communities don't organise around grassroots issues, no one else will fight on their behalf."

Theoretical agreement on building mass-based organisations on the ground is all very well. But do these structures exist, does anyone have the energy to build them and do they need to unite in

a front?

Bloch said drawing in other groupings and building community structures meant the front could draw on a middle layer of leadership and cadres whose skills had not been fully utilised.

There is general consensus that civics are crucial and are one of the grassroots organisations outside the ANC which has shown steady growth.

According to Bloch, the UDF this year played a key behind-the-scenes role in assisting to build civics both in the Western Cape and nationally, and in helping to form a national civic structure.

Ebrahim agrees that the short-term primary function of the UDF must be to help build a national civic organisation.

She said the UDF could assist in building civic structures as it had support in areas where no civics existed.

While she agreed civics had to be organised independently of political parties, Ebrahim thought a national civic structure might again place a question mark over the future of the UDF.

"Civics exist under the broad banner of the UDF because there is no national organisation of civic structures.

Charterist

"The UDF has been instrumental in working towards a national civic structure and when it is launched — hopefully by next year — questions may arise about the nature of the UDF," Ebrahim said.

Even if there is consensus about the need for a broad umbrella body, this does not necessarily mean it will be the UDF as we know it.

Bloch says the UDF, as a charterist organisation, has more limited appeal than what would be ideal, in part because of its political role.

One possibility is for the UDF to remain essentially a fairly narrow MDM structure, drawing in sympathetic fringe groupings.

Another is the formation of a broad patriotic front which would include sectoral and political liberation groupings.

Precisely how such as meshing of groups would take place is up for debate.

A sudden death of the UDF is not envisaged. Its leadership remains firm about the front remaining in the short term — while its future is discussed in affiliates and among its allies.

Rival

There will be an annual general meeting in the Western Cape before a national conference early next year.

Some people have suggested that the continued existence of the UDF poses the possibility of a political rival to the ANC and that the front's leadership has a vested interest in not killing it off.

Certainly there has not been the automatic merger of leadership that some expected and erstwhile national figures like Murphy Morobe have been left out in the cold.

The UDF leadership is at pains to stress that the UDF is not a "third force" and does not see itself a political rival to the ANC.

Instead, it has been careful to work within the alliance led by the ANC and in close consultation with the ANC.

They also dismiss the view that tensions have left them clinging to the front as a powerbase.

Ultimately, the UDF while still alive has not yet answered the questionmark February 2 placed above its head.

As in the controversy about nationalisation, the mere mentioning of an economic idea — land tax — by an African National Congress spokesman this week set the alarm bells ringing in some business, academic and political circles. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE speaks to people close to the big debate about the reshaping of South Africa's economic system.



Zac de Beer ... taking from the rich to give to the poor doesn't work.

ANC's taxing attempt at a balancing act

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Attie de Vries ... some form of redistribution of wealth is essential.

THE African National Congress has hastened to explain that its suggested land and property taxes are not part of its policy — not at this stage, anyway. The assurance comes in the wake of concern and dismay in some circles.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Saki Macozoma, has explained that the proposal was put forward only for debating purposes — to open different options in the debate on nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

Even so, the suggestion has shown once more how jittery many people are about the ANC's economic vision.

The proposals, as put forward by ANC land commission member Ms Bongive Njobe this week, are for a punitive tax on under-used property in exclusively white residential areas and a "windfall tax" on property sales in white areas.

AN economist, Professor Attie de Vries of the University of Stellenbosch Business School, says there appears to be consensus over a wide spectrum of opinion that a redistribution of income and wealth is necessary. The big issues to be resolved are the methods and the timetable.

Professor De Vries believes the distribution is so distorted that some form of redistribution is essential.

He is not in favour of "punitive" taxes. He fears that taxes of this nature would lead to a massive brain drain of highly skilled people "who happen to be white".

Another drawback of these taxes would be that only a small proportion of the population would be affected, so they would not yield as much revenue as taxes paid by all.

"Even if redistribution is done very harshly, you will only redistribute poverty and drive people out of the country."

ESSENTIAL to redistribution, says Professor De Vries, are equality of opportunity and education and serious moves to eliminate backlogs.

However, the economy's ability to redistribute wealth is limited, he said.

His biggest fear is that the present "explosion of expectations" will lead to demands that go way beyond the capacity of the country's economy. In spite of this fear, he sees "hopeful" signs that the ANC is scaling down

some of its original economic ideas. It seems to be moving away from nationalisation, for example — "but not far enough".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer says he has not had an opportunity to study the ANC's proposals in detail.

However, he believes discriminatory taxes directed at specific sections of the community are "thoroughly undesirable".

SPEAKING by telephone from Maritzburg this week, Dr De Beer said: "Once the principle of victimisation is introduced into the tax structure, anything can happen.

"Municipal property must certainly be taxed and the rate paid can, of course, be at a level that will discourage the under-utilisation of land. But tax must surely apply equally to all."

On the question of helping deprived sections of the community with housing, Dr De Beer believes a direct subsidy is a much better method than punitive taxes.

On the redistribution of wealth and income, he says the narrowing and ultimate elimination of the gap must be the top priority of economic policy. However, the wealth necessary to achieve this does not exist and must be created.

In other words, the redistribution of wealth should follow economic growth.

THE urgent steps necessary to create wealth include improving the quality of education, which will lead to the creation of more jobs.

One area where the red lights have flashed at the mere mention of the ANC's suggested taxes is the property market.

Mr Viv Morris, president of the Institute of Estate Agents of South Africa, says the ANC remarks have been "to say the least, ill-considered". A capital gains tax would have to be carried through the entire economic structure and should not apply only to one section.

What about losses? Will it be only whites whose losses — whether on property or the stock exchange — will not qualify, Mr Morris asks.

He notes that to some extent a punitive tax on under-used properties is already in place. Undeveloped residential erven do not qualify for a reduction in assessment rates in terms of the rating ordinance.

"It appears to me to be a great pity that in the New South Africa laws applicable to one colour group — in this case the 'whites' — are in the thought process. Perhaps we should recall what President Abraham Lincoln said:

"You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the stronger."

PROFESSOR Robert Davies, who has been involved in planning ANC economic policy, says that, to his knowledge, there is as yet no firm ANC policy on taxation.

Such proposals as property taxation are merely part of the ANC's thinking through possible methods in pursuing certain objectives — for example, releasing more land for housing and taking specific measures to benefit those disadvantaged under apartheid.

A basic principle in ANC thinking is to correct imbalances, not to take revenge.

It is in this context that taxation is being considered as a method of releasing under-used land. Affordable land is essential to a housing programme.

Professor Davies, a co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, presented a position paper on ANC economic thinking at a major Idasa conference in Germany earlier this year.

PPOINTS he made included:

■ The ANC was not seeking to take "punitive action" against property-owners and its policies were not motivated by revenge. Instead, the watchword of its policy was "affirmative action". It was seeking to change the orientation of the economy so that "for the first time in our history it serves the interests of those who have been economically as well as politically disenfranchised by apartheid".

■ The ANC had repeatedly expressed its opposition to the government's privatisation programme. It saw this as aimed partly at tying the hands of a democratic, non-racial government by denying it access to important levers of power. It also saw this as "selling off the family silver at knock-down prices" and had said publicly that any enterprise that had been privatised would be renationalised.

PROFESSOR Davies says there are essentially two options for South Africans:

■ They may continue debating how the economy should be restructured to meet the needs of all its people and discuss the role each can play in economic development; or

■ They may continue "along the path of mutual suspicion, backed up by preparations for hostile and damaging action by both sides".

Then Professor Davies gives this warning: "If we choose to follow the latter path there is a high probability that we will all in the end be losers."

Homeland chiefs to stand together

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But Buthelezi says he'll sit this one out, thank you

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All homeland leaders — except for Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had agreed to act as a united force in deciding principles for negotiations with the government, said African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Speaking yesterday after a meeting with non-independent homeland leaders at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said it was regrettable Chief Buthelezi could not join the briefing on the violence and discussions on the way forward to negotiations.

The reason given by Chief Buthelezi for his absence was that he was invited as a homeland leader rather than the leader of Inkatha, said Mr Mandela.

'Inconsistent'

"This is inconsistent, because when President De Klerk invites him as a homeland leader, he accepts. He has hardly missed a meeting."

Mr Mandela said it was agreed by all leaders at the meeting that there was a third force orchestrating violence in the townships. It was not a conflict between Xhosas and Zulus as alleged by the media.

The government had to take full responsibility for the conduct of its own state agencies orchestrating the violence, said Mr Mandela.

The leaders at the meeting had agreed to forget the past and speak with one voice on issues and problems.

"It is the only way problems will be resolved," said the ANC leader.

Asked whether there was a chance of a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said it was "always possible", but that the climate for this was not ideal.

'No difference'

"I would meet him as an individual. I am not concerned with labels. It makes no difference whether he comes as a homeland leader or the leader of Inkatha."

Mr Mandela did not confirm or deny reports of a top-level meeting between the government and the ANC in Cape Town on Monday. "The government has not denied what's already in the papers," he

MPs' wives join ANC

AND EVEN THE NATS ARE NOT IMMUNE, IT IS

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

IF a few Democratic Party MPs' wives have shaken traditional white politics by joining the African National Congress, a bigger shock may be in store — some National Party women may not be far behind.

Political circles were abuzz with talk this week about a new political era in which it would no longer be unusual for people to break away from the traditional party set-up by seeking co-operation across racial lines.

The real significance of President F W de Klerk's high-level contact and talks with the ANC in his reform initiatives is said to be filtering through to rank-and-file NP members — and attitudes are said to be changing. The ANC is not only losing its bogey status, but has become a novelty and an interesting new field to explore.

ANC member Mrs Ina Cronje, wife of Mr Pierre Cronje, Democratic Party MP for Greytown, told Weekend Argus she believed a new political era had begun for every political party — even the NP.

"No matter which party you belong to, you are going to be present at the birth of something new," she said.

Confirming that she joined the ANC a few months ago, she said she was a member of the ANC's Pietermaritzburg Central branch. She described it as a "truly non-racial branch", which included people representing a cross-section of the city's community.

The region covered by the

branch included the University of Natal and extended across working-class and mixed residential areas.

Mrs Cronje (formerly Miss Griesel) has an Afrikaans background. She comes from a family of *bloedsappe* and her father was an ardent supporter of General Jan Smuts.

Single-purpose

She said any suggestion that there was an organised move among DP women to join the ANC was wrong. She decided independently some time ago to become an ANC member and it so happened that she mentioned it to Mrs Penny Haswell, wife of Mr Robert Haswell, Democratic MP for Pietermaritzburg South, at a time when Mrs Haswell was also considering such a move.

Mrs Cronje said she discussed it with her husband.

"Pierre is extremely democratic and did not stand in my way. He is in favour of it that I do my own thing and even helps by doing the baby-sitting, for example, when I go to ANC meetings."

She hardly knew Mrs Zelda Dalling (wife of Democratic MP Mr Dave Dalling) who was the first DP woman whose ANC membership was publicly disclosed.

Ms Dene Smuts, Democratic MP for Groote Schuur, said dual membership was something one could expect in a time of alliance-formation in politics. She herself was in fa-

vour of single-purpose forms of co-operation with organisations like the ANC and had taken part in such activities.

She has attended joint meetings with the ANC on an issue such as women's rights, and was among Democratic Party MPs who attended the ANC's Western Cape regional congress in Bellville last weekend.

She suggests not only DP wives but also NP wives should start moving closer to the ANC — "I hope they do. It is precisely by interchange that people begin to change."

She admires what President De Klerk is doing in his high-level contact with the ANC and believes the implications of all this may take a while to filter through to rank-and-file NP members.

Single remark

An illustration of how things filter through, she says, comes from the NP's recent Free State congress where a single remark was said to have swung the debate on open membership for the NP.

The remark, from an NP woman, was that she would rather let her domestic servant join the NP than the ANC.

That, in essence, shows just how far the NP is from realising what the South African debate is about and what the "new South Africa" means in terms of a transformation of society.

THE African National Congress has been preparing to govern for the past 25 years, says Centre for Development Studies (CDS) director, Mr Randy Erentzen.

For many years, the ANC had its own research department which was an in-house department supplying its leadership with position papers on a range of issues.

Recently, the department has been restructured into economic, legal, constitutional and health units, each doing its own research.

CDS has developed parallel to the ANC research department to examine long-term research policies for the movement.

It has as its goals not only researching and informing policy but also empowering black people to become part of the process.

Consultations

Government research units and policy makers had access to capital, the state and finance while ANC researchers were spread all over the world and were unable to consult colleagues inside the country until recently, Erentzen said.

As much as the ANC was also committed to speeding up the negotiation process, they were not prepared to sacrifice the process of consultation to do so, he said.

Its policies, most of them based on the broad demands of the Freedom Charter, were given content in the past year in a more focused fashion.

Popularity

In the course of its liberation struggle, the ANC set up structures which could form the basis of a government.

Over decades, the organisation issued hundreds of position papers on a range of issues, which would only now be tested for its popularity.

"The ANC has only had seven months of political space to openly prepare to govern," Erentzen said.

"Everyone expects it to do what some governments have taken centuries to do and are still battling to find the right options."

"As a national liberation movement it has to consult its constituency first."

Is the ANC ready to govern?

IF there were democratic elections soon, would the African National Congress be ready to govern? Will it have alternative solutions, for instance, to the crises in the economy and education?

REHANA ROSSOUW discovered that hundreds of researchers were investigating policies for a new South Africa:

"The ANC is being pressured to have documentation ready as though the new parliament is sitting tomorrow."

Erentzen said the ANC was committed to a "policy process". There was no Broderbond deciding its policy.

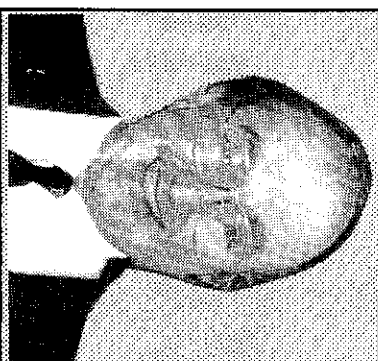
It is hoped that the national congress on December 16 would be a start to the testing of the ANC's policies on a range of issues like land, housing and the economy.

The ANC has commissioned hundreds of researchers to prepare policy documents and guidelines for its December congress.

Conflicting

The organisation has also held a range of conferences outside the country since 1988 to begin formulating policy on several issues.

At least six conferences have examined the land issue, for example.



Prof Renfrew Christie

An area given serious thought and preparation is local government, where the ANC and the government clearly have conflicting interests.

An ANC/CDS consultative conference in October will begin to give substance to the ANC's policy on local government.

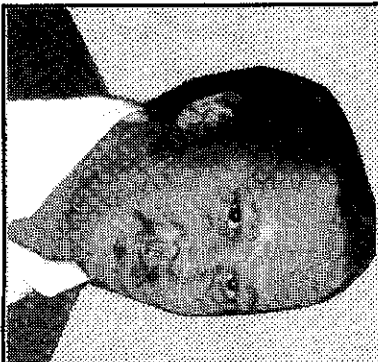
The ANC has also been widening its skills base in the past 25 years. Young people who left the country to join the ANC in exile were always given the option of studying to improve their skills.

The majority of the skilled exiles will return to South Africa shortly, prepared to put their expertise to work.

The Development Action Group (DAG), a service organisation assisting communities in their interactions with developers, agrees that the skills base in South Africa goes far deeper than other countries in transition, like Namibia.

"But that does not mean our skills base is not shallow. We need more people with skills in areas like science, engineering, surveying," said DAG spokesperson Mr Basil Davidson.

"Public administration is another area which isn't taken seriously and I anticipate it is an area in which our skills will be severely limited in a future South



Mr Randy Erentzen

Africa. "We have a lot to learn, but the picture is not completely desolate."

Assuming that the ANC won an open election in South Africa, it would have to "deliver the goods" to retain the support of the electorate, Davidson said.

He believed the democratic movement needed to establish broad principles to begin with.

"It will then take years to flesh out the implications of those principles.

"But it is important that those principles are debated and put in place."

DAG believed discussion should begin on approaches to different aspects of development in the new South Africa — like housing and standards of services.

The future government would not be able to build three-bedroomed houses for everybody within five years after being elected.

"Another thorny issue is the question of land in the future South Africa," Davidson said.

"How do we transform agriculture without threatening property rights?"

"The worst thing is that we do not have a constituency in the Western Cape demanding agricultural land. Squatters and other landless people are demand-

ing urban land.

"Since the 1913 Land Act, the culture of farming in the black community has been killed.

"Macroscale farming is more capital intensive and unless you are born on a farm and inherit it, you are not able to survive."

To counter the government's think-tanks at Afrikaans universities, progressive universities have begun tackling policy research for a future democratic government.

At the University of the Western Cape, the new Dean of Research, Professor Renfrew Christie, is focusing on investigations into the preparations to govern.

A recent assessment of the university's research output between 1986 and 1988 found that there had been a paucity of research done on the campus.

Slogans

These included the development of policy on food, housing, language, foreign relations, the environment and other areas.

"It is easy to write slogans about the future but difficult to write rigorous policy," said Christie.

"Exactly how are we going to build the five million houses we need?"

"How are we going to balance out English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and other languages?"

"What will the new tax policy or democratic monetary policy be under a democratic government? How will we vote in a democratic South Africa?"

Christie said UWC had to make constructive contributions to solving these problems and was well-placed to do so.

An Education Policy Unit and an Economic Policy Research Project would become operational on the campus by January next year.

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Mandela goes walkabout for the ANC

SOWETO SUPPORT

Deputy president of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela chatted to Soweto's Orlando West residents in door-to-door canvassing yesterday to sign up ANC members.

Picture: REUTERS



ANC elects Tinto as regional leader



Mr Christmas Tinto

THE ANC's first Cape regional conference voted in Mr Christmas Tinto as the president of the organisation's Western Cape branch.

He was elected at one of the ANC's first two legal congresses in South Africa in 31 years held at the weekend.

Mr Tinto was formerly UDF regional president. Ms Hilda Ndude was named as vice-president. Ms Ndude was previously known as the secretary to the Federation of South African Women.

ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi told the start of the Western Cape congress at Bellville, attended by some 500 delegates of 81 branches, that the government had a dual agenda — "to negotiate with the ANC for the purposes of responding to international pressure" and to promote the bloody violence "in order to weaken the ANC".

"They are using every vile tactic possible to weaken our movement.

"The vicious violence unleashed on the Reef is aimed at destroying our spirit of resistance and defiance," he said.

"Operation Iron Fist" was aimed not at finding the perpetrators of violence, but at stripping people of basic civil liberties," he maintained.

The continued detention of Mr Mac Maharaj, ANC national executive committee member, and other activists were other obstacles the government was placing in the ANC's path.

The ANC's convener in the Western Cape, Mr Reg September, told the meeting that the PAC was a spent force in the region: "The PAC, after the Philip Kgosana march (in the 1960s), had a presence to be reckoned with, but that was in the past."

After Saturday's opening, the congress

went into closed session with "commissions" discussing issues such as the ANC's role in rural areas, a national programme of action, the violence in the country and the role of women and youth in the ANC.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu made a less hardline speech than Mr Nkobi at the Johannesburg-area congress, of about 400 delegates from some 90 branches, but said "The period we find ourselves in is ripe for the transfer of power to the people" and added: "The ANC must play a leading role."

Meanwhile, the ANC's goal of recruiting one million members by December received a boost when nine new ANC branches were launched yesterday in the Durban region.

There are now a total of 19 ANC branches in the Southern Natal region. — UPI, Sapa and Own Correspondents

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has not yet approved the indemnity of some 3 000 ANC exiles expected to start returning to SA from today.

An ANC spokeswoman confirmed yesterday that the organisation had submitted the names of 3 000 of its supporters to the government for indemnity from prosecution. However, the government had not yet responded, she said.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute signed by the government and the ANC in August, indemnity would be granted to certain categories of people from today.

A Justice Department spokesman said yesterday that the ANC had supplied the names of supporters it wanted to be indemnified, but had not told the government what it wanted them to be indemnified from.

The spokesman said he believed the ANC was

Status of ANC exiles unclear

working on supplying the outstanding details.

ANC international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki said last week that returning exiles faced a shortage of accommodation and work and he appealed to the private sector to help them integrate into the community. Many of the returning exiles were well qualified people, he said.

ANC sources predicted yesterday that a large number of ANC-related prisoners, possibly more than 100, could be released from Robben Island today.

ANC goes multilingual

THE ANC overcame the problem of language barriers at its first Western Cape congress at the weekend by offering simultaneous translations in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

The 550 delegates, who sat at tables in a sports hall at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville, each had a set of headphones plugged into a control box.

At the head of the hall, three translators in separate glass booths supplied the translation.

The delegates were drawn from an area which stretches from Cape Town to George, Beaufort West and Namaqualand.

As the congress got under way they stood in silence for a moment with raised fists, in memory of those who had made sacrifices for the struggle.

Step up pressure — Sisulu

JOHANNESBURG. — Pressure should be stepped up for the government to create the right conditions for negotiations and the peaceful transfer of power to the black majority, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said at the weekend.

In a keynote speech to the ANC's regional conference in Johannesburg, he said the time was ripe for the government to transfer power to black people, but warned that blacks would have to be judicious in this process and conceded that much had to be done before the ANC's goals were attained.

Mr Sisulu called on supporters to intensify the campaign for an interim government, a constituent assembly, the release of political prisoners and detainees, scrapping of security legislation and the "unhindered" return of all exiles. — Sapa

ANC changing stance?

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Recent meetings between the ANC and the international business community have indicated that the 77-year-old anti-apartheid movement may be moving away from its rigid pro-sanctions stance.

But senior ANC sources said at the weekend that the organisation had not yet officially changed its stance on sanctions.

Senior members of the ANC, Inkatha and the government will meet the World Economic Forum in Switzerland this week to discuss their respective economic policies.

It is widely believed that Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and the ANC Director of International Affairs,

Mr Thabo Mbeki, will lead their delegations during the talks.

The composition of the Inkatha delegation was not yet known.

It was reported at the weekend that Mr Mbeki said his organisation had already held talks with foreign governments and international businessmen with the aim of generating investment, once the negotiation process was completed.

Increasing levels of unemployment and poverty are pressurising the ANC to reconsider its view on sanctions.

Economists believe the economy cannot provide jobs for the burgeoning and youthful population without a massive injection of foreign investment.

Cosatu: Pressure must be maintained

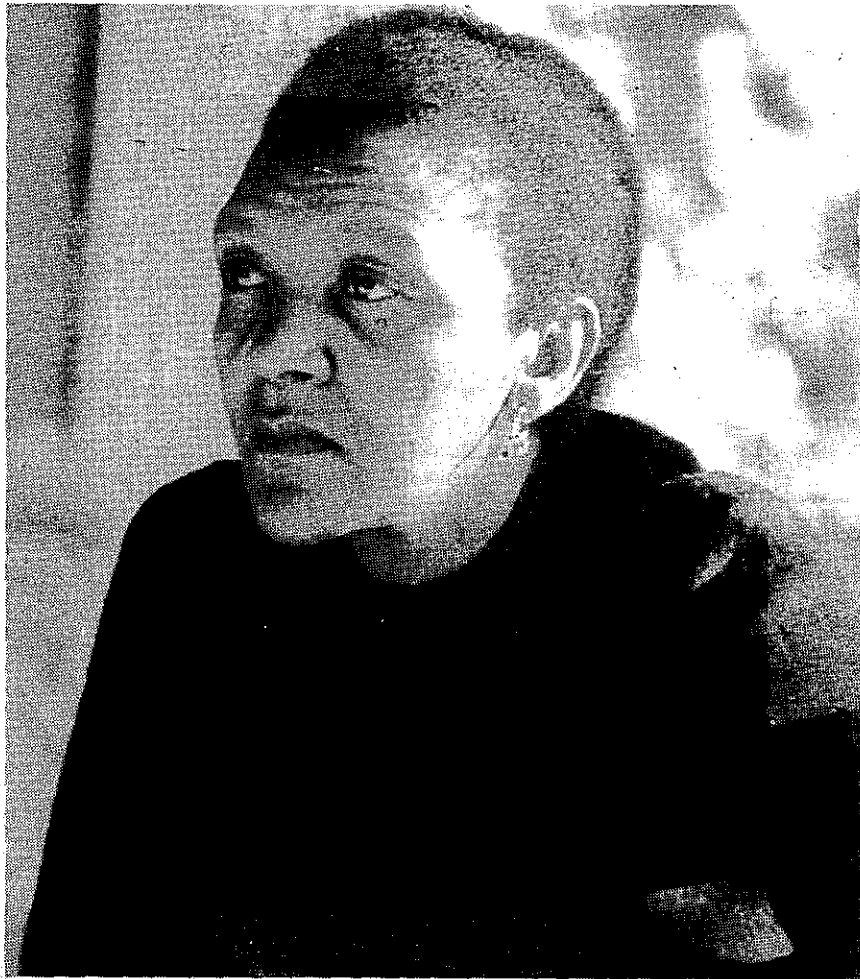
AMSTERDAM. — Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo on Saturday urged the Netherlands to retain economic sanctions against Pretoria despite President FW de Klerk's reforms of apartheid.

"It would be the gravest political mistake to lift sanctions and help De Klerk with his problems," he said in a speech to a Dutch trade union group.

"Pressure must be maintained to

force De Klerk to bring about genuine political change. Internationally we need more political support than we've ever needed in the past."

Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha are due to travel to the Netherlands on October 23 in the first official visit by a South African head of state in more than 40 years. — Sapa, Reuter



Barbara Masekela, ANC cultural chief

PICTURE BY RASHID LOMBARD