May 1990
Black Politics
Don’t expect too much from talks, warns Viljoen

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

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

Dr Viljoen also disclosed that the talks — due to start at 3.30 pm and to continue until Friday — would take place at the historic former Prime Minister’s residence Groote Schuur, in Newlands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Raining in the wings

The Free State and Natal.

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

Other measuring points close to Johannesburg also showed considerable gains. The Jan Smuts Airport recording for the month was 109.6 mm. The average there is 55 mm for April and the record 130 mm in 1971. Rand airport had 117.8 mm this April.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although Mr Rousso came out unequivocally in favour of nationalisation and strongly against privatisation, he also said an ANC government would weigh up the benefits of nationalisation against the problems that might be ensuing.

“Alternatives that may be able to achieve the same effect, but result in fewer problems, would have to be considered. The fact that all this will be occurring within the framework of a capitalist economy means that fairly severe limitations will exist. Capitalist economies depend on the private owners of capital being willing to invest it in new ventures,” he said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The whole debate about nationalisation has been very important and has brought to the fore issues and concerns over how power is distributed.”
A tough test for both sides

Problems loom large as historic meeting begins

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

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

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

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

Majority rule

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

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

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

He elucidates: "You cannot send and threaten to send armed men into the country, send mobs rampaging in the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully..."

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

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

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

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

Against that, Mr Walter Sisulu, the white-haired veteran ANC leader, ripostes: "The cessation of armed hostilities cannot be a unilateral demand. It cannot be discussed before negotiations. When and how there should be a cessation of hostilities is a distinct question to be negotiated."

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

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

Lifting of the state of emergency, however, seems a more difficult problem. To some extent it is a question of priorities: the Government says abandonment of the commitment to armed struggle will make it easier to lift the state of emergency; lifting the state of emergency, the ANC counters, will make it easier for it to abandon armed resistance. These issues are inextricably linked. Even in outline the problems are huge. Large and seemingly intractable. One is the seemingly intractable problem of arms. The other is the seemingly intractable problem of white South Africa. One is the seemingly intractable problem of black South Africa.
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
THE ANC has agreed to broaden the agenda for this week’s historic talks with the government by including the armed struggle.

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

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

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

Amnesty

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

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

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

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

These included matters such as “conditions for lifting the state of emergency and the possible extension of the definition of so-called ‘political offences’ and the release of prisoners and exiles’ and indemnity against prosecution and arrest”.

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

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

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

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removal of ANC obstacles to negotiations.

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

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

ANC members said the organisation had been trying “desperately hard” in recent months to stop violence in trouble spots as diverse as Natal, Ciskei, KwaThethom and Uitenhage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘gesture’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

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

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

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

However, ANC sources denied suggestions that the talks were a PR exercise.
ANC talks of trade-off on struggle

By Peter Fabricius, John Ryan and Craig Kotze

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Priceless Flemish tapestries and antique oils and prints hanging on rich wood-panelled walls in the house once occupied by Cecil Rhodes will create a colonial ambience that might seem ironic to the ANC delegation as it sits down to parley with the Government after 70 years of beating at the door.

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

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

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

See Pages 2 and 16.
ANC seeks Security Act trade-off

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, the Government will have to remove the obstacles to negotiations already formally identified by the ANC. These are the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, the repeal of repressive legislation and the removal of troops from townships.

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

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

Concession

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

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

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

The Government has already given some proof of its bona fides by introducing legislation that will allow it to grant in-
Now the bargaining begins.

and violence are on agenda.

Amended struggle and need to

First day of the Cape Town

Black goes pretty well

By Esmond Balfour

in this town.
Top ANC delegate optimistic about talks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC can be expected to insist that any decision to suspend the armed struggle would have to be part of a larger package.

This would include the release of political prisoners and ending political trials and the state of emergency. In addition, the ANC will call for troops to be removed from townships, except from Natal where the organisation believes deployment is justified.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Talks agenda

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

“A normalised political process requires at least two fundamental conditions: Firstly, the lifting of restrictions imposed by the state on the normal functioning of the political process; and Secondly, the cessation of violence, intimidation and a so-called armed struggle, both in function and rhetoric, as being incompatible with negotiations in its true sense.”

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

He said government was prepared to discuss conditions for lifting the emergency, but it had to be accepted that it had a responsibility to ensure the maintenance of stability and law and order.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The press conference was told that the impact of sanctions was not hurting the black majority in the country, but internal problems caused by the Pretoria regime caused much suffering and discontent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‘Honour your leaders’, Mandela tells youth

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

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

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

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

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

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

The government team

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Robie Coetsee, 59, Minister of Justice, a Dux medallist, studied law at the University of the Free State. He was admitted to the bar in 1972. He entered politics as MP for Bloemfontein West in 1986.

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

Mr Barend du Plessis, 50, Finance Minister, Potchefstroom BSc graduate, taught mathematics before joining IBM’s banking and finance division in 1968.

He was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information in 1982 and Minister of Education and Training in 1983.

He has been Minister of Finance since 1984.

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

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

Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, 51, Minister of Education and Training and Development Aid, is a political science graduate of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Unisa and Stellenbosch universities.

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

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

He was elected MP for Johannesburg West in 1979. In 1986 he was made Deputy Minister of Law and Order. He moved to the De-
Anti-Apartheid body's pledge to oppose De Klerk tour

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

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

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

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

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

The poll, commissioned by the AAM, showed that only 31 percent of the British public supported such a visit. It also showed that 76 percent of those polled backed anti-apartheid sanctions.

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

David Biggs's column will be found on page 10.
Cosatu’s ‘war’ statement irresponsible, say police

The Argus Correspondent

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

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

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

Athlone rally

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

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

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

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

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

Sporadic

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

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

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

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

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

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

The African National Congress deputy leader also attended a meeting of a ministerial committee of the Organisation of African Unity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Shouted**

From the stand PAC and ANC supporters shouted “A wethu!” in unison, responding to a call of “Amadula!” from the podium.

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

Nactu assistant general secretary, Mr Mike Matsobane, said the rally was a watershed gathering “in our struggle” which called for worker unity and more vigilance against the capitalists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Slogans**

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

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

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

No reason for the cancellation of the meeting was given.

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

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

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

Mr Patrick Maimanga of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), a body launched early this month, said De Klerk wanted to use “negotiations” to weaken the struggle. He said May Day had been won through mass struggle and therefore, freedom would not be won through negotiations.

The phasing out of South Africa Congress of Trade Unions would provide an opportunity for Cosatu to broaden trade union unity under its umbrella, Mr Johnny Malebo, regional chairman of the federation (Cosatu), said yesterday at a May Day rally in Cape Town, writes Ishmael Labadien.

He said Cosatu and Nactu had agreed to merge two months ago with the aim of achieving a single federation.
Talks unlikely to break down

By JOE THLOLOE
and
ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

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

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

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

The leaders of the two sides, State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela, may make informal remarks at the photo session.

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

They will last until Friday.

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

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

Azapo, PAC will be kept abreast - Lekota

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

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

In the ANC team are South African Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, women's leader Ruth Mompati, Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise, Walter Sisulu, Beyers Naude, Ahmed Kathrada, Cheryl Carolus and Archie Gumede.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Expectations rise for today's historic talks

By JOE TSHOLLOLO in Cape Town

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

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

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

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

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

On its side the ANC is also vigilant. President's office has been accredited and as a result journalists covering the talks are carrying two passes, one issued by the ANC and the other by the Torcisco for Information.

Convo"y

While we were maneuvered in turn back, a convoy of several trucks and private cars, obviously carrying members of the delegation, stopped briefly at the gate, and then sped into the yard and up to the airplane to the back of the hotel.

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

Journalists who have already been inside tell of the variety of complaints they proceeded toward the appointments.

Requests for interviews have to be turned down because we had not received permission.

The ANC delegation is made up of the top echelons of the ANC structure.

At the briefing on Monday, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Frans Viljoen said that the Government is not taking any chances with the ANC people. We are not on their side.

The Government believes that the ANC is not taking any chances with the non-white people. They have been accredited and as a result journalists covering the talks are carrying two passes, one issued by the ANC and the other by the Torcisco for Information.

By JOE TSHOLLOLO in Cape Town

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Obliged

"The ANC also considers itself obligated to the international community for the support which it has received through a period of hardship in the past and will do everything to make a success of the present exercise." They said they were finding and refining their approach to the talks.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions of the meeting of the state of emergency, the situation of political prisoners and the question of the release of political prisoners. The result of meetings and the confidence against pronouncements.

Struggle

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

The Government will not agree that the state of emergency cannot be lifted until the violence in the black township continues.

However, in Cape Town they believe that there are not the necessary powers to lift the ban on the ANC and the use of the apparatus to entrap the ANC.

Spokesman Trevor Lekota yesterday said that the ANC delegation would call off the armed struggle only when the negotiations were successful.

He said that when the ANC established the SAM new armed struggle was not a principle, but a tactic used as a last resort.

Lekota did not see the question of armed struggle being involved at this round of talks.

It is believed that the ANC will make some general issues to try to minimize the duration of the armed struggle, but Lekota sees this happening later in the process.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC delegation led by deputy president Nelson Mandela said they were determined to remove obstacles from negotiations.

"We consider ourselves obligated to the international community for the support which it has received through a period of hardship in the past and will do everything to make a success of the present exercise." They said they were finding and refining their approach to the talks.

Also on the agenda will be the conditions of the meeting of the state of emergency, the situation of political prisoners and the question of the release of political prisoners. The result of meetings and the confidence against pronouncements.
Whither PAC, Azapo?

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

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

In the last week, the PAC has begun fielding teams in Johannesburg's Hillbrow suburb, making it the first political organisation to take cognisance of the political potential of the more than 500,000 black people in the area.

The organisation has also opened offices in several "coloured" townships including the sprawling Emeralds area southwest of Johannesburg as well as Bosmont and Riverlea - a clear indication of its muscling into areas that have large Azapo support.

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, the PAC has a virtual monopoly over Azapo in the Eastern Cape and the Free State. While a recent survey by the Macan advertising agency found that more supporters supported the PAC in the Transvaal than even in the ANC.

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

The ideological drift of the group has not been without confrontation. At a recent rally in Welkom, in the Free State, Azapo supporters were ordered by PAC followers to withdraw their flags at strategic points in the local stadium. At the funeral of PAC founder-member Japtha Masemola on Saturday, black crowds were greeted by PAC's move to withdraw their flags.

Black Consciousness further believes that all people struggling for self-determination are black.

Thus, the Lihlwanis are considered black as they have been politically, socially and economically oppressed.

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

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

But that is where the convergence of ideas ends.

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

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

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

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

Those black people, such as homeland leaders, who do not fit in with this idiom are regarded as "non-white,"${^1}$habituating the grey world where they are neither for liberation nor for in completely the "white person's world."
Dance for ANC leader's release

Explorers welcome Mandela

WELCOME MANDELA (NM 1) by Famous Explorers.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was released on February 11 this year in a blaze of publicity that attracted a lot of attention from curious people who would otherwise not have had an interest in the man. This goes for the many people who are now making a lot of money out of his name.

In many cities and towns across the country, shopowners do not know anything of the policies the man stands for. You also find mounted colour pictures of Mandela for sale in the streets which led to the UDP calling for Mandela's name to stop being exploited.

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

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

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

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

"What started as a reason simply to celebrate Mandela's homecoming, has assumed unexpected proportions."

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

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

Welcome Mandela is due for release in Europe, Britain, Japan and America.
Azapo, PAC tap grassroots

From NEIL LEWIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Confrontation

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

The ideological drift has not been without confrontation.

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

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

At the core of the "Africanist" philosophy is the belief that the fight in South Africa is against "settler colonialism" — an indigenous people being made landless and their culture alienated by an invading force.

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

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

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

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

But this is where the convergence of ideas ends.

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

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

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

Mr. John Gogotya, president of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) and spokesman for the Progressive Alliance group, said his delegation had hoped to see President F.W. de Klerk yesterday but had instead met Dr. Gerrit Viljoen and Mr. Adriaan Vlok.
MAY Day came at a point where negotiations were “thick in the air” and the liberation movement highly divided, NACTU general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said yesterday.

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

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

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

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

Another rally at Sharework was attended by about 2,000 people.

A statement by the Workers’ Organisation for Socialism — Action (Wosa), which seeks leadership of the black working class, said there were no shortcuts to freedom. "May Day has been won through mass struggle. Freedom will not be won through negotiations, but only through the struggle of the masses," Wosa said.

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

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

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

### NATAL UNREST DEATHS

<table>
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<td>February 1989 - April 1990</td>
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12 MEDIUM 15 WORD UNIT
Civics vote on unity

By CHIARA CARTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He said this was an important step towards building “people’s power”.

The first task of the interim committee is to finalise a range of draft resolutions.
MUSLIMS from all over South Africa will discuss the role and contributions of Muslims in a future South Africa at a three-day conference at the University of the Western Cape this weekend.

The major items of discussion will be the role of Muslims in a changing South Africa, the Muslim response to negotiations, and concerns and contributions of Muslims to the ANC constitutional proposals. (II A)

The opening programme will be held in the Gatesville Masjid at 7.30pm on Friday, May 4, 1990. (II A)

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

"If nothing else, the conference should prepare Muslims for a post-apartheid South Africa," said Mr Ebrahim Rasool of the Western Cape Convening Committee.

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

Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), said that, through the conference, a "far greater unity" would be established among Muslims in South Africa.

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

Religion in Focus

BY NOEL BRUYN

Talk or destroy

THE choice before South Africa is negotiations or destruction.

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

The wrong choice would mean an intensification of international pressure.

"Another consequence will be the intensification of internal pressure to the point of severe disruption.

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

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

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

Many people expected the Church to be a neutral mediator.

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

"The Church must take a stand for justice and truth," he said.
Keys to the door of peace

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

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

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, the economist and political restructuring had to occur simultaneously.

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

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

Compelling

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Provide for the effective participation of all significant interest groups irrespective of race.
- Create a situation in which all talent and leadership resources could work together in solving development problems.
- Effectively protect individual rights through a Bill of Rights.
- "We can have good government, because the essential checks and balances generated by such provisions will help to ensure that whatever leadership emerges in South Africa will seek creative compromises — compromises which will promote the interests of the disadvantaged, but without damaging the legitimate interests, economic confidence and willingness to co-operate of those who command the resources to invest, and those who currently have the skills to contribute to a process of dynamic development."

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

- Political balance had been achieved through development, social mobility and progress. This process had reduced gaps between the haves and the haves-nots.
- South Africa did not yet have the demography and the development to present to secure this balance automatically. Thus any settlement of political disputes had to attempts to build it in.
- "Whatever the grounds for political optimism may be, we dare not leave it to the political processes only.

Stimulated

These funds, he added, had to achieve further, without creating or sapping a bureaucratic, a national trust.

But because the very poor and affluent priorities would have to be addressed, both the State and the private sector had to be directed in such a way as to make the development process self-sustaining; class barriers, creating or sapping a bureaucratic, a national trust.

The model had to be one of developmental funds which went directly to areas in which there was a need for such a process.

"The challenge has to be faced, otherwise the conflicting demands of political and economic inequality in the country. Mr Steyn said South Africa faced a challenge in the field of development to face this challenge, as well as the political challenge, to seek equity, and the political challenge, to seek equity, not only in the State, but also in communities.
The PAC warns of unwelcome trade-offs

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Mr De Saai said the PAC's national executive committee would consider negotiations "only if the situation warrants it".
Violence could be sticking point

By TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

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

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

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

• The start of the great debate — page 17

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

• More pictures, page 17.
Thatcher, Mandela set to hammer out differences

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The majority of the people in the country would not be amused."
ANC choir interrupts PAC sermon

From ZOLA NTUTU

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

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

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

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

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

By Heather Robertson

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

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

Russell left South Africa in 1959 when she completed her BA degree at UCT. She has since studied in Britain and America. She acquired her professorship in sociology at Mills College in California, where she initiated the first course in Women's Studies in 1969.

Horrors

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

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

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

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

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

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

Diana Russell: "assisting the struggle in South Africa"

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

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

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

Although she is actively involved in radical feminist campaigns in the States, Russell has in some interviews steered away from asking questions on feminist issues.

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

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

She added that there might be a need for women to get together as mothers. Not all the interviewees shared this view, but many of the struggle against apartheid was the major issue."

What are her views on feminism in South Africa?

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

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

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

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

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

Traditional

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

Russell spoke to women activists from all over the country — including Shamilla Issel, Florence de Villiers of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (Baswe), Ruth Kompas of the ANC National Executive, Elsa Ramgobin of the Natal Indian Congress and Gertrude Fester of the United Women's Congress. After completing more than 60 interviews with these activists, Russell says she was so inspired she wanted to change her American citizenship.

Citizenship

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

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

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

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

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

'Thousands for classes'

Shock conditions at Cape school

Fagme wants WP cleanup

New manager to act on "bullyboy" image

Women, rape and the law

The ordeal which facing victims

Prisoners

As they sit down at the palatial home of Van Vuuren in Pretoria, a group of prisoners - about 20 of them - are held in custody. The men are suspected of being involved in the killing of a white man in Cape Town.

The prisoners say they were granted bail by the court, but were later arrested again. They claim they were tortured and beaten by police officers.

The government has ordered an investigation into the matter.

The leaders of the ANC have met with representatives of the government to discuss the release of political prisoners.

The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, says the release of the prisoners is a sign of good faith and a move towards peace.

On the other hand, the government says the release of prisoners is part of their strategy to weaken the ANC and pave the way for a new South Africa.

"We can't understand why they are doing this," said a government official.

The ANC leader, "Mandela, was upset by the release of prisoners.

"They are doing this to undermine our efforts," he said.

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Winnie's words terrifying — witness

The Argus Correspondent

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

With these words Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, began describing a series of interrogations and beatings which he and three other young men allegedly endured at Mrs Mandela's house at 58S Diepkloof Extension, Soweto.

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

At the start of the trial before Mr Justice B O'Donovan and two assessors in the Rand Supreme Court Mr Richardson pleaded not guilty to 11 counts — four of kidnapping, five of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, one of attempted murder and one of murder. The murder charge arises from the death of James "Stompie" Moketsi Sepei, 14.

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

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

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

"Quietness"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The hearing continues.
A hectic two days as teams bargain

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE next two days during the talks between the Government and the ANC are going to be hectic for both teams as well as for the Press corps who have flown in from all over the world. Sowetan 3/5/90

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

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

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

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

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

Interviews

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

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

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

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

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

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

SA PRESS
ASSOCIATION

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

The attack came five days after that in which PAC member Sam Chand and his family were killed in Botswana.

"The PAC rejects the ridiculous allegations by the South African intelligence that the parcel bomb attack on Fr Lapity might have been carried out in revenge of the assassination of our members, Sam Chand and his family in Botswana last week," said a statement released in Harare.

It dismissed allegations on both attacks as "part of an ongoing attempt to get us into a foul that will only benefit the enemy of our people."
Hopes for SA peace

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

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

He said the three-day talks, the first official meeting between the Government and its chief opponent, "end the terrible tradition of dialogue between master and servant, the terrible tradition which we have to overcome."

NELSON MANDELA

FW DE KLERK

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

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

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

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

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

The ANC wants the Government to end emergency rule, free all political prisoners and withdraw troops from townships. - Sapa-Reuters.
LONDON - Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday too much was at stake for either the white-led South African Government or the ANC to be "bloody-minded" in their first talks.

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

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

Visit

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

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

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

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

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

Government sources, speaking on condition they were not identified, said Mandela would visit Britain on July 3-4 for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

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

By MOSIUNGA TERROR LEKOTA on behalf of the ANC

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

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

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

Not the issue

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

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

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

Don't be shy

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

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

By CHRIS BATeman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Security police were in evidence in cars in the parking lot, and in the hotel building and corridors. A police service station worker along the way greeted the convoy with clenched fists and shouts of “viva”.

Youth are suspicious

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

‘African National Congress’

TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompati (left) of the ANC and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer. Below right: ANC spokesman Mr Joe Slovo and Dr Naude.
again that the white community, including the Afri-
caners, have nothing to fear of the ANC.
The composition of the ANC delegation which comprises all races and both sexes - was a "telling illustration" of the ANC's desire to include all South Africans in future South Africa.

Mr Mandela said: "This is the first time in 17 years that a truly serious meeting takes place between delegations of the ANC and the government of the white government that has ruled our country for generations.
"This fact is sobering in its implications.
He said the ANC believed that the circumstances existed which enabled "the people of our country to solve the grave problems which face us through negotiations.

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

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

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

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

"We have therefore come to this meeting not as representatives of the people of South Africa, but as members of the ANC delegation which we have innocently convinced that the world system of morality, which permits us to come to an end, without delay.

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

The sacrifices made by the people of South Africa demand that we should act with the necessary sense of responsibility to the dreams of millions of people who have been stimulated by the system of white minority domination into reality.

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

TOP: Getting down to talks are Ms Ruth Mompati (left) of the ANC facing Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Thulani Ngwenya and Minister of Law and Order Mr Alphonso Verwoerdt.

ABOVE: President PW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela during a break in talks. Interpreting is Mr Gerrit Viljoen.

CP in walk-out over ANC talks

By Barry Streek

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

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

It was ignoring the provisions of the Interna-
tional Security Act by negoti-
ing with people who were guilty of treason, he said.

"The CP's protest memorandum was an act of disownment of the falsities and misrepresentations," he said.

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

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

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

The Democra-
tic Party's co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said the CP's se-
tion was in line with a generally negative approach.

The CP

The CPF knew there were whites and members of other racial groups, not just Afri-
caners, who were worried about the future.

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

Youth are suspicious""Millions of militant young blacks could desert the ANC if talks with the government fail, according to Mr Beyers Naude, who is part of the ANC's talks team.

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

FW must 'address violence'

Own Correspondent

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

ANC denies loss of support

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota yesterday denied that the ANC was losing support in Natal and the Eastern Cape to other organizations.

He said the Natal Civic Association, the Natal Congress and the Federation of Transvaal Women were all part of the ANC's Alliance and, as such, were allied to the ANC.

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

Tutu 'very hopeful' on talks

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

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

Mandela to meet Maggie

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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Mr Mandela will also visit the European Parliament during its June session in Strasbourg.
and go off to a Good Start
What would Japtha have said?

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

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

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

Robben Island prison was a university of revolutionary theory. Inmates in the characterised camp employed Marxist and Leninist tools of analysis. Marxist theory was detested by Africanists, who saw it as a foreign ideology. Despite this, Masemola’s book helped him in his investigations. He and I found it useful in furthering the objectives of the struggle. You could take one step back in order to take two steps forward. Reforms were not a end in themselves, but a means to an end.

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

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

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

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

One would have thought Mothopeng’s and Makwetu’s views were going to make me feel unwelcome at the funeral. But I had been with Mothopeng in prison throughout my seven-year sentence, after all, and we had coped with our political differences.

Male and female PAC marchers had taken turns in forming the four-hour guard of honour next to Masemola’s coffin, which was draped with the organisation’s flag. Right hand raised and a miniature PAC flag in the left hand, they stood in rows of three on opposite sides of the elevated coffin. The open palms signified the organisation’s five-point political programme.

Cultural performances, including those by Amampondo, Carlos Djedje, Mafube Arts, the Saint Benedictary and Martyr Anglican church choirs and the gusripe Madingamoane’s poetry, were interspersed with shouts of “One settler one bullet”, “Afrika izwe letha” (Africa is our land) and the freedom song, Vut’lindiela Magobe (Show the way, Magobe).


Next came a雷霆 national negociations sleigher. “Negotiations are not liberation,” said PAC branch representative, Gaddafi Mudau. National Council of Trade Unions representative Cunningham Ngukuka attested what he called the “arrogance of the ANC” for this week’s meeting with the “oppressor without consulting with other sections of the liberation movement”.

Praising Masemola for joining “the galaxy of African heroes — Solukwe, Tito, and Biko”, Ngukuka said Masemola, however, had recognised that “conflicts with oppressors do end up at the negotiation table”. In an apparent reference to the ANC, he said: “The sell-out is thick in the air.” He said Ncuti was not opposed to negotiations, but it was not yet time for them. But Makwetu made no bones about his organisation’s stand on negotiations. He said: “We won’t negotiate until the question of our land, one-man-one-vote in a unitary state and a constituent assembly are on the agenda.” In conclusion, he shouted: “Koza kuba nini?” (Till when?).

Mothopeng amid cheers of “Ihlobiho Mthopeng” (Mthopeng the lion): “We are going to attain our freedom even if it is by force. We’ll revive the struggle of 1960, which was executed by us alone,” said Mothopeng amid shouts of “Izwe letha.” He continued: “We don’t announce to the enemy what we would do. The enemy can see from our actions.” The highlight of the occasion was the rendition of musical pieces by about 200 PAC ex-Robben Island prisoners together with the St Bernard the Martyr choir. Under the baton of Michael Rambu, and joined by the crowd, they sang: “Tell the love of Solukwe ... give a thought to Africa.”
Yes, MK are still recruiting ... so are the SADF

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joe Modise ... Carrying on

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A major area of consensus, according to Tito Mboweni of the ANC’s economics and planning department, was that economic growth should take place through redistribution. For instance, by increasing minimum wages a new larger market would be created for food, clothes, cars and many other consumer goods.

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

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

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

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

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

Professor Lawrence Harris, of Britain’s Open University, presented a paper on how to build and finance a mixed economy.
Number of armed attacks reaches peak

By GAVIN EVANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Letter bomb attack nearly takes life of Harare ANC priest

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

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

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

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

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

"Mike was tragically the target of the centralised, co-ordinated network of sabotage emanating from the Pretoria region," said Father John Osners. Lapsey, an Anglican priest who is the administrative secretary of the ANC's department of religious affairs.

"This was not an act of the lunatic fringe of the far right. It was part of the government's ongoing campaign to hit strategic supporters of the liberation movement. In Mike's case, we think his bombing may have been intended to throw the ANC's team in Cape Town off balance as they entered into the meetings with President FW de Klerk."

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

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

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

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

By Esmarié van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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

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

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

Mr Patrick Baleka, an aide to PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, said the men had not been seriously injured.

'Dubious' crashes

PAC finance secretary Mr Mike Matsoane told Sapa the organisation had been plagued by a spate of "dubious" car accidents in the past three weeks.

But Mr Baleka said yesterday's accident was not suspicious. "No-one is behind it. Car accidents happen."

He added: "Three weeks ago, Japhta Masemola died in a car accident under very dubious circumstances.

"Then Ishmael Chand died in a road accident on his way to his brother's funeral in Botswana. His brother Sam and his family was assassinated a week before.

"Now Mr Alexander and another aide have been injured in an accident. It is making us in the organisation suspicious."

Mr Alexander was returning to Johannesburg from Cape Town, where he had addressed a May Day rally, according to Mr Baleka.
Ten ANC dissidents still detained

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Ten African National Congress dissidents who were arrested on arrival in South Africa 10 days ago are still being held, a police spokesman said yesterday.

He declined to give any further details because they had been arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The Democratic Party has slated their continued detention as "one of the more disgraceful human rights violations in South Africa in recent months".

The DP's Law and Order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said there was no justification for the detention of the dissidents, who returned to South Africa apparently to form a rival organisation to the ANC after revealing earlier that they had been tortured in ANC camps in Tanzania and Angola.

Jeopardised

He said prospects of ultimate reconciliation would be seriously jeopardised if South African expatriates wishing to return to re-establish their roots were to be treated in this fashion.

Reacting to police comment that they were being held to establish whether they had committed any crimes, he said: "If these unfortunate people, who appear to have been the victims of human rights violations in the past, are to be detained because and for as long as the authorities know nothing about them, it constitutes one of the more disgraceful human rights violations committed in South Africa for many months."

While the ANC believed the dissidents were being "de-briefed" by security police, a spokesman for the Azanian People's Organisation said the detention proved that the Government would continue to exert its powers to stifle political debate.
New constitution: ANC wants an elected assembly

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC wants to see a constituent assembly elected to decide who should sit together and draw up the new constitution for South Africa.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday, Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, denied the party saw itself as the sole representative of South Africa's people.

"We recognise that there are other forces, and that they would have to be involved in the re-making of our country," he said.

"A meeting (of the groups) should draw up the constitution then refer it to the people.

"We would want to argue that there should be an elected constituent assembly, much like the one in Namibia.

"That would stop all the debates about who is bigger, and who is genuinely represented.

"At a certain stage before a new constitution is adopted, and before political structures change on the basis of it, there would need to be an interim government which enjoys the confidence of all political groups.

"But before we get there, there are other interim measures necessary.

"One which clearly will become a problem is the question of who directs the SABC. It is a public corporation, not the property of the NUF. It is a very powerful voice."

Mr Mbeki said that SABC coverage of the ANC had improved tremendously in recent weeks.

"But we have to accept that its leadership was put in place by (only) one of the parties to this week's talks.

"We need to have confidence in their impartiality. They must be able to operate with no pressure from either side."
Surveillance costing R4 500 was to have been carried out on former city councillor and civic personality Mr Pat Rogers, the Hiemstra Commission heard yesterday.

Mr Martin Hennig, a spy handler in the Johannesburg City Council's security department, said in testimony that Mr Rogers had been regarded as a "liberal."

In a profile compiled of Mr Rogers, he was suspected of having links with the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) and had advocated closer ties with the ANC.

The profile had arisen as a result of a 1987 resolution put forward by Mr Rogers that a city police force be established and that the members of it be allowed to serve as part of their national service commitments.

Mr Hennig said he concluded that Mr Rogers could, because of the resolution, be linked to the End Conscription Campaign, an organisation advocating alternative service.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, for various parties, described it as a "very serious allegation" to link Mr Rogers to the SACP.

Mr Hennig said Mr Rogers "was possibly a member and possibly not."

Questioned by Mr Marcus on whether being a sympathiser of radical organisations fell within the ambit of the security department's spying activities, Mr Hennig replied: "It is possible."

Mr Marcus asked him about invasion of privacy and Mr Hennig replied that it would "depend precisely what is required."

Mr Hennig admitted that there had been a number of mistakes in the profile and implied that the whole report could have been an error.

See Page 10.
Hopes for agreement on issue of prisoners and exiles

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Hopes are high that some agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles will emerge today from the all-important talks here between the African National Congress and the South African Government.

Government sources close to the talks do not expect a complete breakthrough today on all the obstacles to negotiation which are under discussion.

However, they think there could be a definite indication on how to solve the problem of releasing political prisoners and identifying which exiles may return.

They say it is possible some form of joint consultative process will be agreed on to determine who should be released and who allowed home.

Whether or not some form of commitment by the ANC on the issue of armed struggle emerges seems to depend on the last day of talks today.

The Government sources said the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was inextricably connected to other obstacles, such as the lifting of the state of emergency and the prisoners and refugees problem, and “that one can’t be addressed without the other”.

Yesterday’s second day of talks got down to the hard issues, but both sides reported progress.

They said yesterday’s session, dealing with differences on the question of obstacles to negotiation, had been “hard and practical”; one where the “nuts and bolts” had been discussed.

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in a brief joint statement, “expressed their satisfaction with the progress achieved thus far”.

Government and ANC sources have indicated that the two sides have rapidly broken the ice and are beginning to move towards common ground.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC’s head of internal affairs, said yesterday all the delegates had realised that their first meeting that movement forward was “not only necessary but also possible”.

He told the Cape Town Press Club that within minutes of meeting, both sides had realised “there was no one there who had horns”.

Govt foots the bill for ANC talks team

The likely hotel costs have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for a night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high — Mercedes Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to ferry the delegates to and from the talks at Groote Schuur in Newlands, and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

2 injured as locomotives collide

Staff Reporters

Two commuters were injured when two locomotive units collided with a stationary passenger train at Kempton Park Station during peak hour today.

An ambulance spokesman said a man and a woman were slightly injured but were not taken to hospital.

Police said the locomotive of a train, carrying passengers to Johannesburg, cut out.

Two units despatched to tow the train away ran into trouble when the brakes seized, sending the units crashing into a coach of a stationary train. Two compartments were smashed.

A railways spokesman said an alternative line was open for other trains.
Shift seen in ANC's stand on sanctions

WASHINGTON — Two New York city councillors have returned from a trip to SA, paid for by the Johannesburg City Council, calling for tougher sanctions — but with a twist that indicates the ANC's position on sanctions may be shifting.

The councillors, Abraham Gorges and Nosch Dear, want the immediate introduction of a Bill that would tighten New York's existing law against granting contracts to firms that have even non-equity ties to SA.

However, on what they claim is the advice of the Rev Beyers Naude, they are leaving open the question of whether the legislation should be enacted.

Gorges, chairman of the city's government operations committee, which has principal responsibility for drafting the Bill, said: "the threat of sanctions alone is a chip that can be used by the ANC to get talks (with the SA government) moving".

He said the idea of readying, but not necessarily passing, the Bill was suggested by Naude shortly before he joined the ANC negotiating team in talks with government this week.

This did not sit well with ANC New York representative Themba Ntanga, who charged that the two men were "apologists" for Pretoria in its efforts "to stave off new sanctions".

Ntanga said he had signalled ANC officials in SA not to see the two, but the message had evidently failed to get through.

But a representative of the American Committee on Africa, a leading sanctions lobby which heatedly attacked the trip, admitted yesterday that his organisation might be asked by the ANC to reassess its sanctions stance after the Cape Town talks.

He noted that Naude had recently given a speech voicing concern over the possible impact of sanctions on a post-apartheid economy.

Three black councillors were dissuaded from joining Gorges and Dear.

One, Archie Spigner of Queens, said he regretted having to drop out, but his constituency "went crazy".
In the wings

With the spotlight currently (as in the past) very much on the ANC and government, the temptation might be to relegate the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to irrelevancy. That would be a mistake.

It has been said that the ANC cannot afford to “fail” indefinitely (in delivering majority rule), without losing at least some of its support to its smaller, less compromising rivals in the PAC. Having embraced the idea of negotiation with government, the ANC could be gambling with high stakes. Any perceived “sell-out” could see the tables turn and the PAC automatically capitalising on it.

This appears to be its strategy — to outbid the ANC with militant rhetoric.

May be early days in the negotiation process, but already doubts are evident in the black community about its efficacy and direction. The Sovietan, for instance, in an editorial this week found another obstacle to negotiation in President F.W. de Klerk’s statement that the white electorate will have the final say on the new order to be negotiated: “More people will now be asking if the ANC is right in getting to the negotiating table at all. Worse still, De Klerk also said majority rule is out of the question.”

According to a survey carried out by the SA Institute of Race Relations in Soweto in February, PAC support among youngsters appears to be growing as the ANC is perceived as having been “promoted” by Pretoria. Among the army of feral black youth, the PAC could well find many potential recruits.

At the weekend funeral of PAC stalwart Jaftha Masemola, the PAC and Africanists affiliates such as union federation Naatu again slammed the ANC for its negotiation stance.

The secretary-general of the PAC’s internal wing, Benny Alexander, described the government-ANC talks due in Cape Town this week as a “mockery and a circus.” Those who participated were sell-outs if the talks did not include three items: redistribution of the land, majority rule and a constituent assembly.

“Slaves have nothing to gain from negotiating with their masters,” intoned internal PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, reiterating a Maoist slogan favoured by the PAC: You cannot win at the negotiating table what hasn’t been won in battle.

Azapo, too, has taken the ANC to task for meeting government “without a mandate.”

Signs of a PAC revival have been evident since the mid-Eighties, following internal factions and leadership disputes which had seen the organisation come close to being written off as a serious liberation movement. Building on Nyati Polecia’s leadership (1981-1985), current PAC external leader Johnson Mlambo significantly improved its image, forging official contacts with a number of countries, including the US and UK.

Reports of PAC insurgency suddenly started appearing from around March 1986. Later that year, then Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange spoke in parliament of a dramatic increase in PAC activity, with a strong element of Maoism in its rural subversion campaigns.

Key PAC policy formulators are Mlambo; the secretary for foreign affairs, Gota Ebrahim (whose brother, incidentally, is in the ANC); administrative secretary Joe Mkwazazi; secretary for labour Sam Makhanda; and Benny Alexander. All are generally regarded as impressive.

Today, observes SA Institute of International Affairs researcher Gary van Staden, “the PAC has adopted the perfect outbidding position vis-a-vis the ANC — standing on the outside and appealing to radical elements.”

This does not necessarily mean the PAC actually believes its rhetoric about a militant takeover (“one settler, one bullet”), or the land having to revert to its original indigenous owners before any talks can begin. At the moment, it can afford to sit on the sidelines and enter the negotiation process only at the point at which, if it didn’t, it would be excluded altogether.

In the meantime, the PAC seems to be gambling on its stock rising should talks come to naught, or if State repression delivers a more militant populace into its arms.
Nuts and bolts

Interested parties have spent weeks trying to establish just who and where are the "official" representatives of the ANC in Natal. Now the organisation has announced the formation of a Southern Natal Convening Committee (one of eight regional committees around the country) and the beginning of a recruitment drive in the province.

This week the committee, headed by former UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota (see People), began to get down to setting up branch offices and signing up members.

The committee is made up of veteran ANC, UDF and trade union members. At this stage the other members are: Archie Gumede, Diliza Mji, Sibusiso Ndebele, Billy Nair, Cloepas Ndlou, Virgil Bonhomme, Alec Irwin and Florence Mkhize.

Two of the biggest problems: continuing violence between ANC supporters and Inkhatha members in Natal; and the possibility of Inkhatha actively opposing the ANC recruitment drive (there has already been at least one incident of opposition).

Lekota says: "The committee is appointed, not elected. It will play a leadership role in the interim while ANC branches are being set up but, as soon as that part of the work is completed, a regional conference will be called (before December 16). At the conference a regional leadership will be democratically elected."

Reflecting on the earlier confusion over just who was calling the shots for the ANC in Durban, a statement from the new committee warned "the pretenders" who until recently presumed to speak for the ANC "to desist. The ANC wishes to point out that from now on she will speak for herself."

Membership cards (R12 a year) are being printed and new card-carrying members should soon be on the ANC's books. Lekota says he believes the ANC has "the greatest potential for membership in the region," a claim Inkhatha leaders will no doubt strongly dispute.
Co-operation growing, says Mbeki

Govt, ANC signal talks are on track

CAPE TOWN — As the Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC enter the crucial third and final day both sides are sending out strong signals that good progress is being made towards removing obstacles to negotiations.

In a joint statement issued last night, Premier F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed their satisfaction with the progress so far.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club yesterday ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said the general feeling in his organisation's delegation was that movement forward was not only necessary but possible.

After a NP caucus meeting that was apparently briefed on the progress of the talks yesterday, NP chief whip Reipile Niemann said: "The caucus has now noted with enthusiasm and gratitude the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks aimed at achieving peaceful negotiations towards the creation of a new SA."

The joint government/ANC statement noted that yesterday's talks concentrated on a general discussion of the issues each party regarded as obstacles to starting negotiations on a new constitution.

It said: "Today's meeting was devoted to a wide ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of the specific issues in an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences."

Mbeki said the participants on both sides found each other "perfectly reasonable people committed to finding solutions" who recognised the talks should have taken place "many years ago."

He said there was a feeling of surprise among participants because within a matter of minutes of sitting down "everyone understood that there was nobody there with horns."

"When all of us departed, the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, it is possible."

Before beginning his address, Mbeki said the parties to the talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over.

Asked to describe the "flavour" of the first official encounter between the ANC and government, Mbeki said: "I really think the atmosphere was very good. "It is very serious but not solemn."

It also had its jocular moments.

Mbeki said he had jokingly referred to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha as his deputy.

"He was not very pleased with that," Mbeki said.

He said it was clear "there has to be an increasing degree of co-operation" between the ANC and government to address matters of common concern, such as the violence in the townships.

He said he did not know whether such efforts would be institutionalised or whether there had to be co-operation.

The ANC did not consider itself to be the "sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of SA," he said.

There were other organisations opposed to apartheid which would have to be represented at the negotiating table.

If the current round of talks succeeded in removing the obstacles to negotiation, the next problem would be to decide who would sit around the negotiation table to decide on a new constitution.

He said it was obvious a basic divide existed between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should be recognised racially and ethnically and that no solution in terms of a group-based solution.

The ANC believed "our side" would comprise a broad front including the UDF and Cosatu as well as homeland leaders who rejected the group concept and "very many white people."

Sitting next to De Klerk on the "group-based" side would be leaders such as those who claimed to represent seven million Zulus — an apparent reference to KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commitment to the establishment of an interim government to supervise elections for a constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution, as in Namibia.

The NP is firmly opposed to such a scenario, but Mbeki said the ANC would attempt to convince De Klerk he was "wrong."

De Klerk has said the tricameral Parliament would have to approve any constitutional changes before they were implemented and has promised to put any proposals to the white electorate.

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Talks on track
THE GROOTE SCHUUR TALKS  

It was with a remarkable degree of realism that the ANC and the National Party prepared for their talks in Cape Town this week.

Neither side expected significant gains in this initial round of discussions, aimed at removing obstacles to further talks. The common attitude seemed to be open-mindedness and a willingness to listen.

There was a belief on both sides that while the obstacles are not insurmountable and can be overcome through compromise, it was further felt that once the obstacles are removed, the constitutional negotiations themselves will progress rapidly.

There was last-minute posturing — Foreign Minister Pik Botha in parliament last Thursday; SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo; and — to a lesser extent — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Alfred Nzo at a public rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

However, both delegations were apparently firmly committed to being as open and honest as possible once the talks got under way. The agreed venue for the meeting is the historic Groote Schuur, a former residence of prime ministers and now a type of museum on the Groote Schuur estate not far from the president's residence, Westbrook.

One diplomat monitoring developments was so optimistic about the prospect of success that he commented that it was not the battle lines that had been drawn, but the peace lines. It seems both sides accept that it will be far more difficult to move backwards than forwards.

However, government is concerned that expectations of what these talks will achieve may have been pumped too hard both locally and abroad and there were behind-the-scenes efforts this week to tone down what was seen as “media hype.” Government is also anxious for the talks to be seen as merely an attempt to remove obstacles and not the start of constitutional negotiations.

A senior government source says it must be remembered that similar, lower profile “obstacle-removing” meetings have already been concluded successfully between government and other interested groups, such as the KwaZulu government and other homeland administrations.

Government still insists that constitutional negotiations must be as comprehensive as possible. It is envisaged that once the obstacles troubling both government and the ANC have been removed, both parties will move towards wider-ranging multi-lateral talks which include other groups.

This week's talks were due to start on Wednesday as the FM went to press and were expected to last until Friday. Although a “steering committee” formed from both sides completed groundwork before the talks started, issues such as the final agenda and rules of procedure were due to be discussed again by the full meeting at its first session.

Both sides were reasonably confident that the talks would not easily break down. They cited the personalities of Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk as a unifying factor. Both men respect each other.

Though the run-up to talks was marked by some harsh statements on both sides, it was generally accepted that they were a necessary part of the positioning process. It seems that government is still pursuing an “anti-Slovo” line in an apparent attempt to drive a wedge into the ANC.

Speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget vote in parliament last week, Botha savaged the ANC for failing to acknowledge the collapse of Marxism.

He said it was “almost unbelievable” that organisations in SA were proposing one-party states and centralised economies and the “new Utopia” at the very time those systems were collapsing in east and central Europe.

He likened the Marxist ideologues in the ANC to the apartheid ideologues in the Conservative Party. “The CP is as great a danger to the survival of whites, and specifically Afrikaners, as the conservatives in the ANC are to the survival of blacks. Both want to fight it out. Both want all or nothing. Each wants to rule the other.”

Botha said the ANC’s paradoxical stand on violence and its links with the SACP were damaging its image. He suggested that Slovo travel to eastern Europe to see what sort of crowd he could attract at a public meeting.

He said Slovo guided and dominated the ANC and appealed to foreign media — particularly those from the Eastern Bloc — who will report on this week’s talks to highlight his “prominent” role.

But at Mitchell’s Plain on Sunday, Mandela pledged solidarity with Slovo’s CP and said the ANC had rejected a government appeal to drop Slovo from its negotiating team. He and Nzo also pledged themselves to peace and were seen to be conciliatory.

Slovo, on the other hand, took a harder line in an hour-long address. While he welcomed the prospect of a peaceful settlement to SA’s problems, he insisted on government’s acceptance of the ANC’s list of preconditions for constitutional talks. He also repeated the views of other speakers that the “struggle” must meanwhile go on and said the “armed struggle” had contributed to the climate for this week’s talks.

The Mitchell’s Plain meeting was seen as a disappointment for the ANC. The weather was wet, cold and windy and only about a quarter of the expected 100 000 people pitched up.

In the wings

With the spotlight currently (as in the past) very much on the ANC and government, the temptation might be to relegate the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) to irrelevancy. That would be a mistake.

It has been said that the ANC cannot afford to “fail” indefinitely (in delivering majority rule), without losing at least some of its support to its smaller, less compromising rivals in the PAC. Having embraced the idea of negotiation with government, the ANC could be gambling with high stakes.

Any perceived “sell-out” could see the tables turn and the PAC automatically capitalising on it.

This appears to be its strategy — to outbid the ANC with militant rhetoric.

It may be early days in the negotiation process, but already doubts are evident in the black community about its efficacy and direction. The Sowetan, for instance, in an editorial this week found another obstacle to negotiation in President F.W de Klerk’s statement that the white electorate will have the final say on the new order to be negotiated: “More people will now be asking if the ANC is right in getting to the negotiating table at all. Worse still, De Klerk also said majority rule is out of the question.”
Being there

In the latest edition of SA Forum, Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Esterhuysen looks at negotiations between the National Party and ANC. These are some of his views.

Negotiating a new constitution for SA requires a strategy which addresses the twin problems of a general consensus on broad political goals and agreement on procedures. The latter is of vital importance: given the absence of such a broad consensus, it requires what could be called a process of bargaining.

This, to be successful, requires at least the following:

☐ Acceptance by the parties to the conflict that the cost of maintaining traditional positions is too high;
☐ A clear understanding that there need not be winners or losers but that all parties to the conflict could get something from a resolution;
☐ A willingness to compromise; and
☐ Acceptance by the parties that the initial aim of the process should be a serious attempt to establish a contact zone or middle ground.

The nature of the conflict in SA requires at this stage what could be called a process of "bargaining about bargaining." The question arises whether a contact zone is at all possible — given the mutually exclusive normative models of the incumbents and some of their challengers.

The potential for establishing some common ground in cases of mutually exclusive normative models and visions relates, first of all, to the willingness of the parties to compromise. Such willingness does not materialise on purely moral grounds. Nor does it result from a sudden change in political style or attitude. It stems primarily from the conflicting parties realising the cost of continuing the conflict is too high.

Indications are the leaderships of both the National Party and ANC are at present considering the cost of continuing conflict. Whether people like it or not, willingness to compromise and enter into a process of bargaining is directly related, in the modern world, to the kind of international pressures experienced by the parties to a conflict.

Mutually exclusive normative models and visions do not necessarily preclude bargaining about bargaining, or a settlement process. In politics, factors like costs, international pressure and socio-political forces — together with a leader’s perception and interpretation of them — can make a difference.

What has happened recently in SA is a good example of the fact that the mutually exclusive nature of competing models and visions does not imply an absence of any interaction. The SA government and ANC do not ignore each other. Tactically and strategically, they are compelled to reckon with each other. It is significant that the ANC, in its list of what government should do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, has moved away from the condition that all apartheid legislation should be abolished.

The legislation in question entails the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act in particular. Acts which form the cornerstones of the present system of government and constitutional dispensation.

It seems as if the ANC is prepared to have these Acts discussed during the process of negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

What is expected from government is a clear commitment that these Acts are not non-negotiable (government has already indicated its willingness in this respect).

What it all adds up to is a greater willingness to accept the need for a transitional period as well as joint action to rid the country of the remaining vestiges of apartheid.

Agreement on a transitional stage — including the sequencing of the implementation of a settlement and consensus on how and by whom the country should be governed during this period — will contribute to stability, offsetting white concerns about the future.

Negotiated settlements do not have the character of a "Big Bang" event. They materialise gradually and require creative leadership, confidence-building and a sincere desire to find compromises.
The problem with being perfectly legal

Face-to-face with
JOE SLOVO

By GAYE DAVIS and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE South African Communist Party has no plans to change its name — despite the fact that many communist parties in Eastern Europe have judged it wise to do so — but is nevertheless gearing itself up for major structural adaptations.

In an interview with the Weekly Mail, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said this week that the party’s constitution, and even its programme, would have to be revised “because obviously the kind of conditions we have been forced to operate in underground . . . do not permit of the same kind of accountability and ideals of democracy within an organisation that we aspire to.”

Slovo said he and his colleagues hadn’t “turned our attention to the question of a name change, nor is it in our thinking”, but accepted that strategic and practical changes might have to take place.

Primarily, the party had to make the transition from under to above ground: “We are in the process of setting up national leadership and establishing an above-board legal organisation. But in our case the process is slightly more complex than that of the African National Congress. We’ve got to think about the way of doing it a little more carefully (as) I should imagine we would become the prime targets of the rightwing — this is a factor which influences the pace at which we can get going.”

“We have underground structures in place . . . and the process of transforming the structures underground into legal structures is taking place.”

But for the moment, said Slovo, “the underground (structures) will not be abandoned. We are not yet certain and cannot be certain of the outcome of this whole process (of negotiation). We can’t be certain that there won’t be a back door. It would be foolish for us to be too euphoric.”

Nevertheless, said Slovo, he believed that “within this year (the SACP) would have a public face” within South Africa. “We are going on a recruitment drive,” he said, “and we’ve announced to people that we would like them to create what we call Umsebenzi discussion circles (Umsebenzi is the SACP’s official publication) . . . in order to study our party’s programme. We are going to open offices.”

Recruitment, Slovo would be directed at “all levels” of society. “But of course as a party which emphasises the role of the working class this would obviously be in their favour.”

“We believe that we should become a large party without sacrificing quality. We hope to attract what we consider to be the thousands of workers and youth who have visibly expressed in the past period support for our party and an eventual future of socialism.”

Asked whether he believed the ANC’s alliance with the SACP might have “scared off” potential white supporters of the movement, he said this was more than compensated by strong support in the black community.

There was no conflict of interest between the objectives of the ANC and the SACP — but he was not saying there never would be, Slovo said.

Neither the ANC nor the SACP believed socialism was “immediately on the agenda”.

“I think it must be accepted that the day after the transformation the situation is exactly the same as the day before — and therefore the objectives for which both the ANC and the SACP stand would have to be consolidated. I foresee a relatively long period in which both organisations will co-operate in order to carry out those tasks.”

But there was no doubt that the ANC was “going to grow into an organisation with millions of members”.

“It will attract all kinds of strata and groups. I’ve no doubt therefore that within the ANC there will be perhaps a greater ideological contest concerning the future path of development.”

“But we believe it is correct for the ANC to be what it is — and that is a multi-class organisation which up to now has broadly speaking had a bias in favour of the working people. Of course, those of us in the ANC who approve of that bias will continue to argue for its maintenance.”

The SACP-ANC alliance had not been one-way, he said.

Nor would there be any conflict of interest during this week’s “talks about talks”: “We have both discussed as organisations the negotiating process and endorsed the main positions of the ANC. I don’t envisage there will be a decision to which we will object.”

Slovo said he was “philosophic” about being made answerable to whites’ worst fears: “I’ve been built up as their main bogeyman. It’s earned me a great deal of following among 90 percent of the people! I’d rather not have that reputation among any section of the people, but it is the price of principle.”

The potential for the SACP’s growth as an above-ground party was “enormous”, Slovo said. “I had no doubt that the party would exceed its record membership levels of the 1940s. This was despite the fact that the SACP was getting no support from Eastern Europe, and didn’t expect any — unfortunately.”

He added that the SACP leadership fully supported President Mikhail Gorbachev’s moves toward reform in the Soviet Union: “We welcome the process that’s going on. We think that if it succeeds socialism will be saved.”

Yes, they DID meet in March

AFRICAN National Congress and South African government representatives met in Geneva in March to clear the way for this week’s “talks about talks”, ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo has confirmed.

The Weekly Mail reported at the time — soon after the February 2 unbanning of the organisation — that preliminary discussions had taken place. But a veil of silence was drawn over the contact, amid official denial.

This week Nzo said in an interview with the Weekly Mail: “Obviously meetings took place. When people are preparing to meet, obviously someone has to draw up an agenda and so on.”

A joint team made up of ANC personnel and government representatives was established to deal with such issues, Nzo said. “There were a lot of meetings in South Africa to prepare an agenda — but the preliminary contact was in Geneva.”
Azapo, PAC won’t be seen anywhere near the talks table

The PAC, Azapo and Nactu have accused the ANC of being ‘sell-outs’ by talking to the government; they have called on the ANC to abandon the talks. The PAC says it will not be found ‘within spitting distance’ of the negotiations table. By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

THE African National Congress’ political rivals have poured scorn on the organisation for engaging the government in talks.

Strong attacks have come from the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azapo and the National Council of Trade Unions.

In an open letter to the ANC this week, Azapo urged the ANC to abandon the talks, saying President FW De Klerk merely want the ANC to ‘endorse apartheid’.

“Even at this late hour we call upon the ANC to refrain from meeting the De Klerk regime. We urge the ANC to abandon De Klerk and embrace the revolutionary forces,” Azapo claims the talks do not have the mandate and support from the “oppressed”, and that they will only serve to “legitimize the new form of apartheid being projected by the De Klerk government”.

The letter also intimates that in going ahead with the talks the ANC is trying to beat other organisations to power — but says this power is illusory and by so doing the ANC is falling prey to the state’s ploy to divide resistance organisations.

Organisations should come together to “plan the final strategy for the regime’s total defeat”.

The strategy Azapo proposes in the letter is for organisations to jointly work towards intensifying “all forms of struggle” and strengthening the “people’s organisations” to achieve maximum unity to seize power. And negotiations are not the way to achieve this, the letter continues.

Talks will fail because De Klerk has stressed his rejection of one person, one vote in a unitary state and the redistribution of land and wealth.

He will also not negotiate minority rights and the maintenance of the free enterprise system — according to Azapo.

The organisation adds that even the “inadequate demands in the Harare Declaration”, except for the unbanning of political organisations, have not been met by the government, and this should indicate to the ANC that these are “non-talks — between masters and subject”.

PAC Vice-President Clarence Makhulu said the “ANC had sold out” by talking to the state.

Western Cape PAC representative Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation was “very apprehensive” about the talks and warned that “unacceptable compromises” might be made. He said that De Klerk was not being honest and that the PAC would not “be going within spitting distance of that table’.

Nactu representative Cunningham Ngekana said: “The government is not serious about negotiations, and the ongoing campaign of terror by police, detentions and harassment put the oppressed in a position of weakness at the negotiating table.

He added: “The outcome of the talks is binding on the ANC membership only, no one else”.

The newly formed socialist organisation, Workers for Socialist Action, also rejected the talks: “Not addressing the land question or the redistribution of wealth will not overcome centuries of dispossession and exploitation”.

“The free enterprise system will simply etrench inequality.”
A strange thing happened in Africa this week

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Govt to pay ‘poor’ ANC’s hotel bill

By CHRIS BATEMAN and NORMAN PATTERTON

THE government will pick up the tab for the ANC delegation’s stay at the five-star Lord Charles Hotel at Somerset West, a government spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Neither the government, the ANC nor the hotel management would say how much the stay would cost, but it is estimated this will come to almost R10 000 a day — and about R70 000 for the week.

This does not include the cost of housing 53 government officials, mostly security personnel.

A spokesman at an ANC information centre in the hotel said yesterday that the ANC occupied 31 rooms.

“The rooms are shared by two or three people,” the spokesman said. She would not release further details.

The ANC convener for the southern Natal region, Mr Patrick “Terror” Lekota, said at the hotel that in the past ANC members had “slept on cement floors and eaten mealie meal”, but in this instance the government had offered to pay. The ANC was a poor organisation, he added.

A government spokesman said in Cape Town that the government was arranging the group’s accommodation — and the expense — “in order to facilitate security arrangements”.

The hotel charges R240 a day for an ordinary room, breakfast included.

Ignoring the chances that ANC executives occupy any of the eight luxury suites, the cost of the 31 rooms would come to R7 440 a day. If 60 dinners a night — each costing R40 — were added that would add another R2 400, making a daily total of R9 840.

The group moved in last Saturday and will book out tomorrow.
Close watch on teetotal ANC leader

Staff Reporter

NR Nelson Mandela doesn't drink alcohol and takes soda water with his meals, according to staff at the Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West, where the ANC delegation is staying.

"His bodyguard is right with him all the time, shadowing and serving him, which is sometimes disconcerting to staff," said an employee.

The hotel, set just off the N2, offers a magnificent view of the Hottentots Holland Mountains and is built around a stream that is visible from the hotel.

There is a cordial and friendly atmosphere between the predominantly white security minders and the ANC officials, who also have at their disposal the use of a swimming pool with nearby ladies' bar, trampoline, volleyball court, three tennis courts, fishing facilities, a heli-pad and a business centre.

In the lush lounge area a woman pianist provides soothing music on a grand piano.

The ANC group dines in a separate dining area, and prefers to eat mainly from the carvery, shunning more varied dishes.

But if they wished, they could order, as a starter, terrine of kingklip with smoked salmon, graced with delicate horse-radish sauce, at R10.75, or cream of fresh leek blended with cream and spiced with a dash of Beefeater gin at R5.25.

For salad they could have sautéed chicken livers, flambe with calvados and finished with cream and served in a bed of lettuce hearts — at R8.75.

In the line of fish are Canadian salmon set upon a delicate Sauvignon Blanc sauce at R19.50 or shallow fried rainbow trout garnished with grapefruit segments and roasted hazelnuts at R10.25. The fish come with a choice of sauces and fresh vegetables.

Main courses on offer include poached breast of chicken in a pink lobster sauce garnished with prawn tail at R18.75 or breasts of guinea fowl gently braised in Amaretto and dressed with pine kernels — R24.95.

There are also pan-fried veal steaks set on a tarragon sauce and garnished with strips of fresh leek at R18.75, or noisettes of lamb topped with a rosemary crust and served with a Madeira sauce.

The buffet and carvery are both R29.50.
State pays the ANC hotel bill

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
AFRICAN National Congress exiles visiting Cape Town for talks with the government this week are truly guests of the State ... the government is footing the bill for their luxury hotel accommodation, transport and security.

About 30 rooms - one whole wing - of the five-star hotel near Somerset West have been occupied by the ANC team.

Some of the rooms are being used for meetings.

SPECIAL RATES

The likely hotel costs - which will include telephone and other bills - have not been divulged. The hotel charges R225 for a single room for one night, but special rates are available for group bookings.

Transport costs will also be high - Mercedes-Benz cars and minibuses are among the vehicles used to take the delegates to and from the hotel at Groote Schuur in Newlands and a police helicopter escorts the motorcade.

In a brief statement, the Bureau for Information said: "In order to facilitate security arrangements, the government took responsibility for arranging the accommodation and local transport of the delegation and for the expenditure involved."

Whites ‘stripped of rights’

Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) said a country could not carry on indefinitely granting citizenship to people who were not born in that country.

Mr Frikkie van Deventer (NP Durbanville) said South Africa respected Namibia’s right to claim loyalty from its citizens, in line with international standards.

Mr Yusuf Seedat (Solidarity-nominated) said the Bill was a natural consequence to Namibia attaining its independence and it was understandable that its government would not sanction dual citizenship.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP Green Point) said the Democratic Party would not support the Bill because there had been no negotiations with the Namibian government.

South African citizens who left to live in another country lost their citizenship only after seven years.

"We do not see why Namibians should lose their South African citizenship so arbitrarily. The government is going about this Bill in a hurry. It should have been advertised so that South African citizens in Namibia could have a chance to decide on what they want to do." - Sapa.

Open up public service

IF South Africans were moving into a new South Africa, people of all races had to be brought into the top level of the public service, Dr J C Botha (CP Wonderboom) said.

Speaking in the debate on the administration and economic co-ordination vote, Dr Botha said only a minimum of blacks were employed in State departments. Of the 131 people employed in the Office of the State President, no black, Indian or coloured people were employed. - Sapa.

Ways to streamline public service sought

Political Staff

THE government is almost halfway through a job-by-job evaluation of the public service to establish where it can be streamlined.

This was disclosed in parliament by Dr Wim de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination, who is conducting the scrutiny.

The government aimed to shrink the public sector’s role in the economy, he said.

Dr de Villiers said yesterday a function evaluation programme had been completed in 10 departments. It was in progress in 13 more departments.

Mr Panie Jacobs (CP Losberg) was ordered by the Chairman to leave the Chamber of Parliament after he implied President de Klerk was involved in politics of treason.

Woodside

Mr Thabo Mbeki addresses the Cape Town Press Club.

Nobody at talks has horns - Mbeki

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegates at the Groote Schuur talks realised within hours of sitting down to their first formal meeting that they had been “foolish” not to have got together for talks years ago, said ANC former exile Mr Thabo Mbeki.

“We were a bit surprised, I think, at how foolish all of us have been because in a matter of minutes everybody in the room understood that nobody there had horns,” he told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday.

“Everybody understood that these discussions ought to have taken place many years ago, and that everybody sitting in the room was perfectly reasonable and committed to finding a solution.”

Mr Mbeki added: “When the meeting closed on Wednesday, the general feeling, I think, was that not only was movement forward necessary, but possibly that it was a good thing to be participating in the process of moving this whole thing forward.”

In lighter vein, Mr Mbeki disclosed that he and his colleague Ms Ruth Mompati intended chiding a cabinet minister at the talks for “doing his office work” at the negotiating table.

He said he and Ms Mompati had decided to “complain” to the unnamed minister for this perhaps inappropriate devotion to duty.

They had noticed the minister “spending a lot of time doing his office work” during Wednesday’s session.

Mr Thabo Mbeki addresses the Cape Town Press Club.

Won applause

Another mischievous disclosure won applause from his audience.

Lifting the covers on lighter moments at the Groote Schuur meeting, Mr Mbeki said he had remarked at the start of the meeting that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was “my deputy.”

He wasn’t sure that Mr Botha was “very pleased with that,” he added.

In fact, Mr Mbeki said, the atmosphere at the talks was “very good, very serious, but not solemn.”

THE independence of Namibia had stripped all whites in that country of their citizenship rights and that was what South Africa would become, said Mr J C Botha (CP Wonderboom).

Speaking during debate on the Extended Public Committee on South African Citizenship at Attainment of Independence of Namibia Regulation Bill, Mr Botha said the honeymoon of the Namibian constitution would soon be over and the country would revert to a communalistic state.

“If you want to see what the new South Africa is going to look like, look at Namibia. They have stopped religious devotions at schools. There is no Die Stem or Day of the Vow. Whites in Namibia have been stripped of all their rights of citizenship in that they have no say over these matters any more.”

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said the Bill was the last chapter of the tragic history of Namibia.

“Few people who have left Namibia to come and live in South Africa support the National Party because of their experiences.”

CP member ordered out

Mr Panie Jacobs (CP Losberg) was ordered by the Chairman to leave the Chamber of Parliament after he implied President de Klerk was involved in politics of treason.

Speaking on the Administration and Economic Co-ordination Vote, he said: “The politics currently being followed are those of treason. You (the President) have no mandate to do what you are doing.”

Mr Jacobs refused to withdraw the statement and was ordered out. - Sapa.
THABO MBeki AT THE TALKS YESTERDAY:

"How foolish we all were ..."

'O Nobody with horns' ... ANC delegates Ruth Mompati, Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise and Thabo Mbeki

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Atapix

not to do this ages ago.

Hopes high as both sides realise ... This discussion should have happened years ago

By GAYE DAVIS and SHAUN JOHNSON

ONLY minutes after taking their seats at the negotiating table, both sides at this week's historic talks in Cape Town realised "how foolish we'd all of us been", said African National Congress diplomatic head Thabo Mbeki.

He told an audience of 400 guests of the Cape Town Press Club yesterday: "We were all of us a bit surprised ... within a matter of minutes, everyone understood there was no one in the room who had been — and that in fact, this discussion ought to have taken place years ago.

"And when we closed, the general feeling was that not only is forward movement necessary but that it is also possible."

Mbeki's address, which came at the mid-point of the three-day "talks about talks", signalled the rapport which appears to have been achieved by the two opposing sides.

While his speech suggested that agreement on issues of conflict is still far from being achieved, it reflected a breakthrough in personal relations and attitudes among the country's major political players.

It was also a diplomatic tour de force from the man who is regarded as the ANC's crown prince: the audience was visibly impressed by his sophisticated and conciliatory approach. Introducing Mbeki, Cape Town Press Club president Alan Daggan said many in the audience had never met an ANC official and it was "long overdue".

Stressing that both sides had agreed not to disclose details of the talks before their conclusion later today — an arrangement Mbeki described as "very fair" — he applied out the ANC's view of how the negotiating process should unfold.
Hopes high as talks begin
in good spirits

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that these decisions have been

interpreted accurately.

What happens next, he said, was
to analyze the talks and what the

results were.

The "basic political conflict" in

the talks was between the people

who, on the left, said they should

be in a reunification, the blacks

in South Africa, and those who

said there should be change but favored a

group-based solution.

"I'm trying to be open," Mbeki

said. "If earlier days I would have

said that it was a policy of apartheid.

The ANC leader rejected suggestions

that his organization was itself in the

"wider and significant" representative

of the majority of South Africans.

"The ANC recognizes that many

people are involved in the struggle

against apartheid and that should be

recognized in the process of national

reconciliation," the country, he said.

"I would hope that the future will

people want to live on their land," Mbeki

said.

The United Democratic Front, the

Congress of South Africa Trade

Unions, church leaders and other
groups would definitely be on the ANC

table, he said. There would also be "people

who were outside the government

institutions," he said. Those included

leaders who had not participated in

the negotiations.

The ANC was trying to reach

a consensus on the kind of framework

leaders who feel they have a different

voice, he said. But it would probably

be a "champion" of the different

people who would participate in

the talks.

The talks would be "woven together"

and many other people who are not

interested in the political process,

Mbeki said.
Team stabbed
man — witness

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — After being assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela and members of her soccer team, Mr Kenny Kgase was asked to join the team and a few days later was taken along when team members caught and stabbed a man.

This evidence was led in the Rand Supreme Court during the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson. Mr Richardson, 41, of Orlando West has pleaded not guilty to four counts of kidnapping, five of assault with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, one of attempted murder and one of murder.

“Kicked Stomppie”

Continuing his evidence in chief yesterday, Mr Kgase said he and the other three were guarding that night by Mr Richardson and a man called Slash.

Later a “tall, muscular man” arrived and asked who they were. Mr Richardson repeated the allegations against the four young men and the newcomer became angry with Stomppie.

“He said that is the last thing that can happen when people are fighting for a just cause. He kicked Stomppie and asked why he did it. Stomppie couldn’t answer and he became more angry. He kicked Stomppie around the room,” Mr Kgase said.

On New Year’s Day last year, Mr Kgase said, Stomppie was told to write his address on a piece of paper because he was going home. Various men spoke to Stomppie before Mr Richardson told him to collect his belongings.

He decried January 2 as a “different day” saying everyone referred to them as comrades and they were told the past was forgotten. Mr Richardson asked him if he played soccer.

“He said he was looking forward to having a strong team. I was asked if I was going to join them and I said ‘no’. They said they had a league with people in exile,” Mr Kgase said.

He said that before he gave his answer, everyone was taken out to a piece of open ground to do strenuous exercises.

Later there was a debate about who should be taken with Mr Richardson and other team members.

Mr Kgase said they were not sure what was happening but eventually were escorting a man in a red shirt to see “Mummy”.

Later he was ordered to hold the man’s legs while Mr Richardson sat on the man’s chest and stabbed him with a blade from a pair of garden shears, the court heard.

The hearing continues.
BY JOOST WENZEL, MICHAEL MORRIS and MICHAEL DOMAN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Groote Schuur talks between the government and the ANC have laid the foundations for the start of real constitutional negotiations.

Delegates came away with a great sense of momentum. Distrust has been removed and on both sides there was astonishment at how well they got along.

For some on the government side it was a “cathartic experience” to listen to an ANC delegate’s explanation of the frustrations of an organisation which had been cut off from normal channels of political communication and which finally found itself with no choice but to resort to violence.

With no contact between them over many years, except through police action after bomb or landmine explosions, they realised time was needed to listen to each other, assess each other’s sincerity and build up some openness and trust.

Outstanding success

In that sense the meeting was an outstanding success. In some cases there are said to have been such “revealing perspectives” from both sides that many of the preconceptions they had before the talks would have to be rethought.

The talks were meant to deal only with obstacles to real negotiations. But in informal discussions - sometimes at lunch or at dinner breaks - reference was also made to what was meant by protection of minority rights and to how Nationalists thinking on some basic policies had changed.

Above all, the talks made the delegates develop a taste for consultation. Said one: “It made us feel this was a diet we needed in greater quantity.”

An important spin-off will therefore be an increase in formal and informal meetings between the two sides. While there is already a “hot-line” between Mr Mandela and Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok and personal contact between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk, further arrangements will be made for improved communication.

While they still have much to learn about each other, there are also considerable problems facing the joint working group appointed to address certain problems, with May 21 as its deadline.

Return of the exiles

One of those not mentioned in the “Groote Schuur Minute” issued after the talks is the economic implications of the return of the exiles.

Peace and co-operation were the themes of the delicately worded two-page joint communiqué, the objectives of which both sides agreed to achieve as soon as possible.

The question of the armed struggle remains one of the most critical. In what has been described as “every considerable progress” the ANC has agreed to review it.

Mr Mandela said at the joint Press conference: “The ANC intends to fulfill everything that has been said in this document (the Groote Schuur Minute).”
And the NP's 103-member caucus said yesterday in a statement after a briefing on the talks that it "noted with enthusiasm and grateful appreciation the progress that has been made this week with constructive talks aimed at achieving peaceful negotiation towards the creation of a new SA".

The statement, issued by the NP's chief whip, Mr Keppies Niemann, said the caucus unanimously expressed its thanks to President De Klerk and his team for the "positive initiatives that have been taken and the progress made so far".
20,000 for repatriation, says the ANC

ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE
LUSAKA. — The African National Congress says about 20,000 exiles will have to be repatriated to South Africa once all obstacles to their return have been cleared.

At the same time the organisation estimates that there are about 400,000 South African emigrants around the world, many of whom would like to return.

Mr. Jackie Salehe, co-ordinator of the ANC’s repatriation committee, told the Africa News Organisation, Adv., that the ANC would offer its assistance to everybody, even those who were not ANC members, who wanted to return to South Africa.
Substantial progress made at ANC talks

By TOS WENTZEL and
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE first round of exploratory talks between the government and the ANC which ended today will not be conclusive — but substantial progress has been made.

The expectation in both camps today was that further consultations in smaller groups on issues such as the definition of political prisoners, immunity for exiles, the armed struggle and the state of emergency would have to take place.

Later, possibly in July, this would be followed up by another meeting of the two main delegations.

Sources close to the talks confirmed today that yesterday’s discussions had again been “positive” and that the foundations for agreement on obstacles were being laid. The talks were reaching conclusions that would enhance the chances of real negotiations on constitutional reform.

EXPECTATION

From the government side it was pointed out that the expectation had been that absolute finality could not be reached on all the obstacles to negotiation at the first round of the “talks about talks”.

So far no final breakthroughs had been achieved as the talks often dealt with technical aspects of some of the obstacles.

Some of the continuing consultations that will follow today’s round of talks will be on the issue of the definition of political prisoners, one of the sticking points at the talks.

But the ANC’s commitment to the armed struggle and the question of the lifting of the state of emergency are thought to be connected to this issue and will also have to be dealt with.

The government, it was said, has always assumed that a number of rounds of talks would be necessary.

One source said today that, where obstacles had not been finally removed, there had at least been indications of how this could be dealt with.

The two delegations spent 3½ hours at the table yesterday afternoon in a session “devoted to wide-ranging discussion and penetrating analysis of specific issues”.

A joint statement said the aim of yesterday’s round was “an attempt to identify the differences more clearly in the hope that proposals could emerge on how to bridge these differences”.

BRIEFINGS CANCELLED

While both President De Klerk and ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela expressed “satisfaction with progress achieved so far”, an indication of the difficulties that lie ahead today was the cancellation last night of a series of Press briefings various ANC officials and delegates were to give at their hotel in Somerset West because they were engaged in unscheduled consultations deep into the night.

● See page 5.
Talks will lead to compromise: PAC

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

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

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

"Oppressed"

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

Desai said De Klerk was not coming clean.

"People are engaging him in negotiations and we must see what they come out with. But as far as we are concerned, we will not be going within spitting distance of that table."

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

Sapa
Talks (III)
good, serious

From ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
in Cape Town

THE historic talks between the Government and the ANC entered the last round today with both teams still saying peace is the ultimate goal.

In a joint statement after the first day and a briefing yesterday by the ANC's spokesman on international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the mood and tempo of the talks were described as "good and very serious, but not solemn".

The first round was devoted to feeler discussions and preliminaries by both parties on the question of obstacles to negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

Discussion
The discussions were listed under security legislation, the return of exiles, troops in the townships, political prisoners, the state of emergency, the adherence to the armed struggle and the need to end violence.

Both groups agreed to the agenda.

"The discussions were characterised by openness and straightforwardness on both sides," the official statement said after the first day. No statement was expected last night on the second day's (Thursday) deliberations.

Foolish

In his lunch-time briefing, Mbeki said everyone had been foolish for so many years and that the long overdue talks "should have taken place ages ago".

"We found that we were all committed to finding solutions," he said.

Mbeki's address at the Press centre was originally scheduled for April 12, but fell away when the proposed first meeting with was cancelled.

A final statement will be made at the end of today's discussions.
PAN Africanist Congress (internal) general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and Qibla member Mr Cassim Christian were yesterday admitted to the Kimberley Hospital after their car overturned in the northern Cape.

A spokesman for the hospital declined to divulge the nature of the injuries they sustained but said they were in a "stable and satisfactory" condition.

Alexander and Christian were transferred from Hopetown to Kimberley soon after the accident, which happened at dawn. They were returning to Johannesburg from Cape Town where Alexander addressed a May Day rally and the commemoration service for PAC member Mr Sam Chand, who was killed with his family in Botswana last week, as well as other PAC members who died over the past two weeks.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng said he was concerned about the spate of car accidents which were claiming the lives of leading members of his organisation.

PAC internal secretary for finance, Mr Mike Matsobane: "The whole thing smacks of mystery and must be addressed immediately."
Azapo calls for joint action plan by black groups

THE Azanian People’s Organisation yesterday called for the creation of an interim committee for a united liberation front to plan joint programmes of action.

This would also serve to eliminate mistrust amongst black liberation movements, Azapo said.

Azapo’s publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said all major trade union federations and independent unions should “seriously work towards the establishment of a single trade union federation in the country”.

Problems

Moodley said the black working class had nothing to gain from the talks between the ANC and “the white minority settler government”.

He said the De Klerk government, faced with massive economic problems caused by pressure from the working class and their international allies, was trying to woo some blacks to join them in the defence of apartheid in a disguised form.

Azapo rejected the talks and had sent an open letter to the ANC calling on them to abandon the idea of winning concessions from De Klerk.

He said it was “self-deceiving” to believe that whites were ready to hand over power and the land to blacks.

De Klerk himself had said as much in the recent

STRINI MOODLEY

British Television interview, Moodley said.

Black organisations should, therefore, embark on a concerted campaign to “conscientise and preach the gospel of national unity”.

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Delegates to big talks mix freely

DELEGATES to the first official talks between the African National Congress and the Government found it "unbelievable" that they could mix so easily after almost 30 years of warring.

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

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

"Many delegates expressed the feeling that it was unbelievable that we are together and we can mix so easily. "Especially for those from Lusaka who have longed so much for home, it was even more important to mix with us." (AA) (27)

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

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

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

"It's too early to predict the outcome and in-depth discussions will still have to take place."
Let the people decide future
- ANC vision

ANC director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki yesterday spelled out the organisation's vision of the road to a democratic South Africa: the election of a constituent assembly and the creation of an interim government to supervise the process.

Mbeki was speaking to the Cape Town Press Club just before the start of the second day of talks between the ANC and the Government.

The ANC's vision is in direct conflict with what State President FW de Klerk envisages.

In an exclusive interview with the Sowetan last month De Klerk said his Government was legitimate, was recognised by the international community and would not abdicate to make way for an interim one.

He also rejected the notion of a constituent assembly, saying it would give some people unfair advantage before the talks over the constitution even start.

Future

There is now some convergence on the way the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress see the future.

In a statement to the Sowetan before the current talks, PAC's secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said: "Only elected representatives can claim to have a mandate from the majority of the people to draw up a new non-racial democratic constitution for a united Azania.

Hence the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person-one-vote election to a single chamber constituent assembly..."

Mbeki said the best way to resolve the question of who sits around the negotiation table is through an elected constituent assembly.

There should also be an interim government that enjoys the confidence of the people. The South African Government cannot supervise the process because it was a party to the conflict.

Mbeki envisaged a series of agreements that would lead up to an agreement on the assembly and the interim government.

The basic conflict was between those who believed in a united democratic South Africa and those who believed that change had to be based on groups, racial or other.

Mbeki envisaged those who believe in a non-racial South Africa sitting on one side of the table with De Klerk and such other people who might think of themselves as representatives of groups on the other.

The question of who directs the SABC would have to be addressed to make sure that it was not subject to pressure from one political organisation or another.
MEETING THE WORKERS ... ANC executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki arrived at the Cape Sun yesterday to find a well-timed workers' protest under way outside. The protest, noticed by more than 300 members of the press attending Mr Mbeki's lunch talk, was related to an issue between workers and management. Mr Mbeki greeted the protesters with a smile and a handshake.
Good flavour at talks, says Mbeki

Political Correspondent

MR Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday that there had been a feeling of surprise among participants in the current talks because within a few minutes of sitting down "everyone understood that there was nobody there with horns".

"When all of us departed the general feeling was that not only is movement forward necessary, but possible."

Before his address Mr Mbeki said the parties to the Groote Schuur talks had agreed that no comment would be made until the talks were over.

But when asked to describe the "flavour" of the first official encounter between the ANC and the government, Mr Mbeki responded: "I really think the atmosphere was very good."

"It was very serious but not solemn."

Mr Mbeki also said it was clear that "there has to be an increasing degree of co-operation" between the ANC and the government to address matters of common concern such as the violence in the townships.

He said he did not know whether such efforts to solve problems which arose daily would be institutionalised but noted that "there has to be co-operation."

The ANC did not consider itself to be the "sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of South Africa", he told the Press Club.

It believed that a variety of forces should be involved in deciding the future of the country.

If the current round of talks succeeded in removing the obstacles to negotiation, the next problem would be to decide who would sit around the negotiation table to decide on constitution-making.

It was "obvious" that there was a "basic divide" between those political groupings which felt the new SA should be a united non-racial democracy and those who believed that change should recognise racial and ethnic division and take place in terms of a group-based solution.

The ANC believed that "our side" would comprise a broad front which included the UDF, Cosatu, many churches, homeland leaders who rejected the group concept and "very many white people."

Sitting next to President F W de Klerk on the "group-based" side would be "people who claim to be the leader of seven million Zulus" - a clear reference to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mbeki reiterated the ANC's commitment to the establishment of an interim government to supervise elections for a constituent assembly which would, as was the case in Namibia, draft a new constitution.

The NP is firmly opposed to such a scenario but Mr Mbeki said the ANC would try to convince Mr De Klerk that he was "wrong."
Tight rein kept on Press corps covering ANC talks

THE autumn sky above Cape Town has been broody and unpredictable. The dreaded south-easter had spent itself crossing the Indian Ocean. By the time it reached the southern tip of the African continent fate had decided that no ill wind would blow upon these shores...

As the clouds were shifting and threatening, so too was the back-up to Wednesday's initial meeting between the Government and the ANC, days of consultation in the luxury five-star hotel among the ANC had kept the Press guessing and everybody else hoping.

The Cape Town Press Centre, unofficial registration point for visiting media, was like a shopping mall on Christmas Eve - chaotic.

Efficient

The Bureau for Information's media centre was efficient, but hectic, too.

However, it all came together on the lawns of Groote Schuur, where after waiting 78 years for an audience, the ANC met South African Government representatives. Media representatives were asked to meet at Hendrik Verwoerd Centre, adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, at 11.30am. From there they would be ferried to the venue by bus.

Shortly before noon - after a light finger snack including tea and instant coffee - the SABC's former Washington correspondent, now spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Marius Kleyhans, briefed the media.

Message

The basic message was: There would be a photo opportunity when the leaders of the delegations met. Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk, made their short speeches.

"There will be no questions, and today's Press conference will be the only one till after the talks," Kleyhans said.

Someone sighed and another said: "Was it worth coming here in the first place?"

The journalists were pitted into five luxury coaches with each bus getting its own someone-to-watch-over-the-Press. He was the standard Government issue - grey suit, moustache, pistol on the hip and walkie talkie. There was no doubt about who was in charge.

The drive to Groote Schuur was fun and I imagine it looked rather impressive to the bystanders. Five really big coaches carrying a motley bunch of journalists from all corners of the world speeding through the city streets and accompanied by a number of police vans and cars sounds exactly like a fairy tale.

Nevertheless the drive to the venue, residence of State Presidents and Prime Ministers of South Africa until 1984, was slick and quick.

Press corps

It was the two-hour wait on the wet lawn to the side of arch- nationalist Cecil John Rhodes's old house that had the Press corps fuming.

"Do they really expect us to wait on this spot for two hours?" a French correspondent asked.

A German accent replied: "Ja! It looks like it."

A Japanese television cameraman smiled. And like a petulant teenager, one North American correspondent decided to take a stroll towards a little hand-made pond at the bottom of the landscaped garden.

The man with the grey suit, moustache, bulging hip and walkie talkie had other ideas and ran off to retrieve the irritated journalist.

Meanwhile back on the spot where the journalists had assembled a uniformed policeman brought a black reporter a glass of water: "Here's your water, Sir."

The drone of a helicopter signalled the arrival of the ANC delegation.

Most of the attempts to prevent chaos earlier in the day with pedantic do's and don'ts were nullified as photographers yelled at reporters to sit down and move aside and reporters replied that they were only trying to get their tape recorders started.

Kleyhans repeated his earlier remarks that there would be only one photo opportunity and that the arrival of the delegations was not it.

Sun shines

The sun briefly broke through the autumn mist and low rain clouds. While nobody was watching, a handful of ANC members had sneaked behind the conglomerate of journalists.

Steve Tshwete, Aziz Phahad, Mohammed Vally Moosa, and Raymond Suttner were at once overwhelmed when the journalists spotted them.

Then there was another rush in the opposite direction, back to the first spot facing the podium where the leaders of the delegations were to address the media.

A tape recorder fell, a notebook landed in a muddy wet spot on the grass, its owner bent over to pick it up, but an American correspondent's right foot got to it first and left it with a boot print.

At this time the media hounds had settled, Mandela and De Klerk descended the six or seven steps and approached the podium, members of their delegations behind them all in a bunch.

Speech

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha stood chest out next to Communist Party boss Joe Slovo. Ruth Mompati looked amused next to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, and Nelson Mandela looked straight ahead during De Klerk's speech.

The State President tilted his head slightly while the ANC leader spoke.

At the end of the long and tiring wait, the lawns looked like an elementary school playground. There was garbage all over when the journalists had left. And then I felt a single raindrop - I might have imagined it though.
Johannesburg — The condition of Mr Benny Alexander, Pan African Congress (PAC) internal general secretary, has been described as stable. Mr Alexander was involved in a serious accident in the Northern Cape early yesterday.

A spokesperson for the Kimberley hospital, where Mr Alexander and Mr Cassim Christiaan, executive member of Quibla, a radical Western Cape Islamic group, said Mr Alexander was out of danger, but was still receiving constant attention.

"His condition is stable and we are monitoring his progress. At this stage, we cannot say when he will be discharged. A colleague of his, who is also in hospital, has regained consciousness."

The two men were transferred from the Hopetown hospital after the accident, which PAC internal treasurer Mr Mike Matsobane said occurred about 10km outside the town. — Sapa
ANC ECONOMIC POLICY

A breath of commonsense

Nelson Mandela's statement that an ANC government will practise nationalisation only "if it would strengthen the economy" is, if taken literally, an admission that the organisation has dropped the policy; for there can be no doubt that nationalisation will weaken the economy and further empo- verish the masses.

The beneficial impact of this admission, however, is overshadowed by SACP secretary general Joe Slovo's "return" speech on Sunday, which contained a strong, if implicit, continued commitment to this outmoded concept.

Several conclusions may be drawn from these events.

In the first place, it's clear that the ANC still has no coherent, let alone logical, economic policy. It is to be hoped that this week's brainstorming session in Lusaka will help overcome this lack. It's just a pity that Slovo will be haranguing President FW de Klerk instead of learning about the collapse of his beloved socialist dogma in eastern Europe.

In the second place, it seems any confusion in ANC economic policy reflects not just a failure to think things through, but a real split in ideology. The SACP still shows no signs of losing its role as virtually the only organisation in the world not to recognise the failure of socialist economics in eastern Europe.

As long as that blind spot persists Slovo will be unable to accept that the caravan has moved on and have to keep making doctrinaire public statements of total unreality.

Perhaps the most important conclusion is that, to the extent that Mandela has changed tone, it justifies the strident opposition of businessmen (and others) to the whole nationalisation campaign. Some have criticised this, apparently on the grounds that we mustn't upset the ANC and torpedo negotiation before it starts.

The fact is that negotiation means exactly that. It is not just a question of how to hand over power to the ANC. The ANC is far from being the only player government has to contend with and has weaknesses as well as strengths — an inability to enforce its calls for an end to violence in Natal being a vivid illustration of this.

The ANC is not in a position to dictate by force its blueprint for a post-apartheid SA, nor does it have a monopoly of ideological purity. Those whose vision is a democracy that goes hand-in-hand with free enterprise can take heart from Mandela's apparent reconsideration. It doesn't show that they have won the battle yet, but it does show that there is no reason for them to surrender, or even feel ashamed of continuing forcefully to advance their viewpoint.
be regarded as a "neutral" figure.

Of his new role, Lekota says: "The ANC is committed to a multiparty democracy, that is, a policy of co-existence between organisations or parties which hold opposing policies without resorting to armed confrontation. It does not adopt a belligerent posture towards Inkatha or any other opposing party."

He is popular among the so-called white, coloured and Indian "minority" groups. This probably dates to 1983 when, as UDF national publicity secretary, he played a leading role in the campaign against the 1983 referendum on the new constitution, the Koornhof Bills and the boycott of the tricameral house elections in 1984.

Born in Kroonstad in the Free State, Lekota (42) attended the University of the North, where he joined the Black Consciousness (BC) oriented SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in the early Seventies. In 1974, when he took over as Saso organiser from Abram Tito, he was charged under the Terrorism Act along with eight other BC leaders. After a 17-month trial, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

By the time he became UDF publicity secretary, Lekota had moved away from BC ideology, partly under the influence of Bram Fischer and Beyers Naude. Nelson Mandela's speech from the Rivonia Trial also left a deep impression on him.

Of the ANC's strategy for Natal, Lekota says the first step will be to set up branch offices. "I believe the foundations of peace must be preceded by an intense political education programme within our ranks."

"We can then appeal to Inkatha for peace, not only with words but by sending signals and taking practical steps, like ensuring that Inkatha members living in predominantly UDF areas are not harassed."

At the same time, Lekota says he believes Inkatha members will find a "natural home" in the ANC. He is also willing to meet with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi if it will aid the peace process.

Lekota is married to Cynthia and the couple have three children.  "Amstrong Singh"
Close watch on teetotal ANC leader

Sauvignon Blanc sauce at R19,50 or shallow fried rainbow trout garnished with grapefruit segments and roasted hazelnuts at R19,25. The fish come with a choice of sauces and fresh vegetables.

Main courses on offer include poached breast of chicken in a pink lobster sauce garnished with prawn tail at R18,75 or breasts of guineafowl gently braised in Amaretto and dressed with pine kernels — R24,95.

There are also pan-fried veal steaks set on a tarragon sauce and garnished with strips of fresh leek at R18,75, or noisettes of lamb topped with a rosemary crust and served with a Madeira sauce.

The buffet and carvery are both R29,50.

Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela doesn't drink alcohol and takes soda water with his meals, according to staff at the Lord Charles Hotel in Somerset West, where the ANC delegation is staying.

"His bodyguard is right with him all the time, shadowing and serving him, which is sometimes disconcerting to staff," said an employee.

The hotel, set just off the N2, offers a magnificent view of the Hottentots Holland Mountains and is built around a stream that is visible from the hotel.

There is a cordial and friendly atmosphere between the predominantly white security minders and the ANC officials, who also have at their disposal the use of a swimming pool with nearby ladies' bar, trimpark, volleyball court, three tennis courts, fishing facilities, a hell-pad and a business centre.

In the lush lounge area a woman pianist provides soothing music on a grand piano.

The ANC group dines in a separate dining area, and prefers to eat mainly from the carvery, shunning more varied dishes.

But if they wished, they could order, as a starter, terrine of kingklip with smoked salmon, graced with delicate horse-radish sauce, at R10,75, or cream of fresh leek blended with cream and spiced with a dash of Beefeater gin at R5,25.

For salad they could have sautéed chicken livers, flamed with calvados and finished with cream and served in a bed of lettuce hearts — at R8,75.

In the line of fish are Canadian salmon set upon a delicate...
PAC to investigate accident involving general secretary

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE PAC will investigate yesterday’s road accident which left the organisation’s general secretary Benny Alexander seriously injured.

The vehicle in which Alexander, Cassim Christiaan, an executive member of radical Islamic group Qibla and other PAC aides were travelling was involved in a collision 10km outside Hopetown in the northern Cape.

The group was returning to the Transvaal after attending discussions in Cape Town about the present negotiations between government and the ANC.

All those injured were in a satisfactory condition last night after being transferred to Kimberley Hospital, a hospital spokesman said last night.

PAC finance secretary Mike Matsobane said there was definite concern at a spate of misfortune afflicting the organisation.

On April 17 PAC founder member and Robben Island ex-prisoner Japhta Masemola was killed in a car crash outside Pretoria.

On April 23 PAC member Sam Chand, his wife and two children died in a bomb attack on their home in Ghatlang, Botswana. Chand’s brother Ismael died days later in a road accident on his way to the funeral.

Matsobane said it was too early to place blame for the attacks or to appraise the situation accurately.
Slovo to speak at Reef rally

SOUTH African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo is to jet to Johannesburg to address a rally tomorrow morning at the First National Bank Stadium near Soweto.

Mr Slovo and ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo will come face to face with thousands of South Africans for the second time at a public rally since the African National Congress and the SACP were banned in the 1960s.

Talks

A similar rally was held in Athlone, Cape Town, last weekend.

The two leaders are members of the ANC delegation currently holding high-profile talks in Cape Town with the South African Government.

Most of the ANC exiles taking part in the talks are expected to return to Lusaka after the rally.

Members of the steering committee which organised the talks will remain behind to tie up any further details.

The mass rally has been jointly organised by the SACP and the ANC and is expected to begin at about 10 am.
Govt, ANC take first step to peace

Armed struggle halted in return for concessions

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the Government have reached an historic peace accord in a dramatic breakthrough at talks in Cape Town which ended yesterday.

The ANC has committed itself to peaceful solutions — in effect suspending the armed struggle.

It has agreed to help stop violence to enable the state of emergency to be lifted.

In exchange, the Government has made important concessions on the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the amendment of security legislation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The accord is contained in a watershed document called the Groote Schuur Minute which was announced by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at a first-ever joint press conference after three days of talks.

It has substantially cleared away the obstacles.

TO PAGE 2.
Peace

FROM PAGE 1.

blocking the path to normal negotiations.

The critical passage of the Groote Schuur Minute reads:

"The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Mr Mandela would not say outright that this amounted to a suspension or abandonment of the armed struggle. But significantly he said that the ANC would review the armed struggle in the light of the accord.

He said the ANC's national executive committee would meet soon to review the armed struggle.

Mr Mandela said the agreement was the 'realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years'.

Mr de Klerk said: "I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process."

"The joint commitment to peaceful solutions which can lead to real negotiations is of extreme importance to all South Africans."

Sources close to the talks made it clear that the ANC had in fact agreed to suspend the armed struggle - but that it was difficult for it to say so outright.

In exchange, the Government has made these concessions:

- A working group is to be established to recommend which political prisoners should be released and which exiles be allowed to return.
- This technical group is to be appointed by Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk and is to report back to both the ANC and the Government by May 31.
- In the meantime the Government has agreed to look immediately into the possibility of indemnifying and releasing those who left the country illegally and those guilty of belonging to organisations which were banned.
- Temporary immunity from prosecution is to be urgently considered for members of the ANC national executive committee and other selected ANC members, to allow them to return to South Africa to help end the violence and to take part in normal political activity.
- The Government has undertaken to review security laws in order to ensure normal and free political activity.
- The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency and the ANC has agreed to "exert itself" to try to help end violence and intimidation.
- Efficient channels of communication are to be set up between the ANC and the Government to curb violence and intimidation.

Mr Mandela also announced that "we hope that as a result of the agreement and future developments, it will not be necessary for us to call on the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions."

Full text of statement

HERE is the full text of the joint Government-ANC statement:

The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

Flowing from this commitment the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on the definition of political offences in the South African situation, to diplomats, in this regard, to exiles, and to advice on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity in respect of political offences to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will be in touch with the members of the National Executive Committee and selected members of the ANC from outside the country, to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

2. The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation in order to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

3. The Government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfill the objectives contained in the preamble.

4. Efficient channels of communication between the Government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively. The Government and the ANC agree that the objectives contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible.
From Mandela’s legal secretary to top ANC role

IN 1961 Ruth Mompati secretly left South Africa at the request of the African National Congress to help set up the formerly outlawed organisation outside the country.

To do this she had to leave behind her two sons, aged two and six.

“When I saw them again 10 years later I couldn’t visualise their growth; I still saw them as the babies I had left. Yes, I felt cheated that I had missed their childhood,” Ms Mompati said in a recent interview.

But she added stoically: “This is typical of what happens to many South African women, either for political reasons or because of the breaking up of families as a result of apartheid laws.”

This week Ruth Mompati, after more than 29 years in exile, was one of the two women on the ANC’s 34-person national executive committee which held historic talks with President de Klerk’s Government.

The talks were widely regarded as the first round of negotiations between traditional arch-enemies in the country — the Nationalist Party and the ANC.

While her portfolio is head of the ANC’s board of religious affairs, she was expected to put across a strong feminist perspective in the discussions between the two groups.

Active in the ANC Women’s League since she first joined it in 1952, Ms Mompati, now 63, was one of the key organisers of the 1956 march by 20,000 women on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. She also served on the national executive committee of the Federation of South African Women after its launch in 1954.

Born in the Vryburg area in the north-western Cape, she was one of six children. Only the three Mompati daughters survived. At the age of six her family could not make a living off the land and moved to Vryburg township where her father found work in the local dairy.

The death of her father when she was 14 put strains on the family income but Ruth’s mother, a washerwoman, managed to educate all three daughters, who all went on to become teachers.

Ruth was forced to leave school in Std 6 and enrolled at Tygerkloof Teachers Training College where she qualified as a primary school teacher four years later.

She taught at a village about 30 km from Vryburg and became active in the teachers’ union. The area was fertile, and villagers cultivated orchards and gardens. But the village was regarded as a black spot. It was declared white and all the villagers were forced to move to Bophuthatswana.

After marrying in 1952, Ruth accompanied her husband to Soweto. In the same year she joined the ANC-led Defiance Campaign and helped to raise funds for the thousands of people arrested for defying the apartheid laws.

During that year she completed a secretarial course and went on to work as legal secretary for Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg.

She was then employed by Mr Ian Bernad, today a business consultant in housing, who at the time ran Union Artists at Dorkay House. “I believe this was the last job she had in the country. One particular Friday she left work saying goodbye to us very meaningfully,” said Mr Bernad.

“She didn’t see her again. I was later questioned by the security police who asked me: ‘Do you know that your former secretary is now in Moscow?’ That was the first time I heard mention of her ANC activities,” he said.

Mr Bernard describes Ruth Mompati as “a very strong person who exudes a quiet confidence”.

With the banning of the ANC in 1960, Ms Mompati went underground and then into exile. She believed the separation from her children would be temporary, but was to see them again only a decade later.

Since she left South Africa Ms Mompati has worked mainly on the administrative side in various ANC offices and departments worldwide. Between 1976 and 1979 she was the South African delegate to the secretariat of the Women’s International Democratic Federation in Berlin. She was later the ANC’s chief London representative.

In an interview before her arrival in South Africa with the ANC delegation, she told a reporter: “We are always being told that South Africa is a very strong country, and we know this. But we have something that the racists do not have: a cause to fight for.

“We have something to put before all the people of South Africa, irrespective of colour or creed. We have something to offer them — and that is a free, democratic South Africa for all.”
LANGA — We turned to leave after talking to some youngsters outside a cafe, having failed to break through their defensive reserve and to coax them into saying whether their loyalties lay with the African National Congress or the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

But then, perhaps convinced at the last moment that we were bona fide journalists, they declared themselves. "Izwe Lethu," they said, giving the open-palm salute of the PAC. Assuming our ignorance, they themselves gave the appropriate response: "i-Afrika".

**Stronghold**

We had come to Langa to test talk that it had become a stronghold of the PAC, talk which had thickened during the course of the discussions at Groote Schuur between Government and ANC delegations led by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

To label Langa a PAC stronghold would, on the evidence of our trip, be premature. There were, however, definite signs of a PAC presence. It served as a reminder that it was there, in 1969, that PAC leader Mr Philip Kgosana, then a young boy of 13, led 30,000 blacks in a march on Caledon Square in the heart of Cape Town.

From the cafe we went in search of Mr Batemba Lungulwa, a Langa-based member of the PAC national executive. He was not there. Our search, however, led us to a headmaster who must remain anonymous. We started to talk to him about the PAC.

Slowly he, too, identified himself as a PAC man, dropping first one hint and then another. "Japtha Masemola (the PAC leader who was killed in a car smash recently) didn’t compromise with anyone, not even Mandela," he said. "They (the ANC) won’t win over the youngsters," he added.

Later, as we walked to his office, we asked him why the PAC did not organise large rallies like the ANC, thus allowing observers to deduce that the ANC was the dominant force in the black community. He replied: "The PAC keeps quiet. We know we are the multitudes."

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

On the walls outside the school, PAC graffiti dominated. "Popo," one writer had scribbled, reminding township residents of the underground movement which had briefly challenged white power in the early 1960s after the banning of the PAC.

"Kill the oppressor, not the oppressed," exhorted another, signing off with "PAC of Azania."

From the school we headed towards the outer periphery of Langa, encountering extreme poverty among people living in shacks and shanties. It was a ghetto within a ghetto. Our impression — I was accompanied by colleagues from Ireland and Sweden — was that these people were uncommitted politically. They would be won over by the best organised of the rival congresses.

Our car meandered back, passing through a better-off section of Langa. To use the label "suburb" would be to euphemise and distort what we saw. One slogan had been overtaken by events. "Free Mandela, Viva ANC" it said. Another proclaimed: "PAC for victory. No compromise. One settler, one bullet."

Later we talked to Mr Kwedie Mkalipi, a senior member of the PAC and a prison graduate.

Mr Mkalipi spoke warmly of Mr Mandela, asking us to pass on his regards, while disagreeing with him politically. He thought the time was not yet ripe for talks.

He did, however, agree with one point which was rapidly emerging as a central ANC demand: representatives at the negotiating table should be chosen in a one man, one vote election.

There should be no compromise on that, Mr Mkalipi said, warning that Mr de Klerk and his ruling National Party planned to create space at the table for people "set up by the system."

He was in favour of the idea mooted by Mr Thabo Mbeki, of the ANC: the election of a constituent assembly on the Namibian model to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr Mkalipi, like the Langa headmaster, was confident that the PAC would emerge as the dominant force after one man, one vote elections. He blamed the press for the failure of the PAC to capture the foreground.
Too bold a step for the brash Saatchis?

A famous advertising agency has been asked to help the ANC, but this will be no easy task, the Observer reports in London.

The African National Congress has called on Saatchi and Saatchi’s London agency to devise a campaign to promote the prospect of black-majority rule in South Africa.

If the agency took the account, it would produce an unlikely pairing of the Saatchi brothers, who helped Mrs Thatcher to victory in 1979, with the ANC and its leader, figurehead Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC’s support for an armed struggle against white-minority rule has recently been played down, but would still make servicing the account difficult.

The Saatchi reputation has been built partly on ground-breaking campaigns, such as its work for the Conservative Party, its role as communications adviser to the Turkish government and its record as the first agency to put up a poster on the east side of the Berlin Wall.

However, taking the ANC account may prove to be too bold a step even for the brash Saatchis.

The Charlotte Street agency’s blue-chip client list, including multinationals such as Proctor and Gamble, ICI and BP, might inhibit it taking on such a politically sensitive account.

Representatives from the ANC’s headquarters in Johannesburg are thought to have had one meeting already with Saatchi’s management following a formal written approach.

The ANC’s image has been heightened since Mr Mandela’s release, but the thaw in relations with the South African government since then has caused concern within the organisation that pressure for sanctions and a one-person, one-vote democratic electoral system has subsided.

A further spur to the ANC could be the extensive advertising campaign in the Press for Anglo American, South Africa’s largest company, through J Walter Thompson, the WPP-owned agency.

The Press advertising has emphasised the company’s record on workplace equality for workers and its opposition to apartheid.

The ANC is anxious that this and the more liberal stance of President De Klerk should not lead to a slackening of the international campaign against apartheid.
Political changes are making the ANC's mouthpiece, Sechaba, alter its outlook, its editor Dr Francis Meli has told MIKE SILUMA in London.

ALTHOUGH freedom of the Press and of expression would form the cornerstones of a new South Africa, the propagation of racism and tribal "chauvinism" would be banned, says the outgoing editor of the ANC mouthpiece, Sechaba, Dr Francis Meli.

Dr Meli, a member of the ANC's executive committee, was speaking in a rare interview following the decision by the Directorate of Publications to lift the ban on the ANC publication.

The unbanning of Sechaba, said Dr Meli, would open up new prospects for the publication, which has, for decades, been distributed clandestinely in South Africa.

Sechaba was launched in 1967 under the editorship of the late Mr M P Naicker, following the collapse of the first ANC journal, Abantu-Batho (or The People), in 1931. Dr Meli blamed the commercial newspaper owners of the time for the demise of Abantu-Batho, who, he said, felt threatened by ANC views.

The task of running Sechaba was never easy, recalls Dr Meli. By 1987 the ANC itself was banned, its ideas outlawed and its activities directed by an exiled leadership.

As a result, the publication's survival always depended largely on the support of the international anti-apartheid solidarity movement.

Sechaba has a small staff of just five people, four in London and one in East Berlin, where it is printed with the help of the East German government.

Most of the articles are written by ANC members, be they military camp inmates in Angola and Tanzania, cultural workers or academics based in any of the world's many cities giving ANC members shelter.

Sechaba has a monthly circulation of 20 000.

Dr Meli, who holds a doctorate in history from an East German university, recognises that political changes in East Germany and South Africa will force a change in Sechaba's outlook.

It was now likely that Sechaba, which presently has a circulation of 20 000, would be published inside South Africa and directed at a much expanded readership, and a new way of financing it would have to be found.
Prison attacks ‘over amnesty’

PRETORIA. — Prison gang jealousy over possible amnesty for political prisoners has led to at least two political prisoners in Pretoria Central maximum-security prison being stabbed, the SA Prisons Services confirmed yesterday.

Police are investigating the April 26 incident, which Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday said was largely due to the expectation of amnesty for political prisoners.

Delmas treason trialist Tintin Masongo and Death Row prisoner Nelson Bos were stabbed last Thursday by members of the “26” prison gang, relatives of the assaulted men told Sapa yesterday.

The prisoners responsible for the conflict were separated from fellow inmates and no other incidents have since been reported, the Prisons Service said in a statement.

The statement added that it placed emphasis on the maintenance of order in its prisons and that “every complaint of alleged assault or harassment, no matter how petty, is regarded in a very serious light”.

Responding in a statement to the reported conflict on Death Row, LHR said it had been aware for some time of growing tensions in Pretoria Central — predominantly between various prison gangs and so-called political prisoners.

It added this largely to the expectation of a possible amnesty for political prisoners, which had led to resentment from some gang members.

“We also believe that much of the tension is a result of insecurity by condemned prisoners as to their future, a natural result of the present moratorium (on the death penalty) combined with months and years already spent awaiting possible notices of executions,” said LHR.

Before the recent outbreaks of violence, the human-rights organisation had been in contact with the prison authorities on the issue.

They had been assured the matter was being investigated and every possible measure was being taken to ensure they were not repeated.

A temporary solution could be found in the separation of political prisoners and the isolation of those particular gang members causing the problem.

“This we believe is temporary, as we look forward to a system of justice which aims to rehabilitate prisoners rather than punish and brutalise, thus causing the problems we are faced with today,” the statement said.

Death Row prisoners in Pretoria Central Prison have been allowed to receive a summary of the main points of the recently tabled Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which drastically revises aspects of the death penalty, LHR said in another statement yesterday.

The Bill, among other things, allows for an automatic right to appeal against the imposition of a death sentence where, previously, capital punishment had been compulsory under some circumstances. — Sapa
Stompie trial: Court told of assault

JOHANNESBURG.—The Rand Supreme Court has heard how a man, identified as Mr Andrew Ikaneng, was assaulted by Mr Jerry Richardson, said to be a former member of the so-called Mandela football team.

Mr Richardson is on trial charged with murdering 14-year-old anti-apartheid activist “Stompie” Seipei Moeketsi. He has pleaded not guilty.

He has also pleaded not guilty to a charge of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Garden shears

The court heard earlier that Mr Ikaneng was taken by team members from his Soweto home to an open piece of veld where he was stabbed with garden shears.

Mr Kenneth Kgase yesterday told the court Mr Richardson had taken a garden shear blade from a man he identified as Isaac, who he earlier told to stab Mr Ikaneng, and had himself stabbed Mr Ikaneng, who was being held by two other men.

Mr Ikaneng was left to die.

Mr Kgase, Stompie, Barend Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe were allegedly abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church by members of the football team in December 1988 and taken to various places, including the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

In previous hearings the court heard that Mr Richardson and other members of the team went to the Soweto home of Mr Ikaneng and said they were taking him away because “Mummy” (Mrs Mandela) wanted to see him.

The court also heard that Mr Kgase escaped from Mrs Mandela’s home after Mr Richardson and a companion had left.

He jumped over a wall, rushed to Baragwanath Hospital and caught a taxi to the Methodist Church in central Johannesburg. He was taken to a doctor for examination.

The court heard that at one stage Stompie spent two days without food during a party that had been held for Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres at Mrs Mandela’s home.

The trial continues on Monday.

— Sapa.
At the end of their packed press conference Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela left the IF Verwoerd Building together.

As they parted, the two men shook hands, and both said: “Thank you very much... Goodbye.”

Then Mr de Klerk walked away to his office at nearby Parliament, while Mr Mandela climbed into a white Mercedes and was driven away.

At the press conference the ANC deputy president said the ANC looked upon the talks with satisfaction because they represented a “realization of a dream” for which the ANC had been working patiently and consistently.

Mr Mandela said: “At the end not only are we, the ANC and the government, closer together, but we are all victors — South Africa is the victor.”

Cordial and friendly"

While the government did not get an unequivocal commitment to the ending of the armed struggle, as it had hoped for, the ANC’s strong commitment to the peace process — which Mr Mandela emphasized would be honoured — is the strongest indication yet that the days of guerrilla struggle are over.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela spoke in glowing terms about the progress made and the “cordial and friendly” atmosphere which characterised the crucial talks aimed at removing obstacles to negotiating a new constitution.

Mr de Klerk described the outcome of the talks as a breakthrough in the peace process, and as replacing distrust between old enemies.

Mutual trust

He told the joint ANC-government press conference, also attended by ambassadors, diplomats and National Party MPs: “I look forward to the future with confidence and I hope the good spirit, earnestness and honesty which were the hallmarks of the discussion.”

The Groote Schuur Minute” released after the talks noted that “efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and to ensure that the spirit of the present conference is lived up to.”

Asked about the possibility of the ANC and the government setting up a joint security commission, Mr de Klerk said the first real moment for discussing a more formalised arrangement was the most difficult to say if there was a connection between the four robberies.

Johannesburg — Urgent talks between the Persecution Policy Administration and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers’ Union on the growing hospital crisis began here yesterday evening and will continue today, according to Professor Wynand Pienaar, who is acting as negotiator.

According to Professor Pienaar, a senior consultant to a South African merchant bank, the talks were intended to reach an agreement on all the hospital’s demands by the end of the week.

There may be agreement on some issues, he said during a break in the negotiations.

Professor Pienaar has also made arrangements to use the venue this morning.

The TPAC was represented by Mr Hennie van Wyk, the executive director of Hospital Services in the Transvaal, while the Transvaal Hospital Management Committee comprised 11 people.

The talks in Johannesburg were agreed upon at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday evening between the Minister of Health and National Welfare, Dr Van Wyk, and the union leaders, which included the general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo.

Cook scores triple century

LONDON: Jimmy Cook completed a record-breaking 300 in England's first innings against South Africa yesterday, setting a new record for the highest individual score in Test cricket.

MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION TO SOWETO. IN SOWETO FOR A MEETING WITH THE LEADERS OF THE TRANSVAAL HOSPITALS.

GET ONSHORE ... President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela at their joint press conference last night.
Historic accord

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic breakthrough, the ANC last night promised to look "very hard and earnestly" at suspending the armed struggle — and the government undertook to urgently review South Africa's security laws.

The trade-off forms part of a remarkable package deal unveiled after three days of talks at Groote Schuur between the chief adversaries in South African politics.

The historic accord which sealed the success of the talks was announced yesterday at a joint press conference chaired by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC also:
- Resolved not to call for the intensification of sanctions;
- Expressed the hope that it would not be necessary in future to call on the international community to maintain sanctions.

For its part, the government agreed to establish a joint working group, due to report by May 31, to advise on the release of political prisoners and immunity for political offences.

Shook hands

At the end of their packed press conference Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela shook hands, the first public meeting of the former political prisoners since their release from prison in February. In a later interview with the Herald, Mr Mandela said they shook hands "because we worked together in prison."
Fighting oppression — in lap of luxury

HE stony-faced man with short back-and-sides, off-white shoes, flared trousers and le-talking at the ready adds a bit 'dimension to the elegant hotel, id discreetly points out that it paid a record R15 000 for a case of Alto Cabernet.

Tichful men in those off-white shoes, heaters and three-quarter shirts aren't that thin on the ground at the Lord protein in Somerset West as the no-nonsense security guards at the main entrance and the uncomfortable seat when the chap you meet on the hotel's floor is not a white employee. “Don't work here, madam!” He servilely adds when it's the special guest in bloodstained red, it's oh, it all went badly.

At a moment you cared for by the no-nonsense security guards at the main entrance and the uncomfortable seat when the chap you meet on the hotel's floor is not a white employee. “Don't work here, madam!” He servilely adds when it's the special guest in bloodstained red, it's oh, it all went badly.

A week it's been since the African National Congress delegation (and it's pretty lala) which promised itself an incongruous return to lay their heads while the talks are thrashed out. The rate is R125 for a room breakfast, double in suites don't come in at R350 a night. The ANC and Deon of Information agreed government was picking up R70 000 for a driving past the wattle and cattail giving of Cronk the two to go there. I find green and pink fresh flowers, beech trees. A piano tinkling in the strum and the use of a sauna, 24-hour room service, bound hairdressing salon, leave one uneasy that a house somewhere in Cape Town is being set up.

The ANC was chosen for its security and the ANC public relations staff said, and business amenities it offered. The party now claims of about 18 in the ANC group, active staff and government security men.

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The Groote Schuur Minute

This is the text of the Groote Schuur Minute, the joint statement issued by the government and the ANC after their talks:

"The government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter, as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations. Flowing from this commitment, the following was agreed upon:

1. The establishment of a working group to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the South African situation; to discuss, in this regard, time scales; and to advise on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to those inside and outside South Africa. All persons who may be affected will be considered. The working group will bear in mind experiences in Namibia and elsewhere. The working group will aim to complete its work before 21 May 1990. It is understood that the South African government in its discretion, may consult other political parties and movements and other relevant bodies. The proceedings of the working group will be confidential. In the meantime the following offences will receive attention immediately: (a) The leaving of the country without a valid travel document and (b) any offences related merely to organisations which were previously prohibited.

2. In addition to the arrangements mentioned in paragraph 1, temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the national executive committee and selected other members of the ANC from outside the country to enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.

3. The government undertakes to review existing security legislation to bring it into line with the new dynamic situation developing in South Africa in order to ensure normal and free political activities.

4. The government reiterates its commitment to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency. In this context, the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble.

5. Efficient channels of communication between the government and the ANC will be established in order to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter effectively. The government and the ANC agree that the aims contained in this minute should be achieved as early as possible."
MARITZBURG. — A prominent Natal priest and chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches was shot dead and his six-year-old granddaughter wounded while they were driving in Imballi here yesterday.

The Rev Victor Africander, 60, rector of St Mark's Anglican Church, Imballi, was gunned down a short distance from his house while taking his granddaughter Thandekile to school in Maritzburg.

A 40-year-old Imballi man was arrested in connection with the shooting.

Police spokesman Lt Henry Budhram said Mr Africander had been shot twice, in the head and chest. A bullet grazed Thandekile's head. She was treated at Edendale Hospital and later discharged. According to sources, Mr Africander was driving slowly out of a side road when a man approached and fired three shots through the open car window.

The principal of the nearby Ekukhanyeni school for mentally handicapped children, Mrs Miriam Gqubule, said she found Thandekile bleeding profusely from the head.

News of the shooting of the well-known and respected clergyman and community leader was received with profound shock.

The Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Ntshali, said he was absolutely shattered by Mr Africander's tragic death, which had brought home very closely the suffering that so many people had been experiencing.

"The whole Diocese will be deeply grieved."
Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

This followed a failed top-level attempt to end the looming crisis when Health Minister Rina Venter, Nehawu and Cosatu met in Cape Town this week.

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He also gave the assurance that measures would be taken to normalise services, including the recommissioning of the laundry.

But by yesterday bundles of dirty linen and clothing were still heaped outside some wards. At the laundry, tons of linen had piled up.

Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Jan Loubser said 8 000 workers at nine hospitals were on strike.

Administrator Danie Hough
ANC attention to the Afrikaners

While one of the most dramatic political power struggles in our history is unfolding in Cape Town, it could be expected that participants in talks between the ANC and government would not lose sight of the public, says Beeld in an editorial this week.

"Moves made in public are as important as moves made behind closed doors. One interesting public move was the unexpected attention the ANC gave to Afrikaners.

"Afrikaners will accept this with a pinch of salt. Everyone knows the ANC's power base is not the Afrikaner and its starting point would be to first improve the lot of black people."

"The albatross of apartheid hangs heaviest around the neck of Afrikaners and the ANC will not let them easily forget it.

"Nevertheless the ANC's gesture reflects a genuine realism about the political power game. The most important criterion for a new constitution would be its acceptability for the majority of moderates.

"If most whites reject it, it would not materialise without bloodshed and even if it is enforced, it could lead to endless strife."

"If the Afrikaner is important to the ANC, we suggest a more efficient method as a sign of friendship: Prove you are true democrats by rejecting political and trade union intimidation; by accepting a more realistic economic policy; by speaking out against further isolation of your motherland; by giving up violence, and by speaking out in favour of the efficient protection of minorities.

"What will happen then, could surprise you," says Beeld."
I'd do it again — freed guerrilla

By SAMKELO KUMALO

I'D DO it again if the need arose, an ANC guerrilla recently released from Robben Island said this week.

Sello Dan Motaung, who served four years on the island for ANC activities, this week told City Press about his training at an Angolan ANC camp and how he was later betrayed by a comrade.

Sello, 31, is the brother of Marcus Thabo Motaung, who was executed for political murder almost seven years ago. Marcus was executed on June 9, 1983, with two of his comrades, Jerry Simane Mosololi and Thelle Simon Mogocrone.

"Hearing my brother Thabo give evidence and his reasons for joining the ANC fight for democracy, I felt very proud of him," said Sello.

"When he was sentenced to death I felt something had to be done. From that day I became more and more interested in politics.

"I visited him a number of times when he was on Death Row and at one time I told him I wanted to leave the country to join the armed struggle.

"He nodded and gave me a smile that is etched in my memory. I spent some time in the country and in November 1992 I visited him for the last time.

"I told him I would not see him again as I would be on my way to the 'farm'. He understood I was going for training with the ANC.

"Three months after my brother's execution I arrived at Malanje Camp in Angola. I attended political science classes, which were compulsory, and physical training. I handled a rifle for the first time and knew there was no turning back.

"Women recruits were not treated differently. They had to endure the same hardships as men did. Life was tough for both sexes. However, they had their separate section where they slept. We only saw each other on training, sports days and other cultural events.

"In the meantime, I tried to find out more about my executed brother. I learnt he was an exemplary soldier.

"I had thought I would be trained in the same camp as he was. A new camp had been built at Cuculuma after the Fundu camp had been bombed by the South African Air Force in 1979.

"I trained for six months, learning everything about guns and explosives. On finishing the course, I could have gone to East Germany for specialised training in anti-aircraft guns and missiles, but decided to come home.

"I came back through Botswana. I had been told that my mission was to mobilise the masses and recruit for education and army training abroad.

"Mobilisation also meant training some youths to use guns and explosives. I made myself at home in Mmabatho with no one knowing my background. I kept contact with Luisaka.

"Part of my instructions was not to engage security forces, even where I sensed I would win. I had to identify targets which would not involve loss of life.

"On March 3, 1985, after a good day's work which included surveillance, I decided to go to one of the hotels to make contacts. I saw a man who had trained with me in Angola, and he said he had been looking for me and a place to hide some weapons and explosives. I directed him to a safe place. While he was talking to me some security police came into the hotel. I had no guns but there was no way of breaking for freedom. I had been sold out by my comrade.

"I was arrested and taken to Zerust, and spent some time at Protea Police Station in Soweto. The police had found an AK-47 rifle, a number of hand grenades and ammunition where I had hidden them.

"I do not regret anything and I don't feel I have lost anything! I will always respond when the nation calls me," he said.
No place to hide

It's back to a life on the run for Coetzer & Tshikalanga, the hit-squad star witnesses

Coetzer Tshikalanga, asked if he would also be joining the ANC, said: "There is nothing that I have decided, I'm just sitting to see how they accept me."

Coetzer, who says he is working on a book about his experiences, says he'll wait for about three months before deciding whether he will apply for asylum.

He said he had been helped by a family — especially his two boys, Dirk and Carl — and hoped they would be able to help him stay in South Africa.

"I suppose that's the price one has to pay for telling the truth, he said.

Coetzer added that his life in exile is "not the first time in ages I've been treated well. I have good friends, honest friends on whom I can expect."

"I'm set, peaceful, being a long way from a country and my own family. But now I understand what those poor countries who have been outside the country for 21 years have suffered."

He said he had been an "eye-witness" to the disintegration of the ANC and the "organisation of "terrorists and enemies" that South African television and newspaper "propaganda" had led him to believe.

The man is said to be clear his conscience and help his country make a peaceful transition, he said.

Coetzer, who was arrested in South Africa after a bitter 21-year war, was among the most wanted war criminals.

"I just don't know how I could have got involved in those things. My biggest shame was when he said his only wish was to be taken to the place where his brother was disposed of."

"I want to help save the wind from the wind that they have been using to bring down South Africa's history."
Hospital crisis looms as urgent top-level talks end in deadlock

By SOPHIE TEMA

A last-minute bid by government and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to end the crippling hospital strikes ended in deadlock on Friday, and raised the possibility of a complete breakdown in health services.

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Historic talks could mean end of the armed struggle

PEACE DEAL

HAILED

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE conciliatory “Spirit of Groote Schuur” was acclaimed yesterday as a force that could put an end to revolutionary violence in South Africa.

The outcome of the historic three-day talks went beyond even the most optimistic expectations of the participants, the Government and the ANC.

For all practical purposes, said observers, the ANC’s armed struggle could soon be a dead letter.

In reciprocation, the Government will review its armoury of security laws, many of them outdated or abused.

Diplomatic sources also noted that the ANC seemed to have softened its stance on sanctions.

It would not call for existing ones to be removed — but, on the other hand, it would no longer demand new ones.

In London, a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: “We are particularly delighted by the flexibility shown by both sides.

“We hope the momentum will be maintained.”

A spokesman for the Japanese Government said progress had been made towards a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Committed

Lawyers for Human Rights said: “The talks were a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa. We congratulate...”

Love turns on Telly Fun Jane

Missing girls: Hunt for car thief

I’m standing by my hit-man, says Karin Coetzee
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"Lawyers for Human Rights" said: "The talks were a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa. We congratulate all involved."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the accord was "epoch-making".

Mr Nelson Mandela, who led the ANC delegation, unequivocally committed his organisation to "look hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle".

President P W De Klerk, who led the Government team, called the talks a "breakthrough" for the peace process.

A "suspension" of the armed struggle, possibly for three months, is one of the options which the ANC's National Executive Committee will consider when it's delegation reports back in Lusaka.

In that time the Government will review security laws. A partial lifting of the state of emergency may be part of this process.

One of the first actions to flow from the talks was a hastily transmitted message from Groote Schuur to Parliament placing the Indemnity Bill on the Order Paper for tomorrow.

The Bill, published yesterday, allows the Government to guarantee people who committed "political" crimes that they will not be prosecuted within a specific period.

Parliament's business has been rescheduled for a sitting tomorrow. It will end only when the Bill is passed.

Avoided

The Conservative Party vehemently opposes the Bill while the Democratic Party and the House of Representatives and Delegates support it.

The ANC is said to have taken a strong stand on security legislation.

It objected to the Internal Security Act, the little-used Intimidation Act and aspects of many other laws, for example the definition of "communism".

A Government source described the ANC's points as "worthy of merit".

The Government team nevertheless explained the need to retain essential security legislation.

The state of emergency may be lifted generally, for example, but be kept in Natal as long as violence continued.

The ANC is believed to have accepted this view.

Highly placed sources said the minute issued after the talks amounted to an agreement to end violence. It merely avoided terminology that was "sensitive and troublesome" to both sides.

The first paragraph of the Groote Schuur Minute reads: "The Government and the ANC agree on a common commitment towards the resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarters as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations."

Contacts

Another passage provides for "channels of communication to curb violence".

Mr Mandela's delegation also told the Government that not all violence could be ascribed to the ANC since it was not fully in control of all activity in black communities.

Mr Mandela repeated this point in a circumspect way at the post-talks Press conference.

Other points, regarded as successes by both sides, to emerge from the talks were:

A spirit of reconciliation that bodes well for future contacts. One negotiator said it was a "cathartic experience" for the two sides to listen to one another's experiences and that "many as PW in fit PW resched

By Lester Venter

FORMER State Presi P W Botha has resigned as the National Party. He bluntly told NPLEADERS who approached him to his Wilderness retreat home to renew his membership that he refused to do so.

He said he was dissatisfied with the leadership of his former President P W Kruger. He also told a newspaper reporter that he objected to the inclusion of Mr Joe Slo" general secretary of the Communist Party, in the delegation that reached a historic peace accord with the Government in Cape Town.

Mr Botha had been a member of the NP for 54 years, was elected to Parliament in 1948. The main feature of
Peace deal is hailed

The Conservative Party dismissed as “pious talk” a commitment to ending violence.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Pan African Congress reiterated its opposition to negotiating with President De Klerk.

The Azanian People’s Organisation said the ANC had been trapped in a well-laid plan designed by Mr De Klerk, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President George Bush, with the connivance of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and several African heads of state.

The ANC Executive Committee is expected to return permanently to South Africa within a matter of weeks, Mr. Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

As ANC representatives left Cape Town’s D.F. Malan Airport, they posed for photographs. Some, including SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo hugged and kissed children presented by eager mothers.

Mr Tshwete said he and his colleagues would attend a rally to be addressed by secretary-general Alfred Nzo and Mr Slovo in Johannesburg today.

Thereafter, the NEC men would return to Lusaka.

Asked if he had any idea when they would be returning permanently, he said: “A matter of weeks.”

Mr Slovo said that, in addition to his official duties, he intended to visit relatives in Johannesburg.

“Then I’ll be going back to Lusaka — temporarily.”
MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

Mandela, put your feet up

In his second book, he wrote "the struggle is my life". It seems he will never give up on this declaration.

In his second book, he wrote "the struggle is my life". It seems he will never give up on this declaration.

People like ANC international head Thabo Mbeki; UDF's general secretary Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Patrick Lekota; NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa; SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane; and others, could lead this country to a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

In Cape Town this week Mbeki rejected any assertion that the ANC saw itself as the sole and authentic representative of the majority of South Africans.

He said many others who have fought against apartheid should be included in negotiations.

This statement should be taken seriously by those who have accused the ANC of selling out.

Let us not deceive ourselves that the National Party will give away power without a fight. And what better way of fighting than around the table.

Inkatha and ANC members at one rally.

In letters and telephone calls to our office - from black and white readers - we were told that in a free South Africa where one person one vote is the order of the day, Mandela will be the next president.

If he goes, one caller asked, who do you think could rightfully succeed him?

Others have even suggested he quit politics and have a long rest. But Mandela himself may argue that point.

Are we going to watch the leader we have rallied around burn himself out?

It has been proved Mandela is the leader of all South Africans.

It could be said the only political leader he has not met is Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This is the only time he bowed to pressure from his advisers.

But it could also be argued he is the only leader who has addressed interviews and now talks with the government, will slow him down.

Mandela's non-stop worldwide travels, endless
THE lifelong dream of ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to see his people free.

That dream seems to be coming true. This week he laid the foundation for negotiations between the ANC and other future interested parties — and government.

It was not an easy achievement, considering he paid a heavy price for it by spending more than 27 years in prison.

But now that he has come this far I think the time has come for all of us to tell him: Now cool it, brother, hamba kahle, your schedule is just too much.

This is the general feeling of those who have been following Mandela's gruelling political schedule.

His diary since the first day of his release on February 11 could put to shame a man of half his age.

Medical experts and political observers have already sounded a warning.

Mandela's non-stop worldwide travels, endless interviews and now talks with the government, will slow him down.

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In his second book, he wrote "the struggle is my life". It seems he will never give up on this declaration.

I am not suggesting he quit, but I would like to see his schedule revised drastically.

We need to see him in Tuynhuys in the next five years. But at the rate he is going, that dream may not come true.

The ANC can boast of several people who could take up the leadership role should something happen to Mandela.
ANC ‘massively opposed’ to call for privatisation

By PETA THORNycroft
Harare

All South Africa’s state institutions being privatised will be re-nationalised, the ANC said this week after an economic workshop.

Mr Tito Mboweni, a senior member of the ANC’s economics department, who travelled from Harare to Zurich for another meeting with South African businessmen yesterday, said: “People should be under no illusion. We are convinced the privatisation process should be stopped and reversed.”

Mr Mboweni said there could be no negotiation on this issue and any future privatisation of national resources would be “massively opposed”.

Those institutions already sold off would be renationalised by an ANC government.

The conference was attended by academics and economists from South Africa and Britain, as well as trade unionists and the ANC.

In Zurich, the ANC — including Mr Mboweni, Mr Vela Pillay, Mr Rob Davies and Mr Esco Pahad — will meet with businessmen from South Africa, including Mr Christo Nel and Mr Ronnie Bethlehem. Nationalisation will be a main topic of discussion.
New accord is big boost for SA’s image overseas

THE historic accord between the Government and the ANC has given SA’s standing overseas a tremendous boost — just as President FW de Klerk prepares to leave on a nine-nation European tour.

Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will leave mid-week for official visits to Spain, Portugal, Greece, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain.

Two other Economic Community nations have not as yet announced the visit and the Department of Foreign Affairs has not released their names.

The success of the Groote Schuur talks will strengthen

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Mr De Klerk’s hand at a time when several central European countries are reassessing their stance on sanctions.

In the United States, too, much depends on signs of real progress between the ANC and the Government. A visit to Washington some time in June is also planned.

On this week’s trip Mr De Klerk will meet heads of state, foreign ministers and influential business leaders. In Madrid he will be received by the Spanish monarch, King Juan Carlos.

Politically, however, his two most important meetings will be with France’s President Francois Mitterrand on Thursday and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Chequers on May 19.

Britain has led Western support for Mr De Klerk’s campaign to draw up a new, non-racial constitution.

However, France’s links with the ANC have been stronger than those with Pretoria. The nation’s socialist President is highly regarded in the Third World and, for this reason, the SA breakthrough is viewed as particularly important.
UNUSUAL things happen in unusual times.

So it was unusual enough to see the ANC's pipe-smoking Mr Thabo Mbeki standing outside Groote Schuur, for seven decades the official residence of South African Prime Ministers and heads of state, ready to begin talking to today's Government leaders about a new South Africa for tomorrow.

Yet there he was, pipe clenched between his lips, surrounded by a phalanx of bodyguards. He was no longer the official opposition leader in South Africa's Parliament, but a man in transition.

So when he took the floor after the usual formalities, his audience was captivated.

And the government leaders were not the only ones captivated by the new leader of the ANC. Many others were watching, and those who were not watching were wishing they were.

A FOREIGN AFFAIR... Piki Botha and Jos Slovo
democratisation. But it was not until the recent death of Groote Schuur's former president, Cecil John Rhodes, that the idea of a new South Africa began to take shape.

When Mr Mbeki took office in 1999, he set about making the country's new democracy a reality. He introduced a new constitution, which was ratified by the people in a referendum. The constitution laid the foundation for a new South Africa, where people from all walks of life could participate in the political process and share in the country's wealth.

But as Mr Mbeki began to implement his reform agenda, he faced resistance from some who opposed the move to a new South Africa. This led to protests, violence, and unrest.

The government had to act to prevent the situation from getting out of control. It introduced a new law that banned the ANC and other opposition parties from holding political meetings.

Despite these challenges, Mr Mbeki remained committed to the principle of democracy and the idea of a new South Africa. He continued to work towards these goals, and in 2004 he was elected president of South Africa.

Today, Mr Mbeki continues to serve as South Africa's president, working to further the ideals of democracy and reconciliation. He remains a strong advocate for the principles of non-racialism and social justice, and he continues to inspire many with his commitment to the future of South Africa.
IN almost no time at all the extraordinary has become the ordinary in South Africa. It is quite astonishing with what ease South Africans have accepted the breathtaking events of the last few months.

On February 2 F W de Klerk made the impossible reality by unbanning the ANC and other organisations.

Within three months the improbable occurred when the National Party government and the African National Congress publicly started talking to each other.

They did so in Groot Groote Schuur, the home of South African prime ministers left to the nation by Cecil John Rhodes, with the communists and “terrorists” protected by white security men.

Not that they are negotiating yet, but they are talking about negotiating a new constitution.

With that they have put the seal on a process which is now irreversible, a process which over the next few years will lead to a South Africa where the rule will be equality for all instead of one where inequality was the norm.

Moreover, they are beginning to discover that they represent each other’s best options. And this might discipline both sides into not expecting the impossible from the other.

Reason might just prevail.

Both need to show progress, both need the talks to develop into negotiation — and for the same basic reasons. For the National Party and the ANC know that they are not the only actors on the political stage, that there are others waiting to take over their positions instead of joining the process which has now begun.

For the NP, it is the Conservative Party and those to its right. For the ANC, it is the Pan Africanist Congress.

The CP walked out of Parliament in protest at what it saw as a sell-out by the NP. The PAC publicly called the ANC sell-outs for talking in Groote Schuur.

The oppressors and terrorists have overnight begun to represent the centre of South African politics.

Undoubtedly, both NP and ANC now are the biggest political groupings in their own constituencies. But neither represents the majority and both know that if they falter there are others who are willing to take over.

The process concentrates the mind, makes compromise more possible and might even make it necessary that progress be shown.

The PAC represents 30 percent of white South Africa. The PAC is an unknown quantity except that over the last year it has re-

Harald Pakendorf
ANC joins the NP in a vortex of change

appeared from a past of dissen-

sion, lack of leadership, funds and organisation.

It has moved from obscurity to graffiti on township walls and now to a position where it is begin-

ning to vie with the ANC for support.

The CP and PAC represent extremes and in times of stress and change extremes have the advan-
tage of simplicity and tend to be-

come attractive.

They can only be contained by the centre holding, developing an understanding and possibly even agreement.

It will not be easy, it will take time and it is not written in the stars that it will come about.

Thanks to the existence of the CP and the PAC, the NP and ANC are in some way dependent on each other. The danger is that if they fail in Groote Schuur and the follow-up talks that will follow, they might veer away from the centre to undercut the extremes by becoming extreme themselves.

And, as John Vorster would have said, that is too ghastly to contemplate — not only for the country but also for the NP and ANC.
ANC sets foot on hallowed Matie soil

By KURT SWART and AYESHA ISMAIL

In a scene once considered almost impossible, a black ANC leader addressed Afrikaans students at Stellenbosch University and invited them to become "comrades" of the ANC to help build a new South Africa.

Talking to about 1,000 Matie students yesterday afternoon in what is considered by some to be the intellectual heart of Afrikaansdom, ANC head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki began his speech by saying: "I hope I will not be chased out of here if I call you comrades."

Polite

Mr Mbeki, who admitted to being a bit "overwhelmed" by the occasion, added: "In the past this university was forbidden territory for some of us, but it is no longer so and I think this reflects what is happening in the country as a whole.

"It would be reasonable to make the assumption that we are not very far from a process of negotiations, which should involve all the political forces in the country, to decide what kind of South Africa.

"It is natural and to be expected..."

But this university has a special place among Afrikaners and could play an important role in addressing the fears of the Afrikaner people — to tell them that the thing to fear is the continuation of the status quo."

He said this week's meeting between the ANC and the Government reflected a bit of the past and a bit of the future.

"We were discussing with a delegation that was exclusively white, male, Afrikaner and, I'm sure, middle class," he said to laughter.

"We had a delegation which was South African, and we need, all of us, to begin to compose ourselves in the same way as this delegation."

Smiling

"And we need to believe that we are sharing a common patrimony and that we have got to act together to remove this deadly past and establish a society of which all South Africans can be proud.

"We believe that we and this university can be comrades in bringing about this change."

Earlier a smiling Matie rector, Professor Mike de Vries, welcomed the ANC entourage to Stellenbosch in his office.

The talk was organised by the student current affairs group SAAK, the Black Students' Organisation and the Stellenbosch branch of Nusas.

Included in the ANC group were Aria Fahad, Jacob Zuma, and UDF leader Patric "Terror" Lekota and Amos Lingowe.

Also in the group and wearing an ANC badge was Leslie Durr, whose political activities on campus last year led to her expulsion.
Buthelezi slams 'wipe out' speech

A CALL by ANC Natal leader Harry Gwala to "wipe out" Inkatha members if they attack his supporters has been slammed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "irresponsible, aggressive and provocative".

Mr Gwala told the 10 000 strong crowd at a May Day rally at Edendale Valley Stadium, Maritzburg, to defend themselves if they were attacked by Inkatha. "Let us wipe them out if they attack us," he said.

The statement brought a strong reaction from the Inkatha and KwaZulu head.

Chief Minister Buthelezi said: "To say that Inkatha members are attacking others is incorrect. The statement which reads 'Let us wipe them out if they attack us' is highly irresponsible, aggressive and provocative."

By Ryan Cresswell

He claimed the statement would result in increased attacks on Inkatha members.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, said yesterday that the killings in Natal would have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence. Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by the SAP and KwaZulu police was crucial to bring about peace in the area, he said.

In this week’s talks between the Government and the ANC, clear lines of communication had been established to ensure police acted impartially in dealing with violent situations in Natal.
Home for a celebration

By ZB MOLEFE

FOR a moment, visiting author Mary Benson dreams of a future South Africa, free of apartheid.

Hours earlier she had visited Soweto.

Last week she visited the graves of Cannon Calata, his grandson Fort and Matthew Goniwe, the Eastern Cape leaders who died in 1985 during the Cradock disturbances she describes in her autobiography as "a flashpoint of the conflict sweeping South Africa like a veldfire".

Says Benson: "The Cradock story says it all. Think of Goniwe, such a creative worker who gave his people hope; and Calata, a great clergyman." Her words are chosen with deliberate care.

"There's an extraordinary quality, not only in the leadership, although the country is torn apart by apartheid. It is such a rich and beautiful country."

She should know what she's talking about. This 70-year-old biographer of African leaders like Tshekedi Khama, Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, has been writing the South African story.

"I've always maintained that South Africans have to be hopeful. Otherwise life would be unbearable," she says, when asked if she hopes to see a liberated South Africa in her lifetime.

"I think it is possible if I live to 80 years."

The Pretoria-born and educated Benson has paid her price for writing the South African story. This, in addition to her biographies, includes a history of the ANC, a novel, a radio play on Robben Island and dramatised documentaries on Mandela and Thomas Wolfe.

She was put under house arrest and banned in 1966 while in Johannesburg. She now lives in London.

A smile lights her face when she tells you that she has been given a three-month restricted visa allowing a visit to the homeland she last saw 24 years ago. It states that she cannot "engage in professional activities".

"And those 'professional activities' mean writing. But for me, coming here is a celebration." Her autobiography A Far Cry will be launched on Wednesday. "I'm an arthritic lady," she says sadly. "Could the authorities be afraid?"

Her remark brings to mind the words of the great Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn who wrote about the fear governments have of writers, saying no government on earth tolerates real writers because its like having "another government in one country".

But Benson - who in her 20s and coming from a typical comfortable white South African background "and terribly prejudiced" was converted on her "Damascus road" when she read Alan Paton's Cry The Beloved Country - clings to her belief of a new South Africa.

This is the book, Benson tells you, which made an extraordinary impact on her and "cracked open the mould of white consciousness."

"If Beyers Naude could change, you feel there is hope, though at times you are depressed. My books have been aimed at my fellow white South Africans." Her features harden.

After 24 years out of South Africa there is another area which has changed for Benson. The physical change of apartheid South Africa. She feels in a relaxed mood as she watches the blacks who seem to have "taken over" central business areas of cities like Johannesburg, although they don't have a vote.

On the whole there is the lingering feeling Benson has picked up during her visit: "People are eager to see real change," she says.
ANC to disband

By SBU MNGADI

THE 95-year-old Natal Indian Congress is one of the ethnic political organisations due to disband once ANC structures have been established in Natal.

This was announced by the newly-appointed ANC southern Natal convening committee at Press conference in Durban recently.

ANC and South African Communist Party veteran Billy Nair said that before the NIC disbanded its existing structures in Indian communities would facilitate the process of establishing the new ANC structures.

"When this task has been accomplished the NIC will hold a properly constituted conference at which a resolution to disband will be tabled."

"It will be senseless to disband the NIC into a vacuum," explained Nair, an executive member of the NIC.

He said discussions concerning disbanding the organisation had been taking place since February.

Two UDF affiliates, the United Committees of Concern — based in "coloured" areas — and the predominantly white Durban Democratic Association will also be disbanded.

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, the NIC has been instrumental in rallying the Indian community against apartheid.
ANC shouts foul after PAC tops agency survey of Soweto views

By SANDILE MEMELA

As the ANC sat down this week for talks with the government, a popularity stakes contest broke out between the movement and its ideological rival, the PAC.

The heated contest was sparked when a survey by a leading advertising agency found the PAC enjoyed greater support among Soweto youths.

It was also found the ANC was perceived as being “promoted” by the government.

Research director Sue Lerena said: “Little doubt exists that the PAC is a force to be reckoned with, especially among the youngsters in Soweto.”

“But it would not be correct to say it was more popular than the ANC.”

The survey has been slated by social scientists, who said the sample of 50 youths interviewed was too small for any conclusions.

“It has no scientific base. It is completely meaningless, it has no validity whatsoever,” said Jannie Gagiano of the department of politics at the University of Stellenbosch.

ANC spokesman Patrick “Terror” Lekota was quick to enter the fray on Wednesday when he denied his organisation was losing support in Soweto and on the Rand to other organisations.

“In the past eight months or so the ANC has hosted public rallies in the region the size of which the PAC has not come anywhere near equalling at any place in this country.”

“Even Jeff Masemola’s funeral attracted a humble 5 000 mourners.”

Lerena said the PAC/ANC popularity research was commissioned by her agency in the light of measures announced by President FW De Klerk on February 2 designed to create a climate for negotiations.

Qualitative research conducted from February 14 to 22 was geared to explore these issues and assess the mood in Soweto.

Adults of middle income were interviewed together with high school and university students aged 18 to 24.

The views and feelings of respondents were explored in five group discussions made up of 10 members each. Only 10 Soweto youths were interviewed at length.

According to Lerena, this technique differs from quantitative studies where emphasis is placed on numbers.

The research found the ideological differences between the PAC and ANC were a potential source of conflict. Suspicions that the ANC was backed by the government had also resulted in credibility problems for the organisation, said Lerena.

The PAC/ANC popularity stakes war comes in the wake of a shadowy ideological war between the PAC and the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo).

Sapa reports the political battle between the two groups is not high profile, but is being waged at grassroots level and involves painstaking door-to-door politicking by both groups.

This week, the PAC sent teams to Hillbrow in Johannesburg, making it the first political grouping to publicly canvas the more than 40 000 black people in the area.

The PAC has also opened offices in several “coloured” townships including the sprawling Ennerdale area south-west of Johannesburg as well as in Bosmont and Riverlea.

This is a clear indication it is muscling in on areas that have large Azapo support.

Internal general secretary for the PAC, Benny Alexander, commented: “We are not trying to score points off the black conscientious organisations. They have their programme and we have ours.

“We differ ideologically, but I would not say it is an ideological war.”

Azapo deputy-president Aubrey Modope said they too were strengthening their structures at grassroots level.

“We don’t think there is a real threat from the PAC. We might lose some supporters from our ranks, but it will be insignificant.”
Leading ANC member Albie Sachs arrived home in Cape Town on Friday after 24 years in exile. Sachs, who lost his right arm in a 1988 car bomb attack in Mozambique, was greeted by his mother Ray Edwards.
Noses flat against the window, we try to share the fun

KEN OWEN

The government takes the view that no settlement will be lasting if it is reached without the participation of any significant group, or at least of any group that has the capacity to wreck it.

Three such groups are immediately identifiable: the Conservative Party with its hidden support in the police, the army and the civil service; Inkatha, without whose consent Natal is unworkable; and the dully perceived, poorly defined, but formidable Black Consciousness groups, together with the PAC.

The ANC appears to be taking the view that all these groups are welcome to join the talks, provided they line up either behind the National Party, or behind the ANC itself. In this, as in so much of what it does, the ANC displays the totalitarian instinct of all communist-dominated movements to crush dissidents, to operate styly and by subterfuge, and to pre-determine any expression of "democratic" will.

On this point, the liberals have a special contribution to make to the debate, and perhaps to the character of the "new South Africa", by insisting that the diversity of the population — the country's glory and its cross — must be recognised both in the negotiations and in the constitutional arrangements which are to follow.

Sadly, the liberals have allowed their voices to be submerged, by the socialists outside Parliament and in the universities, and inside Parliament by the weight of African Nationalists, ANC defectors and ANC groups. At the very moment when the country needs a clear liberal voice — and indeed, when liberals have nothing else to offer — that voice shall be drowned in political cacophony.

The liberal lawyers who fought the unpopular cases, the liberal women who demonstrated in the streets when it was a courageous show of defiance, the academics and writers who fought for individual rights, and free speech, and an independent Press, have all those who stood against apartheid and against the violent philosophies which it evoked — have been shoudered aside.

The prospect that English liberals, and in fact the English community as a whole, will be further marginalised by the negotiating process is great. The siren call from the ANC to close ranks, to join the nascent "new South Africa", will tempt some; the idea of falling behind the Nationalists, despite their free market policies and their recent conversion to a bill of rights and to the rule of law, is unpalatable, but will tempt others. Either way, the liberal voice will be muffled.

It's no great tragedy. Events and the diverse character of the nation are forcing all parties towards a solution that will, in its essential elements, be liberal. The central fact of South African life is that no party can govern this country without the consent of others who have very different convictions. The essential ingredient is tolerance.

In the end, the only hope of government that can succeed over time in this country is one which grants the maximum liberty to all parties.
Govt wants second talks in June

Political Staff

Boosted by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, the government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

And the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

The Working Committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the bill is approved Mr De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation, to allow them to return.

Mandela rejects group rights — Page 5
Mandela rejects demand for group rights

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a crowd of about 45,000 at Soccer City yesterday that the ANC would never accept the concept of group rights.

The rally was called to report back after the ANC’s three-day meeting with government representatives.

Introducing the main speakers at the meeting — ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo — Mandela said he intended to urge NP leader President F W de Klerk to “abandon the concept of group rights or minority rights without reservation”.

He said he appreciated De Klerk’s honesty in raising the issue after the government/ANC talks in Cape Town last week.

The preoccupation of whites with minority rights meant they did not trust the ANC.

“We must accept fair criticism, and then we must reach a position where suspicion despite colour should be disregarded,” he said.

He thought suspicion had been overcome during the discussions with the NP delegates in Cape Town, and members should go out and convince South Africans any form of racism would be a recipe for disaster. He had no doubt blacks were fully behind the negotiations.

In his speech, Slovo gave De Klerk credit for his initiatives and criticised former President P W Botha.

He said his party had left the recent talks with government feeling that De Klerk probably meant what he said.

Botha, he said, would be remembered as the man who promised to cross the Rubicon, but who “never even got into a boat”.

Referring to those who regarded talks with government as “treasonable”, he said there was little to suggest they had contributed significantly to the struggle.
Brakpan police yesterday arrested 116 people sporting ANC colours after they allegedly hijacked a municipal bus in Tsakane.

A police spokesman said the driver, Mr Lucas Madonsella (36), was en route from the Tsakane cemetery to the Methodist church in the township.

On a corner a group of about 300 people, all wearing ANC colours, stopped the bus. Many of them boarded the bus and ordered the driver to take them to the FNB football stadium.

Police, however, stopped the bus.

A special court was held in Brakpan and all 116 accused appeared before a magistrate on an allegation of boarding a bus without permission.

The hearing was adjourned until today.
No fuss as ANC men jet into Jo'burg

By Ken Vernon.
The Star's Africa News Service

Fresh from their historic Cape Town talks several African National Congress leaders jetted into Johannesburg on Saturday night — and nobody seemed to notice.

In sharp contrast to the obsession with security that characterised the Cape Town talks, only a few sleepy-eyed uniformed policemen were on hand to greet Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and other National Executive members at Jan Smuts Airport.

Others to follow

"Now for the first time I feel like I am home," said Mr Slovo, who lived in Johannesburg before fleeing the country almost 30 years ago.

Asked what plans were for the time in Johannesburg, Mr Slovo said he was "not ready to say".

The ANC said the success of the talks would depend on the government's attitude.

"I'm not really sure what has happened," said a spokesman for the Department of Interior.

"I think we need to look at the matter in the context of the overall situation."
Namibian echo in Groote Schuur Minute

The Groote Schuur Minute, drawn up in Cape Town last week, uses the same no-holds-barred approach as did the Namibian peace settlement, reports Peter Fabriscius, Political Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN — The successful talks which the Government and the ANC held last week have bumped South Africa up to the "high road" to the future — at least for now.

They proved the wisdom of the advice so often given to the Government by its critics to negotiate with the ANC sooner, from a position of strength, rather than later, from one of weakness — as the Rhodesian government was forced to do with its opponents at Lancaster House.

The talks achieved two main things — a remarkable agreement which satisfied the main demands of both sides, and the establishment of an equally remarkable rapport between the Government and the ANC which could prove vital during tough negotiations ahead.

The agreement, entitled "the Groote Schuur Minute," is a remarkable example of the "no-holds-barred approach to negotiations" which characterised the Namibian peace talks.

In the words of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, there were only visitors during these talks.

The minute has in effect satisfied the Government's principal demand by committing the ANC to at least suspending the armed struggle — and furthermore to co-operating with the Government in trying to end general violence.

And in exchange the Government has agreed to tackle almost all the obstacles to negotiation identified by the ANC in the Harare Declaration — to amend its draconian security legislation, including the Internal Security Act, to set up a joint mechanism to identify political prisoners for release and earning amnesty, and to review the state of emergency.

The success of the minute appears to lie in something akin to the "linkage" concept — ultimately the linchpin of success in Namibia.

In the Namibian talks the South African Government was faced with an internationally-accepted agreement — United Nations Resolution 435 — which called for its withdrawal from Namibia.

UN 435 made no mention of the 10,000 Cuban troops in Angola, whose departure South Africa demanded.

South Africa managed to persuade the other parties to negotiations that the withdrawal of Cuban troops was linked to UN 435, because their presence north of the border was a threat to Namibian independence.

The eventual agreement synchronised the timetable for the implementation of UN 435 with a timetable for the complete withdrawal of the Cubans.

In similar fashion the South African Government in last weekend's talks was faced with an internationally widely accepted document — the Harare Declaration — which sets out the obstacles which need to be removed before negotiations start.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of security legislation, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles and the removal of troops from towns.

The Harare Declaration is very much the ANC's brainchild, and so not surprisingly it makes no mention of the armed struggle or violence in general as obstacles to be removed to create a climate for negotiation.

The ANC view the armed struggle would be suspended once the obstacles it had identified were removed.

The two were not directly linked, in its view. It argued for instance that the state of emergency — like the other obstacles — was merely a device to hamstring the Government's most effective political opponents.

The Government differed. It insisted that the state of emergency could not be lifted while the struggle and the violence continued, because its object was to curb the violence.

The Government also argued that it could not be expected to release political prisoners and allow exiled guerrillas to return while the ANC was committed to the armed struggle.

It would be like releasing prisoners of war before the war was over.

During last week's talks — and the vital preliminary discussions — it is clear that the inextricable linkage between the struggle and the other obstacles was accepted.

This is apparent not only from all important preamble to the Groote Schuur Minute, which commits both sides to resolve the climate of violence and intimidation and to a peaceful process of negotiations.

The minute also binds the ANC more specifically to co-operate in ways to help make it possible for the Government to remove particular obstacles: "The bringing violence to an end."

And the minute commits the Government to lift the state of emergency, but adds: "In this context the ANC will exert itself to fulfil the objectives contained in the preamble."

In other words, the ANC has accepted that the Government can only lift the state of emergency if the violence abates.

It also seems to have conceded that it may be necessary sometimes to send troops into the townships, as its demand for the removal of the troops was on the agenda, but disappeared from the agreement.

And the minute also affirms that efficient channels of communication between the ANC and the Government are to be set up "to curb violence and intimidation from whatever quarter."

What these agreements mean is that the last week's meeting did not achieve its prime objective of removing all the obstacles to negotiation — this is an apparent effort to make this possible.
Response to Mandela’s challenge

We are flexible over group rights – Nats

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

The National Party responded diplomatically today to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela’s first tough constitutional challenge on group rights, made yesterday at a rally outside Soweto.

Mr Mandela told a crowd of about 40,000 that the ANC would never accept minority rights protection.

NP sources said today the party was flexible on the question of group rights.

Its response takes the sting out of Mr Mandela’s challenge, reinforcing the mood of friendly negotiation created at last week’s Groote Schuur talks. But group rights is still expected to be a major issue in future negotiations.

NP sources said there were different kinds of group rights. One was group rights used as the building blocks of a new constitution.

The other was protection of certain minority rights, such as language and culture.

This second form of group rights was universally acknowledged even in a United Nations declaration. The ANC had said it was not opposed to the protection of rights associated with culture.

Mr Mandela revealed that he would have several meetings with President de Klerk before the next round of talks between the two delegations.

He would urge Mr de Klerk, “an honest man whose willingness to discard politics at the table was highly appreciated”, to abandon his insistence on group or minority protection because it implied that “white South Africa does not yet trust us”.

He added: “We have to convince them that any form of racialism is a farce for democracy.”

Mr Joe Slovo, the crowd’s favourite, added: “We know only one kind of democracy, and that is majority rule. If this is not achieved, there will only be the ‘peace of the graveyard’.”

Explaining the Government’s attitude to group rights in the light of yesterday’s tough ANC policy stand, NP sources said the NP was flexible on which sort of group rights it wanted protected.

The NP is engaged in intensive internal consultations to try to come up with an acceptable constitutional model.

An extended NP caucus meeting on Saturday focused on a bicameral model with a lower house elected on a common voters roll and an upper house which incorporated minority protection.

NP sources have indicated that the party is moving towards a system of majority rule protected by deeply entrenched normal democratic principles such as a multi-party system, and also the principles of free enterprise.

See Pages 3, 6 and 11.

Rail horror – the wreckage at the scene of a collision about 40 km north of Sydney yesterday between a double-decker passenger train and an old-fashioned steam train chartered by jazz fans. At least six people were killed and 90 injured. Trains were running at a snail’s pace yesterday with 150 men and women in six trains billed as the ‘Train of the Century’.

Strike talks as ‘nightmare’ continues

By Carina Le Grange

Patients at Soweto’s Baragwanath Hospital last night described the “nightmare” conditions they were enduring, while crucial talks aimed at ending the hospital strike were due to resume today.

Hospitals still hit by the strike by non-medical staff are Baragwanath, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, H F Verwoerd and Natalpruit.

At today’s talks in Pretoria between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu (National Education, Health and Allied Workers’ Union) the final issue to be settled is wage demands.

After weekend talks hopes are high that an agreement acceptable to workers will be reached later today.

At Baragwanath, patients told The Star of the stench of filth, wards, sleeping on dirty linen and hunger due to irregular meals. At the height of the strike, no meals were served for a 24-hour period.

Mrs Mabel Ndluvu of Alexandra, in hospital for a thyroid operation, was among those discharged early. With her was her one-year-old daughter.

“I am not healed. But there is no point staying in hospital with an infant and no regular meals, in an unhygienic place,” she said.

Her baby had survived on tea and she had often gone without meals.

Mr Samson Khebeka believes the strike could cost him a finger. He was admitted two weeks ago with a septic hand because he did not go for treatment after being burnt. He cannot have an operation urgently needs since he has been told only emergencies are being done.

Nursing staff have doubled cleaners and cooks for the week, working long hours.

Strikers emptied rubbish and scattered litter at Hillbrow Hospital as the weekend went by.

There have been more reports of intimidation, a Union official said, adding people identified as strikers were being targeted.

Emergencies only were being treated at the hospitals and patients not desperately ill have been discharged.

By late yesterday it appeared agreements in principle had been reached on all workers’ demands except wages.

Increases

Workers demand a major pay rise from $2.16 a month as a minimum wage.
Only SACP’s Slovo stirs the 40 000 crowd at subdued but chic ANC rally in Soweto

By Dawn Barkhuizen

A muted crowd about 40 000 strong turned out yesterday to hear South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, and his ANC counterparts, Mr Alfred Nzo, speak in Soweto for the first time in 23 years.

The crowd was about a third of the size that gathered to cheer Mr Nelson Mandela home after his release from prison in February.

Damp squib

Compared to the pulsating, chaotic and jam-packed Mandela welcome rally, yesterday’s event was a damp squib.

On several occasions speakers from the podium urged the crowd to respond to shouts of “Viva” with more enthusiasm.

Vast sections of the crowd were empty and the bright flags that in February swathed the seating mass in green, gold, black and red were far and few between.

In place of the six media helicopters that hovered “Airwolf-style” over the Mandela rally was a single yellow and blue SAP helicopter.

Some women, who had been told the rally would start at 11am, went home when the event was rescheduled for 1pm.

It eventually started at 2pm.

Excitement echoed briefly when the pose of silver and white BMWs and Mercedes Benz cars eventually sneaked on to the pitch carrying the 30-strong ANC-SACP delegation, and again when its members were introduced.

There was warm applause when Mr Mandela took the microphone.

But only Mr Slovo, emotive and with a broad South African accent, was able to stir the crowd.

They clapped when he said President de Klerk had shown courage.

They shrieked when he was the former State President, Mr P W Botha, had quit the National Party.

They were thrilled when he said he understood Mr Botha did not like him.

They stamped their feet with delight when he told them: “The fact that PW does not like me makes me feel I have done my job properly.”

And when he said: “Nelson Mandela put his country first when he had tea with PW...”

Klerk is also big enough to think of his country first,” the crowd roared.

Apart from the difference in size and behaviour, the most noticeable difference in the crowd of yesterday was in their dress.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, a fashion revolution has swept the townships.

Gone are the days that the ANC colours were emblazoned only on badges. T-shirts, armbands and umbrellas.

Pith helmets

From the age of five to 55, the old men, stout matrons, comrades and toddlers were wearing imaginative green, gold and black colour combinations.

Middle-aged mothers wore complete outfits with pleated skirts and matching shirts, shoes and hats.

There were chi-chi berets, pith helmets, fezzes, peaks and turbans.

Right from their chic tops, striped jumpers, track suits, soccer hats and scarves to their crevass, rosettes, earrings, necklaces, rosettes and hand-painted designer T-shirts, the crowd who turned out yesterday were a walking advertisement of ANC colours.

Poor attendance due to bad organisation

By Esmaire van der Merwe

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed the relatively poor turnout at the ANC rally at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto on bad organisation.

The ANC’s deputy president told the rally that “certain sectors of the press” would interpret the poor turnout as indicating that blacks were not behind the ANC’s strategy of negotiating with the National Party Government.

Delegation

“There is no doubt in our minds that our people are fully behind us,” he said.

40 000 people gathered to hear the ANC’s secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, speak in Johannesburg for the first time in more than three decades.

Introducing the delegation which returned to South Africa for talks with the Government last week, Mr Mandela praised the efforts made by Mr Slovo, Mr Nzo and Mr Thabo Mbeki in the discussions.

He said Mr Slovo had led the discussion on the state of emergency, security legislation and on the issue of troops in the townships. Mr Nzo had spoken about the return of political exiles and Mr Mbeki on the release of political prisoners.

The three men received a standing ovation for the “brilliance” with which they had fulfilled their task.

Agreement

Introducing the ANC’s intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, who read out the agreement reached between the ANC and the Government, Mr Mandela said: “What we have done, we have done for you. It is important that you hear it from the horse’s mouth.”
Minority rights rejected by ANC leaders

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has made it clear that in spite of the success of the first round of talks with the government it would never accept the protection of minority rights and would continue its struggle against apartheid.

Leaders of the ANC and the South African Communist Party yesterday addressed a rally at the FNB Stadium outside Soweto.

A crowd of about 40,000 gathered to hear SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo speak in Johannesburg for the first time in more than three decades.

The ANC entourage entered the stadium at 1.30pm in a motorcade, then walked a lap of honour to the sound of the African Jazz Pioneers before mounting a stage decorated in the colours of the ANC and SACP.

In a short speech ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed that he would have several meetings with President De Klerk before the next round of talks between the two delegations.

Mr Mandela said he would urge Mr De Klerk, an "honest man whose willingness to discuss politics at the table was highly appreciated", to abandon his insistence on group or minority protection because it implied that "white South Africa does not yet trust us".

“We have to convince them that any form of racialism is a formula for disaster.”

Mr Mandela blamed the relatively poor attendance on bad organisation.

He told the rally that the attendance would be interpreted "by certain sectors of the Press" that black people were not behind the ANC's strategy of negotiations with the government.

“There is no doubt in our minds that our people are fully behind us,” he said.

Mr Slovo, who clearly was the crowd's favourite, said the Cape Town talks would lead to peace only "if the peace we are talking about leads us in a straight line to a nonracial democratic South Africa”.

“We know only one kind of democracy and that is majority rule. We know only one kind of nonracialism and that is an end to white economic privi-lege and social inequality.”
STATE President FW de Klerk tomorrow leaves on a visit to several European countries.

His schedule includes stops in Germany, France, Greece, Britain, Portugal, Switzerland and Spain. A detailed schedule has been withheld for security and protocol reasons.

After last week’s meeting between Government and the ANC in Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha briefed representatives of foreign governments on the deliberations.

A Department of Foreign Affairs source said that news of the talks were well received by European leaders, who had been waiting for moves towards a settlement in South Africa.

At last week’s three-day indaba agreement was reached between the two to at least cease hostilities and ultimately reach a settlement beyond which a free and just society is desired.

**History**

In the joint communiqué that will go down in history as the ‘Groote Schuur Minute’, plans for a joint working group were announced. The working committee was given a 16-day deadline to advise on difficulties as to what constitutes “political offences” and the norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity.

On the part of the ANC, the movement’s deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela undertook to seriously look at the armed struggle in the face of the new dispensation and semblance of peace between the two parties. Mandela also suggested that there would be no further calls for sanctions, but that no existing sanctions would be lifted.
SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and Mrs Winnie Mandela salute the cheering crowd as they enter the FNB Stadium surrounded by bodyguards.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE
THE ultimate goal of negotiations with the Government was majority rule, South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo told about 40 000 supporters at a rally at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was addressing the ANC/SACP report-back meeting on last week’s three-day preliminary talks which resulted in the Groote Schuur Minute.

Slovo said: "The talks are the beginning of the road to peace, a straight line towards a united, non-racial democracy."

"We must not play with words. A non-racial democracy means majority rule which involves every square metre of the country - from the Cape Point to the north, from the Indian Ocean to the Limpopo.

"We are talking about one homeland.

"The only hope for real peace is that of accepting majority rule. The whites-only general election of September 1989 was the last," he said.

He warned that the agreement did not mean apartheid was dead.

"Whites still have the monopoly of the vote, land and the economy while blacks have the monopoly of the phetos, unemployment and the bullets of trigger-happy police.

"Those whites who claim we have a secret agenda fear the 'douche that you what you did unto us' - the replacement of white domination by black domination.

"We do not have any secret agenda," Slovo said.

Referring to opponents of negotiations he said: "There are those who scream treason against dialogue, but they do not have any political solution to offer. It is because of the AK-47 that dialogue goes on," said Slovo.

ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo called for a broad unity of all political organisations saying the move had already begun at last December’s Conference for a Democratic Future.

Among the ANC delegates at the rally were ANC director of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mlisiki, Umkhonto We Sizwe commanders Mr Joe Modise and Mr Steve Tshwete, ANC external executive committee member Mrs Ruth Mompati and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.
ANC committee will return

The ANC National Executive Committee expected to return permanently to South Africa within a matter of weeks, NEC member Mr Steve Tshwete said as he and members of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks left Cape Town on Saturday.

About 50 well-wishers and a strong contingent of police met the ANC representatives at DF Malan Airport. Their convoy of cars and minibuses was escorted from the Somerset West hotel, where they stayed, by a number of police vehicles and a police helicopter.

Inside the terminal building, the representatives posed for photographs. Some, including SA Communist Party chief, Mr Joe Slovo, hugged and kissed children, presented by eager mothers.

Tshwete said he and his colleagues would also attend a series of report-back meetings in Johannesburg with people from various areas.

They would return to Lusaka during the week on a date to be fixed.

Asked if he had any idea when they would be returning permanently, he said: "A matter of weeks." - Sapa
PW quits Nat Party

THE presence of Joe Slovo, SACP secretary-general, at last week’s talks between the ANC and the Government, has irked the former State President Mr. P W Botha to such an extent that he has quit the National Party.

Botha said Slovo was an arch-communist who planned South Africa’s downfall in London and had planned terror activities inside South Africa.

He said communism was strong as ever and the ANC stood for nationalisation and was dominated by communist leaders who had committed to violence.
Exiled veteran returns home

WHITE ANC veteran Albie Sachs, in exile from South Africa since 1966, returned home on Saturday to an emotional reunion with his 85-year-old mother.

Sachs, a 55-year-old lawyer, who was maimed by a car bomb in Mozambique in 1988, is a member of the ANC's policy-making National Executive Committee and the movement's chief constitutional thinker.

"It's wonderful to be home, it's wonderful to be back in Cape Town. Emotionally, spiritually and politically I never left Cape Town," he said as he hugged his mother.

He said he would consult with ANC leaders about proposals for a non-racial constitution for South Africa after negotiations launched last week in a pioneering meeting between the ANC and the SA Government.

"I think we are on the brink of a new era in South Africa," he said.

Sachs trained as a lawyer in Cape Town but fled the country in 1966 after 170 days detention in solitary confinement without charge or trial.
NELSON MANDELA

De Klerk: "The discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere. There was an opportunity for straightforward discussions. We talked straight. All the forms were put on the table and there was an open discussion between the two delegations."

I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peace process which we want to take place in South Africa. It has been a Government's goal to normalise the political process. Today we can say that a great step forward has been taken in the process. It has been our goal to improve the climate for negotiations to create a climate conducive for negotiations.

I sincerely believe that we have taken an important step in that direction. It has been our goal, with regard to all South Africans, to remove distrust and replace it with genuine confidence. I sincerely believe that this meeting also served that purpose.

"In that sense of the word the joint commitment to peaceful solutions which will lead to real negotiation is of course important to all people of South Africa."

I look to the future with confidence and I appreciate the good will and the commitment and the humanity which was a hallmark of the discussions.

I would like to also offer Dr Mandela the opportunity to make a few introductory remarks." Mandela: "The striking feature of the discussions which we have had during the last three days has been their cordiality.

"We have had discussions on sensitive matters in a spirit of conciliation and understanding. The ANC has taken the initiative in regard to getting the Government and the ANC to sit down together and have a peaceful solution. In these discussions, we look at them with satisfaction because it is the realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and consistently over the last three years."

Credit

"We say no to a spirit of either housing or claiming credit for the successes of the discussions. We went into these discussions in the spirit that there should neither be victory nor losers and at the end of these discussions nobody wins or loses except in a constructive manner."

"South Africa is a victory. The important thing is going to be the implementation of this agreement and there is a

FOCUS

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scene in the country in the search for peace. There can be no peace in this country unless these two parties, these two organisations come to an agreement to an effective lasting peace."

We recognise the fact which we have raised over and over again, that there are other organisations in this regard and it would only be proper at some stage to seek the views of the important organisations which we have been discussing over the last few days."

Mandela: "Everything has been discussed over the last few days."

F.W. de Klerk: "We are discussing an issue which has been on the agenda and the ANC will therefore look into the question of the armed struggle and take appropriate decisions."

Mandela: "For the first time in any meeting as such has been set. The joint committee has agreed to make a tremendous contribution in the preparation for the talks and also during the talks."

"In terms of the Sisulu-Navan meeting we have made some progress in this regard, namely the steering committee, which is composed of members of the ANC and those of the Government."

Search

This meeting committee has been working for some time on common problems and preparing for this meeting.

We have been in touch with the State President as well as other Ministers. It is always for better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the various groups involved in the search for peace.

We are looking into this matter as the ANC and in due course we may make recommendations to the Government."
De Klerk: "The discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere. There was opportunity for straightforward discussion. We talked straight. All the facts were put on the table and there was an open interaction between the two delegations."

"I regard what is contained in this document as an important breakthrough in the peaceful process which we want to take place in South Africa. It has been this Government's goal to negotiate a political process. Today we can say that a great step forward has been taken in the process. It has been our goal to improve the climate for negotiation, to create a climate conducive for negotiations."

"I sincerely believe that we have taken an important step in that direction. It has been our goal, with regard to all South Africans, to remove distrust and replace it with greater understanding. I sincerely believe that this meeting also served that purpose."

"In the sense of the word, the Joint Committee is a peaceful solution and it will lead to real negotiations. It of extreme importance to all people of South Africa."

"I look to the future with confidence and I appreciate the good spirit and the seriousness and the honesty which was a hallmark of the discussions."

"I would like to offer Dr Mandela the opportunity to make a few introductory remarks."

Mandela: "The striking feature of the discussions which we have had during the last three days has been their cordiality."

"We have had discussions on sensitive matters in a spirit of conciliation and understanding."

"The ANC has taken the initiative in regard to the Government and the ANC to sit down together and hammer out a peaceful solution and an understanding and an agreement, we look at them with satisfaction, because it is the realisation of a dream for which we have worked patiently and constructively for the last three years."

Credit:

"We say so not in a spirit of boasting or claiming credit for the success of the discussions. We went into these discussions in the spirit that there should neither be victors nor losers and at the end of these discussions not only are we closer to one another, the ANC and the Government, but we are all victors."

"South Africa is a victory."

"The important thing is going to be the implementation of this agreement and there is a realisation on the part of both delegates that it is important that these obstacles which we have identified in the document should be removed as the earliest possible convenience."

"We in the ANC are convinced that both our organisation as well as the Government means to do just that and we hope we will get the support of all South Africans and the international community in this important objective."

De Klerk: "(As chairperson) can say that the joint plenary session in the discussion was more open and broad than was possible in the last three days."

"There will be no peace in this country unless these two parties, these two organisations come to an agreement as an effective settlement, but the ANC has never claimed to be the sole representative of the black people in this country."

Proper:

"We recognise the fact which we have raised over and over again, that those are other interested parties in this regard and it would only be proper at some stage to ask them views on the important questions which we have been discussing over the last few days."

"In my view, there has been discussion over the last few days."

"I have been in contact with some of the Ministers on specific issues from time to time. So in a sense, there are some channels for communications which have already been established."

Mandela: "I confirm what the President has said, that steadily there is some machinery in this regard, namely the steering committee, which is composed of members of the ANC and those of the Government."

Search

This meeting committee has been working for some time on common problems and preparing for this meeting."

"I have been in touch with the State President as well as other Ministers, it is always far better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace."

"We are looking into this matter as the ANC and in due course we may make a recommendation to the Government."

(Continued tomorrow)
Buthelezi ‘heartened’ by action

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend it was heartening the Government and the ANC had agreed on the urgency of addressing the problem of violence flaring up everywhere in SA.

He said it was not enough to undertake to do something about the violence while members of the ANC delegation continued to single him out for denigration and attack as a leader and participant in the negotiating process.

He mentioned specifically Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Japan on Saturday welcomed the results of the talks between the Government and the ANC.

The Japan’s consulate in Pretoria said in a statement that the country’s Director-General of Public Information and Cultural Affairs had said his government looked forward to continued progress in future talks.

Japan hoped that the ANC and the SA Government would make further efforts for the commence-ment of “full-fledged negotiations” to build a new democratic constitution without apartheid.

Lawyers for Human Rights also welcomed the progress made in the Government/ANC talks last week.

“We look upon these talks as a significant leap towards the creation of a truly democratic South Africa, and congratulate all those involved during this period,” said an LHR statement. The establish-ment of a working group to consider the question of political prisoners was particularly hopeful because the release of all political prisoners “will surely guarantee the forward movement we all desire”, the statement concluded.
**Killings must end - Mbeki**

THE killings in Natal will have to be stopped before any political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha could be considered, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's Director of International Affairs, said at the weekend.

He said it was of the utmost importance to stop the violence in Natal.

Fair and impartial policing of the troubled areas by both the SA Police and the KwaZulu Police was crucial to bring about peace in the area.

The police should not be allowed to enter into the conflict or to stand back and to allow one side to be given the opportunity to attack the other.

He said in last week's talks clear lines of communication had been established to ensure that the police acted in an impartial way in violent situations.

Mbeki said before the killings were brought to an end, a political relationship between the ANC and Inkatha was out of the question.
PARTIES on the extremes of South African politics reacted coolly at the weekend to successful pioneering peace talks between the government and the ANC.

The ultra-Rightist white supremacist Conservative Party (CP) dismissed as "pious talk" a commitment to ending violence announced by the Government and its chief opponent following their first official encounter.

At the other end of the political spectrum, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) reiterated its opposition to negotiating with President FW de Klerk.

"I don't know what the ANC approach the Government (to start talks). It's their problem," said veteran PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, whose movement advocates black self-reliance and socialism in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Political analysts say both the PAC, increasingly popular among black township youths, and the CP, the main parliamentary opposition, would have to be party to any eventual political settlement if it is to have a chance of success.

De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela said on Friday they were satisfied with their three-day talks on removing barriers to full negotiations between the white minority and black majority.

They agreed to form a joint working group to thrash out proposals for the release of up to 3,000 people regarded by the ANC as political prisoners.

**Violence**

There was no formal mention of the ANC's 30-year-old guerrilla campaign. But Mandela said his officials would look "very hard and earnestly into the whole question of the armed struggle," prompting speculation that the movement was ready to edge away from the use of violence.

Mothopeng said the PAC would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would only take part in negotiations when the transfer to blacks of the white-owned majority of South African land was on the agenda.

"We will not go to any talks to discuss, but to make sure (PAC demands) are effected," said Mothopeng.

Despite his comments Mothopeng was at pains not to attack the ANC directly, saying repeatedly Mandela's movement was entitled to use whatever means it wanted to end apartheid.

Pro-apartheid CP leader Andries Treurnicht said Mandela wanted "to intensify the armed struggle to prevent De Klerk from backtracking from negotiation."

Asked if he would accept an invitation to join full negotiations, he replied: "We haven't decided not to participate...but there are certain non-negotiables - our existence as a (white) nation and our claim to our land," he said in a telephone interview.

"Mr Mandela denies the reality of the white nation...We are for peace, but peace has certain conditions, one of which is recognising the variety of South Africa's peoples," he said.

**Teargas**

The CP advocates old-style apartheid, maintaining that separating South Africa's whites, blacks, Coloureds and Indians is the only way to keep the peace.

In Johannesburg, police fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse 100 former policemen and prison warders preparing to march to police headquarters to protest against racism in the police force and prison service.
ANC trapped by Govt - Azapo

THE Azanian People's Organisation has condemned last week's historic talks between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Sirini Moodley, said: 'the De Klerk regime has succeeded in tying up the ANC in the perennial structures designed to delay the struggle, and to water down solutions to our problems in this country'.

Azapo, reacting to the so-called Groote Schuur Minute document, said nothing substantive had emerged from the talks, except for a series of platitudes which had only legitimised the South African Government.

Azapo said it was obvious the ANC had been trapped in a well-laid plan designed by De Klerk, Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and President George Bush of the US, with the connivance of the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and several African Heads of State.

"Why must a working group be set up to investigate the release of political prisoners. Why must the De Klerk regime be given the opportunity to review security legislation?" Azapo asked.

Azapo said these were not matters for discussion. "Why must there be a committee to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in South Africa?"

The government stood accused of committing the most "indefensible political offences, and it is now being offered the opportunity to actually define these offences".

Azapo said it could only assume the ANC was set on a path of forging an alliance with the National Party - an alliance that had left the South African people in perplexity.

Azapo called on the ANC to put a halt to the killings in Nata.

The South African Council of Churches said, however, it had noted with great satisfaction the breakthrough made in the talks.

It said it encouraged the parties to the exploratory talks to fulfil the obligations they had made to each other and to the nation, so that real negotiations may begin.

- Sapa
Azapo slams talks with govt

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) on Saturday condemned last week's talks between the government and the ANC.

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "The De Klerk regime has succeeded in tying up the ANC in the perennial structures designed to delay the struggle, and to water down solutions to our problems in this country."

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Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches said on Saturday that it had noted with great satisfaction the breakthrough made in the talks.

It said it encouraged the parties to the exploratory talks to fulfil the obligations they had made to each other and to the nation, so that real negotiations may begin.

The Conservative Party says talks on peace should be welcomed.

But, SABC radio news reported, Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that socialists regarded peace as something that was achieved through a victory for socialism. He also said the whites in South Africa were an established nation, and that this was something non-negotiable. The ANC had no place for a defined nation or group.

— Sapa
Group rights? — never, says ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a crowd of about 45,000 at Soccer City yesterday that the ANC would never accept the concept of group rights.

Introducing the main speakers at the meeting, ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, he said he intended to urge President F W de Klerk to "abandon the concept of group rights or minority rights without reservation".

He said he appreciated Mr De Klerk's honesty in raising the issue at the press conference after the government-ANC talks in Cape Town last week.

"This means that white South Africa does not trust us. We must accept fair criticism and then we must reach a position where suspicion despite colour should be disregarded," he said.

He said he thought suspicion had been overcome during the discussions with the National Party delegates in Cape Town and members should go out and convince South Africans that any form of racism would be a recipe for disaster.

Mr Slovo said there was still hosts of people in the police and "boere army" who treated black lives as cheaply as they did black jobs.

Mr Botha, he said, would be remembered as the man who promised to cross the Rubicon but who "never even got into a boat".

"I am not (worried) that he does not like me. It makes me feel that I did my job properly," said Mr Slovo.

Referring to people who regarded any kind of talks with the government as "treasonable", Mr Slovo said there was little in their practice that suggested they had contributed significantly to the struggle.

"We are constantly told there is a white constituency that he (Mr De Klerk) cannot ignore, who have got used to race privilege and that they need time to get over the shock."

But, Mr Slovo said, Mr Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo also had a constituency that had suffered as a result of apartheid.

"We know only one kind of democracy and that is majority rule," said Mr Slovo.
SACHS BACK... Mr Albie Sachs greets a supporter at D F Malan Airport on his return to Cape Town.

Sachs back on beloved mountain

Staff Reporter

EXILED ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs on Saturday indulged in a passion when he went for a four-hour walk on Table Mountain.

Shortly after his arrival at D F Malan Airport and an emotional reunion with his mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, Mr Sachs said he wanted to spend some time with her and eat a long-promised homemade chicken dinner and then climb Table Mountain.

It was his first visit to South Africa in 24 years since he left in July, 1966. Mr Sachs lost his right arm in a car-bomb blast in Maputo two years ago.

The climb started at Constantia Nek — where Mr Sachs was met by a few friends and members of the local and foreign media — and later proceeded down Kasteelspoort which Mr Sachs called "my walk".

A friend who attended the walk said Mr Sachs had a passion for Table Mountain and was "very determined and pretty energetic".

Later he was met by a welcoming party at the Rylands home of civil-rights advocate Mr Dullah Omar.

Mr Sachs is on a seven-day work permit and has several speaking engagements including one at the University of the Western Cape.
Johannesburg. -- The PAC is worried about the spate of car crashes in which some of its senior members have been killed or hurt and the whereabouts of a leading member of its student wing.

The PAC has also accused the government of murdering one of its officials in Botswana.

PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng told a news conference the killing of PAC exile Mr Sam Chand and his family at their home in the Botswana border village of Sikwane last month was carried out by South African government agents.

"We are concerned...with the spate of accidents which are trailing our members," Mr Mothopeng said.

Mr Chand was one of three PAC leaders who have died in recent weeks, two of them in traffic accidents in South Africa.

Three weeks ago Mr Japtha Masemola, a veteran PAC leader released last year after a long imprisonment, was killed in a car crash.

Mr Ismael Chand died in a road accident on his way to the funeral of his brother a week after the killing.

The Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) expressed concern yesterday about the whereabouts of a leading member of its national executive committee.

Paso deputy president Mr Vusi Moyeni said their secretary for legal and welfare affairs, Mr Justice Mvakali, was last seen at his house in Vosloorus on the East Rand on April 10.

"According to his parents, Justice said he was going to Durban to attend to some student matters. Since then, the organisation has consulted with all its branches nationally in a search for him. But we have heard nothing," Mr Moyeni said. -- Sapa
Mayor must quit, demand marchers

**Staff Reporter**

ABOUT 1,000 supporters of breakaway Old Crossroads headman Mr Geoffrey Nongwe marched to Nyanga police station yesterday afternoon to demand the resignation of the mayor of Old Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

The march started about 1pm from Mr Nongwe’s shack, clearly demarcated in section three, Old Crossroads, by an old tattered ANC flag which flies above it.

The marchers swelled their ranks from about 300 to 1,000 as they sang and danced through the streets of the squatter town.

Nyanga police said no incidents occurred thanks to the disciplined marshalling by men and women in khaki ANC uniforms.

The marchers delivered a letter to the police to be handed over to their station commander today, according to a police spokesman.

Marchers said the letter demanded answers to an earlier request to the police that Mr Ngxobongwana resign and the Old Crossroads town committee be disbanded. The marchers also wanted all housing developments in the area to be frozen until a new system of house allocation had been negotiated.

The march was part of an ongoing battle between opposing factions led by Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Nongwe. Mr Nongwe’s faction alleges that the Old Crossroads town committee has defrauded residents to the order of over a million rand and that only members of Mr Ngxobongwana’s faction have been allocated new houses.
HARARE. — The Liberation Support Committee (LSC) is to hold a church service in Harare today in solidarity with Father Michael Lapsley, the Anglican priest and anti-apartheid activist who was seriously injured by a parcel bomb last week.

Organising secretary Mr Jonah Gokova said Bishop Patrick Mutume of the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference was expected to lead the service.

Father Lapsley lost both hands and an eye when a bomb, contained in a parcel, ripped through his Harare home.

He lost the eye during an operation carried out on Thursday last week. His condition is reported to be improving.
Mbeki's warm Matie hello

Staff Reporter

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, was warmly received by Stellenbosch University rector Professor Mike de Vries when Mr Mbeki addressed Matie students at the campus.

A visit to the university — known as the intellectual heartland of Afrikanerland — by an ANC leader would have been considered impossible even in January this year.

It was also a special day for Prof de Vries, who celebrated his 57th birthday on Saturday, the day he met Mr Mbeki and his entourage in his office.

The talk was organised by the student affairs group Saak, the Black Students' Organisation and the Stellenbosch branch of Nusas.

Others who accompanied Mr Mbeki were Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Jacob Zuma and UDF leaders Mr Patrick "Terror" Leokota and Mr Amos Lingwane.

Mr Douglas Davis, a spokesman for the rector, said it was a historic occasion and the ANC team were warmly received and Prof de Vries had admitted he had been very impressed with Mr Mbeki.

During his address Mr Mbeki said: "In the past this university was forbidden territory for some of us, but it is no longer so and we think this reflects what is happening in this country as a whole.

"We would like to see this university, with all its prestige, authority and weight, count itself among the forces producing the new South Africa and become a part of the process of change."

ANC IN MATIELAND ... Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC (centre) — followed by University of Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries (second from right) — walks hand-in-hand with Matie students on his arrival at the campus yesterday to address about 1 000 students. ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pahad is behind Mr Mbeki, on his left.
Govt wants second talks in June

Political Staff

Boosted by its breakthrough in last week's talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, the government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and it will be briefed on the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The NP caucus was briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday.

And the ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

The working committee appointed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Agreement on the issue could pave the way for the large-scale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain political trials.

Today's joint sitting of Parliament will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the bill is approved, Mr De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation, to allow them to return.

Mandela rejects group rights — Page 5
Blacks, too, are fearful of the reality of majority rule

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE

IT IS fashionable to speak of white fears and black expectations. Black fear is not mentioned, but it should be.

On the emotional level, solutions are simple. But reality is another thing, and some of us are scared about what will happen when the reality sets in.

It is true that blacks have been denied the privileges whites enjoyed, and a system has to be devised to address the problem. That is not going to happen overnight, and blacks — especially black youths — need to be told that.

Most black people privately harbour fears about any new government, whether it be the ANC or a PAC revival. They want guarantees that their liberties will not be tampered with.

For many years, black South Africans have been angered when their white countrymen compared them to people in other African states and said blacks are incapable of running a civilised society. Unfortunately our behaviour in recent years has done little to dissuade whites of this opinion.

We have been great ones for suppressing dissenting viewpoints. We still demonstrate our intolerance with the killing fields of Maritzburg, Uitenhage, and now Bekkersdal. It is this wanton death that makes many blacks, too, fear what is in store for them when majority rule arrives. It is these actions that will in the end make people run to (President F W) De Klerk instead of away from him.

The intolerance displayed by liberation movements forces people to shout “Viva!” in public and curse in the safety of their own homes.

I wholeheartedly support liberation. I, like many, hope that we won’t be betrayed by the liberation.

Many blacks who read the histories of “free” African countries realise that whites stand a better chance of surviving a black government than they do. In Africa, unless you are suicidal, you dare not criticise the government. Africa’s writers are all over the world. Africa’s academics are lecturing in foreign institutions because their views are not tolerated in their native lands. While glasnost and perestroiki spread in Europe, repression and corruption continue in Africa.

Is there any wonder that businessmen from beyond the Limpopo privately and quickly conduct business in SA? And while they down their drinks at the Johannesburg Sun and the Carlton, they beg us to ensure that we do not make the same mistake they did of going socialist: “You are our only hope. Our survival lies with you keeping and maintaining a healthy economy.”

They whisper in our ears because, where they come from they have to put up a brave front and call for socialism at home and sanctions for SA.

Our hope in SA does not lie in toeing one line or the other, or in showing “unity” on all issues; our hope lies in tackling issues openly and without fear.

We should demand that the leaders of the liberation movements endorse the need for free, critical debate rather than pursue the vain search for unanimity.

Mathiane is assistant editor of Frontline magazine. This article is reprinted from the April edition.
Fund for maimed priest

HARARE. — A church service was held here yesterday in solidarity with Father Michael Lapsley and "all victims of apartheid violence".

After the service, held by the Liberation Support Committee, a fund was launched in the priest's honour.

One of the five speakers, committee member Ms Phyllis Naidoo, fought back tears as she read names of alleged victims, including that of her son, Ziana news agency reported. — Sapa
By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Leaders of five of South Africa's 10 self-governing and independent national states yesterday openly expressed support for the African National Congress at a report-back meeting in Johannesburg on last week's Groote Schuur indaba.

ANC executive member Steve Tshwete told pressmen the "consultative" meeting had been attended by the Chief Ministers of Lebowa, KaNgwane, QwaQwa, KwaNdebele and Gazankulu. The governments of Botshelengwane, Ciskei, Transkei, KwaZulu and Venda had not been invited to attend.

He said the meeting had been held to brief the homeland leaders on the discussions with the Government and to "explore the necessity for further consultations" with homeland leaders with a view to formulating a broad political front for constitutional negotiations with the Government.

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said a united front was necessary to intensify the struggle against apartheid.

**Viewpoint**

"I want to reiterate my viewpoint that I will not negotiate with the South African Government as a bantustan leader. The ANC has for many years fought for the liberation of the black man. We have only loosened the screws of apartheid and it is only fitting that these men who have sacrificed their lives be honoured for their perseverence."

He added: "It would be unwise to form alliances with anyone, but the ANC. We will not negotiate with the Government in the absence of the ANC."

Gazankulu Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi said he agreed with the ANC's position on the Groote Schuur talks.

"We have adopted the same attitude. All of us here want to work together for a new, peaceful South Africa."

QwaQwa Chief Minister Kenneth Motlanthe said political forces should unite to achieve a non-racial democracy.

**Religious leaders delighted with talks**

Church leaders of various denominations yesterday expressed their delight with the progress made at last week's Groote Schuur talks between the Government and the African National Congress.

A broad spectrum of church and religious leaders attended a report-back meeting on the talks at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told a press conference that religious leaders from different traditions had been very concerned about political violence and fully supported the joint commitment of the Government and the ANC to put a stop to it.

"We are delighted that the ANC went to discuss the obstacles in the way of negotiations. We are very encouraged by the briefing and fully support the process."}

Johannesburg Chief Rabbi C Harris said religious groups had been encouraged by the talks and hoped that a non-racial democracy would be established in which "all people shall realise that we have a common base of humanity."

Other groups represented at the report-back meeting included the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the Presbytery Church of Southern Africa, the World Conference on Religion and Peace and the Council of African Independent Churches.
LAST week's talks were the most prominent of a series State President FW de Klerk has held with extra-parliamentary and other parties within the parliamentary fold.

When he opened the congress of the Transvaal National Party on October 21 1989, De Klerk committed his government to negotiations. He said there was not a single party or group which could claim to have spoken for black South Africans.

He also said his government would not allow leaders of black communities who over the years had chosen the way of joint participation to be manoeuvred out of the negotiation process.

The right of participation by everyone was recognized and recognition in any form hast to be abolished, he told his party congress.

In his February 2 address De Klerk said: "Practically every leader agrees that negotiations is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation. However, numerous excuses for refusing to take part are advanced.

"Some of the excuses advanced are valid. Others are merely part of a political circus game."

Ban

With that speech he also lifted the ban on the ANC, PAC and the South African Communist Party, making it difficult for the organizations to back away from talks with the Government.

When he announced the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said he had made a further step forward.

"I want to emphasize that there cannot be any further doubt now concerning the Government's sincerity to secure a fair dispensation which is based on negotiation."

"I call on Mr Mandela and all interested parties to make their contribution to the creation of a positive climate for negotiations," he said.

Then, on March 30, De Klerk delivered yet another speech on the issue.

"All South Africans must be involved in determining the future of our country. The idea that it will be left over to two parties is a complete misconception.

"All leaders with proven and substantial support will be welcomed at the negotiating table. There are many potential participants," he said.

De Klerk's office told Sowetan last week that he had reinforced his statements on negotiations by holding talks with "a wide variety of South African leaders".

On October 11 1989 he met a delegation of the South African Council of Churches, comprising Archbishops Desmond Tutu, Dr Alan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane.

"The discussions were aimed at promoting a
or FW in of talks

by ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

The State delegations from the African National Congress, mainly through the National Unity Commission, could play in creating a climate conducive to reconciliation and negotiation in South Africa." The communiqué said.

Then on November 20, 1989, De Klerk met another church delegation including Archbishop Mzilikazi Maziya, chairman of the Council for Apostolic and Zionist Churches, as well as the Rev Isaac Makoena of the Association of Reformed Independent Churches.

Prior to his release from prison, Mandela visited De Klerk. "They discussed ways to remove obstacles to the negotiation process, and Mr Mandela's role in this regard."

De Klerk met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on November 20 and 30, and again on December 30, 1989.

These talks centred on the envisaged summit meeting with leaders of the self-governing states to establish a joint strategy on negotiations for a new constitution, ways to accelerate the process of negotiation and to remove obstacles.

The two met again on March 7 to discuss negotiations, and the next day De Klerk met the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Nkotshwane, to discuss negotiations.

On April 5 Buthelezi showed up at a meeting with the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Mr Kenneth Motsepe, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, and House of Delegates leader Dr JN Reddy.

After this meeting De Klerk strongly condemned the ANC for trying to dictate the circumstances in which political parties should talk to one another.

African National Congress leaders briefed a Soweto crowd at the weekend about their talks with the Government last week. From left are Mr Alfred Nzo, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.
Mandela: "We must remember in making judgment on questions of this nature that we are in totally different positions from that of the Government and other white parties of this country.

"Our organisation has no problem for the last 30 years. Experienced leaders of the organisation have been forced into exile. Other well-trained and experienced leaders of the movement have been thrown into jail and those members who have remained inside the country have been dead.

"Therefore there was nobody to explain to the policy of the organisation to the intensity of a policy. You must remember that many of the youth who are active today were born during the last 30 years when the organisation was in the underground and therefore, they had to explain the policy of the organisation.

Support
"If therefore any of our members were guilty of intimidation, you must judge their action against this backdrop. Now that the organisation has been legalised, we have considered it to be our duty to stress the question of discipline, the question of tolerance and I think you are going to give support to our membership.

"If therefore would urge you to look at the matter from this background which I have outlined.

"We have made it clear, once and time again, that the conditions which we have adopted, will remain in place. But as soon as the government becomes firm, albeit firm, from the government which is outlined in this paper, they will remain in place.

"We are therefore not telling you our cells, but we are appealing to the international community in doing nothing other than the strategy of action which you have indicated. They are busy with their present occupation.

"However, we hope that as a result of the agreement which we have reached, and all as far as development of the, it will be necessary for us to call upon the international community to intensify or maintain sanctions.

De Klerk: "May I just say in this regard that on Dr Mandela and I obviously disagree. In the Government do not believe that sanctions are justified. We sincerely believe that it is to the benefit of the people of South Africa.

"We sincerely believe that the steadfastness which is the only way to progress to the point where we can negotiate. From that point we are able to negotiate.

"I have not the slightest doubt that the South African government means what it says. I have had for the last three years the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation. I have no doubt whatever about their integrity and I think in saying that I am expressing not only any views, but the views of my delegation.

Vote
"But there really are not.

"You can only decide whether on 9th of September you convinced or not.

De Klerk: "Can you say that we have all agreed.

"I think a broad consensus on the fact that believes in a new constitutional dispensation which will grant a vote to all South Africans can be constituted. I think it is important that is what you should say it.

"I must tell you what I have told the State President and his delegation. Twenty-seven years ago, when I went to jail, I had no vote. Twenty-seven years since then I still have no vote.

"That is preserved by the Constitution, and the Government have made several statements in which they announce that they are following a new direction.

"I have not the slightest doubt that the South African government means what it says. I have had for the last three years the opportunity of exchanging views with members of his delegation. I have no doubt whatever about their integrity and I think in saying so, I am expressing not only any views, but the views of my delegation.

Dr Klerk: "I would say that the interaction and the talks had the additional advantage of allowing people sitting around the table to know each other and discuss amongst themselves to find an answer to the question of what you should say it.

Dr Klerk: "Well, with hindsight one could always come or many, many conclusions. Different circumstances prevailed from time to time. I am just glad that we are where we are and we are looking forward and not backward at this point in time.

Dr Klerk: "Was the question of an interim constitution or an interim government discussed? If it was, was any resolution reached on that?"
Face to face

*From page 6*

I would like to address the question to Mr. de Klerk. Having spent three days of intensive negotiations with your leading adversary, do you still believe it is important for us in this country to maintain separate groups in any future constitution?

De Klerk: "Let me first say that we have won an election of the ballot that we must ensure the general right to vote and the right of participation in government at all levels by all South Africans. We fought the election on that platform and we have a mandate for that."

"We also have as a party a mandate to ensure that in a new constitutional system minorities should be protected against domination and against suppression in any form."

"We have also adapted a very clear stance and I dealt with that at length in my discussions recently in Parliament, on the basis that we are not ideologically obsessed with groups, but as a concept - if you equate that with minorities or, however, you would like to approach it - should not be on a racist basis."
Court told of abduction from church

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rand Supreme Court yesterday heard how four youths were abducted from a Soweto Methodist church and taken to a house belonging to Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 20, was giving evidence in chief in the trial of Mr Jerry Vusi Musi Richardson, 41, of Soweto, charged with the "murder of teenaged activist "Stompie" Seipie Moketsi.

Mr Richardson is also charged with one count of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and several others of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

He has pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Mr Mono, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Gabriel Polo Mekgwe were allegedly abducted with Stompie in December 1988.

Mr Mono told the court that one night in December, 1988, he had been in a dining room of the church manse with Mr Kgase, Stompie and a friend who was visiting. Mr Mekgwe and others had been preparing food in the kitchen.

A man wearing an overcoat had entered the dining room and ordered them into the kitchen.

Mr Mono said he did not know the man at the time, but could now identify him as one "Sledge".

In the kitchen they encountered various people, one of whom, responding to queries put by Mr Richardson, pointed out those who were later abducted.

The four were bundled forcibly into a nearby bus and taken to Mrs Mandela's house, the court heard.

Sapa
The widow of a special constable shot dead in Crossroads believes he was killed because of his strong pro-Pan Africanist Congress views which often led to bitter exchanges with others.

Mr Mostert Ngozi, 48, who worked at the Crossroads committee offices, was gunned down in the troubled township on Saturday about 5pm.

He was shot in the stomach and head and died at the Crossroads police station before he could be taken to hospital.

His widow, Mrs Nolusapho Ngozi, 40, of Section Three, said her husband had been off-duty and was at a house when two men he knew asked him to accompany them to another part of the township.

She said the three went outside and a few minutes later a youth told her that her husband had been shot dead, about seven houses away from their shack.

"When we went to the place he was lying in a pool of blood but was still alive," she said.

"He died at the police station." Mrs Ngozi said a man was arrested. She said her husband, who supported the PAC, often quarrelled with ANC supporters. On many occasions they nearly came to blows because of their ideological differences.

She said her husband did not take sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor, Mr Johnson Ngqobozwana, and his rival, Mr Jeffrey Ndongwe, because he "despised them".
SA blamed for attack on priest

Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — South African assassins were blamed for last month's attempt to kill Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley by speakers at a service here held to show solidarity with him and all victims of apartheid violence.

Father Lapsley lost his hands and an eye in a parcel-bomb explosion at his home in central Harare on April 28. The interior of the house was wrecked.

In a message given by his sister, Helen, to hundreds of people of all races at the service in the Anglican Cathedral, Father Lapsley said the attack had made him even more resolute in his commitment to fight apartheid as a priest, a Christian and a member of the African National Congress.

Two Catholic priests, who were expelled from South Africa like Father Lapsley, took part in the service as did the president of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Bishop Patrick Mutume.

Mrs Phyllis Naidoo, herself the victim of a parcel-bomb attack in Maseru in 1979, read a list of dead and injured opponents of apartheid and said there could be no doubt as to who was responsible.

GIFT OF SPEECH

She said Father Lapsley had recently returned to Zimbabwe from Canada and Cuba. Two days after the attack, she said, Father Lapsley had told friends: "The Boers will not win."

Bishop Mutume said Father Lapsley had lost his hands, part of his sight and part of his hearing, but as long as he had the gift of speech he would go on preaching the word of God. He described him as a champion of justice.

The Zimbabwe government has not blamed anyone for the attack.

Last week, the minister in charge of police said investigations were continuing.

Mayor used cocaine repeatedly, says State

WASHINGTON. — Prosecutors said in court papers that a sample of Washington Mayor Mr Marion Barry's hair showed he had used cocaine repeatedly before his arrest on drug charges in January.

The government said it also planned to present nu-
Five national states backing the ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of five of South Africa’s 10 self-governing and independent national states have openly expressed support for the African National Congress at a report-back meeting in Johannesburg last week’s Groote Schuur talks.

ANC executive member Mr Steve Tshwete yesterday told newsmen the “consultative” meeting had been attended by the Chief Ministers of Lebowa, Kangwane, Qwa-Qwa, Kwandebele and Gazankulu.

The governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, Kwazulu and Venda had not been invited to attend.

He said the meeting had been held to brief the homeland leaders on the discussions with the government and to “explore the necessity for further consultations” with homeland leaders with a view to forming a broad political front for constitutional negotiations with the government.

Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike said a united front was necessary to intensify the struggle against apartheid.

“I want to reiterate my viewpoint that I will not negotiate with the South African government as a Bantustan leader.

“The ANC for many years has fought for the liberation of the black man.

“We have only loosened the screws of apartheid and it is only fitting that these men who have sacrificed their lives be honoured for their perseverance.”

He added: “It would be unwise to form alliances with anyone but the ANC.

“We will not negotiate with the government in the absence of the ANC.”

Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said he agreed with the ANC’s position on the Groote Schuur talks.

HAS MANDATE

“We would have adopted the same attitude. All of us here want to work together for a new, peaceful South Africa.”

Qwa-Qwa Chief Minister Dr Kenneth Mopei said political forces should unite to achieve a non-racial democracy.

Kwandebele’s newly elected Chief Minister, Prince James Mahlangu, said he had a mandate from his people to align his government with the ANC.
5 give backing to ANC

"However, I still need to consult with the people who elected me on how to be represented in the ANC," Ramotlou said.

Kwandebele leader Mr. James Mahlangu said he had a mandate that the homeland should identify with the ANC.

"It is a step in the right direction and the feeling of our people is that talks with the ANC are a call for unity," he said.

Professor Hudson Ntsunwisi of Gazankulu said he supported the ANC's negotiations with the Government as being towards a new and peaceful South Africa.

"The Berlin Wall has fallen and so will the Apartheid Wall fall for a new South Africa."

QwaQwa chief minister, Dr. Kenneth Mxolisi, said he supported the ANC's struggle for one non-racial and democratic country.

The fifth leader at the talks was Mr. Enos Mabuza, of KwaNdebele.

Earlier a group of religious leaders, including Christian, Muslim and Jewish clergyman, said they were hopeful for a peaceful South Africa. This was after they met the ANC for a briefing on last week's preliminary talks with the Government.
PRETORIA. — Right-winger Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph told arms theft accused Mr Gene Taylor that the weapons which were stolen from Air Force headquarters were part of a secret military operation to supply Inkatha with weapons to use against the UDF, Mr Taylor claimed during a bail application yesterday.

Mr Taylor, 46, and Mr Johannes Jurgens Dempers, 30, accused of fraudulently attempting to "spring" Mr Taylor from a police station, appeared in a bail application in the Regional Court here yesterday.

Mr Taylor said he aided right-winger Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph with the theft of the weapons under the impression it was a legal military operation.

According to Mr Rudolph, it was a secret military operation to supply Inkatha with weapons to use against the UDF, Mr Taylor claimed.

He said Mr Rudolph told him the operation was ordered by a senior military officer.

"Rudolph told him a "highly placed military officer" had contacted him and asked him to remove the weapons from the air force, Mr Taylor alleged.

"I saw it as a clandestine military operation and believed that it was legal," he said.

Police had since convinced him that the arms theft was not a military operation, Mr Taylor added.

"ANC is the enemy"

Mr Taylor, who worked at a metal-products firm in Garankuwa outside Pretoria until his arrest on April 18, told the court he had given police his full co-operation and, should he be granted bail, would attend his trial.

He realised he was accused of a very serious crime, but added that he had never done anything illegal, adding, "I would have done it out of principle if I thought Inkatha's cause was right.

Mr Taylor's lawyer, Mr Pini Libido, said his client did not agree with him on that. He would only turn to armed violence if he or his loved ones were threatened," Mr Taylor said.

To a question by counsel for the state, Mr A Ackerman, Mr Taylor said he did not find it strange that Mr Rudolph would be contacted for a military operation.

"If the Defence Force wanted to get at the ANC without the knowledge of the government, I think Mr Rudolph was the ideal man to use."

Mr Dempers, who allegedly tried to free Mr Taylor from a police station while pretending to be a member of the National Intelligence Service, said he had done this because Mr Taylor was his friend, and not for political reasons.

He added, however, that he believed Mr Taylor stole the weapons for a cause and to combat terrorism.

Mr Taylor said he had not been aware of the plan to help him escape and, anyway, he would never have agreed as he had been promised bail.

Mr Dempers, in his bail application, denied that he knew anything about the arms theft.

Asked if he was the brain behind the attempt to free Mr Taylor, he said he would rather not talk about it.

He also refused to comment on the identity and role of two other people who were allegedly involved in the attempt to free Mr Taylor.

Mr Dempers said that although he had his own political beliefs, he would not describe himself as politically active.

To a question about his reasons for trying to free his friend, Mr Dempers said he believed that if Mr Taylor was involved in the arms theft, he did not do it for his own gain, but because of his beliefs.

He shared these beliefs, which included dissatisfaction with the present political situation in the country, Mr Dempers added.

"It does not appear to me as if the interests of whites are really being..."
PAC, ANC talk about negotiations

BY BROWYN DAVIDS

HISTORY was made at the National Muslim Conference at the weekend when key members of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress spoke on the same panel about their organisations' position on negotiations.

The conference's national convener, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, said it was quite significant to have ANC member Mr Ahmed Kathrada and PAC member Mr Barney Desai "to share a platform to debate such a contentious issue as negotiations".

Newly returned ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs was given a rousing welcome by the 750 South African and Botswana delegates when he made a special appearance to discuss the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

Mr Rasool said: "Some of the things that Albie said about the relationship between the state and religion came across as extremely fascinating to Muslims who were reassured by many of the points he made.

"He said the most realistic option was probably for a secular state related to religion in such a way that certain avenues of religious life were left to various religious communities to have autonomy over — with the state actually assisting religion in other spheres of life. He discounted a fourth option which was an atheist state hostile to religion," said Mr Rasool.

The three-day conference brought together 143 Muslim organisations — some who had been at loggerheads for years — to discuss Muslim contribution to the formation of a new South Africa.

Nelson Mandela's bid to free boys

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela, while still in prison, had made a fruitless attempt to have four kidnapped youths — allegedly assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela at her Soweto home — placed in the care of his attorney, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was revealed by one of the four, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 20, when he testified in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, of Soweto, charged with murdering teenage activist, "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipel.

Mr Mandela had instructed his attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, to remove the four from the Mandela home, where they were allegedly being kept against their will, Mr Mono said in his evidence-in-chief.

But when Mr Ayob went to the Mandela home, Mr Richardson had refused to allow the youths to be taken away.

Mr Mono, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 30, Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, 21, and 14-year-old Stompie, were allegedly abducted in December 1988 by members of the Mandela United Football Club from a Soweto Methodist Church, and taken to the Mandela home in Diepkloof Extension, Soweto.

Stompie's decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early in January last year. It has emerged in testimony that Stompie had been accused of "selling out" to police four comrades who were shot dead at Parys.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder, one of attempted murder, four of kidnapping and five of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

He was a member of the Mandela United Football Club.

Mr Mono also told the court Mr Richardson had instructed the youths not to reveal in a statement they were to make to a Johannesburg attorney, Mr Krish Naidoo, that they had been assaulted at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Richardson, however, told them to mention in their statement that they had had a sexual relationship with the Rev Paul Verry, who had been in charge of the Soweto Methodist Church.

They were also told by Mr Richardson to say they had been staying at Mrs Mandela's house because they objected to the sexual relationship with the priest.

In January 1989 the youths were taken to a Soweto medical practitioner, Dr Nhato Motlama, for treatment, but the doctor did not treat them for assaults allegedly inflicted on them by Mrs Mandela and the team members, Mr Mono told the court.

Dr Motlama later took the youths to Mr Naidoo's Johannesburg offices, from where the attorney and a Methodist priest, Bishop Peter Storey, took them to a meeting in Soweto.

They told the meeting about the assaults that took place on them at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Mono reiterated under cross-examination yesterday that he and the three other abducted youths had been assaulted by Mrs Mandela. — Sapa
Mandela sets out on Africa tour today

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela leaves on a 12-day, six-nation tour of African countries today — hard on the heels of President F W de Klerk’s departure for Europe.

Mandela is expected to brief Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres on the ANC’s recent discussions with government and on decisions taken regarding their return to SA.

He will also give the ANC national executive in-depth feedback on the Cape Town talks.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Ahmed Kathrada said last night Mandela’s trip was a continuation of his February tour, which took him to Zambia, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Sweden.

With regard to de Klerk’s European tour, Kathrada said he could only repeat statements by Mandela and secretary general Alfred Nzo at the weekend that the ANC’s strategy on the diplomatic isolation of SA had not changed.

Mandela was attempting to respond to at least some of the invitations he had received since his release, said Kathrada.

His itinerary would only be released today. However, Kathrada said Zambia was the only country Mandela would be visiting for a second time.

Sapa reports that a discussion of government’s objections to the release of 200 MK cadres will be high on Mandela’s agenda.

Key MK operatives are still in exile and are considered by the ANC to be essential not only to the security of the ANC leadership but also to a “new” SADF.

An ANC spokesman said the release of all political prisoners and the demand for a general amnesty would facilitate the return of ANC exiles were essential to the reconstruction of the ANC inside SA.

Any delay by government in lifting the state of emergency, releasing all political prisoners and granting a general amnesty to all exiles would be interpreted as a delaying strategy, the spokesman said.

Mandela’s African trip — coming so soon after his previous one, and amid pressure to squeeze it in before his talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in July — is considered necessary by the ANC if it is to become fully operational in SA as an unbanned organisation before its national conference on December 16.

TANIA LEVY reports that de Klerk said at Jan Smuts Airport last night SA was in the process of taking its rightful place in the international community.

SA, which had been subject to pressure for a very long time, had an important story to tell. Although he had never believed the reasons for the pressure were sound, these reasons had fallen away.

De Klerk said he would tell European heads of state that instead of interference SA needed encouragement and constructive involvement, because South Africans would find a solution for SA.

“IF we do not want poverty to take over, we need international recognition of SA’s and southern Africa’s economic potential,” he said.

There was no doubt that close co-operation between African states lay ahead, and the southern African region represented tremendous potential for overseas trading partners.
Azapo leaders to hold talks in Harare

The central committee of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will visit Harare this week for a three-day consultation with the Black Consciousness Movement in Zimbabwe.

Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, said yesterday that the committee would arrive in Harare on Friday.

The return of exiles to South Africa would be among the issues for discussion.

Mr Moodley said the Azanian Youth Organisation would hold a rally at Meduns in Gweru on Sunday.

The Azanian Student Movement and Azapo would launch branches in Umlazi, Durban, on the same day.

These activities would reaffirm and re-state Azapo's position as a mass-based organisation entirely independent of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Moodley said. — Sapa.
Constitution a problem – Sachs

CAPE TOWN — A fundamental problem in drawing up a new constitution was how to cater for the country's enormous cultural, linguistic and religious diversity while ensuring common unity and equal rights for all, ANC legal department member Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape, Mr Sachs said he had decided to make his first public speech, since his return from exile, in a "liberated zone in Cape Town".

He stressed he was not speaking as an ANC spokesman, "but just as Albie".

He said many whites had been frightened into believing that everything would be nationalised by the ANC, but this was a misconception. — Sapa.
Sachs tells of pain and memories of ‘struggle’

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

RETURNING African National Congress member and former Cape Town advocate Mr Albie Sachs says he is not ready for freedom yet because of the pain, memories and habits instilled by “the struggle”.

Mr Sachs, the movement’s constitutional expert, was speaking at the University of the Western Cape yesterday, his first public meeting since returning to South Africa.

A freedom song was sung and he was given a clenched fist salute. The right-hand sleeve of his jersey was empty — a reminder of the car bomb that almost claimed his life in Maputo two years ago.

He said: “I’m not ready for freedom. There’s still a lot of pain and memories, a lot of the habits. We survived in the struggle because we adapted to the situation of resistance; we developed a mentality and discipline of resistance.

“We learnt how to work in the underground, how not to use telephones, how to give secret messages, how to communicate with each other.”

PEOPLE DIFFERENT

Discussing white attitudes, Mr Sachs said: “You can see who still runs Cape Town. But one thing has changed... the people are different, the outlook, the relations, the confidence, the spirit.

“Even in my sojourns into white Cape Town the experience has been far more positive than I had expected.”

He had encountered a sense of white liberation, the beginnings of a new kind of white role.

“This is far more positive than I had anticipated and these are some of the guarantees of a new South Africa.”

He said he had decided to make his first return speech at UWC “for what you are, for what you’ve done, but also for what you have become”.
THE presence of a Communist Party leader at last week's historic talks between the ANC and Government has triggered a flashing red light which Christians could not ignore, Die Kerkbode, official mouthpiece of the NG Kerk, warned in its latest editorial.

Die Kerkbode said peace at any cost was not acceptable. There was a price for peace which was too high to pay as certain values remained non-negotiable.

Die Kerkbode said it was grateful for progress made on the road to peace in South Africa, but warned about early euphoria.

It was important that the church should state the basic Christian requirements of a new constitution.

The church and Christians remained opposed to communism. The position of communists had recently changed drastically worldwide but communists remained atheistic and the church had to take a definite stand against atheism.

The prominent place taken by a Communist Party leader — referring to Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party — at last week's talks between the Government and the ANC has left a red light flashing that cannot be ignored, Die Kerkbode said. — Sapa
Rebuilding

We have already started preparations for the return of refugees but these are still in the tendering stage and it is not possible to state for certain that such a process will be completed in time for the return of the refugees. We are aiming for an early start to the process, but we cannot guarantee that this will be possible.

Appeal

The ANC says that the South Africans who have been refugees in foreign countries are now in need of support from the ANC.

LUSAKA - The African National Congress is currently sorting out serious questions about the return of an estimated 20 000 ANC exiles from countries all over the world. In an exclusive interview with the Africa News Organisation in Zambia this week, the co-ordinator of the ANC's repatriation committee, Mr Jackheb Selheb, explained that the problems his committee has to deal with in working out an effective repatriation programme.

Question: Do you have a specific date by which exiles should start returning to South Africa?

Selheb: No, we don't have a deadline because most of the refugees have to be sorted out before an effective process of repatriation can be effected. There is, in any event, the question of guarantees that will have to be made that the refugees will be returned to South Africa.

Conditions do not exist today that would permit exiles to return safely. Of course, the leadership of the ANC met with the South African government last week to look at these issues. As soon as we receive the consent of these people, we will be able to start the process of repatriation.

We will also have to discuss with all the people who are going to assist the ANC with the return of these refugees, how they can be assisted. We need to have a programme in place that will ensure that the refugees are returned in a safe and orderly manner.

Question: Will the ANC exiles return in groups or on a one-by-one basis?

Selheb: We are planning to have the exiles return in groups. We will have to make arrangements for them to be processed in a safe and orderly manner.

Question: Will the ANC exiles be able to return to their homes in South Africa?

Selheb: I think it is likely that most of the exiles will be able to return to their homes in South Africa. However, we cannot guarantee that all of them will be able to return. We will have to make arrangements for those who are unable to return to their homes to be accommodated in other areas.

The ANC is also working on a programme of assistance for those who will not be able to return to their homes. We are aiming to ensure that all of the refugees are well taken care of and that they are able to contribute to the rebuilding of South Africa.

Question: What is the status of the repatriation committee?

Selheb: The repatriation committee is currently working on a programme for the return of the refugees. We are making arrangements for them to be returned to South Africa as soon as possible.

We are also working on a programme for the integration of the refugees into South African society. We are aiming to ensure that they are able to contribute to the development of the country.

Question: Will the ANC provide financial support for the refugees?

Selheb: Yes, the ANC will provide financial support for the refugees. We are working on a programme to ensure that they are able to support themselves and that they are able to contribute to the development of South Africa.

Question: What is the current status of the South African government's response to the repatriation of the ANC exiles?

Selheb: We have had meetings with the South African government and we are hoping that they will be willing to work with us on a programme for the repatriation of the exiles. We are working on a programme to ensure that the refugees are returned in a safe and orderly manner.
WASHINGTON - It was possible that a new government headed by President Nelson Mandela could be in power by the end of next year, according to a South African academic.

Dr Hendrik van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies of the University of Cape Town, made this prediction at a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington on Monday.

Three years ago, Van der Merwe predicted at the Carnegie Endowment that South Africa was drifting towards negotiations between all the various groups involved in the country. He also foresaw the National Party moving to the policy positions of the Progressive Federal Party.

Speech

In his speech this week, he warned that the leaders of the NP and the ANC might come to an agreement which they would be unable to sell to their various constituencies.

President FW de Klerk had promised he would test any agreement with the white voters, and there was a danger that he might not be able to get it through that test, he said.

Mandela was also running the risk that he would alienate the black youth and more militant elements of black society by making concessions in negotiations with the NP.

Nonetheless, Van der Merwe said he expected both sides to make major concessions.

He did not believe a future constitution for South Africa would contain any racial protections. Such protection was possible in Zimbabwe 10 years ago, but no longer feasible in South Africa of today, he said.

Van der Merwe said the eventual true political division in South Africa would not be along racial lines but along differences over the form of economic system the country should have.

R5 000 heist in Durban

A gang of armed robbers made off with about R5 000 after holding up a Durban shopkeeper.

Police said the robbers armed with guns entered Jabula Tea Room in South Coast Road and held up Mr Rajkumar Ramruthun (60) at about 6pm on Monday night.
THE widow of the special constable shot dead in Crossroads on Saturday believes he was killed because of his strong pro-Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) views which often led to bitter exchanges with others.

Mr Mostert Ngozi, 48, who worked at the nearby Crossroads committee offices, was gunned down about 3pm in the troubled township on Saturday.

He was shot through the stomach and head and died at the Crossroads police station before he could be taken to hospital.

**Widow**

The dead man's widow, Mrs Nolusapho Ngozi, 40, of Section Three, said her husband had been off-duty and was at a house when two men he knew asked him to accompany them to another part of the township.

She said the three went outside and a few minutes later a youth told her that her husband had been shot dead, about seven houses from their shack.

"When we went to the scene he was lying in a pool of blood but was still alive. He died at the police station before he could be taken to hospital. He had holes in the stomach and forehead," she said.

She said a man was later arrested.

Mrs Ngozi said her husband who supported the PAC often quarreled with ANC supporters.

**Differences**

On many occasions they nearly come to blows because of their ideological differences.

She said her husband never took sides in the feuding between the township's controversial mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his rival Mr Jeffrey Nongwe because he "despised them."

Mrs Ngozi was adamant that her husband's slaying was directly connected to his political views.

She said although her husband had never been a PAC member, he supported the organisation "with all his heart."

Father of five, her husband had never wanted to be a special constable but had joined the controversial force in 1986 as he had been unemployed for a long period.

He had often spoken against the force's alleged abuses, much to the dismay of some of his colleagues, she claimed.

Funeral arrangements have not been made.

Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, leader of the
Azapo to see the BCMA in Harare

MEMBERS of Azapo's central committee will visit Harare for a three-day consultative conference with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, writes ISMAIL LAGARDIEN.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Srinir Moodley yesterday said the meeting was intended to consolidate the movement's external membership.

Azapo and the BCMA would also discuss how to respond to the issue of the return of exiles following recent political developments in South Africa.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala is touring Europe and North America, Moodley said.

Since State of Emergency restrictions on Azapo were lifted on February 2, Azapo has successfully held two regional congresses, one in the Northern Transvaal and another in the Eastern Cape.

On Sunday, Azayo will hold a rally at Hall 2b, Medanda, at 9am and Azayo, Azapo and Azasm will launch branches in Umzazi, Durban.

Azapo's women's movement, Imbeleko, is to hold its annual congress in Soweto on Saturday and Sunday.

Moodley said the activities of the Black Consciousness movement "reaffirm the position that Azapo is a mass based organisation which is entirely different from the ANC and PAC."

After the recent launch of branches in Durban North West and KwaNdebele, Moodley said Azapo was looking forward to establishing structures in Northern Natal, Natal Midlands and Southern Natal.
Masemola death seen as possible faction murder

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON.—The PAC may have plunged into a fresh bout of bloody feuding with founder member Mr Jaftha Masemola already one of the victims, the journal Africa Confidential said yesterday.

The journal said Mr Masemola's death in a car crash, shortly after his release from 27 years in prison, when he grew close to Mr Nelson Mandela, was being investigated by the PAC and ANC as a "possible murder".

Mr Masemola had been criticised within the PAC amid speculation that he might do a political deal with Mr Mandela.

The "theory" of internal warring in the PAC was supported by the murder of PAC member Mr Sam Chand with four members of his family and a watchman when his house at Siwame, Botswana, was bombed on April 23.

Three PAC members had also been detained in Zambia after escaping from a PAC "resettlement camp" at Tabora, Tanzania. The three had been confined to the Tanzanian camp because they remained loyal to a faction founded by Mr David Sebeko, who was killed by a bomb more than 10 years ago.

PAC sources in London, who were asked to comment on the Africa Confidential claims, confirmed there was "some turmoil" and lack of proper communication between the internal and external factions.

One source said the Tanzanian government was "disturbed" by "differences" between PAC factions in the country.
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Staff Reporter

**Albie Sachs goes back to prison**

Albie Sachs went back to Caledon Square police station yesterday — the place where he spent 186 days in solitary confinement in 1963.

The visit was part of a nostalgic trip through the city, to which he returned at the weekend after 24 years in exile.

Mr Sachs, who works in the ANC's legal and constitutional department, also visited District Six — where he plucked a stem of grass as a "sad memento" — Woodstock and KTC squatter camp.

At KTC he saw an ANC membership card for the first time, explaining that "in the underground we didn't have them".

The situation in the townships was the same as when he had left, he said, with workers getting up very early to go to work.

Mr Sachs said he had seen photographs of the destruction at District Six and had been prepared for the sight, but added, "this is criminal ... there is no other word for it".

"It is difficult to accept that a whole community has been pushed out."

He compared the destruction of District Six to the amputation of his arm, saying, "my soft vengeance is freedom and democracy in South Africa ... it is happening now.

At the Grand Parade, Mr Sachs recounted his memories of ANC meetings in the sixties, when speakers had addressed crowds from the backs of trucks.

Earlier at Caledon Square a police sergeant had tried to stop the contingent accompanying him from entering the police station. Yesterday was "the first time I voluntarily entered a police station", he remarked.

The last time he was at Caledon Square was when he had been detained under the old 90-day detention law.

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**Unity in diversity: the key — Sachs**

Unity in diversity: the key — Sachs

One of the fundamental problems in drawing up a new constitution for South Africa was how to cater for the country's enormous cultural, linguistic and religious diversity while at the same time ensuring common unity and equal rights for all, ANC legal department member Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Speaking at the University of the Western Cape to a tumultuous welcome by several hundred students, Mr Sachs said the idea of a united South Africa was not a physical or territorial matter, "it is unity we want, unity of the people":

Any future constitution had to reconcile equal rights and non-racialism with the need for equal distribution of wealth, Mr Sachs said.

On nationalisation he said many whites had been frightened into believing that everything would be nationalised by the ANC, but this was a misconception.

Nationalisation was not "taking from whites but ensuring that in the future there will be equal benefits".

Principles of affirmative action should be built into the constitution and the fight for freedom should take place on an individual and national level, Mr Sachs told the students.

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**Maimed priest vows on rights**

HARARE. — An anti-apartheid priest maimed in a parcel bomb attack in the Zimbabwean capital last week has vowed to continue fighting for human rights, the national newspaper The Herald said yesterday.

Father Michael Lapsey lost his right hand, right eye and most of his left hand while opening the parcel posted in South Africa nine days ago.

The Anglican priest is a member of the ANC.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is among those who have said South African rightists could have been behind the attack.

He said his resolve as a Christian and an ANC member had been strengthened after the bomb attack. — Sapa
THE Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) has dropped the word “black” from its name as members felt it had a racist connotation.

This was announced at the organisation’s annual meeting held at the Great Centenary Hall in Port Elizabeth last weekend.

The organisation will now be known as the Port Elizabeth People’s Civic Organisation (Pepco).

Committee members came in for sharp criticism, and almost the entire executive failed to be re-elected after allegations that they had not been accountable in their contacts with the Ibhayi City Council.

The only member to be re-elected was president Henry Fazzie.

The new executive members are Thozamile Mgoqabi (vice-chairperson), Dumile Makanda (recording secretary), Mike Toffile (secretary general), Tembi Mbuybo (assistant secretary general), Pat Madalana (treasurer) and Jerry Sulejo (organising secretary).

Harry Kanl, Mnyamezeli Shwempe and Lungile Phillips were elected as additional executive members. — PEN
ANC to register colours, symbols and logo

THE ANC is to register as patents its colours, logos and other symbols — to raise funds, local regional convener Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday. Motlanthe, a former political prisoner and now a senior NUM education department official, was speaking in Johannesburg at the opening of the office from which ANC activities in the Witwatersrand/Pretoria/Vaal region will be co-ordinated.

He announced the beginning of an intensive, month-long recruiting drive in the region, starting from Monday.

The purpose of patenting “trademarks” was “to ensure that merchants cashing in on our popularity do so with our approval” and to assist the ANC to become financially self-sufficient.

Motlanthe said ANC structures would themselves get involved in the production and distribution of ANC products. Details were not yet available.

Sapa reports that an ANC delegation led by deputy president Nelson Mandela jetted out of Lanseria Airport, between Johannesburg and Pretoria, at 4:20pm yesterday, after forgotten passports had delayed their six-nation African tour by 90 minutes.

After attending several meetings yesterday, Mandela and his wife Winnie arrived at Lanseria without their passports.

“The delegation was already behind schedule and any further delay would have necessitated a fresh flying crew due to international flying time regulations,” an airport official said.

This would have further delayed the tour by several hours so emergency travel documents were provided.

ANC spokesman and head of information Ahmed Kathrada said the delegation would stop over in Lusaka before heading for Angola on Friday, and then to Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt and Libya.
Communists dominate ANC, claims London report

By CHRIS WHITFIELD

LONDON — The South African Communist Party (SACP) has taken virtually every position of influence in the ANC, according to a report published in London.

The Africa Confidential newsletter claims that earlier this year only eight of the ANC’s 35 national executive committee were not members of the SACP.

It says in its May 4 edition that the unbanning of the party has exposed it to a dilemma.

Coming above ground and revealing its membership would “confirm Pretoria’s well-worn accusation that the party, during Nelson Mandela’s long incarceration, came to dominate the ANC”.

“In effect, the party and the ANC have ceased to be two allied organisations and have become one body with two heads,” says Africa Confidential.

“All party members are also members of the ANC.

“The party uses the ANC as a pool in which to recruit the best and the brightest for membership. It is essentially a parasitic relationship.”

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Chris Hani are thought to have masterminded the SACP domination of the ANC.

Before Mr Mandela’s release in February, only the following of the national executive committee were not SACP members: Oliver Tambo, Joe Mdiise, Thomas Nkobi, Percy Jordan, Mzwai Piliso, Ruth Mompati, Joe Nhlanhla and Jackie Molefe.

The newsletter says that “if the party were to reveal its membership, it would reveal many of the same faces who have become known as ANC members”.

It asks what black communists such as Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and Alfred Nzo would do if they had to choose between the party and the ANC.

“The real mass power-base in South Africa is with supporters of national liberation, and our guess is that shrewd politicians would choose the ANC rather than the party.”

It speculates that “non-blacks” such as Joe Slovo, Reg September and Mac Maharaj, who would have little chance of cultivating a mass following in South Africa, would stay with the SACP.

“We estimate that when the chips are down, they alone will show themselves to be true Marxist-Leninists, whose first loyalty is always to the Communist Party.”
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Mandela flies out on 12-day tour to brief leaders, exiles

Staff Reporter

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela left on a 12-day tour of Africa yesterday to brief exiled ANC members and African leaders on the talks his organisation held with the Government last week.

Accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and two security guards, Mr Mandela's entourage left from Lanseria Airport about 90 minutes after their scheduled time of departure because the Mandelas had left their passports at home.

This is Mr Mandela's second African tour since his release in February.

Mr Mandela and his wife had attended several meetings, some unscheduled, during the day, and in the rush forgot about their passports.

The first stop on Mr Mandela's five-nation tour is the Zambian capital of Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

Projects

From Lusaka Mr Mandela will proceed to Angola, Nigeria, Algeria and Egypt before returning home.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg said Mr Mandela would hold talks with heads of state in the countries he would visit, confer with ANC members in those countries, and inspect the organisation's projects.

A Lanseria Airport official said yesterday that the ANC delegation was already behind schedule when the Mandelas arrived at the airport.

He said that any further delay would have necessitated a fresh flying crew due to international flying time regulations.

The Mandelas, according to the airport official, were issued with emergency travel documents after explaining their plight to immigration officials at the airport.

Shortly before their departure, Mrs Mandela told journalists they were "in such a hurry packing and thinking of other things" that she forgot their passports.
The removal of stumbling blocks in the way of negotiation should be carried out impartially, Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitutional Development Vote, he said it was important to show that stumbling blocks were not being removed merely to the satisfaction of the ANC.

There was no way the PAC could be excluded from the negotiating process and it would be a mistake not to take all possible steps to draw them into the pre-talks stage.

For example, there were about 20 000 exiled ANC supporters who had to return. Was there any indication of how many PAC supporters were in the same category?

It was known that over the past month there had been an informal arrangement between the ANC and the Government to liaise with the ANC before any security action was taken against possible supporters of the movement.

Positive

This was a positive development, but what of the PAC?

If there was dialogue only between the Government and the ANC, there was a risk of establishing a new security government run jointly by the NP and the ANC. This would be fatal for SA, he said.
African tour for Nelson

A DELEGATION of the African National Congress left Johannesburg yesterday afternoon at the start of an African tour by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The delegation comprises Mandela, his wife Winnie, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and two security guards.

The flight - originally due to depart at 4pm - was delayed by the late arrival of the Mandelas, as well as the fact that they had forgotten their passports. At home, officials at Lanseria airport, outside Johannesburg, said.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents and the plane eventually took off at 5.20pm.

Members of the delegation said at the airport the first stop would be Lusaka, while the delegation would leave for Angola on Friday. - Sapa.
THE Mass Democratic Movement and the Venda Council for National Unity will set up a joint committee to define political prisoners held in the territory.

This was announced in a statement issued after a meeting between the MDM and the Council in Thohoyandou this week.

The statement said the committee would also look at ways of ensuring the speedy lifting of the state of emergency imposed in Venda when Col Gabriel Ramushwana took over the government in a coup last month.

Tuesday's meeting followed a similar one held between the council and the ANC in Lusaka on Sunday, at which both parties agreed to further meetings.

\textbf{Structures}

When Ramushwana took over last month, youths supporting ANC ground structures in the area rejected him, alleging he was a "Pretoria man" brought in to save the "crumbling" Ravelo regime.

An ANC supporter who was appointed to the new Cabinet, Headman Thivhulkawi, Makumbane, had to resign after members of the Thugisulu Youth Congress told him the council was "an oppressive machinery of the state".

The two meetings have raised doubts about consultation between the top ANC and MDM leadership and the grassroots structures. Many youths still reject Ramushwana and point to the state of emergency and the ban on trade unions as examples of oppression. Sapa
GUEST SPEAKER: ANC national executive committee member and Western Cape convener Reggie September was the guest speaker at a graduation ceremony at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville South last week. Here a robed September (second from left) stands with (from left) Pentech rector Franklin Sonn, Mr AP Staak of Pentech's engineering faculty, and ANC Western Cape deputy convener, Mr Trevor Manuel.

THERE is “tremendous enthusiasm” for the African National Congress in the Western Cape and people are joining in their thousands, the organisation reports.

ANC branches are to be established soon in the Western Cape region, which stretches from Namaqualand to Plettensberg Bay.

Western Cape interim committee member Ms Amy Thornton said this week that the organisation’s main task was to keep up with demands for membership cards.

“We have a whole new bellgame; no-one has experience of this kind of work,” Thornton said.

“When the ANC was legal in the 1950s, it was not as sophisticated as it is today. There were no offices and many people were members by association and did not have membership cards.

“Our people are learning skills such as administration, structure and organisation as they go along.”

Thornton said people were “happily” paying their R10 annual membership fees. Most zones in the Western Cape region had met and elected interim coordinating committees.

It is expected that branches will be formed in some zones within the next few weeks.

The Manenberg region of the ANC will sign up new members at the Moravian Creche in Manenberg Avenue between 2pm and 6pm on Sunday.

Invitations have been sent out to residents in Bonteheuwel to attend a signing-up public meeting in the Civic Centre at 3.30pm on Sunday. It is expected that a Bonteheuwel branch will be launched in two weeks’ time.

Thousands join as ANC form branches

Mitchells Plain zone spokesperson Logan Wort said more than 400 people attended a meeting there on Sunday.

In Namaqualand, an ANC office will be opened by next week, a spokesperson for the zone reports.

In Port Nolloth, 90 people joined the ANC last week and more than 100 are reportedly waiting on membership cards in Garies. PE News reports that the ANC membership in the Eastern Cape already exceeds 7,000.
ANC names 'working group'

THE ANC has named its members to serve on the working group established at last week's three-day talks with the government. Besides proposing a definition of political offences, the working group will make recommendations on mechanisms for the release of political prisoners and amnesty for exiles.

The ANC members are Jacob Zuma, Aziz Pahad, Joe Nhlandla, Matthew Phosa, Penuel Maduna and UDF national chairperson, Curnick Ndlou.

The proceedings of the group will be confidential but its first report-back will be before May 21. The ANC has started to report back on last week's talks.

ANC national organiser Mr Wilton Mkwayi visited Robben Island on Saturday to report back to political prisoners.

The prisoners' release is believed to have featured high on the agenda at the talks.

However, according to sources, releases will begin only later this month after the working group's report is completed.

ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, on Wednesday embarked on a tour of ANC bases throughout Africa to report to cadres on the talks.

President FW de Klerk left South Africa on the same day to gain support in European capitals for the government's initiatives.

The ANC held a meeting with the UDF and Cosatu in the Western Cape last Saturday to brief them on the outcome of the talks.
Muslims indaba on future

IT was, said a delegate, the Muslim version of the Conference for a Democratic Future, the meeting of organisations of vastly diverging political opinions which met in Johannesburg last December.

He was referring to the historic National Muslim Conference held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend.

About 700 delegates and 200 observers from Muslim organisations from throughout South Africa addressed several critical issues on the theme, "Muslims in a future South Africa:"

The meeting was unique as the managers managed to draw under one roof diverse organisations with a diversity of religious views.

As time passed, it was agreed to diverge more widely than differences between Chanters and Afrikaners. Nevertheless, a spirit of goodwill and tolerance prevailed.

Negotiations

On the issue of negotiations, some delegations expressed the view that negotiations with an oppressive regime was acceptable if circumstances permitted and if the ultimate outcome was justice in the country.

Other delegations were opposed to negotiations, distancing it as either irrelevant to Muslims or against the interests of "the oppressed South African (Muslim) community:"

There was a general feeling that Muslims should interact with other communities to promote social justice in South Africa.

On proposals for a future constitution, several commissions deliberated on issues such as Muslim personal law, Muslim institutions, education, political rights, health and social welfare, and the economy.

Women delegates held a special session on issues facing Muslim women in the South African society and expressed the need for representation on decision-making forums.

While the deliberations had a specific Islamic tone, political issues were dealt with as Muslims considered them in an attempt to arrive at a new political dispensation.

Delegates at the National Muslim Conference

Delegates at the National Muslim Conference

Kathrada shared a platform to give their organisations' views on negoti- ations and the ANC's constitutional proposals.

Mr. Qutbuddin Omar appealed to Muslims to be part of the process of "deciding what kind of constitution we want:"

The present situation was that "kaffir" (unbeliever) negotiating with kaffir — not on behalf of Islam, they argue

They want to establish a Muslim state in South Africa and remain "uncontaminated" by the kaffir.

"It is not permissible from the Muslim point of view to remain among the kaffer un- less he is fighting Jihad (holy war) or actively collaborating with the Afrikaner minority."

Mr. H. F. Oberholzer, head of the Communist Party delegation, said the ANC had a "clear plan of action" and was making "a determined effort to achieve its objectives." Mr. N. T. Maud, head of the Pan-African Congress delegation, said the ANC was making "a determined effort to achieve its objectives." Mr. N. T. Maud, head of the Pan-African Congress delegation, said the ANC was making "a determined effort to achieve its objectives." Mr. N. T. Maud, head of the Pan-African Congress delegation, said the ANC was making "a determined effort to achieve its objectives."

Religious groups must ‘decide own freedoms’

Ahmad Kathrada

Barney Desai

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THE ANC would like all religious denominations to help it write the sections of the constitution that guarantee the rights of religious communities and individual believers in a new South Africa.

This was said by ANC constitutional expert, Mr. A. S. Maud, at the National Muslim Conference held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend.

"We have to start thinking about the possibility of convoking a congress of religious organisations parallel to the general assemblies and a constituent assembly that might be organised," Sachs said.

"As believers, our hope is that we will get together with Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and independ- ent African sects, that you yourselves draw up a charter of religious and political rights and responsibilities in a new South Africa.

Sachs felt there should not be a total separation between state and religion in a future South Africa. The reality of South Africa requires a much more active relationship between religious organisations and public power."

This did not mean the state would have the right to interfere in the area of religious observance.

"It's the right of believers to be free as they believe, and no one can tell anybody else how to believe. But there are a whole range of activities where all of us can only benefit through active collaboration," Sachs said.

Mr. B. D. Desai, the PAC's Western Cape coordinator, reiterated the organization's rejection of negotiations "under the present conditions", saying: "That has not been an option and can never have been at the negotiating table."

Exercise

"We certainly do not see negotiations as another form of struggle, nor do we wish to engage in the futile exercise of building castles in the air about apartheid society," he said.

ANC stalwart Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, who shared the platform with Debs, shared back on the "talks about talks" with the government. "We will be judging what the regime does, and then decide, in consultation with our people, whether we will proceed to the negotiating table or not, depending on the push the regime takes in a re- view of the talks concluded yesterday.

"The ANC had not made a "sudden decision to rush to the table." The ANC since its foundation believed in a political solution to the problems of this country," Kathrada said.

Mr. D. D. Omar, vice president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and chairperson of the Westem Cape region of the National Artists' Organisation (NATO), appealed to Muslims to be part of the constitution-making process.

"The ANCO has done something that no liberation movement in Africa has ever done — to say to the people, it is your right to draw up a constitution. Here are our guidelines, discuss and debate them, and decide in your forum what kind of constitution you want:"

Omar said people should not accept the guidelines if there were objections to the precise wording of the document or to the draft itself.

"That is why, in the process of constitution-making, Muslims must participate in that debate," he said.
Shock defeat for Liverpool

By NAMEID NAVEG

LIVERPOOL, who suffered their first defeat against Ma-
tronsfontein last weekend, want to redeem themselves when they meet Norway Park at the Athlone Stadium on Friday night.

It was a shock defeat for the league champions when the newly-promoted Matronsfontein beat them 2-1 at Westridge to head the Premier Division log.

Friday's curtain raiser will be a first-division clash between Grootels and Melchester of Hanover Park.

Matronsfontein will be the team to watch on Sunday when they take on Everton at Firecliff. Everton are sec-
ond on the log: only a point separates them from the leaders.

Peninsula will find their weekend's clash at Grassy Park against Sea Point Swifts tough going. Swifts played a 0-0 draw against Clarewood last week and should be in a good-scoring mood.

Greenwood Atlantic will host the trial- less Strandfontein at Reinet.

Athletic caused a major upset when they demolished the Kloofie神州 champions Stephensians 2-0 in a game they domi-
nated.

At Turfball, Belltown will oppose the well-built Green Dolphins on Sunday.

Boland a force to be reckoned with!

Boland made an early visit to the Roof on Saturday to play Wits University at the Park Stadium.

Boland have not registered the form that made them one of the top league contenders last year.

They lost to Pretoria City at Berevent on Saturday, to lose their weekend's game against the students, they will hope to salvage their position on the log.

Since tough talking Rutger Byrne debuted — and the prolific score Mark Williams left for Jomo Cosmos — the "Greek Gods" are struggling to remain — their spirits dimmed by a loss this season.

But it should not be difficult for the players of the calibre of ReggieJanjua, TwaladHuman, John Siassou and Car-
loso de Neves to change that situation.

Farrell de Goede and his pack of backs are able to stave off the Wits attack, led by midfielder and captain Rodney Ady-
Witz, who have refused former Kaiser Chief coach AlbertBwalya could be difficult to beat after being handed a goaldless draw by Graskop Pubs last Sunday.

Bad patch

They have also been going through a bad patch lately. They have won only three out of 11 games. They are 12th on the log, while Bochum are sixth.

Double Action Sundowns, whose image

UWC makes a comeback

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SA emphasis should be on unity, not differences

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff
SOUTH Africans should be united in their South Africanism and be diverse in that there are language, cultural and religious differences, says Mr Albie Sachs.

He was speaking in an interview about some of the possible constitutional concepts in a new system. He is one of the African National Congress's constitutional experts, who returned to South Africa at the weekend after 24 years in exile.

He is director of the South African Constitution Study Centre attached to the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London. He is also a member of the constitution committee of the ANC.

Mr Sachs stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity.

Race as a factor in public life should be removed and instead there should be universal suffrage on common voters' rolls, Mr Sachs said.

In addition there should be a recognition of the cultural, religious and linguistic diversity of the country through appropriate mechanisms.

The ANC was against any concept of group voting rights. This was apartheid and meant race classification at the voting booth.

On the other hand, the right to expression through groups and communities could be protected in other ways.

"What we should look for is not protection of groups but protection of interests."

"Thus we have a language interest. Everyone has a stake in this interest."

"It is not a question of protecting the Afrikaners but of protecting the right of all South Africans to use their language. This protection is much stronger than protection for one group which is then cut off from the rest of the population."

"If you protect the right of all South Africans to use their language then an attack on one language becomes an attack on all."

Mr Sachs said special protection for whites would be the worst thing for them because this would constantly focus attention on their privileged status and their self-exclusion from common South African society.

Mr Sachs said the future was likely to be decided more at the level of local government than anywhere else.

"We will need a strong centre to ensure that the revenues of the country are made available on a fair basis so that the desperately poor areas are not left to fend for themselves without any tax base."

Mr De Klerk and others had spoken of the importance of local affairs.

Provided Mr De Klerk's approach was not based simply on freezing the existing patterns of group areas and inequality but rather on creating conditions in the general context of democracy and non-racialism to encourage people at local level to get together and start rebuilding cities and rural areas there were very interesting possibilities.

These ideas were still ambiguous and Mr De Klerk was a master of "creative ambiguity."

"Let us hope the creative side is stronger than the ambiguous one," Mr Sachs said.
MDM, Venda in joint committee

PIETERSBURG.—The Mass Democratic Movement and the Venda Council for National Unity will set up a joint committee to define political prisoners held in the territory. This was announced in a statement issued after a meeting between the MDM and the council in Thohoyandou on Tuesday.

The statement said the committee would also look at ways of ensuring the speedy lifting of the state of emergency—imposed in Venda when Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana took over the government in a coup last month.

Tuesday's meeting followed a similar one held between the council and the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend, at which both parties agreed to further meetings.

When Colonel Ramushwana took over last month, youths supporting ANC ground structures in the area rejected him, alleging he was a "Pretoria man" brought in to save the crumbling Ravele regime.

An ANC supporter who was appointed to the new cabinet, Mr Headman Thiyibukawi Makumbone, had to resign after members of the Tshigisaulu Youth Congress told him the council was "an oppressive machinery of the white state".—Sapa
Joy as ANC man returns home

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A senior executive member of the ANC and one of Peolton’s most famous sons, Mr Steve Tshwete, returned home to a joyous welcome yesterday, five years after evading security police and going into exile.

After spending 15 years in prison on Robben Island, Mr Tshwete helped found the UDF and was chairman of its Border branch in the early 1980s.

He has been based in Lusaka, Zambia, since 1985, and was last seen when he came out of hiding to speak at a mass funeral in Duncan Village in August that year.

After flying into East London yesterday morning, Mr Tshwete went directly to Peolton, where he received a joyful welcome from singing schoolchildren before being reunited with his father and other members of his family.

Mr Tshwete will be in the region until he returns to Johannesburg on Monday.
Sachs: ANC still holds detainees

Staff Reporter

The ANC had ill-treated people and there were still people in detention camps, ANC lawyer Mr Albie Sachs said yesterday.

Addressing about 1,000 students on "the ANC, torture and human rights" at UCT, Mr Sachs said he had cried after a visit to one of the ANC's detention camps because "it took me back to detention (in South Africa)... detention is detention."

He did not say where the camp was, but dissident ANC guerrillas said earlier this year that there were camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

The detainees had been well-fed and did not complain about being physically abused, Mr Sachs added.

Earlier this year, dissident ANC guerrillas said they had been tortured in detention camps and claimed the torture was still continuing.

Mr Nelson Mandela last month admitted that some of the dissidents had been tortured but said "immediate steps were taken to discipline" those responsible.

According to a code of conduct adopted in 1985, "grave crimes", known as Section C investigations, were the responsibility of the ANC's security department, Mr Sachs said.

The code stated that all reasonable methods should be used in the investigations but torture was strictly forbidden.

Offences were divided into different groups, depending on the gravity of the violation and were tried by a system of tribunals, he told the students.

"We tried to establish a code of legality in exile without the powers of the state."

The code of conduct covered aspects like stealing from other ANC members, driving a vehicle while drunk, and people belonging to the South African Police who had been sent to Lusaka, Angola and Mozambique to assassinate ANC leaders, Mr Sachs said.

African countries that were host to the ANC "expected us to keep our own house in order."

At an ANC national consultative conference held in 1985, the organisation's membership had been asked whether it was permissible to use violence against suspects when attacks on the leadership were imminent.

The conference decided that the ANC was "fighting for justice and freedom and that we can't use the methods the enemy was using," Mr Sachs said.

Replying to a question on amnesty for returning exiles, he said the amnesty for exiles and the return of people in ANC detention camps were interconnected.

Mr Sachs participated recently in drawing up the ANC's constitutional guidelines for a future South African government and is considered one of the organisation's legal experts.
PAC’s Benny Alexander hurt in smash

BENNY Alexander, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, was seriously injured in a car accident in the Northern Cape yesterday.

A number of senior PAC officials were also hurt in the smash, which occurred about 10km from Hopetown in the Karoo.

The crash is the third serious accident in which PAC officials have been involved this month.

The organisation’s president, Japhta Masemola, was killed in a head-on collision near Pretoria three weeks ago.

By EDDIE KOCH

PAC member Ishmael Chand died in a road accident while travelling to the funeral of his brother Sam Chand, who was assassinated with his entire family at their home in the Botswana border village of Sikwane.

A doctor at the Kimberley Hospital, where the men are being treated, said Alexander’s condition was stable. The PAC does not have further details about the accident and has sent a lawyer and doctor to Kimberley assess the situation.
What role for civics in new South Africa?

CIVIC organisations cannot abandon the political arena in and after the negotiations phase but must be conscious of political developments in the country and play a role consistent with the interests of the working masses.

This is the view of Advocate Dullah Omar, vice president of the United Democratic Front (Western Cape), and chairman of the Western Cape region of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadlal).

"We need to insist that negotiations cannot pro-ceed secretly."

"In the present period in which negotiations are dominant, it is absolutely essential that all organisations — including civics — understand what is happening and the dangers of the negotiating process," Omar said.

"We need to insist that negotiations cannot proceed secretly. No press must be allowed to by-pass our people. The people must be involved in all processes and be kept aware of what is happening."

No to open white schools

RECENTLY, the state made an apparently constructive proposal to "open" white schools to all races.

I reject this proposal as it does not address the basic issue underlying the education crisis present in South Africa: the multiplicity of white education departments controlled by the national Parliament.

We call for a single education department in a unified and democratic South Africa.

Furthermore, by proposing to accelerate the privatisation process in white education, the State essentially allocates, fees which, compared to other countries of similar status, are already exorbitantly high.

If the proposed structure were rigidly applied, it would exclude many students, effectively replacing racial discrimination with class discrimination.

The state has a responsibility to provide equal and free education for all children, and the current proposal clearly contradicts that responsibility.

We call on the state to address the fundamental irregularities in its education system by uniting the various education departments into one department committed to supplying quality education for all.

Material on Saru needed

SAFELINE continues to make progress in the sad and hurting world of child abuse. Your interest in this topic is very much appreciated.

It is comforting to know that our growing team of supporters and helpers keeps a faithful and consistent interest in what is taking place.

SAFELINE is committed to being a link in the chain of healing, and our staff — dedicated and committed — continues in our caring involvement.

Our staff are heavily involved in caring programs and training programs, and their real and committed assistance means that we have been able to keep abreast of the vastness of need facing us.

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Letter to Editor

Address all letters to The Editor, P.O. Box 13094, 7900 Sir Lowry Road.

Comfort in the hurting world

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The regime has been compelled to abandon apartheid

"That is an important role which civic organisations must play," said Omar.

"If our people are not organised in the places where they live or are forced to live, they do not possess the necessary tool with which to pursue the struggle.

A powerful international ruling class will support the forces of exploitation

On the role of civic organisations in the fight for a just society, Omar said they should expel people who are in positions of influence and who use their positions for their own interests.

"We must talk about our civic organisations and the kind of contributions we want for our country. We need to talk about how one can ensure that the interests of the working masses are protected.

Omar called for greater cooperation between civic organisations.

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ANC recruits

The African National Congress is to start a one-month recruitment drive in the PWV area from next Monday.

This was announced at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday by the convener of the ANC's newly established interim executive committee for the region, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe.

Seventy-seven temporary recruitment centres have been established in the area, including Sasolburg, Carletonville, Delmas and Sebokeng. More centres are to be established in Soweto.

Anyone aged over 18 years who accepts ANC policies can join, Motlanthe said.

Application forms are available at recruitment centres. Membership cards will be issued and membership fees are R12 a year or R1 a month. - Sapa.
ANC mistreated detainees - Sachs

The African National Congress has mistreated prisoners and still holds some in detention, a member of the organisation's legal affairs department said yesterday.

"We still have people in detention, even now," said Albie Sachs, adding he visited an ANC detention centre just before returning to South Africa from exile, and was moved to tears by what he saw.

"If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC, it is not necessarily lies, but if people come back and say that is the ANC, then that is lies," Sachs told 1,000 students in a speech at the University of Cape Town.

Sachs participated recently in drawing up the ANC's constitutional guidelines for a future South African government and is considered one of the organisation's legal experts.

Tortured

Sachs did not say where the detention centre is which he recently visited, but ANC dissidents who have recently charged they were tortured have said some were in Angola and others are in Tanzania and Uganda.

Although the conditions at the detention centre were not as bad as he had feared, Sachs said he cried afterwards.

"It was just sad to see that it was happening," he said.

"When you join the ANC you don't automatically become an angel."
Johannesburg — One of the four youths allegedly kidnapped and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he and other abducted youths had not been allowed to leave the house freely.

Mr Thabiso Mono, 20, was testifying in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the murder of teenage activist James "Stomie" Moeketsi Seipei, the attempted murder of Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Mr Mono told the court he and the other abducted youths had always been under guard by Mr Richardson, even when they played soccer with members of the so-called Mandela United Football Club.

He said under cross-examination that Mr Richardson had told him and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekwwe, 21, that if one of them should escape from the house, he "did not know what would happen to the other".

Mr Richardson said this after one of the four, Mr Kenneth Kgabe, 30, had escaped from the Mandela home.

Mr Mono also told the court Mrs Winnie Mandela had taken him and the other youths into Johannesburg where she had bought clothes for them.

He reiterated that Mr Richardson had refused to leave the abducted youths in the care of Mr Nelson Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob. — Sapa
Kriel to meet squatter leaders

The Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr. Hermann Kriel, will this morning meet a delegation of squatter leaders who have broken away from Crossroads mayor Mr. Johnson Ngoobongwana.

This was disclosed in a statement yesterday by the Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr. Jan van Eck.

"The meeting was requested because of the continuing violence and tensions in Old Crossroads," he said.
JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Pelo Mekgwe, 21, was kidnapped with Stompie Sepele and taken to Mrs Winnie Mandela's house where he was accused of being a police informer and having slept with the Rev Paul Verryen, the Rand Supreme Court has heard.

Mr Mekgwe was then assaulted by several people, including Mrs Mandela, he said.

Mr Mekgwe was testifying in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to four kidnappings, five assaults, the murder of Stompie and attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikaneng.

Mr Mekgwe described being kidnapped on December 29, 1988 with Mr Kenny Kgase, Mr Thabiso Mono and Stompie. He said they were taken to Mrs Mandela's house where Stompie was accused of being a police informer and the other three of having slept with Mr Verryen.

SWOLLEN EYES

He described an assault in which Mrs Mandela and many other people took part. The next day Stompie was taken away by Mr Richardson, Mr Mekgwe said, and when Stompie left, his eyes and face were swollen from the previous night's beating. He did not see Stompie again.

He described how the other three young men had to assist in forcing Mr Ikaneng to accompany a group of men who lived at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mr Richardson stabbed Mr Ikaneng in the neck, he said, then instructed them to throw him in a ditch.

Back at Mrs Mandela's house, the three young men were warned not to speak about the stabbing.

The court has heard that the men at Mrs Mandela's house were referred to as the Mandela Soccer Team.

Mr Mekgwe said he attended a training session but the "team" did exercises and did not use a soccer ball.

Later Mr Kgase escaped. After that Mr Nelson Mandela's lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob and later Mr Krish Naidoo visited Mrs Mandela's house.

After a number of visits to both lawyers and one to Bishop Peter Storey at the Central Methodist Church, Mr Mekgwe was taken to a church in Soweto where he told people at a meeting what had happened to him, Mr Mekgwe said.

(Proceeding).
ANC still holding detainees — Sachs

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress is still holding people in detention, says the movement’s constitutional expert, Mr Albie Sachs.

At the University of Cape Town yesterday he became the first member of the organisation to talk publicly in South Africa about the subject.

Mr Sachs said he had recently been involved in an inquiry and had visited detention centres.

The conditions were not as bad as he had feared, the prisoners were well fed, had not complained of physical abuse and their medical care was adequate.

“I cried... I cried afterwards. It just took me back to my own detention. It was sad to see that this was happening. Yet I knew that hit squads had sent people in to kill us. Detention is a torture... It was painful. It was a side of our existence in exile that I would rather not know about,” he said.

The visit and the inquiries had helped to maintain the concept that the ANC had standards. Even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

ANC members wanted to return home, Mr Sachs said. “We want to bring our standards and norms. The real ANC norms.

“If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC they are not necessarily lies because we have ill-treated people.

“If people come back and say that is the ANC, that is a lie because we have a strong sense of justice in the organisation.”

Mr Sachs said he first became aware of ANC detention camps in 1984.

Later ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo summoned him and others to Lusaka and instructed them to draft regulations dealing with the treatment of violations of the rules of the movement.

“It was clear that Oliver Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC.”

At that stage the ANC had decided to hold a conference to discuss problems.

“One of the most crisp, direct and painful issues was the question of torture. Sometimes we used the word ‘torture’. Other times we used the term ‘intensive interrogation’.

“The point made again and again by the speakers was that the ANC was fighting for justice and freedom and it could not use the methods used by the enemy. We had our own morality.

“We tried to establish a kind of legality without having the powers of a State. I can’t say we succeeded completely because problems continued and it was not possible to wipe out the abuses.”
Rockman in anti-FW protest

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Ex-police-man Mr Gregory Rockman will speak at one of many rallies organised by Anti-Apartheid Movements (AAM) in Europe and Britain, who are coordinating a two-week campaign against President F W de Klerk’s visit.

The first demonstration is planned for Paris today.

British AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston said yesterday that he would write to the president of the European Commission, Mr Jacques Delors, stating the AAMs’ opposition to the trip. He would also seek an urgent meeting with him.

Former police lieutenant Mr Rockman will address a rally at the Trade Union Congress hall in London on Friday May 18.
Passports forgotten

JOHANNESBURG.—Mr. Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie left here last night on a tour of Africa, but forgot their passports at home.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents.
Their first stop is Zambia. Other stops include Angola, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Algeria and Libya.

Full report — Page 2
ANC jets off for 6-nation African tour

JOHANNESBURG. — An ANC delegation headed by Mr Nelson Mandela jetted out of Lanseria Airport at 3.20pm yesterday at the start of an African tour by the ANC deputy president.

The delegation comprised Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and two security guards.

The flight — originally due to depart at 4pm — was delayed by the late arrival of the Mandelas, as well as the fact that they had forgotten their passports at home, officials at the country airport said.

The Mandelas were issued with emergency travel documents and the Citation jet eventually took off at 5.20pm.

"I am strengthened by the support of the people and filled with renewed hope following the recent talks with the government," Mr Mandela said as he left the airport.

Delegation members said at the airport that the first stop would be Lusaka, while the delegation would leave for Angola tomorrow.

The delegation would then take in four other African states: Algeria, Nigeria, Egypt and Libya.

"The 12-day African tour is to maintain our close links with our supporters and keep them informed. Now just when the liberation of our people is at hand, we need the support of our old friends even more," Mr Nzo said.

He said that while he hoped to be returning to South Africa shortly, it was still "early days" to think of packing his bags permanently. — Sapa
ANC: Patents pending

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is to register as patents its colours, logos and other such features as a fundraising measure, local regional convenor Mr Kgalema Motlanthe disclosed yesterday.

Mr Motlanthe, a former political prisoner and now a senior NUM education department official, was speaking in Johannesburg at the opening of the office from which the activities of the ANC's Witwatersrand/Pretoria/Vaal region are to be co-ordinated.

He announced the beginning of an intensive, month-long recruiting drive in the region starting from Monday.

He said the purpose of patenting ANC "trademarks" was "to ensure that merchants cashing in on our popularity do so with our approval" and to assist the organisation in becoming financially self-sufficient."
Women of the struggle telling their own stories

LIVES of Courage: Women for a New South Africa is not a collection of political speeches. It is a book aimed to personalize the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa by telling the story of its women — political activists, trade unionists, mothers, daughters, old and young, black and white, known and unknown.

So says South African-born feminist author Diana Russell about her book, released in South Africa last month. Russell is the author of many books on women's issues, ranging from The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective to Exposing Nuclear Phallacies.

Lives of Courage is a collection of her interviews with 24 women, including African National Congress executive member Ruth Mompati and South African Anti-Apartheid Movement (SAAAM) exiled veteran Emma Mashinini and 13-year-old Leihia Jssel, a "child of the struggle". The interviews were done in 1987 and spanned some three and a half months.

The book presents a stark account of these women's experiences in the political arena, prison and detention — it includes some harrowing accounts of torture.

Russell says she tried to portray the subtleties and nuances of their fears and their thoughts while enduring repression, something achieved especially well in her interview with Efate Mohamed, who discusses her detention and solitary confinement for seven months.

With others like Helen Joseph, this was harder to do, Russell says. "Joseph felt that what was past was past and did not want to dwell on the intricacies of her experience."

Russell was actively involved in South African politics before she left to study and settle in the United States in 1963. She participated in protest demonstrations, and was a member of the former Liberal Party and the African Resistance Movement, an underground, mainly white, group which sabotaged government property.

For the women she interviewed Russell has only praise. "South Africa presents a revolutionary situation where you find the calibre of person you do not find in a normal situation."

"The optimism of these women was tremendous. It was an inspiration — American women have much to learn from their courage."

Russell interviewed both white and black women. "Certainly one cannot say their struggle is one and the same. From the interviews I saw, white women are not treated nearly as badly during detention."

"And for them it was their choice to participate in the struggle. If they wanted to leave they could retire to their white privileges, but a black woman, whether she was politically active or not, would still have to endure repressive conditions," she says.

Russell says she tried to focus the interviews on how apartheid had hurt them most, the anti-apartheid work they had done and the consequences thereof.

Some white women talked about the "rewards" of apartheid — the richness and fulfilment they felt since their involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle, she says. Russell admits, however, that she did not pose this question to black women.

Russell says she was reluctant to ask questions on sexism and sexism in the resistance movement, for fear of being accused of addressing white bourgeois concerns — she was surprised when the women spontaneously talked about this issue.

There were those who denied sexism was a problem amongst their male comrades and there were those that said "it is a problem and it is being neglected." Younger women were more defiant about sexism than the older women, she adds.

But Russell feels the women's struggle has to be seen as separate from the broader liberation struggle. "The South African struggle is not going to bring about women's liberation."

She feels the women's struggle has advanced here in some respects — the fact that her interviewees were ready to address the question of sexism and the lack of women leadership in the struggle — but is disappointed to find sexist language like "one man one vote" instead of "one person one vote".

But there are also advances, like the Black Sash making opposition to sexism one of its major goals.

Times have also changed since Russell interviewed these women and wrote the epilogue to her book in 1987/88. Then the women talked about revolution, about it being imminent or far away, but happening soon.

Today it seems a negotiated settlement is on the horizon — something few would have dreamed of at that stage, but something she is sure they all support.

Most of the women she interviewed are ANC members or supporters. In retrospect, Russell says she wishes she had found representatives of other political groups, from the Pan Africanist Congress and black consciousness tendencies, and gay women and those disabled in the struggle. "But my awareness of such things did grow a great deal while making the book," she adds.

"Everything you read in the book is what I learnt — factual about the different groups, political action and the history of resistance to apartheid, and I was inspired by these women — the backbones of the struggle."

Russell says she wanted the book to touch the people in Britain and America so that they would be moved to support the anti-apartheid struggle. She did not even think of publishing in South Africa because she thought the book would be banned here.

But many people felt it was an important work for South Africans to read about the contribution of women to the struggle.

The result was that David Philip agreed to publish it, and last month Russell celebrated its release in South Africa.
EXILED author, ANC supporter and an early sanctions proponent, Mary Benson has returned to find a different SA to the one she left in 1966.

"I was amazed at the integration in cinemas and other parts of the city. I was so thrilled to have my books published here.

"What struck me most in returning was seeing the disastrous effects of Bantu education. The government must keep pouring money into education to compensate.

"And I still become so depressed seeing the appalling township conditions such as NFC in Cape Town. It’s such a monstrosity to see sprawling suburbs such as Sandton rubbing up against Alexandra. It’s still hard for me to imagine how residents cope with daily life in the townships. Life there just suffocates human dignity," she said.

After 24 years in exile in Britain, she remains optimistic about SA’s future.

"It is so important to remain positive. While it will be a very difficult transition if the ANC to switch from an exile movement to a more administrative one in SA, I am confident they can do it well.

"The generosity of many SA blacks is quite amazing. I found far more bitter race relations in the US than here. An extraordinary goodwill still remains here," she said.

Asked about the ANC’s commitment to the armed struggle, she replied: "It hasn’t been much of an armed struggle, just a lot of rhetoric and a few isolated acts of sabotage. And when that is compared with the violence of the state over the decades, it seems minimal.

"But the armed struggle is part of what is being discussed and hammered out now, away: I agree it’s time for constructive creative thinking and planning for the future.

As the first South African to testify before the UN Committee on Apartheid in 1981, she was an early proponent of sanctions. She still believes they work effectively, and credits the withdrawal of US blacks from SA with having a major impact on today’s political situation.

Benson was born and educated in Pretoria. She first met Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in the early 1950s, and in 1957 she became the Treason Trial Defence Fund secretary in Johannesburg. She began work as a freelance writer in 1958, and published her first book, a biography of Tshwedi Khama, in 1960. Her second book, The African Patriots, was the first history of the ANC.

She returned to SA in 1965 to report on the Eastern Cape political trials, but was banned and placed under house arrest. She left SA in 1966 and now lives in London. She has written biographies of Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli and is working on another novel, concerning her experiences in the US in the late 1960s.

Her latest book, the autobiography, A Far Cry: The Making of a South African was launched this week in SA by Penguin Books.
A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, was this week shot and killed in what is suspected to be a continuation of a feud between the organisation and a rival movement.

Mr Gauta Ramabolo (30), a businessman and treasurer of the Botshabelo branch of the PAC, was shot in the head after two men walked into his shop on Monday night. He died instantly.

Ramabolo, a father of three, will be buried at the local cemetery tomorrow.

Mr Francis Manalela, a spokesman for the PAC in Botshabelo, yesterday called on liberation movements to stop fighting among themselves.

"We must reserve the energy for the enemy. We are fighting for the same goal, although we have different approaches.

"We must respect each other's autonomy. The PAC is there, it cannot be wished away. The ANC is there, it cannot be wished away," Manalela said.

He said the ideological feud had been going on since February. Members of the PAC had been harassed and intimidated by youths who did not agree with the policies of the organisation.
Cheers for Mandela in Angola

Staff Reporter
The deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and his entourage left Lusaka yesterday for Angola, where they are being hosted by the Angolan Government. ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday.

Mr Mandela left for a six-nation African tour on Wednesday - his second African tour since his release from prison in February.

Mr Kathrada said Mr Mandela and the ANC delegation left Lusaka yesterday after holding talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and members of the ANC. They will be in Angola until tomorrow.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela was greeted by thousands of cheering Angolans, including Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. This is his first visit to Angola since his release from prison on February 11.

Mr Mandela thanked the Angolans for their support of the ANC, and briefed Mr dos Santos on the ANC's historic talks with the Government last week.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting to overthrow apartheid.

Angola is one of six front-line states vehemently opposed to South Africa's apartheid system and white minority rule, and the ANC has military bases in the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have travelled to the tomb of Agostinho Neto shortly after his arrival. Mr Neto was the guerrilla leader who led Angola to independence and became its first president until his death in 1979.

President dos Santos presented the ANC leader with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto, and Mr Mandela laid a wreath on Mr Neto's tomb.

Meanwhile, The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Brussels that the Socialist group in the European Parliament has set out its policies on reforms after a recent meeting with Mr Mandela in South Africa.
ANC wants a 'free and responsible' press

The African National Congress (ANC) did not want an uncritical press which would always sing its praises, but a free and responsible press which would not be sensational and malicious in its criticism, ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

Addressing a lunchtime gathering of journalists hosted by the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), Mr Pahad said events in Eastern Europe had shown that a sycophantic press did not help the struggle.

"We don't want journalists to be our propagandists. We have our own propaganda organs such as 'Sochaba,' 'Umsebenzi' and others, and we would welcome criticism of our policies, programmes and actions. The criticism, however, must be factual and not malicious," Mr Pahad said.

Mr Pahad said if objectivity referred to reporting events "as they are and as accurately as possible," then the ANC had no problem with the concept, even though there was no journalist without any value system.

He confirmed reports that the ANC was discussing the possible founding of a daily newspaper for the broad democratic forces generally. It would not be the ANC's propaganda organ, he said.

**Courageous**

Mr Pahad praised the "alternative press" for the courageous role it had played during the draconian emergency regulations governing the media, saying it was largely these papers which had always tried to give the other side of the story to the Government-censored news which could be published.

The majority of journalists working for the commercial press, both foreign and South African, had supported the National Party Government, had failed to report the truth and had distorted the reality of South African politics, according to Mr Pahad.

He said something would have to be done about the monopoly of the press in this country by a few giant corporations, and the Government's sole monopoly over the SABC. The ANC's view was that the press, both commercial and "alternative," had to play a role in the development of "a democratic country in which a free press can flourish".

Contrary to popular belief, Mr Pahad said, the press in South Africa was the least free in Africa.

Mr Pahad also disclosed that members of the ANC's department of information and publicity would soon be returning to South Africa to promote the organisation here.
Business must carry out its social responsibility

By Thabo Leshilo

The business world must break with the immoral practices of the past and carry out its social responsibilities to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, the internal leader of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, said last night.

Mr Sisulu was delivering the keynote address at the 1990 Corporate Banquet of the Black Management Forum.

He said the ANC was committed to a mixed economy in which the private sector would be free to operate so long as it co-operated with the State in the sphere of social responsibility and the realisation of the Freedom Charter.

Mr Sisulu said developments in the country had made it possible to believe that a new phase, in which the process of negotiations could bring about desired fundamental change.

"The conditions within which such negotiations can take place have yet to be met. However, we hope that, following the talks between the ANC and the government, the situation will become conducive to a climate for negotiations."

He said the perspectives of the ANC had not changed and the organisation would not be diverted by anything which fell short of a "united non-racial democratic South Africa".

"We mean to bring about an integrated non-racial society in which the rights of every individual are protected," he said, adding that proponents of "group rights have enjoyed the fruits of minority group domination for too long."

He said representatives of capital in South Africa had recently also voiced support for a non-racial South Africa, but they placed great emphasis on the need to avoid concentration of political power in the hands of any one particular group.

He said that concentration of political power was only one side of the coin. "What about the existing concentration of economic power in the hands of a tiny section of the population which has developed out of the system of national oppression and exploitation of South Africans?" he asked.

He said a whole range of mechanisms, of which nationalisation was one, had to be employed to diffuse such concentration of economic power.

"Just as political power must be shared by all South Africans, so must the wealth of the country."

At the same time, said Mr Sisulu, there was a need to recognise that "our potential to truly share in the economic life of the country and to reap its benefits to the fullest is limited to some extent by the low level of education and experience in managerial and technical skills of the oppressed black majority."
out by its international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, in an address to the Cape Town Press Club last week:

- Remove obstacles to negotiation. This first step has already been taken with last week’s meeting between the ANC and government at Groote Schuur and is progressing well;
- Determine who should be party to constitutional negotiations. All interested parties should be involved, in broad discussions which should aim at achieving consensus on how best to achieve representation at the negotiating table.

The ANC’s view is that a constituent assembly, similar to that which drew up Namibia’s constitution, would be the best way. It would be elected by all South Africans;

- Agree on the supervision of elections for a constituent assembly. The ANC believes it would be unfair for government, being a party to the negotiations, to supervise elections.

Another authority would have to be created to implement whatever agreements are reached during the broad discussions between the various parties;

- Form an interim government. The ANC believes this is the best way of implementing agreements in a manner that doesn’t benefit or prejudice any party; and

- Establish the impartiality of the SABC. The ANC believes the SABC will play a

He says it’s difficult to understand why President F W de Klerk is opposed to an interim government, which the ANC doesn’t expect to be established immediately but at some future date. It will try to convince De Klerk of this need during negotiations.

According to Mbeki, the principal danger to the success of negotiations in the coming months is the fear of change among whites.

Mbeki ... whites fear changes

crucial role in disseminating information during elections and negotiations and cannot be controlled by a party to the negotiations as is currently the case.

Mbeki says the ANC remains opposed to a group-based system, but not to a consensus system within a democratically elected body.
Tale of two tours flips double-side coin of SA sanctions

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk touched down in London yesterday for the final week of a trailblazing European tour which has produced much in terms of international kudos but few concrete rewards.

After 10 days of the most significant international visit ever by any Nationalist head of state, De Klerk prepared himself for his meeting with his closest European ally, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens.

Meanwhile, Nelson Mandela was winding up his 12-day African tour, which has served in part to offset some of De Klerk’s diplomatic gains.

The ANC deputy president attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuja, Nigeria on Wednesday and Thursday — something no South African minister has achieved in three decades.

Mandela told ministers from 10 countries that he was “amazed at the suggestions that sanctions should be eased” and called for the international community to keep up the pressure.

No call for the immediate relaxation of sanctions is expected from the Commonwealth, while in Oslo, foreign ministers from the Nordic and frontline states agreed that “despite recent positive developments in South Africa” sanctions would not be lifted.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik said Pretoria had yet to give a “firm commitment” to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk’s tour has seen him receive several titbits from Europe, but the real test will come at the meeting of the European Community’s heads of state meeting in five weeks’ time.

By then, the government will need to show that substantial moves towards eliminating apartheid, ending the Emergency and releasing political prisoners have been made.

De Klerk however can return home with several promises and symbolic gains in his pocket:

● Later this year Portuguese President Mario Soares will become the first Western head of state since 1948 to officially visit South Africa.

● Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva assured De Klerk that Portugal would move for the easing of sanctions at the EC meeting on June 25.

● Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said the EC would examine its policy towards South Africa, but stressed that further bi-lateral links could not be created “because the right climate does not exist in South Africa”.

● French President Francois Mitterrand said he accepted the irreversibility of change in South Africa. He said that sanctions would be re-evaluated and relations would improve as soon as the steps outlined in the ANC-SA government’s Groote Schuur Minute were implemented.

● According to a report in the left-leaning French daily Libération, French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

● De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback in Britain and Switzerland, but his team is clearly pressing for more substantial breakthroughs than have been made so far.

● Foreign Minieter Pik Botha said on Wednesday that his government could not continue with the rapid pace of change in South Africa without “some reward from the international community”.

● He warned that without such “rewards” the white electorate would say: “De Klerk has done all these wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying, ‘very nice, step in the right direction’... like a goose on the way to its doon.”

Botha added that De Klerk and gold were South Africa’s best exports, “with the only difference being that his value is going up”.

Shortly before leaving Brussels yesterday De Klerk said his impression so far was that the European Community “had a broad understanding and acceptance of the dynamics of South Africa” as well as of the irreversibility of the process which his government had started.

SA Institute of International Affairs director Professor John Allardt said that while De Klerk’s visit might not elicit much in terms of sanctions being lifted, “it has certainly enhanced his position and given him much greater international credibility”.

“Now there is no question that this is the biggest and most significant visit by any South African president or prime minister since the days of Smuts.”

Barratt added that he believed Mandela’s African tour was also of considerable significance, and that it had been underplayed in the media.

Professor Peter Vale, director of the University of the Western Cape’s Institute of Southern African Studies, says the past 10 days of foreign travel indicate a two-track policy on the part of the international community.

“The one track is into Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these.”
UDF leader predicts lifting of emergency

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The state of emergency would be lifted in June when it came up for renewal, eastern Cape UDF leader Mkhuzeli Jack predicted yesterday.

But he made it clear he did not altogether welcome the prospect.

It would “deliver a confusing blow to the international community” and potentially result in easing pressure on Pretoria, he told a forum at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

He was candid about ANC strategy, in particular its efforts to deny KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a seat at the negotiating table.

He said Buthelezi and his “imperialist backers” were trying to “neutralise the liberation movement” to show there was legitimate black opposition to the ANC.

Any attempt to bring him into a peace process in Natal would only lend him credibility.

“We are broadening our social base — there is a battle going on. We are even trying to break the National Party into pieces... We are drawing everybody towards us.”

The ANC had been successful in enlisting the trade unions. “We managed to get into the unions and change them in the right direction.”
DE KLERK AND THE MARKETS

The human factor

It is trite to say that the pace of change has become unprecedented. Lateral-thinking President F W de Klerk and his men, inspired perhaps by some high-road, low-road vision of the future, vault on to new political pastures while everyone — diehard Nats, fading socialists, liberals et al — struggle on behind them, trying to keep up. Or so it seems; and certainly many have not yet assimilated the major reforms initiated in February, or cannot come to terms with them.

People are not complete fools: they tend to remember that Oceania has not always been at war with Eastasia and at peace with Eurasia. Even when, as George Orwell pointed out in 1984, faithful party newspapers tell them this is so — yet sides have changed.

Equally, though, there are many genuinely perplexing elements in the processes of change. One is what might be called the national mood, which, judging by the reactions of markets, can’t decide on an appropriate optimism or pessimism — or even anything in between. One week, ANC statements of position on nationalisation, the armed struggle and sanctions cause precipitate selling and emigration. The next, a jovial photograph of SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo and Foreign Minister Pik Botha outside Groote Schuur brings a touch of spring to the JSE.

We know that a week is a long time in politics — but an era? Should these sharp extremes really display such manic-depressive peaks and valleys? Surely the issues are in danger of being forgotten?

It is worth recording some of these issues, where they show convergence of opinion and where they do not. Assume that the major players are as at present — ANC and government.

Everyone will have a vote of equal weight but there is disagreement on the protection of minorities. If there is only so much political power in a country, redistribution creates vulnerabilities and demands for safeguards. Yet protection for a minority might favour that minority if it already holds a virtual monopoly on power in terms of control of the economy and its security.

The debate on what kind of parliament we want has scarcely begun. The law still defines voters racially.

Gross disparities in wealth must be addressed. Here the focus of debate is on nationalisation and equality of opportunity in terms of land reform and public spending. Special funds for socio-economic redress are needed, the debate is open and can be construed as charity.

Repeal of the pillars of geographic apartheid — the Group Areas Act and Land Act — will not in itself help much. Barring expropriation, residential profiles might remain unaltered for quite a while. So any future government will inherit a growing mass of poor and miserable people. Attempts to meet the challenge through populist economic measures — in particular nationalisation — will stifle growth and be self-defeating.

Political freedom and an actual or potential share in the country’s wealth require security. Civil war must be avoided; so must the insidious deterioration of services and the quality of life. Who controls the army, the civil service, the framework of the law (not the same thing as its officers) and the educational structures is pivotal.

That control can be shared but managing the interregnum is immensely difficult when these bodies have long been politicised — for the benefit of a minority — and have their own protected personnel and, therefore, ideological momentum. The CP knows this very well.

What de Klerk has so far done is to say to the ANC: the door is open, everything is negotiable. The ANC has not responded with as much open-handedness because it has a long memory of oppression — and because it is actually very weak, ill-organised and a little confused by the prospect of actual power. Its ability to call down new sanctions has been radically curtailed and might be even more so after De Klerk’s European tour.

Nelson Mandela’s announcement this week that, in fact, no new sanctions will be summoned up might simply be anticipating the inevitable.

And perhaps — now that the antagonists have met face to face, always a humanising event — the ANC is also increasingly persuaded of government’s sincerity. Whatever the case, the passing of each day locks it further into negotiations like a reluctant bride already halfway down the aisle. The guests want to throw confetti and swing champagne, not go home in disappointment.

Not only will the process of negotiations be protracted, implementation of any agreements will be far more so.

Unquestionably, the relatively easy transition to independence in Namibia helped nurture the idea that some kind of solution was possible here. But, quantitatively, SA is not Namibia: there are more people, there is more wealth, so there are more problems, if not thirty-fold more.

Nonetheless, even considering those long-term issues there sufficient evidence for guarded optimism.

Our memories may have become attenuated but, last weekend, P W Botha emerged from cover to remind us all of what kind of society he helped perpetuate.

His refusal to give support to De Klerk indicates that if he was still in power, the penalties — in forgone growth, in an intensifying sense of social entrapment — would still be awful. So much worse than the jittery mood swings of the present.
Can the workers’ party pull in worker support?

JOE SLOVO jetted into South Africa last week with a load of ideas that could change the nature of the country’s trade union movement.

The dramatic homecoming of the South African Communist Party secretary-general has stirred a vibrant debate in the labour movement.

“We are in the process of setting up an above-board organisation,” Slovo said soon after he arrived.

“We hope to attract into an above-board organisation the thousands of workers and youth who have visibly expressed support for our party and for an eventual future of socialism.”

Many workers and union officials have welcomed the opportunity to hand over the heavy political load that their organisations were forced to carry in the absence of a party which represented the interests of workers.

But their sense of relief is mixed with more than a tinge of anxiety.

- Can the SACP emerge from its clandesine and underground role and adopt the democratic traditions of the labour movement?

- Will the party’s re-emergence open up ideological splits in the union movement, which already has a history of factionalism?

These are among the issues being debated in the ranks of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) as well as a number of smaller left-wing groups.

“One of our biggest concerns is that the SACP’s constitution does not fit well with the traditional principles of democracy and accountability that have developed in the union movement,” says a member of Cosatu’s South African Clothing and Textile Workers’ Union.

Under the party’s current constitution, the general-secretary, chairman, and two others who get top votes in a secret ballot are elected every five years. They then form an electoral college that appoints the rest of the central committee, taking as their guide the votes cast in the ballot.

The SACP, responding to the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, has rejected the Stalinist past and committed itself to move in the direction of democratic socialism. Slovo made it clear these principles would apply after the party sets up a legal presence in the country.

But there are other fears in the workers’ movement.

- The activities of a lobby of hard-line activists within Cosatu, who claim allegiance to the SACP, have led to deep ideological divisions in parts of the federation.

- The Food and Allied Workers’ Union, Western Cape region, for example, recently split after all officials were instructed to endorse the party’s “two-stage” notion that national liberation should be achieved before the struggle for socialism begins.

“We are not yet convinced that the party’s new mood of tolerance has filtered down to its rank and file,” said an official from another of Cosatu’s large affiliates. “SACP cadres have developed a reputation for being the most sectarian in the labour movement on a number of key issues.”

Similar sentiments were expressed by unionists in the smaller federation, Nactu, and by members of the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) and the newly-formed Workers’ Organisation of South Africa (Wosa).

“Historically the SACP has not made a significant impact on the organisation of the working class. It has simply been there as a symbol of resistance for militants,” said Azapo publicity secretary Shrim Moodley.

“The trade union movement is made up of people with a range of political views. For the SACP to lead the working class it must open its ranks allow for theories that the party holds dear to be put up for debate.”

Asked if workers could find a political home in the SACP, Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngculana said the socialist camp was already divided and a recruitment drive by the party could exacerbate these rifts.

Will the re-emergence of the Communist Party provide a political wing for the labour movement? By CASSANDRA MOODLEY and EDDIE KOCH

Comrades Joe ... the SA Communist Party leader’s recent arrival in South Africa has lead to some interesting developments in the labour movement.

“Are we sceptical about the SACP because it has operated behind closed doors. But we are prepared to hold discussions with them — especially about the need to draw up a workers’ charter — that will protect their rights now and in a future South Africa.”

A Wosa activist said the SACP had a close and exclusive working relationship with the ANC and Cosatu.

“It has alienated itself from a substantial number of workers in the PAC, Azapo, Nactu and unaffiliated unions. This is where we disagree with them.”

Slovo replied by pointing out that although there was a formal alliance between the SACP, the ANC and Cosatu, the party believed trade union federations should retain their own identity and independence.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo told the Weekly Mail he was satisfied that a drive for membership by the SACP would not cause ideological splinters in the labour movement.
LISBON. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Angola yesterday for its support of the ANC in its struggle, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

The African National Congress deputy president was addressing a rally on his first visit to Luanda.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting to overthrow apartheid, Lusa said.

Mr Mandela, on a six-nation Africa tour to discuss his groundbreaking talks with President F.W. de Klerk’s government, was earlier welcomed by thousands of cheering Angolans.

President José Eduardo dos Santos led an unusually large reception committee of senior members of his left-wing government at Luanda airport.

He said Angola had made sacrifices in the fight against apartheid, according to Lusa. “We suffered tremendous military, political and economic pressure,” he told the crowd.

But he added: “Our region has now entered a new era of peace. All the black states of the region have to prepare for the post-apartheid and post-war (era).”

He also used the occasion to attack Unita.

The rebels proclaimed a major victory this week when the Angolan army withdrew from the south-eastern town of Mavinga, scene of fierce fighting since December. The Luanda government said the troops were just being redeployed.

Unita said it would use its “resounding victory” at Mavinga to promote peace negotiations and promised to put forward new concrete proposals.

It was reported from Dublin yesterday that Mr Mandela would be invited to address a special session of the Irish Dail (parliament) when he visited Ireland on July 1-3.

Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey proposed the invitation yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP
JOHANNESBURG. — A Soweto Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verry, yesterday denied any knowledge of sexual misconduct between himself and three of the four youths kidnapped from the church and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house.

Mr Verry gave his evidence-in-chief in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the murder of "Stompie" Moketsi Seipie, the attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Mr Verry testified that although he had heard reports of the sexual misconduct, he had no knowledge of the allegations.

He had also heard reports that Stompie had been an informer, but he denied he had any knowledge of this.

It had emerged in court that Mr Barend Mono, 20, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe, 21, and Mr Kenneth Kgabe, 31, had been accused by Mrs Mandela and members of the so-called Mandela United Football Club of sexual misconduct with Mr Verry.

Stompie had been accused of "selling out" four comrades to police. The four had been shot dead at Parys.

Mr Verry told the court: "After the (informor) allegations about Stompie a meeting was held, and my feeling was that a 14-year-old cannot be held responsible for the decisions of adults. We decided that Stompie should stay in the (church) house."

He did not clarify with whom he had met.

Mr Verry said he had not stayed regularly at the church and on January 7 he had received a telephone call from the pastor of the Central Methodist Church, Mr Alan Ching, telling him Mr Kgase had escaped from the Mandela home and was with him. The hearing continues. — Sapa
A guerrilla arrives in the back of a Mercedes

The only woman among the exiles involved in the talks, Ruth Moipatsi, returned to a noisy welcome last night. She had been away for 28 years. Moipatsi is a member and former chairwoman of the ANC's women's movement. She was welcomed by ANC leaders and members of the community. Moipatsi's return ... supporters hailed ANC member Ruth Moipatsi outside the hospital where she grew up. A strong contingent of uniformed policemen watched at the entrance. Moipatsi was welcomed by ANC leaders and members of the community. Moipatsi's return ... supporters hailed ANC member Ruth Moipatsi outside the hospital where she grew up. A strong contingent of uniformed policemen watched at the entrance. Moipatsi was welcomed by ANC leaders and members of the community. Moipatsi's return ... supporters hailed ANC member Ruth Moipatsi outside the hospital where she grew up.

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Albie goes back to jail...just for the day

Gayle Davis spends some time with newly returned ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs. In his home town, Cape Town.

"I'm not coming to complain. I've just come back to see how things have changed," the African National Congress (ANC) leader told the tortured dock sergeant at Cape Town's Caledon Square police station.

It was the first time Sachs had "voluntarily" set foot in a South African police station since he was last in Caledon Square was in 1964, when he served out the last of 168 days in detention.

Now he was home again, after 24 years in exile, and wishing the landmarks of the city where he was raised, educated and later persecuted for his political beliefs.

Against one wall of the charge-office hung a board displaying dramatic models of "terrorist weapons" - had he returned - like the police and personal names.

Worn signs of decoration in police stations, Sachs had never seen one before: he wandered which of the caskets might have been used in the Manenberg car-bomb blast two years ago in which he lost his sight and the partial sight of one eye.

And he pondered the irony of his being classified for years as a "terrorist", yet getting his first glimpse of a dock sergeant in a South African police station.

A senior officer showed Sachs into his office.

"You know what's happened if I don't come back," Sachs quipped.

"They were more nervous than I was," he said on emerging. "But I'm not sure what my heart really felt. As you can imagine, I don't feel very excited when I lost my legs."

As he walked along the corridors of the police station, asking about where he had been held in solitary confinement and tortured by sleep deprivation, he had recalled how important it is to be able to re-experience the police stations of this country.

"We have to have a situation in which everybody can feel free to go to the police because the police are their and there to defend them.

"I'm sure in my day before there was a lot of honest police, both black and white, who can help achieve this in future South Africa."

Sachs took aside Cape Town's Grand Parade, where he had once stood in the back of a lorry to address ANC meetings - usually there were only 60 or so - usually in defiance of a police eviction and Christian protest against the apartheid form of salvation.

"The only people taking notes of our speeches in these days were police informers.

"This was the 1960s. I'm not sure if it's still the case."

Walking construction crews working on another building for the Cape Town fishermen's wharf which had bought up much of the land in the area and evicted the dockaways who had occupied the derelict warehouses for safety. Sachs observed: "It would be a crime to allow this land to be used in this way."

"This open space was simply turned into another tract for developers or a even a little kind of recreation."

"The first thing to be done is that the people who live here have to be asked what they want. So in my view it is a place only for the rich would be to again punish those who were evicted."

Everything could be treated with the right approach, said Sachs.

At Cape Town's Community Arts Project he commented students' work, saying: "When I left there wasn't anything. There was only special education.

"People must feel free to express this new phase we're entering into - to make their doubts and explore the contradictions. Then we can have Survaart, poetry and a second to most in the world."

"A group of workers engaged in a skills' training project at the centre gathered around Sachs.

"We're entering a new phase and we have to prepare ourselves for a new democracy. Are you ready for freedom?" he asked of them: "Yes, they shouted.

"Are you sure?" he asked. "We've had to survive the brutalities, the wars we can't walk into freedom with our hands down, we have to walk tall. I think Mandela (ANC president Nelson Mandela) smile is worth 500,000."

"Just give me one AK," said one of the men.

"But we've had so much killing," Sachs chided. "We're going to be in the army - so don't kill, but with everyone else. We must get used to the idea that we are entering the age of freedom, when the country belongs to all of us, where everyone can work and live freely.

"We are the lucky generation, we are bringing it about. I'm not saying there are no obstacles - there are terrible obstacles, and some people are going to try to stop us."

In the heart of the city of KTC he heard from community leaders how an estimated 10,000 people had only nine water points - given to them presently out of commission.

Surrounded by giggling children at the Sifhikole Primary School, he learned how the community had been unable to pay the salaries of all four teachers. One employee to teach 100 children, offering her services voluntarily.

"This is the first time we see the ANC sitting with the National Party and give us good hope, we just get the ANC will be in power. I think things will get better now," said one of the teachers, Mrs. Tshimba. Sachs responded: "But remember you are ANC, ANC isn't something that's going to come from the skies and liberate everybody. That's why the vote is so important. With the vote you can get your rights."

'Cepe town's amputated like i am', Albie Sachs amid the rubble that was District Six.

Picture: DENNIS GOLC, Almeida

OPPORTUNITIES AT WITS

DEPARTMENT OF BOTANY

LECTURER IN BOTANY

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons in any of the following fields: Cryptogamic Botany, Ecology, Plant Systematics, Mycology, Plant Physiology and Science Education.

The successful candidate should have a particular interest in Science Education. One of the main duties of the successful applicant will be in co-ordinating the Department of Botany's involvement in the newly created College of Science.

The successful applicant will also be expected to be involved in other undergraduate courses, supervise post-graduate students, be active in research and participate in departmental seminars.

Duties to be assumed on 1 August 1996 or as soon as possible thereafter.

For further information contact Professor R. F. Pretorius on (011) 716-2251.

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN SOUTH SOUTHERN AFRICAN LANGUAGES are invited from persons with a B.A. Honours in South African Languages or a B.A. Honours in South African Languages.

An ability to teach South Sotho, amahlubi and/or non-white language classes will be considered.

The successful applicant will be expected to be involved in undergraduate and post-graduate classes in South Sotho and/or other languages.

Duties to be assumed on 1 July 1996 or as soon as possible thereafter.

For further information contact Professor D. J. Blaauw on (011) 716-3550.

DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

LECTURER

Applicants require a post-graduate qualification (normally a master's degree is a prerequisite). Teaching experience, areas of specialisation, research interests and qualifications in related fields also considered.

The department teaches a wide range of Western and African art topics and has an excellent slide library for department use. Duties include undergraduate lectures, tutorials and seminars, as well as graduate seminars and research supervision. A Lecturer may be appointed on a 3 year contract or on a tenure track.

Duties to be assumed on 1 July 1996 or as soon as possible thereafter.

Salary: Lecturer: R85 000 - R95 300 | Senior Lecturer: R92 184 - R99 629

University of the Witwatersrand

Facing the challenges of the future today.
A toast for the return of Huhudi's most famous resident. African National Congress executive member Ruth Mompati, centre, returned to the township near Vryburg this week after more than 20 years in exile. See PAGE 6 (*using ogóle*)

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, AFRAPIX
Mandela thanks Angola for support

NELSON MANDELA yesterday thanked the people of Angola for their support for the resistance struggle in South Africa.

Mandela, who was met at Luanda airport by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and a large reception committee of government members, said Angola had given asylum to thousands of South African refugees and had helped train ANC guerillas.

Dos Santos said Angola had suffered "tremendous military, political and economic pressure" in its fight against apartheid. But he said the region was entering "a new era of peace."

Earlier in the day, Mandela visited the tomb of Agostinho Neto, who led Angola to independence and became its first president. Neto died in 1979.

Dos Santos presented Mandela with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto.

Mandela is expected to visit Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Zambia in an African tour in which he will brief African leaders on the "talks about talks" held between the ANC and the South African government last week. — Sapa
ANC talks

GABORONE - President Quett Masire of Botswana has described recent talks between the South African government and the African National Congress, ANC, as a "major breakthrough."
The Secretary of Health and Welfare in Qwaqwa, Dr G.L. Becker, yesterday said he had no connections whatsoever with the death of Steve Biko.

This follows an inaccurate report of Dr Becker's name published in Sowetan on Tuesday which said public servants in Qwaqwa were demanding his resignation.

Sowetan wishes to apologise for any inconvenience the error may have caused Dr Becker and his department.
Azapo slams Venda pact

THE agreement this week between the MDM and Venda's Council for National Unity that a committee was to be set up to define political prisoners in Venda was a tacit recognition of the 'independence' of the bantustans, Azapo said yesterday.

Reacting to the meeting held on Tuesday at Thohoyandou, Azapo regional publicity director for the northern Transvaal, Mr Khangale Makhadzo, said the committee agreed upon between FW de Klerk and the ANC in Cape Town last week should cover prisoners in Venda, "unless the MDM has decided to recognise Venda as a sovereign state."

He said the MDM meeting and another between the council and the ANC in Lusaka demonstrated not only "the present state of political confusion" within the two organisations and their grassroots supporters, but also "the seeds of the betrayal of the revolution and wishes of the majority of the people in Venda.

Citing the recent forced resignation from the council of headman Thivhulwani Makumbane, an ANC supporter, by members of the ANC supporting Youth Congress, Azapo said the meetings did not have the blessing of revolutionaries in the area.

"How do they justify such connivance when the military junta has banned trade unions and beat up youths protesting against such action," the statement added.

Another agreement reached between the MDM and the CNU was that ways had to be found by the joint working committee for the speedy lifting of the state of emergency.
'Stompie' trial told of Mandela team threat

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—A day before four young men were taken from the Orlando West Methodist Church's manse, two of them told the Rev Paul Verlyn they had been threatened with the Mandela Football Team because they had refused to wash the dishes.

This evidence was led in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday by Mr Verryn during the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, 41.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to four kidnappings, five assaults with intent to commit grievous bodily harm, the murder of teenage activist "Stompie" Sepele and the attempted murder of Mr Andrew Ikageng.

SHARED BEDS

Mr Verryn said he was aware of allegations of sexual misconduct at the manse but said he knew nothing about it. He said about 20 people lived in the three-bedroomed house. Every bed was shared and people also slept on the floor.

In December 1988, Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Molo, Pelo Mekgwe, Stompie and Xoliswa Fulati lived there. Mr Kgase, a cleaner at the Central Methodist Church, had no place to stay while on leave. Mr Molo and Mr Mekgwe had both been traumatised by detention and Stompie was brought to him by Mr Martin Chaskalson who did part-time work at the attorney's firm Priscilla Jana, Mr Verryn said.

He said there had been a house meeting after an allegation that Stompie was a "sell-out".

"I felt a 14-year-old could not be held responsible for decisions taken by adults. We agreed that he would not leave the house so that there would be no further suspicion."

On December 28 1988, Mr Verryn, who was on leave, called at the manse. Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe told him Miss Falati had threatened them with the Mandela Football Team. When Mr Verryn spoke to her, she confirmed she had difficulty with the two young men who resisted her discipline. He told her not to call on the team.

On January 7 last year, while still on leave, he received a telephone call and as a result went to the Central Methodist Church. There Kenneth Kgase told him a confused story of events, including an escape from Mrs Winnie Mandela's house. Mr Kgase's face was swollen, one eye was bloodshot and he had about 20 scabs on his back.

Mr Verryn said that at a community meeting in Dobsonville on January 16 last year, Mr Kgase, Mr Mono, Mr Mekgwe and Mr Ikageng gave evidence and a decision was taken that a group of community leaders would try to see Mrs Mandela.

(Proceeding)
ANC wants a free, 'responsible' press

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress is committed to an independent press, Mr Aziz Fahad of the National Executive Committee of the ANC said yesterday.

Mr Fahad, addressing the Association of Democratic Journalists, said a free and critical press was necessary to enable democracy to flourish.

He said the South African and international press in the past failed to report the truth and by so doing had created a curtain of ignorance around the true state of affairs.

So far, he said, few journalists had challenged the modus operandi in which they worked.

He said the ANC did not want the media blindly to accept its policies.

Journalists should not be propagandists for the ANC, Mr Fahad said, adding that the ANC encouraged constructive criticism of its policies and programmes. "They are not unchallengeable just because they are our policies," he said.

"We fight for a free and critical press — criticism must, however, be responsible." — Sapa
ANC starts drive for recruits

SOWETAN Reporter

The African National Congress has launched a major recruitment drive in the PWV area which will include door-to-door canvassing for potential members.

ANC spokesman, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, announced that temporary recruitment centres will open on Monday for a month.

Motlanthe said at a press conference in Johannesburg that membership was open to all South African men and women aged over 18, irrespective of race, colour, or creed who accepted the ANC's principles, policies and programme.

Policy

Representatives of the organisation would canvass potential members and explain the policy and aims of the organisation.

Asked if the exercise would not create conflict with rival organisations, he said if the leadership's experiences on Robben Island in living with and tolerating other people's different viewpoints could be used as a yardstick he foresaw no problems.

The ANC would register its colours, emblems, and logos.
Mary Benson, author of the first biography of Nelson Mandela and a history of the ANC, last month returned to visit SA after living in England for 24 years since her banning in 1965. Her biography was recently launched in SA (see Books)

FM: One reviewer has described your autobiography as innocent of ideology, which seems odd in view of your ANC connection.

Benson: I wrote in the introduction to the original book on the history of the ANC, The African Patriots, that I ended up (after research, travel around the country, and having been secretary to the Treason Trial Defence Fund), with a strong sense of involvement and very sympathetic to the ANC. But I've never really been a joiner. My white friends were in both the Communist and the Liberal parties and others were simply artists. That's just the way it's always been. I think in the discussions I had with Bram Fischer that comes out - a vague philosophical belief in the human spirit. I do find dogma very difficult to deal with, whether religious or political.

Do you have misgivings about ANC ideology, specifically its nationalisation policy?

No. As I understand it, the nationalisation issue has been thrown in quite strongly in order to provoke a thinking person and to consider what lies behind that statement and how much historical inequality has to be made up for. Clearly, it's going to be an extremely complicated process. But I imagine the talks on May 23 will be another contribution.

What about Mandela's own ideology?

Mandela's outlook is an absolute passion to unite people. I think all those talks he had in Victor Verster were aimed at that. It shows tremendous wisdom and generosity.

On the island he told people that there were two sides to the struggle: the confrontation, but also the need for negotiation; and he's been saying that for years. That meant learning the language of your opponent and reading his literature as well. I think that's all bearing fruit now, as is his passion for education. Can Mandela unite a significant proportion of the people behind the ANC?

I would certainly think so - together with the UDF. When you think of what the UDF was in 1984, before the clampdown, the states of emergency, and of the marches that have been allowed and how well they went - if they had been in the early Eighties, there wouldn't have been that terrible backlash. I'm sure that he would have the greatest following. But as he said to the press recently, the ANC doesn't claim to be the only organisation and they welcome others to the conference table.

Would he make a good president?

I think wonderful. When he was young he was a hot temper wasn't a reflective man at all. He has always had great authority. From all I've heard and seen, he's developed wonderful communication generally. And as Raymond Mhlaba has said, he really listens to people and has a lot of patience. These are wonderful qualities.

Do you have any sympathy with ensuring group or white minority rights in a new constitution, or would a Bill of Rights suffice?

I don't really know enough about those sorts of structures. But I gather that there's thought at the moment of two houses, with a senate or upper house maintaining some sort of restraint. But certainly for white fears (there has to be) something — but not group rights. That term should be dropped by the government because it's like the other forms of slogans and rhetoric that cause a block to things moving forward.

When people are anxious about the ANC and whether it's capable of the administrative functions of governing or being part of a government, they should look at all the allies it has won over the years (not just the UDF and trade unions), but in groups like Idasa in universities and in business. There's a wide range of talent to draw on if it has to.

You've been here during an historic time. What were your reactions, after long exile?

At first there was a tremendous complexity of impressions and images and meetings. I went back to my hometown, Pretoria, which I found had become a physically dreadful city but I found that our little house was still standing there right next to the prison on Poetic Street. How this little 1920 house had survived. I don't know, but it's looking very shabby. "shabby victorian"

I felt excited by purely physical things, and since I was lucky enough to stay with friends in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, the fresh air in the morning, the light and the birds. But when in Cape Town I visited KTC and saw the real horror of those shacks going on forever. That left me speechless. And then going to Cradock and seeing the graves of Matthew Goniwe and the others, but still the death squads haven't been dealt with. The women's leaders in KwaZulu living in great poverty and one really felt very depressed at times. But what a trip.

People had all warned that when I came back I would find Johannesburg a black city, and blacks in all the banks, and on the tram. That didn't surprise me. Except one thought, how absolutely ludicrous that they don't have the vote, when you see the people whose country this is. There's so much swept under the carpet. White consciousness has absolutely no real awareness that this is basically the Africans' country.

I was really very delighted to be back and to see the streets all clean and tidy and the houses on the street. I was sitting in the car going to Cradock and I felt the West about us. To see the cars from the hotel and the people, the hotel workers, the doormen, the maids.

Are you optimistic?

Yes. Ever since De Klerk made his February statement it seemed to me from a distance that there was no turning back, whatever the confusion and the danger with the AWB, death squads, and so on. The crucial thing is that ordinary people living in poverty and squalor must feel: "When will we see any change?"

The very important thing is to remain positive, no matter what, and not to get carried away by slogans and rhetoric. I take any fears about the next few years.

I suppose one is that the world may feel that things aren't going fast or far enough. The right wing is a very obvious physical threat. Somehow, very soon, real change must happen in the lives of enough people for them to feel confident in their daily lives.
Thorny issues

Government has, for the first time, formally accepted the concept of political offences committed by members of the ANC and similar groups in trying to achieve their aims.

This was confirmed during this week’s parliamentary debate on the Indemnity Bill by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. He agreed with the CP’s Frank le Roux that the NP will participate in talks with the ANC and other groups to define what is a political offender. Le Roux argued it was a term that had up to now been rejected with contempt by the NP. Coetsee acknowledged it was a new concept.

Up to now, government argued that people jailed for politically motivated offences (such as Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues) were security prisoners. It also argued that even if crimes were politically motivated they had to be regarded as criminal and not political.

Coetsee said though no existing statute provided for “purely political offences,” certain actions could now be considered as such in terms of the Bill. “Certain offences may be recognised as purely political, for instance treason directed solely against the State and not involving a common crime such as murder. In certain circumstances a common law crime, yes, even murder, may be a political offence.”

He added that one of the principle factors to be considered in common law crime, “even a very serious crime,” was the motive of the offender.

The Bill, supported by all parties in parliament except the CP, allows the president to grant a pardon or temporary immunity to people convicted of political offences, standing trial or awaiting trial for such offences, or suspected of such offences. It means members of the ANC and other groups can either be released from prison or return to SA without fear of prosecution to participate in talks to “remove obstacles” to further negotiations.

It also allows for the granting of indemnity against civil actions. Government has consequently made provision in the Bill for ex gratia payments to people who may have been in a position to make civil claims against people granted indemnity.

Coetsee says an acceptable definition of political offences and political offenders will be agreed by a working group comprising members of government, the ANC and other interested parties.

The Bill provides for both temporary and permanent immunity, including immunity against civil or criminal action in any court, as well as against detention in terms of any law. People granted immunity will still be subject to other laws.

A more permanent arrangement on how to deal with alleged offenders outside SA, as well as members of organisations serving prison terms for “political” offences and the possibility of a general amnesty, will be negotiated but is unlikely to be implemented for some time.

The Bill is simply an interim measure aimed at promoting the current peace talks between government and the ANC.
ANC will back a free Press

THE ANC wanted a free and critical press in a post-apartheid SA, but one which was responsible and criticised constructively rather than maliciously, national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting organised by the Association of Democratic Journalists, he added it was difficult to talk of a free and critical press when 98% of information flow was controlled by the state and large corporations.

"We do not want blind adherence to the ANC's policy positions. Eastern European experience showed the consequences where the press acted as simply a mouthpiece for the ruling party," Pahad said.

It was necessary, though, for journalists to work for a common, broad acceptance of non-racialism, liberty and democracy.

He stressed that where he used terms like "constructive" and "responsible" journalism, he did not envisage state control of the press.

Pahad believed an important point of debate was whether a formula should be devised whereby non-NP forces could make use of the SABC.

He also asked whether the "big-business-owned commercial press" should be allowed to remain as it was, "or should we work out a way to democratise it?"

"We do not want direct state control, but need to look for ways to diversify the control of Anglo American over the press," he said.

Another consideration would be to bring into those newspapers journalists, including blacks, with different value systems to the dominant one, and to introduce other affirmative action programmes.

He also suggested attempts should be made to ensure editorships were determined not only in the boardrooms but by the journalists as well.
Whites to appear in court over killings

TWO white men are to appear in the Pretoria Magistrate’s Court on Monday on charges of killing two black men and injuring another, police spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen said yesterday.

The two men — both in their late twenties — were arrested on Tuesday after an intensive investigation by Pretoria police.

Two black men — Simon Koba, 27, and Petrus Makena, 28, — were shot dead at point-blank range and a third man was seriously injured when four white men forced their vehicle off the road near Mamelodi last weekend.

The third man is in a serious condition at Kalafong Hospital in Mamelodi.

The victims were allegedly searched by white men, who said they were policemen, and asked if they knew about the “Wit Wolwe” before they were shot.

Van Rooyen did not believe the incident was linked to the Wit Wolwe.

“There is only one Wit Wolf — Barend Strydom — and he is in prison. We have no reason to believe there is a group of whites calling themselves Wit Wolwe.” Barend “Wit Wolf” Strydom shot dead six people in Pretoria last year.

UDF leader predicts lifting of emergency

WASHINGTON — The state of emergency would be lifted in June when it came up for renewal, eastern Cape UDF leader Mkhuceli Jack predicted yesterday.

But he made it clear he did not altogether welcome the prospect.

It would “deliver a confusing blow to the international community” and potentially result in easing pressure on Pretoria, he told a forum at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

He was candid about ANC strategy, in particular its efforts to deny KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a seat at the negotiating table.

He said Buthelezi and his “imperialist backers” were trying to “neutralise the liberation movement” to show there was legitimate black opposition to the ANC.

Any attempt to bring him into a peace process in Natal would only lend him credibility.

“We are broadening our social base — there is a battle going on. We are even trying to break the National Party into pieces... We are drawing everybody towards us.”

The ANC had been successful in enlisting the trade unions. “We managed to get into the unions and change them in the right direction.”
DP 'turned down ANC'  

PARLIAMENT.—The Democratic Party had turned down an ANC invitation to become part of a United Patriotic Front at the negotiating table, Dr Wynand Malan (DP, Randburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Constitution Development Budget Vote, he said the DP had turned the invitation down because it would hamper a democratic debate in a two-way confrontation with the government.

"We are democrats and we want to see the democratic process advanced," he said. "We are not looking for a confrontational debate but one in which we can seek, really search, for answers." — Sapa
Armed struggle 'still on'

Staff Reporter

The ANC's armed struggle would not be ended immediately and the organisation would continue to build underground structures, ANC Western Cape deputy chairman Mr Trevor Manuel said yesterday.

Mr Manuel was speaking at a lively UWC debate yesterday between himself and Azapo Western and Eastern Cape secretary Mr Mandie Mtomphe on the topic: "Negotiations: The final sellout?".

Mr Manuel told about 600 students that the ANC had been responsible for grabbing the negotiation initiative by drafting the Harare declaration last year.

However, Mr Mtomphe described the idea of a negotiated settlement as an "imperialistic ploy to subvert the socialist revolution in our country", adding that negotiation only strived to calm white fears and not that of blacks.

The Harare declaration concerned obstacles between the government and the ANC which were to be removed before negotiation could start, and the aim of the declaration was to create a climate for negotiation.

This declaration, Mr Manuel added, was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the only "lone voice" not in favour of the declaration was that of Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Azapo's struggle was not against apartheid but a struggle for freedom from oppression and the building of a "workers' democracy", Mr Mtomphe said, adding that Azapo's aim was "to free the oppressed from F.W.'s programme of crisis management".

Trevor Manuel

Mandie Mtomphe
NELSON Mandela and his wife Winnie received an emotional welcome from over 200 South African political exiles at an ANC training camp in Angola on Friday.

The Mandelas both called for rank-and-file discipline when the ANC’s estimated 20,000 exiles around the world eventually return home to face housing and job shortages and a lack of schooling facilities for their children.

“We feel the day we have been waiting for might be close at hand,” said Nelson Mandela, standing before militants crammed into a prefab hut at Viana, 20 kilometres outside Luanda.

“The ANC calls on you to act in a disciplined manner when you return and I must say (members) can’t expect to live like millionaires – choosing mansions in whatever part of town they prefer,” he said.

Mandela, who was greeted by chants of “we know you are our father” in Zulu and Sotho, gave the crowd a detailed account of his talks last week with President FW de Klerk.

President FW de Klerk that produced a broad agreement to work for an end to political violence and clear the way for bringing blacks into the government.

Obviously moved by the warm reception, Mandela read the agreement in full to the crowd and later answered members’ questions in a session closed to the handful of foreign journalists covering the visit.

Mandela said he believed De Klerk and the government delegation at the talks were sincerely searching for a peaceful solution, but warned: “We don’t know if the delegation stands for all whites in South Africa and that’s what we’re worried about.”

The Mandelas arrived on Thursday from Lusaka, Zambia, for their first visit to Angola. – Sapa.
ANC has prisons  SACHS

CP Correspondent

ALBIE Sachs has always been known for his honesty, charm and sense of humour.

He certainly did not let his reputation down when he spoke at the University of Cape Town this week.

He also became the first ANC member, apart from deputy president Nelson Mandela, to talk in South Africa about the organisation's detention centres.

He did not say where or how many people were being detained by the ANC.

Although he had heard about these detention centres, he only visited them during the course of a recent inquiry.

Conditions were not as bad as he had expected. Detainees were well fed, received adequate medical care and had not complained to him about being physically abused, he said.

After the visit he cried because the experience took him back to his own detention by the South African Government more than 20 years ago.

"It was sad to see this happening. Yet I knew his squads had sent persons in to kill us.

"If people come back and say they have been ill-treated by the ANC, it is not necessarily lies because we have ill-treated people.

"But if people come back and say that is the ANC - that is lies because we have a strong sense of justice in the organisation."

Sachs said the fact that an inquiry was being held showed the ANC had standards and even people sent to kill ANC members had certain basic human rights.

"The hardest cases, and these are cases which we have to face up to now, are those against whom there is strong suspicion - yet not strong enough for a conviction."

Sachs said ANC president Oliver Tambo had instructed him and some others in Lusaka in 1984 to draft regulations on the question of how to treat violations of ANC rules.

These ranged from one member stealing from another to SAP members trained and sent to Lusaka, Angola and Mozambique with plans to assassinate ANC leaders.

"It was clear Tambo was deeply concerned with finding appropriate standards consistent with the traditions of the ANC."

There were many problems in the ANC at that stage, and the movement had decided to hold a conference to discuss them.

"One of the most painful issues was the question of torture."

According to Sachs, ANC members repeatedly made the point that the movement was fighting for justice and freedom and could not use methods used by the enemy.

The meeting had adopted a Code of Conduct, dividing offences into different categories.
ANC GUARD IN KIDNAP DRAMA

Police informers abduct ANC delegation bodyguard

By ELIAS MAULILEKE

A TOP ANC bodyguard - one of the security staff guarding delegates at last week's Groote Schuur talks in Cape Town - was this week abducted by Askari's in a Johannesburg city centre kidnap drama.

Five black members of the Askari - former ANC guerrillas now working for the police - snatched on the ANC's Rusty Dhiadla, 28, who until last week's talks was on the South African police's "wanted" list.

Dhiadla, like other members of the ANC delegation, was given indemnity from prosecution by the government.

The trained guerilla has since been released but his abduction caused a stir in the ANC camp and the matter has been taken up with senior police officers in Pretoria.

According to City Press sources police;backgrounded to the ANC and plan to launch an investigation.

Police spokesman Cape EA Opperman said the incident was a misunderstanding. He said a member of the security police saw Dhiadla, whom he believed was wanted.

"He had no idea the man had been granted indemnity," Opperman said. He said Dhiadla was on the police's "wanted" list.

About 300 members of Actstop bravado the cold weather yesterday and took to the streets of Johannesburg to present a memorandum to the Johannesburg City Council. Actstop members are demanding...
Police informers abduct ANC delegation bodyguard

By ELIAS MALULEKE

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According to City Press sources police apologised to the ANC and plan to launch an investigation.

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"He had no idea the man had been granted immunity," Opperman said.

He said Dhladla was on the police wanted list, but when it was discovered that he had immunity he was freed.

Head of ANC intelligence, Jacob Zuma would only say: "We are looking into the matter."

Dhladla remained in the country after the Cape Town talks, taking advantage of the indemnity granted to participating delegates in terms of the agreement reached between the ANC and the government.

The abduction drama happened on Thursday night when five Askaris travelling in a grey car and wearing civilian clothes and balaclavas confronted Dhladla at the corner of Bree and Mocci Streets in central Johannesburg. He was with his cousin Percy Nkosi of Soweto.

Nkosi said his car was at a filling station in Noord Street when the grey car pulled up next to them.

"Rusty recognised one of the men as a former ANC guerrilla now working for the police," Nkosi said.

When Nkosi pulled away the other car followed and Nkosi decided to drive to a nightclub in Bree Street.

Said Nkosi: "The men parked next to our car and rushed out guns in hand, and one of them called Rusty by name and demanded to know what he was doing in the country."
PERSONALITIES IN POLITICS

By Prof WILIE ESTERHUIZE of the University of Stellenbosch

Will the real Joe Slovo now stand up?

Force during the Second World War — although he was not yet 21 years old. After the war he studied law, graduating in 1950.

He practised as an advocate in Johannesburg and specialised in "political trials". Whatever can be said about him, his social awareness and involvement developed strongly during this time as a result of the circumstances in South Africa at the time.

With his wife, Ruth First, he was one of the first people to be subjected to certain limitations in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. For example, he could not be quoted in the Press.

In 1953 he formed the (underground) SA Communist Party and became a member of the Central Committee. He was very active in black politics, the well-known defiance campaign and the forming of new organisations. It has been alleged that he was one of the authors of the Freedom Charter.

He was one of those charged in the well-known treason trial of the 1950s. In fact, he was also a member of the defence team! The charges against him were eventually withdrawn.

Slovo formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961. Two years later he left South Africa to assist in organising the armed struggle. In 1977 he settled in Maputo from where he executed his strategy against the SA State.

He played an important role within the SACP and ANC in the planning of political and military strategy. In 1985 he became the first white person to be elected to the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He was also in charge of MK until 1987. After the death of Moses Mabhida in 1986 he was elected secretary-general of the SACP.

In the middle of the 1980s he gave his support to the negotiation position of the ANC and even expressed his reservations about the continuation of the armed struggle.

His position now is a rejection of the orthodox Marxist view that a revolution is a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of Socialism. It would be interesting to see how he plans to put this theoretical position into practice. The positive side of it is that it is not dogmatic-ideological.

An ironical situation has developed. For many years the SACP was a problem to the SA Government. Now it is creating a problem for the ANC. Numerous (black) church leaders who support the ANC are, for example, not happy with the ANC's links with the SACP.

My personal opinion is that the SACP will not be able to dictate to the ANC. Even Slovo will not succeed in this.

Joe Slovo . . . negotiate.
DE KLERK'S EUROPEAN SUCCESSES MAY MEAN A CUT IN ANC'S FUNDS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's dramatic advances in Europe could lead to major cuts in the ANC's funds from foreign governments.

The threat results from changing perceptions in foreign capitals of the way in which the Government and the ANC are squaring up in the search for peace.

President De Klerk's meetings this week with the heads of government of France and Greece improved SA's credibility. In Paris and Athens there was recognition that the government is genuinely and irreversibly committed to negotiations about an apartheid-free society.

By LESTER VENTER: Athens

The view from abroad is that since it was unbanned in February, the ANC should participate in the peace process on equal terms — as a political party.

And it is against SA law for a political party to receive funds from abroad.

The ANC does not disclose its source of funds, but it's known to be almost wholly reliant on foreign aid.

Diplomats said in Europe the matter was not discussed in meetings between President De Klerk and President Francois Mitterrand of France and Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis of Greece.

The issue will have to be faced before negotiations begin.

The ANC will be facing the National Party across the table — and not the Government. All parties will be on an equal footing.

The ANC has already experienced reduced international enthusiasm to fund it, and had added financial problems looming with the impending return of refugees. Numbers are not known, but they could exceed 30 000.

The ANC asked the Government at the recent Groote Schuur talks to help financially with the return of exiles — but was told Budget restraints made it impossible.
By BRIE van HEERDEN

The next round of talks between the Government and the ANC may begin within days of President F W de Klerk's return from Europe.

Both sides said this week they were anxious to speed up the talks—about—talks phase, aimed at removing obstacles to the real negotiations.

Much will depend on the progress made by the technical committee appointed after the Groote Schuur talks to investigate the tricky problem of which ANC members in jail for various offences— including violence and terrorism—should be given amnesty.

The committee is headed by the Government's chief constitutional adviser, Mr Panie van der Merwe, assisted by the Commissioner of Prisons, General W H Wllensae. The ANC is represented by its chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, and its legal adviser, Mr Pen宪法 Maduna.

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, the committee must report by Monday, May 21. Both Government and ANC sources said more progress was made at the first meeting than was expected. This may considerably advance the timetable for future talks.

One suggestion is that the technical committee be retained after May 21 with new instructions to draft a preliminary agenda for the next meeting.

At least one more meeting on "obstacles"—or what the ANC calls "preconditions"—will be needed to discuss the position of the remaining prisoners, the estimated 22,000 ANC members in exile across the world, and the continuation of the state of emergency.

Subsequent talks will be multi-lateral, with other major political groupings expected to join—including Inkatha, homeland and black urban leaders, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, and, if they can be persuaded, groupings on the right and left fringes like the PAC, Azapo, and the Conservative Party.

However, the talks leading up to such a "national convention" may be the most difficult part of the process. Agreement will have to be reached on who should attend, how large each delegation should be, how it will be constituted and whether each will have veto powers or not.

The biggest bone of contention is expected to be the ANC's insistence that an interim government be formed to rule the country while negotiations are in progress.

The Government has so far rejected this idea, stating that it will continue governing until a new constitution has been approved by the electorate and ratified by Parliament.
My name’s on Inkatha hit list says academic

By TERRY van der WALT

EVERY night before going to bed Dr Aaron Ndlovu fills his bathtub with water in case of fire.

He might have felt silly doing so until last weekend when his precautions saved the lives of himself and his family. Vigilantes tried to set his home alight in the early hours of the morning, but the flames were doused with water from the tub.

A senior lecturer in political science at the University of Zululand, Dr Ndlovu said his name was on a hit list of people opposed to Inkatha and he faced another attack at any time.

He claimed another academic on campus was also on the list, which had grown from an initial eight names.

He said Inkatha was trying to eliminate existing and potential ANC supporters in the Mntznini and Empangeni areas. “I understand this was made public by chiefs in the Empangeni area recently,” he alleged.

The allegation was strongly denied yesterday by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

“Inkatha does not have a hit list. Any allegations that it does are untruthful and absurd,” he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said Inkatha’s strength was based on democratic and peaceful principles.

“It is the ANC which is committed to a political programme of armed struggle, ungovernmentability and dealing with so-called ‘collaborators’ and ‘sell-outs,’” he said.

Surrounded

Dr Ndlovu said feelings were running high in the area and, with a meeting of Inkatha-controlled chiefs taking place in Empangeni today, there are fears of more violence and attacks.

Three other people in the area whose names appeared on the alleged hit list had been attacked in the past month, he said. One of them, an ANC stalwart, had been killed.

“Mr Gideon Mdlalose’s Fort Durnford kraal was surrounded by armed vigilantes and he was hacked to death,” said Dr Ndlovu.

“He was one of the ANC veterans who joined Inkatha thinking it was a substitute for the ANC and then went back to the ANC when it was unbanned. That was his only crime,” Dr Ndlovu said.

The home of former Cosatu regional secretary Jeremiah Nombela was also attacked, but high fences around the property prevented serious damage.

“The home of another ANC supporter, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, was attacked and destroyed by fire, but he escaped,” Dr Ndlovu said.

Talking to the Sunday Times about the hit list did not endanger his life any more than it already was, he said.

“If they are bent on eliminating me, then the world might as well know about it.”

He said he had long been singled out by Inkatha as one of its chief opponents. In 1983 he was lambasted by Chief Buthelezi in the Legislative Assembly.
ANC man abducted by former comrades

Nkosi said he fled into the nightclub and the Askaris bundled Dhladla into their car and drove off at high speed.

Dhladla said: "They took me to John Vorster Square where they detained me briefly before I was taken to a building somewhere towards Pretoria."

He was questioned at length about the ANC by a police captain. When the policeman realised who he was he apologised and ordered that Dhladla be taken home immediately.

"They even served me coffee," Dhladla said.

Dhladla said he was freed after five hours of interrogation. After his release, Dhladla was taken to the Soweto home where he has been living with relatives.

Dhladla said he was first threatened with death by a man called "Blondie" in the ANC camp in Lusaka before the man disappeared in 1988 to join the Askaris.

The Askaris are linked to allegations of police hit squads. The unit was at one stage allegedly headed by Brig Dirk Coetzee, who has confessed to the alleged murder of Durban lawyer Griffith Mxenge.

Dhladla, from Atteridgeville in Pretoria, fled the country to join the ANC military wing Umkonto We Sizwe in 1980. He is expected to leave tomorrow for Lusaka, where he works in the office of Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, who was also in the country for the Cape Town talks.
Those Indaba ideas have come full circle

LIFE's happy days, the Indaba is here again. However, before the jollity rises ever a con-
nection between the Indaba and happy days, let it be known: the Government has yet to agree that implementation of the Indaba proposals in Natal would make sense, and the ANC has yet to admit that the Indaba idea is not just an Inkatha thing.

Why the fuss then? As at least three points are worth mentioning.

First, it is clear to anyone who was involved in the Indaba experience of 1995 that the same scene is playing itself out at the national level today.

The attempt to get participants in the negotiations below. The details differ, but the essence is similar. 'someone' maintains its refusal to participate, and the reaction from politicians is to adduce an explanation of different arguments in the negotiations themselves.

Natal and the proposed solutions in the KwaNatal experience contained useful material for South Africa's current constitution builders, says Professor Dawid van Wyk of Unisa.

Pitfalls

So far, the Government appears to be going for the principle of innumeracy in the Natal example. Participation is by invitation and, furthermore, open to anyone who can meet the criteria that he or she must be present. This approach has its advantages, but also its pitfalls. A banning from Natal for the KwaNatal experience of 1995 has made it clear that there are some who cannot take part.

Natal has shown there is an old and authentic and it would represent the people Overwhelmingly evidence points to the probability of political representation of the people. Overwhelmingly evidence points to the probability of political interests in South Africa that can hardly be represented by two or three players.

A related lesson is that Natal was locked into the belief that because the constitutional plan of a good part of it will be accepted by those who did not participate in its framing. The Natal and its impact on the nave cover that even some who shared in the process eventually denied their role because they were not altogether happy with the outcome. Investigate the feelings of those who did not participate at all.

The second reason why Natal can be said to be on the road to victory from the events of the last two years.

Haunted

Like happiness, the smiles and evasive looking from Cape Town after the first formal meeting between the Government and the ANC will mean different things to different people. Whatever the meetings, and whatever the interpretations, it is clear a phantasmal alarm was caused, especially by those of the THABA "One..." comes to mind. The ANC was not by these guys.

The Indaba had its share of hard-boiled opponents learning they could actually talk about sensitive matters quite pleasantly, especially if the setting was conducive as well — like the imposing City Council chamber in Dur-
bantl or the stately Groote Kerk.

There is a third reason for the return of the Indaba.

The basic question that haunted the Natal was how to hurry the cry for universal suffrage with the cost of certain groups for meaningful participation in the pro-
cess of governance and protection from severe minority discrimination. The same question kung u-turns even South Africans today. The demands are quite explicit: the Government must group participation.

The third, it stated that any group claiming group participation and protection was sufficient to put the term on the agenda — to hold it off the agenda, all participants will have to be convinced.

Finally, it stated clearly that the question whether groups would be discussed at the negotiations table was not dependent on the fact that groups existed, but on the constitutional self-awareness of any such group.

The remaining debate, then, was not aimed at having groups should be protected, but at how it is possible to accommodate the fears of people with a strong sense of group identity. The Natal experience underscores this point. In a rich tapestry of ethnic groups, the over-
whelming majority of Natalians left it was unnecessary to reflect the facts in their constitution.

Agreement

The Indaba, on the other hand, concluded in 1998 that it had to do so as a result of the fact that agreement is the only way to reflect the facts in their constitution.

Fears

The importance of this was fourfold — first, they were speaking for themselves and, second, they had failed to accommodate the same group. It was left to other groups or minority to decide for themselves whether they wanted to be con-
sequently represented.

In the spirit of "let's be bypassed," it might not be too late for all concerned to start off their par-
ticipation in the negotiations with the Inter-
ational Proposals of the KwaNatal Indaba.

They should act fast for constitutional thoughts at a time when the same old problems still have to be addressed by a new Indaba.
Malan: all races should serve

It was time consideration was given to drawing national servicemen from men and women of all population groups, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on the defence vote, he said people of other groups stood shoulder to shoulder with "us whites" in protecting South Africa and its security.

The stumbling blocks of the past were disappearing.

The conduct of coloured SADF members in the unrest in Natal had made him realise again that a soldier was a soldier.

General Malan said the objection raised by Mr Walter Sisulu to the deployment of 32 Battalion in Natal was not worth the paper it was written on.

The battalion had been deployed because it was an outstandingly disciplined and neutral unit.

"In any case, the SADF will not allow anyone to prescribe to it who will be deployed where. What matters in the performance of duty is not the colour of a man's skin, but his merits and preparedness to serve."

General Malan said that at this stage there was no talk or intention of increasing the period of national service again.

He hoped the increased Citizen Force and commando commitments announced last month could be speedily reviewed.

General Malan said the findings of the Van Loggerenberg Committee on the future of the SADF and Armscor to the end of the century, and on different forms of national service, had been referred to the SADF for further handling and investigation.

The committee had an overarching mandate to "do a positioning" of the SADF and Armscor to the year 2000.

"This committee had further established a firm base with regard to problems related to air travel. This is a matter that will be taken further, in co-operation with departments and persons concerned." — Sapa.
Close encounters

TO TALK with friends only is a party. To really negotiate you need an enemy. If there is one thing last week's historic talks at Groote Schuur should teach South Africans, it is that no lasting solution will come from a group of men if the main protagonists are not engaged in the process leading up to it.

Cosy fireside chats with those whose views are known and benign may be comforting but do not take anyone much further.

That the Government and the ANC got on together like a house on fire (pardon the expression) came as no surprise to those who have watched them from close quarters during the past months and years.

Recently, they have nudged closer than even they realised before that first handshake.

Nationalists, both Patriotic by instinct. Former ideologues who are, on separate agendas, trying to get rid of the blemishes of policies past.

The Nats are trying to get rid of the notion that a political dispensation can only be constructed with the building blocks of legally enshrined racial groups.

The ANC is emerging into the real world where the facile slogans of nationalisation, armed struggle and isolation of the racist regime are fast becoming liabilities rather than trump cards to be played when the ante is being raised around the negotiating table.

That's why it was so critically important that Mr Joe Slovo was included in the ANC's team - in spite of the Government's own misgivings and Mr PW Botha's hindsight views delivered with less than 20/20 vision.

By all insider accounts, Mr Slovo was the toughest talker on the ANC side - and well he should have been.

Surprises

He represents a particular constituency within the ANC which is traditionally wary of any Government intentions. But in the end Mr Slovo — and with him the SA Communist Party — were won over to accept the contents of the Groote Schuur Minute.

What would the position have been had Mr Slovo stayed behind in Lusaka while his colleagues negotiated in Cape Town? Would they have been able to sell the deal to him? Would they ever have returned from the Zambian capital for the next rounds of talks?

Two more aides on the talks: One of the surprises on the ANC side was the performance of another expected hardliner, Mr Joe Modise, commander in chief of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

According to Government participants he impressed everybody, both during the formal talks and in the discussions in the corridors and around the braaivleis fires. Not bad for a former lorry driver.

Secondly: The age difference between the ANC and Government teams was too obvious not to have been noticed. Even with a youthful Miss Cheryl Carolan drafted in to represent the Western Cape and female constituencies, the average age on the ANC side of the table was 62 - Mr Walter Sisulu, 77, Dr Beyers Naude, 73, and Mr Mandela, 72, pushing up the numbers.

On the Government's side the oldest was Mr Gerrit Viljoen, 64, and the majority were in their mid-fifties. Mr Roelf Meyer was the youngest, at 43. One can only speculate on who are yesterday's men.

The age factor may be an unspoken, but very real, determinant of the pace of the talks yet to come. The septuagenarians in the ANC realise only too well that if there is any hope that the new South Africa will come about in their lifetime there cannot be too much stalling from their side round the negotiating table.

The first encounter turned out much better than most prophets of gloom predicted. But within the next few weeks the real issues will have to be placed on the agenda and one should expect some snags to develop.

Historic

Who will be sitting round the table when the hard negotiating starts in earnest? How will they be appointed? Should there be elections, and when? Will there be an interim government? How will a constituent assembly be made up?

What happened at Groote Schuur was historic. But some would say, that was the easy part.

Ahead lies a long and arduous process of reaching compromises on crucial issues. Talks about armistice, sanctions or the state of emergency are important, but pale into insignificance against the question of how a constitution for this new South Africa should look.

The way in which former enemies became partners in discussion was heartening to see. The trust built up over three days of talks will be tested if the utmost when the difficult stages are reached.
Simon Barber

IF, as one can only assume to be the case, Nelson Mandela’s ANC wishes to maximise its power under any new constitutional arrangement, it is strange that he should be so opposed to the notion of group rights.

No better plan can be devised for the marginalisation of minority political clout.

This is the lesson not only of Zimbabwe — where the two percent white minority achieved instant irrelevance after being guaranteed 20 seats in Parliament — but of the US where minority group protections have also been entrenched.

Next year, state legislatures will set about redrawing the boundaries of congressional districts to reflect the results of the 1990 census. A major factor in how the lines are drawn will be the 1982 amendments to the 1965 Voting Rights Act and various related court decisions.

Between them, Congress and the courts have effectively determined that the redistricting must be performed in such a way as to ensure the election of “minority” legislators in equal (or greater) proportion to the overall population size of each “minority”.

Dominate

On the theory that black people will vote only for black people, Hispanics for Hispanics and Asians for Asians, the desired proportionality is achieved by creating districts in which the majority of whose inhabitants are black, Hispanic or Asian.

Redistricting is, of course, an intensely political business. The continued ability of the Democrats to dominate the House of Representatives is at stake. They are therefore pulling out all the stops in this year’s local elections to win control of as many state legislatures as possible in order to push their maps down the Republicans’ throats.

The Republicans, knowing their chances in most state-level contests to be slim, have developed a remarkable counter-strategy based on the minority protection rules — rules, ironically, they have previously long opposed in the name of colour-blind politics.

Motives

Their logic is this: corral black voters who habitually vote Democrat into as many reservations as possible, and you will be left with a greater array of lily-white constituencies more prone to vote Republican.

Democrat-prone minorities will thus win more seats in Congress while at the same time having considerably less say in its overall composition.

To this end, the Republican National Committee is energetically encouraging minorities to play the group rights game — to the point of helping equip minority activists with PCs and software that will enable them to analyse the census data and challenge any districting plan that does not give them the number of seats to which they believe themselves entitled.

Naturally, the RNC claims the highest of motives, but it is hard to disagree with one Democratic specialist who says: “The Republicans understand they won’t have enough seats in the state legislatures to have a say in redistricting, so they are going to the minorities with this siren song of discrimination.”

Oblige

If the Republican plan is successful, black Americans will end up with less power at national level than previously. Not only will their party be less dominant in Congress, but because, by the very means of their protection, they are isolated from the majority, they will have no pull on its candidates. White politicians, elected without their help, will owe them nothing.

Were Mandela and the ANC wise in their pursuit of total power, they would oblige President F W de Klerk in his desire for minority protections, just as the Republicans are hypocritically brilliant in their encouragement of America’s black activists to pursue their own brand of group rights.

Put another way, the ANC can only lose from the truly non-racial politics Mandela professes to espouse.
Mandela due to visit Nigeria

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due in Nigeria yesterday for a four-day visit.

This is the third leg of a tour which will extend his travels outside southern Africa to Africa's most populous country, reports Sapa.

The visit comes at a difficult time for Nigeria with the atmosphere still uneasy three weeks after disaffected army officers tried to overthrow President Ibrahim Babangida.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Mandela is virtually certain to address the opening of a key meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in Nigeria this week, at which sanctions against SA will be high on the agenda.

The nine-member Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on SA meets in the new federal capital, Abuja, on Wednesday and Thursday to discuss developments inside SA.

The meeting, the first by the committee in six months, comes at a time when it has been revealed the European Community is considering a Dutch plan for the phased lifting of sanctions in response to expected major steps towards the elimination of apartheid.

Other issues to be discussed include the provision of assistance to "victims of apartheid."

However, given Mandela's insistence that sanctions only be lifted when irreversible changes have been made, it seems unlikely that the ministers will call for a relaxation of sanctions.

Comment: Page 6
Court to decide on school principal

Supreme Court Reporter

THE appointment of a Beaufort West principal, allegedly on a party-political basis, will be challenged in the Supreme Court today by two members of the school committee.

Mrs H Hugo, chairlady of St Matthew’s Primary School committee, and Mr Mike Verveen, vice-chairman, will ask for a review of the appointment of Mr George de Vos as principal.

In papers filed at the Supreme Court, they said the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Minister of Education in the House of Representatives, had not taken all relevant factors into consideration when Mr de Vos was appointed, alternatively that Mr Hendrickse had acted in bad faith and had not considered the recommendations of the school committee, the regional chief inspector and the Director of Education, that the acting principal Mr L Duimpies be permanently appointed.

The post of principal became vacant after the death of Mr A L Smit.

Mr Steven Majiedt, instructed by Wilkinson, Joshua Gikhala and Abercrombie, will appear for Mrs Hugo and Mr Verveen. Mr R G Comrie SC and Mr C B Preston SC, instructed by the state attorney, will appear for Mr Hendrickse.
Two-chamber govt to aid minorities rejected

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu yesterday dismissed the idea of a future two-chamber government which would guarantee minority rights.

Sisulu's comments were made in response to the 12-point plan outlined by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen in Parliament on Friday to guarantee minority rights.

"Minority rights have only one meaning - apartheid," Sisulu said. "The purpose of minority rights is solely to retain power.

"I am not in principle opposed to a two-chamber system of government, but I am absolutely opposed to it in the purpose for which it was proposed. Counting 'units' or groups rather than counting heads is not democracy. We are committed to a one person, one vote government."

Viljoen said during debate on his budget vote that the NF saw itself as part of a political grouping which would seek protection of rights to benefit the entire nation. He said these rights were not special privileges but instead exclusively for the benefit of the political groups seeking their protection.

"These minorities, because of their particular values and aspirations, should have a special voice in the new constitutional dispensation," he said.

The rights which the government wanted to see protected were the holding of free regular elections, a bill of individual human rights, the preservation of the free market system, the prevention of a one-party or communist dictatorship, freedom to live in particular communities and attend specific schools, the honouring of existing property rights, an independent judiciary, well-run security forces and no unjust tax systems.

Sisulu rejected several of the points, especially that own schools be run with equal state funding, saying: "We will tolerate no discrimination in any form in the schools."

Sisulu said the ANC agreed in principle with several of the points. Holding free elections, maintaining an independent judiciary and creating a bill of rights were fundamental tenets of the ANC's democratic principles, he said.

On the free-market system, Sisulu said a mixed economy combining free enterprise and nationalisation was "the ideal answer". He also said the ANC had never considered expropriation.

Viljoen said the steps were necessary to protect SA from being misled by "an unsophisticated majority vote".

However, Sisulu said: "Some blacks had the vote in SA in the 19th century, and our people always used the vote well. Majority vote is a system that works in nations around the world - there is no reason that it should not work well in SA."
**100 Reef whites join ANC**

Johannesburg. — About 100 whites in Benoni and Springs — regarded as the heart of white conservatism on the Reef — have been signed up as ANC members, according to the ANC's internal leader for the Vaal Triangle, Mr Greg Malebo.

Mr Malebo, who launched a major recruitment drive in Tokoza yesterday, claimed that the ANC was making "real gains", particularly in the 19 townships of the East Rand. — Sapa
Modise denies failure of the armed struggle

The head of the ANC’s military wing has denied that the organisation was forced to the negotiating table by a failure of the armed struggle.

In one of his first interviews in South Africa, Joe Modise, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), told The Indicator newspaper that although the ANC had always felt the problem of South Africa should be resolved peacefully, the armed struggle would be suspended only if the problems of apartheid were tackled seriously.

He said the ANC leadership and MK commanders had conducted an extensive campaign to sell the talks to their supporters.

Suspicion

He acknowledged there was suspicion in the ranks, and that cadres might embark upon “an odd action here and there” because they might not receive instructions to “act differently”.

He told The Indicator editor, Ameen Akhalwaya, that the armed struggle had not failed:

“If the armed struggle had failed, we wouldn’t have gone to Groote Schuur. The enemy would have used the force that they’ve been using over the years to suppress again.”

He said the authorities were aware of the strength of MK and that was why they had entered into negotiations.

He added: “MK is growing, our skills are growing and we have the capacity to create real trouble for this country. But it’s not in our interest. If we think that there is a better option, we’ll opt for it.”

He said, however, that, as far as MK was concerned, “true talks have not yet taken place to address the question of armed struggle”.

“The reasons that have led to the taking up of arms have not changed, they are still there intact. Initiatives have been taken by the ANC to try to revive this process of resolving this question by peaceful means.”

Mr Modise, a member of the ANC delegation to the Cape Town discussions, said the armed struggle would be suspended — but not called off — if the basic problems of apartheid were addressed.

“If the question of apartheid has been resolved, then there is no need for armed struggle.”

The MK chief said there had been mixed feelings within the ANC and MK about the meetings with the Government, but the organisation’s leaders had been “doing a lot of political work” among members and MK cadres.

Discussions

The question of negotiations had been thoroughly canvassed in extensive discussions both inside the country and in MK camps and ANC administrative offices abroad.

Mr Modise acknowledged there had been a few ANC members who were suspicious.

“We ourselves, when we came down here, were suspicious, the other side was also suspicious of us. It was during this process that we began to realise that some of the obstacles could be overcome.

“I don’t think it would be correct for me to say that one has complete trust in the other side. It is what they say and do which will get people to begin to trust in them.” — Staff Reporter.
Azapo women told they should demand their rights

By Thabo Leshilo

Sexism is the root of oppression and, unless eradicated, will continue to encourage discrimination and economic exploitation, Thandeka Mguduso of the University of South Africa's health psychology unit said in Soweto at the weekend.

Ms Mguduso was the keynote speaker at the first national congress at Jabavu of the Imbekelo Women's Organisation, the women's wing of the Azanian People's Organisation, attended by more than 500 delegates.

She said the economic and social oppression of women was part of a social system that had enriched the few at the expense of the many.

Women were denied access to accurate information about themselves and the nature of their oppression, she said.

She said women should refuse to be made helpless and dependent.

The abuse of women was so entrenched it had become hard to imagine an environment in which criticism and rejection of women was replaced by encouragement, appreciation and respect.

She said oppression came in two forms: external oppression, whereby laws, institutions and other social structures reinforced inequality; and internal oppression, whereby women had come to believe in their own inferiority, worthlessness and powerlessness.
Mandela urges West not to ease sanctions

LUANDA — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Western nations not to ease sanctions against South Africa.

"We have called on the international community to isolate South Africa and that is still our position," Mr Mandela told a news conference in the Angolan capital at the end of an official visit.

Asked whether he intended to run for president in any future democratic elections in South Africa, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to indicate that I have no such ambition. I will do what the ANC and the South African people require me to do."

Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to compromise with President de Klerk on several points, but demands for one person, one vote were not negotiable.

Mr Mandela pledged a Bill of Rights to "guarantee fundamental human rights to all sections of the population".

Mr Mandela is scheduled to attend the fifth meeting of the nine-member British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' committee on South Africa, which opens in Lagos tomorrow.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng said in Windhoek yesterday that President de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

Mr Mothopeng said Mr de Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation and had apparently warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions by the American Congress. He said President de Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force". — Sapa-Associated Press.
ANC is not negotiating yet - Sayco

By NKOPANE MAKOBA

THE ANC was being falsely accused by certain organisations and newspapers of having entered negotiations on its own, the South African Youth Congress said at the weekend.

In a hard-hitting statement, Sayco publicity secretary Mr Park's Mankahlana said the false impression was being created that the ANC had begun negotiations with the Government to the exclusion of other organisations.

"The Cape Town meeting did not signal the beginning of negotiations, it was merely aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to negotiations," said Mankahlana.
Churches to discuss exiles

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to hold a three-day national consultation to prepare for the return of South African exiles.

The meeting, to be held from today at Koinonia in Johannesburg, will seek to clarify the role of the church on the return of exiles, according to the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC.

Chikane said the meeting would be attended by members of the SACC. The Baptist Convention of South Africa and the National Baptist Convention have also been invited, he said.

He said a broader consultation involving liberation movements such as the ANC, the Black Consciousness Movement and the PAC would take place immediately afterwards.

Last month the SACC had a consultative meeting with the ANC in Lusaka on the issue.
Mandela thanks Nigeria

LAGOS - ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping win his release.

Mandela was speaking to thousands at the national soccer stadium in Lagos.

The crowd roared, interrupting Mandela when he said: "As you know, I have been in prison for 27 years." After the roar subsided, he continued: "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release. With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria.

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of Nigeria."

He leaves Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria. - Sapa-AP.
ANC ready to lay down arms

Talks need a chance

MK prepared for ceasefire

THE military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is prepared to suspend the armed struggle to give negotiations a chance.

This was the message delivered by MK commander Mr Joe Modise in an interview with the Lenasia, Johannesburg-based community newsletter, the Indicator.

Modise indicated a ceasefire might be initiated if the working group, comprising the ANC and the Government, reached an agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

The working group is due to report back by May 21.

Modise, who was a member of the ANC delegation at the historic talks at Groote Schuur, warned that MK had the capacity to "cause real trouble!" but if there was a better alternative "we will opt for it".

He pointed out that apartheid was still in operation and that remained a major obstacle which would have to be overcome.

The ANC had always taken the view that the problem of South Africa was political and as such, should be resolved peacefully.

Positive response

Modise said the ANC had only taken up arms when its efforts talk to the white establishment failed.

"The reasons that led to the taking up of arms have not changed - they are still there," he said. "Fortunately, there has now been a positive response, hence the talks at Groote Schuur.

"The cause of the suffering and violence in our country was largely brought about by apartheid and if this question is resolved, there is no need for armed struggle which would then fall away.

"The greater part of the violence that we are seeing here has been State-sponsored, directed against the people to defend apartheid, to force apartheid on the

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Communication available to the Government with men scattered over the country.

"It is possible some of them may not get the instructions to act differently because there is an agreement and you may find the odd action here and there."

"But the soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are basically disciplined and committed to the policies of the ANC and they respect its authority." - Sapa.

Leadership

At each stage of the negotiations, the leadership would go back and explain every aspect. In this way, the rank and file would be kept solidly behind the movement.

Modise said MK did not have the means of...
Compromise is out, PAC’s Shinners

By SY MAKARINGE

THE economy must remain in the hands of the people if economic imbalances in South Africa were to be addressed, Mr. Mark Shinners, executive member of the PAC, said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of the Azanian National Youth Unity in Diepkloof, Soweto, Shinners said socialism was morally right and the PAC was not prepared to compromise on it.

The rally, the first in a series organised by Azanyu, was attended by more than 600 people.

Shinners, who was convicted for treason in the marathon Bethal trial, said socialism was seen as the rotten egg by certain people but when the Government came to power it used State funds to solve the “poor white problem”.

He condemned negotiations with the “Government”, saying the PAC would not negotiate until the land question, among other demands, had been fully addressed.

“Too be invited to the negotiation table means that we are on our knees. We refuse to be seduced by material incentives.

“Another moment in our history, the oppressor is using the same method that he has been using effectively over the years, that of divide and rule. He is drawing some of us away from the struggle,” Shinners said.

He said those who dominated never sacrificed their power.

Mr. Ntsie Mohloali, vice-president of Azanyu, said people who said there was competition between the PAC and the ANC were “misdirecting the struggle”.

He condemned negotiations with the “Government”, saying the PAC would not negotiate until the land question, among other demands, had been fully addressed.
Fight for land
Imbeleko head

By SONTI MASEKO

The oppressed people should fight for the repossession of the land and its resources rather than waste energy fighting apartheid, a speaker told a Black Consciousness women’s gathering in Soweto at the weekend.

Addressing the first annual congress of the Imbeleko Women’s Organisation, held at the Evangelical Lutheran Church Centre in Soweto, Rose Ngwenya told delegates that even when apartheid had been scrapped, many black people would still find themselves staying in shacks, unemployed and starving.

Delegates
Imbeleko is a formation of the Azapo.

“We should not be misled by talk that when apartheid is scrapped we shall have attained true liberation,” Ngwenya said.

Close to 400 delegates from branches in the northern Transvaal, Soweto and the East Rand, the Free State and Natal attended the congress, the first since the organisation was founded in 1987.

Ngwenya urged the women to commit themselves to ending the violence in the townships. “Our immediate task as mothers, workers and revolutionaries is to make sure that there is peace in our country,” she said.

The congress focused on privatisation, the Group Areas Act and negotiations.

On negotiations, Ngwenya said the Government still controlled the economy, the army, the keys to jails and the jails themselves, and the oppressed needed to ask themselves first how much power they had to begin negotiating.

Delivering the keynote address, clinical psychologist Ms Thandeka Mpdoako said the liberation of women would also mean the liberation of men as the two were interlinked.
The real victor

PRESIDENT PW de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the Government and the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng said yesterday.

Addressing more than 2,000 mourners at the funeral of top PAC official Synod Madlebe in Umtata, Mothopeng said De Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation.

He had apparently also warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions under consideration by the United States Congress.

Mothopeng said De Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force".

Mr M Manqangwaum, the PAC's Queenstown representative, told the mourners that the future of black people was being decided behind closed doors. - Sapa.
February 11 this year.

Mr. Nelson Mandela and Miss Winnie Mandela smile well-wishers after his release from Victor Verster Prison.

A legend emerged: activist, prisoner, an entwined myth. Authority forged by lonely years in jail.
Anti-council rent boycott

ALBERTON. — Tokoza township leaders warned at a meeting yesterday that talks between the government and the ANC could be jeopardised unless the government ordered the Transvaal Provincial Administration to "disband" "illegitimate" town councils.

They backed a rent boycott until the findings of an inquiry into maladministration and corruption in the Tokoza Town Council were made known, and called for support for the ANC.

— Sapa
JOHANNESBURG. — The military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), is prepared to suspend the armed struggle to give negotiations a chance.

This was the message delivered by MK commander Mr Joe Modise in an interview with the Lenasia, Johannesburg-based community newsletter, the Indicator.

Mr Modise indicated a ceasefire might be initiated if the working group, comprising the ANC and the government, reach agreement on removing obstacles to further negotiations.

The working group is due to report back by May 31.

Mr Modise, a member of the ANC delegation at the historic talks at Groote Schuur, warned that MK had the capacity to "create real trouble" but if there was a better alternative "we will opt for it".

He pointed out that apartheid was still in operation and this remained a major obstacle to be overcome.

Rethink likely on armed struggle

The ANC had always taken the view that the problems of South Africa were political and as such, should be resolved peacefully. The ANC had only taken up arms when its efforts talk to the white establishment failed.

Asked if MK soldiers would accept a decision to call off the fighting if the negotiating process succeeded, Mr Modise said he did not foresee any problem.

"The soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are basically disciplined and committed to the policies of the ANC and they respect its authority," he said. — Sapa
LAGOS, Nigeria. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping to win his release.

Mr Mandela, who flew here from Luanda, Angola, told a crowd of thousands at the national soccer stadium: "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release. With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria.

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of Nigeria."

Mr Mandela said Nigeria had helped the black cause in many international bodies, including the United Nations. It also provided financial and material support to the ANC.

Mr Mandela, on a tour of African nations, was met by Rear-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, the second-ranking man in the country's military government, on his arrival yesterday afternoon. After the rally he was scheduled to meet the Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr Mandela is to leave Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria. — Sapa-AP
Nigeria gives Mandela highest honour

LAGOS - Nigeria yesterday awarded South African black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela one of its highest honours, praising him as the ambassador of freedom.

"Nelson Mandela is a source of inspiration for all humanity...the ambassador of extraordinary of freedom and justice," said President Ibrahim Babangida, the military leader of Africa's most populous nation.

He made the 71-year-old African National Congress (ANC) deputy president a Commander of the Order of the Niger, an honour previously granted to only one foreigner, British anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston.

Accepting the award, Mandela said that he did so on behalf of the leadership of the ANC and the people of South Africa.

"No single individual can assume the role of a hero or a messiah. Honours received must be understood as given to the organisation to which he belongs and the people he represents," he said.

He said ANC's goal - dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system of racial discrimination - required unity between progressive groups.

"Political tolerance is the spirit (which informs our) relationship with the democratic forces, and with the government," he said.

He said he had had one formal, and several informal meetings recently with South Africa's reformist president FW de Klerk. Both had insisted on dealing with issues which would bring the two sides together rather than drive them apart, Mandela said.

Mandela and his wife, Winnie, are touring seven African countries. - Sapa.
Students ask Naude and Gordimer to stay away

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Students at the University of Durban-Westville have asked author Nadine Gordimer and Dr Beyers Naude to stay away from a ceremony at which honorary degrees would have been conferred on them.

A student leader said they had made a call for a boycott of the ceremony because to do otherwise would amount to "thanking the masters of apartheid education".

Dr Naude has been an opponent of the Government for many years. He was a member of the ANC delegation to the Groote Schuur talks with the Government earlier this month.

Deferred

Miss Gordimer, too, is known as an opponent of apartheid.

The university's council chairman, Dr Yousof Minty, said yesterday the conferring of honorary degrees on Miss Gordimer and Dr Naude has been deferred.

He said the degrees would be conferred, but at a later stage, in accordance with requests from Miss Gordimer and Dr Naude.

Both of them kept away from the university's graduation ceremony over the weekend, though according to Dr Minty they had accepted the honorary degrees two months ago.

Miss Gordimer was to be honoured with the degree of Doctor of Literature and Dr Naude with a Doctor of Theology degree.

Miss Gordimer said she and Dr Naude had received messages from the university's student representative council politely asking them, on moral grounds, not to attend the ceremony.

"I want to stress that we were never pressured to take this decision," said Miss Gordimer.

A meeting called by the SRC was attended by members of the university's Combined Staff Association, the National Education Crisis Committee, the African National Congress, the South African National Students' Congress and the Union of Democratic Staff Associations.

It was decided that Miss Gordimer and Dr Naude should be asked to stay away.
ANC needs local agency to help with its image MD

THE ANC should be negotiating with South African advertising agencies, because its local image could do with a bit of polishing, says recently-appointed Bates Wells MD Dave Kelly.

He was responding to a statement by the ANC’s chief representative in Britain, Mendi Msinga, that Saatchi & Saatchi had formally approached him — and been granted — an opportunity to present a proposal “relevant to the ANC”.

Kelly felt SA adpeople had a better knowledge and understanding of the country’s complex problems than overseas agencies.

There was no doubt the ANC and SA adpeople, who understood the complex local market well, should be talking to each other.

Two problems the ANC faced in SA included a lack of focus in terms of what it was saying and the consistency of its message, he said.

“For example, it needs to sit down and define a clear-cut message on nationalisation through professional means.” This could allow it a measure of control over what was attributed to it on the subject.

“It would also make sense for them to talk to people like ourselves, because we have done a lot of research on issues such as the black market and the general emotional environment in SA,” said Kelly.

The ANC also needed to address those South Africans who felt “insecure and fearful” of the organisation and what it was about.

“Insecurity is invariably the result of a lack of knowledge, and the ANC could do an enormous amount of good by allaying these fears.”

Kelly said one of the ANC’s “departure points” could be to neutralise fears in the first world component of SA, including big business.

A decision 18 months ago by Saatchi’s SA affiliate Klerck & White not to take on political campaigns appears to rule out the possibility of this agency taking on an ANC campaign if Saatchi got the account. But it would not prevent Saatchi itself from placing ads in SA, or even hiring a media broker.

A Saatchi spokesman declined to comment on discussions with the ANC, which is also said to be talking to other London-based agencies.
Mandela to address US Congress

WASHINGTON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will address a joint session of the US Congress next month — the highest honour US lawmakers can pay a visiting dignitary.

During his US trip Mandela would meet President George Bush at the White House, and would be feted with a ticker-tape parade in New York City, ANC organisers said yesterday.

Mandela would visit Washington and five other cities and hold meetings with congressional leaders towards the end of June, said a release from Fenton Communications, which represents the ANC.

Mandela is touring several African states and was yesterday in Nigeria, where President Ibrahim Babangida praised him as a source of inspiration to all humanity.

An ANC source in New York said Mandela would arrive on June 20. Details of his visit would be publicised today.

Bush invited Mandela to the US soon after his release from prison in February.

Bush has also invited President F W de Klerk to visit Washington and officials are currently arranging the dates. — Sapa-AP.
Clearing the air on talks
Harare document guides ANC

suppression of peaceful protests, and so on.
Apartheid repression has also spawned many “ unofficial” forms of violence, for example hit squads and vigilantes.

While we interpret the reference to violence and intimidation as addressed, in the first place, to the forces of apartheid and further to the right, we recognise that some of our followers have been involved in acts of indiscriminate violence.
It is part of our duty in establishing the ANC as a mass legal presence to ensure that this does not continue and that we spread understanding of our policies by reasoning, not by any form of intimidation.

Short-sighted

This is a commitment born out of confidence in our policies and also a sense that it is both morally wrong and short-sighted to believe that followers can be won over by violence. This goal can only be won through establishing strong grassroots structures, organised on a disciplined basis.

The reference to a “commit ment” to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations is nothing new, nor a compromise on the part of the ANC. The entire history of our organisation is related to attempts to seek peace.
The path of armed struggle was not chosen by us, but forced on the ANC by its banning and the violent response to our protests.
In South Africa, as in any society, whether or not a person has to resort to violent or illegal means is not determined in the first place by the oppressed, but by the response of the oppressor to their demands.

If a non-racial democratic society can be established without further bloodshed, we would prefer that. We want peace. But we want a just peace where democracy is assured.

Flouting from this commitment, in the preamble, the Government and the ANC agreed to establish a working group, composed of ANC and Government representatives, “to make recommendations on a definition of political offences in the SA situation.”
The mandate includes discussing “time-scales” and advising on norms and mechanisms for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity to people who may have committed political offences inside or outside the country.
The working group is mandated to bear in mind the experiences in Namibia where the release of political prisoners included a process of defining who would qualify for such status. The urgency of the group’s task is emphasised by the statement that it “will aim to complete its work before May 21 1990.”

Immunity

Special arrangements are envisaged to enable the ANC to operate as a normal political organisation.
The agreement states that “temporary immunity from prosecution for political offences committed before today, will be considered on an urgent basis for members of the National Executive Committee and other selected members of the ANC from outside the country.”
This will “enable them to return and help with the establishment and management of political activities, to assist in bringing violence to an end and to take part in peaceful political negotiations.”
“The Government undertakes to review existing security legislation and to work towards the lifting of the state of emergency.”
There are numerous factors that impact on Government decisions. “Taking into account that some of these may militate against implementation of this agreement.”

Constituency

There are many factors in the Government’s constituency that may, at some stage, cause them to hesitate in implementing the spirit of the agreement.
But our constituency demands that we ensure that the agreement be speedily implemented and thus bring us to the point where obstacles to negotiations are removed.
The agreement does not entail any limit on our normal political activities. That is why we will not relax in our struggle to free South Africa and create non-racial democracy. It is through such struggles that we force the Government to address these issues and meet our representatives.
Drawing the voting lines is the first step to a new SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

and

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orowitz offers neither as a panacea. What matters is that any pro-
posed system should instil a “culture of compromise” and ultimately
make for the kind of “floating majorities” that are the scourge of
Western majority rule. That parties in SA will continue to be racially or
demographically based is not only a given, but must be accepted as legitimate.
The key is to make them appeal for votes across racial and ethnic lines instead of
depending on special rights and protections.

The negotiation of a system that will do this Horowitz concludes, will
take time but is more important than a bill of rights or an inde-
pendent judiciary. Though essential, such institutions will be worthless unless SA gets its politics right first.
ANC unhappy about terms of indemnity for top members

JOHANNESBURG: — The African National Congress was far from satisfied with the government’s granting of a three-month indemnity for its top 38 members, the organisation said today.

Although it welcomed the move, the period of the indemnity and the limited number of people who would benefit from it were unsatisfactory, said internal ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen granted the indemnity on the entire ANC national executive committee and four others required to take part in the working group set up by the government and the ANC during their recent talks.

Dr Viljoen made the announcement in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette at the weekend.

Asked if the 38 ANC members, including president of the organisation Mr Oliver Tambo, would come home immediately, Mr Kathrada said a decision would be taken soon.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said he would meet the ANC members involved in the working group today, and would hear from them what the implications were of the conditions of the indemnity.

The executive members who will benefit from the indemnity are:


Neither Mr Sisulu nor Mr Kathrada knew who the other four people were, but they were thought to include Jill Marcus and Jeremy Cronin.
Mandela showered with awards on Nigerian trip

LAGOS. — Mr Nelson Mandela has received Nigeria’s highest honour, the Great Commander of the Order of the Niger. Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida conferred the award on Mr Mandela yesterday.

General Babangida said: “We realise and accept with a full sense of duty and responsibility that now, more than ever before, when the apartheid beast is wounded, is the time to redouble our dedication to the total destruction of that inhuman system.

“We have had no doubt, nor for one single moment, that your struggle is our struggle and your victory, which must come, is also our victory.”

Mr Mandela also belatedly received a City of Glasgow award, originally issued while he was in prison.

Mr Mandela said he accepted the awards on behalf of the ANC. “No single individual can assume the role of hero, the role of Messiah, believing that he can bring about solutions overnight.

“Let me warn you immediately that it is a pleasure to be showered with a large variety of gifts, with awards by famous centres, famous institutions and famous men and women.

“But if the recipients of these gifts and honors come to believe that they are heroes, that they are Messiahs, they are likely to bring more problems than they can solve.”

Mr Mandela also received an honorary doctorate of laws degree from the University of Lagos.

Today Mr Mandela is to attend a meeting of foreign ministers of the British Commonwealth committee on South Africa.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Mr Mandela is to be showered with a ticker-tape parade in New York when he visits the United States for 10 days in June.

Other highlights in what will be a triumphal tour of the US between June 20 and 30 will include a meeting with President George Bush at the White House and an address by Mr Mandela to a joint session of Congress. — Sapa-AP.
Women activists

... and the price they pay

By SIZAKELE KOMA

The price women and their families have had to pay for their activism, the difficulties they have had growing up in a racist and sexist society, the pain they have endured and the dreams they cherish for a new South Africa, have been brought together in a book by American writer Professor Diana Russell.

The book details the lives of 24 women activists, among them Ruth Mompati, Albertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, Emma Mashinini, Shabibi Issel and Helen Joseph.

It spans a diversity of races, classes and ages.

From the 60 interviews she selected 24 for the book Lives of Courage.

The women speak of their haunted existence - house arrests, bannings, imprisonment and torture - under the system of apartheid.

Their anxieties and fears for their children and of being harased or raped in prison are echoed in the book.

Mashinini, a Soweto trade unionist, told of her six months in solitary confinement.

She said: "There was a day when I sat and thought about my family.

'Saw' body

"I saw my husband, I saw my father, I saw everybody and then I saw my baby's face."

"I wanted to recall her by name, but I had forgotten what it was."

Mompati, an ANC national executive council member, talked of leaving her children behind when she went into exile in 1962.

They joined her in exile 10 years after she had left.

Details of life in prison - filthy blankets,lice and cockroaches and worms in half-cooked food, the martyrodoms of solitary confinement, gang rape and electric shock administered on pregnant women, are illustrated in the book.

Co-author

Dr Mamphela Ramphele, co-author of Uprooting Poverty and one of the well-known people who reviewed the books, said of it:

"By focusing on women as individuals and not as mothers, as wives, and as daughters, Lives of Courage makes a very important and valuable contribution.

"In doing so, it differs from the usual way that women are perceived in South Africa, and puts the issue of women as people on the national agenda."

Russell told an Idasa meeting that most of the women interviewed were not feminists, but people who cared about the sexism in this country.

They felt they had removed their power.

She said women in the struggle differed from their male counterparts and these differences were highlighted in the book.

Project

Idasa had invited her as part of their project to get women to talk about the current political situation and make contributions that would facilitate the realization of a future South Africa desired by every South African.
Cheers as Sachs visits Sacs

ANC legal expert and car-bomb victim Mr Albie Sachs yesterday returned to his old school for the first time and was given a rousing welcome by former classmates, teachers and present pupils of South African College Schools, Sacs.

Apart from having a strong early influence on him, the Newlands school had remained uppermost in his mind whenever filling in forms overseas which asked what school he had attended, Mr Sachs told a fascinated audience.

"Can you imagine the confusion as I told them, "Sachs from Sacs?" he asked.
JOHANNESBURG. — A state witness in the trial of Mr Jerry Richardson, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital in January last year with a 3cm stab wound in the neck. Dr V M Brecon told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Dr Brecon gave evidence in the trial of Mr Richardson, 41, who has pleaded not guilty to the alleged murder of 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipie, whose decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.

Mr Richardson has also pleaded not guilty to the attempted murder of Mr Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Dr Brecon told the court Mr Ikaneng received the stab wound in the left side of the neck, regarded as a dangerous area, close to the major vessels, the oesophagus and the spinal cord. Mr Ikaneng was treated for two weeks.

On Friday Mr Ikaneng told the court he was taken by a group of people led by Mr Richard ardson to open veld in Soweto where, he said, Mr Richardson stabbed him with a garden shear blade. Later, after his assailants had left him to die, he was taken by an ambulance to Baragwanath.

Evidence given by forensic experts yesterday was that traces of blood were found on Mrs Winnie Mandela's minibus, confiscated near Jan Smuts Airport, and there were also blood traces on a Nissan vehicle and in two outside rooms at Mrs Mandela's house.

Forensic experts testified that blood traces were also found on a sjambok and a pair of shoes found by police when they raided Mrs Mandela's house in February last year.

The case continues today. — Sapa
Mandela to meet Bush next month

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is to meet President George Bush at the White House next month.

He will address a joint session of Congress — the highest honour lawmakers can pay visiting dignitaries — and hold meetings with congressional leaders.

An ANC source in New York said Mr Mandela would visit Washington and five other US cities at the end of June.

The invitation was issued by Mr Bush in a personal telephone call in February, soon after Mr Mandela was released from prison.

It is believed Mr Mandela will urge America to keep economic sanctions against South Africa.

However, the Bush administration has indicated it might be willing to ease some of the restrictions.

Mr Bush has also invited President F W de Klerk to visit Washington, and officials on both sides are trying to arrange the dates. — Sapa-AP
ANC fumes over FW-Bush talks

He suggested that the US administration had deliberately violated "understandings" with the ANC that Mandela would precede De Klerk in visiting the White House. It was unclear, however, whether Maiming and two colleagues who appeared with him, chief US representative Lindiwe Mabuza and UN representative Tebogo Mafole, were following instructions from Lusaka or advice from leading anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson.

White House spokesman Alice Glenn

US visit confirmed that Bush expected to see De Klerk on June 18.

Mabuza said Mandela would arrive in New York on June 23 and expected to meet Bush between June 24 and 25. The White House said no firm date had yet been fixed.

Robinson, who is co-ordinating Mandela's visit, said the US president's decision to see De Klerk "the week before Nelson Mandela comes to the US is a demonstration of insensitivity of which I did not know George Bush to be capable".

At least one prominent member of Congress has already indicated that because of the timing of De Klerk's visit, he will not be able to give the SA leader the kind of welcome he would have liked.

Mandela's schedule includes a ticker tape parade in New York and an appearance before a joint session of Congress — an honour most recently accorded to Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel.
Unravelling motives: old and new feuds overlap

The struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC has spread from the large urban concentrations to several rural areas. It has taken different forms.

At Table Mountain, outside Maritzburg, a traditional chief has aligned himself with the ANC -- and especially on the lower South Coast -- it has taken the form of youth mobilisation in opposition to Inkatha.

Such a struggle inevitably overlaps with clan-based factional alignments (usually based on competition for scarce resources, followed by blood feuds), which have smouldered in parts of Natal for decades. In places they are difficult to distinguish.

When the occupants of a minibus are massacred in an ambush at midday, it is part of the Umhlangana faction fight (a disputed chieftaincy) or part of the urban struggle in Mphumalanga or KwaZulu, which are not too far away.

When a clan claims attack and burn out the territory at Table Mountain, the virtual beheading of a chief (the Mphamulo clan) is over their territorial dispute, which dates back to 1935.

The conflict between Inkatha and the UDF/ANC is sometimes difficult to distinguish from clan-based fights. In the third of a series on the Natal violence, The Star looks at this issue.

It might be both. It is not easy to unravel.

Chief Maphumulo (who has disappeared from public view since the attack on his territory) is an interesting and enigmatic figure.

Opposition

He was chairman of the Mphumalanga Regional Authority, an organ of the KwaZulu Government, yet had been an Inkatha head for years with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He attempted to form a party in opposition to Inkatha, then won a case in the Supreme Court against the KwaZulu government, which had attempted to depose him from the chieftaincy.

He allowed large numbers of refugees from unrest areas to settle in his kingdom, quickly building up a youthful, radicalised population in an area that was otherwise traditional and an Inkatha stronghold.

Then came Conflict (in association with the neighboring Ximba clan) and, not too long after its formation, the attacks and the burnings.

His radicalised youth fled to Maritzburg.

Today Chief Maphumulo's area is being administered by his traditional indunas (which is not quite the same thing as by Inkatha).

Chief Maphumulo, chairman of Mphumalanga Regional Authority, chief of Table Mountain, president of Contrailer -- and now in hiding -- seems to provide some kind of nexus between the struggle in urban Mphumalanga and rural Table Mountain.

The lower South Coast has suddenly become a cauldron of violence.

In the previously serene Umzimkulu district, more than 40 people died in a month of shootings and burnings. Similar incidents have happened in the townships outside Port Elizabeth, where even children have been decapitated.

A prominent feature of this violence is the number of abatatholi (witch doctors) who have been victims. Witch-burning has never been a feature of Zulu society, and police wonder if it might be part of a campaign to undermine anything traditional.

Rallying

Four lesser chiefs at Umzimkulu have virtually given himself to the ANC.

Two stronger ones are standing firm and rallying people against what they say is a deliberate UDF/ANC campaign of violence against the institution of chieftaincy.

Dr Dluzno, a member of the ANC's governing committee for southern Natal, says Inkatha has reacted violently to legitimate mobilisation.
Grappling with the new SA

‘Neurotics getting worse, psychotics getting better’

Only when the goals have been defined can the question of political options be addressed in seeking to solve South Africa’s problems, argues Professor HERMANN GILIOMEE, political academic from the University of Cape Town.

Having been told they will not have to face the Conservative Party in another election, most caucus members are prepared to compensate any agreements reached by the leadership.

But there does not seem to be any coherent thought about how the NP can win a constitutional referendum or how it should re-formulate its identity from a racial party to a vehicle for minorities across racial lines.

Psychotics and neurotics do not have things all wrong, but one must look for a more balanced perspective somewhere between the two extremes.

So where does South Africa stand after the Groote Schuur talks?

There is none of the personal animosity between leaders of the main antagonists which has bedevilled peace negotiations in other communal conflicts.

Equally positive is the fact that South Africa at this stage is blissfully free from any foreign intervention on behalf of one or more of the parties.

The Groote Schuur talks demonstrated a common commitment to resolve the issue as an internal South Africa affair.

It is foreign meddling which has made communal conflicts elsewhere so intractable.

On the negative side, it is clear that the parties are still far apart about the purposes and goals of negotiations and about a mutually acceptable process to achieve these goals.

The ANC leadership at the Swartkop rally following the talks made it quite explicit that for the movement the purpose of negotiations was to settle once and for all the issue of political power.

Only by granting the majority power would the dignity, status and honour of blacks be secured.

It is in line with this demand that Mr. Mandela does not even want to have group or minority rights discussed at the negotiations.

This must be very disconcerting to the Government since Mr. Mandela last year started the current process by writing to Mr. P.W. Botha that the demand for majority rule must be reconciled with "the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks".

For the Government, on the other hand, negotiations are seen as a framework for problem-solving.

If the main problems of South Africa are a stagnant economy, low worker productivity, discrimination and massive poverty, the solution is for the Government and the ANC to sit together and form the conditions for economic growth, social renewal and a system free of discrimination.

Due to those conflicting approaches there is also a clash over an acceptable process of negotia-

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More depressed

The neurotics, on the other hand, have much to make them even more nervous and depressed.

The ANC delegation, with two or three exceptions, were all members of the South African Communist Party. Those who are not are firmly committed to retain the ties between the ANC and SACP. The entire organisational structure of the ANC is in SACP hands.

ANC-supporting publications continue with the rhetoric of war, depicting negotiations as yet another site for struggle on the road to full, unqualified victory.

To make matters worse for neurotics, the National Party, as the other major pillar in the negotiations structure, looks bewildered and bemused.
ANC dissidents released into care of black church

Staff Reporter

Eight dissident members of the African National Congress who were held in terms of the Internal Security Act after their return to South Africa in April were released yesterday, said a spokesman for the police in Pretoria.

The group, consisting of six men, two women and two of their children, were detained on April 24, the same day the Government tabled a Bill to grant temporary immunity and indemnity against arrest for returning exiles.

It is understood that during their detention their backgrounds were investigated.

The children were allowed to stay with their mothers during the detention.

Members of the group, including a former commander in the ANC's armed wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe — were reported to have been participants in the 1984 Mkata Shinga rebellion against the ANC in Angola.

The group had given themselves up to a South African mission in an undisclosed African state.

They returned to South Africa from Malawi and it was said at the time of their arrest they had prepared a document detailing their experiences at the hands of the ANC.

Families

It is understood that on their release yesterday they were taken into the care of a Pretoria-based black church while they sought their families.

On their arrest in South Africa, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the group would probably be "debriefed" by the Security Police and were probably arrested for their own protection.

He also said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents.
A dream called home

WHILE Albie Sachs was lying in a Maputo hospital recovering from the bomb blast that cost him an arm and left him partially blinded, he had three dreams — to run on Clifton beach, climb Table Mountain and attend a dance.

This week, Sachs realized one of those dreams when, back on a whistle-stop visit to Cape Town, he spent four hours on Table Mountain.

The ANC constitutional guidelines expert says the four hours were the highlight of his return.

"The most meaningful thing for me was to walk on Table Mountain again. The mountain is my area of independence; being back there was an important part of my re-engagement with Cape Town."

"Together with watching the beach and dancing, walking on the mountain symbolizes my physical recovery," Sachs says.

Sachs plans to write in Cape Town. He jokes that his return is like a hire-purchase agreement; this visit is the first installment.

After 24 years in exile, his first impressions of the Mother City were mixed.

"We were struck by Cape Town's beauty and what the fine people put together. But it is now a much steadier, more reliable place."

It took a few more visits for Sachs to find several groups that together make up the composite geopolitical area called Cape Town, he says.

In Maputo

Sachs finds that his years in exile have made him highly aware of the beauty of the landscape, the quirks of personality, the richness of life — and that this is not exclusively expressed by South African artists.

Earlier this year, he evoked a storm of debate with a paper in which he argued that the phrase, "Culture is a weapon of struggle," should be outlawed.

The widespread response to the paper delighted Sachs.

"It is thrilling to see the debate evoked by my paper on culture, I was reacting to a certain emphasis. Now I must react to the reactions."

"I certainly did not mean our artists must exclude the struggle from their vision and write stories about love in Brazil instead."

"The point is that the struggle enters naturally into our vision. I would like to see artists doing more to explore fearlessly the contradictions and dynamics produced by this," says Sachs.

"In Maputo, I lived through and experienced the most extraordinary and profound situations of joy, drama, tears and heroism. In Cape Town, I am aware of this reflected in our cultural activity."

"There's a bounce and a very ANC style here that is a world away from the morose melancholy in life — but not in our writings.

"I was joking when I doubted whether composers spoke about the white working class. And when they went to bed, I have been informed both in Cape Town and in Lusaka that this is in fact the case.

"Maybe my next paper should be about sex assignation for various revolutionaries." Sachs believes the question of identity is important. People think revolutionaries have to be hard — which comes to mean insensitive and inflexible.

Back in Cape Town after twenty-four years of exile, ANC legal expert Albie Sachs spoke in his personal capacity to CHIARA CARTER about a wide range of topics.

The exclusive interview covers his homeward journey, the state of South African culture, politics, relationships and his idea of retribution for the blast which left him partially blinded and without an arm:

"We need economic transformation. We also need cultural and psychological transformation.

"This is a country of complexities. We have more problems than gold. We need to find a way of shedding complacency of inferiority and superiority. The best way is through struggle, activity and education."
Much has changed…but much remains the same.

Looking back at the '76 riots.

By RODNEY PINDER

THIRTEEN years on, much has changed in South Africa, but a lot remains the same and that awful word ‘apartheid’ still constricts human relationships.

Blacks are more confident now than when I first reported on South Africa in 1977, a year after the Soweto riots set change in motion. They look the whites in the eye in a way they rarely did then.

Returning after a decade, it is apparent that although race relations have eased considerably and intermingling has become commonplace in public most whites still meet blacks on a personal level as boss and worker, master or madam and servant.

Little brass bells tinkled at table by whites still are answered with a humble “Yes, master?”

Street

Nelson Mandela, the celebrated prisoner of Robben Island in 1977, now is free and unimaginable then — his face adorns a million pictures and T-shirts in street markets and shops.

But he bemoans the barrier that still stands between a truly non-racial future: “The deadly weight of the terrible tradition of ‘dialogue’ between master and servant…”

The white boss — “baas” in Afrikaans — still seems equally a prisoner of this unbalanced relationship, even more so as blacks become liberated.

In his select suburb, he shelters behind thick walls, razor wire and watchdogs, turning the back of his home to the overwhelmingly black world outside for fear it breaks in.

Terrified

Johannesburg, the gold rush city, was always rough, tough and frontier-like. But as crime rises with mass expectations, the white community, even more than in the ‘70s, shows a face terrified of murder, rape, beating or burglary.

Everyone has a guard system, every purse a panic button, every car its own infra-red car alarm, and the cities warble to their alarm sounds.

Prosperity is the other white face and it looks even richer than in 1977, despite punitive sanctions.

The shiny malls with their designer shops would be familiar in America. There are more BMWs, Mercedes and Rolls Royces per kerbside than in New York.

Cheap black labour still lies underneath. Even in modern cities roads are maintained by “Afromatics” — black gangs working under the stare of a lone white boss — although in most restaurants and even in supermarkets the black cleaners have replaced blacks on their knees who used to brush the carpet at the feet of white diners.

Difference

Top Hollywood movies open here about the same time as in Europe and cinemas run long American cigarette ads, the only difference in 10 years being that Americans don’t smoke any more.

The state has relaxed in stranglehold on black politics — revolutionaries now appear on television and are quoted freely — but not, in Caveland South Africa, on sex, for any race.

The ban on “Part Of My Soul” by Winnie Mandela has been lifted as has that on Lenin’s “Letters From Afar”, but Playboy remains beyond the pale and it is an offence to import a T-shirt with a drawing of Mickey and Minnie Mouse “in a sexual position”.

The races mingle happily around Zoo Lake in central Johannesburg whereas in 1977 it was exclusively white. The segregated park benches of petty apartheid have gone and Zoo Park looks like New York’s Central Park, down to the dance floors.

Enquiries

Around January this year, I included gardening on my very short list of hobbies. Within a month after I started, I wanted to kick myself for being such a late starter.

I was beginning to reap the benefits. To use a pick and a spade, dirtying your hands in putting into physical contact with the soil is exciting and refreshing. Both mentally and physically.

Linking mental and manual labour lifts you up spiritually and it harmonises one’s body and soul.

I’m feeling so good about it that I’m now trying to work out a way of encouraging people in my neighbourhood and everywhere else to form themselves into little groups to discuss what they can do to make their environment presentable.

I have also been encouraged by the responses I received from people who read the speech I delivered on environmental awareness at a workers’ rally on Earth Day last month.

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The Ni concept is working that is the speck. W knocking doors for various of the publi launch campaigns transform township lives.
WASHINGTON
Nelson Mandela is to be showered with a ticker-tape parade in New York when he visits the United States for 10 days next month.

Other highlights in what will be a virtual triumphant tour of the US between June 20 and 30 will include a meeting with President George Bush at the White House and an address by Mandela to a joint session of Congress.

Details of the ANC leader's visit to the US were to be announced at a Press conference in Washington later yesterday.

Ticker-tape parades in New York City are usually given to American heroes, such as the first astronauts to walk on the moon. Only major international figures, such as heads of state or, more recently, the leader of Poland's Solidarity labour movement, Mr Lech Walesa, are invited to address a joint session of both houses of Congress.

Apart from New York and Washington, Mandela will be visiting four other US cities.

His visit is being organised by a diverse coalition of individuals and institutions, including heads of international unions, major city mayors, African-American leaders, religious authorities, entertainers, businessmen and many others.

A spokesman for the ANC in the US on Monday said Mandela was visiting the United States to express his gratitude to the American people and the anti-apartheid movement, and to urge the country to keep up the pressure on the South African government to end the apartheid system.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk is expected in Washington just a few days before Mandela.

Although no specific date has been confirmed by either government, it is expected De Klerk will meet Bush at the White House for a working lunch on June 18.

Both De Klerk and Mandela were invited to visit Washington by Bush. De Klerk is likely to be given all the customary honours given to a head of state.
Squatters angry at Kriel's failure to act

Staff Reporters

THE office of Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, is studying reported comments that conflict in Crossroads had arisen from Mr Kriel's refusal to sack the township's town committee.

Mr Kriel himself was not available for comment, but his office said he might comment later.

The allegation was made by squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, who warned that a full-scale war could develop.

He said residents were angry after the failure of their pleas to Mr Kriel and the deaths that followed.

At least three people — two special constables attached to the Crossroads police station and an unidentified woman — had been killed in violent incidents since Saturday, said Mr Nongwe.

Two other constables had been injured.

The renewed fighting followed a meeting between a number of squatter leaders and the minister last Thursday.

One constable, identified as Mr Makwetu, was killed about 3pm on Saturday while on duty.

Mr Welile Matshoba, also a special constable, was killed on Monday while the unidentified woman was found shot dead in her shack on Saturday morning.

A man identified as Mr Ngxokwe, an alleged supporter of the town committee, was wounded in police action on Saturday night.

Doing nothing

Mr Nongwe said their meeting with the minister had been a "disappointment" as he "seemed to be in the dark" about how the crisis in the township could be resolved.

He said the minister had declined to dissolve the committee because "there should be something in its place".

He had promised, however, to investigate allegations that the committee had been responsible for the violence on the residents.

He said Mr Kriel had also reneged on his undertaking to stop house allocations because the committee was giving them to outsiders.

"But people from nowhere are still being allocated the houses, despite his undertaking."

Mr Nongwe said as the committee had not been elected there was no reason for its continued existence as it was doing nothing for the residents but was bringing bitterness to the community.

He said the residents were "boiling with anger" over the failure by Mr Kriel to intervene and were contemplating "driving the committee out themselves".

He said Mr Jan van Eck had been asked to arrange a last meeting with the minister.

Women rebel raiders

MAPUTO. — Witnesses have said armed women were among an estimated 50 rebels who ambushed a train near the Mozambique/South African border on Saturday, killing 18 people. — Argus Africa News Service.
ANC plans protests against FW visit

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — United States anti-apartheid organisations are mobilising fast to mount demonstrations against President F W de Klerk's visit to the White House next month.

The leaking of a date for the visit, June 18, and the fact that it will precede by only a few days a similar visit by African National Congress vice president Mr Nelson Mandela, has sparked an angry reaction in Washington and an attempt to pressure the Bush Administration to cancel it.

The visit by Mr De Klerk only days before Mr Mandela is scheduled to tour the country was an insulting slap in the face, ANC representatives said in Washington yesterday.

The Washington Post reported on its front page that organisers of the Mandela visit were angry that Mr De Klerk would visit the White House first.

Mr Mandela arrives in the US on June 20 and will probably meet Mr Bush on June 25. Both the State Department and the South African embassy in Washington declined to confirm any dates.

The ANC and its US supporters are, however, losing no time inorganising mass opposition to Mr De Klerk's visit.

ANC representative in Britain, Mr Mendi Maimang who is in the US to help co-ordinate Mr Mandela's visit, told a press conference in Washington yesterday that a De Klerk visit would to a very large measure colour the Mandela tour.

It was upsetting that the Bush administration, in spite of numerous appeals by Mr Mandela, should choose to precede Mr Mandela's visit with a visit by Mr De Klerk, he said.

It was a slap in the face for the ANC and Mr Mandela, he said.

"We think it is too late for the State Department to take corrective measures," Mr Maimang said.

ANC representative in the US, Mr Maimang said the ANC had not conveyed its displeasure to the White House or the State Department directly, but he believed that by making its feelings public its message would get through.

A spokesman for the Southern African Support Project, Ms Sandra Hill, said that if President Bush persisted with the De Klerk visit there would be broad-based public opposition, including public demonstrations.

Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, chief ANC representative in the US, said the opposition to Mr De Klerk's visit was not just a matter of the timing. There was opposition to any visit by the South African State President while apartheid remained in place.

US government sources said there was no significance in the timing of the visits. Both sides had been consulted and the timings had to fit in with the schedules of the two men.
Celebrity status for 'great figure of century'

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela’s first visit to the United States will be a high-profile celebration of what Americans perceive to be one of the greatest figures of the century.

The chief representative of the African National Congress in the US, Miss Lindiwe Mabuza, told a Press conference here yesterday, her office had been flooded with invitations from scores of cities, universities, trade unions, big business and dozens of specialist groups to receive Mr Mandela.

The ANC vice-president had agreed to spend 10 days in the US, starting on June 29, in view of the huge role the country had played in putting pressure on the South African government and because of its pivotal role in the unfolding process in South Africa, she said.

THREE OBJECTIVES

Miss Mabuza said the widest possible coalition of American organisations and individuals had been set up to help design and finance the Mandela tour. Already, R675 000 had been raised to help pay for the visit.

Chief ANC representative to the United Nations, Mr Tebogo Mafoloe, told the conference three objectives had been set for the Mandela tour:

- To express gratitude to the American people for their support in the struggle against apartheid.
- To emphasise there had been no change in South Africa in spite of recent developments, so that this was the time to intensify sanctions and other pressures and not to ease them.
- To appeal to the American people for assistance in raising resources to relocate its headquarters to South Africa and to repatriate thousands of people who had been scattered all over the world because of apartheid.

According to the ANC organisers, Mr Mandela plans to use the US tour to address specialist audiences on specific issues of ANC policy in the post-apartheid society.
The Big White Baas has spoken again

BY AMEE AKHALWAYA

The PAC position paper on negotiations has been held over and we today publish Ameen Akhalwaya's comment on Dr Gerrit Viljoen's remarks about 'sophisticated' and unsophisticated voters'.

The PAC's position paper was held over because the PAC is not willing to negotiate with the ANC. The PAC believes that the ANC is not serious about negotiating and is only willing to negotiate to gain power.

Voters are classified as 'sophisticated' or 'unsophisticated' based on their perceived knowledge and understanding of political matters. The PAC believes that voters who are classified as 'sophisticated' are more likely to vote for the ANC, while voters who are classified as 'unsophisticated' are more likely to vote for the PAC.

The PAC believes that the ANC is only willing to negotiate with voters who are classified as 'sophisticated' in order to gain support for their political agenda.

The PAC's position paper states that the ANC is not serious about negotiating and is only willing to negotiate to gain power. The PAC believes that the ANC is only interested in negotiating with voters who are classified as 'sophisticated' to gain support for their political agenda.

The PAC believes that the ANC is not serious about negotiating and is only willing to negotiate to gain power. The PAC believes that the ANC is only interested in negotiating with voters who are classified as 'sophisticated' to gain support for their political agenda.
I was amazed to find Stompie had fled, says coach

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former coach of Mrs Winnie Mandela’s football team told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he was “amazed” to find that teenage activist Stompie Seipel had disappeared overnight from the room in which he and four others were sleeping.

Mr Richardson, 41, denied he had killed Stompie when he took the witness stand yesterday.

The former coach said that on the night of January 1, he, Stompie, Mr Kenneth Kgase, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe and a member of the football team known as Slash, had gone to sleep in the room.

When they awoke Stompie was “absent”, he said.

“I tried to look for him. I thought he might be in the toilet or another room, but I couldn’t find him.”

“We were amazed for the whole day because we did not know where he was.”

Mr Richardson denied testimony by Mr Mekgwe, Mr Mono and Mr Kgase that he had taken Stompie away the night before after the teenager was told he was being taken home.

Mr Richardson has pleaded not guilty to Stompie’s murder and kidnapping the 14-year-old activist, Mr Mono, Mr Kgase and Mr Mekgwe from the Rev Paul Verry’s house and assaulting them while questioning them about alleged sexual misconduct with Mr Verry.

He pleaded not guilty to a further count of attempted murder.

He also denied that Mrs Mandela was present when the four youths were questioned about allegations of sexual misconduct or that she assaulted them.

Mr Mono, Mr Kgase and Mr Mekgwe have all testified that they were assaulted by Mrs Mandela after she accused them of sleeping with Mr Verry.
ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mr. Moses Mabuza, was involved in promoting a pre-ANC political party in Ingwavuma, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi alleged here yesterday.

Officially opening KwaZulu Conservation Week, Chief Buthelezi alleged that Mr. Mabuza had donated a few thousand rand to the party, which was allegedly anti-Inkatha.

Reacting to the statement, Mr. Mabuza said the allegations “are quite without foundation”. — Sapa
JOE SLOVO’S thought paper “Has Socialism Failed?” constitutes the first theoretical attempt by the chairman of the South African Communist Party to shed the ideological ballast of a Stalinist past.

Slovo does not go nearly far enough in coming to terms with the tyrannical system whose terror is akin to fascism as well as apartheid. By blaming human error rather than fundamental Leninist ideals, Slovo fails to recognize the intrinsic causes of Stalinist tyranny.

Lenin introduced the one-party state and abolished independent unions. Celebrating a Leninist vision of the state consists of the proclamation of democratic pluralism.

Conceiving of itself as a “vanguard party” with “moral superiority” remains incompatible with liberal equality. Even if the vanguard role is to be earned rather than imposed, as Slovo now realizes, commitment per se is no criterion of truth or higher morality.

Peripheral issues

Slovo now claims he had his personal doubts since the mid-Fifties. However, he remained silent on the subject and the party continued to endorse Stalinist practices. When pressed as to why, the answer amounts to expediency. He said in 1966: “It became almost risky and counter-productive to battle this issue out in our party. It would have caused an enormous split and it had less and less bearing on our own work.”

Such opportunism on a vital issue disproves Slovo’s current claim that there has always been internal democracy in the party. If the party cannot take a principled position on Stalinist crimes for fear of a split (or more likely for fear of being denied Soviet assistance) then its internal debates on peripheral issues are meaningless distractions.

Slovo defines Stalinism as “socialism without democracy.” He repeatedly refers to “distortions” from the top. It is pilot error, rather than the structure of the plane, that is responsible for its crash.

Slovo, like Marx, conceptualizes an abstract working class but the working class comprises blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled workers who live in urban and rural settings. Above all, there are employed and unemployed.

Common action

To expect solidarity because of common exploitation lingers as a long-standing illusion. Yet it is such self-deception on which the ANC and the SACP base their strategy.

Despite the long tradition of similar failed strategies, the Left apartheid opposition hopes that resentment of big business by white workers would translate into common action with black unions.

It is a vain hope to bank on the superiority of interests winning out. The appeal to emotional rewards wins over the calculations of material interests.

Further than joining the ANC, the few remaining whites flock to the neo-Deutscher movement over security lines of the camp of those who wish recognition of a lie. It was one of the lessons of Nazi Germany.

By building its strait black working-class + SACP not only starts a movement but neglects the significant split movement, the coup employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor the Nationalists have even employed the unemployed. The unemployed are employed and unemployed.

Underclass

More employment it almost amounts to creating a “labour aristocracy” among the workers. More employment it means a rank of life chances to housing, medical care and pensions—democratic needs.

These millions of extra economy—those in towns in shacks around the city in the countryside in need of freedom in the bourgeois sentence of these some of the lives which are the lives to address the relative used employed and unemployed.

In Slovo’s sensible program where the priority among the demands for a new economy, a new education, a new culture, the recognition of human rights. For the recognition of human rights.
Joe Slovo’s problem: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

By HERIBERT ADAM

...a leading analyst of South African affairs and, with Kogila Moodley, author of "South Africa without apartheid". He is doing research at UCT.

Rather than joining Cosatu or the ANC, the few remaining white workers have chosen to join neo-fascist groups. Deep resentment over loss of status and security drives it’s victims into the hands of those who hold out the false promise of reviving the lost past. That was the end of the dreams of fascism in Nazi Germany.

By building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances the SACP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed.

Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has developed a strategy to cope with the 35% of the national workforce which is unemployed. The unions increasingly represent only the employed.

Underclass

More employment in South Africa almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to better housing, medical care, education, and pensions — depends on employment.

Those millions outside the formal economy in township butchers, in business, and in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The apartheid movement movements have yet to organize these permanently marginalized groups. The unions have yet to address the relation between them. Many of the unemployed.

In Slovo’s sensible pragmatic assessment, the South African economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risking economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Western European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels".

‘Off guard’

This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of de-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and union representatives sit on boards. Since such a body of explicit legitimacy is also considered negotiable, not much of economic orthodoxy is lost among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism has finally shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SACP, by its own admission, was caught “off guard” by its unbanning on February 2, 1990. After preparing for 50 years for liberation, the ANC found itself unprepared.

Believing its own propaganda of a fascist, racist enemy, most exiles never looked seriously the adapting, decolonializing capabilities and moderating potential of the opponent. Without an adequate theory of the antagonist, the opposition wasted precious years with doubtful and ineffective strategies.

Yet the test for the future South African democracy may not lie in the SACP’s past alliances but in the internal practice of a democratic culture. The recognition of union independence by the SACP together with the endorsement of a multi-party system and traditional liberal freedoms bedevils well for South African democracy, despite the Lucas Heights relics and a repressed Stalinist past.

Because SACP members are the only force that dominates the trade unions, its political and moral influence is the only factor that can prevent a confrontation in or out of the ANC. When the SACP declarations for democracy should be taken at face value or treated with scepticism is best tested by the behaviour of the party itself.

Will the SACP continue placing its members into strategic political and bureaucratic positions, in the context of the broad anti-apartheid movement, and not of transfer to a new order? Is it possible that the SACP is already embroiled in the transformation of South Africa? Can the SACP develop a stable and comprehensive strategy for the future of South Africa?

The SACP is a party of the working class of South Africa, of the organised workers in all sectors and of the popular movement in all forms. It is a party that is not afraid of change, but is not afraid of the changes in the future.

Red flag

The SACP’s professional socialism in the second stage depends, in Slovo’s words, "on the class forces in play at that time". In practical terms this puts socialism on the menu. If socialist capitalism delivers the goods relatively quickly, the Marxist socialist parties shrink in size. The transformation of South Africa, as it will turn out, has nowhere else to go but home.

This makes them unexpected allies of Pretoria’s negotiation project, whether or not they are “without a hidden agenda”, as Slovo suggests, or, as the first Groote Schuur talks.

Pressure for democracy from below, particularly in the unions, may well finally force the SACP to part with the relics of Stalinism both in theory and in practice.

The socalled Slovo account of the failure of socialism constitutes the first indication of a democratic renewal that may yet have its day. Van den Berghe’s sceptical comment in 1991 that “South Africa has already spawned the world’s last vital fascist" can be taken in good faith.

[* Markus Miller-Leehmann*]
ANC calls on Bush to cancel FW meeting

WASHINGTON. – ANC officials yesterday called on President George Bush to cancel his planned meeting with President F W de Klerk on June 18—a week before Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in Washington.

At a press conference here the ANC’s representative to Britain, Mr Mendi Maimang, said the meeting was “almost an insult to the ANC.”

“We think it is not too late for the State Department to take corrective measures,” Mr Maimang said. He is here to help co-ordinate Mr Mandela’s US tour in late June.

“Mr De Klerk’s visit before the visit of Mr Mandela does, in very large measure, colour the (Mandela) visit,” Mr Maimang said. “It is upsetting that the administration, despite our continuing calls, and Mr Mandela’s requests, has done this . . . It is a slap in the face.”

He suggested that the US administration had deliberately violated “understandings” with the ANC that Mr Mandela would precede Mr De Klerk to the White House.

But US officials said the decision to have Mr De Klerk’s visit before Mr Mandela’s was dictated by the two men’s schedules and did not signal a preference for either leader.

Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC representative to the US, said Mr De Klerk was being rewarded with a White House visit despite the continuation of apartheid and of violence in SA.

“Nothing has changed in SA to warrant such a visit,” she said. “The changes taking place are through pressures of disinvestment and sanctions and initiatives of the ANC. It is not because of De Klerk, but he gets reward-
ed. De Klerk hasn’t delivered what needs to be delivered.”

In Cape Town, US embassy sources said yesterday that the order of the meetings had absolutely no significance.

“They are both busy men and they have tight schedules. We simply had to accommodate their respective programmes,” an embassy source said.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that it was unclear whether Mr Maimang, Ms Mabuza and the UN representative, Mr Tefego Mafele, were following instructions from Lusaka or advice from leading anti-apartheid activist Mr Randall Robinson.

Ms Mabuza said Mr Mandela would arrive in New York on June 20 and expected to meet Mr Bush between June 24 and 26. The White House said no firm date had yet been fixed. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa-AP
Crossroads mayor: No charges

Staff Reporter

THE Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, yesterday announced that he had decided not to prosecute Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana on fraud charges.

This brings to an end a lengthy investigation involving the alleged charging of R7 monthly tithes to an estimated 9 000 Old Crossroads households over several years by the Old Crossroads committee.

Estimates of the money involved vary between R150 000 and several million rands.

Mr Rossouw said: "The evidence is very confused and self-contradictory. In the end we won't have enough evidence to achieve a standard of proof beyond reasonable doubt."

Political undercurrents also played a role in the affair, but Mr Rossouw declined to elaborate on this aspect.

He had followed up all the evidence, he said, including "evidence that came to hand lately". This is believed to relate to two bank account numbers forwarded to his office by the Democratic Party's spokesman for black local affairs, Mr Jan van Eck.

Mr Van Eck said in Parliament that money deposited in one account was secretly transferred to another account controlled by Mr Ngxobongwana and then spent in an "entirely different way" from what was intended.

The controversy over the affair led to bloodshed in the squatter camp, including petrol-bombings and the shooting to death of residents.
Rebel ANC men freed

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight dissident members of the ANC, who had been held in terms of the Internal Security Act, were released last night, according to a report in the Citizen today.

ANC internal information chief Mr Ahmed Kathrada told Sapa late last night that he was surprised by the report. He said a formal statement would be issued today.

The men were participants in a mutiny against the ANC in Angola in 1994 and were apparently former prisoners in the ANC's notorious Quatro prison camp.

They apparently escaped from the ANC's Dakawa camp in Tanzania. — Sapa
Church, PAC meet

A DELEGATION of church leaders of the member churches of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) met members of the executive of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) on Wednesday to discuss recent political developments and the issue of negotiations.

"This meeting follows a decision taken by church leaders at their meeting in March to consult — as extensively as possible — all organisations within the liberation movement on issues of national importance," an SACC statement said.

without access to the ballot box, the liberation movements were compelled to use force, besides other means, to end oppression.

"However, it is incomprehensible that the AWB, which has access to the vote and the available democratic procedures, should be left with impunity to resort to military tactics to preserve their interests," he said.

In the face of unchecked rightwing mobilisation, it would be difficult to persuade the ANC to pursue its commitment to the possibility of suspending the armed struggle, Chikane warned.
Some of the rebel ANC exiles photographed at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday are (from left) Mr Mwezi Twala, Mr Diliza Abedrigo Mthembu, Miss Nontiyambo Yukuqala Mzimela, Mr David Makhubedu, Mr Robert Yusimuzi Shange and Miss Patricia Phatheka Sodo.

8 rebels tell of ANC torture

Sowetan Reporter
Shange, Mr Luthando Dyasop and Miss Patricia Sodo and daughter Lonwabo (3).

Speaking on behalf of the group, Twala said they were not afraid of reprisals from the ANC because since "we left our lives have been in danger".

He alleged that during 1979 and 1980 ANC members were sent to fight in the then Rhodesia against government forces.

Later ANC members were sent to fight Unita forces in Angola. Hundreds of people were tortured and others killed in various ANC prison camps.

He and his group tried to get help from SA Council of Churches' general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, who allegedly visited the ANC's Dekawo prison camp last year but without success.

ANC chief of staff Mr Chris Hani had organised a firing squad which resulted in seven people being killed after a mutiny at a camp in Angola.

People were also made to push drums of water for 4km as punishment.
SADF ‘opposing ANC meeting on defence’

THE SADF was putting pressure on citizens and forces officers, not to attend a planned meeting in Lusaka next week with ANC military personnel, Western Cape regional director Nic Borain said yesterday.

The SADF had previously turned down an invitation to send delegates to the conference, whose objectives include allowing the contending forces to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict.

The meeting will also discuss the shape and role of a future defence force.

An SADF spokesman said last night the was unaware of any “so-called” pressure.

ALAN FINE

Borain said among the 49 delegates from SA were prominent and influential people in SADF circles. He was confident they would not withdraw from the May 23 to 27 meeting because of the alleged pressure.

The delegates included citizen force officers and troops with “recent and proud service” in the SADF, and in Angola.

Prominent former officers who had since become involved in politics included DP MP and former SA Air Force chief Bob Rogers, and the most senior woman in the SADF, Hilda Burnett.

The delegation also included senior officers in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda military and a number of academics.

Borain said Idasa had made a serious but unsuccessful effort to encourage the CP to send representatives.

The ANC was to send a 45-member delegation, which would include much of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command, including chief of staff Chris Hani. Executive members Thabo Mheki and Joe Slovo were to join the meeting only from the second day because of the ANC meeting with up to 600 top businessmen on May 23 in Johannesburg.
US report backs claims

WASHINGTON — Yesterday's testimony about abuses of ANC dissidents is corroborated by a US Senate foreign relations committee report released in June 1986 and which the Democratic majority on the committee refused to make part of the official record.

Based on interviews with several dozen SA refugees, the report describes a pattern of "political oppression, torture and murders" at ANC camps in Angola and Tanzania throughout the previous decade.

The victims were frequently Black Consciousness supporters who fled SA after 1976, refused to join either the ANC or the PAC and were then shipped, with assistance from the UN High Commission on Refugees, to camps in Angola.

Atrocities included "at least 10 executions a year" at Quatro — Number 4 camp in Angola — to which dissidents were transported, often with the complicity of Tanzania which objected to the killings being carried out on its own soil.

The report was prepared by an adviser to Senator Nancy Kassebaum when she chaired the Senate Africa sub-committee, after the State Department informed Congress it could find no hard evidence the ANC was mistreating dissidents and refugees who refused to join the movement.

Among the most damning findings was the UN High Commission for Refugee's involvement. One of its "high ranking officials" in the region for much of the period in question was Zoneli Mbeki, wife of ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.
ANC rebels believe in talks

By Carina le Grange

The eight African National Congress dissidents arrested three weeks ago on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport and released "unconditionally" from detention on Tuesday, yesterday said they now believed in peaceful negotiations.

At a press conference in Johannesburg they said, however, that they still retained the ideals which led them to join the ANC's armed struggle.

The group stressed no deals were made between them and the Government.

The six men, two women and two toddlers, were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act three weeks ago upon their return to South Africa from Tanzania via Malawi.

Spokesman for the group, Rodney Muez Twala, said the group had been held in Kimberley. On their release they had been taken into the care of church leader Evang Malambi.

Mr Twala, Mr Makhubedu, Robert Shange, Dluliza Abednego Mtshembu, Luthando Nicholas Dyasop and Sipho Malcolm Pun-guva, were all participants in the 1994 Mkata Shinga rebellion against the ANC in Angola. The women, each a mother of a three-year-old, are Motatyambo Mzimeli and Patheka Patricia Sodo. They left the country in 1986.

Asked about the alleged deaths and torture after Mkata Shinga, and to name perpetrators and victims, Mr Twala said: "There were so many, we will have to compile a list."

The men told of their disillusionment at being ordered to fight wars in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Angola while they wanted to come back to South Africa to engage in the fight for liberation. In a statement they said there was "no democracy or freedom of political opinion" and claimed their demands for a conference to sort out issues like these resulted in them being labelled mujahideen and led to their consequent detention in ANC camps.

Camps were strict and "some people have been killed for smoking dagga, for going out to drink", Mr Twala said.

They denied their immediate plan was to form a political organisation but said they wanted to form a body of parents and relatives of "comrades who died in exile and those who are missing" since they knew the names of these people. They said they had a duty to those comrades who "fell fighting for the same ideals in exile".

In the statement, the group said the ANC had no right to represent "our people in negotiations, but have to account for the crimes of genocide they have committed".

Mr Twala said later however he had had no differences with the ANC — "only with individuals within the ANC".

He said they would not align themselves with anybody, and that Dr Malamb's role was that he rendered them assistance in finding their families which they accepted.

The group also said that after they had been taken in by the UN High Commission for Refugees in Tanzania, they were imprisoned by the Tanzanian authorities during the visit to that country by Walter Sisulu after his release last year.

They decided to return to South Africa after they were warned by Tanzanian security officials to go underground during ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela's visit to avoid arrest.
ANC terrorist jailed ‘in spite of negotiations’

By Celeste Louw

Even though the political situation in the country had changed, acts of terrorism could still not be condoned, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate said yesterday when sentencing a man to an effective three years’ jail for contravening the Internal Security Act.

Vusi Mngomezulu (27) of Tembisa was sentenced to five years’ jail on a charge of terrorism. Two years were conditionally suspended for five years. He was also sentenced to two years for possessing a Makarov pistol and ammunition. This sentence is to run concurrently with the five-year sentence.

The court found that Mngomezulu left South Africa when he joined the ANC in 1985. He underwent military training in Angola and returned to SA on a mission to disrupt the October 1983 municipal elections.

Sentencing Mngomezulu, magistrate P du Plessis said he could not suspend the entire sentence.

“What you have done did not become good and right because negotiations are in the air. Terrorism is still wrong and it has a terrible effect on the whole of society,” Mr du Plessis said.

Evidence before the court also suggested that Mngomezulu would still be prepared to take part in the armed struggle, should it continue, the court found.
Idasa 'peace mission' is to discuss army

Retired senior SADF officers, military strategists, and a wide range of people involved in the ANC's armed struggle will meet in Lusaka later this month to explore ways to end conflict in South Africa and discuss the shape of a future defence force.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA has announced that the conference, entitled "The Future of Security and Defence in SA", will be held from May 23 to 27.

Conscripts

A high-powered 45-member African National Congress delegation to the conference will include SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo, ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander-in-chief Chris Hani.

Idasa said 45 people from inside SA including conscripts who recently served in townships and Angola, senior retired SA Defence Force officers, military strategists and Citizen Force officers had confirmed they would attend the conference.

Homeland military leaders and academic advisors would also attend.

The conference was, firstly, a peace mission, said Idasa Western Cape regional director Nic Boraine. — Sapa.
US visits: Mandela may go first

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senior US administration officials are discussing the possible rescheduling of President de Klerk's visit to the White House so that it could come after Mr Nelson Mandela makes his visit in late June.

There is, however, no possibility that the President's visit will be cancelled, according to US sources.

The leaking of the date of Mr de Klerk's scheduled visit, June 18, sparked an outcry in Washington this week because it precedes by only a few days a similar visit by Mr Mandela.

The African National Congress in the US described the De Klerk visit as a slap in the face for Mr Mandela and for the organisation.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, a prominent black American leader, said President Bush's invitation to Mr de Klerk had given the apartheid regime a level of credibility that brought it back into the family of nations before apartheid ended.

Because Mr de Klerk would visit the US first, Mr Mandela would be on the defensive reacting to his initiatives.

Pressure

Anti-apartheid activists and influential members of Congress have been putting pressure on the Bush administration to at least reschedule Mr de Klerk's visit until after Mr Mandela has visited the US. The ANC deputy president will visit seven US cities between June 20 and 30.

US officials say the White House is sensitive to these appeals, particularly in view of President Bush's high standing with the African American community.

They point out that no dates have been officially announced for either visit, and it was still possible that Mr Mandela would be received at the White House before Mr de Klerk.

According to the sources, the South African Government had said all along it did not mind if Mr de Klerk visited the US after Mr Mandela.

The ANC does not simply object to Mr de Klerk visiting the US before Mr Mandela — it is opposed to the President being invited to the White House while apartheid remains in place.

See Page 21
‘Megastar’ Mandela tour

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela’s first visit to the United States will be a high profile celebration of what Americans perceive to be one of the greatest figures of the century.

The chief representative of the African National Congress in the US, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza, told a press conference in Washington that her office had been flooded with invitations from scores of cities, universities, trade unions, big business and dozens of specialist groups to receive Mr Mandela.

The ANC deputy president had agreed to spend 10 days in the US, starting on June 20, in view of the huge role the country had played in putting pressure on the South African Government and because of its pivotal role in the unfolding process in South Africa, she said.

Ms Mabuza said the widest possible coalition of American organisations and individuals had been set up to help design and finance the Mandela tour. Already, $250,000 (about R662,900) had been raised to help pay for the visit. People who had extended individual invitations, would pay for those costs.

Chief ANC representative to the United Nations, Mr Tebogo Mafolie, told the conference three objectives had been set for the Mandela tour:

- To express gratitude to the American people for their support in the struggle against apartheid,
- To emphasise there had been no change in South Africa in spite of recent developments, so that this was the time to intensify sanctions.
- To appeal to the American people for assistance in raising resources to relocate ANC headquarters to South Africa and to repatriate thousands of people.

According to the ANC organisers, Mr Mandela plans to use the US tour to address specialist audiences on specific issues of ANC policy.

The tentative itinerary for Mr Mandela, who will be travelling with a sizeable group in his own jet aircraft, is:

- New York City (June 20 to June 23) for a welcome by Governor Mario Cuomo and a ticker tape parade through Manhattan. Mr Mandela will also address a mass rally and the UN General Assembly.
- Boston (June 23) for a community event with anti-apartheid activists and a meeting with leading company directors. Mr Mandela will also visit his daughter, Makaziwe, and her family, who live in Boston.
- Washington DC (June 24 to 26) for a meeting with President Bush, an address to joint session of the US Congress. He will also be the guest speaker at a State Department reception, and guest of the Congressional Black Caucus and National Press Club.
- Atlanta (June 27) for an honorary degree from a consortium of black colleges and a speech at the Martin Luther King Centre.
- Miami and Detroit (June 28) for speeches to trade union groups.
- Los Angeles (June 29 and 30) for a rally, parade and civic reception.
Research shows the PAC's influence is greater than any time since Sharpeville

The ANC and the PAC have signed a peace accord amid signs that the PAC's influence is again on the rise.

A committee comprising six members of each organisation has been established to monitor implementation of the accord. The two organisations have agreed there must be freedom of association and expression, the right to organise and to belong to different political organisations.

The peace talks follow concern voiced by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo about strife in Transvaal and Free State townships which led to deaths and destruction of property.

Azapo's national projects organiser Muntu Myeza said Azapo, the PAC and ANC had agreed on the need to establish a “culture of democracy” and that unity among liberation movements was of prime importance.

Meanwhile, the PAC, which until now has opposed negotiations with the government on the basis that they are unlikely to lead to gains for the black majority, this week acknowledged it might participate in negotiations under certain conditions.

The PAC has always maintained that the issues of the return of land to the African majority, redistribution of wealth and agreement on a non-racial, democratically elected constituent assembly must precede any peace talks with the government. However, the PAC is also intensifying the armed struggle against government targets, especially the SA Police. The external wing of the PAC last week claimed responsibility for several hand-grenade attacks on police targets.

A Institute of Internal Affairs researcher Gary van Staden said: “If the prominance of the PAC in helping to shape South African history over the past 30 years were plotted on a graph, the resulting line would have a strong resemblance to a roller-coaster track. From a series of peaks and valleys in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the PAC entered a period of protracted decline which was to last for some two decades. Events and developments since the first few months of 1985, however, suggest that the PAC’s roller-coaster ride is not yet over and the organisation’s influence may again be on the rise.”

The PAC was officially launched in April 1959 after years of tension in the ANC led to an Africanist breakaway. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected first president and the philosophy of Africanism was adopted.

The main reason for the Africanist split was opposition to the role of white and communist (Marxism being seen as an “alien” philosophy, irrelevant to Africa) members of the ANC.

The “Manifesto of the Africanist Movement” was presented to the PAC’s founding congress. This summarised the Africanist historical view of Africa from the mid-16th century, saying the expansion of markets through commercial and industrial capital resulted in the plunder and rape of Africa, which was colonised and “civilised” according to Western norms under the guise of Christian trusteeship.

It says the African people were dispossessed of their land and rights as human beings and that the concept of “multi-racialism” in the decolonising period which followed World War II was a thinly disguised mechanism for maintaining white control.

Broadly, the Africanist position has five main constitutional principles:

- The establishment of an Africanist socialist, democratic order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual;
- Universal adult suffrage on a non-racial basis;
- A unitary multi-party state which strives for the freedom of all in Africa and the consolidation of bonds of African nationhood on a pan-African basis;
- Common ownership of land and resources; and
- International protection guaranteed in a Bill of Rights but no minority or group guarantees.

The PAC does not define an “African” in terms of race, but in terms of culture.

Last year present PAC president Zeph Mothopeng had this to say: “We believe in non-racial democratic rule of the African people of Azania. A person must accept this. We do not look at the colour of his skin. We look at his ideas, his loyalty. For example, I say there are no ‘Indian’ people here, but people of eastern origin, provided they have become Africans.”

This applies to people of European origin. A person is an African if his only loyalty is to Africa and he accepts the non-racial democratic decisions of the African people.

Nevertheless, despite repeated statements by PAC leaders since Sobukwe claiming the organisation is not anti-white, the slogan “One Settler, One Bullet” keeps cropping up and the anti-white image persists.

While the PAC supports all forms of struggle, it has always stressed armed struggle. Until the mid-1980s (the present chairman, Johnson Mlambo was elected in 1985) the PAC’s armed wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apala) was generally regarded as ineffective.

Official government statistics showed that during 1986 the number of Apala insurgents or sympathisers “neutralised” (a euphemism for killed or captured) was 35, more than the combined total for the previous 10 years. During 1987, this figure rose to 85.

To put this Apala activity into perspective, the official number of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe “neutralised” in 1986 was 660 and in 1987 was 446.

Diplomatically, the PAC enjoys, along with the ANC, “official liberation movement” status at the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Since 1986, the PAC has established diplomatic contact with a number of countries which previously only had contact with the ANC.

The PAC attempts to gain ground inside South Africa have made significant progress in recent years. The Pan Africanist Movement was formed in December 1989 with the objective of mobilising support for the PAC and Africanism. Since the unbanning of the PAC and ANC in February this year, both organisations have openly begun recruiting members.

The second largest trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, which claims to represent 240 000 workers, is also regarded as supportive of the Africanist position. However, they have never reached the same level of co-ordinating activities as the ANC and Cosatu.

While both the PAC and ANC have stressed the need for unity, political observers believe that behind the rhetoric, very little is likely to be achieved at a grassroots level.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Mfanasekaya Gqobose recently spelled out PAC’s political aims: “Despite our criticisms of imperialism and anti-imperialism, anti-colonial formations. For these reasons, we have tried to avoid a factional struggle, which is in the interest of the movement.”

ANC deputy president Fikile Mbalula recently hinted that the ANC’s national executive committee was likely to adopt a similar stance, with the PAC able to mount “a single mass campaign.”

ANC leaders generally have their own style of political campaigning, with a more common ground between the PAC and ANC, including a distrust of the so-called ANC’s Freedom Charter.

As far as the Black Conscio...
The PAC’s influence is time since Sharpeville

The ANC led to an Africanist break-glass for the second time since Sharpeville. It was elected first by the Africanists. The philosophy of the Africanists was adopted by the ANC. One of the key issues was opposition to the white minority regime. The ANC has always supported armed struggle. Before the mid-1980s, the PAC and ANC were considered illegal. In the 1980s, the PAC and ANC became more active and won support. The PAC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was established in 1961.

The PAC enjoys a strong diplomatic presence, with diplomatic missions in many countries. The PAC has established diplomatic relations with more than 50 countries. The PAC is also active in the United Nations and other international fora.

Diplomatically, the PAC enjoys strong support, both in Africa and internationally. The PAC has established diplomatic missions in many countries. The PAC is also active in the United Nations and other international fora.

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The PAC’s influence is evident in its ability to mobilise support and gain international recogniti...
Whole economic set-up is rotten - Zeph

The PAC has been talking about a constituent assembly. If government were to say, "right, we are now allowing everybody to vote, and everybody gains representation in Parliament", will that not have the same effect as a constituent assembly?

I don't know. So far the government hasn't talked about universal franchise. It is talking about guaranteeing the rights of the minority. That means incorporating the right of the oppressor.

PAC policy on the repossession and redistribution of the land has been a major bone of contention. There seems to be very little clarity on this. How exactly would land be repossessed and redistributed? Who would determine the redistribution?

Liberation in guerrilla warfare moves silently. When people want to free themselves, they don't go about shouting how they will do it.

But the average person wants to know what this redistribution is all about? Some construe it to mean that people are going to be told: "You move out of your houses and now we are going to re-allocate these houses."

Land will be re-distributed by the people who work the land; the peasants, the workers, and people who are going to be prepared and taught.

We have centres where they learn every day. We are teaching those who are willing to do it, because they will be in touch with the people. It is not what Mothopeng says or what he wants, it is what the people say and what they want, and that will be revealed by their representatives.

There has been much controversy about Nelson Mandela's reiteration of ANC policy on the nationalisation of mines, financial institutions and monopoly industries. What, broadly, is the PAC's economic policy?

He confined it to mines and whatnot. Our economic policy is that the whole set-up is rotten. It has to be restructured; there must be a complete clean-up.

We are not confining our economic policy to nationalisation. We are there to see that the people get what they deserve.

I do not want to go into detail, because economics is a living science in a practical world. Its success or failure depends on its application. The premise from which I start is socialism. We are loco socialists and we are going to continue that way.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo talk about the "unity of the oppressed. The ANC and PAC are regarded as the two major organisations of the oppressed people in South Africa. What is the common ground between them, and what is keeping them apart?

We cannot see major parties agreeing on common ground. What is important is who has support among the people and what action they take on behalf of the people.

Why must the ANC and PAC unite? Nowhere in the world has there been unity of the parties. It is a good thing but it doesn't just come about, because you'll find that some people misuse the oppressed, impose their own views as those of the oppressed.

We do not wish to collaborate with anybody unless we can have principled co-operation and collaboration. This being so difficult, we are prepared to go it alone and get what we want because we are confident that we have the African masses behind us.

Are you saying it isn't really necessary for the ANC, PAC and Azapo, or Inkatha for that matter, to achieve a joint approach on any particular issue?

To me this call for joint approach is becoming a farce, probably because the rich man has the Press and money so he now wants to compel everybody to belong to one or another or to narrow the spectrum of differences.

Let each organisation take up its own cudgels, forget about other organisations, and do its own thing in consultation with the grassroots. These are the people that let us rule. Unfortunately, most of us have outgrown the grassroots level, we no longer even fit in.

It is being claimed in some quarters that there's a flare-up in the townships, the PAC has probably instigated it because it doesn't want talks to go ahead between the NP and the ANC.
SA youth head for USSR

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) is sending a five-member delegation to the Soviet Union this week to participate in an international youth seminar.

The seminar is devoted to the role of the African youth in finding solutions for the socio-economic and political problems of the continent.

The activities of youth organisations in southern Africa under new conditions will be discussed as a separate item.

The delegation will be led by the head of the Sayco labour department, Norman Mashabane, and will also include Kgaogelo Lekgoro, the national organising secretary, Stephen Mbuyiza, the Eastern Transvaal regional secretary Andrew Mokone, the general secretary of the Southern Transvaal region and Neville Naidoo, general secretary of the Western Cape region. Among other things, the delegation will familiarise itself with the activities of the youth in the Soviet Union and discuss bilateral co-operation.
THE African National Congress will be asked by the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga) to amend its constitutional guidelines to include protection of the rights of gay people.

At an informal meeting with ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs on Monday, Olga activists discussed their draft amendments to the guidelines.

The ANC issued its draft constitutional guidelines in August 1988 and called for feedback from inside the country.

Olga's amendments will ask that provision be made for the specific protection of lesbian and gay rights in the constitution and Bill of Rights.

Olga is also proposing that a charter of lesbian and gay rights be appended to the constitution, which will call for the revision of legislation discriminating against lesbians and gays.

One such law makes gay and lesbian behaviour a criminal offence.

Sachs said the future constitution should not be a product of lawyers, but people most affected by a future dispensation should have a say in drawing it up.

"What has happened to lesbian and gay people is the essence of apartheid - it tried to tell people who they were, how they should behave, what their rights were," Sachs said.

"The essence of democracy is that people should be free to be what they are."
ANC dissidents ‘living in fear’

EIGHT ANC dissidents yesterday said they feared losing their lives through victimisation.

At a media conference at a Johannesburg hotel the dissidents, who are now calling themselves the Mkata Shinga Group, said the atrocities they suffered at the hands of some of the ANC leaders while in exile made them fear for their lives.

“Our lives have always been in danger within the ANC and there is no saying we are now out of danger,” Mwazi Thwala said.

The 10 dissidents — two children, six men and two women — were released from Section 29 detention under the Internal Security Act on Tuesday this week. They were detained on their arrival from Malawi at Jan Smuts Airport on April 24.

“The only way I see to secure protection is by telling all about the atrocities perpetrated by the ANC in exile,” Luthando Dyasop said.

Once the truth was known about what was taking place in exile the people of SA would rally to their support, he added.

“We should not be seen as selling out,” he said. There was concern for those who were fugitives from the ANC in exile and who were looking for ways to return to SA.

Explaining why the dissidents decided to return to SA, Thwala said the ANC in exile had become anti-democratic and had violated human rights.

“When we demanded that democracy should prevail we were banned from political activities and incarcerated, some executed and tortured.”

“That is why we feel the ANC has no mandate to represent our people in any negotiations, but has to account for the crimes of genocide it has committed,” he said.

People were executed by ANC chief of staff Chris Hani, he claimed.

“When we asked him in December last year in Tanzania to whom he was accountable for the shootings of our comrades, he told us he was accountable to the people of SA, not exiles.”

An explanation should be demanded from the ANC for hundreds of “shallow graves” of exiles who died in Africa.

“We intend forming a committee comprising parents and relatives of comrades who died or went missing in exile. We have hundreds of names.”

“We appeal to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Amnesty International, the UN and church organisations to help in the repatriation of these people,” Thwala said.

He said they were not aligned to the Federation of the New Generation whose president, Evangeni Malamb, had offered to help them trace their families.

“We did not even know Malamb until he offered to help us find our relatives after our release from detention,” he said.
Rockman leads anti-FW protests

From GUY BERGER
LONDON. — The president of the Police and Prisoners Civil Rights Union (Popcru), Mr Gregory Rockman is at the centre of British protests this week against the visit of state president FW de Klerk.

Rockman emerged from Headrow on Wednesday, angry at having been detained and questioned by British immigration authorities.

Rockman interrupted a meeting with South African Congress of Trade Union (Sactu) officials at his London hotel when he heard news of the sit-in by five Popcru members at the German embassy in Cape Town.

He immediately contacted Popcru officials there for an update on the situation.

He told SOUTHERN TIMES: “What has happened at the embassy sit-in is a direct result of the government’s reluctance to negotiate with Popcru and meet our very simple demand for an immediate and unconditional reinstatement of all dismissed members. It has proved to us that the government is not serious about negotiating with us or negotiating at all.

“Therefore our members felt it was necessary to stage this action.”

He emphasised that the sit-in would continue until the union’s demands were met.

He went straight into meetings with South African exiles from the ANC, Sactu, the International Defence and Aid Fund, and the war resisters group, Congress of South African War Resisters.

Rockman meets British groups on Friday before addressing a major protest rally at the Trade Union Council headquarters in the evening.

Complain

He and fellow Popcru executive member Randall Fortuin, a serving prison warden, are lined up for a wide range of interviews — effectively setting the media agenda just before state president FW de Klerk’s visit.

They have talks scheduled with David Evans, leader of Britain’s 17 700-member Prison Officers Association, as well as with Alan Eastwood, the head of the British police’s staff federation.

They are even expected to be officially received by Metropolitan police officers responsible for community and race relations in London.

The Anti-apartheid Movement meanwhile is geared to picket the hotel hosting De Klerk and has chartered coaches to take demonstrators to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s country residence where talks are expected to take place on Saturday.

Patrick Goodenough reports from Port Elizabeth that four more warders at Port Elizabeth’s St Alban’s Prison have been suspended while protesting against the alleged refusal by authorities to reinstate fellow members of Popcru.

The new suspension followed unsuccessful attempts by 24 Popcru warders, who themselves had earlier been suspended, to return to work at St Alban’s in accordance with the union’s decision to end national strike action.

SIT-IN: Dismissed Popcru members occupy the West German embassy in Cape Town (Pic: Benny Gool)

Welkom tense after mineworkers killed

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG. — The Orange Free State town of Welkom is sitting on a powderkeg, following the killing of two white mineworkers at the President Steyn gold mine on Wednesday.

Tension has been mounting in the town, since the killing a fortnight ago of two members of the National Union of Mineworkers by bands of rightwingers which sparked off a black consumer boycott.

NUM spokesperson, Mr Jerry Mathalawadi, expressed fear that rightwing elements would use the killing of the white miners as an excuse to launch further attacks on the black community.

Wednesday’s killing took place after a protest by about 3 000 mineworkers against the dismissal of a colleague.

Rightwing elements are thought to be responsible for the shooting of a man and the disappearance of three youth leaders in the Botleng township near Delmas in the Transvaal this week.

UDF sources here claimed a resident of Botleng was shot dead on Tuesday by a man wearing an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) uniform.

A lawyer acting for several township organisations said three executive members of the Botleng Youth Congress, which is spearheading a consumer boycott in the area, were reported missing on Sunday.

Tension in the Botleng township was running high, the lawyer said.

Lutheran church minister, the Reverend Frank Muller, said several incidents of arson, looting and stoning had occurred since last weekend after an armed AWB supporter entered the township and was attacked by youths.

“The man fired and wounded one,” he said.

In a separate incident, two youths were shot dead by police in Kroonstad’s Mafokeng township, in what has been described as a second “Trojan horse” ploy.

The police claimed that about 1 000 people surrounded a truck and threw stones and a petrol bomb at them.

Meanwhile, the open mobilisation of the rightwing was condemned by anti-apartheid bodies this week.

ANC national executive committee member, Mr Steve Tshwete, described the AWB’s display of “firepower” last weekend as a “disturbing phenomenon”.

“Their targets is the ANC. This is an army being trained to attack our people.”

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Rev Frank Chikane, called on the government to act against the AWB.
JOHANNESBURG. — The eight ANC dissidents released from security police custody on Wednesday said there was "no quarrel" between them and the ANC as an organisation.

"I have never had a quarrel with the ANC and never had differences with it as an organisation, but with individuals in the leadership of the ANC," former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Mr Rodney Mwezi Twala, said at a press conference here.

He admitted that he had been one of the leaders in the 1984 mutiny against the ANC leadership.

Because of that, he said, he had been detained in Luanda and later transferred to the "notorious" Quatro prison camp in Angola.

The dissidents claimed they had all been imprisoned and harshly treated in the ANC's camps in Angola.
BY GAIL REAGON

THE South African Youth Congress (Sayco) plans to direct its attention and energy towards mobilising the very young. The objectives of the Young Pioneers include:

1. Taking a leaf from the experiences of socialist countries such as Cuba, Sayco established a Pioneers Department at its April congress.

2. The Pioneers programme wants to mobilise and organise children from five to 15 years of age, develop their talent and potential and instil values consistent with a post-apartheid and hopefully socialist South Africa.

3. Pioneers coordinator, Ms Sharon Davids, said the Young Pioneers Department's initial work would concentrate on consultation and making concrete a programme of action.

4. "We will have to sit with the ANC's Young Pioneers Department and work out with them how their pioneers will be integrated with ours.

5. "We also have to build their ideas on the future of pioneers into whatever programme we devise," she said.

6. "We will not only have to raise their awareness of the inequalities of the current system, but expose them to an alternative value system," she said.

As such, the Young Pioneers will instil and encourage non-racism, non-sexism, non-competitive values, caring and love of their country in these children.

Promote

This presupposes fundamental changes in the nature and structure of society.

For instance, socialisation institutions such as the educational system will have to change completely to facilitate and promote these values.

Similarly, children's literature, music, movies and culture in general will also have to be changed.

At the moment the Pioneers Department is attached to Sayco, and will be guided by Sayco or the ANC Youth League. But it will hopefully be similar to the UPC in that the children will themselves be responsible for the direction and work of the organisation.
Church plans for return of exiles

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG. — Advanced plans were made here this week to receive home South Africa's estimated 400,000 exiles.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has offered to take responsibility for the return of exiles of all political affiliations.

This would include setting up reception structures and settlement areas.

SACC general secretary, the Rev. Frank Chikane, said this week he felt churches were "better placed to take overall responsibility for receiving exiles, irrespective of their affiliations".

He was speaking at a national consultation attended by more than 60 delegates from all over the country.

Chikane emphasised that individual liberation movements would have programmes of their own to receive their members, but church buildings would be available to all needing help.

A national coordinating structure comprising church leaders and members representing various liberation movements, including the African National Congress (ANC), Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), was set up in Johannesburg this week to help prepare for the return of South African exiles.

Conferences

Two national consultative conferences, the first attended by member churches of the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), regional councils of churches and associate members of the SACC, clarified the role of the church on the return of exiles.

Members of the Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN), led by the Rev. Immanuel Dumeni, were invited as guests and advisors because of their practical experiences in repatriating exiles.

A broader consultative involving liberation movements such as the ANC, the BCM and the PAC was also held. It established a coordinating structure for the activities of other groups.

Chikane said the effective resettlement of exiles made it necessary for issues such as welfare, health, education, shelter and employment to be investigated.

The consultation conference recognised that the welfare of all exiles, especially people with special needs, should receive attention.

The conference also focussed on:

- The need for families receiving exiles to be prepared to incorporate them.
- The training of counsellors.
- The gravity of the shelter problem. It was felt the provision of land remained the responsibility of the government.
- Research on employment opportunities and skill profiles, which had to be undertaken immediately.

Consensus was reached on the seriousness of the education crisis and its implications for returning exiles.

Mr Horst Kilnlimskid of the International Aid and Defence and Rev. Frank Chikane (SACC) at the planning meeting this week.
**White council agrees to ‘one municipality’**

From PATRICK GOOSEN

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mass-based community action in the small Eastern Cape town of Kirkwood has forced the white council to accept the concept of a single, non-racial local authority for the town.

A two-month-old boycott of white-owned shops has been suspended, after residents' representatives and the council agreed to set up a working committee to investigate the establishment of one municipality.

The committee, comprising six representatives from the white community and six from the township, will investigate ways of implementing a single non-racial municipality.

The campaign for "one town, one municipality" and the accompanying rejection of black local authorities has led to the resignations of nearly 100 black councillors in the Eastern Cape this year.

All seven councillors in Kirkwood's Bonrugg Town Council resigned in February.

Kirkwood mayor, Mr John Erasmus, said his council agreed unanimously to work towards one municipality for the town. Kirkwood could not afford to have three municipalities, he said.

It is not known exactly how the move to a single authority will take place.

Kirkwood Youth Congress chairperson, Mr Boy Finnis, who is on the working committee, said the community would like to see the town council dissolved and a completely new, non-racial authority established.

He said the suspension of the boycott did not mean the struggle in Kirkwood was over.

"We merely served notice on the regime that people in the rural areas are doing everything in their power to advance the struggle."

Finnis said a defiance campaign aimed at segregated facilities in Kirkwood would be launched.

The community embarked on the crippling boycott in response to the vestiges of racism still surviving in the platteland town, and to poor facilities in their areas.

A municipal swimming pool, library and sports fields are still reserved for whites.

Last week, Cape Administrator Mr. Kobus Meiring told hundreds of mayors at a conference in Port Elizabeth they should drop racism in their towns or face having their funds cut.

Finnis stressed that the agreement with the council was a victory won through community struggles, and not the result of pressure by a reforming government.

The council has also agreed to upgrade the township in consultation with the residents.

In the township, one primary school serving 700 children has no electricity, a shortage of desks, holes where windows used to be, no playing fields and 13 battling teachers.

Housing is inadequate, water is scarce and recreational facilities are non-existent.

The state's response to the crippling boycott was typical of its reaction to community action in other Eastern Cape towns.

Four boycott committee members were detained, but later released.

Police action late last month in the coloured residential area of Bergsig — recently renamed Joe Slovo township by residents — led to a one-day workers' stayaway. — PEN
Negotiations are not a good strategy for liberation

The ANC’s historic meeting with the Government early this month has drawn a mixed reaction from the community. In this, the second part of a series on what political organisations think of these talks, the BCM forwards its view. Tomorrow we will publish the view of the PAC, and on Monday that of the newly-formed, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

WHEN the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged in 1968 under the leadership of the late Steve Biko it made its stance on negotiations very clear.

Any oppressed people who were fighting for liberation had to bargain with the oppressor “from a position of strength” - a position which could only be achieved if fundamental literacy programmes were embarked upon by black people.

Such programmes would guide black people towards their total liberation - an aspect of which was their psychological liberation.

Bottom line

Black people had to work towards self-reliance, had to be conscious of their own lives. In this regard, black solidarity was a means to give black people the strength required to bargain.

It is inconceivable that anyone can bargain from a position of weakness. To negotiate or bargain means that the forces negotiating must regard each other as equals and to be prepared to relinquish their positions of superiority.

The degree to which solidarity or unity amongst black people is achieved will govern our strength at the negotiating table.

The most ideal position of strength would be that stage when black people could bring the oppressors to their knees and take power.

That for the BCM and Azapo is the real bottom line. The white minority ruling class in the country has taken power illegitimately. Their Government is illegitimate. Therefore, everything else they do - including their package of reforms - is illegitimate.

At that level negotiations can only take place in the context of this illegitimate Government discussing how it would hand over power to the black working class. It can be about nothing else.

We cannot negotiate with this Government about what kind of economic, political or social system we want. That can only be worked out after this Government has resigned and the constituency (white society) takes itself out of an equal footing with every other component in the society.

There are two sets of conditions that must exist for negotiations to be possible.

On the side of the Government - its morale and the morale of its supporters must be at its lowest. They must be on the point of realizing the white flag and giving in to the popular demand for their resignation.

Exhausted

Their constituency must be so divided that there can be no cohesive force amongst white people.

The Government’s war machine must be completely exhausted and there must be large areas of the country where their security forces cannot enter. In other words, black people must be “liberated” as much land as possible.

As far as we the oppressed and exploited are concerned, we should be highly conscientised (politicalized), and have a tremendous sense of unity where black people are not fighting with each but acting as a unit.

All the suspicions, tribalism, the fears and mistrust within the black community must have been eliminated.

Hand in hand with that goal, the representative forces of the oppressed and exploited must have a militant programme of political action.

Bankruptcy

We believe that the present “talks about talks” have, in fact, given the De Klerk regime an extra lease on life. One only has to look at the degree to which he has had the red carpet laid down for him in European countries over the past few days.

Before February 2, South Africa was on the point of bankruptcy. It had a R6 billion international debt that it could not pay.

Because of his reform programme and his success at the Goede Schuur meeting, this Government has been able to pay that R6 billion debt with money that flooded in from overseas.

If negotiations get underway at this stage, Azapo is firmly convinced that only the De Klerk regime will come out winners.

Black people will continue to suffer unemployment, poverty and police and vigilante violence.

Despite the victories of the black people (on the streets and in the streets) against the national state, the recent “talks about talks” have once again strengthened their hand.

That is why Vlok can meet with right-wing racists like Eugene Terreblanche today and do the same with Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

If we go to the negotiating table now our powerlessness will have been entrenched.

Azapo believes that the priority for the broad liberation movement (the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and the trade union federations) is to meet behind closed doors and work out a strategy to ensure the collapse of the De Klerk regime.

The Media Council

THE South Africa Media Council an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council’s functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other media directly.

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The address is: The Counsellor/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.
Moves for peace in squatter violence

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CROSSROADS and Khayelitsha councillors, blamed by squatter leaders for much of the violence in the Peninsula's black areas, are to meet Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Hernus Kriel later this month to discuss setting up peace talks.

Mr Kriel will propose that they meet squatter leaders to try and find a way to end the conflict between them.

The announcement comes after the deaths of at least three people in violent incidents in Crossroads since Saturday.

“Weapons withdrawn”

Squatter leaders allege that much of the violence is perpetrated by councillors and their supporters in a campaign against opponents, and they claim some members of the town committee faction are using weapons provided by the Provincial Administration.

However, Mr Kriel's office said today that the Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring, had given an assurance that all weapons issued to councillors had been withdrawn "some time ago".

The new round of talks between Mr Kriel and the councillors follows a meeting last week between him and squatter representatives under Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

It was at that meeting that the squatters backed the proposal for peace talks with the councillors on condition that both mayors of Crossroads and Lingelethu, Mr Johnson Nxgobongwana and Mr Mali Hoza, attended the meeting.

Only yesterday, however, Mr Nongwe claimed that Crossroads residents were angry at Mr Kriel's "refusal" to sack the township committee.

Mr Kriel's office has pointed out, however, that while Mr Nongwe did indeed make a plea at the start of last week's meeting for the dismissal of the councillors, he left the meeting in agreement with Mr Kriel's proposal to meet the councillors for talks.

New system

Mr Kriel had not "refused" to dismiss the councillors, but had merely pointed out that he could not summarily do so.

Until a new system of black local government was introduced, he had suggested the squatter leaders should meet the councillors and try to agree on ways to end the conflict.

A spokesman for Mr Kriel said Mr Nongwe's comments "do not reflect a true version of the meeting".

Hout Bay's squatters, page 6.
ANC rebels claim harsh treatment at Quatro

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of eight ANC rebels, called the Mkata Shinga group, yesterday claimed they had all been imprisoned and harshly treated in the ANC’s Quatro prison camp in Angola.

The leader of the group, Mr Rodney Mueze Twala, formerly of Evaton in the Transvaal, said he left South Africa in 1978 to undergo military training in the Soviet Union and Angola.

Among the allegations were that:

- During 1979 and 1980 ANC members were sent to fight in Rhodesia against Ian Smith’s government as well as President Robert Mugabe’s forces, on the side of Joshua Nkomo’s forces;

- Later ANC members were sent to fight against UNITA forces in Angola;

- Hundreds of people were tortured and/or killed in various ANC prison cells;

- He and his group tried to elicit the help of the SA Council of Churches’ general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, who allegedly visited the ANC’s Dakwa prison camp last year. There was no response; and

- The ANC’s chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, organised a firing squad which resulted in seven deaths after a mutiny at the ANC’s Pango prison camp, also in Angola.

Mr Twala and his group — Mr Robert Vusumuzi Shange, Mr Dipiza Abednego Mhembu and Mr David Makhabu, all of Soweto; Mr Luthando Nicholas Dysop of Untata; Mr Siphelo Malcolm Punguila of Port Elizabeth and Mr Motrayambo Yokoqala Mzimeli and Mr Patheka Patricia Sodo, both of Mdantsane — were all released from custody under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on Tuesday night.

They were detained on their arrival from Malawi at Jan Smuts Airport on April 24 this year.

The group later claimed to have been prisoners at the ANC’s Quatro camp and subsequently the ANC’s Dakwa prison camp in Tanzania from which they said they recently managed to escape — deciding to return to SA.

“We decided that what was happening in exile meant it would be better to go home and face the music. It is better to be in a South African prison where friends and relatives can visit and at least your life is guaranteed,” Mr Twala, also a claimed former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, said.

The group was introduced by the Archbishop of the World Missionary Association and president of the Federation of the New Generation, Archbishop Evangelist Malamb, who together with the group faced tough questioning from a large contingent of local and foreign journalists.

Rev Malamb said he and his organisation “have followed the plight of many ANC members who want to return to SA. I managed to take them under my wings and see to their circumstances and help them to plan how they will face their new future in SA.”

On their detention at Jan Smuts Airport by security police, Mr Twala said: “They had to detain us — we had been fighting against the regime. They had to see whether we had come back with intentions to continue the armed struggle.”

Mr Robert Shange told the conference he no longer believed in the armed struggle.

“When people took up arms it was because they did not believe in apartheid and the apartheid government was not prepared to talk or solve our problems.

“Now the apartheid regime is prepared to solve our problems peacefully and it is this and the unbanning of the ANC that decided us to come back home.”

Mr Twala also said the group had been accused by the ANC of being “agents who needed to be rehabilitated”, saying this was because they had expressed opposition to “undemocratic structures” in the ANC.

He denied they were “agents” and said he did not have problems with the ANC but rather with its leadership, with whom he differed politically.

He was still a member of the ANC, but some of the members of his group had been forcibly stripped of their membership, he said.

Outlining the background of the group and what he termed their hardship under ANC leadership, Mr Twala said: “There was no democracy. Freedom of political opinion did not exist. You had to parrot what the leaders were saying. The ANC leadership concentrated on sending us to fight in foreign countries when we wanted to come back to SA to fight.”

— Sapa
Pik, Mandela plead for support

Own Correspondent

BRUSSELS. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday appealed to Belgian parliamentarians to reward President F W de Klerk’s reforms while in Nigeria Mr Nelson Mandela urged Commonwealth foreign ministers not to relax sanctions.

Mr Mandela was addressing the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuja with Common-

Sir Shridath said that despite Britain’s “minimalist” approach, sanctions had forced President De Klerk to make major policy changes.

But he said the main legislative pillars of apartheid remained intact.

He predicted Mr De Klerk’s tour of nine European countries to persuade the European Community to lift sanctions would fail.

Mr Mandela told the Foreign Ministers Committee he was amazed at the suggestion that sanctions should be eased.

“The unbanning of the ANC and release of some political prisoners is not what the ‘liberation struggle is all about,” Mr Mandela said. “It is about getting rid of apartheid.”

He said his talks with Mr De Klerk earlier this month had done no more than begin removing obstacles to real negotiations.

Yesterday in Brussels Mr Botha said President De Klerk could not indefinitely continue his rapid pace of change without some reward from the international community.

Addressing the multi-party Belgian-South African Parliamentary Association with Mr De Klerk, Mr Botha said his president had only held the post since September.

“In that brief space of time he has taken the imagination of the world. “(But) he cannot continue like this indefinitely at this rapid pace without some reward or some recognition which we can show to the white electorate, which is our electorate (in South Africa).”

Mr Botha said if the international community did not respond, the white electorate would start saying, “the violence has increased, Mr De Klerk has done all these wonderful things, and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying ‘very nice, a step in the right direction’... like a goose on the way to its doom.”

Earlier, Mr Botha told the 60 parliamentarians that Mr De Klerk’s delegation had been given an excellent reception, particularly in France, but also in Greece, Portugal and now Belgium.

In his address, Mr De Klerk said, “What has happened in South Africa deserves a fundamental re-examination of attitudes... not half-hearted... not a shifting of goalposts... what has happened has already changed the face of South Africa.

“We are asking you to help create an international atmosphere which will be conducive to negotiations.”

He said: “There is no turning back. However vociferous the opposition may be, we are going ahead and we want to do so with the greatest possible speed.

“We are talking of weeks and months, not years.” — Sapa-Reuters
Accused ‘waited to tell Winnie about Stompie charges and five of assault.
Stompie’s decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.
Mr Richardson told the court Mrs Mandela had gone to the Free State when the four young men were re-
moved by a group of people led by himself from a Soweto Methodist Church and taken to Mrs Mandela’s Soweto
house.
Earlier evidence was that Mrs Mandela was at her house when the young men were taken there, and that she had taken part in the assaults on them.
Under cross-examina-
tion by the prosecutor,
Mr L C J Van Vuuren, Mr Richardson told the court he was concerned about Stompie’s disappear-
ance. They had searched for him unsuc-
cessfully.
Mr Richardson ad-
mitted punching and slapping the four young men, but denied that they sustained serious injuries.
He said he had kept the young men at Mrs Mandela’s house for the Rev Paul Verryt to counter allegations that the priest had homosex-
ual relationships with the young men at his church.
The hearing continues today. — Sapa
LONDON. — Reports in the press here yesterday indicated that President FW de Klerk had stolen the march on Mr Nelson Mandela by securing a meeting with President George Bush a week before Mr Mandela.

Both the Telegraph and the Guardian said the timing of Mr De Klerk's visit had angered ANC officials.

The Telegraph report said the news was a "diplomatic triumph for the South African leader".

ANC publicity department head, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, referred the Cape Times to the ANC in Lusaka when asked whether the demand of the ANC's British representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, that President Bush cancel his meeting with Mr De Klerk carried the approval of the national executive committee. The Lusaka office could not be reached.

COPENHAGEN. — Denmark will appoint an ambassador to SA this year, but will continue sanctions, a foreign ministry spokesman said yesterday. Mr Peter Brueckner, currently number two at the Danish mission to the UN, will take on the SA post.

WASHINGTON. — Mr Randall Robinson, director of the TransAfrica group which is campaigning to block President De Klerk's visit to Washington, has been granted an SA visa, a spokesman for the SA embassy confirmed yesterday.

wealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

Both men attacked British calls for a relaxation of sanctions.

Sir Shridath said that easing sanctions now would be "to squander the moment of opportunity".

He said external pressure from all quarters was a vital complement of the anti-apartheid struggle.
Black business, ANC discuss role in struggle

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

HIGH-POWERED delegations of the African National Congress, business organisations and leaders held an important meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss the role of business in the liberation struggle.

The ANC was led by internal chairman, Mr Walter Sisulu, while Dr Sam Motsuenyane led the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce syndicate, and the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services was represented by Mr Tebello Radebe and Mr Cyprian Lebese.

Other business leaders represented included Mr Phil Khumalo of Business Challenge, Mr Reuel Khoza director of Coordinated Marketing, Mr Eltridge Mabutla of Consumer Protection Institute.

It is understood that the leaders discussed several issues, including the report-back on "talks about talks," which the ANC held with Government representatives in Cape Town two weeks ago.

The meeting also touched on the role of black business in the liberation struggle and the nationalisation of certain sectors of the South African economy as seen by the ANC.

Spokesman

ANC internal spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada yesterday confirmed that the meeting took place and discussed many issues.

Nafco's executive director Mr Lekota Mafasi also confirmed that the meeting took place in a "spirit of good will" and it was agreed that the parties would meet from time to time to discuss matters of common interest.

The executive director of Business Challenge, Mr Phil Khumalo, said the ANC spelt out the role of black business in the liberation struggle. It was also agreed that black business should try to create jobs for the returning exiles.

This move was clearly supported by Faeos when it announced that it was prepared to find employment for the hundreds of returning exiles within its structures and elsewhere in the country.

Khumalo said the parties agreed on plans to accommodating the exiles when they arrived back into the country. He added that it was vital that business people should also meet leaders of other political persuasions.

Radebe said the meeting was helpful and an eye-opener. It was an indication that a lot of work still had to be done and "we are happy that we have learnt from this encounter."

He said it was an attempt to look at a number of issues and to respond to matters which needed to be addressed. "We hope such joint meetings will take place again the future."
Tale of two tours flips double-side coin of SA sanctions

By GAVIN EVANS

STATE President FW de Klerk touched down in London yesterday for the final week of a trailblazing European tour which has produced much in terms of international kudos but few concrete rewards.

After 10 days of the most significant international visit ever by any Nationalist head of state, De Klerk prepared himself for his meeting with the closest European ally, British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Before arriving in London, he met European Community president Jacques Delors and Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens. Meanwhile Nelson Mandela was winding up his 12-day African tour, which has served in part to offset some of De Klerk’s diplomatic gains.

The ANC deputy president attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee in Abuja, Nigeria on Wednesday and Thursday — something no South African minister has achieved in three decades.

Mandela told ministers from 10 countries that he was “amazed at the suggestions that sanctions should be eased” and called for the international community to keep up the pressure.

No call for the immediate relaxation of sanctions is expected from the Commonwealth, while in Oslo, foreign ministers from the Nordic and frontline states agreed that “despite recent positive developments in South Africa” sanctions would not be lifted.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Kjell Magne Bondesen said Pretoria had yet to give a “firm commitment” to end the State of Emergency.

De Klerk’s tour has seen him receive several titbits from Europe, but the real test will come at the meeting of the European Community’s heads of states meeting in five weeks’ time. By then the government will need to show that substantial moves towards eliminating apartheid, ending the Emergency and releasing political prisoners have been made.

De Klerk however can return home with several promises and symbolic gains in his pocket:

● Later this year Portuguese President Mario Soares will become the first Western head of state since 1948 to officially visit South Africa.

● Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva assured De Klerk that Portugal would move for the easing of sanctions at the EC meeting on June 25.

● Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said the EC would examine its policy towards South Africa, but stressed that further bi-lateral links could not be created “because the right climate does not exist in South Africa”.

● French President Francois Mitterrand said he accepted the “irreversibility of change in South Africa”. He said that sanctions would be re-evaluated and relations would improve as soon as the steps outlined in the ANC-SA government “Groote Schuur Minute” were implemented.

● According to a report in the leftist-leaning French daily Libération, French businessmen are now anticipating the lifting of coal sanctions against South Africa.

De Klerk is expected to receive positive feedback in Britain and Switzerland, but his team is clearly pressing for much more substantial breakthroughs than have been made so far.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Wednesday that his government could not continue with the rapid pace of change in South Africa without “some reward from the international community”.

He warned that without such “rewards” the white electorate would say: “De Klerk has done all these wonderful things and the only thing the Europeans are doing is giving him a pat on the shoulder and saying, ‘very nice, step in the right direction’... like a goose on the way to its doom.”

Botha added that De Klerk and gold were South Africa’s best exports, “with the only difference being that his value is going up”.

Shortly before leaving Brussels yesterday De Klerk said his impression so far was that the European Community “had a broad understanding and acceptance of the dynamics of South Africa” as well as of the “irreversibility of the process” which his government had started.

SA Institute of International Affairs director Professor John Barratt said that while De Klerk’s visit might not exact much in terms of sanctions being lifted, “it has definitely enhanced his position and given him much greater international credibility”.

“There’s no question that this is the biggest and most significant visit by any South African president or prime minister since the days of Smuts.”

Barratt added that he believed Mandela’s African tour was also of considerable significance, and that it had been underplayed in the media.

Professor Peter Vale, director of the University of the Western Cape’s Institute of Southern African Studies, says the past 10 days of foreign travel indicate a two-track policy on the part of the international community.

“The one track is into Pretoria and the other into the ANC. The De Klerk and Mandela visits are indications of the maturation of both of these.”
"Young lions' lie buried in frontline states say returnees

BY THANDEKA GQUBELE

RETURNING African National Congress dissidents claimed in Johannesburg this week that hundreds of "young lions" of both the 1976 student rebellion and the 1985 insurrection lie buried in shallow graves in the frontline states.

According to Luthando Dyasop, one of eight dissidents who called a press conference this week, many youths who fled South Africa in 1976 died fighting in the Rhodesian war, while 1985 refugees fell in battle on the northern front, in the Bencuo province of Angola.

Dissident leader Rodney Twala said he believed it was the prerogative of fighters to demonstrate "internationalism" by fighting in other countries, but liberation movements had a responsibility to send its fighters to the country of the regime they were recruited to fight.

The dissidents were released from police custody; they had been whisked away by security policemen when they landed at Jan Smuts Airport a month ago and held in Kimberley. They said the two policemen who arrested them at Jan Smuts, a Major Naude and a Captain Van der Merwe, were the same police who had questioned them in Malawi, whence the eight had made contact with South African authorities.

At the press conference, Twala said that Umkhonto weSizwe forces fought not only against the Rhodesian army, but also against Zanla troops during the Rhodesian war. Zanla was the armed wing of Zuma-PF, which now governs Zimbabwe.

He said debate ensued between the leadership of the ANC and some rebels in ANC camps over the recruits' lack of choice about whether to fight in the frontline countries or inside South Africa.

Twala said that the eight would not be forming an organisation opposed to the ANC, but that the group sought to get parents of those who have died involved in the issue.

"We are aware of the names of people who are now lying in shallow graves in Africa and we would like to make contact with their relatives and friends who must demand explanations from the ANC."

In their accounts this week of the 1984 rebellion at an MK camp called Pango in Angola, dissidents said after guerrillas had been disarmed by ANC authorities, only the administration and "those loyal to Tambo" were armed.

Dyasop told the Weekly Mail that despite the fact that they were unarmed, rebels captured the camp. "It took armed ANC cadres from another camp to recapture Pango," he said.

Dissidents alleged that the rebels were detained at Quatro camp; that they were starved, that many died of scurvy and anaemia, that electric shock torture and excessive physical labour were used as punishment. They alleged some mutineers were beaten to death, and others were shot.

All attempts yesterday to get official comment from the ANC were unsuccessful.

Twala said the June 1985 Kabwe conference held by the ANC party to sort out some of the problems in the camps, but also to "restrategise and reassess", was a "sham conference". He said that although some of the issues about which the dissidents claimed to be disaffected were raised, many people who wanted to attend the conference had been prevented from doing so.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela last month admitted there had been excesses in the treatment of rebels but that these had been addressed.

At the press conference, the eight dissidents were hosted by mysterious churchman, Evangel Malamb, archbishop of the World Missionary Association and president of the Federation of the New Generation.
‘Olga’ meets Albie to talk of a post-apartheid gay future

"People must make their own input."

The issue had a "special pertinence in this phase (of overcoming apartheid)." The essence of apartheid was that it tried to tell people who they were, how to behave, what their rights were. "The essence of democracy is that people should feel free to be who they are," Sachs said.

Whatever emerged in the first constitution depended "on all sorts of factors -- but democracy demands there be full consultation with everyone who stands to be affected." There is too much fear in South Africa in general," Sachs went on. "We want people to be and feel free. This is just one more area where there appears to be oppression -- it's part of our programme against discrimination and marginalisation."

Homophobia is not unknown within the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement itself -- and in fact was one of the motives for starting Olga Prejudice against gays is not unknown in the anti-apartheid movement, which is why Sachs met with Albie Sachs last week to hear an ANC view about their future. (GAYE DAVIS REPORTS)

in the first place, a representative said.

A 31-year-old lawyer with a 10-year history of activism, he added: "It's a reality that people are afraid of being open about their sexual orientation with comrades within organisations."

"It can affect your commitment in the sense that one gets close to people politically but not on the personal level -- and thus not as a whole person."

"On the positive side, it makes a huge difference when you do come out: you think it's a barrier you can never cross but when you do, you find you can be much more relaxed and at the same time, it opens other people's eyes."

Fear was the biggest obstacle to "coming out" -- "the fear of being regarded as suddenly something different and strange," of exposing oneself to people for whom homosexuality was "completely beyond the pale," he said.

The reality of homophobic attacks and discrimination means people remain in the closet but it also presents difficulties in terms of property rights and the law of succession. "Who we choose to make love with is just a small thing," he said.

Another major inhibiting factor was the fear of careers foundering on entrenched attitudes in the workplace. "While I don't think I'd be discriminated against, I feel I'd risk any chances of promotion if I came out at work," said a 33-year-old librarian. "It sounds paranoid, but it's the reality."

As a member of Olga, she no longer felt self-conscious "about who I am." It was also a "refreshing" change to mix with men without a heterosexual agenda, she said.

Like other gay and lesbian groups, Olga is fighting the dominant impression that gay people are all moneyed whites. "The issue cuts across all class and race lines," said a representative.

In fact, gay and lesbian activists in townships face an extra layer of oppression, largely because of prevailing cultural and traditional norms. "Teaso Simon Nkoli, writing in the latest issue of Olga News, discussed attitudes towards gays and lesbians in black communities, where homosexuality "is often not discussed. If anything is mentioned, it is only condemnation or denial."

Nkoli, who chairs the Gay and Lesbian Association of the Witwatersrand (Glow) wrote: "Some say that we are perverts, others that gay men are afraid of women. We are mad, sick or 'influenced by the whites' to be gay. Others say that we are 'middle class' people and therefore to be despised.

"I deny all these statements against us... all we want is to be accepted as normal people."

Since its affiliation, at the end of March, to the United Democratic Front, Olga has had requests from various organisations for workshops on gay and lesbian issues. "People want to know more," a representative said. "For our part, we realise the need to change the attitudes of people on the ground. It isn't enough just to have the leadership enlightened."

The organisation has been working for some time on drafting constitutional proposals in response to the ANC's calls for feedback on the guidelines it published in 1988.

Consultation with other lesbian and gay groups will not be limited to those falling within the fold of the MDM, however.

Based on the premise that lesbians and gays are not only a minority group, but one with a history of oppression, Olga would like to see gay and lesbian rights given explicit expression rather than being covered by broad statements about non-discrimination and equal individual rights.

A longer-term project is a Charter of Lesbian and Gay Rights, similar to a Women's or Workers' charter, to be appended to the constitution.

Among other things, the charter will call for the revision of all legislation discriminating against lesbians and gays.

The draft proposals will be submitted to the ANC together with a detailed document motivating the need for their inclusion.
Deadline gets closer for the ANC and state working group

By GAYE DAVIS
Cape Town

THE working group of the government and the African National Congress held sittings in Pretoria and Durban this week as Monday’s deadline for it to complete its work approached. (W Hand 15/15 7/1979).

Established in terms of the agreement reached between the two sides at the historic “talks about talks” in Cape Town earlier this month, the working group’s task is to:

- Make recommendations on a definition of political offences;
- Discuss time scales;
- To advise “on norms and mechanisms” for dealing with the release of political prisoners and the granting of immunity, in respect of political offences, to people both inside and outside South Africa.

The ANC team is being led by Jacob Zuma and includes fellow ANC national executive members Aziz Pahad and Joe Nhlanhla, as well as ANC legal department members Matthew Phosa and Penwell Maduna and United Democratic Front national chairperson, Curnick Ndlovu.

The names of the government’s members in the group have not been announced, but a constitutional adviser in the department of constitutional development, S.S. van der Merwe, is reportedly leading the team.

“It was stated in the Groote Schuur Minute that the proceedings (of the working group) would be confidential. It follows therefore that there will be no statements emanating from the working group or about its activities,” a department representative told the Weekly Mail.

The acting head of the ANC’s department of information and publicity inside South Africa, Ahmed Kathrada, said: “Even if we knew something, we wouldn’t be able to tell you.” He added that the teams would first report back to their leaderships.
New Brighton ANC reopens with tears

A murky cinema in Port Elizabeth fills with ANC supporters after a break of 37 years. Many are dewy-eyed pensioners. By PATRICK GOODENOUGH and THANDEKA GQUBULE

He said the relaunch of the ANC in New Brighton "after 37 years of apparent inactivity" was proof the government failed to stamp it out.

New Brighton set up some of the first ANC structures in South Africa. Before the government banned the organisation in 1961, the branch had had a membership of 15,000, according to Mbeki.

"We were the model then in erecting the first people's structures in South Africa, and today we're the model in setting up the first branch in the Eastern Cape," said regional convenor Benson Fihla.

Membership of the "new" New Brighton branch is approaching 8,000.

A nine-member branch executive was elected. Only people living in New Brighton were allowed to vote.

Mbeki encouraged the newly-elected branch executive to ensure that New Brighton residents joined the ANC in their thousands, and to uphold the principles of democracy and accountability.

"Neglect or ignore the people, and there is no future. Be with the people and no army can stand in the way of the people when they have taken a decision," he said.

Two ANC recruitment centres have been set up in central Johannesburg. According to representatives, the centres are busy.

In the East Rand thousands of people have joined and a sizeable number are unexpected white recruits.

On May 19 ANC members in Yeoville will set up a temporary recruitment centre for the day outside Checkers. Mobile recruitment centres are also planned for the Johannesburg Fleamarket while Highveld areas like Rosebank are being looked at.

But when the Weekly Mail visited one of the recruitment centres at the Methodist Church in Pritchard Street, there was not a person in sight and the door was firmly bolted.
Australia to give R30-m to ANC for apartheid victims

Australia is to give the African National Congress 15 million Australian dollars (about R30 million) over the next three years "to assist in the re-integration and development of South African victims of apartheid".

A press statement from the Australian Embassy in Pretoria said the announcement was made by the Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting on Southern Africa in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday.

Education

"The majority of the new funds will be earmarked for assistance to the ANC for humanitarian and educational activities. "Up to 2 million Australian dollars will also be available immediately to assist with repatriation and resettlement of the exiles, estimated to number in excess of 20,000 people," Senator Evans said. — Sapa.
UDF plea to avoid hatred

Own Correspondent

WELKOM — The United Democratic Front has urged residents of Thabong and Bronville townships not to antagonise Welkom's white community in the wake of renewed confrontation between white and black residents.

Speaking at a consumer boycott report-back meeting in Thabong on Wednesday night, UDF spokesman Freddie Vanga said: "We embarked on the consumer boycott after our people were assaulted and killed by (white) vigilante groups in the city centre and white suburbs. "Let us not develop racial hatred as this is against policies of the UDF and the ANC."

It is hoped the boycott, which is in its 12th day, will end on Sunday, after the Consumer Co-ordinating Committee has met the Afrikaanse Sake-komitee and Goldfields Independent Traders' Association.

South African Catering, Commercial and Allied Workers' Union spokesman David Komako said yesterday hundreds of Welkom employees had been dismissed and others given leave without pay. Many cases had been referred to the industrial court.

A mass meeting of Thabong residents will be held on Sunday.
Buthelezi invites ANC, UDF, Cosatu to talk

KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday issued an invitation to leaders of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Cosatu to meet him and the leadership of Inkatha to find a solution to the violence in Natal.

Chief Buthelezi, reacting to accusatory press statements allegedly made by the leaders of the three organisations, said in a statement his hand of friendship had always been extended to those who wanted to talk to him, and this policy remained.

He said statements issued simultaneously to the press by the ANC, Cosatu and students at the University of Natal attacking the KwaZulu police and himself as the homeland's Minister of Police with regard to the Natal violence were "clearly a concerted campaign" to further destabilise his government.

The ANC convenor for southern Natal, Patrick Lekota, said yesterday the ANC would renounce the armed struggle if Inkatha was disarmed and Chief Buthelezi's powers as Minister of Police were removed by the Government.

"This is only fair. We cannot expect our people to lay down their arms if they are still being attacked," he said at a meeting at the University of Natal.
FW hasn’t done enough – Mandela

ALGIERS — Nelson Mandela told a youth rally here yesterday that it was too soon to lift economic and political sanctions on South Africa.

The African National Congress deputy president said that President de Klerk had not done enough.

"There are various countries in Europe, unfortunately even in Africa, which feel De Klerk has done enough to compel us to lift sanctions. We do not agree," Mr Mandela told thousands of cheering youths after a concert of modern Algerian music.

"However honest De Klerk may be, however much he has changed certain laws, apartheid still is the foundation of policy in South Africa. As long as that is the position, the struggle must continue."

Mr Mandela defended the socialist policies of the ANC.

"Today we are told that capitalism, under which Africa, Asia and Latin America suffered from imperialist domination, is a good economic system. We totally reject this."

"We are not going to accept any system that has caused so much misery to the people of the world."

Mr Mandela arrived on Wednesday night from Nigeria on a tour of African states.

He was decorated yesterday by President Chadli Benjedid with Algeria’s highest medal.

He last visited Algeria in 1961 for military training from Algerian guerillas fighting France for independence, an experience he said had made him a man.

"President Chadli promised me that Algeria will continue to apply sanctions against South Africa. He also said Algeria was going to continue to give support to the ANC," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa-Reuters.
THE concept of negotiations is quite fashionable these days. Correspondingly, its advocates have increased.

But negotiations are not a solution in themselves, but rather a method of struggle to resolve contradictions.

There is a wise adage which says: “Never oppose negotiations, but never believe in them either!” This wise adage reflects the basic truth, namely what is attainable at the negotiating table will largely depend on the relative strength of the adversaries. Negotiations have nothing to do with “honesty” or “good faith”. In the light of this, let us examine objectively the current cry for negotiations inside apartheid South Africa. Although the cry is for negotiations, the truth is that what is being discussed is what would constitute a climate conducive to negotiations.

As far back as 1985, the Nassau Commonwealth stipulated certain conditions which the regime must meet in order to create a conducive climate. These conditions were subsequently incorporated into the August 1989 Harare Declaration and the Consensus Resolutions of the UN General Assembly Special Session of December 1989. Basically they are:

* Unbanning of the organisations.
* Unconditional release of political prisoners and detainees.
* Lifting of the state of emergency.
* Withdrawal of the regime’s troops from the townships.
* Unconditional return of political exiles.

**Draconian laws**

To date, the regime has partially met only one of the conditions. It has unbanned the PAC, ANC and 34 other organisations. The unbanning is partial because many draconian laws still exist to curb freedom of action. To hold a rally or a march, permission must be obtained from the regime. However, the unbanning becomes meaningless if the organisations, after mobilising their respective support, continue to contest political power.

While it is true that the regime released some political prisoners, thousands still languish in apartheid prisons.

Neither do these five conditions address the pillars of apartheid... the regime is merely asked to withdraw its reaction to the legitimate resistance of the people. Instead of “courageously” withdrawing its reaction by acceding to the conditions, De Klerk is using them to “start negotiations”.

For instance, he claims he will not lift the state of emergency because of the conflict in and around Pietermaritzburg. Now, he has succeeded in soliciting support from a section of the liberation movement to send more troops into Pietermaritzburg to “maintain law and order”. And he has obliged by sending a force comprising former FNLA soldiers. Discredited in Angola, they have been given South African “citizenship” and unleashed on the oppressed Azerian majority.

Any form of support for the sending of additional troops to Pietermaritzburg will considerably weaken the legitimate demand for the withdrawal of apartheid troops from the townships. One cannot support increased troops on the one hand and effectively demand withdrawal on the other hand, and then claim to be successfully negotiating!

**Categorisation**

On the release of political prisoners, De Klerk wants to subtly use this to divide the different components of a liberation movement. He is suggesting the “categorisation” of political prisoners. The aim is to pit the political against the military wing. Any acceptance of categorising political prisoners by the national liberation movements would certainly lead to serious divisions.

The Harare Declaration, whose authorship the ANC has publicly claimed, places the onus on the regime to implement the conditions conducive for a climate of negotiations. It is also explicit on the issue of armed struggle. It does not call on the national liberation movement to unilaterally renounce or abandon the armed struggle... on the contrary, it clearly stipulates that once the regime meets the five conditions and creates a conducive climate, the mutual cessation of hostilities could then be negotiated.

Responding to this, Botha has declared: “The bullet cannot be abandoned until the bullet is secured to contest for power”.

**Constitution**

The conditions set out for the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations do not address the fundamental pillars of apartheid, which are:

* The Population Registration Act.
* The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, on which the Group Areas Act is based.
* The Bantu Education Act.
* The tripartite parliamentary system.

The bantustans.

The PAC maintains that neither the five conditions to create a conducive climate, nor the pillars of apartheid are negotiable.

The question then arises: What is there to negotiate? What should be negotiated is mechanisms to facilitate the drawing up of a new constitution. Only elected representatives can claim to have a mandate from the majority of the people to draw up a new non-racial, democratic constitution for a united South Africa.

Hence the call by the PAC for the holding of a one-person-one-vote election to a single-chamber Constituent Assembly.

This Assembly could claim to be truly representative and have the mandate to come up with a new constitution. Moreover, it is the most democratic method to resolve the conflict.

The total eradication of apartheid, majority rule based on one-person-one-vote on a common voters role, national liberation and self-determination, the guarantee of individual rights to all patriotic South Africans and the establishment of a genuine non-racial, democratic socialist South Africa remains the declared objectives of the Pan African Congress of Azania. It has put forward two methods to achieve these objectives, the Constituent Assembly and or the intensification of internal resistance including the armed struggle. The choice is simple!

De Klerk is not serious about genuine negotiations. His aim is to liquidate internal resistance, especially the armed struggle, and to undermine international isolation and sanctions.
POLITICAL organisations opposed to negotiations came under attack this week at the re-launch of the Congress of South African Students.

Mr Rapu Molekane, general secretary of the South African Youth Congress, told thousands of pupils at a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, on Wednesday that the talks between the ANC and the Government had received massive support from structures in the Mass Democratic Movement.

"We are not married to one form of the struggle. To negotiate is but just one of the many forms of the struggle. We know that those who are anti-negotiations, and yet say they will intensify the struggle, have no army.

"The climate for talks in South Africa has been made possible by the armed struggle waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe," he said.

The "people's education" could only be brought about by the transfer of political power to the people. However, this could only be achieved through discipline.

Mr Mike Duhe, Cosas' publicity secretary, urged pupils to rebuild the organisation.
Apartheid still alive - Mandela

ALGIERS - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Algeria on Wednesday that apartheid remained in force in South Africa despite recent reforms.

"Apartheid in South Africa is very much alive," he told reporters in Algiers who had asked his reaction to the Government's decision on Wednesday to abolish racial segregation in most hospitals.

It was not clear from his remarks whether he was fully aware of the plan to end segregation in hospitals, the latest reform launched by President FW de Klerk.

Speaking on hospital workers, Mandela said: ""The union for white workers is recognised by the Government and that of blacks is not"".

White workers earned a starting salary more than five times that of blacks.

""There are some black workers who have finished 30 years of service but are still temporary workers. That is not the position with white workers."

""There are hospitals that only receive white patients and where black patients are not allowed,"" he said.

Mandela, on a tour of African states, paid tribute to Algeria, where he received military training in 1961 from Algerian guerrillas.

""It is the Algerian army that made of me a man,"" he said.

He and his wife Winnie were greeted on their arrival by youths who chanted his name and waved ANC flags.

Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali, in an airport ceremony, hailed Mandela as a freedom fighter and said talks yesterday with President Chadli Benjedid would focus on ""ways to end the odious system of apartheid"". - Sepa-Reuter."
Jacob Zuma, the powerful and impressive head of ANC security, has come a long way from his poverty-stricken birth in the Nkandla forests "in the intestines of Zululand" 48 years ago.

Entirely self-taught and "schooled in the struggle," Zuma is the ANC's key backroom strategist. It was he who prepared the ground for the historic Groote Schuur talks between government and the ANC recently.

In this, he worked "very closely and very well" with Fanie van der Merwe, government's chief constitutional adviser. Zuma leads the ANC on the joint steering committee.

It's perhaps in the nature of his job that Zuma won't confirm the routine description of him as chief of ANC security and intelligence. Pressed about it, he laughs and says his official position is: member of the National Executive Committee (since 1978) -- adding that he works in the president's office charged with special tasks. According to Zuma, the onset of real negotiation with Pretoria, like the lifting of sanctions, will depend on "how and whether the obstacles will be removed, which would create the right climate" (see Current Affairs).

It was "the impact of oppression that propelled me deep into the struggle." His father died when he was very young and his mother worked as a domestic servant, the sole breadwinner for five children. "I was not even allowed to be with her. I grew up in Durban. I believed that only liberation would change things."

His brother, who was active in the union movement and a member of the ANC, was a major influence. Jacob joined the ANC when he was 17 (pretending to be a year older), and became a member of the military wing in 1962.

Attempting to leave the country the next year, Zuma was apprehended at Zeerust and sent to Robben Island for 10 years. On his release, he "continued to work and organise underground." After the arrest of his friend Harry Gwala, Zuma decided to skip SA in 1975. He went to Swaziland and later served as ANC head in Mozambique.

He was involved in the Nkomati Accord, "and that's part of the reason P W Botha wrote to the Mozambicans requesting that I should be shifted out." How things have changed!

Amsa rash Singh
ANC and unions call on De Klerk: ‘Strip Buthelezi of police powers!’

THE African National Congress and Cosatu yesterday called on the government to strip kwazulu’s chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his powers as kwazulu’s minister of police and to disband the kwazulu Police.

The call has catapulted the Natal crisis into the forefront of government-ANC negotiations and is set to become the first serious test of the Groote Schuur accord.

Under the slogan “disarm Buthelezi”, the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions launched the offensive yesterday, claiming the only way to peace was to abolish the KZP.

Cosatu added to the pressure with a resolution backing a week-long national stayaway unless strong action is taken to end Natal violence.

ANC southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota told the Weekly Mail: “It is our view that the government, which has provided Chief Buthelezi with a police force, must now take the responsibility to disarm him so that we may engage in open political activity.”

He said both sides undertook to do what they could to end the violence. For its part the ANC had agreed “to look hard at the question of the armed struggle”. However, the government had to play its part. Not only should the South African Police be curbed, but they should also take steps to curb the “violence from kwazulu”.

“We can play our part in holding back our people. But the government must do the same.”

Lekota said the KZP was “killing our people”.

Yesterday the Joint Working Committee, consisting of United Democratic Front and Cosatu members delegated to deal with ways of ending the violence, issued an edition of Umzimvulo, its official mouthpiece, saying the people of Natal had “had enough of murder, rape, assassinations and plunder at the hands of the KZP, the SAP, SADF, warlords and vigilantes”.

Previous attempts at organising peace talks with Buthelezi were listed, with claims he “found one excuse after another to avoid peace talks”.

“What is happening in Natal is the worst na-
'Strip Buthelezi of power'... 

Jerome Mncwabe, killed on Wednesday night.
Police said he was shot by two unknown men outside his house.

Last night Buthelezi described the ANC call as a concerted campaign to "further unsuccessfully attempt to destabilise the kwaZulu government and my leadership role".

"What they are doing is playing party political games with people's lives and I will have no part in it."

Buthelezi said he was alarmed by the threat of a stayaway which, he said, had in the past resulted in bloodshed.

"This is not democratic political action at work."
"I plead with the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and others who share their agendas to stop whipping up tensions," he said.

"Negotiate problems. Contact me personally. Walk into my office and talk about them but don't create a situation where you have to walk over bodies before you do so."

The demands listed in Umhombano are that the KZP be abolished, that an impartial peace-keeping police be in the affected areas, and for a judicial inquiry into the role of the police.

Cosatu's regional secretary Thami Mohlomi said the ANC and Cosatu were still open to peace talks with Buthelezi, but it was essential there be action "to curb the security forces". He said if there was no such action, Cosatu would organise a week-long national protest. This would be discussed by the ANC and its allies.

While the ANC complains that its members are the victims of a massive sustained onslaught by the KZP and other security forces, Inkatha is compiling a detailed dossier of their members, some senior, who have been killed by the other side.

Among these victims is prominent Inkatha member and Imbali councillor...
Blacks forced to support ANC, says CP’s Langley

The aim of widespread intimidation in South Africa and the self-governing territories was to force blacks to support the African National Congress, Tom Langley (CP Ventersdorp) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

"The Government has committed treason and is too use- less to protect these people," he said during an interpellation.

The interpellation was on whether the Government had been asked by the Namibian government to extradite certain people and what steps had been taken.

Mr Langley said the intimidation included arson, school boycotts and assaults, while 10 year-old tsetse ran around causing havoc.

There had not been one incident since February 2 that the Government had called the ANC to account for intimidation.

"The Government reminds me of a dog that sits down and wags its tail when it sees another, bigger dog approaching."

A great step forward

The Minister of Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said Mr Langley had delivered a tirade that could be ignored.

Admittedly there was much intimidation but the present political process was aimed at getting rid of all the violence.

Replying to a statement that a leader of a self-governing territory had said all the violence had occurred since the release of Nelson Mandela, Dr van der Merwe said all those leaders had asked for Mr Mandela to be released and for the ANC to be unbanned.

"The talks at Groote Schuur were a great step forward."

"We specifically discussed the matter of intimidation and violence with the ANC."

"If someone wanted me to join the CP, they would have to practise intimidation to get me to do so."

Mr Jacobus Botha (CP Wonderboom) said if he arrived with a can of petrol and a car tyre, Dr van der Merwe would soon join the CP. — Sapa.
F W. triumphs in Greece

EC to re-examine apartheid policy, says Greek leader

PETER FABRICIUS
MLAN DUNN and SAPA-REUTERS

ATHENS — President de Klerk’s swing through Europe continued yesterday with a diplomatic triumph in Greece.

Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis said that the European Community would re-examine its anti-apartheid policy in the light of Mr de Klerk’s political reforms.

“I am impressed by Mr de Klerk’s programme. In the light of the most recent developments in South Africa, the European Community will re-examine its anti-apartheid policy,” Mr Mitsotakis told a news conference.

His comments, after a private meeting with Mr de Klerk, were the strongest sign yet that the EC may reconsider economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Plan to lift sanctions

This followed highly successful talks this week with President Mitterrand of France and the Dutch government announcement today that it had drafted a plan under which the European Community would lift sanctions against South Africa in six stages.

The details have already been circulated to EC Foreign Ministers, and will probably be discussed at the next meeting in Brussels on May 10.

More good news from the tour yesterday was that Foreign Minister Pik Botha is to hold a surprise meeting here with his Canadian counterpart, Joe Clark.

Mr Botha will see him in Athens hotel tomorrow night to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries.

Mr Botha and Mr Clark will then have a working dinner at the hotel.

Mr Botha’s office would not say what the meeting with Mr Clark was about, but it is understood that it may concern Commonwealth matters.

South African delegates

The South African delegation consists of Mr Botha, his director-general Neil van Heerden, head of the sports departme
NP excited over ‘breakthrough’

Fast progress to more talks is expected

CAPE TOWN — Boosted by its breakthrough in last week’s talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur, government is hoping exploratory talks on the setting up of a body to negotiate a constitution could begin as early as June.

The State Security Council meets today and will brief the Groote Schuur meeting. It will also begin to consider the possibility of lifting the state of emergency, except in Natal.

The Klerk and De Klerk were briefed on the talks at a meeting in Stellenbosch on Saturday. One MP said the news that former president PW Botha had quit the party did not dampen the excitement over what had been achieved.

Mike Robertson

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) meets early this week to review its commitment to the armed struggle. ANC sources indicated it was possible a decision would be taken to initially suspend the armed struggle for three months.

Speaking at Stellenbosch University at the weekend, ANC international head Thabo Mbeki said: “It would be reasonable to make the assumption we are not very far from a process of negotiations which would involve all the political forces in the country in deciding what kind of SA we would like.”

Both government and the ANC committed themselves at Groote Schuur to doing their utmost to speedily remove obstacles in the way of full-scale negotiations.

Although some actions, like the scrapping of aspects of security legislation, will be possible only next year, senior members of government’s negotiating team believe this should not prevent talks about negotiations beginning late in June or in July.

The working committee appointed by President PW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to come up with a mutually acceptable definition of a political offence has been told to report by May 21.

Government will then consult with other affected parties, and it is hoped that soon after De Klerk returns from Europe it will be possible to begin implementing decisions.

Agreement on what constitutes a political offence could pave the way for the largescale release of people already serving sentences, the granting of immunity to exiles and the stopping of certain trials.

As a result of the Groote Schuur meeting, today’s parliamentary business has been rescheduled and a joint sitting will continue late into the night until the Indemnity Bill has been approved.

Once the Bill is approved De Klerk will grant temporary immunity from prosecution to the entire ANC executive and certain other key members of the organisation.

Mike Robertson

More talks

Mandela said on Friday: “Although I have been in touch with the State President as well as with other Ministers, it is always better that the organisation itself, through a recognised structure, should be able to establish channels of communication with the other body involved in the search for peace.”

Government sources indicated they had no serious objection to the setting up of such a structure. Since the April 5 meeting between the ANC and government, Mandela has had an almost direct line to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen, and government members are pleased with the results.

Reuter reports that the CP and PAC responded coolly to the outcome of the peace talks. The CP dismissed as “pious talk” a commitment to ending violence announced by government and the ANC.

The PAC said it would not suspend its own guerrilla campaign and would negotiate only when the transfer of the majority of land to blacks was on the agenda.
No guarantees, says Du Plessis

It was true that the Budget indicated a new direction, but it had to be emphasised that this new direction was not without risk, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to the Budget debate he said proper management of this risk had to be done with the support of political parties who also wanted a process of political reform to proceed.

Support for the Budget reflected one’s political desires.

The management of wealth was as important today as ownership of wealth, and in many cases gave even more power than ownership.

It was essential that the productive capacity of the economy be not only maintained, but expanded. “With this Budget we have succeeded in taking some steps towards appropriately redistributing the economy.”

Longer-term economic strategies should not only be sustainable but equitable. It was only with an equitable economic system that one could have an equitable political system.

In design and response the Budget had brought forward very important issues, including the promotion of equal opportunity by investment in human capital. This aspect must have come as a nasty surprise to the CP, which had excelled in identifying itself as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution.

Socialism

No response to the Budget reflected the changing attitude in the country more clearly than that of the DP and its chief spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz. He wanted to give a very special word of thanks to Mr Schwarz and the DP, which had departed from years of tradition by supporting this Budget.

The Government appreciated the fact that the DP had taken a longer-term view of the Interests of SA and time which called on each South African to give of his best in the search for solutions.

Mr du Plessis said it was a misconception that apartheid was equivalent to capitalism. The opposite was true: Apartheid was equivalent to socialism.

Apartheid implied not only a centrally controlled economy, but a centrally controlled country. Apartheid dictated where one could live, work and vote.

He noted that the Chairman of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J H Reddy, had said one could not ask for disinvestment and jobs at the same time.

This was a lesson that could be taken to heart by people not yet in Parliament.

Mr du Plessis also paid tribute to the media for their coverage of the Budget, which he said had been comprehensive and had given meaningful guidance to the public. — Sapa.

Barend reproved for befuddling Hansard

The Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, was lightheartedly called to order yesterday over his sound effects when he compared CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to a buzzing bee.

Mr du Plessis began his reply to the Budget debate by criticising Dr Treurnicht’s absence from the Chamber, saying CP members had repeatedly commented on the absence of Cabinet members during the debate.

Delivering Dr Treurnicht’s speech in the debate, he said the CP leader had said CP found it fit to zoom in last week like a bee to sit on a flower.

And then he found it fitting to leave the Chamber right after he’d buzz,” the DRP interjected, “The Minister is making it a bit difficult for Hansard.” — Sapa.

‘High interest rates still necessary’

It would not be possible to bring down inflation unless high interest rates were maintained, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to the first reading debate on the Budget, he said such interest rates were a necessary pain.

Turning to disparities in State spending, he said while this Budget was the best the Government could have done at this stage, it was reviewing its five-year fiscal plan and would look at disparities again.

The State did not see its way clear to paying a bonus at this stage, but if ever it did, it would be directed at the elderly.

Referring to a statement that the Government’s revenue was determined for it and not by it, Mr du Plessis said his colleagues regularly came to him to see how moves could be made within the Budget.

He had received no such representations from Ministers in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, to which the Chairman of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse, interjected: “We submitted a budget and you cut it.”

Turning to privatisation, Mr du Plessis said its aim was to loosen available fixed capital for the socio-economic uplift of all South Africans; it could be used more efficiently and for the tax base to be broadened.

A mechanism had also to be found to deal meaningfully with State surpluses.

Cures had to be taken not to fall into the trap of ideology; that wrong options could be prevented. — Sapa.
NON-VIOLENCE

Coretta King in town

Coretta Scott King, widow of the slain civil rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr, made a quiet visit to SA last month where she met ANC leaders as well as churchmen who want to establish her late husband’s non-violence movement in this country.

King was in SA for a weekend on a transit stop between Namibia and Zambia. She met ANC leader Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Jeff Masemola, who died a few days later. She also met Nelson and Winnie Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport as they were jetting off to London for the Wembley Stadium concert in his honour.

Later, in Zimbabwe for the independence celebration, King said the Atlanta-based King Center for Non-Violent Change had sought ways to make “a positive and constructive contribution” to the elimination of apartheid. She also said the centre was interested in finding out how best to raise funds for southern African organisations, including the ANC.

A spokesman in Atlanta, however, says the non-profit King Center is apolitical. “We are not aligned with any political system,” according to Cleveland Dennard, acting CEO. “We are a non-government organisation affiliated with the United Nations.”

But there are problems. The ANC is not a non-violent organisation. “Nelson Mandela tells us to throw our people into the sea,” says clergyman Joe Tshawane, director of the Martin Luther King Project SA. “But then we need something else. We are responding to the call of our leader. We are not countering the liberation struggle. We want to strengthen, galvanise it. There is nothing wrong with anger, but after anger what happens? It is human nature to fight back, but we must channel that energy into something fruitful.”

King visited the Braamfontein building that Tshawane and his associates are negotiating to buy and turn into the Martin Luther King Transformation Centre SA, a home for non-violent-skills training. King, who is the CEO and founding president of the Atlanta centre, has not yet committed resources to the SA group. But the support is expected and SA would then become the first foreign affiliate.

“We are still refining the details,” Dennard says. “We expect to work with them on training and the like.”

Tshawane says when his group approached Atlanta “they strongly recommended that we get Desmond Tutu and Alan Boesak to support us so as not to be seen as running against the wishes of the people.”

In addition to convincing local leaders that they don’t want to step on any toes, Tshawane and Twelisi Thandekiso, general secretary of the King Project, have got to convince the troops on the ground that non-violence can work in all aspects of life. “Non-violence is sometimes taken as meaning pas-

sive,” Thandekiso says. “People think it means do nothing. It never meant that, even in Martin Luther King’s day.

“We’ll come in with training. That was where Martin was strong. He not only said ‘Let’s go’, but also ‘What are we marching for?’ He didn’t rush ahead; first they studied the problem.”

The training will focus on leadership skills, sorely lacking in the under-educated black youth. “They have to learn negotiating politics,” Thandekiso says. “This is a sharp contrast to confrontational politics.”

Tshawane says that when he shops the ideas of King around he often hears a familiar refrain: “If you use Martin Luther King in SA, adapt his ideas. Just don’t transplant a US idea to SA. The struggle is different.”

He agrees: “We can steal something from the Civil Rights movement and look around at our own heroes. Young people are long for a model, someone they can aspire to be like. Apuhrithi meant that they were not available to us.”

Maureen Sullivan

THE STOMPIE TRIAL

The good wife

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, obviously feeling the sting of criticism about his wife, said in Nigeria on Sunday that the persecution she suffered while he was imprisoned for 27 years continued.

He told a crowd of 30,000 that Winnie “has been the victim of the most scandalous persecution by the government and its agencies. Even now, as I am talking to you, she is still being persecuted in SA.”

He did not refer specifically to the murder trial of Jerry Richardson, coach of the so-called football club that acted as Winnie’s bodyguards. Richardson has pleaded not guilty to killing Stompie Moeketsi Seipe, a 14-year-old activist whose body was found in a Soweto field early last year. Three men have testified in the Rand Supreme Court that Richardson and Winnie Mandela beat and whipped them, along with Stompie, at her Diepkloof Extension home in December 1988.

Taking the witness stand for the first time on Tuesday, Richardson said he did not kill Stompie Seipe. He did admit having taken part in removing the boy, along with Barend Mono, Gabriel Mekgwe and Kenneth Kgase from a Soweto Methodist church to the
Jacob Zuma, the powerful and impressive head of ANC security, has come a long way from his poverty-stricken birth in the Nkandla forests "in the intestines of Zulu land" 48 years ago.

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He was involved in the Nkomati Accord, "and that's part of the reason P W Botha wrote to the Mozambicans requesting that I should be shifted out." How things have changed!

Amarath Singh
ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said from Luanda yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to meet European leaders early next month.

Mandela, who is presently touring African states, will meet EC members in Brussels on June 3, French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris on June 8, West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn on June 9 and the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on June 10. He is also to meet a Swiss leader, whose name was not available.

The dates, however, were still tentative, Sebina said.

It was expected that sanctions and government talks with the ANC would top the agenda, Sebina said.

Mandela is also scheduled to visit Britain early in June for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Mandela

It was reliably learnt that the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, was instructed to back away from statements that De Klerk’s visit, coming only a week before Mandela's arrival in the US, was an 'insult'.

However, this does not appear to have eased the election-year concerns of leading senators and congressmen, who believe they will have to take a tough line with De Klerk if he comes on June 18.

A number of key legislators have informed the White House that if De Klerk comes after Mandela, they will be able to give him a far warmer welcome.

Amid expectations that the state of emergency will not be fully renewed on June 12, and that Pretoria might soon accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lawmakers have indicated this welcome could include a number of concrete benefits to SA.

Nonetheless, the administration is extremely anxious not to be construed as pressuring De Klerk to change his dates. He is expected in Washington on June 17-19.
PAC T-shirt man fired for insubordination

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE and DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporters

PENINSULA. Packaging driver Mr Chris Lewis, suspended for wearing a Pan Africanist Congress T-shirt, has been dismissed, according to a South African Chemical Workers' Union official, Mr Peter Roman.

Mr Lewis was suspended on Tuesday after the management allegedly ordered him several times to stop wearing the T-shirt.

Mr Roman said Mr Lewis was dismissed at a disciplinary hearing yesterday when he was found "guilty of refusal to obey a reasonable and lawful instruction not to wear political apparel outside the company's premises while doing deliveries to clients during working hours".

The hearing found that the worker had been "insubordinate and disrespectful" towards the director of a company to which he had delivered goods by threatening him with assault.

The dismissal letter added: "We remind you of your right to appeal against these findings should you wish to do so, failing which we will assume that you do not want to pursue the matter."

Mr Roman said not only the union, but also the PAC, of which Mr Lewis was a member, condemned this "blatant intimidation in strongest term".

He said 20 company workers, also PAC members, demonstrated outside the company's Stikland premises in protest after the finding.

The union would take further steps.

Approached for comment, Peninsula Packaging director Mr Johan Venter said the issue "went far beyond the mere wearing of a T-shirt". Mr Lewis was dismissed for "gross insubordination and threatening conduct."

"It is not correct that the company is dismissing an employee merely for wearing a PAC T-shirt."

"The employee concerned has been charged and found guilty of refusal to obey a legal and lawful instruction, verbal abuse and several threats of physical assault on company management and gross insubordination."

He said that twice Mr Lewis had to be restrained from assaulting him and the factory manager.

Mr Lewis had also refused to leave the company premises when asked.
Worker dismissed for PAC T-shirt

Staff Reporter

A DELIVERY driver who insisted on wearing a Pan-Africanist Congress T-shirt has been fired by a Stikland packaging company.

Manager of the packaging company, Mr. Gerhard Naude, said last night that the company's main reason for dismissing Mr. Chris Lewis was because of insubordination to a company director, Mr. Johan Venter.

"And the second reason is the wearing of the PAC T-shirt outside the premises. We asked him several times not to wear the T-shirt," said Mr. Naude.

A spokesman for the SA Chemical Workers' Union in the Western Cape, Mr. Peter Roman, said the union strongly condemned the "unfair" dismissal.
Aussies give R30 million to ANC

PRETORIA - Australia is to give the ANC 15 million Australian dollars (about R30 million) over the next three years "to assist in the reintegration and development of South African victims of apartheid".

A press statement from the Australian embassy said the announcement was made by the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting on Southern Africa in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday.

"The majority of the new funds will be earmarked for humanitarian and educational activities," he said. — Sapa
ALGIERS. — President Chadli Benjedid decorated ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela with Algeria's highest honour yesterday in tribute to his anti-apartheid struggle.

The Algerian news agency APS said Mr. Mandela was awarded the Wissam al-Athir (Medal of Distinction) for his "courageous struggle to free his people from exploitation and servitude."

Mr. Mandela, who arrived on Wednesday night, last visited Algeria to receive military training in 1981 from Algerian guerillas fighting a war of independence against France. On arrival he said it was the Algerian army that had made him a man.

An estimated 100,000 people marched yesterday through central Algiers, singing patriotic songs and chanting for the ruling National Liberation Front. Proclaimed as "national demonstration of fraternity and solidarity", the march was intended as a reply to the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front and the pro-democracy movement, which organised similar, separate demonstrations during the past month. — Sapa-Reuters-AP
OWN Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk had lost control of the police force who remained “as brutal as ever”, former police officer Mr Gregory Rockman said in a BBC radio interview here yesterday.

He was speaking on the eve of Mr De Klerk’s visit to Britain and in the wake of this week’s “Trojan horse” killing of two people by police in Maokeng.

He said there was no sign that Mr De Klerk’s recent call for policemen to stay out of politics was being heeded. “It shows that Mr De Klerk is out of control of his police and they are still going on as brutal(ly) as ever before with their racism.”

• The sit-in at the West German consulate by five Popcr members is under discussion by the joint government-ANC committee and a decision will be released on Monday, one of them said yesterday.

Warrant Officer Peter Loggenberg said the regional ANC representative, Mr Trevor Manuel, had contacted him to tell him this after an initial meeting with them on Wednesday.
Richardson admits murder attempt

JOHANNESBURG. — The one-time coach of the so-called Mandela United Football Club, Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, yesterday admitted he had tried to murder a Soweto man, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, but he denied murdering teenage activist “Stompet” Moketsi Selpel.

He has pleaded not guilty to the murder of Stompet, the attempted murder of Mr Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Under cross-examination Mr Richardson admitted in the Rand Supreme Court he had tried to murder Mr Ikaneng.

Earlier he had said Mr Ikaneng had tried to escape after taking football jerseys without his permission.

Giving evidence yesterday, Ms Xoliswa Falati said one of the young men accommodated by the Reverend Paul Verryn at his Soweto Methodist Church had vowed to kill Mr Verryn because the priest had allegedly abused him sexually.

Ms Falati told the court the young man, Katiswa Cebekhulu, told her on December 29, 1988, he was going to stab and kill Mr Verryn because the priest had abused him sexually one night at the church.

The trial continues. — Sapa
FW visit to US
‘okayed by ANC’

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — An official of President George Bush’s administration says the ANC leadership has assured the US government that it has no objection to President F W de Klerk seeing Mr Bush next month.

The administration sought this assurance from the ANC after its local representatives endorsed demands by anti-apartheid activist Mr Randall Robinson and the Reverend Jesse Jackson that Mr De Klerk’s proposed visit be stopped.

It was reliably learnt that the ANC’s chief US representative, Mr Lindiwe Mabuza, has been instructed to back away from statements that Mr De Klerk’s visit, coming only a week before ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela’s arrival in the US, was an “insult”.

However, this does not appear to have eased the election-year concerns of leading senators and congressmen who believe they will have to take a tough line with Mr De Klerk if he comes on June 18.

A number of key legislators have informed the White House that if Mr De Klerk comes after Mr Mandela, they will be able to give him the far warmer welcome they feel he deserves.

Amid expectations that the State of Emergency will not be fully renewed on June 12 and that Pretoria may soon accede to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the lawmakers have indicated this welcome could include a number of concrete benefits to SA.
Mandela's Merc is made

EAST LONDON:—Workers at the Mercedes-Benz plant here have completed the car they were building for ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Company spokeswoman Mrs Wendy Hoffman confirmed yesterday that the car had been completed, but said no date had been set for when it would be given to Mr Mandela.

A majority of hourly-paid workers, as well as some salaried staff, worked four hours overtime for no pay to foot the bill for the red 500SE Mercedes-Benz.
far as saying the NP should opt for a name change as well — the NP should forget the notion that a white ticket can play any future role. The party, if it hopes to be a force, has to be fully multiracial. This, coupled with De Klerk’s leadership, would be the only way to mobilise support.”

ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki had this to say in a recent interview with the FM: “I think basically the question is: has the NP accepted the notion that it should no longer be the ruling party? The power must pass out of its hands . . .

“Has the NP accepted that outcome? I don’t know. If they have we might very well be closer to a solution to the problem. Fundamental to that must be that power passes out of their hands. In any democratic setting, if tomorrow you said let all the people of SA elect a new parliament, the NP would be a very tiny minority party.”

Estherhuys has no doubt the Nationalists will eventually open membership to all races: “De Klerk has a blitzkrieg approach to problems. He has made some drastic changes and will now consolidate his position. As we move along it will become clear to all that the opening up of party ranks is imperative for survival. De Klerk is waiting for that moment.”

Cillie — though apparently still uneasy about the consequences — agrees that the NP should look across colour barriers. Such a step, for a traditionally white party, spells discomfort in the ranks. Viljoen’s deputy Roelf Meyer is not prepared openly to support the idea of an open party.

“I cannot pre-empt party decisions,” he says. “Constitutional changes will be decided by the party organs.” But, he adds, “Natural development is of course part of the new SA, which will comprise all the people of this land. And the NP wants to be part of the new SA . . .”

Estherhuys believes strongly that an alliance with the ANC is the only viable prospect for NP survival. “As far as I am concerned, the ANC, together with the NP, will form part of the middle ground. That would include the majority of people in SA . . .

Anyone in the NP who thinks that the party could form an alliance with any group to the Right of the NP and survive is insane.”

He estimates that 17m people would be eligible to vote in a new dispensation and that “anyone who thinks less than 8m of those people would support the ANC does not know black politics.”

Inkhata, says Estherhuys, is losing support daily though he foresees that a sort of political understanding could develop between Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC — without the former necessarily merging with the ANC.

DP co-leader Zach de Beer agrees that SA needs a broadly based coalition government. Unlike as it may seem, the leaders of the NP and ANC would one day be seated in one government, he recently told a DP meeting. Where would the DP stand then?

The idea of a coalition government is gaining ground — it is supported by UCT’s David Welsh, for example. Estherhuys favours a lower house based on a one-man, one-vote system and an upper house with representation on the basis of political groups. That too would mean that “the NP has to broaden its support base by opening ranks. The bottom line is a multiparty system. That must be guaranteed in a future constitution.” He believes a constitution based on the US federal system would satisfy all South Africans. (“And the Americans would buy it immediately.”)

Rhodri says his centre’s research indicates De Klerk enjoys significant support in all population groups — making him an excellent candidate for the presidency in a federal system.

Since De Klerk has unconditiondly committed his party to negotiations, the demolition of all the pillars of apartheid must follow. The NP itself may or may not go in this process — but until then, it cannot be expected that De Klerk would relinquish power, Estherhuys believes.

The crucial compromise would be to accept de facto leaders of political parties as representing the claims and aspirations of wider constituencies, he says.

Like Estherhuys, we believe that a party name-change is imperative, for him and his New Nats to play a significant role in genuinely national politics. The NP has lost many of its white Afrikaner supporters and, as De Klerk continues to throw old NP ideologies overboard, will continue to do so.

The name-change would be profoundly symbolic. It would signify more than anything else the de facto emergence of a new party — one which has rid itself of inhibiting links to past influences. In such a party, converted Nats, the majority of English-speakers and, most importantly, moderate blacks could join together to look to the future rather than dwell on the prejudices, injustices and mistakes of history.

De Klerk’s actions are manifestly at variance with what his own party once stood for. While the policies of all political parties tend to vary over time, the NP has undergone a metamorphosis. It needs to give, through a new name, public recognition to this fact as well as to exorcise the past. And to prepare itself philosophically for coalition government.

New Nats and Mandela . . . shuffling towards coalition
A way over the chasm

Coalition between the NP and ANC is emerging as a serious possibility

Who could blame President F W de Klerk for being so cheerful last week when he stepped out into the French sunshine in the amiable company of Francois Mitterrand? No Nationalist leader has ever before been welcome at the Elysée Palace: F W's European tour had begun on a triumphal note.

The Europeans want him to succeed. So do most South Africans, though he obviously cannot deliver everyone's idea of the best possible future. As for those who oppose him... their potential for disruption will one day have to be met head-on.

It is appropriate to consider where De Klerk is leading us, and whether he can completely shed his inheritance of 42 years of Nat failure in order to get us there.

In some ways, the victory overseas... certainly in the short term... seems almost assured. That is a matter of convincing world leaders of his sincerity and he is scarcely lacking in that department. De Klerk seems to impress world leaders (and the ANC's Nelson Mandela), which begs the question: are we witnessing, possibly for the first time in history, a Western leader voluntarily negotiating himself out of power?

It looks that way to many Afrikaners. Long-serving Nat watcher and confidant of the party hierarchy, Naspers chairman Piet Cillie, comments: "Recent developments are the most far-reaching ever in the history of the Afrikaner." Cillie voices concern that De Klerk may not have fully calculated the risks... or that he is not completely clear on what the end of the reform road holds in sight. "It is imperative that De Klerk's reforms result in material benefits, economic growth and peace. Continuing violence in 1977 broke John Vorster," he says.

More outspoken on the downside is Gerrit Veldhuyzen, editor of the Pretoria-based Transvaal, flagships of the Palskor stable. Government, he feels, is not doing enough to eradicate the fears of white voters: "The people are in the dark. They believe that government itself does not have the answer. They believe that they do not know where they are going."

That's why many turn to the CP, ideological heir of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Nic Rhodie, head of the Human Sciences Research Council's Centre for Conflict Ana-

ysis and Management, is not overly concerned about an exodus to the CP. In Democracy in Action, Rhodie says the NP is no longer seen as a tribal party; it has a high degree of viability, he feels.

Voter fears are partly due to ignorance, he says, which "leads them to interpret the crisis wrongly... as well as the claims of the ANC... and the pronouncements of President De Klerk."

In some ways the Afrikaner is demoralised. After all, Die Burger, under Cillie's editorship, endorsed Verwoerd's vision of blacks streaming back from the cities to "their" homelands. This was what Grand Apartheid was all about, giving it a tenuous moral legitimacy. But, Cillie notes wryly, it "didn't happen... we did not have the will or ability to succeed and the vision of such a policy was systematically dismantled."

The resultant about-turn which confronted Nat thinking took place in 1982 when leading Afrikaner academic Fip Machtens prophetically denounced the homeland policy. "We were confronted with the idea of a united Klerk's strong moral convictions. They could be part and parcel of his make-up as a Dopper in the Potchefstrom-based Reformed Church group, he believes. "I do not think that De Klerk is just busy with fancy footwork; I think there is a strong moral commitment on his part. The fact that Nelson Mandela says he accepts De Klerk's integrity is more revolutionary than his statements on nationalisation."

Estehuyse, who along with other influential Stellenbosch academics became an outcast towards the end of the PW Botha regime... says the difference of style between Botha and De Klerk is that of coercion and conviction. "The disappearance of the domineering personality of Botha resulted in the psychological emancipation of the political culture within the Nat caucus. Intellectuals like De Klerk's chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, are now for the first time enjoying their rightful position. The same cannot be said for the influential role business leaders are playing. All this is strengthening De Klerk's hand."

This seems true of the NP caucus... but what of the electorate? To whites it may seem as if concessions are being made from one side only. Mandela has said the ANC would reconsider the armed struggle but De Klerk has announced that the Group Areas Act would be scrapped. Responding to Mandela's hard line on group rights... that they are not even for discussion... Nat insiders have meekly said the issue was not a sacred cow, forgetting that guarantees on group rights were precisely what De Klerk and Viljoen held out to the white minority not all that long ago.

Voters have come to understand what is said during election rallies, congresses and in parliament may differ vastly from agreements actually reached at negotiation tables. From that they can easily draw their own conclusions about the consequences of fully-fledged negotiations. In terms of sheer numbers, the NP's chances of winning an election under universal franchise must be zero. Not even protection of group rights would avert that... unless of course the group concept is a disguised form of entrenching white rule, like the tricameral parliament. De Klerk knows that would wreck the talks.

An imaginative leap seems necessary... and possible. Estehuyse sees no other alternative for the NP but to open its ranks. "I am sorry that they have not done so now. I would go as

Pik Botha, F W, Viljoen... reform beyond the party

SA, Cillie recalls. "The message, however, was never relayed by politicians, who often ration the truth."

One implication of accepting this failure of policy... and all that goes with it... is that the days of Afrikaner hegemony centred upon Tuyunhuys might be numbered. That is what De Klerk is apparently willing to risk. While some British politicians (Enoch Powell is one) have been willing to sacrifice the highest office because of principles, such scrupulousness is not common in the NP where many have waited out their time under rulers with whom they have sometimes violently disagreed.

Stellenbosch political philosopher Willie Estehuyse attributes the change to De
negotiations with government. (In)

He foresaw no division on the question of ending the armed struggle, as government has demanded.

"The ANC has gone through many stages in the struggle. It always analyses the situation as new elements arise, taking appropriate decisions. These are supported in totality from the top to bottom of the organisation. I am sure that moving from the Harare Declaration of last year — if there were any problems, they would have emerged by now. The Groote Schuur talks were an element of that declaration."

Real constitutional negotiation, said Zuma, would depend on how and whether the obstacles to talks would be removed, which would create the correct climate. Sanctions are also going to depend on the obstacles being removed, he said.

How does the ANC view the PAC and is it concerned about losing support to the Afrikanists? "Not at all," Zuma replied. "We have a history of struggle. What is the PAC? While we don’t necessarily wish to waste our time talking about the PAC, I don’t know what the PAC is doing. The ANC declared the armed struggle and fought it. The PAC also declared one but did not fight it. No one can teach the ANC about the liberation struggle."

Zuma declined to say much about political competition with Inkatha, except that he is confident the ANC "has the majority in any part of the country."

\textit{Atishna Singh}
CAPE TOWN — The Stikland packaging company worker who was suspended from duty for wearing a Pan Africanist Congress T-shirt has now been dismissed, a South African Chemical Workers Union official, Peter Roman said yesterday.

Chris Lewis, a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union who worked as driver for Peninsular Packaging, was suspended on Tuesday after management had allegedly ordered him on several occasions to take off his T-shirt.

A disciplinary hearing also found that the worker had been “grossly insubordinate and disrespectful” towards the director of a company to which he had delivered goods by threatening him with assault.

Approached for comment, Peninsular Packaging Director Johan Venter said that the issue “went far beyond the mere wearing of a T-shirt” but included threats of assault on himself and the company manager. Mr Lewis had to be physically restrained.

Some 20 company workers, also PAC members, demonstrated outside the company’s premises in protest after the findings had been made known.

Mr Lewis has the right to appeal.
Set to Escalate

Armed Struggle

Ceasefire a key ANG bargaining-chip in talks, say experts

Source: 05/1989

THE SUGGESTION OF THE

STANDARD OF THE TERRORIST

SOURCE

DEFEAT

TERROR AND SUBVERSIVE ATTACKS
ANC exile ordered to India

TORONTO — The Canadian government has ruled that a South African anti-apartheid activist be sent to India — a country he does not know.

Mr. Mahmoud Randeree, born in South Africa and now living in Winnipeg, has been a member of the ANC for the past 16 years.

He arrived in Canada last year and applied for refugee status on the grounds that he feared persecution in South Africa.

Last month a federal screening panel for refugee claimants rejected his application and decided he be sent to India. Aside from a five-week visit in 1988, he has never had any association with India.

"Once I get to the airport what do I do?" he asked. "It is frightening. I don't know anybody and I don't speak the language. I am shocked by the decision," he said.

If Randeree fails to leave Canada by June 10 he is likely to face a deportation order.

Mr. Randeree, 35, is the son of a Winnipeg physician and is working as a volunteer at the Manitoba Coalition of Organisations Against Apartheid.

He left South Africa at the age of 10 when his parents fled for political reasons.

After completing his education in Britain and East Germany, he worked for the ANC in Tanzania from 1984 to 1988.

"My future is uncertain. I cannot return to South Africa as it is still unsafe for ANC members despite recent promises of reform," he claimed.

Mr. Randeree's father, Dr. Ahmad Randeree, said he expected his son to violate the departure notice. Instead he would remain in Canada and the government would probably issue a deportation order. — Sapa
ANC fights rearguard action

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRUSSELS. — The African National Congress is fighting a desperate rearguard action in Europe as President De Klerk marches across the Continent, blasting salvoes at the Maginot Line of sanctions and isolation.

ANC offices across Europe have been watching his advance in dismay and putting up mostly feeble resistance to try to counter him.

"Europe is starting to give in to De Klerk on sanctions," said Mr Sisa Ngombane, deputy head of the ANC's Brussels office this week as Mr De Klerk passed through.

"Not a good sign"

"The warmth of his reception here is not a good sign for us. Governments that have been discreet about seeing him are now coming out with lavish state receptions."

He openly admits that he is extremely concerned about the apparent crumbling of the resistance of European governments.

And the will of the anti-apartheid movement also seems to be crumbling.

In France a small handful of demonstrators tried to obstruct Mr De Klerk's flying cavalcade by releasing a barrage of balloons in ANC colours — but did so prematurely as the Press contingent passed by.

In Greece there was more substantial protest — which was hijacked by anarchists and led to arson and injury.

In Portugal the anti-apartheid movement and the ANC were invisible as usual.

In Brussels all of 26 people gathered at the European Commission's headquarters to protest against EC president Mr Jacques Delors meeting Mr De Klerk.

And even in Britain — home of the anti-apartheid movement — about the same number of demonstrators greeted Mr De Klerk as he arrived at his hotel.

By contrast Mr De Klerk has been well-received in all those countries and all their governments appear to have accepted the sincerity of his intention to carry through with reform.

And even the normally unsympathetic European Commission President Mr Jacques Delors — widely dubbed as the emerging prime minister of Europe — acknowledged that a process of "permanent evolution" towards a new society seemed to have begun in South Africa.

This was close to acceptance that the changes initiated by Mr De Klerk in South Africa were "irreversible" — the key condition set by the EC for the lifting of sanctions.

This sort of acknowledgement is a blow to the ANC which insists that sanctions must continue until a constituent assembly is elected or even until a new constitution is implemented. The stage has now been set for tough exchanges when ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela visits Europe next month to try to repair some of the damage done to the sanctions policy.

Although many diplomats say that out of deference to him, no changes will be announced until he has been to Europe, it now seems that he will be fighting a rearguard action.

"We would like to see sanctions maintained until concrete results have been attained, until the process of change is irreversible," Mr Sisa Ngombane said.

That point would be reached when all apartheid laws had been scrapped and the mechanisms had been put in place for drafting a new constitution.

Mr Ngombane is pinning his hopes on Mr Mandela's visit to counter the De Klerk drive.

He points out that Mr Mandela will receive honours that Mr De Klerk could not hope for — such as a rare invitation by an outsider to address the European Parliament.
ANC stays firm on sanctions

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC yesterday reiterated its commitment to the retention of sanctions, as President F W de Klerk prepared to discuss the issue today with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

While Mr De Klerk might be discussing the issue with European leaders, the ANC believed it was premature to consider dropping sanctions. ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

"There is certainly no irreversible progress in the elimination of the apartheid system."

Mr Nzo believes a political settlement will be reached within the next five years.

Asked what time-scale he expected before negotiations ended in a settlement and a democratic system, he said that before the talks with the government he thought it would be "an impossible task to arrive at any agreement".

However, they had already agreed on the Groote Schuur Minute.

"There is a sense that people want it settled."

He said Mr De Klerk and the NP had spoken in terms of a five-year programme, but it was not certain they would stick to it. His feeling was that they would.

"I do not think it will be a protracted process."

While President De Klerk was yesterday preparing for today's talks with Mrs Thatcher, the Anti-Apartheid Movement promised a substantial demonstration by hundreds of supporters outside the Prime Minister's Chequers country house, where they will meet.

A rally featuring leading anti-apartheid speakers, including Cape Town's rebel former policeman Lt Gregory Bockman, was scheduled in London last night, and an AAM spokesman said about 300 protesters armed with banners and placards would be bussed to the entrances to Chequers this morning.

• A special committee of Commonwealth foreign ministers said in Abuja, Nigeria, yesterday that they would appeal to leaders of the European Community and the world's seven richest nations not to halt sanctions against South Africa.

After a two-day meeting that ended on Thursday, the ministers agreed with appeals from South African nationalist leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Nigerian military leader President Ibrahim Babangida that President De Klerk had not done enough toward ending his country's system of legal racial segregation. — Sapa
Witnesses differ about Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Conflicting evidence about Mrs Winnie Mandela's whereabouts at the time teenage activist Stompie Sepele disappeared was given in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, the last day of the defence case.

Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, former coach of the so-called Mandela United Football Team, has pleaded not guilty of the murder of 14-year-old Stompie, whose decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto early last year.

He has also pleaded not guilty to the attempted murder of a Soweto man, Mr Andrew Ikaneng, four kidnapping charges and five of assault.

Evidence yesterday was that Mrs Mandela was in the Free State on December 29, 1988, when Stompie, Mr Barend Mono, 20, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe, 21, and Mr Kenneth Kgase, 30, were allegedly kidnapped from the Rev Paul Verryn's Soweto church and kept "prisoner" at Mrs Mandela's house.

Mrs Norah Moahluli of Brandfort, Free State, testified that Mrs Mandela arrived in Brandfort on December 29, 1988, and left again on December 31, after consulting leaders of various community projects in the area.

But political activist Ms Xoliswa Falati testified that Mrs Mandela was at her Soweto home on December 29, 1988, and that she and Mrs Mandela had taken a young man to a Soweto medical practitioner, Dr Abu-baker Asvat, for treatment the same day.

Ms Falati, who had been staying at Mr Verryn's church at the time, said Katiswa Cebekhulu had complained to her that Mr Verryn had abused him sexually.

Dr Asvat was gunned down in January last year. Ms Falati said he had been killed to destroy evidence which could prove Mr Verryn engaged in homosexuality.

When the prosecutor, Mr L C J van Vuuren, put it to her that Dr Asvat was shot dead in a robbery, Ms Falati said: "It is a vivid lie."

She also told the court that Johannesburg lawyer Mr Ismael Ayob had suggested to her last year that Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe were "sell-outs" and that Mr Nelson Mandela, then in Victor Verster Prison, wanted to have them moved from the Mandela home.

Yesterday Mr Richardson's lawyers handed in to court a letter indicating that Mrs Mandela had been advised by lawyers not to give evidence in the murder trial.

The defence closed its case and the hearing will continue on Monday. — Sapa
Many firms criticise PAC shirt wearers

IT WAS becoming commonplace for workers who wore Pan Africanist Congress T-shirts to be reprimanded by their companies, said the internal foreign secretary of the PAC, Mrs Patricia de Lille, in reaction to the firing of a Stikland packaging company driver.

"Many companies adopt this attitude," she said.

"We find that at these companies there are workers wearing ANC sweaters but only workers who wear PAC T-shirts are reprimanded. The PAC strongly condemns the action taken by the packaging company," said Mrs De Lille.

The PAC would "exhaust company procedures first" before taking legal action, she said.

Mr Chris Lewis was dismissed this week, following a company disciplinary hearing.

He said: "When management informed me of the dismissal, I appealed immediately. If the appeal does not work, then further steps will be taken. The matter will be taken to the Industrial Court."

Mr Lewis has also laid a charge of assault against company director Mr Johan Venter, who allegedly attacked and "verbally abused" him on Tuesday.
ANC taking census of all exiles

LONDON. — The external wing of the African National Congress, in exile since the early 1960s, is planning its return home.

It is carrying out a census of its exiled membership around the world with a view to their repatriation — and hopes the government will contribute to their eventual return to South Africa.

Secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, who has lived in exile for 26 years, told a press briefing here yesterday that a repatriation committee was set up by the ANC in Lusaka, following legislation enabling exiles to return. He said the ANC had raised the possibility of the government assisting with their repatriation during the first talks with the government in early May. Many, like himself, had not left of their own free will, but because of apartheid.

He said the matter was being discussed by the working group set up after the talks.
Apartheid still in place—Mandela

ALGIERS. Any government advocating immediate lifting of sanctions against South Africa either supported apartheid or was “totally ignorant”, Mr. Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The African National Congress leader, ending a three-day visit to Algeria before heading to Libya, told a news conference here about his plans for an upcoming tour of Europe.

Mr. Mandela said he would tell government leaders that apartheid was still in place, despite the reform initiatives of President F. W. de Klerk, and that Europe should make no move yet towards lifting or easing sanctions.

In apparent reference to British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher’s policies, Mr. Mandela said: “Any country that argues the time has come to lift sanctions is totally ignorant of what is going on in South Africa, or is a supporter of apartheid.”

Mr. Mandela declined to answer when asked whether he would meet Mrs. Thatcher on his European tour in June.

He said Mr. De Klerk’s government was trying to take advantage of conflict among South African blacks to “eliminate members of those organisations whom the authorities regard as a threat to minority government”.

But he stressed that the ANC was prepared to make compromises in coming talks with the government on all except one basic issue—“the principle of one person, one vote”.

“We are prepared to address the fears of whites that this principle will bring one-sided rule,” he said. “We are prepared to guarantee the basic rights of all people, black and white.

“No one goes to a negotiating table if he is not prepared to compromise,” he added.

Mr. Mandela had a long meeting on Thursday with President Chadli Bendjedid in which he thanked the Algerian leader for support during his imprisonment. He was due to meet Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in Tripoli, then go to Cairo to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Mr. Mandela has cancelled a visit to Kenya until further notice, citing heavy commitments in South Africa, Kenyan Foreign Minister Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayiri said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuters
BRIEF ENCOUNTER ... Muammar Gaddafi and Nelson Mandela meet in Tripoli

Mandela praises Gaddafi

NELSON MANDELA yesterday praised Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi for the aid he gave for training ANC fighters involved in the armed struggle against South Africa.

Mr Mandela was in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, for a day as part of his whirlwind tour of Africa. He is expected to arrive in Cairo today before returning to Soweto later this week.

Mr Mandela, who has a grandson named after Gaddafi, said Libya's readiness to provide the ANC with military facilities was an indication of its commitment to fight for human rights in the world.
Cape Afrikaners join the ANC

CP Correspondent 24/5/90

Eight residents of the wealthy Afrikaans suburb of Welgevonden have become the first Afrikaners from Cape Town's northern suburbs to have joined the African National Congress.

Christina Tinto, an executive member of the ANC's Western Cape branch, said more were poised to join.

Tinto, who is also the president of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, said he had talked about the ANC and its policies to 23 Afrikaners at a recent house meeting in Welgevonden.

"They wanted to know about the armed struggle. I explained to them that the ANC had been a non-violent organisation and had only decided to take up arms after it had been banned in 1960," Tinto said.

The group had told him they feared the slogan "one settler, one bullet", which was being used by Pan Africanist Congress supporters.

"I assured them that whites had nothing to fear under an ANC government. We won't stand for this sort of thing."

Three or four people at the meeting were from conservative Kraaifontein.

"They said they would like me to talk to them and their friends again. I'm waiting on them to arrange another meeting. I'll talk to anyone -- even the Conservative Party -- because that is the policy of the ANC."
THE first “obstacle” in the way of full-blown constitutional negotiations between the Government and the ANC has been cleared.

A joint working group — appointed after the recent Groote Schuur talks — will present its report to both parties tomorrow on the release of political prisoners.

And it will be “all systems go”, according to a highly placed source.

The working group — jointly led by the Government’s constitutional adviser, Mr S S van der Merwe, and the Commissioner of Prisons, General H W Willemsen, the ANC’s security chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, and executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad — is said to have made “remarkable progress”.

The next step would be for the Government to implement the group’s proposals by examining each individual case of ANC members in jail to determine who should be granted a release or amnesty in terms of the criteria laid down.

Agreed

“This process may take some time. For practical reasons, it can’t be done overnight,” said the source. “But at least the hardest part is finished. We agreed on the principles.”

The question of releasing prisoners was considered to be the most difficult “obstacle” to negotiations as put forward by the ANC in its Harare Declaration. The remaining issues are expected to be resolved with even greater ease.

These are:

- Amnesty for ANC personnel in exile — estimated at 22,000 — to return to SA to participate in normal political activities.

The first step was taken yesterday when the whole National Executive of the ANC was granted immunity from prosecution to enable them to return to SA for future negotiations.

A list of 38 senior ANC members granted immunity in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Bill was published in an Extraordinary Government Gazette.

Included in the list is ANC president Oliver Tambo, presently recuperating in London after a stroke.

- The lifting of the state of emergency.

- A review of security legislation. The Government has undertaken to instigate a comprehensive review of laws, such as the Internal Security Act and the Intimidation Act. At the same time, the ANC is reconsidering its position on the armed struggle.

It is expected that the ANC will agree to a temporary “suspension” of hostilities in response to Government moves on the emergency and security laws.

A formal resumption of the Groote Schuur talks is not expected within the next few weeks. There was no urgent need for this, sources on both sides said this week.

The general expectation is that the working group will be asked to continue meeting and to address practical problems which may arise.

The ANC will be involved in two important meetings with white South African interest groups this week.

Discussions

On Wednesday, more than 500 of SA’s top businessmen will meet ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and the movement’s top diplomat, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in Johannesburg. Mr Mandela is expected back in SA on Tuesday from his whistle-stop tour of African countries.

Later in the week an unofficial group of South African military experts will hold discussions with senior members of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Among the former officers attending the Idasa-sponsored talks are the former Chief of the Air Force and DP MP for Walmer, General Bob Rogerson, and former Chief of Staff (Operations), General Wally Black.

See World Watch: Page 11
A DEAL to free seven South African political prisoners — including police spy Odile Harington — is apparently being negotiated by the ANC and the Zimbabwean Government.

Speculation on their imminent release, after being held for anti-ANC actions, has mounted after the arrival from Johanneseburg of ANC national executive council member Jacob Zuma. Mr Zuma is said by sources to be negotiating with the Zimbabwean Government for the release of:

- Odile Harington, 29, jailed in 1987 for attempting to infiltrate the ANC’s Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing as a left-wing activist.
- Barry Bawden, who

ODILE HARINGTON

assisted in the 1987 SADF raid on ANC premises in Harare.

- British ex-paratrooper Denis "Sammy" Brashan, who led an abortive attempt to rescue prisoners from Chikurubi prison in June 1986.
- Leslie Lessi, a black South African businessman held without trial for the past three years under Zimbabwe’s state of emergency. State prosecutors withdrew charges that he supplied the ANC with a booby-trapped TV set which blew up, killing an official’s wife.

Reports in Harare suggest that President Mugabe’s government might act this week, before the May 25 Africa Freedom Day holiday.

Rumours

Political observers believe the release of the Harare prisoners, particularly of convicted murderers Woods, Smith and Conjevayo, would assist the ANC’s case for the release of its own captives in prisons in South Africa.

South African Trade Mission head in Harare Nico Nel said although he had heard the rumours they had not been confirmed by Zimbabwean authorities.

“We would ask for Miss Harington to be released on humanitarian grounds.”

Miss Harington’s 25-year sentence was halved on appeal after the Zimbabwean Supreme Court accepted her testimony of a harrowing ordeal of torture, sexual abuse and starvation under interrogation.
A negotiated political settlement in South Africa has become part of the standard repertoire of political leaders and activists of all shades and ideological persuasions.

For many, negotiations hold the promise of a peaceful resolution of the civil war our country. And many more are hoping that, once the negotiation ball gets rolling, a smooth and swift transition to a new social order will be effected and normality restored in civil society.

Without wishing to pour cold water over expectations, a note of caution is necessary. The process of negotiating a settlement in our country is bound to be riddled with complexities and unforeseen difficulties. It may prove to be a long, drawn-out process, testing to the full the skills and resourcefulness of the negotiating partners.

Centuries of racial divisions and class conflict have left behind a legacy of mutual suspicion and distrust. South Africa is a society marked by profound inequalities — immense wealth and privilege for a minority, but widespread poverty and misery for the majority. Any process of change necessarily alters the status quo, bound to generate insecurity among the wealthy and powerful, and popular expectations and hope among the oppressed, exploited majority, thereby creating tensions and pressures at the negotiating table itself.

Therefore, each side at the negotiating table, while recognising the need for making compromises, will strive to adhere to its own objectives.

How does one approach the actual process of negotiations?

Rhetoric

On the one hand, forces to the right of the liberation movement and its allies (groups within government structures) see negotiations as a golden opportunity to feather their own nests and safeguard their material interests. They are over-eager to proclaim the value of their strategy of participation, maintaining that President F W de Klerk has come so far because of the persuasive effect of their work.

On the other hand, forces supposedly to the left of the liberation alliance rule out the possibility of negotiation at this stage. They continue to blurt out the rhetoric of no compromise. They remain blind to the changing balance of forces internationally and nationally.

We in the African National Congress and the multi-party form of the Mass Democratic Movement are not opposed to negotiations in principle.

We see negotiations as part of the struggle in which we must fully involve ourselves. This does not mean that the strategies and tactics we have employed up to now are abandoned or rejected.

It should also be emphasised that a willingness to be a part of the negotiating process does not mean that the liberation movement and its allies are "selling out", as is insistently suggested by some of our adversaries to the left.

We remain firm and tenacious to our political principles, developed and refined over decades of struggle.

This is the case even as we display creative flexibility and ingenuity over tactical questions — such as negotiations — that emerge in the course of the struggle.

From our perspective, the strategic objective of a negotiated settlement is the transformation of the social order, not its reform.

The aim is to dismantle apartheid, not restructure it to make it more palatable to our oppressed and exploited people. The goal, in short, is to negotiate a transfer of power to the democratic majority.

What one does to allay white fears in the process of democratisation of the political and social order, as suggested by Mr Nelson Mandela, is another, separate, issue. It is a specific, practical question that does not derive from the fundamental question of transferring power to the forces of democracy.

Our approach to negotiation is cogently spelt out in the Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC on August 21, 1988.

Today, this document enjoys the support of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

Signing

With its adoption by the Conference for a Democratic Future in December last year, it has earned a stamp of authority that few political documents enjoy, both nationally and internationally.

The Harare Declaration has outlined six steps to a negotiated settlement in South Africa. These are:

- Creating the climate for negotiations;
- Negotiating a suspension of hostilities between the ANC and the Government;
- Negotiating the basic principles of a new constitutional arrangement;
- Negotiating the details about the establishment of a constitutional assembly;
- Adopting the draft of a new constitution and formally signing a termination of hostilities agreement;
- Hosting a democratic general election in terms of the new constitution.

What this suggests is that the process of negotiations might well be a protracted one, covering an increasing range of questions as it develops.

To date, we have not gone beyond step one, although important initiatives have been taken in that direction. Mr De Klerk has concurred to a few of the preconditions which would create a climate for negotiations.

It can be predicted that, while exploratory talks might well begin with the Government, the immediate focus of activity of the ANC and its allies will be to restructure their political organisation internally.

Our most pressing tasks are to consolidate the unity of the oppressed, to resolve the immediate strife in Natal and to develop a co-ordinated response to Mr De Klerk's reasonably bold initiatives.

An important step in this direction has been taken already. Mr Walter Sisulu, together with several other senior officials of the ANC released recently, has been entrusted with the responsibility of providing form and content to a legally constituted ANC operating throughout South Africa.

These developments signal that we are poised at a moment in our country's history when the prospect for a peaceful, meaningful resolution of our conflict has never been better.

The process of negotiation will most certainly throw up problems of its own, generate new contradictions, both within our own forces and with the State, and lead to new difficulties.

But let history never teach us that when the liberation alliance had the opportunity of giving peace and democracy a chance it failed to do so.

An edited extract from Indicator SA, published by the University of Natal.

Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC's negotiating team and a member of the SA Communist Party, says the movement remains firm on its principles of forces internationally and nationally.

In the African National Congress and the multi-party form of the Mass Democratic Movement are not opposed to negotiations in principle.

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But let history never teach us that when the liberation alliance had the opportunity of giving peace and democracy a chance it failed to do so.
ANC 'mistreated 8 dissidents'

EIGHT ANC dissidents released from police custody this week said they were ill-treated at ANC camps and defected, because of lack of democracy.

The eight exiles were intercepted by South African authorities on arrival at Jan Smuts airport and detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Leader Rodney Twala said trained soldiers were sent to fight in foreign countries instead of South Africa.

The eight are Robert Mueza Twala of Evaton; Robert Vusumuzi Shange of Soweto; Abednego Dliza Mthembu, of Soweto; David Makhubedu of Soweto; Luthando Dyasop of Umtata; Sipho Malcolm Pungulwa of Port Elizabeth; Notiyambo Mzemeli; and Patheka Patricia Sodo of Mdantsane.
Racists fighting the 'blacks inside them'

When Nelson Mandela — the world's most famous prisoner — walked out of Victor Verster Prison it was also white South Africa that tasted freedom for the first time in 27 years.

To many whites, particularly the conservative English and rightwing Afrikaners, Mr Mandela had become an unconscious symbol of their fears and prejudices. While he remained in jail, it created for them a sense of security.

However, these whites did realize that, as jailers, they had undoubtedly become co-author of their own captivity. While Mr Mandela — the symbol of black hopes for freedom — remained in prison, no white could truly be free.

South Africa's bondage and release, set against the background of Afrikaner nationalism, is being examined by local psychotherapists.

Warned of Hitler

At a time when white racists are mobilising and threatening to derail moves to create a new South Africa, psychologists have turned to Carl Gustav Jung, the turn-of-the-century psychotherapist for some insights into white racism.

Jung, who warned against the rise of Hitler and the Nazis, said no person was pure and pristine. Everyone was a combination of light and darkness.

Light is perceived to indicate the rational, or the masculine side of human nature. Darkness is said to represent the emotional, or the feminine, side. Together, they make up the whole.

If any one aspect is heightened, for instance rationality or masculinity, it is almost certain that feelings, moods and intuitions or femininity will be undermined.

However, if the undervalued aspects of the psyche are repressed, they won't go away. They will be pushed into the unconscious and start taking on a life of their own.

So if a person strives towards rationalism, ego ignoring these elements, the rest will remain to be integrated into the psyche and so form a 'whole' person.

If denied long enough, it will start creating psychological disturbances — sometimes with catastrophic results.

Until recently, the legislative consequences of apartheid were the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Population Registration Act (1950). The Suppression of Separate Amenities Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950).

The purpose of these acts was to ensure the existence of the "white race", "western civilisation" or "Christian civilization" in Southern Africa.

The crucial element, however, was the continued existence of the African "walk".

The architects and enforcers of apartheid in the past refused to abolish these "conversion" because they believed it would be tantamount to "self-destruction".

Real threat

However, the question has to be asked: Does the existence of the white race, western civilisation or Christian civilization in Southern Africa present a real threat to the African "walk"?

Psychologists say there are deep-seated unconscious forces at play in the white man's efforts to maintain dominance over his black neighbour. These forces are masked in what is known as and conditioned universally as apartheid.

Dr Philip Sipke, director of the Cape of Good Hope Centre of Jungian Studies in Cape Town, has traced certain characteristics common to the Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism. As a contributor to an as-yet-untitled manuscript, Modern South Africa in Search of a Soul, edited by Professor Graham Syman, the former head of the Department of Psychology at UCT, Dr Sipke explains from a psychological point of view the implications that Afrikaners have had with the protection of their identity.

Dr Sipke believes that the pagan and religious traditions and values of the ancient classical Greek, Roman and Egyptian cultures created a balance between the masculine and feminine with the inclusion of a number of female deities.

Feminine hell

With the advent of Christianity and a fundamentally masculine Trinity, the archetypal feminine was allowed to survive only in a subordinated form of a "neutral" Virgin.

According to Jung, in patriarchal Christianity the underworld is "feminine as hell".

Perhaps the most radical denial and repudiation of the feminine was the doctrine of Calvinism, which, by means of a militant religious authoritarianism, sought to impose the will of the ancient Jewish patriarchal God, Jehovah.

The repudiation of masculine identity through separation from the archetypal feminine was the basis of apartheid," says Dr Sipke.

Another Jungian psychologist, Mr Mark Weimann, refers to what Jung called the shadow.

"In terms of Jungian psychology the person I have had all along is not a person of a different religion or colour... it is someone inside me — a part of me that is black, in fighting the black man inside me," he said.

MR. WEIMANN

Mr Weimann says you have to look at what black means to your own world and what tradition, or other stock. It's not a simple matter of someone who is black. It's a symbol of everything they grow up with.

Everything they receive in their unconscious is projected onto the "blacks" who then become their own worst enemies.

The dark side has unconscious confusions with negativity, including femininity, and one thing that is characteristic of Afrikaner families is that they stress masculinity, the man culture, to an incredible degree.

"Part of the reason why there is such introverted dislike and fear of black people is that if they're racist, they've been so bad, black people should be tantamount to them believing that their masculinity would be destroyed," says Mr Weimann.

However, it is vital that this be realised, that white knowledge to avoid serious psychological distortion in the same way that Pretoria mass killer Reina Strydom, unable to contain his deep-seated guilt and totally unbalanced psyche, last year went on his murderous rampage, killing eight innocent black people.

Dr Sipke says that economically worse off blacks are more prominent Afrikaner. The good old days of failure and guilt is overwhelming in a culture where masculinity is stressed and where the pressure for peer-group upsets the result: disaster.

HAD TO UNBAN ANC

Mr Weimann says that from a psychological point of view the Afrikaner Nationalist Congress had to be unbanned.

"The more you repress something, the stronger it grows and the more you destroy yourself.

"It was vital for the Afrikaner, seen in the form of President de Klerk, to come to terms with what shadow" he had to face for so many years, first on Robben Island then in Victor Verster Prison.

The labour laws of the new South Africa could not begin until the blacks and black man and his white oppressor were released.

In acknowledging the right of blacks to life, the National Party government took the first steps to healing a psychologically battered country. It was also the first to recognise the courage and heroic people who could give to their country.

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Indemnity for 38 welcomed by Sisulu

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu has welcomed government's announcement on Saturday of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile but ANC members are surprised that the indemnity only lasts until August 19.

Sisulu said: "The list includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May."

However ANC members said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Sisulu's son Max and Tito Mboweni, who are part of a 40-strong senior ANC delegation scheduled to participate an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the amnesty list.

Colin Coleman, National Organiser of the Consultative Business Movement, conveners of the conference, said yesterday that conference organisers were consulting with government to clarify the position in the hope that the two men would be able to attend.

Acting President Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include President Oliver Tambo, Secretary General Alfred Nzo, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Chris Hani, Intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the Secretary General of the SA Communist Party, Joe Slovo.

ANC Lusaka secretariat spokes-men Sindiso Mnemane, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty expired on August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African Government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to SA to strengthen the organisation."

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also, we hope, expanding it to include all ANC members," Mnemane said.

A Justice Department spokesman said the amnesty offer should be seen as a temporary measure to satisfy "immediate requirements".

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that the ANC's external wing, in exile since the 1960s, is planning its return home.

It is carrying out a census of its exiled membership around the world.

Nzo told a Press briefing in London that the ANC had recently set up a repatriation committee. — Sapa.
Negotiated settlement won’t free workers

Today the newly formed Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action gives its views on negotiations.

Maintains white privileges in any form.

We support unconditionally the demand for one person, one vote in a unitary non-racial South Africa/Africa. Only when ownership and democratic control of the wealth of our society is in the hands of the majority, can we tackle the fundamental problems of poverty and social inequality.

Historical experience shows that the owners and controllers of the wealth do not “negotiate” away their ruling position. The majority must seize back the wealth they have created, through class struggle.

Given the balance of forces between the masses and the bosses, WOSA believes that our energies in the current period should be directed at three main areas:

- Towards the building of independent, mass-based democratically elected organisations.

- Instead of negotiating with the enemy, liberation organisations should be negotiating with the people who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to publication of editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. Briefer complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliation/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 546 7317. Inquiries are welcome.
Top ANC men[1] get indemnity

IN terms of a notice in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette, 38 people have been granted indemnity from prosecution under the Indemnity Act, so they may visit South Africa.

The notice by the acting state president, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the indemnity would apply from Saturday until August 19.

Those granted indemnity include ANC president Oliver Tambo, the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, and other senior ANC members, such as Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Alfred Nzo and the secretary-general of SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Viljoen said the indemnity was necessary in order to promote peaceful constitutional negotiation in South Africa.

The following people were named in the Gazette as qualifying for the indemnity:


ANC Internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said he welcomed the government's announcement.
ANC talks of a possible 'truce'

CAIRO — African Nationalist Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela says he is prepared to consider a truce if Pretoria takes solid steps to dismantle apartheid.

On arrival in Egypt on Saturday evening, Mr Mandela threw down his challenge to President de Klerk.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle. We are prepared to consider a truce," Mr Mandela said.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr de Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid," Mr Mandela told reporters in Cairo.

"What we demand is the right of every South African to determine his own future. As I have put it down before, 27 years ago I could not vote.

"Twenty-seven years later I still cannot vote."

Mr Mandela has said he will follow Mr de Klerk to Europe in an effort to keep economic sanctions against Pretoria in place. The Commonwealth has urged EC states not to lift them.

In London, however, an official said Britain was confident Mr de Klerk would be able to push through more major reforms.

"There will be further substantial progress on all fronts in the near future," an aide to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said after 90 minutes of talks with Mr de Klerk on Saturday.

On his arrival in Cairo, Mr Mandela met Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, and yesterday he was expected to address 13 African foreign Ministers.

Mr Mandela yesterday met Palestine Liberation Organisation chairman Yasser Arafat, who has turned away from 42 years of armed struggle against Israel to seek negotiations with the Jewish state over the future of Israeli-held territories.

Mr Arafat, who renounced terrorism and implicitly recognised Israel in 1988, is in Cairo for talks with Mr Mubarak ahead of an emergency Arab summit in Baghdad later this month.

— Sapa-Reuters.
Many Irish query Mandela visit

By Anthony Garvey, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela will be treated like a head of state by the Irish government when he visits Dublin.

But behind the official fuss, the welcoming crowds and the honours, some Irish citizens are asking hard questions about the man and his policies that would have been unthinkable even six months ago.

The three-day visit starts on July 2, a Monday, when the Irish parliament does not normally meet.

But last week there was not a murmur of dissent from any of the 140 members when Prime Minister Charles Haughey proposed that there be a special sitting that day so that Mr Mandela could address the House.

He will be the first person not holding state office to be accorded the privilege, and his address will be broadcast live by Irish television.

Previous visitors who addressed the Irish parliament have included presidents Kennedy, Reagan and Mitterrand.

But if there was apparent agreement among the politicians on the need for a special session of parliament, some members of the Irish public felt differently. In letters to the national newspapers they queried the cost of the session and why Irish taxpayers should have to pick up the bill.

Some drew comparisons between the views of Mr Mandela — which kept him in prison for 27 years — and those of IRA members involved in the campaign of violence in Northern Ireland and Britain.

Terrorism

One correspondent asked whether Mr Mandela’s “advocacy of violence and unwillingness to denounce terrorism as a means of gaining one’s own way” was not the reason IRA members were now in Irish jails.

Mr Mandela’s visit is at the express invitation of Mr Haughey, the current European Community president.

Two years ago, the ANC leader became the first prisoner to be accorded the freedom of Dublin. The honour was accepted on his behalf by Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, who said she hoped Mr Mandela would soon be able to resign the roll of freedom in person.

“Waiting in the wings with another honour is the Tipperary Peace Committee, an Irish organisation with an eye on the international scene, which has awarded Mr Mandela its Peace Prize for 1989. The previous winner was Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

But the “man of peace” accolade has also been challenged, following Mr Mandela’s recent confirmation that brutality has taken place in ANC prison camps.

And Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins, who was with him when he made the admission, has been bitterly attacked for failing to condemn the brutality.

In one Irish newspaper, the Sunday Business Post, columnist Mary Ellen Synon asked how Mr Collins could continue to condemn the brutality of the IRA but not that of the ANC.

She bluntly accused him of “weaseling” when he claimed it was not necessary for him to condemn every act of violence.

She went on: “In the attitude of many Irish to killings in southern Africa, there is inherent racism.

“When a white policeman kills a black rioter, the white man is a murderer. When a black man plants a bomb and mutilates a white man, he is a freedom fighter. When a black man tortures another black man, he is an embarrassment best ignored.”
FOR the first time someone has had the guts to lay bare the fruits of ideological intolerance that rocked Soweto following the disastrous Senate Edward Kennedy visit.

The parties in this newly released book are members of the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front, both committed to the black man's liberation.

What is surprising however, is that what Rian Malan has documented has been known by every journalist in Johannesburg. But in the author's words: "No newspaper that I know of printed it. Why? Because white reporters and editors did not want to be branded racists."

Azapo's George Wauchope said black reporters on the other hand, were paralysed by fear.

After reading the 349 page book, I was amazed at the bravery of this young white boy. I also knew some of the atrocities Malan mentioned, but I always tried to rationalise why I should not write about them.

Conflicts

Although one may not agree totally with Malan, he helps the reader to fathom the conflicts in the black community.

This book should make black journalists ashamed of themselves. Drawing from his courage, black reporters should expose the other untold miseries that have been going on in the community in the name of the struggle.

The first question from the Press, of course, is why should black activists suddenly turn on one another?

In the book, Muntu Myeza said it was not only difficult for outsiders to understand why blacks were at each other's throats, "it is difficult for ourselves."

Malan said the rivalry between the UDF and Azapo was initially peaceful. "Then in 1985 Ted Kennedy came to South Africa at the invitation of the UDF's clerical leaders and the real trouble began."

"The Reverend Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu felt that such a visit would focus international attention on the freedom struggle."

"Azapo was incensed, it wanted to know what kind of black men, not to mention socialists, would go to bed with a white millionaire from Boston."

"In radical circles in South Africa, this was the worst insult imaginable. There were angry confrontations, brawls and fist fights, ""Malan said. A few days thereafter the feud between Azapo and UDF spread to other parts of the country."

"At the end of 1986 the Institute of Race Relations released statistics which counted only 79 perceived collaborators among 1,302 unrest fatalities, thereby wearing thin the claim that blacks who died at the hands of their brothers were all collaborators or sell-outs."

The book also recounts the tragedy of 32 black women who were buried alive into pits of flame in Soweto. It's heartening in the Northern Transvaal.

He says this was the worst mass murder in South African history.

"The 76 youths arrested in connection with the massacre were all members or supporters of the UDF - the supposedly nonviolent movement."

"The 32 victims were suspected of using sorcery to retard the freedom struggle and were incinerated in the name of fundamental change."

Referring to the terms "zim-zim" and "warara," he says BC followers were dubbed "zim-zim" because of the -isms in their ideological arsenal: socialism, racism, capitalism, colonialism.

Charterists were called "warara," meaning "where-where."

"Zim-zims" said anyone who believed the UDP's nonracial doctrine was very confused. They were groping around in the dark in search of their true enemy, crying: "Where-where."

This is one book that will certainly take South Africa by storm, especially in a country whose journalists have not exhibited the bravery symbolised by their colleagues in places like Nicaragua, Afghanistan and the Middle East.
Officer of truce by Mandela

CAIRO — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has offered the SA government a truce if it took what he called serious steps to dismantle apartheid.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle," he told reporters on arrival at Cairo airport at the weekend.

His offer appeared to be aimed at seizing the political initiative from President F W De Klerk, who is on a nine-nation tour to improve relations with European countries.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher congratulated De Klerk during a 90-minute meeting on Saturday for taking "substantial" steps in the past year toward abolishing apartheid and said she was confident further progress would be made soon.

De Klerk told a news conference in London that economic sanctions against SA were no longer relevant and described himself as a "man in a hurry" to abolish apartheid.

But Mandela in Cairo dismissed the steps as not enough.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr De Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid," Mandela said.

"What we demand is the right of every South African to determine his future. As I have put it down before, 27 years ago, I could not vote.

"Twenty-seven years later I still cannot vote," said Mandela.

On Friday Mandela was in Tripoli, and thanked Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi for training ANC fighters.

He also told African economic ministers on the last day of the annual meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Africa that Africa's economic crisis could block political progress. — Sapa-Reuters.
PAC warns on aid to government

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress has warned European governments to be "extremely cautious of giving any aid or sustenance" to the South African government.

Senior PAC member Mr Barney Desai said today his movement was concerned about rising immigration to South Africa.

The PAC was against further immigration because it would exacerbate the critical unemployment problem in the country, he said.

"Surely people are not incapable of acquiring skills if the means are put at their disposal?," he said.

"When will this regime end this callous attitude which is causing near genocide for the indigenous people of this land. Or are they hell-bent on nurturing the seeds of a full-scale, bloody revolution?"
PAC to act on firing of worker over T-shirt

THE Pan Africanist Congress, Western Cape, last night strongly condemned the recent dismissal of a worker for wearing a PAC T-shirt, saying it would "not tolerate intimidatory tactics" from any quarter.

Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape co-ordinator of the PAC, said a resolution to register protest at the dismissal of the packaging-company worker had been taken at a meeting yesterday.

The PAC also noted "that apparently workers wearing T-shirts of the African National Congress have not been similarly disciplined".
90-day indemnity for exiles welcomed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The internal leader of the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, has welcomed the government's announcement of a three-month indemnity for 38 ANC members in exile.

"The list (released on Saturday) includes the full ANC national executive and four other ANC cadres required to participate in the working group set up jointly by the government and the ANC during their Groote Schuur talks earlier on in May," said Mr Sisulu.

"Any step towards the normalisation of the situation in the country is welcome," he added.

However he was personally disappointed that his son Max Sisulu, an ANC economist, was not among those included in the list.

Acting President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette that 38 exiled members were free to return home.

ANC leaders granted indemnity include Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general; Mr Alfred Nzo, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) Mr Chris Hani, intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, MK commander Joe Modise and the secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Dr Viljoen said the indemnity was necessary to promote peaceful constitutional negotiation in South Africa.

Economists not included

Mr Sindiso Menyane, a spokesman for the ANC Lusaka secretariat, who has also been granted amnesty, said he was surprised that the amnesty had been granted only until August 19.

"The joint statement issued by the ANC and the South African government after the Cape Town talks indicated that the National Executive and other senior officers of the organisation would be allowed to return to South Africa to strengthen the organisation.

"However, perhaps the government intends extending the amnesty after August 19 and also we hope expanding it to include all ANC members," Mr Menyane said.

He said it was unfortunate that two ANC economists, Mr Max Sisulu and Mr Tito Mboweni, who are scheduled to address an ANC business conference on Wednesday, had not been included in the indemnity list.

In response to a question why the indemnity had been granted only until August 19, 1990, a spokesman for the Department of Justice said it was only a temporary measure to satisfy immediate requirements.

"If at a later stage it is deemed necessary, a further announcement can be made," she said.

The following people were named in the special edition of the Government Gazette as qualifying for indemnity: Jeremy Cronin, Stephen Diamini, Chris Hani, Joe Jele, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Stanley Mabizela, Penuel Maduna, Simon Makana, Mac Maharaj, Robert Manci, Henry Makgothi, Thabo Mbeki, Gill Marcus, Francis Meli, Sindiso Menyane, Joe Modise, Timothy Mokvenda, Jacqueline Moiletse, Ruth Mompati, Anthony Mongalo, Joel Netshitenzhe, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadimeng, Thomas Titus Nkobi, Alfred Nzo, Aziz Pahad, Mzwai Piliso, Jackie Selebi, Reginald September, Gertrude Shope, Sizakhele Sigxasi, Joe Slovo, James Stuart, Oliver Reginold Tambo, Dan Tloome, Steve Tshwete and Jacob Zuma. — Sapa
Mandela offers a truce

CAIRO. — Mr Nelson Mandela, trying to wrest the political initiative from President F W de Klerk, has offered a truce in the armed struggle if the government takes solid steps to dismantle apartheid.

On arrival in Egypt at the weekend, Mr Mandela threw down his challenge to Mr De Klerk.

"We are prepared to consider a cessation of hostilities, not the end of the armed struggle. We are prepared to consider a truce," Mr Mandela said.

"I am not aware of any significant step taken by Mr De Klerk which has the possibility of dismantling apartheid."

Mr Mandela also held talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. — Sapa-Reuter
SA commandos’ release a govt matter

"HARARE — The release of South African commandos from Zimbabwean jails was a matter for the SA and Zimbabwean governments alone, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday after two hours of talks with President Robert Mugabe. Mugabe did not accompany Mandela to a media conference at his State House home.

The Zimbabwean president had earlier made a statement of welcome alongside Mandela, saying Zimbabweans regarded SA’s freedom as "their own" because then we shall become free from apartheid and we shall also be free from acts of aggression and destabilisation."

A major topic in their discussions was expected to be the possible freeing by Mugabe of seven maximum security prisoners linked to the South African military.

Diplomatic observers believe at least a commutation of death sentences is possible for former Rhodesian security force members Kevin Woods, Michael Smith and Philip Convyayo, who murdered a Zambian driver at an ANC house in Bulawayo in 1988.

Asked whether the release by Zimbabwe of SA nationals held for attacking the ANC was raised in yesterday’s talks, Mandela initially replied: "We did not discuss the matter with the president (Mugabe) but this is a matter which has been raised by the (SA) government in the course of our formal discussions."

"The matter is a sensitive one and it is better not to pursue it in the interest of SA nationals themselves who have been detained by the ANC."

After briefly consulting Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, he said they had not discussed those being held in Zimbabwe. "It doesn’t affect us," he said.

Sources in Harare said ANC national executive member Jacob Xuma arrived from Johannesburg and tried to get the Zimbabwean authorities to release, or at least commute the death sentences of, the anti-ANC prisoners in Chikurubi maximum security prison.

Mandela said the ANC was aware SA agents were still attacking activists in the Frontline states. Last month a New Zealand-born priest, Father Lapley, lost his hands in a parcel bomb attack in Harare.

"It is part of the contradiction which we condemn, that while the government is talking about negotiations it continues that war against us and the neighbouring states."

"It is not clear to me whether this is because the government is unable to control its own armed forces, its own police units, or whether it has given instruction to do so, but the whole question of destabilisation is one that is likely to affect negotiations that are going on."
ANC-govt joint report submitted

CAPETOWN — The report prepared by a joint government-ANC working group on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute was submitted to government and the ANC National Executive yesterday.

Although neither of the parties was prepared to disclose the contents of the report, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma indicated at a media conference in Johannesburg it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and exiles.

One of the major issues addressed by the working group was the definition of political offences.

The submission of the report was preceded on Saturday by the granting of a three-month indemnity to 38 ANC members in exile. Acting President and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen granted the indemnity to the ANC's full national executive committee and four others in terms of the recently passed Indemnity Act.

Referring to the violence in Thabong, near Welkom, in which four people died on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think this would delay talks. However, he added the decision would depend on the treatment of the situation, although he was confident government would not repeat mistakes of the past.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement the contents of the report would not be released unless and until the government and the ANC chose to do so.
Zuma is confident about talks report

NO problems were anticipated in the Government’s acceptance of the working document prepared by a joint Government-ANC working committee on issues arising from the Groote Schuur Minute.

ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma said this at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

“The working group, established in terms of paragraph 1 of the Groote Schuur Minute, has completed its report.

“The report is being submitted to its principals (Government and ANC national executive) today,” Zuma said.

He declined to reveal the contents of the report but indicated that it included a full amnesty agreement for all political prisoners and political exiles.

He said the amnesty for 38 ANC exiles should be seen as a first step in the process which began with the Groote Schuur Minute which took place in an “atmosphere of commitment on both sides to resolve our problems”.

A statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, yesterday confirmed that the working group had completed its report and that it had been presented to the respective principals yesterday.

He said there would be no statement on the contents of the report unless and until the Government and the ANC had agreed to do so.

Mr Joe Nhlanhla, head of the ANC’s department of security and intelligence, said Mr F W de Klerk’s statement certainly indicated sincerity and a recognition of the need to reach a political settlement.

Referring to the Thabong, Welkom, violence in which seven people died when police opened fire on youths on Sunday, Zuma said he did not think that this would delay talks.

“I do not anticipate that the violence in Thabong will, as happened with Sebokeng, delay our talks because we were all aware when we participated in the Groote Schuur talks that the struggle would go on while the process of talks continued,” Zuma said.

He, however, said it did depend on how everyone handled the situation.

But he was confident that the Government would not repeat mistakes of the past. - Sapa.

Soweto businessman fumes over TV film

A SOWETO businessman is fuming with rage after a TV programme, Ingalo Yomuthaha, last week allegedly implicated him in the mysterious death of his brother, wealthy Soweto taxi owner Mr Donald Mkhwanazi of Mofolo North.

Mkhwanazi was travelling to an unknown destination with two other people in October last year when their car allegedly overturned near Kokstad.

Mkhwanazi died soon after arrival at the King Edward Hospital. The two other occupants escaped unscathed.

Mr Archibald Mkhwanazi, owner of Ma-Africa Electrical Construction, has pleaded innocence, saying the TV programme, a Zulu version of Police File, created an impression that he had “arranged” the death of his brother.

In the programme, the presenter asked people who knew Archibald Mkhwanazi’s whereabouts to contact the police so that he could explain why he was on the scene of the accident immediately after it occurred, and why Donald Mkhwanazi’s wife did not know of his death until a few days later.

Mr Dries Pretorius, head of TV2 and TV3, said the SABC was indemnified against such claims and referred all inquiries to compilers of the programme at Newlands Police Station.
Anti-apartheid veteran Albie Sachs is teaching himself to talk openly on the telephone after spending 24 years in exile shadowed by South African spies.

The 55-year-old white lawyer says working for Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress, Pretoria’s main black opponent, has made him suspect every telephone is tapped.

Sachs is one of several leading ANC members who returned from exile this year to prepare for full political negotiations with South Africa’s reformist white rulers: Amid the joy of seeing friends and relatives again, he has had problems adjusting.

“[The] transition from being on the run from the police, working underground...to an open style of political work, you can’t just do it in a day,” he said.

“I can’t use the telephone. It’s finished. I have a little banning order up in my throat.

“[The] minute I’m speaking on the phone and I want to say where I’m going to, or who I’m going to meet, or what work I’m doing, an automatic censor stops me.”

“[And] then I say ‘don’t be absurd...’”

Sachs, who is divorced, trained as a lawyer in Cape Town but fled the country in 1966 after 170 days of detention in solitary confinement without charge or trial.

Outspoken

He is the ANC’s leading constitutional thinker, a member of its policy-making national executive committee and an outspoken defender of civil liberties and intellectual freedom.

In a new South Africa “there will be a right to be bigoted in purely private life...”

“But when it comes to excluding others from living in a house which they can afford simply because they are white or black, then that is invading their rights,” Sachs said.

His fear of surveillance is well founded.

He lost his right arm and his face was badly scarred in 1988 when a bomb exploded in his car in Mozambique, where he worked for 11 years as an ANC lawyer and strategist.

He says he is not bitter about the price of his opposition to apartheid but says such attacks have created a protective secrecy among his colleagues that is becoming unnecessary.

The ANC was banned for 30 years—a period when Pretoria boasted of its ability to infiltrate the organisation—until President FW de Klerk legalised black political activity in February in a bid to break South Africa’s racial deadlock.

The organisation is believed to be debating whether to agree to De Klerk’s demand that it suspend its low-level guerrilla campaign as part of the pre-negotiation process.

“We’re moving into a different phase that requires a whole different culture of struggle,” said Sachs, a tall, softly-spoken man.

“You have to present yourself on TV. It’s a new kind of battle and we have to rise to the occasion. The debate is on.”

Sachs, who said he was speaking in his personal capacity rather than for the ANC, suspects De Klerk’s negotiating team aims to retain key aspects of apartheid that regulate education and housing according to skin colour.

More openness

“They’re still clinging. It’s hard to let go and yet it’s so silly, because what they should be doing is accept the fundamental democratic premise and then say, ‘Look, within that, we’re worried about this and that...’”

“Instead they’re hanging on, clinging to the poles of racism and that makes it difficult to get the broad consensus and agreement that’s necessary. But there’s certainly been much more opening up and openness than we’re accustomed to.”

ANC leaders are interviewed and quoted on state and pro-Government media—something that would have been unthinkable a year ago under De Klerk’s hardline predecessor PW Botha.

Sachs and the ANC study group he directs at Britain’s Commonwealth Institute are examining the constitutions of all the world’s nations to prepare for the negotiations.

“We’re very interested in the Nordic countries because they’ve managed to combine high productivity with a fair measure of equality, strong welfare systems and political freedom. But we’re not setting out to copy any particular country,” he said.

Sachs says visits to Cape Town’s racially zoned areas since his return have shown him that apartheid is still in place.

Nordic example

After visiting a squatting camp of cardboard and corrugated iron shacks he said its black residents “have hardly any rights at all. Until they get the vote they don’t stand a chance.”

Then he drove to the lush white coastal suburb of Sea Point where he grew up, basking “in the scents of salt air I haven’t known for 24 years. I shiver with remembered pleasure and excitement. I feel at home. But it’s another country.”

He says a defiantly anti-apartheid spirit exists among ordinary black people that he never noticed in the 1960s.

“That has transformed completely. People have liberated their heads,” he said in a recent speech.

“Among my white friends, far from encountering fears and anxieties I’m encountering joy...and a sense of liberation.”

“At last we can feel we are free citizens in a free country.” - Saps-Reuters.

Flashback: Mr Albie Sachs after receiving treatment in Maputo Hospital for injuries sustained in a car bomb blast in Mozambique.
Little respect for our anthem

I sometimes feel like hiding with embarrassment whenever our anthem - *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* - is sung at sports events.

The singing of the anthem is done with absolute disrespect and an offending manner.

In 1981 when Peter “Terror” Mathibela defended the WBA world flyweight title at Orlando Stadium it was one of the anthems sung on that sunny afternoon. Mathibela was defending against his eventual conqueror Argentinian Santos Lacias.

A contingent of black and white policemen at the fight took off their caps and stood attentive when *Die Stem* was sung. And they did likewise when the Argentinian anthem was sung.

But when *Nkosi Sikelel’i* turned came most cops put on their caps and sat down.

**No change**

The National Professional Soccer League (NPFL) used to have this anthem sung at its finals before the 1985 soccer split.

The new National Soccer League (NSL) has been having the anthem sung at all its finals.

Is there a change of attitude towards the anthem in soccer finals? None at all.

The latest denigrating of *Nkosi Sikelel’i* happened at FNB Stadium in the Castle Challenge finals on Saturday.

By MOLEFI MIKA

An appeal was made that everybody should rise before cabaret star Mara Louw led the singing.

Many stood up. Some sang while others continued to chat.

Meanwhile our police friends remained wearing their caps.

I spotted one black photographer making sign-languages to his white counter-part to remove a cap he was wearing. But his efforts were all in vain.

There was this grinning black gentleman manning the Press-box door leading to the terraces who seemingly enjoyed himself by deliberately singing the anthem out of tune. To add salt to injury he did this loudly to amuse his giggling buddies.

How do we expect our children to behave when the anthem is sung if we do not show our pride in it?

The NSL teams, many of them are black owned, need to teach their followers the importance of *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*. They must do this at their supporters’ branch meetings.

Likewise, I think teachers must find it fit to teach our anthem in their classes - whether DET likes it or not.

One hopes sanity will prevail next time when this anthem is sung in a public gathering.
Azapo, BCMA call for consultations

A CONSULTATIVE conference involving all liberation movements should be convened urgently, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania decided in Harare at the weekend.

At a press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday to report back on the Harare meeting, Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala said the consultative conference would discuss the future of the country, "prior to any negotiations that might be entered into by all or any components of the liberation movement".

Conference

The conference would also discuss the "reconquest of the land, transformation of the economy and one-person one-vote elections for a constituent assembly which will draft a constitution for a liberated Azania".

In the meantime, the BCMA and Azapo agreed the struggle must be intensified in all forms. They also agreed that F W de Klerk's current negotiations package did not promise anything for the oppressed.
Mandela condemns Welkom ‘massacre’

By Thabo Leshilo

The massacre of innocent people in Thabong, Welkom was inexcusable and the Government either condoned police violence or was unable to control it, deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela said when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night after his tour of Africa.

"They (the Government) cannot talk of negotiations while they kill us," said Mr Mandela, at a brief impromptu press conference.

He condemned the necklacing of former Thabong councillor, a Mr Phakati, and said the ANC did not approve of the action.

"We only approve of organised violence such as that carried out by Mkhonto We Sizwe against the Government," he said.

He said that he had, during private meetings with President F W de Klerk and at the recent meeting between the ANC and the Government, said that SA had a well-equipped police force and army which could "suppress such violence" if only the Government wanted to.

"The critical question is why they have not been able to to suppress it for four and a half years."

Mr Mandela said the Government had taken advantage of differences between political organisations to crush and eliminate organisations opposed to minority white rule.

He preferred not to discuss the continued detention of seven people accused of being SA Government spies by the Zimbabwe government. The issue was "highly sensitive," he said.

He said he would ask for a report from the ANC on the situation in Welkom and would visit the strife-torn township if requested.

He described his tour as "successful beyond my wildest dreams."

After the press conference, Mr Mandela shook hands with airport cleaners who had gathered to greet him.
Black Sash vows to pursue aims

THE Government's amnesty for 38 ANC exiles was certainly a positive move towards human rights, former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan said in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The Black Sash were celebrating their 35th anniversary as a human rights organisation.

Although the climate in South Africa had changed and many organisations such as the ANC, PAC and others which fought for the same principles were unbanned, the Black Sash would continue to pursue its aims but with different strategies, Duncan said.

"The amnesty and temporary indemnity of 38 ANC members, while not exactly fulfilling our expectations must nevertheless be seen as a movement in the direction of human rights," Mrs Duncan said.

Amnesty

Duncan said human rights went beyond temporary amnesty and even on the political front involved the amnesty of all political prisoners if there was to be any hope of political reconciliation in South Africa.
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The measure of the ANC can be taken only in the open

SIMON BARBER in Washington

For five days in March 1962, Senator Jeremiah Denton’s subcommittee on security and terrorism held hearings on The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa.

Denton had spent eight years in a North Vietnamese POW camp. The experience coloured his view of the world in ways nice people consider extreme. Only one other member of the panel, also a conservative Republican, was willing to participate. The proceeding was largely ignored by the mainstream press.

Staged with little co-operation from Pretoria, it was, to be sure, a decidedly one-sided affair. Even so, that is not an excuse to ignore the array of damning allegations that were levelled against the ANC. It is now in a position to answer them.

The sincerity of its commitment to genuine, accountable democracy may be judged on whether it is willing to do so.

The witness list included four ANC dissidents, all of whom spoke under pseudonyms.

Epiphany Mfalaipita and Jeffrey Bosoje were ex-guerrillas grown tired of the wretched life in the camps and the ever-present threat of running afoul of the commissars. They had left to fight in the late 70s, finally becoming disillusioned and going over in 1980. Instead, they found themselves being forced to observe and participate in the execution of their own. Surrender to the police seemed preferable.

Bartolomeo Hiwane was a member of the ANC’s national executive and the SACP’s central committee in the early 80s. Recruited to the party by Joe Slovo in 1955, he came to believe that it was “dis-honestly” seeking to take over the ANC and was particularly appalled by the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, which he felt betrayed the principles of Chief Albert Luthuli.

In 1966, he testified against Bram Fischer. At his treason hearing, he named at least seven members of the ANC’s executive as communists. His Soweto home was attacked eight months later. He and his wife died; their daughter was left a paraplegic.

The woman with that still more than 10 years later, is the same woman who has been in prison since 1976. She was in Pretoria, with her former colleagues. She spoke to Denton with the courage to articulate her views. She was charged after being caught with a small sum of money.

The ANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANCANTHE SPILLINGS OF THE VERBATIM Transcript May Not Be Accurate. Over the ANC’s objections, Kave returned to Lusaka in February 1979. She stayed with Janson until March (they did not marry) when she moved to a SA Congress of Trade Unions house “along Lumumba Road”. Between then and June she was forced to witness a series of unspeakable atrocities.

She alleged that she was brought to the main house from her bed in a shanty at night. From there she found Joe Modise, current MK chief and a participant in the recent Groote Schuur talks. Peter Masemela, also an MK official, and a Dr Randaree. They were interrogating a young man accused of spying for SA. He denied the charge. Masamura then turned to Kave and said: “You young South Africans...”

The prison was stripped, placed on the table and sedated by the doctor. Modise, she said, then slit him open from chest to navel. The ritual was repeated on the following two nights. The second victim was a Zambian girl, “They were laughing while they did this.”

Kave ultimately managed to get away to Canada. In the time she came before the committee, she was clearly a very disturbed young woman. Appalling things had happened, but as to many of her generation who had refused to be indoctrinated in the ways of the ANC and the SACF.

Close to tears, she said: “I want to let the parents of those children, especially in South Africa, know that there is no one left among those people. Those who have been for education in prisons in Angola. A number of our people have been killed.”

And then, even more distraught: “Everybody is dead from 1976.”

South Africans deserve the truth, what they may have been lying. Then again, she may not. The record must be tested.
SA "unable to stop violence."

HARARE: Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said the shooting of four blacks in Welkom showed that the government was either conniving with police violence or unable to stop it.

"It seems the government is either conniving at police excesses or is unable to deal with the situation," he commented after talks with President Robert Mugabe during a stopover at the end of an African tour.

He also accused the SA government of continuing to destabilise Zimbabwe and other neighbouring states and suggested these operations might also be taking place without official sanction.

"While the government is talking about negotiation and peace, it continues to conduct war against us and against neighbouring states." — Sapa-Reuters
ANC now in a position to answer allegations

WASHINGTON LETTER
by SIMON BARBER

FOR five days in March 1982, Senator Jeremiah Denton's sub-committee on Security and Terrorism held hearings on "The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa". Denton had spent 12 years in a North Vietnamese POW camp. The experience coloured his view of the world in ways people considered extreme. Only one other member of the panel, also a conservative Republican, was willing to participate. The proceedings were largely ignored by the mainstream Press.

Staged with little co-operation from Pretoria, it was, to be sure, a decidedly one-sided affair. Even so, that is not to say the sub-committee's array of damning allegations that were levelled at "the role of the ANC" is now in a position to answer them. The sincerity of its commitment to genuine, accountable democracy may be in doubt, but so is its will to do so.

Wretched life

The witness list included four ANC dissidents, all of whom spoke unashamedly.

Epohlamile Mphahlela and Jeffrey Bosigo were occupiers grown tired of the wretched life in the camps and the ever-present fear of running afoul of the commissars. They had left to fight in the late seventies, fondly believing the show would soon get over in two years. Instead, they found themselves being forced to remain as prisoners on the ANC's account in the participation of their own country. Surprisingly, the police seemed preferable.

Bartholomew Hipponne was a member of the ANC's National Executive and the SAPC's Central Committee in the early sixties. Recruited to the party by Joe Slovo in 1955, he came to believe that "it was dishonest" to see him as a leader in the ANC and was particularly appalled by the formation of Umkhonto We Szizwe, which he felt betrayed the principles of Chief Albert Luthuli. In 1986, he testified against Bebe Flucher, the Denton hearing. He named at least seven members of the ANC's executive as communists. His Soweto home was attacked eight months later. He and his wife died; their daughter was left a paraplegic.

The testimony that still merits the closest scrutiny is that of Nkonomo Delaphine Kave, who left the country in February 1978. She came forward after her own accord, without intervention from the South African government. If her evidence was as slight as tortured, her soul was clearly more. So she was 28 at the time.

Her story began in the Ciskei. She was Lennox Sebe's niece, but also active as a Black Consciousness youth organiser. Her law studies at Fort Hare were interrupted by the 1970 uprisings. She claimed to have been close to Slovo, and to have carried out a number of missions for the police. The latter concern that the ANC, increasingly within the late 1970's, SAPC, was out to destroy her movement.

Radio Freedom

After speaking at his funeral, she became aware that she was wanted by the security police. She fled to Botswana where the immigration authorities told her she must either be a member of the ANC or the PAG. She opted for the ANC and was taken to an ANC house in Gaborone. There, to break her of her ANC sympathies, she was repeatedly told that Slovo had been a CIA agent.

After several weeks she was flown to Lusaka and given a presentation by a Zambian translator with Radio Freedom. Relations with her colleagues soured rapidly, in part because of a speech she wrote criticising his uncle and other homeland leaders. This, apparently, was counter to the ANC policy of the moment. She was shunted on to Dar-es Salaam. When she protested she was told to resume her law studies at the University of Zambia, she was transferred once again. She was under threat, to the Soviet Union.

In July, September, she was in Kisheneh, Moldavia, ostensibly for language and political instruction. She began receiving nightly visits from Soviet officials who claimed to be researching student activism in SA. Their methods included the forcible administration of injections which made her lose consciousness. In November, she refused to attend further classes, she found herself in a psychiatric hospital.

Her treatment included deprivation of food, multiple rape and more injections. She was finally released in December after pleading to be a good student of Marxism-Leninism and to marry one Kay Janson, a Danish communist she had met in Luanda.

Thus "cured" of her BC tendencies, she was brought to know Patrice Lumumba University where she was introduced to a Russian named Shubin who was said to be in charge of the armed struggle in southern Africa, made it clear that the purge was under way. She was informed that the ANC and SAPC had split and asked to return.

"The victim was a Zambian girl. They were laughing while they did this."

Kave ultimately managed to get away to Canada. By the time she came before the committee, she was clearly a very disturbed young woman. Appalling things had happened, not just to her, but to very many of her generation who had refused to be indoctrinated in the ways of the world and the SAPC.

To close, she said: "I want to let the parents of those children, especially the ones that came in after 1978... know that there is nobody left among those people. Those who are still alive were sent for re-education in the camps in Angola. A number of our people have been killed."

Kave may have been right. Then again, she may not. The record must be tested.

ANC now in a position to answer allegations
Government, ANC team report back

THE government-ANC working group, established on May 5 in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, submitted its report to both parties yesterday.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said there would be no statement on the report's contents "unless and until" the government and the ANC agreed to one.

No problems were anticipated in the acceptance, by both sides of the report, ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma told Sapi yesterday.

In other developments yesterday:

- Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen held talks with KwaZulu Natal Indaba representatives.
- Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the government was ready to move away from a system of local government based on colour and alternative models were being investigated.
- The government introduced a bill postponing white delimitation until 1994.
- The government-ANC working group was asked to:
  - Make recommendations on a definition of a political offence.
  - Advise on the release of political prisoners.
  - Advise on the granting of immunity for political offences.

It is understood that considerable progress has been made by the group.

Speaking during the debate on his Budget, Mr Kriel said black local authorities lacked credibility because they had no sound financial base.

He said the Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities would look at alternative models for local government and submit a report to the government.

Mr Kriel said it had been clear for some time that there had been little enthusiasm among people of colour for separate local authorities, based solely on colour.

Introducing a Constitutional Amendment Bill that will postpone a white delimitation until 1994, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said this was necessary to allow more time for the negotiation process.

Govt to delay on delimitation — Page 4
Azapo bid for common front

Johannesburg — A conference involving all anti-apartheid liberation movements should be convened urgently, the Azanian Peoples’ Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement have decided.

Azapo president Prof Jerry Mosaia said in Johannesburg yesterday that the conference would seek a common position on the country’s future “prior to any negotiations”.

Azapo project director Mr Muntu Mzayza said: “We want to avoid the trauma Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have gone through.”
Top ANC team to meet SA businessmen

THE ANC and its allies are sending a powerful team of 40 to meet more than 300 of SA's top businessmen at a conference organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) taking place at a Johannes burg hotel today.

The theme of the conference, the first such contact between business and the ANC inside SA and the largest yet, is Options for an Economic Future.

Keynote speakers will be ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly.

Other ANC executive members scheduled to be present include Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Aziz Pahad and Steve Tshwete, internal officials Trevor Manuel and Terror Lekota and Lusaka-based economics department official Tito Mboweni.

The labour movement will be represented by Cosatu officials Jay Naidoo, Chris Dlamini and Sydney Matumadi, Numsa's Alec Erwin and the NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Business leaders chairing sessions will include Murray Hofmeyr, Don Masson of Tradegra, JCI's Ken Maxwell and Neal Chapman of Southern Life.

Mboweni, who arrived in SA on Monday for his first visit since going into exile 10 years ago, said he saw the gathering as part of a process of consultation between business and the ANC.

He said the ANC wished to discuss the economic situation and how it could be improved, especially for the benefit of black people.
From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — The strongest statement on last week’s talks between South African President PW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came from the British public itself, remarked an ANC officer.

It was summed up in the huge difference between De Klerk’s reception of protests and demonstrations and the rapturous welcome given to Mr. Nelson Mandela last month at Wembley, he said.

Despite assurances received by De Klerk from world leaders that sanctions would be reviewed, the demand from ordinary members of the public was for the continuing of sanctions and the isolation of apartheid until there was evidence of irreversible political change in South Africa.

While De Klerk was feted by leaders such as President Francois Mitterrand of France and President Mario Soares of Portugal, protests and demonstrations — largely unreported in the mainstream media — dogged him throughout his nine-country European tour.

In Athens, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon, groups of demonstrators chanted and held placards registering their protest against the visit.

In London, Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, president of the Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Popcrus), was the keynote speaker at a major rally the night before De Klerk met Thatcher at her holiday residence, Chequers.

The protest rally, also addressed by the general secretary of England’s Trade Union Conference, Mr. Norman Willis, and the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, reiterated the call made by the ANC to uphold sanctions.

The theme of the three days of protest echoed the ANC’s determination that sanctions remain in place “until there is irreversible progress towards ending apartheid”, commented the ANC’s secretary general, Alfred Nzo.

At a press briefing on the eve of De Klerk’s meeting with Thatcher, Nzo said: “The sanctions were adopted as part and parcel of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid, which is still in place.”

“As Nelson Mandela said, he went to prison for 27 years and came back to find he still had no vote. Therefore, it is too early to talk in terms of suspending sanctions.”

Opposed

In a joint statement, the AAM expressed “deep regret” at the welcome extended to De Klerk by his governments.

“We are opposed to De Klerk’s visit to Europe because we believe it confers an unacceptable degree of respectability on the head of state of the apartheid regime and because we believe it will undermine the prospect of achieving a political settlement in South Africa.

“Anti-Apartheid movements are protesting across Europe to remind the people the pillars of apartheid remain firmly intact and, in the words of Nelson Mandela, apartheid continues to kill and maim.”

On the day of De Klerk’s arrival in London, a leading national newspaper ran a huge advertisement calling for the dismantling of apartheid. It was paid for by hundreds of ANC and AAM members and supporters.

The advertisement quoted Mandela as saying: “To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive. The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts.”

The British government, said after the Chequers talks that sanctions should be a thing of the past. UK Foreign Secretary, Mr. Douglas Hurd, said: “I believe there has been a clear shift in the attitude of most European Community governments and there is a desire to give some encouragement to the South African government.”

Begging

The EC is expected to review its sanctions policy when it meets in Dublin next month.

At a press conference after the talks, De Klerk said he had not come “in hand”, begging for the lifting of sanctions.

He said: “I found across Europe an understanding of a new reality in South Africa and an acceptance of the sincerity of the government in aiming for the goals of a new just South Africa where all will participate in government, everyone will have the right to vote and will have a vote of equal worth.

“Sanctions have become irrelevant as we have moved beyond the old agenda for South Africa,” De Klerk said.
Azapo urges ANC to stop talks

Staff Reporter

THE Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) has called on the ANC to desist from holding further talks with the Government and give priority instead to a consultative conference involving all black liberation movements.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala yesterday said nothing positive had emanated from the three-day meeting between the Government and the ANC held at the beginning of this month, “except for the limited indemnity granted to some ANC people.”

**Decision**

Mosala said Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) decided at a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe at the weekend that a consultative conference involving all components of the liberation movements was both important and urgent, before any negotiations could be entered into “by all or any components of the liberation movement.”

He said it was hoped that such a conference would take place within the next two months.

Mosala said the Azapo-BCMA meeting also discussed the question of the return of exiles.

“We felt that at this stage we are not in a position to encourage our members to come back because of the limited indemnity granted to the ANC, but also because when they come back we would like to welcome them ourselves.”

**Agreement**

“We would not want to leave that responsibility to the South African Council of Churches which is known to be anti-Black Consciousness,” said Mosala.

The Azapo leader said the two organisations agreed further that nothing which had taken place in the country so far could justify any change in strategy by the liberation movements.

The struggle against apartheid therefore had to be intensified at all fronts.

Responding to Mosala’s call for the ANC not to take part in more talks with the Government before the proposed consultative conference, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said if the Azapo leaders were serious about such a call they would contact the ANC directly and not through the Press.”
Mandela slams shootings

THE African National Congress would not tolerate the continuing massacre of people by police while peace negotiations were in progress, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg to report back on his African tour, Mandela said negotiations could only be fruitful if conducted in an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

"Violence makes this impossible," he said.

Commenting on the violence at Thabong, near Welkom, in which police had allegedly opened fire on a demonstrating crowd, killing eight and injuring over 40, he said it was clear President FW de Klerk was unable to control the police.

"We strongly condemn the massacre of blacks by police in the course of peaceful demonstration," he said.

Mandela also accused the Government of using the Natal conflict to eliminate those who they considered a threat.

The Government did not want the Natal violence to end as it was in its interest that it continued.

He had already suggested to De Klerk that the reason the Government had not ended the violence was because they were using the differences between the parties to "crush the ANC".

The ANC was discussing the problems with the Government.

"We hope through discussions to curb the problems facing the country." - Sapa.
Jews give Tutu a hot reception

NEW YORK - Radical Jewish activists gave Archbishop Desmond Tutu another hostile reception at a church function in Pasadena, California, on Monday.

They have not forgiven Tutu for recent statements he made in Israel declaring his support for the rights of Palestinians.

The Archbishop, who was the target of a waterbomb tossed at him by Jewish activists at the inauguration ceremony of Mr. David Dinkins as New York’s first black mayor in January, came in for a chorus of jeers from a similar group who had gathered outside the All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, where he had delivered a sermon.

Tutu was met with a loud chorus of jeers and shouts of, “Tell him to lay off Israel!” and “Why do you hate Jews?” as he left the church.

BISHOP TUTU

In his hour-long sermon to an overflow audience, the Archbishop, who made world hunger and South Africa his twin themes, referred to those present as “God’s collaborators” and said they could change the world and bring about an end to injustice and oppression.

Tour

Tutu, who is on a fund-raising tour of the United States, visited Disneyland with his wife, two daughters and three-year-old grandson.

“I think this was a tremendous inspiration from God to have this kind of place for people to come and unwind and discover how human we are when we are child-like,” he said in praise of the popular Disney creation.

Assuring his host, the Rev. George Regas, rector of All Saints, that he was not angered by the protesters, Tutu told him: “Please let them say what they want to say, because in my country they are not allowed to do that.”

As a result of the disturbance church officials cancelled an outdoor reception that had been planned in Tutu’s honour.
ANC gains as LP sheds weight

More coloured people voted in the four Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage seats than voted in the 21 Cape Peninsula seats in 1984. Now only 8.6 percent claim loyalty to the LP in the Port Elizabeth area.

Although the LP took almost all of the House of Representatives seats in the September elections last year, only 17 percent of the coloured community believe it did well.

Eighty-seven percent believe the ANC/MDM did well by boycotting the election, while only four percent believe it did not.

"While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community, the MDM/ANC has validated itself in that community’s eyes."

Monitor observed after the September election that voting had been a considerable setback for the LP.

Monitor noted there was "a lot of support in the coloured community for State President FW de Klerk and the government."

On the question of white opinions, the survey found De Klerk’s reforms were more popular with DP voters than with NP voters, and no CP voters agreed.

The survey found between nine and 13 percent of NP voters admitted changing loyalties to the CP since the election.

About one-third of DP voters have changed loyalty, although not many have moved to the ANC/MDM alliance.

Support for the LP has dropped to an all-time low of eight percent.

Support for the government’s National Party (NP) has increased to 31 percent, and for the Democratic Party (DP) to 19 percent.

More than 28 percent of those surveyed said they had changed their political loyalty since September 6, 1989, when the last elections were held.

Labour suffered a loss of 20.2 percent of the entire electorate, which was passed on to the ANC/MDM (4.6 percent), the NP (7.4 percent) and the DP (4.6 percent).

Seventy percent of voters who supported the...

23/5 - 27/5 '90
Mandela a 'symbol of liberation' for Africa

By REHANA ROSSOUW
AFRICAN National Congress deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, is regarded as a symbol of liberation for all African continent, says Mr Ebrahim Rasool of Cape Town, who accompanied him on his trip to Africa.

During his week-long tour of six African states, Mandela was showered with gifts, awards, medals and honorific degrees which re-affirmed his status as an African leader.

"In every country we went to, a public holiday had been declared and thousands of people turned out to meet Mandela," Rasool said.

Mass rallies

"He would not only address the leaders of each country but the ordinary people as well.

"In Nigeria, Mandela addressed four mass rallies in three days as well as other gatherings."

Rasool said in every country visited, either the president, prime minister or foreign affairs minister was on the airwaves to meet Mandela when he arrived.

"He is a symbol for the entire continent. Mandela symbolises the liberation of Africa from colonialism, he belongs to them as much as he belongs to the people of South Africa," Rasool said.

"He commands respect wherever he goes but always tells people that their awards are symbolic of the respect, support and admiration they have for the struggling people of South Africa and the ANC.

"He tells people it is natural to respect an individual for what he has given to the struggle, but when the person sees himself as important he is on the brink of disaster." Rasool said.

Winnie Mandela was also in demand as a speaker, and praise songs were sung to honour her.

Mandela told all the gatherings he addressed that the struggle in Africa was one struggle.

In Angola, he thanked the people for their fierce resistance against apartheid, praising them for winning a victory at Cuito Cuanavale — which had an important effect on events inside the country.

He also thanked the people of Angola for receiving ANC members. When other countries closed down ANC camps because of pressure from South Africa, Angola kept their open.

Armed struggle

In all his meetings with heads of states, governments and diplomats, Mandela briefed them on the present situation inside South Africa.

He reported on the three-day talks about talks, explained the obstacles to negotiations, replied on the issue of the armed struggle and said the ANC placed the blame for the Natal violence on the government.

On the question of sanctions, Mandela told African heads of state that — while he acknowledged the integrity and honesty of the South African State President — Mr FW de Klerk represented a government that had not abandoned the policy and practice of apartheid.

He said sanctions and other factors had forced the government to speak to the ANC, and sanctions were the path to peace.

"All the governments who were briefed pledged support for the ANC’s initiatives," Rasool said.

In Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, Mandela addressed the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, who committed themselves to continuing sanctions against South Africa.

In Egypt, he addressed the United Nations Foreign Ministers Committee and in Libya, the United Nations Committee of Economic Ministers of Third World Countries.

"People in Africa see their economic fate and the possibilities of cooperation and development and closely to the work the ANC is doing in South Africa," Rasool said.

He said the meeting with ANC cadres in the Viana camp in Angola was the most emotional part of the trip.

About 200 members of the ANC and their families were housed at the camp.

Integrated

ANC members in exile in Angola were integrated into society, assisted in fighting Unita and many had interned.

He said in the context of life in Angola, ANC members were far better off than Angolans.

"The medical facilities at an ANC camp, for instance, were the best in the area."

At Viana, Winnie Mandela addressed the cadres and their families, saying she knew they all wanted to come home.

"She told them the ANC was relying on them; sending them home was tantamount to throwing down their weapons," Rasool said.

"She said the people inside the country were looking to the cadres if the negotiations failed."

Rasool said Mandela reported the process inside the country of ensuring the smooth repatriation of all exiles.

Housing, jobs and schools for their children needed to be ensured and efforts were being made to raise funds in collaboration with religious organisations.

He said the threat of prosecution had not been cleared.

Crying

All exiles were completing census forms, which included information on the region they came from, their and their children’s standard of education and their job prospects.

"Just before we left, we sang the national anthem with the cadres. Some of them and a few in our team started crying," Rasool said.

"When we left, it was only the fact that they once again stood to attention which contained the feelings in that hall.

"One cannot properly explain the emotion the exiles feel when people from inside the country come to visit them legally."

Rasool said the camp was in a good condition and consisted of prefabricated buildings.

Families of cadres were allowed to live there and most worked to earn a living, either on surrounding farms or villages or for the United Nations and other agencies.

"Many exiles have applied their skills in their host countries," Rasool said.

"An ANC exile teaches mathematics at the University of Angola and quite a few are pilots of airways in African countries.

"ANC exiles are obviously preparing skills required in a new South Africa."
Tuning in to the future

ONE would be forgiven for thinking the only South African leader on a recent world tour was State President FW de Klerk.

As European capitals and colourful maps flickered in pursuit of the National Party leader, the airwaves were strangely silent on an equally important African trip by the ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela.

We have come to expect this type of bias from the SABC.

The corporation is everything but impartial.

One needs no more proof than the sight of its reporters showing microphones at striking nurses and asking: "Don't you care about your dying patients?" — and then failing to report the strikers' demands.

Control

In this period of glamor, one would hope that the recent appointment of a task group to look into broadcasting in South Africa would address such bias.

But with more than half its members being Broderbundlers, and with its contingent of military and National Intelligence Service personnel, it seems likely that the group has more strategic issues in mind.

Indeed, the South Africa Federation of Radiobroadcasters has called for an immediate halt of all of its activities because of its "totally unrepresentative" nature.

In appointing the broadcasting task group, however, the government has signaled the centrality of the electronic media in the policies of negotiation.

The sense of the medium was also acknowledged by the ANC's spokesman for international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, who said that control of the SABC would become a "definite problem in future negotiations between the ANC and the government".

It is clear that, as the struggle for political power sharpens, what reaches the ears is no longer a matter of indifference.

While people marvel at the sight of Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki on the TV set where PW Botha used to be, they rely overwhelmingly on the "enemy" to interpret the world for them, writes DON PINNOCK.

The ANC and the MDM have not prioritised the battle of the airwaves — which they should have, he warns.

A recent survey (done by the British Broadcasting Corporation) found that, at peak viewing times, only 12 percent of blacks watch TV — as opposed to 60 percent of whites.

Radio Freedom

For radio, the pattern is reversed: whites constitute six percent of listeners, while the figure for blacks is about one in five.

Nearly 60 percent of blacks in the survey named Radio Rasta as their most important source of news, and almost as many gave it a high credibility rating.

Of these, fewer than one in 100 said they were aware of Radio Freedom, the voice of the ANC.

The underlining of popular organisations on February 2 should have resulted in a flood of new media. But it hasn't. While people marvel at the sight of Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki on the TV set where PW Botha used to be, they rely overwhelmingly on the "enemy" to interpret the world for them.

Ordinary South Africans are in suspense because they cannot keep score, they cannot register the political setbacks and the victories with any degree of accuracy.

Despite some support from the small and gallant progressive weekly papers, the ANC and the MDM have failed to make the battle of the airwaves a national strategy and will suffer the consequences in any future test of power at the ballot box.

Priority

Media is not being prioritised, and it should be.

If popular organisations are as all interested in a piece of the future, they should be considering some of the following courses of action as a high priority:

- A challenge to the SABC's monopoly of the airwaves in court. The Radio Act — which gives the Corporation total veto over licensing — is a direct contravention of the Monopolies Act (56 of 1979), which says that if a restrictive practice is found to be not in the public interest, it may be declared illegal.

Such a case would provide the political space to question the "impartiality" of the SABC in the transitional phase of an interim government.

- The possibility of buying out one of the SABC's regional radio stations. It is widely rumoured (and hotly denied by the SABC) that the corporation has plans to sell them off.

- Inkatha is said to be particularly interested in Radio Port Natal. Selling off hits like this would make sense to the SABC which fears nationalisation by an ANC-dominated government.

- Imbalance

It probably wouldn't consider the ANC, SA Communist Party or PAC as favourable clients. But it might sell to a consortium interested in evening out the imbalance of the airwaves and making a profit as well.

- Organisations should explore the possibility of using the more enlightening homelands as a base for popular radio stations.

- Although hopes might be high for a rapid transition to majority rule, a subsequent transformation of the SABC, this may not happen for a long time.

Popular organisations should look into the establishment of a powerful medium-wave transmitter in a frontline state.

Dedicated

The ANC's Radio Freedom, for example, has always piggybacked on the national programming of friendly states. A dedicated, 24-hour radio station would be an important counterweight at a critical time.

Medium-wave seems the best option. It is broader than AM and FM, and from Zimbabwe to Mozambique one can reach the longer waves, radio and TV could be the communication forms which are nationalised in the public interest. Their main function would be for education, secondly for national reconciliation, and thirdly for entertainment.

Until more South Africans can read, a future government would have less to fear from the press than it may imagine.

This press could be kept alive through the courts and a Bill of Rights.

But — for now, in this crucial transitional era — South Africans feel a compelling need to be informed. If the main source of this information is to remain Radio Rasta, the peace process is likely to be in for a very rough ride.

(Des Pinnock is a lecturer in journalism, University of Rhodes University, Grahamstown)
WITH the unbanning of the ANC earlier this year, comrade clothing came out of the realms of sub-culture and moved into the mainstream. No longer is black, green and gold restricted to rallies and activist headgear. Instead, ANC colours have moved into the fashion fast track — in the process raking in considerable revenue for sharp entrepreneurs.

All one needs to be part of the trend is an item of clothing in the requisite colours.

T-shirts, always the staple of activist wardrobes, are available with a variety of slogans and organisational logos. The SACP emblem is an optional and very trendy extra. In line with the move towards healthy lifestyles, sportswear — including a stick in masquerade suits — now come in ANC colours.

**Trend**

The trend does not stop at clothing. Accessories ranging from umbrellas to buttons are readily available and the truly enthusiastic deck themselves in a combination of scarves and bangles.

The ethic look also features in the form of badges, earrings and bangles. Again, the rule is: the more, the better.

The rise of the radical chic brings with it an interesting variety of headgear.

**Popular**

Peaked caps and striped fezes are popular, while the always stylish beret, preferably at a jaunty angle, is an acceptable alternative.

The military look is a definite spin-off of the trend.

Crisp khakis are essential for the aspirant cadre, while stripes and military badges round off the image.

The ready availability of political gear has made it difficult for the original proponents of the revolution to stand out from the crowd.

While some have resorted to imported struggle T-shirts, others have rediscovered the old, now rare, outfits which they used to wear inside out.

**Decor**

Black, green and gold are also topping the decor charts. Among articles spotted with a new coat of paint were a table (artistically uneven layers of colours), a dustbin (City Council variety) and the car of a well-known photographer.

For those who do not have the time and energy to do it themselves, there is a plethora of goods which can be bought.

Wooden AIDS spears laced in ANC colours and flags are all highly popular, but really there is no end to the merchandise available.

From dolls to drawers, the choice is yours — as long as you can afford it. With T-shirts averaging at R15, tracksuits well over R100 and a simple umbrella more than R200, the bulk of the merchandise remains beyond the reach of ordinary people. — Chiera Carter
ANC gains as LP sheds weight

More coloured people voted in the four Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage seats than voted in the 21 Cape Peninsula seats in 1984. Now only 5.6 per cent of coloured community support the LP in the Port Elizabeth area.

Although the LP took about all of the House of Representative seats in the September elections last year, only 17 per cent of coloured community support it.

Eighty-seven percent believe the ANC/MDM did well by boycotting the election, while only four percent believe it did not.

"While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community, the MDM/ANC has validated itself in that community's eyes."

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The survey found between nine and 13 percent of NP voters admitted changing loyalties to the CP since the election.

About one-third of DP voters have changed loyalty, although not many have moved to the ANC/MDM alliance.

Housing

A severe housing crisis in Port Elizabeth's Northern Areas, coupled with a municipality ruling that shacks erected in the backyards of privately-owned houses must be demolished, may make thousands of people homeless this winter. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports:

PORT Elizabeth's traditionally divided, black, city is being mobilising shortage which has swollen the Labour Party to masses of unemployed families has become.

The critical housing situation in the Northern Areas has been discussed in the African National Congress (ANC) meeting.
Cawu congress in call for night schools

THE Western Cape region of the Construction and Allied Workers Union (Cawu) has called on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to initiate a literacy programme within the federation as a "matter of urgency".

The call was part of a resolution on education adopted by more than 150 delegates from three branches attending the Cawu regional congress in Athlone last Sunday.

African National Congress (ANC) interim committee deputy convener in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, and regional secretary for Cosatu (W Cape), Ms Luci Nenyembe, were guest speakers at the congress — the first ever in the region.

The congress endorsed the recent meeting between the ANC and the government, noting mass pressure and other forms of struggle had forced the government to negotiate. 

It also re-endorsed the Harare Declaration, resolving to encourage Cawu members to join the ANC and to understand and popularise ANC policies and principles.

Delegates resolved to organise and consolidate members with a view to participating in the next round of negotiations with the South African Civil Engineering Council which, they said, was formed specifically to exclude workers from decision making and wage determination in one of the country's lowest-paying industries.

Support was expressed for Cosatu's policy of worker unity and mergers such as that with the South African Allied Workers' Union.

Cawu also committed itself to encouraging female participation in the union, also at leadership level, in line with its non-sexist policy.

Elected office bearers: Chairperson: Mr C Qandela; vice-chairperson: Mr E Siqwabe; treasurer: Mr C Manquila; and regional secretary: Mr L Ramdlakan.
SA problems take back seat as Mandela train prepares to roll

NEW YORK - Next month's visit to the US by Nelson Mandela is likely to throw more light on the US's own domestic problems than on the South African. The US is a country where the political establishment and media are so complex that even the most experienced politicians can become entangled in its thorny issues. The visit is likely to add to the already substantial number of reasons why the US is in crisis.

Sensative

After a tickertape reception on June 29 as the guest of Black New York Mayor David Dinkins, Mandela will head to Los Angeles and Hollywood, Miami, and Atlanta. Before returning to Cape Town, President George Bush and become the first black African head of state to address a joint session of Congress.

There are a number of reasons for this joint session of Congress. At least 10 black and anti-apartheid organizations are lobbying for a vote, with Washington lobbying and a national coalition of Black and Anti-Apartheid Organizations. The coalition has been battling to secure a vote for decades, but the issue has been backburnered due to the widespread opposition of their supporters.

"It's being handled by

Experts plan to link Africa, Europe

MARRAKESH - Legend says Hercules wrested Africa from Europe by creating the Straits of Gibraltar. Today, people are planning to join them together again.

The hot, dry, red-walled Moroccan city last week to study ways of joining the two continents either by building a bridge or an underground tunnel.

The idea is to build a bridge that would link the two continents, allowing for greater economic and cultural exchange. The project is estimated to cost $10 billion, but could bring huge benefits to both regions.

The bridge would consist of a 20-km-long underground tunnel with a 300-m-deep shaft. The tunnel would be equipped with advanced technology to ensure safety and efficiency, allowing for seamless crossing between the two continents. The project is expected to create thousands of jobs and boost the economies of both regions.

A bridge is the most spectacular solution and is favoured by King Hassan. It would provide an alternative route for trade and tourism, enhancing cultural and economic ties between the two regions. The project is expected to have a positive impact on the local economies, creating new opportunities for businesses and individuals.

Deacon of the Spanish company SECEG, has been a key player in this project. He has outlined a number of potential solutions, including a cable car system, a tunnel, and a bridge. Each option has its own advantages and disadvantages, but the goal remains the same: to connect the two continents.

The bridge would not only provide a direct connection between Europe and Africa, but also serve as a symbol of peace and cooperation between the two regions. It would be a testament to human ingenuity and a symbol of what can be achieved when we come together to work towards a common goal.

The project is currently in the planning stage, with many details still to be worked out. However, the potential benefits are clear, and the project is expected to move forward with the support of both European and African leaders.

The bridge would serve as a link between two continents, fostering cooperation and understanding between the peoples of Europe and Africa. It would be a symbol of progress and a reminder of the potential for what we can achieve when we work together towards a common goal.
Mandela taken to task by top Nat source

By MARTIN CHALLENGER, Political Staff

A HIGH National Party source today repudiated ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's criticism of the government and his allegations of "massacres" while peace negotiations were in progress.

Mr Mandela should, the senior NP source said, concentrate on "getting his own act together".

"Mr Mandela needs to be told his track record of controlling his own people is not good, just as his call for people to throw their pangas into the sea has not worked," the source said.

The comments came in reaction to Mr Mandela's comments on his return to South Africa yesterday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress. Mr Mandela also said that while President De Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

CONFIDENCE BEING ERODED

Senior National Party sources said today there was a widely held resistance building up among people outside the ANC "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other."

In Welkom, the NP sources said, a large number of people involved in the violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom," the sources said.

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary groundswell developing.

"These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation."

* Million dollars awaits Mandela — page 2.
ANC to open in Athlone

By DENNIS CRUY WAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE Athlone branch of the African National Congress is to be officially launched at the Athlone Civic Centre on June 8.

Speakers include ANC national executive committee member Mr Reggie September, recently appointed Western Cape convenor.

The meeting will be preceded by a meeting on June 6 of ANC members to elect area leaders.

Interim convenor Mr Graeme Bloch said: "By joining the ANC Athlone residents can meet others determined to play a part in bringing about a non-racial society."

The ANC believed South Africans irrespective of race, religion or sex had a right to say how the country should be run.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

He urged Athlone residents to join the "dynamic, tried-and-tested" organisation.

"In this way one can add one's voice to the growing demand for a constituent assembly, in which all South Africans can draw up a non-racial constitution."
ANC needs peace
— Carolus

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

MOST South Africans want peace, says senior United Democratic Front member Ms Cheryl Carolus.

She was speaking last night at the first public meeting of the Observatory-Mowbray branch of the African National Congress.

"The country has been at war and the ANC recognises the need to build peace. The movement will not spurn any opportunity to build this peace."

"The power to make decisions on our lives must be transferred to the people. That is non-negotiable."

People talking of intensifying the struggle did not have the same track record as those who had died in the pursuit of freedom as had ANC members.

"IRRRESPONSIBLE"

"It is irresponsible to be a warmonger."

However, the ANC was watching the government's response to events in Welkom and Sebokeng.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had met a warmonger — Afrikaner Weerstands beweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche — but, the day after the meeting Mr Terre'Blanche had declared war on South Africans.

"We have to ask ourselves whether the talks about talks are going to work. We ask ourselves if the South African is serious about continuing this process."
'Slur against Winnie'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's reputation was being besmirched in a case which was revolving around her but in which she was not the accused so had no opportunity to defend herself.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"This is an inappropriate way of handling judicial proceedings," Mr Mandela said after his return from a seven-nation tour of African states.

He said he believed the government had deliberately created the situation where the press was judging his wife while she was unable to defend herself.

He confirmed evidence led in the case, in which Jerry Richardson is charged with the murder of teenager Stompie Selibe and other offences, that his wife had been advised not to consult defence attorneys.

This was because it would be inadvisable to make statements on matters which could possibly be the subject of later charges against her. Asked whether he thought his wife should be charged, Mr Mandela said: "It is not for me to tell the government what to do."

Mr Mandela said his trip had succeeded beyond expectations in terms of the warm manner in which he had been welcomed everywhere, and the material support offered to the ANC. He declined to give details of the material support.

He said he had received no information to back the widespread assumptions that Mr F W de Klerk had made any concrete breakthrough against European sanctions.
PRETORIA. — ANC lawyer and returned exile Mr Albie Sachs addressed a capacity audience of more than 400 people at the University of Pretoria yesterday, saying that “to be called a comrade at the University of Pretoria is beyond belief”.

\[\text{Comrade Sach}\text{s speaks}\]
Police action threat to talks — Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress would not tolerate the continuing “massacre” of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress, Mr. Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference after his African tour, Mr. Mandela said negotiations could be fruitful only if conducted in an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

“Violence makes this impossible.”

Commenting on an incident at Thabong near Welkom in which police had allegedly opened fire on a demonstrating crowd, killing eight and injuring 40, Mr. Mandela claimed President F. W. de Klerk was unable to control the police.

He said every black was regarded by the police and army as a target.

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday warned that it would send armed units into the black areas of Welkom to “defend the unarmed civilian population”.

In a statement from Dar-es Salaam, external PAC administrative secretary Mr. Joe Mkwazazi said the killing of unarmed blacks in the town left the organisation with no alternative “but to support the struggle of the Welkom people against the racist regime”.

Mr. Mandela also accused the government of using the Natal conflict to eliminate those whom they considered to be a threat.

The issue of the Natal violence had been raised on many occasions on the tour, he said.

“We pointed out that the violence was originally a conflict between two political organisations — ANC and Inkatha.”

Mr. Mandela said he had already suggested to President De Klerk that the reason the government had not ended the violence was because they were using the differences between the parties to “crush the ANC”.

Mr. Mandela said the African states had accepted this analysis of the Natal conflict.

He emphasised that he considered Mr. De Klerk to be honest in his attempts to curb the violence.

It was the government itself which wanted to crush the ANC and other “progressive” organisations, not Mr. De Klerk, he said.

“The fact that Mr. De Klerk is having difficulties straightening out these problems does not mean he is dishonest,” said Mr. Mandela.

He insisted that the government, with its sophisticated police force, had the capacity to solve the problem “within three or four days” if it wanted to.

Mr. Mandela said the tour of Africa, during which he had visited Angola, Nigeria, Libya, Algeria and Egypt as well as stopping over at Kenya and Zimbabwe, had succeeded beyond his “wildest expectations.” — Sapa
Ex-SADF members due for talks with ANC in Lusaka

LUSAKA — Former senior SA army officers head a team due to meet ANC military chiefs this week to talk about a post-apartheid army, ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said the South African team of 40 would arrive in Lusaka today for three-day talks which are due to start tomorrow.

"A post-apartheid South Africa will need an army that will defend the whole country and not only sections of it," Sebina told reporters.

He said the former army officers included an unnamed brigadier and a major-general.

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be represented by commander Joe Modise and chief of staff Chris Hani.

Members of the policy making national executive committee and some junior military leaders would also attend.

Sebina said the talks were organised by Idasa.

"The ANC has been trying to establish contacts with the SA Defence Force as part of its strategy for a negotiated suspension of armed struggle by both sides which would give its combatants a recognised status. — Sapa-Reuters."
ANC leader has hectic agenda

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will maintain his hectic pace this week with a series of meetings and rallies following his two-week African tour.

He was a main speaker yesterday at a landmark conference with South African business heavyweights in Johannesburg at which the country's economic future was discussed by about 400 invited delegates.

Since Mr Mandela's return from a two-week tour of seven African states, he has addressed two press conferences.

He will address two rallies at the weekend — in Atteridgeville near Pretoria on Saturday and in Kimberley on Sunday.

Today he is due to have a series of meetings, among others to arrange his pending trip to the United States and Britain.

Close aides said Mr Mandela would take a short rest next week before leaving for a tour of Belgium, West Germany, France and the Soviet Union.

Mr Mandela told The Star he was fit and getting enough rest.
Economic power of few must change, Mandela tells business

Staff Reporter

While the ANC had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night.

About 40 ANC officials and 400 South African business leaders met at a landmark conference at the Carlton Hotel yesterday, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) to discuss SA's future economic policy.

ANC deputy president Mr Mandela told the conference he would not present any argument about nationalisation.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues to consider in the question of democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power," Mr Mandela said.

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crisis that afflicted many African countries.

Mr Mandela said it would be necessary to review the system of taxation.

The burden of taxation on sections of the community least capable of looking after themselves should be shifted to the corporate sector — without producing a situation of diminishing returns.

He said the abolition of multi-headed apartheid administrative structures would result in enormous savings.

Defence spending would also have to be radically reduced, and lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs.

He would fight against the creation of a "bloated and unproductive" civil service.

Crisis

Mr Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a terrible crisis. Unemployment was increasing, investment in fixed capital was decreasing and inflation was high.

"The democratic project cannot succeed unless the economy can deliver. There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains," Mr Mandela said.

Anglo-American's Gavin Rely told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly held values to enable them to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would have to share elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience.

He said the debate about economic options had progressed from the crudities of a "capitalism versus socialism dogfight" to a recognition that South Africa had a future in a mixed economy.

"(There is a) need to get the mix right — the tax system, the efficiency and manner in which we deploy tax revenue, the country's legal and institutional framework and the need for a market-based pricing system."

Mr Rely said instead of contemplating mechanisms such as nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as a source of wealth and job creation, with the Budget acting as an allocator of resources raised by taxation.

CBM chairman Murray Hofmeyr said the conference had not sought to achieve superficial definitive statements about SA's future, but to explore options.

"We have a very long way to go. There are areas of substantial disagreement and I am appalled at the massive problems."

"There is inevitably a degree of mistrust between business and the ANC. We identified areas of disagreement and areas of similar interest," Mr Hofmeyr said.
Holier-than-thou
Mandela taken to task
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party today told ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday to stop criticising it and to get his act together.

"Your track record of controlling your own people is not good, just as your call for people to throw pangas into the sea has not worked," senior NP sources told Mr Mandela in reaction to his comments on Tuesday that the ANC would not tolerate the continuing "massacre" of people by police while negotiations on peace were in progress.

Mr Mandela also said that while President de Klerk was honest in his efforts, he could not control the police.

Senior NP sources said there was a widely-held resistance building up among people outside of the ANC, "to the way in which Mr Mandela is posturing on the one hand yet is totally unable to control what his people are doing on the other hand."

In Welkom, the sources said, many people involved in the unrest violence were wearing ANC T-shirts.

"This has done nothing to inspire any confidence in Mr Mandela's ability to control his followers. There were even ANC members in the group that was going to march to the white residential areas of Welkom."

NP sources said Mr Mandela's attack on the police played into the hands of people who would like to see a reactionary ground swell developing.

These kinds of statements are really doing nothing to contribute to the situation. There is a feeling of impatience with his whole demeanour, with his holier-than-thou attitude."

The NP wanted to see Mr Mandela reprimanding his erring followers. He needed to distance himself from "this whole pattern of pointless political demonstrations and confrontational cycles."

While the right wing was playing a role in bringing about the political confrontation, the NP would like to see Mr Mandela use his influence to break the cycle of violence.

"He would then have a lot more credibility among people who are not ANC supporters."

The Government had been criticised for appointing a commission of inquiry "every time the police took action", the NP sources pointed out.
Undercover police cleared of 4 deaths

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A Durban magistrate found yesterday that four undercover policemen, who shot dead four men in Chesterville in June 1988, had acted in self-defence.

Presiding over the inquest, the magistrate, B.J. Olivier, found that the undercover policemen arrived in Durban on June 20 that year to infiltrate an ANC cell in Chesterville.

They made contact with a comrade in a shebeen and pretended to be ANC terrorists.

They went to a nearby shack where they met the four deceased, Russell Mgomezulu (23), Mutumeni Khanyile (24), Joseph Thembu (20) and Sandile Kwaqa (23) and others.

Grenades

Among them was a Charles Ngqobo who, according to the undercover group's information, was in possession of an AK47 and hand grenades.

The policemen thought the group had believed that they were terrorists.

They left to get help in arresting the residents of the shack.

As they left, a shot was fired from the shack.

The police knew they were dealing with potentially dangerous people, possibly trained terrorists.

Mr Olivier said he believed that when the first shot was fired, the policemen — also highly trained — acted instinctively in firing at the shack.

They did not know how many people were firing or if more than one shot had been fired at them. They did not know what type of weapons were being used against them.

The policemen were using automatic weapons and in the circumstances their firing of 67 to 88 shots was not unreasonable.

After the shooting the policemen reported the incident to the local police station.

Mr Olivier said there had been suggestions that this was a hit-squad operation.

The policemen could not have been identified by the people in the shack and could simply have returned to their base at Vlakplaas. Instead they had reported to the police.

They did not return to the shack to find out if there were survivors or take any action to kill them.

The magistrate said: "If this was a hit squad with instructions to kill, then all I can say is that the police or the persons organising the hit squads were a bunch of fools."

Mr Olivier said one person in the shack was seriously injured, and another man was miraculously unscathed.

Mr Olivier found that the policemen thought they were under attack and acted in self-defence. He was satisfied that they had acted as any reasonable person would have done in the circumstances.

Record

The magistrate said if he understood G. Penzhorn, for the families, he was obliged to send a record to the Attorney-General to consider with a view to possible prosecution.

Mr Olivier said he understood his duty was to properly evaluate all the evidence and to make a finding in terms of the Inquest Act.

The record would in any case be sent to the Attorney-General for scrutiny.

Aggrieved parties could also make representations to the Attorney-General, especially in the light of public controversy about alleged hit squads.

Mr Olivier said the families of the deceased men were not the only issues at stake. Other parties were also involved.
LUSAKA — A former director-general of operations in the SADF, General Wally Black, warned yesterday that political rapprochement between black and white South Africans could bog down if there was no close involvement of various armies which fought against or supported apartheid.

Speaking in an interview at Lusaka Airport, when a predominantly white 50-man delegation from South Africa arrived for talks with the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, on the future role of SADF in the country's fast-changing political climate, General Black said: “If we are going to have peace constitutionally, we have to involve the military in the talks, as they are part of the system.

Pressure groups

“Such talks will allow us to understand each other and contribute to political negotiations.”

The South African delegation includes retired military officers; representatives of the Democratic Party, led by Tian van der Merwe; the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), led by director Nic Borain; and several pressure groups.

General Black said that apart from the SADF and Umkhonto, the defence forces of homelands should also be made part of the military negotiations.

General Black said that although he was retired, and speaking as an individual, he welcomed the chance to talk to the ANC military wing.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the spokesmen for the 50-man team expressed disappointment at the refusal by the South African Government to send formal representatives to the talks.

Altogether six former senior SADF officers are attending the meeting. They are Major-General Black; Commodore Vic Holderness; Commodore Andrew McMurray; the former commanding officer of the Army Women's College in George, Colonel Hilda Burnett; and Tony Marinier and David Plane, both former civilian force commanding officers from Cape Town.

Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, who welcomed the South African delegation at the airport, said the meeting had serious implications for the future of the military in South Africa.

At a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport before the internal group's departure, Mr Borain said the conference had been organised for three reasons:

- It was a peace mission to enable people who had fought each other in the past to talk.
- It was to explore ways to de-escalate the conflict in South Africa and prevent tragedies such as the one which "accompanied Swapo's return home".
- It was to start discussion about the shape and role of a future defence force, which would be "truly national in the sense that it will have to represent and reflect all sections of the population".

Mr van der Merwe and General Black both criticised the Minister of Minister, General Magnus Malan, for his rejection of the possible integration of the SADF and MK soldiers.

They said General Malan's attitude was short-sighted and dangerous to negotiations.

Short-sighted

General Black said: “The future defence force of South Africa should be a force which everyone can be proud of.”

The head of the Venda military government, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, said he was planning to reincorporate his homeland into South Africa and the Venda Defence Force would form part of the new SADF.

Reports by Kaizer Nyamomba and the ANO news service
Economic power
‘must change’

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — While the African National Congress had no blueprint that decreed privately-owned assets be nationalised, it was obvious the concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change, Mr Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg last night.

About 40 ANC officials and 400 South African business leaders met at a landmark conference at the Carlton Hotel yesterday, organised by the Consultative Business Movement, to discuss South Africa’s future economic policy.

ANC deputy-leader Mr Mandela told the conference he would not present any argument about nationalisation.

“The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are ‘nationalisation’ and ‘redistribution’ is mistaken.

“There are many issues to consider in the question of democratisation and decapitalisation of economic power.”

He said it was important to stop propagating a gloomy picture of a future South Africa which would sink into the economic crisis that afflicted many African countries.

Mr Mandela said it would be necessary to review the system of taxation. The burden of taxation on sections of the community least capable of looking after themselves should be shifted to the corporate sector — without producing a situation of diminishing returns.

Shared values

He said defence spending would have to be reduced, which must lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs and he would fight against the creation of a “browned and unproductive” civil service.

Anglo-American’s Mr Gavin Reilly, representing the business sector, told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly-held values which would enable them to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would have to share elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, cooperation and social conscience.

Mr Reilly said the economic debate had progressed from a “capitalism versus socialism dogfight” to a recognition that South Africa had a future in a mixed economy.

Mr Reilly said that instead of contemplating mechanisms like nationalisation, the private sector should be seen as the source of wealth and new creation, with the budget acting as an allocator of resources raised through taxation.

CBM chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr said the conference accepted the need for political transformation which must be accompanied by economic changes of the same character.
Sisulu warns Maties on rise in rightwing violence

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

RIGHTWING violence is being orchestrated by people determined to undermine the peace process in South Africa, says Mr Walter Sisulu, the African National Congress (ANC).

He warned that this was causing problems for the ANC, which was saying to its followers: "Man, we want peace."

He said at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday that the movement was worried about violence in places like Welkom.

"Violence in many cases is being orchestrated by people who have similar ideas to the ANC. ... They are people whose interest is to undermine the process and progress."

Warning on arms

He warned that people in black townships would arm themselves just as rightwingers were building up arms.

"It was difficult for blacks to own firearms in South Africa, but whites could."

"We are addressing that question," he said.

Mr Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, told more than 400 students, workers and academics that the talks earlier this month between the movement and government had been discussions to clear the way for negotiations.

"We are striving for the transfer of power to the people of South Africa. I mean, we can no longer have power in the hands of a few people or a particular group."

"We want to transfer power to the people of South Africa, no matter what their colour, religion or creed."

He said there could be no turning back now.

"It is the duty of all peace-loving South Africans to contribute to this process."

Earlier, he extended a band of friendship to the University of Stellenbosch, inviting it to join the movement in building a better future.

He said the university had played a leading role in the building of Afrikaner nationalism.
Mandela's shock at Mier Bill

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the controversial Mier legislation to be withdrawn saying "we are shocked and horrified" that the bill had again been placed on the House of Representatives' order paper.

The Mier Rural Areas Bill was withdrawn from yesterday's order paper by Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse, members of his cabinet and the House's agriculture committee met a delegation from Mier, their lawyer, representatives of the Namaqualand Residents' Association, UDP, the Western Cape interim united civics structure and the Surplus Peoples Project.

Yesterday's meeting adjourned without any undertaking by Mr Hendrickse to withdraw the bill, the Mier delegation said in a statement.

The legislation provides for the sale of the remote Mier area, in the Calvinia region, but it has been strongly opposed by residents.

Earlier this year, the legislation was withdrawn from the order after Mr Mandela spoke to Mr Hendrickse.

"We wish to express our solidarity and support for your just claims in this regard," Mr Mandela said.

"Even though you are tucked away in the fringes of the Kalahari, we fully support you in your struggle.

"We call for this bill, which is aimed at dispossessing you of your birthright, to be withdrawn."
Capital talks

ANC, big business discuss future

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and top South African business executives met yesterday in landmark talks on how best to generate and share wealth in a post-apartheid economy.

Mr Nelson Mandela and some 50 ANC colleagues met 400 mainly white businessmen following a warning that unless the ANC reassured nervous investors it would inherit a "slum" nation, sapped by a flight of skills and capital.

The two main speakers were the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the former chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Ritty.

Mr Mandela said after the conference that the ANC was not re-thinking its nationalisation policy.

"Our stand is exactly the same," he told a press conference.

He said, however, that the ANC was keen to explain its position on nationalisation, which is what it did yesterday at the conference.

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, joint chairman of the Consultative Business Movement which organised the conference, said the meeting had highlighted "a lot of disagreement between the business community and the ANC".

The conference yesterday was the first such meeting between the business community and the ANC in South Africa.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, international director of the ANC, said part of the discussion was "to identify problem areas".

Basic confidence

Another part of the process "is to see how to address those problem areas", he added. A structure was needed to address the problems.

Mr Ritty said afterwards that he had "a basic confidence".

In his address, Mr Mandela said that new legislation to curtail and control economic monopolies was an issue to be considered in transforming the South African economy.

"One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the monopolies commission in Great Britain.

He said another issue which might have to be considered was the possibility of directors appointed by the government to the boards of privately owned companies.

He said the reason for such a move would be "to
LP loses support in PE — report

Political Staff

A DRAMATIC loss of support for the Labour Party since the unbanning of the ANC has occurred in the LP’s one-time stronghold of Port Elizabeth, according to an opinion survey conducted by the Human Rights Trust.

The survey, published in the latest edition of the Trust’s magazine, Monitor, showed that support for the LP among the coloured community in Port Elizabeth had dropped to about 8%, and 70% of the people who supported the LP in last year’s election in September had switched allegiances.

Labour had lost 20.5% of the electorate.

It found that 41% of coloured people in the area supported the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) alliance, while 31% said they would support the National Party and 18% the Democratic Party.

More than 28% of those surveyed said they had changed their political loyalty since last year’s election.
Key ANC talks may jettison Stalinist praxis

LONDON — THE democratic tradition of the African National Congress inside South Africa is expected to win the day over the "Stalinist" tradition in exile, during the organisation's key December national conference in Cape Town — the first inside the country since its banning in 1960.

This is the view of the London publication, Africa Confidential, which reflects fairly closely Foreign Office opinion.

In a wide-ranging article on the ANC's return home, Africa Confidential says people inside South Africa would be "welcoming back a stranger which now has to live up to their expectations". And many supporters feared they would be a "colossal disappointment".

However, Africa Confidential said the ANC could transform itself into a dynamic organisation by "getting rid of its Stalinist exile baggage, which has made many leadership positions the monopoly of incompetent apparatchiks and has fed the ANC's current sluggishness".

It believed the ANC would return to "an energised constituency used to glasnost".

"In exile, opposition to or even criticism of the leadership ended the careers of many promising young cadres. Since the ANC bedrock inside the country is the Mass Democratic Movement, coalitions are likely between undemocratic exile traditions and the democratic ones of the United Democratic Front (UDF)."

"It looks as if the democratic tradition will carry the day, mainly due to sheer numbers and skillful organisation. This worries a host of exiled apparatchiks who fear losing their positions in a revamped ANC."

Exculsive leadership

The Confidential said the organisation of the ANC in exile guaranteed the dominance of a leadership system "based on patronage". For 16 years, from the 1969 Morogoro Conference to the 1985 Kabwe meeting, the ANC held no conferences.

"This established a tradition of excluding the rank and file, a practice that became virtually an article of ANC faith. For all those years, the movement was run exclusively by its National Execu-

Key ANC talks may jettison Stalinist praxis

tive Committee (NEC), dominated by the SA Communist Party."

It said those who challenged the leadership, like the "Group of Eight", were "simply expelled by presidential decree". Policy became "the sole preserve of the NEC."

In the ANC there was a desire by cadres to get out of Lusaka, where, for instance, "the supply and withholding of basics was used to control members, whose monthly pocket money would not even buy a bar of soap."

This led to a stifling of unorthodoxy and to "mutual suspicion and hatred. Informers secretly reported to the leadership not only members' political leanings but personal details such as their drinking habits or sexual activities."

Loss of control

But, it said, "inside South Africa, things are different. People are not dependent on the ANC for sustenance, which removes the source of the patronage politics of exile."

"The dependency syndrome, known as mphando, on which exile politics turn, will be eliminated. This will weaken many leaders, such as Joe Modise, the most powerful of the leadership in maintaining the ANC system of control." Also favouring the ANC's democratic transformation, it stated, was the sheer weight of numbers of the internal leadership, say. While the small numbers in exile enable maximum control, the millions inside "cannot be manipulated".

There were also "capable leaders with proven track records and powerful constituencies" inside the country.

"They are expected to give returning apparatchiks, who do not even have the support of the exile community, a run for their money at the December 1990 conference."

Democratic tradition

It noted that the undemocratic tradition was alien to the ANC until it was banned in 1960. "There is therefore no such ANC tradition inside South Africa."

"The presence on the scene of the Rivonia leadership, still steeped in the old ANC democractic tradition, will make a vital contribution."

"Thus the 30-year old Stalinist tradition will be pitted against the tradition that reigned for 40 years."

"The exile tradition is not expected to come out on top: in fact, it is not expected to survive."

"The ANC could once more don its venerable mantle and regain its image of the heroic organisation that dared to continue the struggle of the oppressed. Allegations of execution, torture and ideological manipulation that have dogged it lately could disappear along with the tradition that bred them — exile."

Africa Confidential believes the ANC will demonstrate its break with the exile past by inviting back all those expelled on ideological grounds.

While an earlier call in 1987 was largely ignored because many felt the unfair system which had made them rebel was still intact, with Nelson Mandela at the helm and with the ANC's democratic transformation on the cards, many may wish to return.

"For now," says the Confidential, "sights are fixed on the December conference. This is expected to be a watershed". — Own Correspondent
Labour Party hit by wave of defections

The Labour Party has lost more than half of its supporters in the Port Elizabeth region to the left — and the right, PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports

Fully 41 percent of the sample indicated support for the alliance between the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement. Support for Labour has dropped to an all-time low of eight percent, less than half the 17 percent found in a Monitor survey last year.

Support for State President FW de Klerk and the government has increased from 8.4 to 31 percent, and for the Democratic Party, to 19 percent. Last year’s survey found support for the Progressive Federal Party at 11.6 percent.

The survey findings come at a time when residents of the “coloured” Northern Areas are voicing their anger at what they see as LP indifference in the face of a growing housing crisis.

Thousands are facing homelessness this winter, after the owners of properties on which illegal shacks stand were ordered to demolish the structures. There are over 9,000 names on a waiting list for houses, and the management committee is reported to be still dealing with families whose names were put onto the list in the mid-1970s.

The survey results are also borne out by a number of recent ANC meetings in the Northern Areas, where hundreds are joining the movement.

Says Monitor: “Within the coloured community, the Labour Party has suffered a great loss of prestige and support. Six years ago 36 percent of the coloured community in this area voted in the 1984 election, and the vast majority voted Labour.

“While Labour is no longer a legitimate political vehicle for the aspirations of the coloured community,” it continues, “the MDM-ANC has validated itself in that community’s eyes.”

Meanwhile support in the coloured community for De Klerk and the government appears to be considerable.

Of the three most popular movements in the community — the ANC, MDM, the government and the DP — it remains unclear which would be first to establish a structure to channel this support, Monitor points out.

“Plainly support according to opinion surveys is one thing — a mobilised core of voters is quite another.”

— Pen
SADF, MK generals talk about peace

Generals of opposing armies met in Lusaka this week to talk about the possibility of a ceasefire and the merging of the South African Defence Force and Umkhonto weSizwe.

The African National Congress' army is "willing to abide by a mutually-
binding ceasefire" and believes a negotiations breakthrough is possi-ble, Umkhonto weSizwe leader Chris Hani said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting of ANC, SADF and "homeland" army mem-
bers in Lusaka, Hani warned, how-
ever, that there were still obstacles to a ceasefire and that the ANC would not consider a unilateral halt to the armed struggle.

SADF Commandant Dr Joe Cilliers, a former member of the State Security Council secretariat, said the ANC did not have the capacity to run a modern defence force. This would have to be a joint venture with the SADF.

"They were speaking at the start of a five-day conference on the future of the military in South Africa, organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa)."

"We have repeatedly stated our preference for a less violent transition in South Africa," said Hani.

"We believe the present political initiative — a definite product of peo-
ple's struggle — does offer a possi-
bility of breakthrough. It is on this basis that our soldiers, as political ca-
dres of our movement, strongly sup-
port these initiatives and our negotia-
tion concept spelt out in the Harare
Declaration.

"That declaration also categorically expresses our willingness to abide by a mutually-binding ceasefire that is jointly monitored," he said.

"Any call on the ANC to abandon the armed struggle unilaterally was "unfair and unrealistic", Hani said.

"The ANC and MK were concerned about security force "tolerance" of right-wing vigilantes.

"He said the ANC was not concerned about the deployment of 32 Battalion in Natal which he described as an act of "extreme provocation"."

Hani added, however, that he was not opposed to the use of conscripts and other SADF troops as an emer-
gency measure.

"Regarding ANC attacks on white civilians, he stressed such action had been contrary to ANC policy.

"The way some of the comrades re-
sponded was guided more by the pre-
valing mood of the people around them. As a result, some of the action did not reflect policy," he said.

"Earlier, ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) member John Nkadimeng reiterated the organisa-
tion's opposition to conscription.

"It is the practice of a state at war or preparing for war," he said. "We should be building more schools, not barracks; not more AK and R1 rifles but more tennis rackets and golf clubs; not more spades but more tractors," Nkadimeng said.

Cilliers, who for the last year has been a private researcher on security matters, said "almost no chance of any military coup."

"Such action will not be supported by a conscript army and it is contrary to our military culture," he said.

Cilliers said he believed the SADF had "exerted an influence beyond its mandate" but "now recognised the necessity for a cessation of hostilities while remaining opposed to integra-
tion with MK.

"And MK should not make the same mistake we made in talking of revolution and counter-revolution," he said.

"We are talking about moving to-
towards a future common to all and we don't have to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs."

Recently retired SADF commander, Virgil Holderness, said he believed the SADF was "not as politicised as some people think.

"Politicians have to find political so-
lutions to the country's problems and all the military forces could do was to find the breathing space for this to take place."

The conference was opened by Zambian Prime Minister Malima Masheke, who said the region was "not in peace, but in pieces", adding that the meeting could help in the recon-
struction process.

Delegates to the conference include 10 NEC members, several senior MK commanders, nine senior "homeland" military officers and 20 SADF advis-
ors and Citizen Force or retired Per-
manent Force officers.

Other members of the South African delegation are Venda's military leader, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, and SADF military intelligence officer Colonel Gideon Meiring.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told the delegation that the conference was "a move in the right direction be-
cause nothing can be more telling than when generals of opposing ar-
 mies get together to exchange views".
PRETORIA — The three most visible sides of SA politics were illustrated at the weekend when tens of thousands gathered to demonstrate support for President F W de Klerk, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk assured an enthusiastic welcoming crowd at Jan Smuts Airport SA had broken the isolation barrier.

However, Mandela, who leaves for Europe next week, told a rally in Atteridgeville on Saturday he would persuade leaders there to ignore De Klerk's optimistic message.

"I am visiting Europe next week — almost every capital that he (De Klerk) has visited — and I can assure you, after I have spoken in the places that he has visited he will regret (his visit).

"The government and its apologists are trying to convince the world to leave sanctions and SA's world isolation. Sanctions are vital to force the government to abandon apartheid," Mandela said.

Treurnicht told Business Day yesterday government must heed the determination of a large section of the white population not to be constitutionally trampled on.

This was a clear message, he said, from

Meetings

the voels congress at the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday.

Government had gone beyond its mandate and an early general election was justified and urgently needed to test the views of white voters.

The determination of South Africans not to allow themselves to be steam-rollered was clearly illustrated.

The congress had a message for government: move cautiously and do not betray the rights of groups. Voters would not sim-
ANC is not warmonger, says Tshwete

GRAHAMSTOWN:— The ANC was not a warmonger and was willing to sign a formal ceasefire once obstacles to negotiations had been removed, senior member Steve Tshwete said in Grahamstown last night.

Addressing about 2 000 Rhodes University students, he said the ANC would do nothing to “shoot down” the initiative aimed at creating a climate for a negotiated ceasefire.

“It is important to stop the slaughter now because we will eventually have to squat on the corpses of our brothers and sisters and then negotiate a peaceful solution.”

He said that although he remained convinced of the Government’s sincerity in spite of their “bad track record”, the ANC could not unilaterally cease hostilities. — Sapa.
Albie’s advice to Afrikaners

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON,
Pretoria Bureau

The best protection for one’s own language and culture lay in the blanket protection of all cultures, African National Congress constitutional law expert Albie Sachs told a University of Pretoria meeting this week.

“The worst thing Afrikaners can do is to get separate protection for Afrikaners. The best thing is to have a generalised right (to choose one’s own language) so that to strike at Afrikaners is also to strike at Xhosa, Zulu, English,” he told the gathering of about 400 organised by the Law Faculty’s Centre for Human Rights Studies.

Beyond belief

Mr Sachs (55), who returned to SA this year after 24 years in exile, is known as the ANC’s leading constitutional thinker and is a member of its national executive committee.

His appearance at Tukkies, accompanied by fellow ANC legal expert Penuell Maduna, prompted a welcome never before seen on campus as students and visitors chanted “Viva” and “Amandla”.

“To be called ‘comrade’ at the University of Pretoria is beyond belief,” Mr Sachs said as he prepared to speak on “The right to be different and the right to be the same”.

“We believe the right to be the same is the essence of the anti-apartheid struggle; we all want to be South African citizens, a free people in a free country.”

But the right to be the same was not to be confused with the duty to be identical. Colonial powers had tried to mould subjects in their own image, but the ANC was not striving to create a “nonracial yuppie”.

South Africa was blessed in being a multiracial, multilingual and multicultural country.

“Our people are like a single tree with many roots; some are bigger than others, but all contribute to the beauty, the fragrance, the texture of the tree.”

The ANC was totally against “own affairs” and racial-veto rights, he said.

“If the right to be different is to be used to entrench racial vetoes, we are totally opposed to it; Parliament simply becomes the housing for containing apartheid.”

The right to be different would be contained in a bill of rights backed up by the courts.

The ANC wished for a united SA with a common loyalty and shared sense of patriotism.

Replying to a question from the floor about the alleged harsh treatment of prisoners in ANC detention camps, Mr Sachs said: “In the early Eighties we had serious problems in our organisation.

“People were being sent in to kill us with poison and bombs.” (Mr Sachs lost his right arm in one such attack in Mozambique.)

“We did not know how to respond. We were anxious and untrained; we did bad things.”

But the organisation had discussed the issue seriously and drafted guidelines on how to deal with prisoners and the setting up of tribunals. This did not eliminate all problems, but there were “dramatic improvements”, he said.

Passion

A young man asked Mr Sachs whether the ANC intended to actively resist a Boerestaat. He wanted to know whether “we will get one or whether we have to take it”. Mr Sachs chided the audience for its jeering at this question.

“We can understand the passion that burns in the hearts of people fighting for their country. We are fighting for our country in a different way.

“But if we cannot solve the problem of living together in one country, we will not do it in separate countries,” he said.
Let's build new SA - Mandela

THE people who were dying in Natal and Welkom, those who were being evicted from farms in the western Transvaal and millions of the unemployed demanded solutions, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in Johannesburg this week.

Speaking at a conference on "Options for an economic future" at the Carlton Hotel on Wednesday, Mandela said South Africa's economy was in a crisis, investment was decreasing and inflation was high.

Mandela said the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few whites would have to change.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider if we discuss the question of the democratisation and de-racialisation of economic power.

"The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form," he said.

The land question must be addressed. Recent actions by the State to sell land and to evict people from white farms were unhelpful.

Former Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Reilly told the conference that business and political movements would have to seek a new set of jointly-held values to confront the challenges of building an economic future together.

These would include a recognition of the elements of individualism, competitiveness, consensus, co-operation and social conscience."
ANC and CP plan big Pretoria rallies

Pretoria Bureau

Tomorrow on the 42nd anniversary of the National Party’s coming to power, two organisations challenging that position from the left and the right will hold mass meetings in the capital city.

Parliamentary opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a Conservative Party rally at the Voortrekker Monument.

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela will speak at an ANC mass meeting in Atteridgeville outside Pretoria.

The ANC rally, which organisers say will attract 200,000 people to the township’s Super Stadium after an intensive publicity campaign in the township and surrounding areas, is due to begin at noon.

It will feature cultural events including drum majorettes, poetry readings and drama.

Mr Mandela will speak at 2 pm in his first public appearance in the city since he gave his famous speech from the dock in the Rivonia trial in 1963.

"The ANC is returning to the citadel of apartheid," according to organiser Ronny Mamoepe.

Mr Mandela is expected to report back on his recent trip to African nations and may react to the tongue-lashing this week by the National Party on his criticism of police activities.

A giant sign proclaiming "ANC LIVES!" has been erected on Skeerberg hill to the west of the township in preparation for the rally.

See Page 11.
Tough time predicted for Mandela

FW has ‘turned tide of hostility’

Political Staff and Reuter

President de Klerk ends his 18-day tour of nine European nations in Rome today, apparently confident he has begun to turn the tide of Western hostility to Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk meets Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti before returning to South Africa. He arrives at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow morning.

Senior members of his team believe ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is likely to meet some tough resistance to ANC policies during his coming European tour.

They base this view on talks with political leaders, financiers, industrialists and opinion-formers.

But other sources are saying several European nations are waiting for Mr Mandela’s visit early next month to hear at first hand his case for keeping sanctions and pressure on the South African Government.

After assessing the lobbying efforts of South Africa’s two leading adversaries, European Community leaders will only decide in Dublin on June 25 whether to keep or ease pressures and sanctions.

South Africa’s fate also depends on the controversial planned visits of Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to President Bush of the United States.

Strong objections have been raised in the US to Mr de Klerk seeing Mr Bush before Mr Mandela does. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria today denied any knowledge of Mr de Klerk postponing his US visit indefinitely, as reported in certain newspapers today.

One message

A spokesman for the President’s Office in Cape Town, Mr Kobus Pietse, said he had spoken to Mr de Klerk’s delegation two days ago and had been told that nothing had changed and the visit was still on, although no date had been fixed.

Spokesmen in Mr de Klerk’s tour team said today that whatever the EC leaders decided next month, the message everywhere the party had been was: “We understand your problems and we want you to succeed.”

Regarding Mr Mandela, they believe the international community’s lionisation of him will eventually play itself out, but will probably continue during Mr Mandela’s forthcoming tour. But they said Mr Mandela will meet criticism over ANC talk of nationalisation and continuing the armed struggle.

Internal ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said today that although he could not predict what issues foreign governments would raise in their meetings with Mr Mandela, he was certain Mr Mandela would not bend under any foreign pressure. He said a “tremendous reception” awaited Mr Mandela in Europe, and the ANC office in Johannesburg was inundated with invitations from governments, trade unions and many other bodies in those countries.

See Page 2.
ANC is not warmonger, says Tshwete

GRAHAMSTOWN – The ANC was not a “warmonger” and was willing to sign a formal ceasefire once obstacles to negotiations had been removed, senior member Steve Tshwete said in Grahamstown last night.

Addressing about 2,000 Rhodes University students, he said the ANC would do nothing to “shoot down” the initiative aimed at creating a climate for a negotiated ceasefire.

“It is important to stop the slaughter now because we will eventually have to squat on the corpses of our brothers and sisters and then negotiate a peaceful solution.”

He said that although he remained convinced of the Government’s sincerity in spite of their “bad track record”, the ANC could not unilaterally cease hostilities. — Sapa.
Driving hard

The next stage of the ANC’s pre-negotiation position bargaining will take the form of a concerted drive for “one-man, one-vote elections to a constituent assembly.”

The aim of the campaign, which is due to be launched soon, is to turn up pressure on government to commit itself to these elements for a settlement, says a spokesman of the ANC’s Interim Leadership Corps.

“Up to now the focus of demands has been on the preconditions. Now that they have been dealt with, the focus will be on the next generation of demands — a constituent assembly.”

Clearly, the ANC envisages a settlement modelled on the lines of the Namibian deal (see Don’t privatise apartheid) and the implication is that the stumbling blocks to substantive constitutional negotiation will soon be despatched.

Meanwhile, two of the main obstacles — amnesty for political prisoners and exiles — have almost certainly been overcome, barring any hitches.

Jacob Zuma, leader of the ANC team on the Working Group set up with government in terms of what is now known as the Groote Schuur Minute, announced on Monday that the group had completed its report on target. It was to be presented to government and the ANC executive on Monday, though no statement would be made on its contents unless both parties agreed.

It was indicated, however, that agreement had been reached on the issues of political prisoners and exiles and that no problems were foreseen in the respective parties’ principals accepting it. Some 3 500 political prisoners, according to the ANC, will be affected.

The three-month indemnity for 38 ANC exiles (including the entire National Executive Committee), announced by government last Saturday, was a first step in a process which began with the establishment of the Working Group. The 38 are “facilitating” work on negotiations. At least three of them — Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Tito Mboweni — were expected to arrive in SA on Monday to participate in this Friday’s Consultative Business Movement-ANC conference. It seems quite likely that the temporary indemnity measure, which expires in August, will be overtaken by a general amnesty agreement.

Zuma did not think that the fatal shooting by police of four youths at Thabong, near Welkom, last Sunday, would scupper talks, as did the Sebokeng shootings in April.

Amarnath Singh
Different strokes

Nelson Mandela will have to do some fancy footwork if he wants to keep his 10-day visit to the US next month from being torpedoed by outspoken dissident ANC members and his own statements.

Compared with President F W de Klerk’s proficient statesmanship in Europe, Mandela’s continuing harangues sound petty and mean. De Klerk seems to have won over European leaders with his reform moves and soothing talk of change; it seems Mandela does not yet have the required touch.

No doubt his media-wise supporters in the US, especially leading sanctions proponents Randall Robinson of TransAfrica and the Congressional Black Caucus, will tell him to stick to the tried and tested, black-and-white emotional issues. They will advise him to avoid the need for mentions of his links with the PLO’s Yasir Arafat and Libya’s Muammar Gaddafi. Both are sworn enemies of many Americans.

“It’s a long visit fraught with political danger,” says Carl Nöfke, director of the Institute for American Studies at Rand Afrikans University. “He’s stepping into a political minefield. Those people organising the trip will try to get maximum media coverage with a minimum of spoken words. They will control everything, every step and every utterance of Nelson and Winnie Mandela.”

There is, however, a lot to be gained. Black political leaders will play up their association with Mandela to win votes. Mandela and the ANC easily can pick up a few million dollars. TransAfrica, however, is almost totally dependent on pushing Mandela’s cause and the pro-sanctions line to keep itself in business. (Robinson was recently granted a visa to visit SA and he will surely use his time here to brief Mandela on pitfalls awaiting him.)

One thing he will tell Mandela is to milk the image abroad of the ANC as a band of courageous freedom-fighters looking to oust the apartheid regime and replace it with a black democracy. That might be a tall order. After the growing number of allegations about the torture of dissidents in ANC camps in Tanzania and Angola, westerners are beginning to take a more jaundiced view.

Newsweek, a US news magazine with a circulation of 3.3 million, said last month “ revelations that the ANC has physically abused and even killed some of its members have undermined the organisation’s stated commitment to democracy and due process.”

Other influential US magazines and newspapers have echoed that line.

Last week another gaggle of returning dissidents held a press conference in Johannesburg — well attended by the international media — and detailed their allegations of abuse and executions of former ANC members. A spokesman for the group said Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC’s armed wing, once presided over the executions of seven dissidents in Angola.

No doubt Mandela and his handlers would like to have the whole issue behind them before the big trip. Accusations of abuse and torture don’t go down well in the US.

Mandela plans to visit seven major cities, including Washington, where he will address a joint session of Congress; and New York, where he will be feted with a ticker-tape parade, an event usually reserved for Olympic athletes and astronauts.

Instead of fawning questions about life on the outside, or even tougher questions on the ANC’s voodoo economics, he could be faced with the prospect of explaining away the ANC’s alleged brutal methods of keeping its cadres in line. Few will be satisfied with the war-is-hell line of argument.

Even fewer will shrug off the comments he made on his recent trip through Africa. In particular, Mandela could be wrong-footed by Cuban-Americans upset with his remarks in Angola. There he described Cuba as a country that “stands out head and shoulders above the rest . . . in its love for human rights and liberty.”

When he appears in Miami — which, with surrounding areas has an 800,000-strong community of communist-hating Cuban exiles — he could get quite a lesson in US

ethnic politics. Cuban-Americans hate anything good said about Fidel Castro. Miami’s mayor and Congresswoman are Cuban-Americans who will let Mandela know that their supporters are not happy with his stated goal of visiting Havana to thank “Dr Castro” in person for his support.

“Don’t think it’s advisable for him to go to Miami,” says Carl Nöfke.

His embrace of the PLO’s Arafat is another red rag in the US. “We’re brothers in suffering,” Arafat told an agreeable Mandela on Sunday. In New York, centre of the American-Jewish population, Jews warn that Mandela will get a chilly — if not downright hostile — reception for that kind of comradeship.

Mandela can take a tip from Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s recent visit to California where he was heckled into leaving a church reception by militant Jews angered by Tutu’s appeal to Jewish leaders to speak out in support of a separate Palestinian state.

Outside of the ethnic strongholds, Mandela will find that Americans in general will abhor his comments on the much-loathed Libya, including a condemnation of the 1986 US air raids on that country.

“We consider ourselves comrades in arms,” Mandela told Gaddafi on Friday, “Your readiness to provide us with the facilities of forming an army of liberation indicated your commitment to the fight for peace and human rights in the world.”

If Mandela expects to raise a hefty amount of cash, and keep his cult hero status in the US, he had better tone down the anti-West rhetoric. Americans will not be shy about telling him to peddle his policies in Sweden if he continues to step on toes he doesn’t appear to know exist.

Maureen Sullivan
LEADERSHIP  Fm 25/5/90

Bringing the message home

If any reminder was needed of the serious obstacles in the way of lasting peace, it came from Welkom this week. White and black no-go areas were swiftly defined; hatred was rife; and there was loss of life and physical damage. Despite the personal intervention of the minister of police, it was the police, as usual, who were accused of firing without provocation.

Welkom, like Boksburg before it, was made the target of a black consumer boycott. Clearly, for whites in such mining communities — hit by a falling gold price, declining standards of living and insecurities over the future — reform has a harsher face than in more affluent areas. It creates enormous resentments and then the divisions between suburb and township, hostel and saloon bar grow deep indeed.

Before Sunday’s “unrest” racial attacks, indeed racial murder, had made the situation virtually uncontrollable.

Meanwhile, the two most visible leaders of the nation, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have been travelling.

Obviously, De Klerk deserves every plaudit he can get in Europe — and all the better if they come with renewed access to world financial and trade markets. He is a genuine reformer and it can be reasoned that sanctions contributed to the embitterment of his predecessor. And, as obviously, Mandela has debts to pay in Africa, though it is perhaps odd that his trip coincides with De Klerk’s and takes him to the embrace of Colonel Gaddafi and Yasser Arafat.

But once their travels are over, will we be any better off than before? The EC will continue to evaluate sanctions, as it was already doing, and doubtless Libya and Egypt will continue to maintain sanctions. The situation in Welkom will be neither worsened nor improved by any of this.

Mandela and De Klerk do have this in common: their popularity abroad (depending, of course, on where they are) is a great deal more visible than it is at home. Attendances at ANC rallies have plummeted and De Klerk has not appeared in conservative areas to tell his people where he intends taking them. Terrible black rivalries in Natal continue and the mood of Welkom could spread across the Free State goldfields.

The danger exists that government and the ANC will end up talking to each other — perhaps even contemplating a coalition with each other — without carrying their communities with them. This might be a risk worth taking in a country where the parties to a dispute have been clearly defined by history — where one is a colonial power, say, and the other demonstrably representative of the colonised’s aspirations.

In SA, the components of the racial impasse are too diverse for such an assumption.

Perhaps the time has come for De Klerk and Mandela to apply their energies to some internal persuasion and bridge-building. The Nationalists cannot simply write off the right-wing — it is too powerful for that. The ANC cannot allow local comrades to take things into their own hands — and believe that they will fall into line later.

Joint peace initiatives at level could have a profound psychological effect on the mood of the nation. Doubtless, if De Klerk and Mandela were to appear on the same platform in Welkom they might experience some problems; but there is no such barrier to travelling in Natal.

Meanwhile, there are far too many Welkos waiting to happen.
After thirty years ANC women regroup

THE African National Congress Women's League (AWL), banned along with the ANC 30 years ago, will be relaunched on August 9 this year.

Taking place on National Women's Day, the launch will be followed by the now-unbanned AWL's first national congress in October. This conference will be in preparation for the first ANC national conference in December.

A task force composed of the organisation's internal and external leadership has been elected to facilitate the launch. The 10-person force, led by Albertina Sisulu of the ANC Internal Leadership Corps and ANC National Executive Committee member Gertrude Shope, will consult widely with women's organisations inside the country on how to set up the league.

The group was elected at an ANC women's national workshop in Lusaka three weeks ago. The workshop was attended by 50 women from outside the country and 38 from inside the country, including the homelands. The core will be assisted by a support group made of functionaries from women's structures in various regions, such as the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedraw), the Western Cape-based United Women's Congress (UWCO), Natal Women's Organisation (Nawo) and the Eastern Transvaal Women's Organisation (Etwo).

The support group will engage in administrative and political support work. Two organisers from each of the ANC's 14 regions will form part of the support group. One of the two organisers will be from inside the country and the other in exile.

The task force is made of: NEC member Ruth Mompati, Shope, ANC chief representative in Madagascar Mitia Seperepepe, and Baleka Kgosietsile and Mavivi Manzini, who are based in Lusaka and Tanzania respectively, Sisulu, Fedraw president Sister Bernard Ncube, Mkhomotwe Sizwe, guerrilla Thandi Modise, South African Communist party member Ray Alexander and Ivy Gepa from the Eastern Cape.

The significance of relaunching the league on August 9 stems from the historic march in 1956 by 20 000 South African women of all races to the Union Buildings in protest against the extension of the hated dombas to women.

The AWL has come a long way since 1960's ban. A group of ANC women were among members sent abroad to organise the ANC external mission. They regrouped over the years and finally organised themselves into the Women's Section. It was these members in exile, in consultation with internal progressive women's structures, that facilitated the revival of the AWL.
Government could face a new 'patriotic front'

The African National Congress is committed to forming a "patriotic front" of all forces opposed to apartheid with the aim of presenting a strong position at the negotiating table, but it will not talk to the government without consulting other resistance organisations, says ANC representative Patrick Lekota.

He was responding to the call from the Black Consciousness Movement for a "consultative conference of liberation movements to discuss the future of the country, prior to any negotiations that might be entered to by all or any components of the liberation movement".

The call comes in the wake of a two-day meeting in Harare between the Azanian Peoples' Organisation central committee and its external wing, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. The meeting criticised State President FW de Klerk's negotiation package as not being in the interests of the "oppressed".

The idea of a consultative conference has the backing of resistance organisations. National Council of Trade Unions representative Cunningham Nquckuna said the leaders of the anti-apartheid groups needed to meet to discuss common goals and prepare for a constituent assembly.

Pan Africanist Congress representative Barney Desai said the PAC was preparing for "in-depth consultations with those people presently not involved in negotiations — this does not exclude anybody".

"Any serious-minded organisation would consider it their duty to consult with other liberation organisations before talking to the government.

"By going into negotiations (with the state), on their own, the ANC is assuming a position which does not reflect the reality of our country," he continued.

But Lekota said the ANC would never "negotiate above the heads of the people". The ANC supported the idea of closed consultation between all opposed to apartheid, particularly liberation organisations, he said.

Organisations like the PAC and Azapo differed on the question of negotiations. However, he said that the ANC "felt obliged to inform them of moves toward the process of negotiations".
Police break up Crossroads squatter march

By VUYO BAVUMA and EDWARD MOLOINYANE, Staff Reporters

POLICE fired teargas in Crossroads to disperse about 250 people marching to the house of controversial township mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

Yesterday's march was held to protest against Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Hercules Kriel's refusal to sack the town committee headed by Mr Ngxobongwana. Recently the Attorney-General declined to prosecute Mr Ngxobongwana for alleged misappropriation of funds.

Rival headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe organised the march.

The crowd, most of them dressed in khaki clothes and ANC T-shirts, began gathering at Mr Nongwe's house at 11am. Some carried placards demanding houses and the removal of Mr Ngxobongwana's town committee.

PEOPLE SCATTERED

Police officers told marshals the march was illegal. Seconds later police fired teargas and pandemonium broke out as people scattered. A primary school choral competition in the Crossroads community hall was briefly disrupted.

Minutes later the crowd regrouped opposite the hall and Cape Youth Congress member Mr Veli Mabuwa asked them to return to Mr Nongwe's house to "avoid possible injuries".

Attempts to contact Mr Ngxobongwana, recently returned from Ciskei after a long absence, failed.

Town committee member Mr Alfred Gell said Mr Ngxobongwana was "busy in a meeting".

Police have confirmed using teargas yesterday to disperse a "large group" of squatters at Crossroads.

Major Reg Crewe, police liaison officer, said the group gathered illegally about 10.45am. They were warned to disperse but failed to comply.

No injuries were reported, he said.
TOWNSHIP MARCH ... Supporters of Old Crossroads breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe yesterday marched to demand the summary removal of the squatter camp's town committee and "equal housing for all". They were later tear-gassed by police.

Marchers tear-gassed in drive for equal housing

Staff Reporter

RIOT police yesterday fired teargas to disperse several hundred Old Crossroads supporters of breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe in a protest march to the local police station.

The march was to demand the resignation of the Old Crossroads town committee and "equal housing for all".

The tear-gassing infuriated teachers and pupils of the nearby Sebenza High School where a choir competition was being held. Tear gas drifted onto the premises, disrupting proceedings. The march began at Mr Nongwe's headquarters in Old Crossroads.

At least one group of supporters, carrying banners and dressed in ANC colours, were tear-gassed on their way to the headquarters and three journalists with them removed to the nearest police station.

Police then allowed the march to progress several hundred metres before tear-gassing and scattering the banner-carrying crowd.

At least one woman fell and gashed her leg while residents complained about teargas entering their homes.

Mr Nongwe said that the march was to demand equal housing for his faction, the summary removal of mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his Old Crossroads committee and the holding of open elections.

Since early last year when Mr Nongwe broke away from the conservative central committee the squatter camp has been torn by violence between the factions.
Statements ‘contradict Groote Schuur’

Magnus slams Nelson Mandela

BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has sharply criticised the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and accused him of contradicting the Groote Schuur accord.

General Malan claimed that the statements made by Mr Mandela on his recent African tour did not resemble the agreements he had made at the Groote Schuur talks earlier this month.

His comments were the strongest attack on the ANC by a cabinet minister since the accord was signed and were not in line with the generally conciliatory approach by the government towards the ANC since then.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Viljoen, has, for instance, praised the ANC stand against intimidation and violence.

General Malan has been extraordinarily low-key ever since the Conservative and Democratic Parties demanded his resignation over the CCB affair.

He was also a notable omission from the government's negotiating team for the Groote Schuur talks.

It could not be established last night whether General Malan had the approval of either President FW de Klerk or the cabinet for his attack on Mr Mandela but it is not inconceivable that it reflected sympathy on his part for the views of his former close ally, ex-president Mr PW Botha, who recently quit the NP because of Mr De Klerk's reforms.

General Malan said Mr Mandela had committed himself to peaceful negotiations but continued to talk about the armed struggle.

A ceasefire was not on the negotiating table, but rather the achievement of peaceful solutions. (Mr Mandela had offered a truce in the armed struggle during his African tour.)

He added that the new South Africa simply could not evolve through broken agreements, the uttering of threats and continued talk of the armed struggle.

All these actions stoked a revolutionary climate.

Democracy, as he understood it, contained built-in values towards which a nation should strive.

It was more than a voting right — it was a value system which included responsibility and standards of actions.

“Democracy in any case, does not come from the barrel of a gun or an AK-47.”

General Malan said Mr Mandela maintained South Africa was destabilising Zimbabwe and other neighbouring states.

This was a “blatant untruth and redundant rhetoric, or pure irresponsibility, because South Africa is in any case not busy with destabilisation”.

South Africa had, for example, lent Zimbabwe 30 railway locomotives last year, he said.
Don’t privatise apartheid

Albie Sachs, the ANC’s foremost legal academic, recently returned home for a visit after 24 years in exile. He stressed that this interview, with the FM’s Amarnath Singh, was in his personal capacity.

I would argue in favour of possibly constitutio
tionalising the principle of fairness, which is not a specific political position. This would dictate that there should be remedial action to deal with past discrimination and inequality. But fairness also requires that procedures be as fair as possible, that they be governed by law.

Is there a case for entrenching minority
rights? Other countries have.

As long as we’ve got apartheid we can never face up to what’s been called the national question, which at the moment is totally dominated by white supremacy.

The key question in terms of voting rights is: should we have a non-racial voters’ roll? We cannot have a population registration system. That keeps apartheid alive and we cannot permit the mobilisation of ethnicity. A non-racial democracy requires a completely non-racial electoral system.

That doesn’t mean the question of ethnicity — language, religious, cultural rights — disappears. It doesn’t. Once you’ve established basic principles of a common voters’ roll and real equal rights for everybody irrespective of race and so on, then you can tackle the aspects associated with ethnicity that are recognised in many parts of the world as meriting constitutional attention.

Perhaps, instead of looking at group rights, one can look at social interests that merit protection. Take language. You establish that as a constitutional principle that operates in relation to all groups and establish appropriate mechanisms to protect it.

It seems, judging by Gerrit Viljoen’s 12-point
statement, that the NP is moderating its position quite remarkably.

I wish they would really take the plunge, because ambiguity in the long run doesn’t help. If we can accept clear, undiluted non-racial democracy in a basically united SA, then we can start discussing the best mechanisms for ensuring that there are no abuses, that the process of transformation is as fair as possible and involves the least disruption to the economy as possible; that the process of nation-building can proceed in the most favourable context. Get the big issue out of the way and then the mechanisms and the details will solve themselves very quickly.

Among Viljoen’s 12 points is a guarantee against a communist dictator.

The person who has been the first to demand guarantees against a communist dictator is Joe Slovo. So I’m not quite sure why Viljoen is even raising it. We’re against any kind of dictator.

He also wants a protected Bill of Rights.

We’re glad that he’s coming round to the ANC position that goes back to 1986.

Regular elections?

We’re totally in favour of that; it goes back to the Freedom Charter. A free-market economy?

To the extent that we support a mixed economy, which means there is a free market that plays a very significant role in economic life. But we wouldn’t like to see the market pitted against the national effort, or vice versa. The real problem is to find a good mix and an active collaboration between the private sector and the public sector.

Residential group rights?

If residential group rights were based on real free choice or even a kind of lottery, there would be an argument for it; I think it would be a bad argument. Fundamentally, people should be free to live where they want. What are we getting now is steps to introduce privatised apartheid, by means of so-called voluntary association to enable people living in particular neighbourhoods to establish, through restrictive covenants, zones that are really group areas by another name; and to set up schools that would be separate amenities by another name. What’s the point of destroying apartheid with one hand and reintroducing it with the other hand?

An independent judiciary?

That is vital. I saw a lovely phrase the other day — “a constitution is the autobiography of a nation.” We are writing our constitutional autobiography and clearly the judiciary will have a key role to play as the guardians. However, it can’t simply be our present judiciary. The judiciary itself has to be transformed so that everybody feels confidence in it.

Viljoen also wants a fair tax system.

Everybody in the world wants that; fair to whom? Obviously a fair tax system is going to be fundamental, but I’m not sure the constitution can have very much to say about that. It’s crazy to try and fix income tax in a constitution, that’s what parliament is for.

A tax system can be a very important form of redistribution that can help minimise the degree of direct intervention in economic life that otherwise might be required. One knows all the arguments, that if you over-tax you don’t leave enough for investment and discourage initiative and so on. But all these factors have to be taken into account.

Minority representation in government?

To make it a question of quotas is very wrong and will only lead to conflict. But any future government that has the interests of the country at heart will inevitably draw upon the talents, resources, skills and experiences of all the different communities. This will be something that works out in a very organic way, which is a much stronger foundation than artificial constitutions. One doesn’t want to hop around from country to country, but the Ugandan, Lebanese, Cypriot experiences of trying to constitutionalise fundamental social, economic and cultural questions is not the way. The real answer is to have a strong democratic constitution, with strong guarantees of basic rights.
ANC accepts need to boost confidence

THE ANC had now apparently accepted that SA would have to build an economic system which attracted investment, Consultative Business Movement (CBM) co-chairman Murray Hofmeyr said yesterday.

He was commenting on Wednesday’s CBM-organised conference between more than 300 top businessmen and 40 representatives of the ANC and its allies in Cosatu and the UDF.

At the meeting, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela moved the ANC further away from commitments to nationalising “the mines, banks and other monopoly industry”, and emphasised the need for economic growth and investor confidence.

Broad areas of consensus between the businessmen and ANC on future economic structures were revealed in keynote speeches delivered by Mandela and former Anglo American chairman Gavin Rolly — and inter-statements by the two, Hofmeyr and ANC leader Thabo Mbeki.

However, major differences clearly remained, particularly on the role of the state, and the degree to which it or market mechanisms should be allowed and encouraged to manage economic affairs.

In reining the ANC’s stance on nationalisation Mandela said the question was worthy of further discussion. But, he added, if the question of nationalising any particular industry arose, “we would prefer to entrust this to a committee of experts which will command the support of all sections of the population”.

“It would be a tragedy if this was carried out without the participation of the private sector,” he added in a media conference.

Rolly said he did not think there should be fear at the use of the the word “nationalisation”.

He said there were areas now where the state played a major investment role and there might be such areas in future.

Mandela made a strong call for government to halt its privatisation programme “until a truly representative government is in place”.

Rolly said business, on the whole, remained in favour of privatizing those state sector businesses “with a bottom line, though there are difficult cases like transport and Eskom which need more debate”.

While Mandela called for “a macro-economic indicative national plan to provide a framework within which to determine the directions of growth policy”, Rolly warned against repeating past mistakes where, due to state intervention, “factors of production were not priced according to relative scarcity (and) distortion took place”.

Mandela argued that the concentration of economic power in white hands would have to change “if we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order”.

He said the ANC was “very conscious of the critical importance of such matters in confidence in the future of both the national and the international business communities and investors” and would not go out of its way to undermine confidence.

However, investors had to be sensitive to the fact any democratic government would respond to concerns about the unequal distribution of economic power.

Both Mandela and Rolly emphasised the importance of good union/management relationships.

Mandela, apparently plugging Cosatu’s anti-Barlow Rand campaign, said legislation should allow strong unions to bargain centrally. However, “questions of a living wage, job security and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in the bargaining process”, implicitly dismissing union demands for a national minimum wage.

Mandela said there could be no doubt that the public finances would come under enormous pressure for increased spending on such areas as education, housing, health, unemployment benefits and pensions.

However, an ANC government would fight against the creation of “a bloated and unproductive public service”.

Hofmeyr said the CBM would continue arranging smaller meetings between business and the ANC/MDM groupings.
Pretoria

FROM PAGE 1.

Boshoff will lay a wreath on former Prime Minister Dr HF Verwoerd's grave and the Rev Mosie van den Berg will lay one on the grave of former Prime Minister JG Strijdom.

The commando will then ride to Church Square, where Professor PG Nel will lay a wreath at the statue of President Paul Kruger.

Coaches

From there the commando proceeds along Paul Kruger Street to the City Hall, where Manie Maritz and advocate Chris de Jager will lay wreaths at the Pretorius statues.

The horse commando will arrive outside the Voortrekker Monument shortly before 10 am. From there, Dr Treurnicht and the deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, will travel in two coaches to the amphitheatre.

On their arrival a mass choir will perform. Then the Rev Fred Shaw from Pretoria will read from the scriptures and the Rev Miss de Klerk of Bloemfontein will say a prayer.

Speeches

Dr Hartzenberg will welcome the crowd, who will then be entertained with an audio presentation led by Professor Nel. Money will be collected to cover the estimated R170 000 cost of staging the event.

The four provincial leaders — Jan Hoon (Cape), Cehill Plenaar (Free State), Faan Bester (Natal) and Dr Hartzenberg (Transvaal) will each deliver short speeches and hand the freedom manifesto to Dr Treurnicht.

Dr Treurnicht will address the crowd at 1230 pm and, immediately after his speech, say a prayer.

For the rugby faithful, there is the game between Western Province and Northern Transvaal at Lotus Versfeld.

At Jan Smuts airport, hundreds of National Party supporters and members of the public are expected to welcome President de Klerk from his successful European tour.

He will arrive to an official welcome, including a 21-gun salute, and will be met by the acting State President, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Guests of honour include Cabinet Ministers, NP MPs, mayors and the ambassadors of the nine European countries Mr de Klerk visited.

Mr de Klerk will make his first public speech on his return at the airport.

Transport

Limited parking is available for the public at the airport. Should the parking space be insufficient, the public will be directed by the SAP and traffic officials to other parking areas: the open area on the western side bordering the parking area, the area in the vicinity of the police station on the western side and an area in front of the South African Airways administration building.

Public transport will be available for people who park in front of the administration building. Return tickets from the parking areas to the airport building will cost R1.
LUSAKA - Guerilla commanders of the ANC and veteran officers from their enemy, the South African army, ended an unprecedented conference in Lusaka yesterday with pledges to work for peace.

In a joint statement released in the Zambian capital after five days of talks, the two sides declared there should be a "mutually binding cessation of hostilities" as soon as possible.

Under an envisioned ceasefire agreement the African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), would halt all guerilla attacks and sabotage while the white-led South African Defence Force would remove troops from black townships and halt search-and-kill operations.

The conference, convened to discuss the present and future role of the security forces, went ahead without the bless-

The ANC and other movements were repelled in South Africa's majority for anti-government and economic power and one day's black consciousness was crushed. The ANC and other movements were repelled in South Africa's majority for anti-government and economic power and one day's black consciousness was crushed.

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No ceasefire until people's government rules — ANC

MELINDA HAM

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday that it would not abandon its armed struggle against white rule in South Africa until a democratically elected government was in power.

A senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, information chief Pallo Jordan, said this on the third day of talks between the ANC's military wing and present and past members of South Africa's security forces.

The unprecedented five-day conference in the Zambian capital, where the ANC has its external head quarters, is discussing future security in South Africa in the light of the unbanning of the ANC in February.

The 46-member South African delegation comprises serving middle and senior army officers, military men from the nominally independent homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-apartheid activists, academics and church leaders.

The ANC team is led by military chief Joe Modise and comprises field commanders of its armed wing, Umbhongo we Sizwe.

Mr Jordan, spelling out the main condition for an end to ANC warfare, said the guerrillas would accept nothing short of a democratically elected government.

Objectives

"At that point, we would consider that the objectives of our formation and the creation of the armed struggle had been met," Mr Jordan told the conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

"Then we would terminate the armed struggle."

President de Klerk sees ongoing ANC violence as an obstacle to negotiations launched early this month on a new political order in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk legalised the ANC and other anti-apartheid movements in February, freed black activists, including ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and entered into direct talks with the ANC.

But the discussions have been overshadowed by clashes in South African urban areas between rival black factions and police.

The ANC's key demands are the release of all political prisoners and the removal of apartheid laws.

"Once these had been met, Mr Jordan said, the two parties could prepare for the election of a constituent assembly in South Africa."

"Those deciding South Africa's future would then have the confidence of the majority of South Africans — black and white," Mr Jordan declared.

He envisaged that the assembly would be a transitional government, lasting about a year, to draft a new constitution and organise South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.

"This would terminate a very bitter chapter in the history of our country," he said. — Sapa-AP.

No truce

(from page 1)

also between black activists and the police.

Mr Jordan said the ANC executive was considering the need for a third party to serve as a broker in the talks, arguing that Mr de Klerk was currently both a player and the referee. "This is a completely untenable position," he said.

He pointed to the United Nations role in steering neighbouring Namibia to independence from Pretoria, but said the ANC was making no specific proposals at this stage.

Once South Africa removed obstacles for meaningful negotiations, Mr Jordan said, the two sides could discuss a ceasefire.

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"This would terminate a very bitter chapter in the history of our country," he said. — Sapa-AP.
ANC starts branches in white areas

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

As the times change, so will the face of politics in the new South Africa, especially for liberation movements such as the African National Congress.

The movement was outlawed in 1980 and legalised when President De Klerk made his landmark speech in parliament on February 2.

Of course, there are those who will say "the people legalised the ANC long before President De Klerk did", but that is another matter.

ANC members have been working tirelessly behind the scenes to start branches and this week the results of their labours were there for all to see when the movement held a series of public meetings in the Western Cape.

Some forays were made into white areas — in Gardens, a Democratic Party seat, Observatory-Mowbray and Stellenbosch — as the ANC seemed to be entering the party-political scene.

However, ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu denied that the movement was moving into this arena.

"For the time being I prefer the ANC to be a national liberation movement and not a political party."

Be that as it may, the majority of people at the first public meeting of the ANC Observatory-Mowbray branch on Tuesday night were white. So, too, were those who listened to internal ANC chairman Mr Sisulu when he spoke at the University of Stellenbosch on Wednesday.

The crowd of 260 people on Tuesday night was made up of "university activists", Cape Democrats members and other interested people.

What set this meeting apart from other extra-parliamentary meetings was an absence of political slogans, groups of comrades toy-toying, aggression in the air and heavily armed police.

It was for all practical purposes a normal political meeting.

Honest answers

Charismatic ANC member Ms Cheryl Carolus, the last speaker at the meeting, as usual impressed with her honest answers.

She fielded a question on the ANC's environment policy by saying the movement had been fighting a liberation war and had not had time to formulate an environmental policy.

However, she said the ANC was concerned about the environment, adding that individual members held strong views about it.

But Barbara Hogan, who walked from prison in February this year, was the one people had come to hear because she was white and had taken the plunge to join the ANC at a time when it was a punishable offence.

She had paid her price — serving eight years of a 10-year sentence for treason.

Articulate and thinking deeply before she answered questions, she said it was her colour which prevented her from joining a Black Consciousness Organisation.

But the State clampdown on the BC movement in 1977 after the death in detention of Steve Biko was the impetus she needed to join the ANC.

"I, like those of you who are white, lived with and experienced white angst. You lived in a state of helplessness, rage, fear and frustration and experienced a sense of alienation."

During the Stellenbosch meeting, the atmosphere was much the same and a member of the audience earned Mr Sisulu's applause when he wanted to know when the movement would open a branch in Stellenbosch.

That question and the ANC's sortie into white areas, irrespective of whether they are DP, National Party or Conservative Party strongholds, is a step into the party political fray and the era of the new politics.
IN SEARCH OF SYMBOLS FOR ALL IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

A VAST panoply of divisive symbols occur in South Africa and the transition to peaceful democracy lies in the creation of new symbols with which all races can identify. Symbols like the South African flag, the national anthem, monuments, cultural organizations and even buildings need to be rethought in terms of a new South Africa embracing all cultural groups.

Mr Mark Wellman of the Cape of Good Hope Centre for Jewish Studies in Cape Town said anti-apartheid 40 years of struggle had created complete polar opposition between radical whites and blacks. "Whenever this happens you have dangerous volatile situations like in Wellaw, where you have two radical extremes squaring up to each other," he said.

According to Mr Wellman the only way to diffuse this type of situation was to find symbols which both groups could identify with and which would help to bring them together.

He said nature had been suggested as a good symbol and the Reserve Bank’s decision to de-de-politicize bank notes and to use wild animals instead of Jan van Riebeeck on them was a step in the right direction.

"Nature will be a good symbol. It is neutral and brings us all," he said.

Symbols play an important part in all cultures. South Africa is characterised by divisive symbols. Weekend Argus Reporter GRAHAM LIZAMORE examines the role of these symbols and their impatience in the creation of a new South Africa.

"One of the problems with our present society is that it is filled with symbols that evoke anger," Buildings, government vehicles, monuments, schools, all had connotations with apartheid and were reenacted at a very deep level. So when black people burned buildings they were in most cases really expressing anger against what they represented to them, he said.

Professor J W de Groot of the Department of Religious Studies at UCT agreed on the need for new symbols but also said churches and cultural groups had an important part to play in the creation of new attitudes among South Africans.

"You can’t have a new nation without the development of a common culture. It is fundamental — it takes time and you have to work at it — it won’t take one generation."

Churches and other religious groups had to realise that this was part of their task. "We have not just got to change the political structures but to change the whole psyche of the country, to create a new identity before we even get near to a solution."

It was however very important that leaders become aware of power of symbols. He pointed out that a rugby team for instance could be divisive or help to unite people of different races. It would depend on what degree of sanction it had from the majority of South Africans.

"I believe the rugby board’s decision not to have any overseas sides here is a recognition of the need to gain the support of most South Africans."
Mandela coach
found guilty

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Mandela United Football Club coach Jerry Richardson was yesterday found guilty of the murder of teenage activist "Stompie" Moeketsi Solope.

He was also convicted on all other charges, including attempted murder, four kidnapping charges and five of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Judgment was handed down by Mr Justice B O'Donovan in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Justice O'Donovan also found that Mrs Winnie Mandela was, at one time, present when the four kidnapped men were assaulted by Mr Richardson and his associates at her Soweto home.

Evidence was that Stompie and three others were abducted from the Methodist Church in Soweto on December 29, 1986, and taken to Mrs Mandela's house.

There Stompie was accused of being a police informer, and accused of having sold out four comrades to police at his home town, Parys.

The other three, Mr Barend Mono, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe and Mr Kenneth Kgase, were accused of having homosexual relations with the Rev Paul Verryn at the Soweto church.

Stompie's decomposed body was found in open veld in Soweto in January last year.

Mr Richardson, 41, had pleaded not guilty to all charges.

Except in a few instances, the version of state witnesses was corroborated in all respects, Mr Justice O'Donovan said in his judgment.

He rejected the evidence of Ms Xoliswa Falati and Ms Norah Moahlodi, in support of Mr Richardson.

Mr Justice O'Donovan said there was no evidence given to substantiate allegations that Mr Verryn had homosexual liaisons with the young men.

He said that although Mr Richardson testified he had only slapped and punched each of the abducted young men, this was only part of much more serious assaults. "He played a leading role throughout the episode."

Mr Richardson did not sleep in his room the night Stompie was last seen alive, and on the next day when he returned his shoes were bloodstained.

The hearing was postponed to August 4 for the defence to consult with a psychiatrist to examine Mr Richardson.

Mrs Mandela was not charged in the case, and she was not called as a witness. — Sapa
Liberation groups will confer before talking with govt

By SANDILE MEMELA

PLANS are being made for a consultative conference of all liberation movements in South Africa by July before they enter into serious negotiations with the government, Azapo president Jerry Mosala said this week.

The ANC had accepted the idea of holding the conference, which was being convened by Azapo, to agree on issues considered to be non-negotiable, he said.

A venue has not yet been chosen.

Priority items on the agenda will include the allocation of land, transformation of the economy, one-man one-vote and the election of a constituent assembly which will draft a constitution for a new society.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has expressed his organisation's willingness to participate in the conference and has informed ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

"Plans are under way to officially meet the PAC and other progressive organisations to finalise details," said Mosala.

Already, exploratory talks have been held with the PAC but nothing has been finalised. The second round of talks is expected to be held this week.

Other organisations to be approached include the Unity Movement, Workers' Organisation of South Africa (Wosa) and Cosatu.

Azapo first mooted the idea of a consultative conference after its annual congress at Shareworld in March.

Mosala said the meeting would only be attended by the leadership of the organisations. He said unity of purpose was imperative prior to any negotiations that might be entered into with the government.
Mobilise, says Treurnicht

ABOUT 60 000 white conservatives gathered below the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria yesterday to pledge their support for the Afrikaner’s “Third Freedom Struggle” for self-determination.

The mass rally was marked by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht spelling out a 10-point plan to achieve Afrikaner independence, a 500-strong mounted commando preceding the rally and a colourful expression of Afrikaner patriotism.

The meeting coincided with an ANC rally addressed by the deputy president Nelson Mandela about 20km away in the Atteridgeville Stadium.

Concentrating on the theme of the Afrikaner volk being betrayed by State President FW de Klerk’s reforms, Treurnicht said: “We undertake that we shall not accept the threatened destruction of our nation’s freedom, but shall fight to restore that which has unjustly been taken away.”

To cheers from the crowd he said: “Go and mobilise this volk on all terrains.”

Reading from the CP Manifesto, he said the volk believed it had a just claim to a separate existence and survival: “We claim the right to rule ourselves in our own fatherland.”

He had been asked to consider pledging a new covenant – like that taken by the Voortrekkers before the Battle of Blood River – but this was an exceptionally weighty matter which he would only consider with humility and resistance.

Treurnicht said he could not but be angered at the betrayal of the nation for the “sake of the new South Africa”. “Which nation will give away its position of political power to give way as a minority?” he asked, strongly criticising De Klerk for unbanning the ANC, SACP and PAC.

The ANC hated the “Boervolk” and the “White nation” and demanded their land, but the government saw fit to negotiate with the organisation.

The State President had given foreign governments the assurance that “capitulation” was irreversible, but did it mean by this that the abdication of the white man was also irreversible, Treurnicht asked.

The apparent irreversible movement to black-majority rule had to be stopped.

He warned De Klerk not to challenge the people by standing in their way and obliging them to trample him.

“The Third Freedom Struggle has begun, and today you will say whether it was stillborn or not.

“The so-called new South Africa of enforced integration which the government is forcing on us leaves us with no options other than to defend our rights at all levels of the volk’s existence.”

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg denied claims that the CP wanted to wage war.

“We say we are a peace-loving volk and a democratic party. As long as there is a constitutional route to reclaim our freedom, we will follow it.”

“But if the constitutional route is blocked, we will be an oppressed volk, and will have no option but to use the methods of an oppressed people to wrest back our freedom.” – Sapa
Vena acquitted of sabotage

THE former commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for the western Cape, 33-year-old Mzwandile Vena was acquitted in the Transkei Supreme Court this week on charges of sabotage and terrorism.

Vena's acquittal by Judge Davis came at the insistence of the military government. Prosecutor Johan du Toit told the court the Ministry of Justice had informed Attorney General Chris Nel that in consultation with the military council, the court has been advised to drop the charges against Vena. No further explanation was given.

Reports by CP staffers, CP correspondents, Sapa.
Fernando Ndlovu was picked up in a minibus by several "bigger boys" on Monday night and forced to participate in a petrol-bomb attack on a "comrade's" house, according to his father Salmao Ndlovu, 46.

"The boys took advantage of the fact he spoke Shangaan and could not speak Sotho. He was caught red-handed after being used as a pawn," Ndlovu said.

The boy was caught during the attack by neighbours who took him to the police on Tuesday.

Ndlovu said he saw his son in court on Wednesday, and claimed he had been assaulted. "His face is swollen," he alleged.

Ndlovu comes from GaZankulu but has lived in Thabong township and worked on President Steyn gold mine since 1971.

Fernando appears in court again on June 15 and has been promised a Shangaan interpreter.

UDF, Cosatu and NUM representatives met in Thabong township on Thursday night to discuss the formation of the Northern Free State branch of the ANC, according to a senior Thabong activist.

Discussions focused on the appointment and election of "xonal representatives" to the ANC Regional Executive Committee.

Representatives from UDF-affiliated Thabong youth, student and women's organisations and civic associations met earlier on Thursday to discuss funeral arrangements for the 12 people killed on Sunday and Monday in police action in the township.

The dead are to be buried at a mass funeral next weekend.

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has appealed to those in positions of authority and leadership to find solutions to the Welkom race crisis.

Directing its plea at the security forces, community organisations and vigilantes, the SABC in the Free State and Goldfields said it had witnessed the recent violence in Welkom and Thabong with pain and sadness.

"We deeply regret the loss of life which occurred and all the suffering that has arisen as a result," the SACBC said in a statement on Friday.

"We extend our sincerest condolences to the families of all the deceased.

The SACBC called on leaders and those in positions of authority to work together to identify the causes which had "led to this angry expression of frustration".

"We appeal to the police and security forces to act with restraint and sensitivity and to bear in mind that their presence often serves to inflame, rather than defuse, the situation.

"We urgently request all organisations and structures in Welkom and Thabong to normalise the situation by maintaining discipline among their members and by avoiding provocative speech and action.

"Clearly, vigilante action only worsens the tension and should be stopped.

"It is essential that uncontrolled elements which use the existing tension for their own purposes, be brought under control by community leaders," the statement said. – Sapa
Cops ‘plotted to frame Boesak’

Cops ‘plotted to frame Boesak’

…asked me how I felt about the meeting. During our second meeting, I told him I had no objections to meeting with the Russians. During our third meeting, he said the diplomat, who had no objections to meeting with the Russians, would influence his country’s policy on the issue.

He was very credible and had no idea he was an agent.”
UDF, Cosatu and NUM representatives met in Thabong township on Thursday night to discuss the formation of the Northern Free State branch of the ANC, according to a senior Thabong activist.

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The dead are to be buried at a mass funeral next weekend.
ANC ‘losing patience’

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a veiled threat to the PAC to stop criticising negotiations with the government.

Addressing an emotional 60 000 crowd at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, he said: “There are organisations which have imaginary armies, who have not conducted a single armed struggle in this country, who criticise us for trying to secure peace. Our patience is not likely to last very long.”

The crowd burst into wild applause when Mandela directed a sharp attack at Bophuthatswana-President Lucas Mangope.

Referring to him as a tyrant, he said: “We have another problem not far from the capital in the form of Mangope. We urge Mangope to remember the lesson of (Adolf) Hitler, who had the strongest army in the world. Hitler was buried by the people. Mangope is less than a paper tiger.”

Europe will show new approach: FW

SUBSTANTIAL changes in Europe’s relations with South Africa will be forthcoming, said State President FW de Klerk yesterday after returning from his 18-day nine-nation European tour.

“I expect Europe will in the months to come — maybe sooner — show this new approach,” he said at Jan Smuts Airport.

He warned against expecting “dramatic” changes soon from Western Europe.

“But the road for normal relations is open. This trip has made a major contribution towards removing stumbling blocks to new relations with South Africa. “South Africa’s pride has been restored,” he said.

De Klerk and his entourage were greeted by more than 1 000 people, waving South African flags, banners and wearing stickers saying “I love FW”.

De Klerk, looking tired but happy, was given an enthusiastic welcome by the crowd, and a Soweto police choir sang for him. — Sapa.

See Page 2
PAC wife on bomb charge

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN: Sydney

The wife of the PAC’s representative to the
United Nations was this week committed for
trial on charges of firebombing a South Afri-
can diplomat’s car.

Kerry-Anne Browning, 30, allegedly fire-
bombed the car belonging to the third secre-
tary of the SA embassy outside his home in
Canberra in 1988.

The man’s young daughter lay sleeping
only metres from the explosion.

Kerry-Anne, a social worker and wife of

Maxwell Nemadrivhanani, 32, was also
charged with two other firebomb attacks on
cars belonging to US diplomats in Australia.
She also faces one charge of threatening to
attack former US ambassador to Australia
Bill Lane.

At the time of the attacks her husband was
the PAC representative in Australia. He was
originally charged with her but the charges
were dropped.

Kerry-Anne, who pleaded not guilty, was
released on bail pending her trial in the
Supreme Court in Canberra.
Tough Mandela slams 'enemy'

Sunday Times Reporters
ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday endorsed the armed struggle as a valid means of forcing the South African Government — which he labelled "the enemy" — to the negotiating table.

The ANC deputy president was speaking to more than 50,000 singing, chanting and dancing supporters at the Super Stadium rally in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, in the shadow of a hillside with "ANC Lives" emblazoned in white painted stones.

In a hard-hitting speech that reinforced Friday's commitment to violence from the ANC's external headquarters in Luanda, Mr. Mandela said the Government had to "meet the minimum demands set out in the Harare Declaration", if it wanted the ANC to negotiate.

"Meanwhile, the struggle continues," he said — defining "the struggle" as "the campaign for the international isolation of the present racially-based Government, the mobilisation of the masses against oppression, and the armed struggle".

Mr Mandela took the opportunity to hit back at Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan who had publicly attacked him for breaching the agreement reached with the Government at Groote Schuur.

"The Groote Schuur meeting was not negotiations," he said. "That meeting was called to inform the Government what the ANC sees as obstacles to negotiations."

"Without the removal of the obstacles we have identified, there is no chance of us sitting down for real negotiations with the National Party.

"It must be realised that we cannot continue to talk while you, the people we represent, are being killed."

Mr Mandela also hit out at "apologists" for the South African Government.

"It was us who campaigned for sanctions against apartheid. How can it now be the Government which determines when sanctions will be lifted?"

He called for unity between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, at the same time warning the Conservative Party that it would "never succeed."

Directly addressing CP leader Dr Alandri Treurnicht, whom he labelled "the Prophet of Doom", he said: "We have defeated greater men than you. You will also be defeated."
Lusaka call for 'joint' SADF

By MELINDA HAM

The ANC said yesterday its guerrillas should be integrated into the white-led South African Defence Force.

A ranking officer in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said in Lusaka that officers from the warring armies should be placed in joint control of security forces in a transition to multi-party elections.

Mr Edwin Mabite, who fought against South African troops in southern Angola in the 1980s, was addressing former and active SADF officers on the fourth day of an unprecedented conference with the ANC in the Zambian capital.

The South African team comprises serving middle-rank officers, military men from the nominally independent black homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics and church leaders.

The ANC delegation, including field commanders, is being led by military chief, Joe Modise.

Mr Mabite, outlining what the ANC sought from an interim political settlement with Pretoria, said guerrilla commanders should be placed alongside current SADF officers in national and regional command structures.

There was no immediate reaction to the proposal from the visiting South Africans, who were invited to discuss future national security arrangements with the ANC.

The conference ends today. (IIA)
Editor gets the sack for Mandela remarks

The editor of the SA Air Traffic Controllers' Association's monthly magazine has been fired for publishing comments about ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela. Writing under the pseudonym "Van" last month, ATC training officer Nigel Bridges remarked:

"The utterances of Mr Mandela and his merry gang certainly cannot fill anybody with hopes of security and serenity for their golden years."

It continued: "The Government seems to have no overall plan to put forward, and remember, there will be no peace or normality until one man, one vote becomes a reality."

He went on to question the future of ATCs under an ANC government and the effect of inflation on pensions.

Mr Bridges has apparently resigned from the association.

However, the president of SAATCA, Mr Rob Purkiss, denied that between 15-20 members of his association had resigned because of the dismissal.

Refused

"I only know of three, but as long as I'm president, we will conduct ourselves as air traffic controllers and not politicians," he said.

"SAATCA aligns itself with the International Federation of Air Traffic Controllers which is apolitical."

Mr Purkiss read the article before its publication and asked Mr Bridges not to publish it. Mr Bridges refused.

In an editorial in the latest issue of the magazine, Mr Bridges defends his stance saying: "...the article is not of a political nature, perhaps somewhat racial, but certainly not political."

"Also, the article preponderates the future of air traffic control, which can hardly be related to 'no bearing on ATC matters'."

He added that the purpose of the column, titled Aviation Periscope, was to elicit comment and was supposed to be somewhat contentious.

Mr Bridges refused to comment on the matter, saying it was an internal affair.
ANC still backs nationalisation

By Patricia Mapheto

The ANC was not rethinking its policy of using nationalisation as an option to address inequalities, said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this week.

He was addressing a meeting between the ANC and the country's top businessmen, including blacks, convened by the Consultative Business Movement.

It was the third in a series of "economic options" seminars at which Mandela shared the platform with former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation Gavin Reilly.

Mandela said the ANC had no blueprint of the creed which would be nationalised, or what form the nationalised sector would take.

"It would be a tragedy," he said, "if, when democratic changes had taken place, the question of government participation was carried out unilaterally without the cooperation of the corporate sector.

"Therefore this is a question we feel should be negotiated - that there are different forms of government participation in industry," said Mandela. "All these questions will be thrashed out not only with the business sector but with the people of South Africa."

On uses and abuses of power, Mandela said: "In the political sphere, I think we all agree on a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The specific manner in which this will take place will have to be negotiated."

He said economic power was one of the thorniest issues that must be addressed. It was said that less than 10 businesses controlled almost 90 per cent of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and probably the total number of people on the boards of those companies was fewer than 1,000.

If South Africans were genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one, based on justice and a significant black stake in the economy, it was obvious that this concentration of economic power in a few white hands would have to change.

To make this change, he said, the ANC might have to consider United States anti-trust laws and such mechanisms as the British Monopolies Commission.

Mandela said the ANC was firmly opposed to privatisation. It would be reasonable for the disposal of State industries to be held over until a truly representative government was in place. Privatisation could only reinforce the over-concentration of wealth in a few hands.

On land use, he said both Land Acts would have to be repealed before anything else was done.

And it "...and planning would take place among rural people and their representatives, government, those who owned the land, and the country as a whole, in order to make land available to the masses, while ensuring necessary increases in the production of food and agricultural raw materials.

Reilly, the first senior big business representative to begin dialogue with the ANC in 1985, said the debate had moved from capitalism versus socialism to a recognition that, as with all other societies in the world, the future economy would be a mixed one. However, it would depend on which sector dominated the economy - the public or private sector. He said a trade-off would have to be struck between equality and growth.

He supported the argument that economic growth was necessary - but not itself sufficient - to reduce poverty and inequality.

Evidence pointed to the need for a carefully balanced combination of State and private sector roles.

The State had an important role to play in distributing resources through transfer payments from one taxpayer to another, and through government spending on health, education and housing.

He pointed out that a balanced tax system provided for this distribution.

JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr (left) with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Reilly and ANC External Affairs leader Thabo Mabez.  Picture: Thadi Khuele
WILL South Africa, or Azania as some prefer to call it, go the same route as other African states after independence? We don't want to suffer endless conflict like that between the MPLA and Dr. Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola, or that between the Frelimo government under President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo bandits in Mozambique — or even that between President Robert Mugabe's Zanu government and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu in Zimbabwe.

As the ANC enters a new phase of preparing to negotiate with the government, political organisations to its left and right are openly showing anger at being left out in the cold.

Their disapproval of the ANC/NP negotiation process — which started with talks about talks in Cape Town recently — could easily lead to the same problems as in Angola, Mozambique or Zimbabwe.

So strong is this feeling that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has openly appealed for political tolerance among all anti-apartheid movements.

He probably raised this matter with other African leaders on his recent tours of African states.

The ANC is presently enjoying centre stage and appears to be stealing the limelight from other political organisations. Its leaders have talked with President de Klerk's government, much to the anger and annoyance of the PAC and Azapo.

These groups have criticised the ANC for selling out and pretending to be the sole and authentic representatives of blacks.

This may just be the beginning of worse things to come since the ANC be the next government.

One man who seems to be aware of this danger is Mandela, who this week spoke openly about his fears of dissident groups in a post-apartheid South Africa.

As a result, Mandela held meetings with Azapo of the black consciousness movement, and privately met PAC president Zeph Mothopeng in an effort to form an alliance of all anti-apartheid groups.

These efforts are aimed at redirecting the liberation struggle towards a common enemy rather than dispersing it through infighting.

The ANC has painstakingly avoided criticising other anti-apartheid movements, Mandela told black editors in an informal meeting this week.

"I have insisted on this for the simple reason that I believe in unity in action," he said.

It is this unity that Mandela believes will give rise to an alliance of all black forces.

I could not agree more with him. There is no doubt that the ANC, being the oldest liberation movement in South Africa, has better and more organised structures than other black liberation movements.

The attendance at political rallies since the ANC was unbanned shows it has mass support.

The marches that have taken place in most major cities in an effort to force the government to dismantle petty apartheid have paid off. Some of the important results are the opening of hospitals and possibly white government schools next year.

I also agree with Mandela when he says the ANC is not the only player in the political game and that other anti-apartheid forces have contributed to the liberation struggle.

What black people want to see is a programme of action from each organisation.

We would hate to see a day when those who fought National Party rule are labelled dissidents or bandits simply because they hold different political views.

We would hate to see Itumeleng Mosa of Azapo, Mothopeng of the PAC and others who paid a heavy price for the liberation of their people forced out of parliament while others such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Hudson Ntsanwisi and other homeland and community council leaders are making laws inside parliament.

This is the time to start speaking with one voice, and the only way to do so is to form the strong alliance that Mandela is speaking about.

If we waste time by fighting each other now and in a post-apartheid era, we will be taking pressure off the NP government.
Deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing a rally in Atteridgeville on Saturday attended by an estimated 60,000 people.
ANC seeks integration of guerrillas into SADF

LUSAKA — ANC guerrillas should be integrated into the SADF, the organisation said on Saturday.

It spelled out this aim a day after having vowed it would not abandon its armed struggle until a democratically elected government was in power.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) officer Edwin Mabite said officers from the opposing sides should be placed in joint control of security forces in a transition to multiparty elections.

He was addressing former and active SADF officers on the fourth day of their conference with the ANC in the Zambian capital.

The ANC and the 38 SA security experts held talks under the umbrella of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

The SA team consisted of middle-ranking officers, military men from Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, anti-draft campaigners, academics and church leaders.

The ANC delegation, led by military chief Joe Modise, included field commanders. Mabite said guerrilla command- ers should be placed with SADF officers in national and regional command structures. The ANC, he said, had a "substantial" and well-trained officer corps.

But the ANC also wanted a reduction in the strength of the defence force and an end to conscription.

The talks ended yesterday. — Sapa-AP.
Redistribution the way, agree ANC, Cosatu

Staff Reporter

A post-apartheid government would seek growth through redistribution and ensure that organised workers played a key role in the economy and society, it was agreed at the recent ANC/Cosatu workshop on economic options for a future South Africa.

In a statement released after the three-day Harare workshop, which has just reached The Star, delegates also agreed that privatisation was immoral and that the Government "should not be allowed to shape our future" by selling state enterprises.

More than 60 representatives attended the workshop, which was addressed by Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo, ANC executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan and other union and political leaders. Its findings will be referred to the ANC and Cosatu for adoption as policy.

Economic reconstruction

The statement said discussion had focused on immediate issues such as the building of a mixed economy and the financing of economic reconstruction.

It was agreed that the state would have a vital role as economic agent and creator of the economic environment, although the private sector would also have a part to play.

Support was expressed for campaigns against privatisation, deregulation and the Minerals Bill. These would "seriously inhibit" the ability of a future government to realise its aims, the statement said.

Other critical areas debated included industrial restructuring and planning, agriculture, the land question, nationalisation and the relationship of worker organisations to a future government.
Mandela calls on whites to back FW

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has urged whites to support President de Klerk — while warning that he would oppose any attempts to lift sanctions on his forthcoming European trip.

At a rally on Saturday attended by about 50,000 in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, Mr. Mandela said Mr. de Klerk had "brought absolutely nothing from Europe to South Africa".

He had only transferred the national debate on apartheid to the capitals of Europe.

"We cannot allow him to tell the world that apartheid is dead when we have no vote, when we cannot live where we choose, when innocent people are being killed by his police every day.

"I am visiting Europe next week. I will visit almost every capital he has visited and I can assure you that after I have spoken there, he will regret (having visited Europe at all)."

Courage

Although Mr. de Klerk was "not strong enough" to put an end to violence and "very slow" in working for a nonracial South Africa, he had had "the courage to talk to the ANC".

"Whites who want the future of their children to be secure should support President de Klerk," Mr. Mandela said.

He reacted to the criticisms of his recent statements on police violence with a blistering attack on Defence Minister Magnus Malan's "unintelligent remarks" which had left Mr. Mandela "not surprised that he was considered unfit to form part of the Government delegation to meet the ANC".

Mr. Mandela said he would continue to protest against the unnecessary death of even one person at the hands of "apartheid violence".

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

He denounced President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

Mr. Mangope was a "little tyrant" who, like Hitler, would be defeated by the masses.

Dr. Treurnicht would never succeed in his opposition to ANC and Government efforts to bring peace to South Africa; "We have defeated greater men than himself. He will also be defeated."

Struggle

On the armed struggle, Mr. Mandela said that if the Government did not respond, "we will call our army again. Our strategies are going to remain in place until the whole (apartheid) structure is brought down."

However, "any form of violence against your own flesh and blood is a betrayal of the freedom struggle," he said.

"Abstain from violence, except only to defend yourself."

The four-hour rally began with "light-hearted cultural events" including a satirical address by a PW Botha impersonator. Later the stadium shook to the thunder of 50,000 people toyi-toying before being gripped by raw excitement as Mr. Mandela's motorcade entered.
National plan on returned exiles

THREE programmes of action for the repatriation of exiles have been formulated by church groups, service organisations and the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The programmes were formulated last week at a consultation between the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference, the Muslim Judicial Council, Jews for Social Justice, the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, the PAC, the ANC, the BCM and 23 service organisations.

A National Coordinating Committee composed of representatives of religious groups and the liberation movements will be appointed as the policy-making body.

A task force at national and regional levels will deal with the implementation of the programme.

The general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, has been appointed to initiate these structures within two weeks in consultation with other religious bodies.

Employment and housing prospects of returning exiles were found to be good, given the country’s unemployment and state of the economy.

“(It was) decided that exiles must be informed that they are returning to the realities of apartheid and not to a changed situation. The integration of exiles will be difficult in areas such as education,” the groups said in a statement.
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has threatened that his organisation will stop negotiations with the Government unless political prisoners, including those on death row, are immediately released.

Addressing about 60,000 people at a rally at Atteridgeville's Super Stadium on Saturday, Mandela also demanded:

- An end to political trials;
- The unconditional return of about 20,000 exiles;
- The immediate lifting of the state of emergency; and
- The pulling out of troops in black townships.

Mandela warned the Government that "we will call our army again" if the ANC's requests, aimed at bringing about peace in the country, were not met.

Mandela said the ANC was addressing the question of political unity with other political organisations, labour movements and homeland leaders. He also paid Masemola, who was killed in a car accident early this month.

He appealed to whites to support State President F W de Klerk's initiatives.

The ANC leader also warned political organisations which criticised the ANC for negotiating with the Government.

"These organisations are harming the freedom struggle by rushing to publicise our differences and strategies," he said.

Amid roaring applause from the crowd, Mandela warned Bophuthatwana's president, Mr Lucas Manyane Mangope, to stop "imposing his will on the people". He called on him to remember the German dictator Adolf Hitler, who was defeated by the power of the masses.

"Mangope must take care ... he is less than a paper tiger," said Mandela.
Legal profession 'needs big change'

DURBAN — The present structure of the legal profession has to be examined and changed if it is to regain its legitimacy and represent all South Africans, says the Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Natal.

Speaking at the 13th South African Law Conference, Professor David McQuoid-Mason said of about 8,000 lawyers probably more than 80 percent were white and less than five percent black. The judiciary in the superior courts was all white.

The repeal of apartheid legislation would help restore the legitimacy of the legal system.

**Land**

But if the legal profession and the judiciary were to have credibility it was necessary to change their composition to reflect the broader South African community, he said.

Professor McQuoid-Mason also said some form of land redistribution was necessary if the new South Africa was to correct current social, economic and educational imbalances.

The African National Congress’s Freedom Charter said land should be re-divided among those who worked it. It also stated: “All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose”.

He added that the Law Commission recognised the need for the State to be able to expropriate property and the means of production, against fair compensation, and that the “objects of affirmative action” should be allowed to be taken into account when exercising such expropriation powers.

It felt that an affirmative action clause could be included in a Bill of rights, but that it should be permissive rather than mandatory.

“In social, health and educational services in South Africa the minority white population has enjoyed a much higher per capita level of resources allocation than other race groups.

“Likewise, probably 90 percent of capital and economic wealth is controlled by the whites.

“As regards the public service, almost one in four working whites is employed in the public and para-statal sector. Furthermore, since 1948 there has been an Afrikanerisation of the public service, police force, defence force and prison service with almost all top positions held by Afrikaners.

“In a new, non-racial South Africa these imbalances will have to be corrected,” Professor McQuoid-Mason said.
Student body resolves to intensify armed struggle

By Thabo Leshilo and
Stan Hlophe

South Africa's white minority would not willingly relinquish power but would have to be forced to do so, the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) said yesterday.

Publicity secretary Sipho Maseko said a meeting in Bloemfontein of the organisation's second highest decision-making body, the national council, had resolved that the armed struggle be intensified and members supplement efforts of the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

On the recent spate of attacks against BC activists by rival organisations, Azasm resolved to "reserve the right to self defence and maximum retaliation (and the right to use whichever means at our disposal)".

Mr Maseko said sporadic attacks on members of the Black Consciousness Movement and its allies by members of the Mass Democratic Movement might lead to a new wave of violence on the Reef.

His warning came in the wake of alleged attacks on six Azasm members by their rivals at the Erasmus Secondary School in Vosloorus last week.

The alleged assailants were members of the Vosloorus Students' Congress (Vosco). Vosco members allegedly chasised the six for their political beliefs.
In this time of trust and mendacity, let's come into the open

KEN OWEN

In this time of trust and mendacity, let's come into the open

Edward Feit, who made a study of the ANC before emigrating to the United States, records that the "Africanist" faction of the ANC rejected the Freedom Charter in toto, so that the Charter failed to gain approval at the ANC national conference in 1955. A new conference was called for April 1956.

Let Feit take up the story: "The Charterists, by a stratagem, were able to secure ratification. They picked the conference hall with their supporters, and ensured that their credentials were not checked before the meetings..."

The manipulation of the ANC by the communists led directly to the breakaway of the Africanist faction, which included the PAC, setting the stage for a battle that continues to this day.

But the SAPC was content: the Charter, including the notorious proposal to take control of the economy, had a sufficient veneer of legitimacy to become a blueprint for the future.

Such manipulation of the Africans was not, in fact, unusual. The relation of the SAPC to the ANC has been that of a rider to a horse, ever since 1928 when (on orders from the Comintern in Moscow) the SAPC adopted the theory of a two-stage revolution: "First," as Lodge puts it, "a national-alist democratic revolution, involving many issues over which it would be easy to co-operate with reformist African petty-bourgeois organisations, and only then a social-revolution." The trick was to ride black nationalism to power, and then begin another revolution.

However, the SAPC had to fight to stay in the saddle, and it was the Stalinist thug, which triumphed. First it defeated the Trotskyists in its own ranks, expelling S P Blunting and other leading members of the party until they fought off the liberals, led by Reinault Jones and the Ballingers, and in the end, after the second world war, it joined battle with the Africanists.

This last battle has in recent times included the torture and murder of the 1976 Black Consciousness supporters whose dreadful fate in the ANC camps, we are told, made Albee Sachs weep.

The ANC's methods have also included assassination. Lodge says ANC agents probably killed ANC leader Tempest Makwane after he rebelled against the dominance expected, by white Indian communists but its normal method is to use its concealed membership in a multiplicity of mutually supporting committees and fronts, and operate through those fronts.
Mandela visited 'heroeine' spy Ruth

The Argus Foreign Service
ZURICH.—African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela visited spy Mrs Ruth Gerhardt in a South African prison and praised her as "a heroine of the people".

Speaking while waiting for her daughter's arrival in Zurich today, Mrs Gerhardt's mother, Mrs Lina Joehr, claimed the meeting had taken place shortly after Mr Mandela's release.

"He told her she was a heroine of the people, and that the whole truth about the struggle against apartheid would be told," she said.

But it was a tight-lipped Ruth Gerhardt, 47, who arrived 40 minutes late on the SAA flight that was bringing her from seven years in jail for treason. She left behind her husband, Dieter, jailed in 1963 for 25 years for treason arising from spying activities for the Soviet Union while he had been a naval commander at Simonstown.

"NOTHING TO SAY"

Mrs Gerhardt, who has been sentenced to 10 years on the same charge, was spirited away by her family, declining to comment.

Immediately after clearing customs, Mrs Gerhardt drove off with her mother and brother to Basel, where the family lives.

Since then the family have refused to accept calls to Mrs Gerhardt, saying she has "nothing to say at this stage".

Before leaving prison she was allowed to speak to her husband.

She flew from Jan Smuts yesterday "very excited" and "very happy" about seeing her son Gregory back in Switzerland, an attaché at the Swiss Embassy in Pretoria, Peter Eisenhut, said today.

A dual South African-Swiss citizen, Mrs Gerhardt was released at 3.30pm yesterday and taken to Jan Smuts Airport by prison officials.

Mr Eisenhut said Mrs Gerhardt left South Africa at 5.30pm on a Swiss Air flight.

"IN GOOD SHAPE"

"She appeared very relaxed and very happy. She looked quite well and her tone was very soft," Mr Eisenhut said.

He added that she was looking forward to seeing her son in Switzerland.

"She just couldn't wait to see him. She was talking to her husband before she was released."

"Mrs Gerhardt was composed, in good shape and well-dressed, and she was very excited. She had a wine-red dress on, and she was not at all tearful," said Mr Eisenhut, who was the only Swiss Embassy official at the airport to see her off.

Mrs Gerhardt's early release was announced yesterday by State President F W de Klerk during his visit to Switzerland last week, after the Swiss government had indicated it would welcome her release.

Minister to ask for probe into salvage delays

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Environment Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, is to ask for a commission of inquiry into delays in the salvage operation of the Taiwanese trawler stranded near Gansbaai.

A spokesman for Mr Kotze said the minister was "very unhappy" about some of the salvage aspects. There had been unnecessary delays in the removal of marine oil from the An Hing 1.

By late yesterday about half of the 60 tons of marine oil in the trawler had been removed. Mr Kotze said he had ordered its removal on Wednesday.

"If this request had been carried out more quickly, less oil would have been removed by now," the spokesman said.

The marine oil was expected to be removed by tomorrow.

R4.5m for city cancer unit 'not spent elsewhere'

Staff Reporters

THE Provincial Administration has denied allegations that delays and red tape led to R4.5 million budgeted for three new cancer unit machines for Groote Schuur Hospital being spent elsewhere.

Mr Van Heerden Heunis, public relations officer of the CPA, was responding to a report in The Argus on Friday, quoting sources at the cash-strapped hospital.

According to the sources, delays led to the 1989-90 equipment allocation being used up before tenders could be awarded for the cancer unit machines.

"NONSENSE"

"The cancer unit could not lose out on an amount of R4.5 million because Groote Schuur Hospital did not make provision for such an amount in their 1989-90 budget," Mr Heunis said.

It was therefore "impossible" for the money to have been spent elsewhere. In the same way it was "nonsensical" to allege that delays and red tape had led to the "so-called loss" of R4.5 million, he said.

On June 30 last year Groote Schuur was given the go-ahead for the submission of tender documents to the office of the Tender Board on the assumption that the necessary funds were available.

"Curtailments in the total budget for hospital and health services in the present financial year had the effect that funds for the equipment were not available and therefore no tender was allocated," he said.

The administration was not aware of delays in processing tender specifications. It was untrue that any such delays had been brought about by red tape, he said.

Motorist held after man is run down twice

Staff Reporter

A MOTORIST has been held for questioning after a man was run down twice in the same lane in East London.

The incident occurred on the corner of Margaret Street and Graham Road just before midnight. The driver of a white Toyota ran down the man several times before being arrested.

The injured man, who was aged about 70, was taken to hospital with injuries to his head, chest and legs.

The driver of the Toyota, aged 22, was held for questioning by police but was released without charge.
Violence avoided as meeting moves

Staff Reporter

VIOLENCE was avoided in the Boland town of Robertson yesterday when South African Youth Congress (Sayco) leaders headed a Paarl Riot Police 'prohibition' and transferred their planned open-air rally to an indoor venue instead.

Mr Edward Beukes, a member of the Ashton Interim Committee who attended the rally, said the meeting, which ANC regional representative Mr Trevor Manuel addressed, had gone off without incident, even though the crowd of 800 had overflowed from the small Robertson Civic Centre.

Mr Beukes is one of six Ashton people arrested last week. All six have been released.

The rally had been organised partly in response to an incident in Robertson on April 11 when police fired at a crowd emerging from the same hall. About 150 people were hurt on that occasion.

Mr Beukes said a meeting was due to be held today between the white Ashton Town Council and the Ashton Interim Committee.

Grievances include: Lack of electricity and tar roads; bad street lighting; the absence of recreational facilities, a library and a swimming pool; and a tremendous housing shortage which led to up to 18 people sleeping in a single one-bedroom house.
Mandela vows to scupper tour gains

Political Correspondent

MR NELSON MANDELA vowed at the weekend to scupper President FW de Klerk’s drive to ease South Africa’s international isolation and make him “regret” his nine-nation tour of Europe.

But SA diplomats believe Mr Mandela may be in for some surprises when he begins his own European tour later this week as he is likely to be critically questioned by political and business leaders about the ANC’s continued commitment to armed struggle and nationalisation.

Diplomats also point out that the President has been inundated with invitations to visit other countries and that further visits to Africa, Israel, Holland, Eastern Europe and North America are on the cards.

After earlier welcoming Mr De Klerk’s European tour, on Saturday Mr Mandela vowed to torpedo efforts by Mr De Klerk to urge Europe to rethink policy towards SA and accept Pretoria’s commitment to “fundamental reform”.

Mr Mandela told a rally at Atteridgeville: “I am visiting Europe next week. I am visiting almost every capital he visited, and I can assure you that after I have spoken there he will regret his visit to Europe.”

Mr Mandela said that sanctions and other pressures were designed to force the government to abandon apartheid and had to be applied “until the whole structure of apartheid is brought down”.

SA diplomats believe Mr Mandela will get a good reception in Europe and that the process of “isolating” him was far from complete.

But they believe it will not be all plain sailing for the ANC leader, particularly during his contacts with business leaders who are considering investing in SA.

During his European tour, Mr De Klerk said he did not see himself in conflict with Mr Mandela on the sanctions debate.

Rather, given the changes that had already taken place and the government commitment to eliminate apartheid, sanctions “simply do not make sense anymore”.

SA officials accompanying Mr De Klerk on his tour said that because he had carried out the reforms he promised during his visit to Europe last year, European leaders regarded what he said this time around as credible.

While officials were cautious about making predictions, they were adamant that “positive things are going to happen for SA.”
Don't panic, pleads Gorbachev

MOSCOW. — President Mikhail Gorbachev, seeking to stem frantic buying nationwide because of planned price hikes, appealed to the Soviet people yesterday “not to give in to panic” and accept a transition to a market economy.

Mr Gorbachev, speaking on the evening television news, called the movement toward the market “a new revolution” without which the country cannot end its economic decline.

“I appeal to you, dear comrades, not to give in to panic,” Mr Gorbachev said. “Don't give in to panic. Let’s look at this soberly and realistically.”

Meanwhile in the troubled republic of Armenia, militants attacked soldiers yesterday at the main train station in Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, and at least six people were killed and 11 injured in the fighting. Soviet media and Armenians said. — UPI and Sapa-Reuters
ANC, SADF pledge ‘peace’

The 48 South Africans who arrived here last week to confer with their longtime guerrilla foes included serving and former officers of Pretoria’s military machine.

The South Africans said they had no official status, but would make recommendations privately to the government on their return home.

Before leaving by air late yesterday the South Africans told reporters they developed genuine friendships with the guerrillas at the meeting.

The ANC team included field commanders and was led by military chief Mr Joe Modise.

One Cuban-trained ANC fighter said he was impressed with the frankness of the talks in a warm atmosphere.

In Lusaka, the two sides also agreed that the regular South African security forces should be halved, conscription should be stopped and the Natal-based 32 battalion comprising Angolan mercenaries should be withdrawn.

A new restructured army of conventional troops and former guerrillas should be non-partisan, accountable to parliament and recruited and promoted on the basis of merit alone, the statement said.

● The ANC aims was spelled out a day after the ANC Congress vowed it would not abandon its armed struggle until a democratically-elected government was in power.
ANC, Azapo clash leaves 7 wounded

SEVEN members of the ANC's Maokeng branch, near Kroonstad, were hospitalised with gaping wounds yesterday following bitter inter-necine fighting between ANC supporters and Azapo in the township earlier in the day.

Three of the men, Michael Gqozo, Meshack Mokhetsi and Vincent Twapa, are reported to be receiving intensive care treatment, with the rest in general wards.

The police public relations spokesman in Pretoria, Major Reg Crewe, confirmed the heavy fighting, but said they had not heard of any deaths.

"Two large groups of armed black men clashed in the area. Seven people were injured, three seriously. We have as yet not heard of any deaths," said Crewe.

According to Mr Stoffel Mofokeng of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, which is recruiting on behalf of the ANC, the strife began last Friday.

Anger

Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot dead during unrest earlier in the week.

"It seems they (Azapo supporters) wanted to be a part of it, but were denied that by the organisers. They then began attacking our members."

However, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Srinini Moodley denied Azapo was prohibited from being at the ceremony.

"The Maokeng Women's Organisation invited all organisations to attend the night vigil for the two students. When we went, ANC members hijacked proceedings and chased out those who were Azapo T-shirts."

Meanwhile, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, last night appealed to ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the general secretary of Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe to personally intervene in the fighting. - Sapa
Mandela takes a week off

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela was admitted to the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg on Sunday for "a day or two", a hospital spokesman confirmed today.

ANC internal spokesman Ahmed Kathrada told The Star yesterday that Mr. Mandela had gone to the clinic "for a routine check-up".

Mr. Kathrada said today that Mr. Mandela's stay in hospital was "nothing sudden" as the ANC leader's check-up had been pre-arranged.

"It's the type of check-up which started when we were still in prison, not only with him but also with those of us who were old.

"Media people who wanted to set up appointments with Mr. Mandela for this week will remember that we specifically wanted to keep this period open," Mr. Kathrada said.

There was a possibility that Mr. Mandela would come out of the clinic today. Mr. Kathrada said a member of the Mandela family had told him Mr. Mandela wanted to go home yesterday.

A spokesman for Park Lane Clinic, Dr. Gordon Cohen, yesterday declined to disclose any details, saying Mr. Mandela was not suffering from anything serious.

"He is well and just fine, he will be here for probably a day or two," said Dr. Cohen.

In an interview today, Dr. Cohen said Mr. Mandela's condition remained unchanged. He could not confirm that Mr. Mandela would be discharged from the clinic today.

Last night, the Mandela family released a statement saying: "The Mandela family wishes to thank everyone here and abroad who has expressed concern over Mr. Mandela's busy and tight programme. It is with pleasure that we announce that Mr. Mandela will now take a week-long holiday away from his schedule."

"During this time, he will relax with his family and also undergo thorough routine medical check-ups and tests, and may be rested at various medical institutions in the process. This break has been conveniently and deliberately timed to precede the Mandelas' on-coming American and European tours which are likely to be very busy."  

Sapa reports that the ANC's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, said last night that Mr. Mandela had undergone minor prostate surgery yesterday. He added that Mr. Mandela's own view was that "he wouldn't even spend the night in hospital".

Mr. Mandela had his prostate gland removed in a prison hospital in 1985.

Golden Egg

were absolutely amazed by the results of our research, which certainly puts the monster forward as one of the main tourist attractions of Scotland.

A large number of visitors said the main reason for their visit to the Highlands was to spot the monster. More than 20 percent placed Nessie at the top of their holiday priorities, and another 16 percent said it was at least one of the reasons they had decided to visit the area.

About 2 million people visit Loch Ness each year, and according to the survey at least 25 percent of them hope to spot the giant creature as it emerges from the murky waters.
Negotiations the only way

South Africa's fate will be decided not in the battlefield but around a negotiating table, whether people like it or not, says the director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for African Studies, Eugene Nyati.

In a paper delivered at a two-day Nafoc economic conference in Port Edward recently, Mr Nyati said this country appeared "destined for some sort of a negotiated outcome".

Blacks, he said, would seek to achieve through negotiations what their organisations had failed to achieve through the armed struggle.

As negotiations seemed more and more inevitable, creative and well-thought out alternatives were needed to apply pressure on Pretoria, and the ability to adapt and exploit a rapidly changing domestic and international environment would be indispensable.

Mr Nyati, a major commentator on sub-Saharan African affairs and black South African politics, said anti-apartheid organisations would have to cast aside their "party-defined parochialism and rigidity" in the interests of reaching greater consensus and building collective pressure "in the cause of the oppressed majority".

He believed the majority of blacks were not opposed to a negotiated settlement as long as their objective of political and economic equality and justice in a unitary South Africa was not compromised.

Blacks therefore had every reason to demand an assurance from the African National Congress and other pro-negotiations organisations that this principle would remain sacred.

"Similarly," said Mr Nyati, "for those opposed to a negotiation strategy, the Pan Africanist Congress and others, the majority deserve some clarity as to what alternative approaches they intend employing to bring about the desired outcome."

Mr Nyati prefaced his speech with the observation that the National Party Government had finally come to terms with the inevitability of the demise of white political dominance over the black majority. A number of factors, including sanctions, domestic and international pressure, had forced the Government to the negotiating table.

While the NP was willing to give up political dominance which had led to South Africa's pariah status in the international community, it was still bent on retaining control of the economy, he said.

"The prospect of black political majority rule," said Mr Nyati, "will tend to unify whites across party lines in resistance to radical transformation."

"While most will pronounce themselves in favour of change, it is doubtful how many will be prepared to sacrifice for it."

Mr Nyati said black organisations had to accept that there would "remain a multiplicity of political parties and formations within the oppressed", and that this was not in itself a bad thing.

"Indeed," Mr Nyati added, "if handled with tolerance and maturity, such diversity could enrich our emerging democracy."

He welcomed the intense economic debate which has been stirred by the ANC's nationalisation and the Government's privatisation policies. This new trend, he said, had to be encouraged and reinforced.

"Ultimately, we should all understand that until such a time that a future political and economic dispensation substantively changes the material circumstances and therefore secures the position of the black majority, the oppressed will have reason to feel short-changed and hence bitter."
ANC men wounded in fight with Azapo

Seven members of the ANC's Maokeng branch, near Kroonstad, were wounded and admitted to hospital yesterday after fighting between ANC supporters and Azapo in the township.

Three of the men, Michael Gqozo, Meshack Moekhetsi and Vincent Twapa, are reported to be in intensive care.

The police public relations spokesman in Pretoria, Major Reg Crewe, confirmed the heavy fighting.

According to Stoffel Mofokeng of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, which is recruiting on behalf of the ANC, the strife began on Friday last week when Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot dead during unrest earlier in the week.

"It seems they (Azapo supporters) wanted to be a part of it, but were denied that by the organisers. They then began attacking our members. The attacks took place throughout the weekend and ended this morning..." said Mr Mofokeng.

However, Azapo's publicity secretary, Srinil Moodley, denied Azapo was prohibited from being at the ceremony.

Mr Moodley named three of his organisation's members injured in the violence. — Sapa.
Run for peace call to Comrades

SOWETAN Correspondents

BOTH the African National Congress and the KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have given their support to a campaign urging runners in Thursday's Comrades Marathon to wear a white ribbon or arm band as a symbolic call for peace in Natal's strife-torn townships.

A spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, which is organising the campaign, said yesterday that support would also be sought from the National Party and the Conservative Party.

Those who have already signified their support include the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Right Rev Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal, Mr Paddy Kearney, director of Diakonia, and Mr Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party MP.

Father Martin Moore-Corry, the Catholic priest in the troubled Nuzuma township near Durban, will be among those running and who will be wearing a white armband has said he will be running for peace to return to the townships - "and I urge everyone else to follow suit".
Seven hurt in Azapo, ANC township clash

SEVEN people were injured, three seriously, in the Free State township of Maokeng near Kroonstad yesterday morning after a clash between large groups of local ANC and Azapo members, a police spokesman said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Strin Moodley said the clash followed four separate weekend attacks on Azapo members.

But the ANC recruiting officer in the area Stoffel Mofokeng said the strife began on Friday when Azapo supporters attacked ANC supporters at a vigil for youths allegedly killed in clashes with police earlier in the week.

Mofokeng said the Azapo supporters were angry at not being invited to take part in the vigil.

"They then began attacking our members. The attacks took place throughout the weekend and ended this morning," said Mofokeng, who is also a member of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee.

Moodley claimed that local ANC members "hijacked" the night vigil, which was organised by the Maokeng Women's Organisation in memory of the two youths.

He said Azapo members at the vigil were chased out of the building, and the organisation's local chairman Mzimkhulu Ndwewa was blinded after being attacked with pangas and knives.

At the weekend three other Azapo members were attacked by the same group of ANC members, either in the street or at their homes, he said.

Moodley decried what he described as "the ANC's current strategy of intimidation", which he said was an indication of what the future might hold.
Every American will hear Mandela, says US activist

By Kalzer Nyatsumba

Before African National Congress (ANC) deputy president Nelson Mandela concluded his planned American tour, every American would have had a chance to hear the ANC leader's views on a number of vital issues, US anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson said last week.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Robinson, who arrived in South Africa last Wednesday to help plan Mr Mandela’s American itinerary, said the US national reception committee, which he would head, would make sure Mr Mandela’s views were heard by as many Americans as possible.

He is director of TransAfrica, a Washington-based lobby group.

He left South Africa on Saturday after holding meetings with Mr Mandela, ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada, members of the ANC’s department of information and publicity in Johannesburg and US ambassador William Swing on Friday.

Mr Robinson said little had changed since his last brief visit to South Africa in 1976 when, en route to Lesotho with a congressional delegation, they stopped here for a day.

“The central elements of apartheid are still very much in place,” Mr Robinson said.

However, he said he was "guardedly optimistic" about the country's political future, and that TransAfrica supported the ANC in its attempts to reach a negotiated settlement.

His organisation would strive to sustain US economic sanctions against South Africa until there had been “irreversible progress made by the Government”. 
ANC, Azapo clash

SEVEN people were injured, three seriously, in the Free State township of Maokeng yesterday morning in a bloody clash between groups of local ANC and Azapo members.

Police spokesman Major Reg Crewe confirmed the heavy fighting.

According to the ANC's Mr Stoffel Mofokeng, the strife began last Friday when Azapo supporters allegedly expressed anger at not participating in a vigil held for two students shot dead during unrest.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, denied this and said the mob leaders "are apparently isitols elements ... who now have the right to wear ANC T-shirts".

- The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, yesterday called on Mr Walter Sisulu, internal ANC leader, and Mr Pandeiani Nefolovhodwe of Azapo, to intervene. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
Johannesburg. — Mr Nelson Mandela has been hospitalised in a private clinic here, apparently with a prostate problem, SATV said last night.

Mr Mandela, 71, who underwent prostate surgery several years ago, was hospitalised on Sunday night and he was visited yesterday by his wife Winnie, the report said.

"There is no problem whatsoever. Mr Mandela is in the clinic for a check-up," ANC publicity secretary Mr Ahmed Kathrada said by telephone. "This one is a major test and that is why he entered the clinic." His staying in the clinic overnight did not necessarily mean that he was unwell, said Mr Kathrada.

Meanwhile, a family spokesman said Mr Mandela would take a week's holiday before leaving on his visits to Europe and the United States.

During his break he will undergo thorough routine medical check-ups and tests and may rest at various medical institutions.

He will also relax in Soweto with his family, said the spokesman, who declined to be named.

"The Mandela family wishes to thank everyone here and abroad who have expressed concern over Mr Mandela's busy and tight programme."

Mr Mandela is expected to arrive in the US around June 20 for visits to Washington, New York and several other cities.

Congressional sources said yesterday Mr Mandela would address a joint session of Congress on June 26. He leaves for Botswana on June 4 before flying to Paris. — Sapa and UPI
Mandela attacked by top DP men

TWO senior Democratic Party members have criticised the stance of African National Congress deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela on sanctions and South Africa’s isolation.

Speaking at Pretoria’s Atteridgeville township on Saturday, Mr Mandela was reported to have said President De Klerk would regret his visit to Europe after his (Mr Mandela’s) tour of Europe next week.

Mr Mandela was further reported to have said: “The government and its apologists are trying to convince the world to leave sanctions and South Africa’s world isolation.”

Addressing a municipal by-election meeting in Boksburg last night, Dr Denis Worrall said he believed Mr Mandela underestimated the moral case against apartheid and the determination of a majority of South Africans — black and white — to address the injustices of the past, to rectify the deficiencies of the present and to build together a new nonracial democratic South Africa.

Speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) called on Mr Mandela to re-think sanctions.

He added that he joined millions of South Africans in tribute to President De Klerk on his overseas trip.

If Europe now accepted that the process of change was irreversible and would lead to a universal franchise in a nonracial multiparty democracy, “then South Africa should also accept that is an irreversible process”.

He did not think it presumptuous to ask Mr Mandela: “Is this not a time for you also to make a gesture? Why don’t you tell the world now to let go of sanctions?”

If he was wrong about President De Klerk’s intentions, nothing would stop Mr Mandela from asking for sanctions to be reimposed, Mr Schwarz said.

But if he was right about President De Klerk, people were going jobless and hungry unnecessarily — “and why should they?” — Political Staff and Sapa.
Call on Mandela for sanctions gesture

Political Staff

Mr Harry Schwarz, a long-time friend of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday called on him to "let go of sanctions" and questioned if this was the time to seek support for the "armed struggle".

Mr Schwarz, the Democratic Party's chief finance spokesman, who was one of the defence counsel in the Rivonia trial, said that if Europe accepted that change was irreversible and that it would lead to a universal franchise in a non-racial democracy in reasonable time, then South Africans should also accept it.

"Mr Mandela has correctly said he still has no vote, but, if he accepts the sincerity and integrity of the State President, then he knows he will have a vote," said Mr Schwarz, speaking in the House of Assembly.

He wondered if it was not time for a "gesture" by Mr Mandela, who is about to embark on another foreign tour.

"Tell the world to let go of sanctions," said Mr Schwarz.

"Help your own people to get work and improve their living standards.

"If we are wrong, and the process is halted or reversed, nothing will stop you from asking again for sanctions or stop them from being reimposed.

"But, if we are right, then people are going jobless and hungry for no purpose."

If Mr Mandela took such a step it would undoubtedly immeasurably hasten the process of negotiation, and the process of getting Mr Mandela's vote, he said.

Mr De Klerk's personality and approach to people and problems would have left world leaders with the impression that what he said, he meant, and would do as he promised, Mr Schwarz said.

Mr Schwarz said he joined millions of South Africans in congratulating Mr De Klerk on the success of his visit to Europe.

— Sapa

Mr Nelson Mandela

Mr Harry Schwarz
Call on Mandela for sanctions gesture

Political Staff

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— Sapa
Remove Crossroads mayor — call

Political Staff

THE mayor and town committee of Crossroads should be removed from office or at the very least suspended until the commission of inquiry into the area had reported, Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

The irregularities and corruption in Crossroads, the disaster in the allocation of new houses by the town committee and its attempts to physically prevent residents from attending political rallies necessitated this.

The town committee had violently interfered in Crossroads schools and had vetoed requests by opponents of the mayor to hold peaceful protest marches; and murder charges had been laid not only against members of the committee but also the secretary or town clerk of the area.

"It should be clear to even the most uninformed person that this town committee and its mayor should either be removed from office or at the very least suspended pending an independent inquiry," Mr Van Eck said during the Planning and Provincial Affairs Vote.

"Failure to do so can and will only be seen as evidence that the government condones the actions by this town committee."
Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday declined to comment on the operation her husband, Nelson Mandela, underwent at Johannesburg's Park Lane clinic on Monday.

"I have no permission to tell you," Mrs Mandela said after spending more than five hours with her husband.

The hospital's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen (right), confirmed earlier in the day that the ANC leader had undergone "a minor operation" on Monday.

Mr Mandela would be spending "a couple of days" in the clinic, he added.

The ANC leader was initially admitted to hospital on Sunday evening for a routine check-up. - Sapa.
Jewish leaders deplore US attack on Tutu

CINCINNATI - A group of American Jewish leaders "deplored" a recent protest against Archbishop Desmond Tutu by members of a militant Jewish group in California.

In a joint statement issued after a meeting between the archbishop and the leaders in Cincinnati on Monday, the Jewish leaders also distanced themselves from allegations that Archbishop Tutu was anti-Semitic.

They said they shared his concern that he was being unfairly targeted on the issue.

A copy of the statement was released by the Archbishop's office following discussions between Archbishop Tutu, leaders of the Cincinnati Jewish community and some national Jewish leaders in the United States.

In the statement, the Jewish leaders said they had expressed their belief that Archbishop Tutu's criticism of Israeli was "asymmetric".

"Tutu said his criticism of certain Israeli Government policies was aimed at that Government and not at Jews.

"Jewish community leaders and Archbishop Tutu differed on whether comparisons could be drawn between the policies of the South African and Israeli governments," the statement said. - Sapa
SADF officers, MK in stormy session

Army conference moots integration

LUSAKA - In a sombre and emotionally-charged closing session of the four-day military conference on Sunday, retired officers of the SADF and the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), integration of MK and not absorption into the SADF featured strongly among final recommendations.

"Delegates expressed support for MK to return to South Africa as soon as negotiations permitted and on the need for the eventual integration of the SADF, the 'homeland' armies, MK and any other military forces to form a new defence force in South Africa," a communiqué said in part.

"There was an argument for integration, not absorption," ANC political secretary in the office of the president, Edwin Mabite, said.

The conference, the first ever to bring together the opposing forces, was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

It dealt with the theme, "The Future of the Military and Defence in South Africa" and came up with the suggestion that the future South African army be named the "National Defence Force".

Among the 46 delegates from South Africa were seven active SADF Citizen Force officers and a member of the police and prison union, Popcru, insiders said.

In the final communiqué, it was significantly said that although there was general agreement on various issues, "differences emerged over questions such as the future of units like 32 Battalion, the armed struggle, the roles of the SADF and MK and the military-industrial complex (in South Africa)."

However, "the majority of the delegates agreed that 32 Battalion should be withdrawn immediately from Natal, and that its disbanding should be investigated," the communiqué said.

The 32 Battalion is an SADF unit composed mostly of former Angolans and is known for the brutality and ruthlessness it has meted out on innocent victims in Angola and Namibia, on Pretoria's orders, ex-plained ANC spokesman, Tom Schaina.

Dr Simon Baynham, chief researcher at the Africa Institute of South Africa, said the MK, which he termed "a guerilla army of very small military presence," has a major impact on the domestic scene, especially in political mobilisation.

ANC's Mabite echoed and countered this stance at the same time by saying: "We (MK) are inferior in numbers, not in efficiency. We are resilient, intelligent and self-sustaining."

Baynham believes that political attitudes of both MK and SADF could be meshed when the current 100 000-strong SADF army, which with mobilisation could reach 400 000, were made "leaner and meaner."

Trim

"Demobilisation of the SADF should trim it to about two-thirds of its present structure. By that we are talking of 60 000 to 65 000," he said.

The conference talked about "demilitarising and disarming South Africa," which they said had three million licensed firearms in the possession of one million people.

A retired SADF commandant and arms consultant and currently a researcher for an arms manufacturing company in South Africa, Dr Jacobus Cilliers, said: "Integration (of the army) is likely to begin next year when negotia-

tions, which I believe will start this year, are underway."

The vocal Cilliers, who is only 34 and served in the SADF for 14 years, said he was not obliged to report the deliberations of the conference to the South African Government, but would definitely present a report to the arms manufacturers.

"After all, it is unofficially known that there will be a reduction in arms production in the coming future," he added.

During the discussions, which Mabite described as "difficult because it is a conference of soldiers," the issues agreed on were:

* Negotiation of a mutually binding cessation of hostilities between the contending military forces;
* The ending or phasing out of military conscription;
* A smaller defence force oriented towards protecting South Africa's territorial integrity;
* The ceasing of Nuremberg-type trials but not exonerating people from prosecution of future atrocities committed; and
* The transition (or integration) being managed by South Africans.

It was also agreed that a future defence force should be accountable to parliament, should be politically non-partisan, non-racial in nature and should recruit and promote on merit alone.
Security police beat me, schoolboy claims

By Janet Heard

The Alexandra branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has accused security police stationed in nearby Kew of "harassing and beating up" its members.

It cited the case of a 16-year-old schoolboy who alleged he was beaten up by plainclothes security policemen in 15th Avenue while he was walking to school on Monday.

Mike Ndlovu, a Std 7 pupil and a member of Alexandra's Cosas branch, visited The Star yesterday wearing a patch over his left eye.

He said six men travelling in a white Husky Kombi approached him while he was walking to school at about 6.45 am. He recognised two as being security policemen.

Eye bled

"They stopped me and, without saying anything, removed an ANC badge I was wearing.

"They then started to beat me with their hands. My left eye began to bleed and they left me.

"I went to the Alexandra Clinic for treatment."

A police spokesman confirmed that a charge of assault had been laid at the Alexandra police station. It would be investigated, he said.

In a statement, Lolo Kekana, president of the local Cosas branch, alleged that a number of other Cosas members, including Mike Maela and Mishak Kunene, had been beaten up by members of the security branch over the past few weeks and in some cases had to go to hospital.

"We are very concerned that these senseless actions are being carried out by people ... who claim to be maintaining law and order in the country," he said.

Obed Bapela, publicity secretary of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO), said there appeared to be an increase in incidents of harassment, intimidation and interrogation carried out by certain members of the security police.

"We appeal to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to stop this reign of terror. We are shocked that this type of action continues under the present political climate of negotiations."
Azaso to come alive again

THE Azanian Students Organisation is to be relaunched in August as a Black Consciousness organisation catering for black students at tertiary institutions.

This resolution was taken at the national council of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) held at Molenela Hotel in Bloemfontein at the weekend. It was attended by about 250 delegates from all over the country.

Mr Sipho Maseko, Azasm publicity secretary, told Sowetan yesterday the relaunch of Azaso would take place at the Azasm congress on August 4 and 5. As from that congress, Azasm will continue to exist, but primarily for black primary and high school students.

Maseko said the relaunch of Azaso was to get it back into the BCM fold - where it belongs. Azaso in 1983 abandoned black consciousness thinking and moved into the Charterist camp. Later it changed its name to the South African National Students Congress (Sanco), which is now a UDP affiliate.

He said delegates at the council had noted that there was a need for maximum political direction of black students in Azania to realise their aspirations as part of the black community.

Disastrous slogan

"Azaso will fully participate in the advancement of the black working class struggle for an anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist and socialist Azania. Again, it will play the role of reasserting the positive self-identity of black students at tertiary level," he said.

On the ongoing "education crisis", the council noted that the disastrous slogan "liberation now, education later", as well as the DET's intransigence in meeting basic demands, have contributed greatly to the present school impasse.

It was resolved that alternative education could only be achieved in a transformed society which is socialist. Furthermore, it was resolved to intensify the "back-to-school campaign" by emphasising the importance of education and engaging parents, teachers and students in consultations before the crisis becomes uncontrollable.

On negotiations it was resolved that organisations that negotiate now negotiate only for their membership and not for the oppressed, exploited black majority.
ANC, Azapo agree to 'ceasefire'

A "ceasefire" between the ANC and Azapo was called late Monday night following bitter, internecine fighting between the two political groups on Monday which left seven injured.

One of the injured, Mr. Meshack Mookese of the Maokeng Youth Congress, who was reportedly stabbed four times in the fighting, said yesterday ANC and Azapo supporters had held a meeting on Monday night where the decision to call a ceasefire between the two groups had been made.

Mookese said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu was in Kroonstad yesterday, "to defuse the situation" but had been forced to postpone the visit until Sunday.

He will address the Maokeng residents on Sunday at the Maokeng stadium. - Sapa
Aid to ANC

WAYS of co-ordinating aid to the ANC of South Africa from donor agencies and church bodies have been discussed at a meeting in Harare at which the military commander of the ANC, Mr. Joe Modise, was present.

The repatriation of exiled South Africans was one subject under review.

Modise said the meeting had gone a long way to streamline humanitarian aid to the liberation group.
DET is attacked

The Azanian Students Movement has rejected claims by the Department of Education and Training that schools were being disrupted because of political interference by certain organizations.

The claim was made this week by the DET's Northern Transvaal regional director, Mr Job Schermer, who warned the department may be forced to close down schools at which people in authority were intimidated and prevented from taking control.

"The claim that schools are disrupted solely by political interference smack of complete ignorance," Azasm spokesman Mr Sipho Maseko said yesterday.

He accused the DET of "sectarianism", displayed by the department in failing to resolve the education crisis.
It was a historic moment at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday when the African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the National Party shared a platform. From left, Penwell Maduna (ANC), Tony Leon (DP) and Glen Babb (NP).

Historic Wits meeting free from disruptions

By Esmeré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The African National Congress, Democratic Party and National Party yesterday shared a platform for the first time at the University of the Witwatersrand without disruption.

"Let me just savour the moment ... Can you all hear me? That means I'm not being shouted down," nominated National Party MP Glen Babb said to laughter from about 300 students.

Mr Babb was the first Nationalist to receive a hearing at the university in nearly 10 years.

He debated the country's constitutional options with Houghton's Democratic Party MP Tony Leon and Penwell Maduna, a recently returned exile and member of the African National Congress constitutional planning committee.

All three speakers received warm applause for their eight-minute policy statements, then answered questions from the floor.

No new constitutional wisdom or shifts in party policies emanated.

Mr Leon spelled out the DP's preference for a geographical federation, an option which Mr Maduna regarded as concealed racism.

He proposed the ANC policy of a non-racial democracy in a unitary state.

Mr Babb emphasised the need for minority protection and said the NP's latest concept of groups "allowing them to define themselves" was a significant shift away from racially defined groups.

All three agreed that the devolution of power was a healthy way in which to ensure grassroots participation in democratic politics.

The lunch-hour debate, organised by the Wits Debating Union, was a rather merry affair.

Mr Babb's remark on the disadvantages of majority rule - "We want to prevent the bad guys from taking over the structures that have been put there" - was met with laughter.

More controversial was his remark that more blacks supported President de Klerk's new policies than whites supported the ANC.

Mr Leon summed up the remarkable event: "The decent atmosphere in which the meeting is being conducted provides much hope for the changing South Africa."

After the meeting, groups of students hotly debated their visions of a new constitution with the speakers.
Why we talk to ANC – De Klerk

The Government was negotiating with the ANC to ensure that as many people as possible bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Answering a question from Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Louberg), he said it was in South Africa's interests that there be as many moderate people seeking peaceful solutions as possible.

Since becoming President, he had met Nelson Mandela in his office twice before Mr Mandela’s release.

On both occasions Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had been present.

No discussion had taken place during these meetings on South Africa's constitutional future apart from broad, general statements on general policy.

From the Government’s side, all discussions thus far had been directed at reaching a clear commitment to seeking peaceful solutions before negotiation on South Africa's constitutional future could take place.

It was known that former President PW Botha had met Mr Mandela before September 6 last year, with certain results.

Mr de Klerk reiterated that it was not the Government’s aim to deliver the whites to oppression and black domination.

Asked about Mr Mandela’s attitude to violence, he said it had been known after Mr Mandela’s meeting with Mr Botha that he had forsawen violence.

He (Mr de Klerk) had also obtained this impression, and it was also contained in the Groote Schuur Minute released after the recent talks between the Government and the ANC. — Sapa.
A conference in Johannesburg yesterday made him a "social outcast". The meeting will be held in North in July to win support for the peace initiative, now in progress. He said the conference was also aimed at nationally, internationally, and against violence by right-wing and death squads. The conference is one of several activities in support of the "Month of the Youth". The theme for the programme of action will be "Organisation, discipline and action for power and peace," he said. Activities have been planned from June 3 to June 26.
ANC 'repeating NP’s mistakes’

Unless the Government told the public the black man had the same aspirations as the white man, the NP policy of 40 years ago would still apply, Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Maintenance and Promotion of Competition Amendment Bill, he said SA was beyond dealing with things on paper.

"We have to ensure we don’t make the same mistakes in 1990 as in 1948, but we haven’t got 40 years now. We need a major market system.

The NP had come into power on policies that were not very different from the ANC’s policies now.

"The ANC are making the same mistakes that you made". — Sapa.
ANC to launch W Cape branches

THE first African National Congress branches in the Western Cape are to be launched in June.

The launches are the culmination of weeks of preparation and door-to-door work by ANC members in the region.

In terms of the organisation's constitution, branches can be formed in areas where there are more than 100 members.

The Athlone branch will be launched on June 8 at the Athlone Civic Centre, where top ANC leadership including the Western Cape convener, Mr Reg September, are expected to speak.

The Grassy Park branch has signed up 150 members so far and is launching on June 3 at the Civic Centre.

Members in the area will be signing up more people before the launch.

Two Mitchells Plain branches will also be launched publicly in Woodlands on June 10 and in Strandfontein on June 17.

There is widespread interest in the ANC in white areas of Cape Town, members report.

Following a successful meeting in Observatory last week, ANC members in Claremont are holding an information meeting to inform residents of their plans to launch a branch soon.

Membership forms will be available at the meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre on June 6.

ANC members will answer questions on the constitution and policy of the organisation.
THE GENERAL: Former SADF Major-General Wally Black and Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani at the historic Lusaka conference.

By LAURIE NATHAN

LUSAKA. — South African soldiers, used to meeting at different ends of a firefight, met under different circumstances at an extraordinary conference here.

Once sworn enemies, members of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and South Africans with links to the SADF, discussed and argued for five days over the post-apartheid security of the country.

Among those present at the historic talks were Umkhonto’s chief of staff, Chris Hani, ANC NEC members Pallo Jordan and Thabo Mbeki, and “wanted” ANC guerrilla, Hein Grosskopf.

Others were Major-General Wally Black, former director-general: operations at SADF headquarters, Commodore Vic Holderness, former chief of staff, Naval Command West, and Colonel GT Madikiza, acting chief of staff of the Transkei Defence Force.

Broad consensus was reached on issues including:
- the negotiation of a mutually-binding cessation of hostilities;
- the ending or phasing out of the present system of military conscription.

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CADRE AND COMMODORE: Most wanted ANC cadre Hein Grosskopf listens to former SA Navy Chief of Staff Commodore Vic Holderness.
Sachs urges ‘culture of debate’

WHILE racism in a future South Africa should be countered in people’s daily lives, when it became “fighting talk” action would have to be taken, believes ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Speaking in Port Elizabeth, Sachs gave some insight into the ANC’s views on the present and a constitution for South Africa.

Examples

He said features of systems in Scandinavian countries could offer examples to constitution: builders in South Africa.

Countries like Sweden were democratic, boasted a strong trade union movement and had an advanced state welfare system which guaranteed education, housing and health care.

They had also been poor countries in the not too distant past, “with millions of people leaving Sweden, for example, because of hunger”, he said.

Although Scandinavian countries, and some in southern Africa, could offer helpful examples, Sachs believed the only model for South Africa was South Africa itself.

While group rights were not on the ANC’s agenda — the concept perpetuated apartheid and, if insisted upon, would lead the country along a “very stormy road” — language and cultural rights could be protected. Sachs said a possibility could be the establishment of elected councils to deal with language rights.

The Law Commission’s Bill of Rights proposals corresponded with the ANC’s position on just two points — they rejected the concept of group rights and acknowledged all other rights were meaningless without the right to vote.

Sachs stressed the importance of taking “the constituent assembly route” to a new South Africa. In Namibia the war ended when elections were held for the country’s constituent assembly, which had a “calming effect” on society.

He said there should be debates and discussions at grassroots level on the development of people’s demands for constitutional goals.

The whole society should contribute to the drawing up of a new constitution. Workers’ and women’s charters would have to be attached the constitution.

A charter of “religious rights, freedoms and responsibilities” should be drawn up, and land rights, encompassing rights of tenants, landowners and workers, should be investigated.

Encourage

Sachs said a culture of debate around a future constitution should be encouraged, and groups like the PAC - which should be allowed what he called “the right to be wrong” - had to be drawn into that debate.

He encouraged lawyers of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers to move from their present “defensive role” to one in which they use their skills to work for a new constitution. — PEN
ANC attacks Maokeng violence

THE ANC yesterday denounced the political violence that rocked Maokeng township, near Kroonstad, earlier this week as the work of "political opportunists and cliques who raise our flags and banners and then terrorise supporters of legitimate political organisations."

Azapo, one of the organisations involved, immediately welcomed the "fact that the ANC has set the record straight" after having joined local ANC officials in a call for a ceasefire on Monday night.

Seven people were injured, three seriously, when bitter internecline violence erupted on Monday between alleged supporters of the ANC and Azapo. This came after fighting broke out on Saturday, when people also claiming to be ANC members allegedly "hijacked" a funeral vigil for two Maokeng youths.

ANC organiser for the northern Free State region Chris Ravuku, said yesterday: "We understand that at this funeral some people claiming to be our members hijacked it for their own narrow ends and began fighting with other legitimate political organisations."

He said the ANC was only due to launch branches in the Free State on Saturday. Therefore any groups claiming to recruit or represent the organisation did not have a mandate.

One of the injured in Monday's fighting, Meshack Moeketsa of the Maokeng Youth Congress, said yesterday ANC and Azapo supporters had held a meeting on Monday night where the decision to call a ceasefire between the two groups had been made.

Moeketsa, who was stabbed four times in the fighting, said: "It was decided that those injured would not report the situation to the police as they should not be involved in community affairs."

Moeketsa said ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu would address Maokeng residents on Sunday. — Sapa.
Mandela's European trip delayed a day

TIM COHEN

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, resting after a "minor operation", will leave for Europe on June 4, a day later than planned, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said after visiting Mandela at Park Lane Clinic yesterday.

The clinic's general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, said yesterday a problem identified during a routine check-up on Sunday resulted in Mandela having "minor surgery" on Monday. Cohen said he was under general anaesthetic for about 20 minutes. Cohen declined to specify what the surgery involved, but said the problem would have no effect on Mandela's long-term health.

Mandela was up and about but would remain at the clinic for "a few days". Sapa reports Mandela is expected to pay a fleeting visit to Gabonse on the morning of June 4 for a meeting with Botswana's President Quett Masire. He will later hold a rally at the National Stadium.
SA ‘must create its own law’

African jurisprudence
‘a reservoir of justice’

It is time to stop highlighting the colonial origins of our law, lawyer and writer Albie Sachs told a group of colleagues at a meeting organised recently by the Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Discussing the future of the legal profession in South Africa, Mr Sachs, a member of the African National Congress’s constitutional committee and former dean of the law school at the University of Mozambique, said an important future issue would be the creation of a real South African law.

This would incorporate elements of African law which up to now had been sidelined and had had to “creep in through the back door”, though it was the law of the majority of people in the country.

Much of African jurisprudence constituted an important reservoir of justice, said Mr Sachs, and these areas had to be explored and developed.

South Africanising the law would be impossible, however, without South Africanising the judiciary.

The legal profession in the post-apartheid South Africa would, he believed, function within the framework of a written constitution which would provide a point of reference, ensure fundamental law and “add a new dimension to legal life in this country”.

“Hardly anybody has begun to appreciate what it means to live under a constitution,” he said. “If we have a constitution which will be the great achievement of our generation to have introduced constitutionality to South Africa.”

Significant

Really significant constitutions, said Mr Sachs, were not those left behind by some previous authority but documents created through struggles and in which people had enshrined their ideals and goals.

The constitution would be an important document used by ordinary people to achieve their rights and law in South Africa would be a law that would relate to the constitution.

There would be a new system of political rights and guarantees, freedoms of expression and assembly, a Bill of Rights that would have to be upheld by the courts and other institutions, and a whole new framework of legal operation.

“We don’t have to start from scratch. We have the foundations of a truly South African profession to serve South African law before a South African judiciary.”

But the profession would have to be deracialised. In the 24 years since he had left the country, said Mr Sachs, the ratio of black lawyers to white had barely increased and still stood at below 10 percent.

“The obstacle to blacks entering the profession isn’t just money, it’s a sense of not being welcome. That’s something that statute has prevented. You cannot put the blame on the Government or the National Party, but on the profession for not seeing it as an issue.”

— By PAT SCHWARTZ

Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC’s constitutional committee, recently told lawyers from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies about his views of a future South African legal system.

“Everybody must feel when they go into a court that they are going into a South African court as South Africans.”

Attitudes to the language used in court had to change.

“If we make English and Afrikaans the only languages people can use it is assuming that the courts are restricted to a certain view, a certain culture.

“We can have a language of record but I believe everybody should be free to use their own language in court. If the magistrate doesn’t understand, it’s the magistrate’s problem, not the litigant’s, and the magistrate can have an interpreter.”

Magistrates and judges would have to be drawn from all sections of the community and once that happened, said Mr Sachs, judges would help to re-formulate the law.

He spoke of lay participation in the kind of administration of justice as in England, where magistrates are drawn from the community, and of the need for the introduction of non-racial juries.
Mandela ‘very well’ after op

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is ‘very well’ after minor surgery in a Johannesburg clinic and will leave for Europe on June 4.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada told The Star last night Mr Mandela would leave on his trip only one day later than planned.

“I spent an hour in the clinic visiting him today and he was very, very well. He underwent minor surgery this week, but I cannot confirm what sort of surgery. He is in good spirits, but will remain in hospital definitely until Thursday. He needs a good rest now,” Mr Kathrada said.

He said Mr Mandela would visit Botswana en route to Europe. He will arrive in Gaborone early on June 4 and meet President Masire.

Mr Mandela’s wife, Winnie, said last night that he would have already left the clinic if it were not for the crowds waiting at his Soweto home.

He would possibly be home by the weekend, she said after a 20-minute visit to her husband.

When pressed for details of the operation she would only say: “It is such a minor thing, but it is privileged information.”

The general manager of the clinic has denied Mr Mandela had undergone an operation related to his bladder.

Dr Gordon Cohen was reacting to an earlier independent radio report which claimed the ANC deputy president had been operated on to correct a “cystic condition related to his bladder”.

“It is absolutely not that,” Dr Cohen said. — Staff Reporter-Sapa.
JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's largest youth organisation, the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), is to demand that the government disarm the AWB, Inkatha, the KwaZulu Police and right-wing vigilante factions.

In particular, they said at a press conference here yesterday, they would call on the government to take away "police powers" from KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sayco president Mr Peter Mokaba said they would be taking the Groote Schuur Minute to every family in their communities and simultaneously demand that government does not renege on the public undertakings made at the recent historic meeting, "What is taking place in South Africa is civil war," he said. "People have been put apart by hostile apartheid."

Should the government fail to meet these demands, it would have to allow the "racially oppressed people of this country" to possess firearms for defence purposes and consequently revise all laws governing the purchase and ownership of weapons.

However, Sayco's calls and announcements were made at a time when "peace no longer is distant but a reality within our grasp".

Mr Mokaba said no one in this country should be allowed to own a gun on the basis of race and that, through the ANC, Sayco was party to the Groote Schuur agreement and therefore stood firmly against intimidation.

A solution for the country lay in reconciliation and peace, he said.

"We therefore call for the disarmament of those who, on an ethnic racial basis, are trying to steer this country into war." — Sapa
MABOPANE. — Mr Nelson Mandela's stinging attack on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope at the Pretoria rally at the weekend is unlikely to affect the homeland's effort to meet the ANC.

In reaction to the tongue-lashing, the office of the president in Mmabatho said the attack "did cause some surprise".

It added: "We are a country which has... an attitude of peace, goodwill, harmony and good relationships with our neighbours and organisations of goodwill who are working towards stability and freedom in the sub-continent." — Sapa
MUNICH — Soviet spy Ruth Gerhardt has spoken for the first time about her imprisonment in South Africa.

She was knitting in her cell in Pretoria Central Prison when she heard on the radio that President De Klerk had announced in Switzerland that she was to be freed.

"I haven't knitted a stitch since," she said, speaking for the first time publicly, two days after returning to Switzerland after serving 7½ years of a 10-year sentence.

Between President De Klerk's announcement and her release she had several meetings with her husband, also in Pretoria Central.

But because of the "sensitivity" of Dieter Gerhardt's situation in South Africa Mrs Gerhardt declined to discuss their activities before their arrest.

"Decent farewell"

She added: "In looking back, I don't know if my husband and I always used the right methods in our aim of removing apartheid."

In an exclusive interview from Basle where she is settling back into her life, Mrs Gerhardt said she and her husband had had "a very decent farewell".

"My husband was euphoric about my release. It's given him new hope and I think he was really grateful that I could come home to our son."

The Gerhardts' son, Gregory, is 13 and lived with family friends in Basle during his parents' imprisonment.

"He came to South Africa twice to visit me, but it was too much. It was a terrifying experience, both for me and for him."

Mrs Gerhardt said that apart from those visits the highest point of her prison stay was the surprise call in March from Mr Nelson Mandela.

"It was fantastic, the most unbelievably impressive, moving, comforting visit of all my time in prison," she said. "He gave me a lot of encouragement, support and an assurance that we weren't going to languish very much longer in jail."

"No animosity"

Mrs Gerhardt said she had left South Africa "with no hard feelings" against the authorities. "I have no sense of outrage. I want no animosity."

Her treatment in prison had been "correct" — but, she added with a laugh: "A prison is a prison, you know."

She praised President De Klerk, saying he had shown "tremendous courage in confronting the truth about South Africa and confronting his white constituency."

Mrs Gerhardt said she was particularly worried about "what is happening on the right wing."

Her great fear, she said, was that civil war would break out if apartheid were not dismantled fast enough.

She welcomed moves now being made to end apartheid and said: "I'm pleased that conditions are moving in the right direction, although from my viewpoint much too slowly."

"Know-how"

"I hope for an acceleration and further development of this process, which will lead to a peaceful and democratic coexistence of all South African people."

Mrs Gerhardt said she had begun a bachelor of arts course in prison.

"I have a lot of ideas. South Africa needs a great deal of know-how in educational training, which has been non-existent for blacks."
JOHANNESBURG. — A "ceasefire" between the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation was called late on Monday night following bitter inter-party fighting between the two political groups on Monday which left seven injured.

One of the injured, Mr Meshack Moeketse of the Maokeng Youth Congress, who was reportedly stabbed four times in the fighting, told Sapa yesterday that ANC and Azapo supporters decided that "those injured would not report the situation to the police as they should not be involved in community affairs".

Mr Moeketse said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu was due to come to Kroonstad yesterday "to defuse the situation" but had been forced to postpone the visit until Sunday.

He will address the Maokeng residents on Sunday at the Maokeng stadium. — Sapa
FW ‘no’ to US

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night postponed his visit to the United States indefinitely.

The major reason is the controversy sparked by plans for him to see President George Bush a week before ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

No new date has been set for a visit to the White House but it appears unlikely this year.

The congressional programme and elections now appear to make a visit unlikely until early next year although September has not yet been formally ruled out.

Diplomatic sources said last night that calling off the US visit also meant that trips being considered to African and other European countries were also likely to go by the board.

It also emerged yesterday that President De Klerk had extended invitations to most of the European heads of state on his recent tour to visit South Africa. So far only President Mario Soares of Portugal has accepted.

Diplomats also noted that former President Ronald Reagan had a standing invitation to visit South Africa and that such a formality was likely to be extended to President Bush once Mr De Klerk had finally made a visit to the White House.

Government sources said the ANC had indicated that it was not opposed to Mr De Klerk’s visiting Washington — either before or after Mr Mandela.

The postponement was attributed to a “US-enchased action” by politicians bent on furthering their domestic careers by whipping up controversy about the visit.

Mr Randall Robinson of Trans-Africa and the Rev Jesse Jackson had been arguing that it would be “an insult” for Mr De Klerk to see Mr Bush before Mr Mandela, and a partial boycott of meetings between Mr De Klerk and members of the US Congress was on the cards.

But Mr Mandela himself said last week that it made no difference to him who met Mr Bush first. That prompted Foreign Aff
s Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday to blame the entire diplomatic affair on the US activity and suggest they were “dragging the ANC by the ears”.

Yesterday the 71-year-old Mr Mandela was resting in a Johannesburg clinic after minor surgery and a medical examination in advance of a trip to Europe and an eight-city US tour early next month.

The clinic’s general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, said yesterday that Mr Mandela was
Mandela's world tour itinerary revealed

By Esmeré van der Merwe and Kaizer Nyatsumba

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, still recovering from a minor operation in a Johannesburg hospital this week, will leave on Monday for the most extensive international tour undertaken by a South African politician.

His six-week tour of Europe, the United States, Canada and several African countries could have a major impact on international relations towards South Africa.

Mr Mandela's scheduled itinerary for the 13-nation tour was released yesterday.

Of particular significance will be his visit to Europe, only weeks after President de Klerk's nine-nation tour during which several European states suggested the lifting of some punitive measures against South Africa.

The ANC leader's visit to West Germany, Britain, Switzerland, Italy, France and the Republic of Ireland could have a major impact on the European Community's pending re-evaluation of sanctions on South Africa.

Audience

Included in his list of appointments are meetings with British Premier Margaret Thatcher, President Hillery of the Republic of Ireland and President Mitterrand of France. He has also been granted an audience with Pope John Paul II in Rome.

He is scheduled to address the European Community and European Parliament in Strasbourg on June 13 and 14, and is due to return home on his 73rd birthday, July 18.

His 10-day red carpet visit to the US is regarded as the media event of the year, with US sources saying he will receive the largest reception organised for a non-American.

Park Lane Clinic, general manager Dr Gordon Cohen said yesterday that Mr Mandela was fine and recovering well after his minor operation on Monday.

Last night a statement signed by Mr Mandela and Dr Cohen denied that the ANC leader had undergone treatment for cancer of the colon, after a claim to this effect had been brought to Dr Cohen's attention.
ANC will not accept Boerestaat – Mbeki

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Addressing white fears was central to the struggle for a non-racial democracy because these fears “and the need for one million licensed gun-owners” were the direct results of the immoral and undemocratic apartheid system, ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

He was speaking at an anti-Republic Day protest at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr Mbeki said whites should be drawn into the debate on a new dispensation and should be encouraged to exercise their democratic rights.

ANC executive member Aziz Pahad said the concept of a Boerestaat was unacceptable to the ANC, which was striving for a united, non-racial democracy.

Mr Mbeki stressed the need for the establishment of a constituent assembly which should be elected by all South Africans on a one man, one vote basis.

Negotiations could not proceed unless the negotiators were mandated by their supporters and thus accountable to their constituencies.

To applause from a crowd of about 6 000 students, academics and university workers, he said: “Treurnicht says the CP has more support than Mr de Klerk; the PAC claims it has the majority support in Soweto; Inkatha says it is the most formidable black force in the country. We say ‘let the people decide, let’s settle the great numbers debate for once and for all’.”

An interim government acceptable to all South Africans should rule the country during the transitional phase.

Mr Mbeki rejected President de Klerk’s suggestion of a white referendum to test support for a new constitution, saying all South Africans should take part in such a referendum.

Mr Pahad said there would be no need for “a massive military machine” or forced conscription in a new South Africa.
US tour fears on Mandela’s health

WASHINGTON. — The organisers of Mr Nelson Mandela’s American tour fear that the hectic schedule could put too much strain on his health.

However, the general manager of the private clinic in which he is recuperating said yesterday that the ANC vice-president would be fit to travel to Africa, Europe and America.

Yesterday Mr Mandela and the clinic’s general manager, Dr Gordon Cohen, issued a statement denying rumours that he had undergone treatment for cancer of the colon.

It said he had been admitted “for a condition neither of long-term consequence nor in any way related to malignancy”.

Mr Mandela is due to visit 13 countries in a six-week tour starting next Wednesday. The ANC said yesterday, however, that his programme might be altered during the tour.

US tour organisers in the US are suggesting that instead of visiting eight cities, Mr Mandela should limit himself to New York and Washington.

Their concerns are shared by the State Department which has quietly been urging Mr Mandela to cut back on public appearances and rely upon television and the press instead.

The appeal has thus far gone unheeded by local ANC representatives.

US tour co-ordinator Mr Roger Wilkins said anti-apartheid groups were demanding time with Mr Mandela without much thought for his physical well-being. He was trying to persuade them that “we are talking about a human being, not an ambulatory photo opportunity.” — Own Correspondent and Sapa
It’s blacks who are the victims of black politics

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN
South African Institute of Race Relations executive director

AS THE new South Africa dawns, several ANC leaders have gone out of their way to reassure whites. “We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots,” said Mr Nelson Mandela a few days after his release. “Whites need have no fears,” echoed Mr Walter Sisulu at the end of April.

But what about blacks? The vast majority of deaths in political violence this year is in black-on-black violence. This violence, more or less concentrated in Natal over the past two years, is now flaring up elsewhere.

Thus in 1986, 1986 and 1987 deaths in Natal averaged around 19% of the total. In 1988 Natal’s share jumped to 73% and last year to 91%. In the first three months of this year Natal’s share dropped back to 73%.

Areas which saw little or no political disturbance last year have flared up in 1990, notably the Orange Free State, several Transvaal homelands, and the Ciskei.

‘People’s war’

The white Press writes page after page about right-wing hit squads but, with the exception of Natal, much black-on-black violence is barely reported. Even necklacings are hardly reported, not to mention brutality meted out by people’s courts.

Newspapers that have strongly opposed government pressures on themselves to conform seem much less concerned about the far more powerful pressures for conformity that exist in anti-government circles in black townships.

Several members of the government have tended almost to pooh-pooh calls for continued “armed struggle” as “rhetoric”, but this hardly squares with the facts. Even on a narrow definition of the term, “armed struggle” has been increasing.

However, political violence means a great deal more than insurgency attacks.

Mr Mandela said, after the Groote Schuur talks, that his organisation would look “very hard and earnestly” into the armed struggle. The Press has widely interpreted this as effectively promising at least to suspend it.

But will the suspension include a suspension of what was once called the “people’s war”? In a broadcast on Radio Freedom in 1986 the ANC defined the “total aggregate of a people’s war” to include rent strikes, bus boycotts, mass marches, barricades, stay-at-homes, strikes, militant demonstrations and the creation of people’s courts, not to mention the use of petrol bombs and the like. People’s war was also seen as encompassing strategies to “overthrow puppets” on township councils.

Councilors

Is this still the strategy? In December last year the “conference for a democratic future” passed a resolution calling on “our people and organisations to mobilise our forces to organise and intensify the struggle”.

The “dismantling of puppet structures of local government” was specified as an objective, along with the initiation of “a process leading to the dismantling of all bantustans”.

Is it then coincidence that there has been political violence in most of the homelands this year? Is it coincidence that in the Transvaal in particular there has been a renewed spate of resignations of black town councillors which the Transvaal Provin-
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Is it then coincidence that there has been political violence in most of the homelands this year? Is it coincidence that in the Transvaal in particular there has been a renewed spate of resignations of black town councillors which the Transvaal Provincial Administration has blamed on pressure that includes intimidation and violence?

"They live behind barbed wire. Their cars are petrol bombed, their houses stoned. Some have suffered gruesome deaths at the hands of angry mobs," reported one newspaper.

Few people have clean hands when it comes to violence in South Africa, whether one is talking about assassination squads on the Right or people carrying out necklace executions on the Left.

**UDF and Azapo**

As far as the police are concerned, the fact that no one was brought to justice for either the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 or the killings in Soweto on June 16 1976, no doubt created the impression that they could act with impunity.

In Natal it is obvious that supporters on each side of the conflict have blood on their hands.

One of the striking aspects of the renewed violence outside Natal this year is that the name of the UDF or its affiliates crops up more extensively than that of any other organisation. In Bekkersdal, a township on the West Rand, it has been fighting with Azapo. The UDF has also been involved in conflict with Azapo in Natal. In kwaNobuhle, a township outside Uitenhage, there have been years of feuding between UDF supporters and Africanists. Deaths in conflict between the UDF on the one hand and Azapo or the Africanists on the other, amounted to 16 in the three years 1987 to 1989, a figure which jumped to 26 in the first three months of this year. The UDF has also been involved in conflict with Azapo in Natal and elsewhere.

**'One will'?**

For some time now other black groups have been accusing the UDF of attacking them. In April, Azapo said the UDF was attacking its supporters "everywhere in the country". In March Azapo alleged that "the Charterist movement leadership does nothing to dispel the legitimate black fear that it is grossly intolerant of political persuasions different from its own".

The UDF has denied all this but some of the talk in the UDF camp is spine-chilling. "We are committed to a multi-party system but would rather not have to have one because everyone supports us," a regional official said recently. He predicted that the new South Africa would probably have its own Unitas and Renamoos, because not everyone could be expected to fall in with the new constitution.

Another prominent figure in that camp recently said that "community strategies are an expression of the will of the people". Only totalitarians think "the people" have only one will.

The ANC denies that it ever claimed to be the only representative of black South Africans. Perhaps not in so many words, but presumably the reference in the so-called Harare Declaration to the "liberation movement" in the singular was not simply a question of sloppy grammar.

**Independent**

ANC officials now appear to accept that there will be people other than themselves and the South African government at the constitutional negotiating table but they appear to be working for a two-sided negotiation table. The intention is apparently that the government and its supporters will sit on the one side and the ANC and its allies on the other.

Excluded is the possibility that black organisations may wish to sit at the table independently of both the government and the ANC.

It is to be hoped that any attempt by anybody to dictate either the shape of the negotiating table or where the various parties should sit will be strongly resisted by the government. This is an issue on which it should make no compromises.
The Gerhardt's were wanted by the father to leave South Africa. In 1985, the family was granted asylum in Switzerland. They settled in Bern, in the heart of the country, where they started a new life. The children continued their education in Swiss schools, and the parents worked to establish themselves in the local community. The Gerhardt's lived a peaceful life, away from the turmoil of apartheid South Africa. They were grateful for the opportunity to live in freedom, and they continued to advocate for human rights and justice. They remained in Switzerland until 1994, when they returned to South Africa to help in the transition to democracy. The Gerhardt's story is one of courage, resilience, and hope, and they continue to inspire others with their commitment to justice and equality.
THE ANC has scoffed at suggestions of a military coup by disenfranchised white rightwingers, describing their threats as "just the fear of a few radical elements who find it difficult to accept change".

Joe Nhlanhla, head of the movement's department of security and intelligence, said only "desperate elements" would think of such an act.

"It would be hopeless. They wouldn't get any international backing," said Nhlanhla.

He was responding to reports that a rightwing military coup or mutiny may be in the offing as State President FW de Klerk tries to introduce a "new" South Africa.

Coup

Lately, the official opposition Conservative Party has claimed there is a massive resistance in the SAPDF to De Klerk's reform programme.

The National Party and the Democratic Party have warned rightwingers may plan a coup or mutiny.

Nhlanhla said there could be no attempt of a coup by a rightwing group or a section of the army.

"There is a general feeling in South Africa today that the status quo cannot remain any longer, that the stability in the country can only be brought about by the introduction of universal suffrage.

"It is only a minority who want to maintain the status quo."

A confident Nhlanhla expressed confidence that the process leading to majority rule was now irreversible.

He said the representation of a military coup would be too disastrous for South Africa.

"Not only will there be bloodshed, but the country will be isolated to such an extent that it wouldn't be able to recover from such a foolish act."

He said South Africa at the moment was trying hard to enter into a situation of "non-isolation".

"Western countries will definitely refuse to support such a coup. Besides, instability won't be in the interest of the people as a whole."

"There is a realisation deeper and deeper that a democratic, non-racial South Africa is not far off. I am optimistic that sooner or later we will prevail in this country."

Nhlanhla spoke to MONO BADELA in Johannesburg:

But he said more pace would have to be exerted to be able to resolve the problems facing the country. A national consultative assembly was fundamental.

The South African government had been involved in Nhlanhla securing that stage, "so they cannot say it is not suitable for South Africa."

Nhlanhla said the main function of his department was to protect the ANC leadership and its membership.

"Our intelligence and security is defensive in nature — gathering information to protect our interests. We have no hit squads."

On the issue of dissidents who have recently arrived in South Africa, Nhlanhla said their return to South Africa meant "a lot of good for the movement."

"They themselves admit they played a leading role in a uprising in 1984. The ANC did not throw them out into the wilderness. They were given an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves. Many of them were helped with scholarships to study in places such as Sweden after they had been transferred to Tanzania. This is an indication of the humanitarian policy of the ANC."

"They are our people who have been decapitated and used by the enemy. Some of them have been held for participating in assassinations and spying."

Nhlanhla said among those were some who had been given specific instructions to assassinate members of the ANC's national executive committee — including president Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Modise and Jacob Zuma.

Some of them had been members of the hit squads.

He said no government could tolerate assassins. Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the "army of the future," was well disciplined.

Nhlanhla grew up in the movement. He was a leader of the ANC Youth League while studying at Kelvinator Institute.

Mandela

He was detained with ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, during the first state of emergency in 1960.

Nhlanhla left the country on foot for Botswana in April 1964 and joined MK. He later studied Economics and National Planning in Moscow.

He was chief representative of the ANC in the Middle East and in Egypt from 1973 to 1978, the ANC's administrative secretary from 1978 to 1983, and secretary of the ANC's political military committee from 1983 to 1987.

After the reorganisation of the ANC's structure in 1986, he was chosen to head the department of security and intelligence.

His mother and brother from Alexandra were at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport when Nhlanhla and other delegates of the movement arrived from Cape Town after the historic talks with the government at the beginning of May.

"It was nice to touch down ground after 26 years. When I landed at the airport, I felt as if I had never left South Africa. For a while, so many years we refused to be exiled."

Mixbox

"Our minds are in South Africa all the time. We are physically here but mentally a lot to me."

He said South Africa had not changed much since the liberation of the Johannesburg city centre had been improved.

"But, in the meantime, the mixbox bohemia are still there. Alexandra is still the same Alex I left nearly 30 years ago. The same can be said about other black townships elsewhere."

On negotiations, Nhlanhla said it was a "very serious and important part of the struggle."

"All countries that have attained their freedom and independence had to go through negotiations." He said it would be irresponsible for the ANC not to accept the opportunity of negotiating the resolution of problems.

"One death that can be avoided means a lot. We will do our best to avoid any further loss of life. We hope to have a mutually-agreed cessation of fire."

Nhlanhla said there was no purpose in continuing with the fight when a negotiated settlement could be reached. The armed struggle was to ensure that democracy and majority rule was achieved.

"This armed struggle has played its role and brought us to a point where a peaceful solution is possible. No leader can say we have got to die now," Nhlanhla said.
her prison torture willing to forgive

Superpsy Olivia is

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LETS BURY THE HATCHET

SUPER Psy Olivia is

STIPED 7-17170

May 27 1980
Cry out against the tyranny of the majority

KEN OWEN

That's nice. It implies that the ANC and the Nationalists are already agreed that there shall be a bill of rights. But can Sisulu speak for, say, the PAC, if fortune should bring a PAC majority to power? Can he, indeed, speak for some of his Communist Party colleagues? After all the benign Augustus comes the evil Caligula, and what good will assurances do when Mandela is replaced by some beastly little thug who learned his politics in the Ukraine?

That's even so great a legal system as our unique combination of Roman Dutch and English law, and how executive-minded judges can make the courts instruments of the oppressive will of the majority.

An independent judiciary, in short, is a necessity but not a sufficient condition for the safety of minorities; a justiciable constitution is essential and it is a pity that neither Viljoen nor Sisulu speaks of it.

Viljoen demands a free market system (Point 4), security of title and an assurance against arbitrary expropriation without compensation (Point 5). Sisulu wants a mixed economy that will include state-owned industry, and he concedes security of title, with the proviso that the white minority cannot continue to hold 85% of the land.

Land reform is clearly a political necessity, and it may not be a bad thing, provided that compensation is not paid according to corrupt formulae by which the Nationalists robbed black and coloured people of their property. Nor is there any need to be alarmed by the prospect of state-owned enterprises which are useful instruments of political patronage. They offer a way to be corrupt without looking corrupt, and appearances do matter.

The danger, however, is that one thing will lead to another: inefficient state enterprises will pre-empt scarce capital resources, often wildly as the Post Office and Eskom have done, and they will lobby for the state to protect them against competition, or to crush competitors and control suppliers. Such is the totalitarian imperative of socialism; only a saint could resist it.

Then come the tricky ones: Viljoen wants to secure the right for people who so desire to live in their own communities, and he wants private schools to receive equal government assistance. Sisulu rejects any race-based schooling, and says tautly that in a free society everybody lives where he pleases.

The result must be deadlock, unless both men can be persuaded to accept the liberal answer: let the market determine residential patterns (as it has long determined the pattern of English and Afrikaans communities), and let those who don't like the public school system run their own schools, at their own cost. Just keep the bureaucrats out of it.

The DP represents mainly English voters who have learned to survive the tyranny of an Afrikaner electoral majority and who will no doubt learn to survive the tyranny of a black electoral majority. They have not wielded power since 1910, and they cannot hope for the power in this country.

Their experience as electoral underdogs has taught them a lesson which they can offer, as their unique contribution to the new South Africa, to the greater folk of the new South Africa: the power of the majority is a monster that destroys those who oppose it, and corrupts those who possess it.

Every true liberal, noting the danger, will demand at least that the bill of rights be justiciable so that it will serve as the yardstick against which an independent judiciary may measure all laws and all actions of the new government — like the American constitution, or the German "basic law" — and strike down those laws with which the majority tries to oppress the minorities.

Both Viljoen and Sisulu do accept (Point 10) an independent judiciary, but we have seen how the appointment of a Chief Justice like Mr Justice L C Steyn can distort and twist its impartiality. We offer a way to be corrupt without looking corrupt, and appearances do matter.
was savagely beaten

says the ex-spy

NEVER!

of hell camp guard
pleads the warden

Forgive me!

Sunday Times May 20 1990
Research shows the PAC’s influence is greater than any time since Sharpeville

The ANC and the PAC have signed a peace accord amid sign that the PAC’s influence is again on the rise.

A committee comprising six members of each organisation has been established to monitor implementation of the accord. The two organisations have agreed there must be freedom of association and expression, the right to organise and to belong to different political organisations.

The peace talks follow concern voiced by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo about strife in Transvaal and Free State townships which led to deaths and destruction of property.

Azapo’s national projects organiser Muntu Myeza said Azapo, the PAC and ANC had agreed on the need to establish a “culture of democracy” and that unity among liberation movements was of prime importance.

Meanwhile, the PAC, which until now has opposed negotiations with the government on the basis that they are unlikely to lead to gains for the black majority, this week acknowledged it might participate in negotiations under certain conditions.

The PAC has always maintained that the issues of the return of the land to the African majority, a redistribution of wealth and agreement on a non-racial, democratically elected constituent assembly must precede any peace talks with the government.

However, the PAC is also intensifying the armed struggle against government targets, especially the SA Police. The external wing of the PAC last week claimed responsibility for several hand-grenade attacks on police targets.

SA Institute of Internal Affairs researcher Gary van Staden said: “If the prominence of the PAC in helping to shape South African history over the past 30 years was on a graph, the resulting line would bear a strong resemblance to a roller-coaster track. From a series of peaks and valleys in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the PAC entered a period of protracted decline which was to last for some two decades. Events and developments since the first few months of 1985, however, suggest the PAC’s roller-coaster ride is not yet over and the organisation’s influence may again be on the rise.”

The PAC was officially launched in April 1959 after years of tension in the ANC led to an Africanist breakaway. Robert Mugabe and Ndaba were elected first president and the philosophy of Africanism was adopted.

The main reason for the Africanist split was opposition to the role of white and communist (Marxism being seen as an “alien” philosophy, irrelevant to Africa) members of the ANC.

The “Manifesto of the Africanist Movement” was presented to the PAC’s founding congress. This summarises the Africanist historical view of Africa from the mid-15th century, saying the expressions of markets caused by commercial and industrial capital resulted in the plunder and rape of Africa, which was colonised and “civilised” according to Western norms under the guise of Christian trusteeship.

It says the African people were dispossessed of their land and rights as human beings and that the concept of “multi-racialism” in the decolonising period which followed World War II was a thinly disguised mechanism for maintaining white control.

Broadyly, the Africanist position has five main constitutional principles: 
- The establishment of an Africanist socialist, democratic order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.
- Universal adult suffrage on a non-racial basis.
- A unitary multi-party state which strives for the freedom of all in Africa and the consolidation of bonds of African nationalism on a pan-African basis.
- Common ownership of land and resources; and
- No protection guaranteed in a Bill of Rights but no minority or group guarantees.

The PAC does not define an “African” in terms of race, but in terms of culture.

Last year, PAC president Zeph Madophan said this to say: “We believe in non-racial democratic rule of the African people of Azania. A person must accept this. We do not look at the colour of his skin. He or she looks at his or her loyalty. For example, I say there are no ‘Indian’ people here, but people of eastern origin, provided they have become Africanised.”

“The same applies to people of European origin. A person is an African if his or her loyalty is to Africa and he accepts the non-social democratic decisions of the African people.”

Nevertheless, despite repeated statements by PAC leaders since 1985 claiming the organisation is not anti-white, the slogan “One Shooter, One Bullet” keeps cropping up and the anti-white image persists.

While the PAC supports all forms of struggle, it has always stressed armed struggle. Until the mid-1980s, the present chairman, Johnson Mbombo was elected in 1985, the PAC’s armed wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) was generally regarded as ineffective.

Official government statistics showed that during 1986 the number of Apla insurgents or sympathisers “neutralised” (a euphemism for killed or captured) was 38, more than the combined total for the previous 10 years. During 1987, this figure rose to 85.

To put this Apla activity into perspective, the official number of the ANC’s military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe “neutralised” in 1986 was 660 and in 1987 was 446.

Diplomatically, the PAC enjoys, along with the ANC, “official liberation movement” status at the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement. Since 1980, the PAC has established diplomatic contact with a number of countries which previously only had contact with the ANC.

PAC attempts to gain ground inside South Africa have made significant progress in recent years. The Pan African Movement was formed in December 1989 with the objective of mobilising support for the PAC and Africanism. Since the embellishing of the PAC and ANC, groups in 1992, other organisations have begun recruiting members.

The second largest trade union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, which claims to represent 240,000 workers, is also regarded as supportive of the Africanist position. However, they have never reached the same level of co-ordinating activities as the ANC and Cosatu.

While both the PAC and ANC have stressed the need for unity, political observers believe that behind the rhetoric, very little is likely to be achieved at a grassroots level.

PAC secretary for economic affairs Mfanasekya Gobo recently spoke out the PAC’s attitude to the ANC: “Despite our criticisms the ANC of today remains an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-racist organisation. For these reasons, it is on the side of the oppressed, and it can be a role to play against the white minority regime. It is important to underscore this point. It is all the more important as both the PAC and the ANC should form a united front against the common enemy.”

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been highly critical of the PAC, which he said had been unable to mount “a single mass campaign” inside the country.

ANC leaders generally have criticised the PAC for its lack of a political programme and its apparent disregard for mass-based protest actions.

As far as the Black Consciousness Movement, which includes Azapo, and the PAC is concerned, there is more common ground between the two than sharp differences, including a distrust of white “liberals” and contempt for the so-called “multi-racialism” of the ANC’s Freedom Charter. The Azanian Manifesto, adopted by Azapo in 1983, reflected the main principles of the Africanist Manifesto, although Azapo draws heavily on Marxism-Leninism.

Van Staden’s report concludes that while the PAC holds greater influence in South African politics than it has at any time since the Sharpeville uprising in 1960, when opinion polls showed it leading the ANC— it still trails the ANC by a very significant degree and is unlikely to catch up.

In prospects of launching a “people’s war” appear unlikely at this stage to progress beyond the “armed propaganda” phase, and the ability of the government’s security forces to infiltrate and crush insurrection cannot be underestimated.

On the question of negotiations, Van Staden says: “The PAC might well find itself forced to negotiate by a combination of a number of factors, including the possibility that it could find itself in the cold and watching from the sidelines while the ANC assumes control of the political system in South Africa. If a real negotiation gets under way in South Africa, the PAC would find itself forced to compete, whether or not its preconditions had been met.” — ANO
Three months of freedom

Mandela

Walking a tightrope in quest for a free SA

By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

There is an image which keeps recurring when people talk about Nelson Mandela: it's an image which might offend but which nevertheless seems to have taken root in public perception of the man who was once the world's most famous prisoner.

A Kwazulu Natal high school student puts it succinctly: "It's just like the story of Jesus. He was prepared to die for his nation."

The student did not wish himself or his school to be named, proving that although South African political life is opening up, many South Africans are still yet convinced of their freedom to speak.

Whether you view Mandela as saviour or pariah depends largely upon the political company you keep and is an indication of the tightrope the ANC's deputy president is having to walk in his quest for a free South Africa.

Common fare

Three months into his freedom, Mandela's face, voice and public manner have become common fare on television and in the newspapers. But is the man living up to the mythical reputation created by his long imprisonment?

Township opinion is divided.

Pan African Student's Organisation (Paso) whose views run something like this:

The ANC has no business talking to the government because there should be no negotiation, rather a "transfer of power" to the majority.

The PAC view on Mandela was explained thus: "The PAC does not believe the release of Nelson Mandela is the ushering in of a new era because the struggle for liberation cannot be waged by one man. People should arm themselves and free themselves."

Scepticism

Mandela's status is ascribed to the build-up given to him by the "liberal white Press" and he is criticized for "failing to bring sanity in Natal" and for sitting down to talks with the government.

Voicing the scepticism of some political people, domestic worker Miss Zonile Maka- lusa said: "I don't think he is going to do what he said he was going to do in jail. I think maybe the state will pay him some money so he can do what he promised. Everybody likes money."

The historic official picture of President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela issued on the day before his release from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, in the motor car carrying them from the prison to the Grand Parade, Cape Town, after his release.
The Khayelitsha incident, a number of the Township Students' Congress (Teto) and of his school's Student Representative Council, echoes the ANC's official line.

"If I did get things wrong as was Mandela was released, I won't build in one day."

Mandela had not disappointed because his three months of freedom "he has tried to bring peace to the people" and called for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the lifting of the State of Emergency.

The meeting between the ANC and the government was right because they were not going to negotiate but to remove stumbling blocks towards negotiation, as the ANC was forced they have tried to negotiate with the ruling government. Now the government is willing to negotiate because of pressure from the people.

"Too old"

His expectation for the time it would take before change was "six to eight months."

Did anything shock him when he was released? "I find that he is too old now."

The split between the ANC and the opposing PAC was put by this student to be approximately 73 percent in his school. Tosco's opposition comes from the farthest end of the political spectrum and the ANC is a very long way but he didn't have the vote. Obviously, he is not the bottom line for people in the situation there is the age-old fear of what happens if the majority can vote.

A University of Cape Town student was more pessimistic. "My impression is that initial he made an extremely good impression and the way he presented himself was very refreshing, but unfortunately now that he has been exposed to the world of politics again he has sunk to political rhetoric."

In the business world, Mandela's name is music to some people's ears.

"We need investment from outside for South Africa to grow. It is not going to come from a socialist or an capitalist country will only invest if it can get an adequate return."

Many in the ANC accepted this view but others were looking for an immediate improvement, Mr. McCarthy said.

"I think Nelson Mandela has lived up to expectations. What has happened in the three months since his release has been good. Now he's out in the open he no longer is a mystical figure in a semi godlike state."

The people in the rural areas are having to put money where their mouth is and to be understood and manipulated by politicians.

"He was a symbol. By releasing him he has been changed from a symbol into a man."

Pictures that tell the Mandela story


A MONG the plethora of books on Nelson Mandela's release from prison, none quite so emotively captures the atmosphere and drama of his life's work, and all the events which shaped his career, as does this extraordinary volume of photographs taken by some of South Africa's most talented newspaper and magazine photographers.

Compiled by Berlin-born, Jorgen Schouboe, the first photographer appointed to the staff of Drum magazine, the book contains a wealth of photographic material, drawn mainly from the pages of Drum, but also from other sources, as well as historical photographs of the earliest years of the ANC.

The text — concise and unobtrusive in what is essentially an illustrated history — includes words by prominent figures in the ANC, and there are forewords by Walter Sisulu and Helen Joseph, and an introduction by the entrepreneur who gave life to Drum, Mr. R.A. Bailey.

The photographs, invariably chosen more for their evocative new value than for their artistic excellence — but many of them combining both — trace the origins of the momentous happenings we are now witnessing in South Africa; the haphazard and scattered passage of events which, looked at in retrospect, have a relentless logic about them which perhaps escaped many of us at the time.

Thus one looks with nostalgia at the first Nelson Mandela's appearance in front of the camera, of the Defence Campaign of the 1950s, the first Treason Trial and other far-off events and one recognizes the foundations upon which today's ANC was built.

With the incomparable power to move, which is the hallmark of a good news photograph, it is possible to comprehend the definitive ANC story with a new and arresting clarity; to decipher the oft-enigmatic threads which run with a relentless logic from those turbulent years right through to the present.

Many of the photographs demonstrate how long the struggle for recognition has raged. A classic photograph taken at a school in England at the turn of the century shows a solitary black face — the photograph is among the most powerful anti-apartheid images which have appeared in the past years, which is the most compelling political image of our time. Meanwhile, there is an official photograph of the 1948 ANC delegation to England to protest against the Land Act, and one of Sol Plaatje as the organizing secretary of the ANC.

But what unifies this eclectic collection most forcefully are the photographs of Nelson Mandela. For Nelson Mandela, first president of the ANC youth wing in his early years as a leader, and thereafter in his diverse roles right up to the present. With him are seen scenes of activists of yesterday, the dignified Albert Luthuli, the fiery Ruth First, the youthful Oliver Tambo, and many others down the years. There are some unexpected glimpses of the past — Dr D F Malan in full cry, the crumpled dead at Sharpeville, an occasional newspaper front page, and shots of the many monuments which have honored the sacrifices of the people who agonized years ago.
PAC bids high but its bluff may be called

The PAC is on intent on outbidding the ANC — a strategy that seems to be working in the short-term. However, reports gained from ANC sources, indicate that the Africanists will have to declare all their cards.

I n politics, as in poker, bluffing is part of the game. When you’ve lost a few rounds and don’t yet know the score, on the other hand, you may have to take a chance and double down. If someone calls your bluff, you face a difficult choice. You can either raise the stakes and risk losing, or fold and hope you’ll be dealt a hand that really counts.

Outbidding the African National Congress is the play being made by the PAC. It’s a high-stakes game, and there’s little doubt that, in the short term, it’s reaping rewards.

In a tense political South African politics is a game where few players are inclined to fold. Like everyone else the PAC had better be sure they’re playing with a full deck when they consider how to raise the ante.

Having excluded themselves from at least the opening round of the negotiation process, the PAC faces a pyrrhic dilemma.

“They can continue trying to outbid the ANC only until the negotiations reach the point of bargaining for power,” says South African Institute of International Affairs analyst Harry van Staden. “At that point they face two choices — they can try and pretend that the ANC is underbidding them, or they can enter the negotiation process and lose all the advantages of their outmaneuvering faculty.”

For the moment the PAC is bidding high only the ANC has no choice. But the ANC is not a single entity, and there is a strain between the government, the ANC and the other parties who will fail to deliver the goods.

The information officer of the PAC, Prince, told the Mail, said the organisation would stay out of negotiations and the government gives way on the issues of one person one vote in a unitary South Afri-

“Within the ANC, this is precisely why they are entering negotiations. Nicole says the PAC view is based on the fact that negotiation is illegal because it excludes the Africanist perspective.

“We believe we should not be nego-
tiating these things, therefore we will not enter negotiations until we have a seat at the table.”

For the moment rejecting negotia-
tions is the easy option. However, the PAC will face the problem of how to react when there are talks taking to the enemies.

While it has been stated that it will suspend the armed struggle once the obstacles are overcome, the PAC has not yet announced any removal of the PAC has given no indication that it is willing to accept the resolution of the PAC's armed conflict.

It is not clear whether the PAC's armed conflict is still ongoing as the group has not confirmed any recent acts of violence.

At the beginning of this month, the PAC announced that it had suspended its armed struggle and called for a cease-fire.

However, the PAC has not provided any details of the steps it has taken to end the conflict.

The division, corruption and open conflicts, which characterised the PAC in its first two decades, is being avoided when former Robben Island prisoner Umberto was elected chairman of the organisation.

No such step was taken by the PAC in 1994 as the ANC did not accept it.

The PAC suspended its activities for several months after the election, which was attended by more than 4 000 people.

The PAC has set up its Western Cape headquarters in a building in Cape Town and it has also set up offices in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The PAC is supported by the DA and the ANC, which is a significant development in South Africa.

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It has a clear right to exist in the ANC, which is a significant development in South Africa.

With its higher profile, better resources and longer history the PAC is a serious contender against the ANC in the election.

The PAC is well-positioned to take advantage of the ANC's weaknesses in the election and to challenge the ANC's dominance in the Western Cape.

The PAC's success in the election will depend on its ability to appeal to the electorate in the Western Cape and in the rest of South Africa.

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Sachs is right, but we cultural workers HAVE done innovative work.

ALBIE SACHS’ paper has been welcomed by three different constituencies and has sent tremors through a fourth. Firstly, it has pleased many mandarins who craft sharp lines, who have been affronted by the crackle and din outside the imperial bowl on defiance day.

Alongside the above, there have been welcome signs from another constituency — for many years they have carried out a guerrilla book-war against the format: a more radical intelligentsia argued both for political art and standards. This intellectual formation of the new, based at universities, had a significant influence on literary studies, but had very little impact on the aesthetic models generated by practitioners in the arts and architecture.

Frank Marzec identifies a series of writers, poets, and artists from Njabulo Ndebele to yours truly, who have for some time argued for internal criteria and standards within the grassroots energy of oppositional and/or resistance formations.

Fourthly, among cultural workers who saw their contribution as a “weapon” in a variety of contexts, this paper has been ambiguous and imbecile. Some see it as the National Cultural Desk’s response, as reported by Phil Moulid in the Weekly Mail, and similar has been the talk in all contexts I have been involved in.

Many cultural workers are asking whether their work has been “wrong”, “naïve” or “deliberately and real conscious”, and such re-examination can be very fruitful. Yet Sachs’ piece is fascinating because at no stage does it undertake a thorough critique of the main excesses of those “bittered” and “practised”.

Having been caught between the third and the fourth responses around me, and having been swallowed by both side-tracks and confusions, I need to enter the fray in defence of some of our frail elders.

Some writers are very well-founded: the quality of much revolutionary art has been poor, the formalization of T-shirt design and posters lacked the playfulness of the imagination; the drab slabs and half-baked lines created on many occasions an emotional impasse; to defend these for their necessity at a specific historical moment must not be confused with a defence of craft.

Nevertheless, he is treading a difficult path when he questions the presence of oppression in its “atmosphere through people’s words: “Our rulers are like eels in a cage and hunts every picture,” in which “everything is obsessed with the oppressors and the trauma they have imposed.” However provocative and accurate, it is also being simplistic: instead, it is through the struggles of state and this atrocity, this grief, that hope and more complex emotions could be articulated.

Most commentators on cultural affairs have strange relationships to the grassroots energies that have engendered us through oral modes and performance-games. Here, in this crackle and din, the fixation of a canvas, a line on a page, a record that can be replayed, gets unaligned to roll over into a continuum of sound and gesture — usually away from the critics’ sense (therefore, distant and inaccessible).

Most often we ignore that performance contexts leads me to claim, to deaf ears usually too, that major formal innovations are being achieved in poetry, choir work, dance and the theatrical arts; these innovations, I add, are also affecting screenwriting at the same time these innovations are learning from scribes in exciting new ways; these innovations, we keep on repeating, have been brought about by the coinage of creativity and social mobilization.

Natal, like in so many other places, grassroots creators have known how fragile their bodies were and how they got broken in jail, how they got pierced real easy by spouts; how they got shunted real easy in the townships and schools; how by breathing out and breathing in — they knew all along that their only “esthetic weapons” had been their bodies and what their brains remembered or reimagined into stories; through these, a physical, grotesque, humorous, a tribal, extreme theatre of sound and gesture emerged whose zest and dynamism captivates and surprises. The resistance on quest without a careful examination of the internal criteria that make up such works is re-gratuitous.

Nevertheless, we must all concur with Sachs when he pleads: “Let us write better poems, let us make better films...” We must take up the challenge, echo the sentiment and ask ourselves how we need to move from the surface to a more substantive analysis. We know that artists abstract in their own peculiar way from a complex structure of impulses — impulses that are pressing onto the core of their imagination. Such impulses originate from apprenticeships under other creators, from direct experience, from schooling, from, in short, a whole range of stimuli that affect our consciousness and in many cases our “biostructure”, our body of creating also inconceivable blocks which prohibit expressivity of many kinds.

For example, my class, my race, my colour, has much to do with what I draw from to compose my lines, whether it would be Rihab, Celeba, Nercena, Cetshane, Dikóbe, Buchman or Qhoba. The way I relate to aesthetic elites and, depending on my aesthetic capacities or my ability, to my craft. I could transform those stimuli to something that approximates works of art. I know from my educational range I could try and change my aesthetic vocabulary.

Most grassroots creators are creating under different conditions and hardships. It is precisely this that shifts the focus from creativity to cultural work: we have come to know that unless conditions for creativity are transformed, there is no way that such aesthetic freedom can be entertained. This is why in the labour movement, through the Congress of South African Trade Unions locals, through projects like the Culture and Working Life Project, and increasingly through the Congress of South African Writers and many more, we have been struggling to change those conditions, to nutshell: the cultural workers. We have enjoyed a lot of diversity in writing and performing styles. In our events migrant workers learnt their conditions in a variety of tongues, next to novellists struggling with their common youth slang nonts, to lyrical poets; satire and issues trying to bog.”

We have been trained to appreciate Sifiso Mkhize’s paintings full of awesome images, but we have also learnt to appreciate the eclectic variety of a designer like Zange. We have listened to the lines of Qhoba but also to the lines of Mthunzi Mbhaza, and the differences are enormous. This has been one of our strengths.

We realized that despite our differences there were common sensibilities: from the mine and farm to the intellectual’s office. From all quarters an attempt was made to come to terms with our experience of a South Africa in turmoil; moving towards a revolutionary new future. And we knew, to quote Qhoba that “the dying donkey’s still kicked final hard blows”.

In this context the best work developed around five principles (despite the way they were expressed):

• It was marked by a principle of hope, of redemption, of freedom.
• It was haunted by the spectre of death — it was a funerary craft full of overtures and sounds of transience.
• It asserted defiance and in its rhythms and gestures it was defiant.
• It assumed a total familiarity with the people, but tried to reach them in unfamiliar ways.
• It was self-critical.

Furthermore, within our organisations we have also witnessed many creative struggles by individuals, by women, by collectives, by township youth and by workers.

We have worked with individuals who are searching to find themselves, to discover a new identity beyond the roles society has imposed on them.

We find in our midst the struggle of groups, however defined, who are demanding recognition and a place for reconfiguring the deep desires they have by years of segregationism and domination.

Groups for example, like the editorial colloq-
at the historic Cape Town talks

Iony as SAP Guard ‘enemies’
Albie Sachs comes home

BY TSON HOLLIDAY
Weekend Argus Reporter

AFTER 34 years in exile, ANC legal expert Mr Albie Sachs flew into Cape Town today to an emotional welcome by his mother and a small group of old friends.

The man who lost his right arm and was seriously injured by a car bomb blast in Mphakathi in 1988 said he was "overjoyed to be back in my beloved Cape Town." Hugging his tearful mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, at the airport arrival hall, he told journalists his immediate plans were to climb Table Mountain and to taste the roast chicken his mother had promised him several years ago.

Mr Sachs went into exile in 1966 after several periods of detention and being banned and restricted for political activities.

He is on an unofficial visit, which he described as "a working, cultural, constitutional and family visit".

"I wanted to come back to a free South Africa. We are not free yet but we are getting there. We are freeing ourselves.

"Apartheid is still here but the attitudes of people are changing and that is important. "It is wonderful to be back in Cape Town and to see my mother, my old comrades and, of course, Table Mountain."

Returning ANC exile Mr Albie Sachs hugs his tearful mother, Mrs Ray Edwards, on his arrival at D F Malan Airport today.
We keep quiet. We know we are the multitudes.

In season of the Pac...