The Chiefs Gather

Negotiations, the armed struggle and sanctions will be at the core of discussions at this week’s historic ANC National Consultative Conference in Johannesburg.

The conference, the first in SA in more than 30 years, will be attended by 2,500 people, including all the ANC’s foreign representatives and from Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) camps in Tanzania, Uganda, Angola and Zambia.

The conference is certain to highlight the divisions between external and internal members — each group at present feels the ANC top brass is favouring the other.

Sanctions are expected to arouse the most heated debate. Delegates with international experience, particularly in Western countries, will urge the easing of sanctions before they crumble humiliatingly.

The other side of the sanctions lobby — particularly the youth and supporters of MK — will argue that the ANC holds only two cards (armed action and sanctions) and that to give up the second, while government still holds a full pack, will jeopardise the ANC’s bargaining power.

A key issue is whether to push for rapid transition or slower transition while the ANC rebuilds itself internally. The leadership is clearly acutely sensitive to claims that it has been too soft in talks with government.

A confidential draft discussion paper, “Advance to National Democracy,” calls for rapid transition: “Speed is an essential element ... the representatives of apartheid (want) to draw out the process of change to give themselves time to evolve schemes to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation.”

The document continues: “We have entered negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power — armed and/or otherwise — if the situation changes.” Winnie Mandela, at a meeting in Alexander at the weekend, echoed these sentiments when she told the crowd: “We want the government to know, if they continue to shoot, we will shoot back.”

On the issue of armed struggle, the document notes: “The ANC decided to suspend armed actions. However, the armed struggle has not been terminated. The enemy still has the possibility to re impose the conditions which necessitated that we resort to this form of struggle.” Explaining the difference between armed struggle and armed action, a senior MK officer told the FM that armed action was the active use of bombs and firearms, for instance, whereas the armed struggle was the recruitment and training of cadres.

Appropriately criticising current political methods within the ANC, the document notes: “The exercise of leadership in the transition means the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement must act as more than just a movement of protest ... It entails the building of people’s organs from the lowest to the highest possible levels.”

The document calls for “the maintenance of such economic sanctions as presently exist and the all-round isolation of apartheid SA.”

Another ANC draft document, on sanctions (Current Affairs December 7), says: “The view has emerged that sanctions should be used further to strengthen the irreversibility of the process (towards a new constitution) as a whole by scaling them down, in tandem with the process of change in SA.” Therefore, as a specific example, the lifting of the Group Areas Act would be rewarded by an easing of the sports boycott.

It points out that “sanctions are beginning to erode over a wide front” anyway and that if the ANC is not in step with international moves it will result in the “international marginalisation of the ANC ... It is important that the ANC re-establish its authority ... by providing the international community with a well-considered programme.”

The paper says that though the arms and oil embargos should remain, existing oil reserves should be sold “and the money (used) to address the socio-economic needs of the majority, under the direction of a properly representative interim government structure.”

The ANC

Another Messiah

The return of Oliver Reginald Tambo (73) to SA this week sees the return of the second of two “messiahs” of the liberation struggle — the other, Nelson Mandela, was released from prison on February 11.

Tambo is a low-key man and a poor public speaker. He lacks the royal carriage of Mandela and the easy rapport his deputy president has with audiences. But he is the ANC president, a leader revered by the exiled community and viewed with awe by internal ANC members. Tambo, in exile 30 years, is said to have recovered well from a stroke. Before arriving in SA he was scheduled to visit several African countries.

“O.R.,” as he affectionately known among members of his organisation, is widely credited by exiles with having kept the movement united over nearly three long, difficult decades.

A unifying role is becoming increasingly critical in the ANC as internal and external figures jostle for key positions. Too much power is being held in the hands of too few and the organisation, as a consequence, is chaotic, unreliable and increasingly unaccountable.

Though Tambo is not expected to assume a public leadership role in the punishing world of internal politics, it is expected that he will play a powerful backroom role. Mandela — whom local political leaders often do not confront as frankly as might be desirable — respects his old legal partner and is more likely to bow to the judgment of Tambo than any other political leader.

In a speech read out on his behalf at the recent relaunch of the ANC Youth League, Tambo said: “It is no longer enough to criticise. Our true values should be measured by our level of creativity.”

This “would appear to suggest that the present internal policy of mass action is not as central, and not as universally endorsed, as some in the ANC have suggested. Indeed, a new draft document on the strategy and tactics of the ANC echoes Tambo’s words: “The exercise of leadership in the transition also means that the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement must act more than just a movement of protest ... It entails the building of people’s organs from the lowest to the highest possible levels. It also means the clarity and foresight to put forward and implement viable alternatives in all spheres of life.”

What influence Tambo will have in the long run remains to be seen. But certainly in the immediate future he could prove the wise counsellor Mandela so badly needs. He is also likely to prove a necessary unifying figure from now until June, when the ANC holds leadership elections.
its course. It does not, however, mean that the Pretoria Government can assume instant international respectability.

In his speech to the conference, deputy-president Nelson Mandela said “continuing pressure from the international community and the weight of mass mobilisation at home remain key factors in compelling the Government to honour the (Grootte Schuur and Pretoria) agreements reached. These must be maintained.”

While at first glance his statement appeared to be at odds with the Tambo approach, it is notable that he chose to use the word “pressure” rather than “sanctions”.

Arm-twisting

“Pressure” can refer to diplomatic arm-twisting from world powers to persuade Pretoria to speed up the process of change, without necessarily involving punitive economic measures. Ironically enough, this was precisely the construction favoured by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in her opposition to economic sanctions.

The verbal sleight of hand will meet with resistance from more militant delegates at the congress, but given the stature of those promoting it, will almost certainly be endorsed as a new strategy. Those who accepted the ANC’s earlier shift on the question of armed struggle will be satisfied; those opposed will not.

Mr Mandela appeared to anticipate such disagreements, stressing in his speech that within the ANC were represented at least four “different strands of experience . . . they have the potential of enriching our movement greatly, provided we recognise the value of each and work towards weaving them into a robust cord so that they are mutually reinforcing”.

He concluded: “We are aware that there will be differences among us. That is as it should be in any democratic discourse. Let us take up our tasks with a clear resolve to arrive at a consensus that will bind us all and serve as the basis for our programme of action.”

The final programme of action, it is expected, will be militant in its approach towards the Government despite the sanctions shift.

Mr Tambo, who suffered a severe stroke last year, received an emotional welcome from the packed conference hall. Initially faltering and querulous, he appeared to be reinvigorated by his reception and delivered a strong, clear, and at times emotive speech.

He left no doubt that he, as ANC president, will not be encouraging his colleagues to soften their approach. “The massacres in the townships are a painful reminder that apartheid is still firmly in place,” he said to extended cheers. “The struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts.”

Conference proceedings end at 1 pm tomorrow, after which Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo will address a mass rally at the FNB Stadium near Soweto. There they will present the conference’s resolutions, which will map out the strategies and tactics to be pursued by the ANC until its full national congress, tentatively set for June.
Rethink sanctions - Tambo

No black Christmas this year

ANC President Oliver Tambo, in his first speech in South Africa for 31 years, yesterday spoke to the United Democratic Front (UDF) in a new but influential role. In his address, Tambo called for a "total rethink" of sanctions against South Africa.

"The ANC is not a black Christmas," Tambo said, addressing the crowd.

The ANC leader pointed out that the sanctions system is not working as intended. "The sanctions have not brought about any change in the regime," he said.

Tambo also spoke about the need for economic development in South Africa, stating that "we must develop our economy in order to end sanctions.

"We must focus on building a strong economy, not on blaming the West."

Surprise speech stuns delegates

While technologically his speech was not set down in the agenda, his surprise appearance in the conference brought a stir among the delegates. His speech was quite unexpected and was met with mixed reactions.

The speech was a call for a new approach to the sanctions problem, stating that "we must rethink the way we approach sanctions."

Tambo's speech was met with a round of applause from the delegates.

"We must stop blaming the West and start blaming ourselves," Tambo concluded.

Europe set to ease pressure

A new message from European leaders was received by the delegates. It was a clear indication that the sanctions system was under review.

"We are moving towards a new approach. We will ease the pressure in a phased manner," said the message.

This was met with a sense of relief by the delegates, who had been cooped up under sanctions for so long.

Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl has already stated that he believes in the necessity of easing the sanctions system. "I have always been of the opinion that sanctions are not working," he said.

Security experts believe that this new approach could lead to a significant change in the sanctions system.

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No black Christmas this year

UDF

THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE United Democratic Front in the southern Transvaal has scotched rumours of a planned "black Christmas" this year.

And sources close to the ANC, PAC and Azapo also say there have been no plans for such a campaign.

"As far as the UDF is concerned, there is no black Christmas this year," the organiser of the UDF's Southern Transvaal region, Obed Nkoson, said yesterday.

The black Christmas rumour began to circulate as scores of black shoppers started streaming into city shops in preparation for festive season celebrations - a practice forbidden during the observance of a black Christmas.

"Certainly there's nothing to celebrate, considering the escalating death toll in the recent violence in Reef townships, but there's no campaign requiring people to abstain from spending the festive season in the normal way," said Mr Nkoson.

Confirmation that there were no plans for a black Christmas could not be obtained from officials spokesmen of the ANC, Azapo and PAC yesterday, but sources close to the organisations knew of no plans for such a Christmas.

See Speak Out — PAGE 2

A call was made to the nation not to celebrate Christmas when the Government imposed the state of emergency in the winter of 1985, resulting in the detention of thousands under emergency regulations.

The call was renewed with the re-imposition of the state of emergency the following year.

Although there was some intimidation, black communities heeded the call and refrained from making Christmas purchases in "white towns".

Shebeens in the townships were closed on Christmas day.

Paying a courtesy call to the Pretoria police headquarters in Soweto this week, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok thanked the police for their hard work under difficult circumstances this year.

Referring to severe criticism of the police in the past year, he said a survey carried out in September had indicated that 40 percent of the community did not believe anti-police propaganda and that the vast majority of people relied on the police to protect them. — Sapa
THE National Party, big business and the security forces share a common aim to weaken the ANC and the "rest of the democratic movement", according to a discussion paper presented at the African National Congress's consultative conference yesterday.

The object is to retain control of the transition process and protect the interests of "capital and the privileges of the white minority".

In its crudest form the attempt to weaken the ANC is manifest in the violence sweeping across the country in general and in the densely populated PWV region in particular, the paper says.

It acknowledges that big business shrinks from deliberately fanning the violence, noting: "Big business cannot afford even short-term instability and dislocation caused by the violence."

But the paper insists: "The perpetrators form part of the State machinery. They are an arm of the establishment, with the backing or at least tacit support of forces from the highest government echelons."

Entitled "Counting the Revolution in the Making", the paper contends that the timing of the violent episodes points to the orchestrating hand of State officials. It is alleged that:

- The first wave of violence on the Reef came after the ANC's decision to suspend its armed struggle and the start of its campaign to build up branches in the PWV.
- The attack on Sehokeng hostel dwellers occurred when members of the ANC-aligned trade union, Numsa - many of whose members are hostel inmates - were on strike.
- The assault on squatters took place in the midst of an ANC-approved plan to occupy vacant land.
- The intensity of the violence rose or fell, depending on whether President de Klerk was about to make a trip abroad or not.

The strategic objectives behind the violence are said to include inducing fear and dependency in the black community to cause it to start wondering whether the pre-February 2 situation was not better; portraying the ANC as an impotent force which is unable to control, still less stop, the violence; and creating an excuse for the introduction of repressive measures and then using them to weaken the ANC.

These steps, the paper says, mesh into another aspect of State strategy: the attempt to build an anti-ANC alliance under the auspices of the NP.

The decision to open the NP to all communities coincides with, and is clearly related to, moves to revive the "National parties of overthrown puppet regimes in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei."

But, the paper continues, the ANC can take effective steps to counter the campaign.

One is to set up self-defence units and strike back against "roaming bandits". Another is for black people to close ranks and build a "patriotic front" to prevent the State from exploiting differences between them. A third is to win over black security forces.

Significantly, the paper stresses the need for a meeting soon between the ANC and Inkatha delegations under their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
SANCTIONS are beginning to “erode over a wide front” and there is a danger of President F W de Klerk scoring a stunning propaganda triumph over the African National Congress unless it modifies its position on sanctions.

These points are contained in a discussion paper circulated at the ANC’s-consultative conference yesterday.

The eight-page draft document forms the immediate background to — and explanation of — yesterday’s call by ANC president, Oliver Tambo, on delegates to “re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions”.

The paper warns bluntly that “the perception will be created that the Government has scored a major victory over the ANC” unless the ANC changes its stance on sanctions.

It urges the ANC to provide the international community with a “well-considered programme for the de-escalation of the sanctions campaign” in order “to re-establish its authority over relations between South Africa and the rest of the world”.

The paper notes that an “important section” of the international community believes that the changes introduced by President de Klerk since February 2 are profound and irreversible and that the time has come to relax sanctions.

It then goes on to list some of the “factual elements” in the present situation.

They include:

- The ineffectiveness of trade sanctions, with South Africa still recording trade surpluses.
- The prospect, for the first time in decades, of an small net inflow of capital during the current financial year.
- The growth of economic links with African countries, manifested by the conclusion of trade agreements between South Africa and Madagascar, Mauritius and Senegal.
- Weakening of South Africa’s diplomatic isolation, as shown in President de Klerk’s visits abroad and the decision of the Soviet Union to open an “interest section” in the Austrian Embassy in Pretoria.

The paper adds that the plight of the poor, particularly in the black community, is implicit acknowledgment that they are in part victims of the international sanctions campaign.

Reflecting on the socio-economic problems affecting the poor, the paper says: “The movement should be seen by the masses to be addressing both their political and socio-economic aspirations.”

The time has come to appeal for international aid, with the proviso that the aid should go to inter-rim structures in which the ANC is represented, and not to the Government.

The paper effectively calls for an end to disinvestment, saying potential investors should support “black empowerment” as a means of redistributing wealth in South Africa.
ANC WINS ITS WAR OF WORDS IN THE UN

AFTER weeks of backroom bickering, the UN General Assembly finally has before it a new South Africa resolution on which none of its members can any longer be bothered to disagree. Everyone will vote for it sometime next week.

For Pretoria, the document represents progress — progress of the World War I variety. A metre or two has been gained to little overall effect. There can be no question that the ANC and its allies — principally now the Frontline states and the UN's anti-apartheid bureaucracy — continued to dictate the terms of battle. They, after all, drafted the original document and none dared offer an outright alternative.

Their one vulnerability was their desire to achieve consensus, without which any resolution is nothing more than waste paper. This enabled the US and the EC, whose desire for consensus was slightly less palpable, to drive them from a couple of their most egregious positions.

The word "regime" for example, took a serious beating for the first time ever, being neutralised to "authorities" in all but three instances before the Western counter-attack ran out of steam.

Early drafts contained a number of blatant diversions, inserted to consume the West's energies before they could be concentrated on the ANC's bottom lines. These included paragraphs accusing Pretoria of continuing to "destabilise" Mozambique and Angola through Renamo and Unita, and specifically demanding the maintenance of the sports boycott — a position from which the ANC was signalling retreat at the very moment the "debate" got under way. Both fell away after token resistance.

Things then bogged down in epistemological mud.

ALTHOUGH it took them a little time, the Americans finally recalled that their President had described the process of change in South Africa as "irreversible". Whereupon their principal objective became to ensure that the final document did not contradict this.

Since the absence of irreversibility is the sanctioners' last redoubt, they were not about to let it fall. Washington had to make do with a clause declaring that "further substantive progress needs to be made to promote" irreversible change.

US officials argued, with the conviction of a man after-action report on the battle of the Somme, that the word "promote" was a victory. Did it not imply that the desired conditions already existed?

Unfortunately, this interpretation was not supported by the rest of the text, least of all by operative clause number 10, which called for the use of "concerted...economic and financial" measures "aimed at applying pressure" on Pretoria.

The Europeans were scarcely more successful in their chief endeavour, which was to knock out language critical of those (ie. themselves) who were not applying sanctions with quite the same vigour as they had been when they joined the consensus UN Declaration on Apartheid last December.

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THE final text expressed "concern over departures that have occurred" from the declaration. Since most European Community members do not share that concern in the slightest, they have agreed to language that makes them liars.

The West was slightly more successful in obliging the other side to acknowledge that President F W de Klerk had made at least some "pro-

Simon Barber's Washington Diary
Azapo next to hold its congress

THOUSANDS of Azapo delegates and supporters are expected to meet in Langa, Cape Town, next weekend for the organisation's annual congress.

This follows similar meetings of the PAC and ANC, which saw both organisation take important decisions on programmes for the coming year. Azapo general secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the organisation would make important decisions on the idea of a consultative conference of all liberation movements early next year to decide strategies on how to work closer together.

Report by CP correspondent, Sapa
ANC accused in police killings

THE ANC is clearly implicated in a campaign of murder and violence against black town councillors and policemen in a study of violence released by the SA Institute of Race Relations this week.

The report said 409 incidents and attacks on councillors and policemen from January to July this year resulted in the deaths of six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen.

Because of the difficulty in determining motives for attacks on on-duty policemen, these were excluded from the study.

After assessing the roles and motives of different political organisations, the institute's report said:

"The ANC appears to be the only major grouping explicitly and purposely working for the destruction of black local authorities."

It also said that the ANC — more than any other political party — had demonstrated its capacity for significantly raising the nationwide level of violence.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

These were among the elements identified in the campaign of violence:

- Councillors were attacked within days after the first black local authority elections in 1983;
- Attacks on certain councillors ceased after their resignations.

Claims

The report said "this suggests that the violence aimed at these municipal officials stems not so much from community disinchantment with the manner in which their duties have been performed, but that the violence is part of broader campaign aimed at rendering the townships ungovernable and introducing new, alternative local structures."

The report quoted from the ANC's official mouthpiece, Sowetan, and noted that Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, claimed responsibility for specific attacks.

The report dismissed claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that it was responsible for a great number of the attacks.

The report's author, Wayne Satro, said that according to the PAC's own definition of targets and methods, the PAC could be held responsible for at most six percent of the more than 400 attacks recorded in the six months covered by the report.

The report also contained disturbing evidence of a lack of attention paid to the attacks by the media.

In the month when the greatest number of incidents took place — 99 in March — only 33 percent of them were reported in either the Star, the Citizen, Business Day, The Sunday Times, the Weekly Mail or the Sowetan.

Overall, only 38 percent of attacks on councillors or policemen were reported at all in the six-month period.

Apart from the six councillors killed, 87 had had their homes burned, stoned or had hand-grenades thrown at them, while 24 council offices were damaged.

By October 16 this year, 132 councillors out of 692 in the Transvaal had resigned, citing intimidation as their reason for doing so.

In the Cape, 150 out of 638 resigned for the same reason; 119 out of 436 quit in the Free State, and one out of 104 in Natal (outside of KwaZulu).

This means black local authorities were running at 67 percent of their potential by mid-October, said the report.

Threats

Black local authorities were further threatened by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) which had committed itself to their destruction.

Of the 409 recorded attacks, 111 were on councillors and 287 were on black policemen.

Insufficient evidence regarding the target of attack occurred in 11 cases.

Arson and petrol bombing were the most common form of attack — in 160 of the cases. Stoning accounted for 120 cases.

Hand-grenades were used in 45 attacks and shootings accounted for 25 others.
Hardline backlash on talks

DIEHARDS in the ANC — many in the military wing — this weekend issued a strong challenge to moderates in the organisation's executive.

They proposed at the ANC's consultative conference a series of hardline positions on sanctions, negotiations and violence — positions which will put the settlement process under considerable strain.

Joe Modise, commander in chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, told The Sunday Times there was "a growing sense of disillusionment among ordinary members at the progress made through negotiations".

The backlash yesterday forced the ANC's national executive to maintain a tough position on sanctions against South Africa in spite of an earlier call by ANC president Oliver Tambo that the issue should be re-examined.

"It was a 'bottoms-up' decision," a senior ANC member said.

There was a spontaneous rejection of a draft document advocating a "selective de-escalation" of the international economic, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa.

The hardliners were lobbying among the conference's 1,600 delegates yesterday for tough positions on a number of other issues.

"The talks with the government have not had the results we expected," Mr Modise said.

Dying

"We will have to consider seriously whether we should continue on this road or return to other methods," Mr Modise, who was part of the ANC's negotiating team at the Groote Schuur summit, said he was "starting to doubt the sincerity of the government".

"While we are talking, our supporters are left defenceless against the violence perpetrated by agents of the state. They ask: 'Why can't they defend themselves? Why are we talking while our people are dying?'"

The ANC commander is still operating out of the Zambian capital, Lusaka, to keep in close touch with the approximately 22,000 ANC exiles waiting to return to South Africa — the majority of them trained members of Umkhonto.

Mr Modise's remarks contrast with the softer approach expressed by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who reaffirmed in his first speech on South African soil in 30 years the ANC's policy on negotiations.

"If peace negotiations will result in the formation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, we are not only willing but ready to enter into such negotiations," Mr Tambo said.

He added that the ANC had suspended the armed struggle "to give peace a chance, as well as indicate our serious concern for the future of the country and all its citizens".

However, he also expressed concern that supporters of the ANC had become the victims of "feroculous attacks" and slammed "the government's apparent inability to bring those responsible to book".

Delayed

ANC sources said yesterday the leadership had come under a lot of flak for its decision to suspend the armed struggle and opt for negotiations. "This is not the time to make further concessions," the source said.

Hardliners, insist there must be no concessions to government demands for an end to "mass actions" and recruiting for Umkhonto.

The three-day conference brings together 1,600 delegates from South Africa and abroad.
PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan was 72 when he took office — and a spry 69 when he left.

Prime Minister D F Malan was the same age when he stepped down, but at 80 he was ailing.

This week the senior leaders of the ANC, together in public for the first time at the ANC’s congress, showed that they, too, could claim a tradition of political longevity.

Of the four men who launched the ANC’s historic and emotional congress on Friday, one was born before World War I, two during the war and another seven years afterwards.

Between them, they represent 208 years of political struggle — including 64 years in jail and another 28 years under banning orders.

ANC president Oliver "Or" Tambo is 73 years old. He has survived a stroke and his frailty was evident this week as he acknowledged the chants of "Tambo, Tambo, Tambo" by delegates.

Lively

His speech was laboured and at times disjointed. Some of his most important points, it was clear, failed to register on his audience — despite the most rapt attention.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela is 72. He is a lively, energetic man.

At the ANC congress, as is his style, he closely followed his prepared speech, breaking his reading occasionally to scan notes passed to him by party functionaries.

He, too, has been warned to watch his health. He takes short breaks when the pressure becomes inhuman — as it often does.

Walter Sisulu is head of the interim internal leadership core.

He is 78 and has also suffered ill health. He generally meets a brutal agenda but usually leaves evening functions early.

The youngest of the "Gang of Four" is Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC, who is only 65.

The average age of the ANC’s top leadership is 72.

Thirty-seven percent of black South Africans are under the age of 14; 33 percent under 21.

In another society, such a two-generation gap between leaders and led might result in tensions — in the People’s Republic of China, for example, or Kampuchea, where the Khmer Rouge were virtual children and the civil war was as much generational as ideological.

That is unlikely in South Africa, where there is a traditional respect for age.

But the question of succession cannot be far from the minds of those in the ANC hierarchy.

Even the most optimistic projection would hesitate to put these top men still in active office beyond a decade.

What then?

Politics, for one, will miss an old-world courtliness.

Despite imprisonment, exile and long years underground, there remains a studied politeness, even graciousness, among the four.

Also a strong sense of propriety.

Harder

Two years ago a group of white South Africans visited Lusaka for a conference with the ANC.

Black youngsters, mostly refugees from the mid-80s unrest, good-naturedly nodded cigarettes, drinks and, in one or two cases, money from the visitors. The incident reached OR’s ears. The next day he halted the conference and publicly apologised to the visitors on behalf of the ANC.

That is not to say there is no propriety among the ANC’s younger generation of leaders.

It is just that they come from a harder school — particularly the internal leaders, who have been part of the great violence from the mid-80s onwards.

It has been the personal chemistry between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, developed through 15 public and private meetings, which has largely held things together in recent times.

But there is a limit to what coffee consultations can do to keep the lid on a very turbulent country.

The younger men are growing less patience for such niceties. And, as they will in all likelihood be in the driving seat in a post-apartheid government, their views will affect the style as much as the content of the political debate.

That new team will, in all likelihood, be a much younger one.

Leaders

Some of them are already in senior positions: Pallo Jordan is head of the department of information and publicity; Thabo Mbeki is director of external affairs and Chris Hani is chief of staff of the military wing.

All three are 42 — born, in fact, within two months of each other.

There is a range of other ANC leaders in other spheres: the Youth League’s 35-year-old Peter Mokaba, the 42-year-old communist Moses Mayekiso and the 30-year-old trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa.

All of them make the National Party cabinet (average age of the top four men is 59) look positively elderly.

Thus, the ANC congress engagement is not only a question of political change in the immediate future — but a generational one.
"Form constituent assembly" call

The PAC has challenged State President FW de Klerk to commit himself to a constituent assembly if he wants to get negotiations moving. (UA)

The challenge came from Neville Long, the PAC's chief representative in Australia, who left Cape Town on Friday after visiting the city of his birth for the first time in 20 years. He was indemnified for seven days by the government to attend the recent PAC congress.
In a hardline declaration adopted yesterday at the closing of the organisation's historic consultative conference, the ANC said: "Our patience with this regime is running out."

The ANC's first national conference in South Africa in three decades was marked by militant mood and severe criticism of the organisation's leadership.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, while rejecting some of the criticism as "totally and utterly unreasonable", promised that the leadership would make radical adjustments and even changes to its strategies.

There was no immediate reaction from the government today on the deadline set by the ANC.

Although the deadline appeared to be challenging, it is in line with the undertaking given by the government in the Pretoria Minute.

The Pretoria Minute stipulated that the report of the joint ANC/government working group should be completed no later than April 30 1991.

At a rally after the conference yesterday Mr Mandela told cheering supporters that the ANC had suspended the joint working groups between the government and the ANC with immediate effect. He said the ANC would establish its own monitoring committees.

Senior ANC National Executive Committee members, however, denied today that the ANC had withdrawn from joint ANC/government working groups. They said the NEC would reconsider its position on negotiations after April 30.

Four conditions

At the conference, the ANC said it would consider suspending negotiations with the government unless four conditions were met:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners, including those on death row for political convictions.
- The unconditional return of exiles.
- The repeal of all security and repressive legislation.
- The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

Dealing with violence, the ANC said it wanted to "serve notice" on the government that armed actions could be reactivated if it did not stop the township carnage.

It said violence was a deliberate government strategy carried out by various agents, including the security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, "askaris" and right-wing els-

WELCOME HOME: ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo (right) waves to a 50 000-strong crowd which gathered at a Soweto stadium to welcome him home after 30 years in exile. Beside him is deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.
Azapo's economic policy

By MUSA NDWANDWE

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will reveal its economic policy at its national congress to be held at St Francis Centre in Langa next weekend.

But Azapo officials have emphasised that this is not a "blueprint" for South Africa's economy.

"We are worried about blueprints because we would then be tied down to specifics that might not necessarily work," said Mr Monde Ntwasa, Azapo's Western Cape vice-president.

Under the theme, "Defend the People, Resist Neo-Colonialism, Advance Socialism," the congress will attempt to address present political developments and the way forward.

Although the issue of negotiations with the government will be on the agenda, it would not feature prominently.

"Our position has not changed. We still insist on negotiating only in a forum like the constituent assembly," said Ntwasa.

The congress will also elect a new Azapo president. Sources indicated that the current president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, would soon travel overseas on a study trip for three years.

• Dr A Sivanandan, director of the Institute of Race Relations and Editor of Race and Class in London will be the guest speaker at an Azapo fundraising dinner at the Devil's Peak Restaurant,
ANC president Oliver Tambo received a hero's welcome when he addressed the organisation's national consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend. With him are, from left, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, deputy president Nelson Mandela and ANC spokesman Sekh Macezane. Tambo — who returned from 30 years in exile last week — was also due to address a mass rally in Soweto yesterday.
April 30 is our talks deadline says the ANC

THE ANC's national conference yesterday adopted a number of hard-line resolutions, including one calling for the development of defence committees, assisted by Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, and threatened to suspend negotiations with government unless all obstacles were removed by April 30 next year.

The conference was marked by a series of stinging attacks on ANC leadership figures. Deputy president Nelson Mandela, in his closing address, said one of the most disappointing features of the conference was that there had been hardly a word of praise for national executive committee (NEC) members.

According to the main resolutions, the ANC will:
- Engage in a programme of mass action aimed at getting government to remove obstacles to negotiations.
- Consider a return to armed action unless government takes steps to end violence; and
- Build defence committees in which Umkhonto we Sizwe will play a "facilitative role".

On township violence, the conference resolved to embark on mass campaigns to "pressurise the apartheid regime to bring an end to this carnage."

The resolution on violence called on the NEC and branches to initiate the building of "light and disciplined defence committees and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available to these structures."

It continued: "Umkhonto we Sizwe must play a facilitative role in the defense of our people." It did not say what this entailed.

The conference resolved that while there was no opposition in principle to talks with South Africa, the retention of the regime, such talks must take place only after full consultation with all the regions of the ANC.

It called for a consultative workshop with the SACIP, Cosatu and other organisations to set up a joint programme of action to counter violence.

A resolution on international isolation called for the existing sanctions campaign to be maintained, but hinted at a softening in regard to sports and cultural boycotts.

On the sports boycott, the conference resolved to support and promote "the positions of the democratic sports organisations in regard to the moratorium on international competition."

The resolution called for the creation of a viable non-governmental organisation to generate necessary economic resources, including those from the public sector, to create housing, education and health projects.

An apparent acknowledgment of the RC decision to revoke its call for an end to new investment in SA, the conference resolved to discuss trade sanctions with all affected interest groups.

The discussion, with business organisations and government, should take place with a view to tying the easing of trade sanctions to commitments to abandon apartheid practices.

The conference called for the maintenance of the arms and oil embargoes. It also called for a properly representative interim government structure to sell existing oil reserves to address the socio-economic needs of the population.

The resolution called on the ANC to organise urgently a national summit, as a follow-up to the Arusha sanctions conference, to devise new strategies on sanctions.

The conference recognised that legislation was a form of struggle to transfer power and endorsed the negotiation strategy outlined in the Harare declaration.

It said government had failed to create a climate for peace negotiations, and endemic violence created further obstacles.

The conference mandated the NEC to proceed with talks about talks, and gave it discretionary powers to attempt to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations.

It insisted, however, that the NEC set up channels to involve the membership in any decisions taken on negotiations.

The NEC was also instructed to serve notice on government that unless all obstacles were removed by April next year, the ANC would consider suspending its involvement in negotiations.

The resolution adopted on negotiations and the suspension of armed action added: "We hereby serve notice on the regime that unless it ends this carnage the ANC will find it difficult if not impossible to adhere to the agreements entered into with the government, especially Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute pertaining to armed action and related activities."

Mandela spent much of his closing address justifying positions the ANC had adopted.

He said there was much criticism about the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, its call for homeland leaders to join the liberation movement and of his categorising President F W de Klerk as a man of integrity.

Mandela defended all these, and attacked delegates who criticised him for holding private meetings with government. People who criticised these meetings, he said, did not understand the nature of negotiations.

The ANC leadership, he said, would continue to hold private meetings with government as it was not prepared to neglect its duties because some people had expressed views which were totally unreasonable.

The bona fides of the NEC could not be challenged, he said. However, as a result of the frank criticism expressed at the conference, the ANC had emerged stronger. Delegates were leaving the hall closer to one another than when they arrived.
The unconditional release of all political prisoners.
The unconditional return of exiles.
The repeal of all security and repressive legislation.
The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

This could bring the organisation into renewed conflict with the Government, which has repeatedly voiced its strongest disapproval of mass action.

The conference declaration said the Government had in recent months demonstrated that it was not committed to the objective of a democratic South Africa. It wanted to retain white domination in a new form, and had violated and distorted all undertakings to the ANC in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Mass action — Page 3.
Mandela gets tough on internal strife within the ANC

Nelson Mandela yesterday made the transition from being a symbol of resistance to assuming the practical day-to-day leadership of a huge and still relatively unorganized political party.

In his first speech since being elected president of the ANC, Mr. Mandela said he would work to bring order to the party's internal affairs, which have been marred by infighting and allegations of corruption.

He said he would work to strengthen the party's organization and to ensure that it is more effective in carrying out its program of fighting for a democratic South Africa.

Mandela also said he would be focusing on improving the party's infrastructure, including its schools and clinics, and on increasing its membership.

The ANC's internal disputes have been a major obstacle to its ability to unite the country and to implement its program of transformation. Mandela's appointment as president is expected to bring a new sense of unity and purpose to the party.

Mandela's appointment as president comes as the ANC is preparing to hold its national conference later this year. The conference is expected to be a major test of the party's ability to unite behind a single leadership.

As he takes on the role of president, Mandela faces the challenge of balancing the demands of a growing movement with the need to continue to fight for a democratic South Africa. He has promised to lead the ANC into a new era of unity and progress.

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Boycott call adds fat
to the fire — Azapo

The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday distanced itself from calls by elements which used mayhem and intimidation to steamroll the oppressed into abiding by their calls or "political banditry".

Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, said the concept of a black Christmas originated from the Black Consciousness Movement, which in 1976 called for the "oppressed and dispossessed" to mourn the fallen following the mass upheavals that year.

"However, the concept...

"Any call for a black
Christmas will be akin to
adding fat to the fires of violence."

The Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee of Kroonstad yesterday distanced itself from a pamphlet which it said was distributed in Maokeng township last Tuesday calling for a consumer boycott. — Sapa.
The ANC has declared 1991 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the Government for the transfer of power — a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action was adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and end of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised at the time of the opening of Parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the Government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.

A mass education programme will be started to mobilise support for a common education system and for adequate funds for education.
ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo addressed 1 600 delegates attending the organisation's consultative congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. In his speech he said apartheid still remained intact but...

Freedom looms on horizon - Tambo

"I salute you all in the name of all patriotic South Africans, especially those whose sterling contributions have made this day a reality.

Many of these have laid down their lives, and still countless others were maimed for life whilst on active duty in the service of their people and country.

It is thanks to these, to whom we shall forever be indebted, that today we are witnessing an epoch-making event.

It is thanks to these heroes and heroines of our struggle that we are able to attend the first legal ANC consultative conference inside South Africa after an underground existence spanning over three decades.

History

We are making history reshaping the destiny of our country, because many who are not able to be here have given their lives for this day to dawn. They perished so that the nation could live; they did not perish because they loved life any less.

It is thanks to you that today the dignity of a black person is being restored and, together with it, the dignity of our beloved country.

It is thanks to you that, at last, freedom looms large on the horizon. We, too, are finally seeing the light at the end of a long and dark tunnel.

Twenty nine years ago, on December 16, the ANC and its allies announced the formation of our army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Seen against a history of peaceful forms of struggle which congress had espoused and practiced since its formation in 1912, the move to armed struggle was a radical departure which marked the opening of a new page in the history of our struggle.

This decision was taken only after the government had closed all doors to peaceful opposition by banning the ANC and other political organisations in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre.

Offensive

Having decided to fight, we managed to launch and sustain an all-round offensive which has finally brought the apartheid system to the brink of defeat.

At no time have a people heading warring camps in this country come together to find a common way out. This is happening for the first time in 70 years. Naturally, our hopes regarding the future of our country have been raised.

We, however, should remain vigilant and ready to confront new challenges with the same tenacity as before. The massacre in the townships and elsewhere are a painful reminder that apartheid is still firmly in place.

Accordingly, the struggle against apartheid should be intensified at all fronts. In this regard, our strategy and tactics should be informed by the objective situation internationally and internationally.

Whatever form of struggle we have employed in the past, and may still have to employ in the future, the golden link is always, or absolute determination to regain our freedom.

On this we should never be found wanting. At no stage should anyone be left in doubt regarding our will and readiness to free ourselves.

On the international front we are at a point where political military and cultural and economic sanctions have been imposed. It is true that several Western countries have tried to undermine the sanctions movement. Nevertheless, the imposition of sanctions in the face of outright hostility from some countries is a victory of no small measure, given the crucial role of the international factor in our struggle.

We take this opportunity to thank the international community for standing solidly behind us. In particular we thank the anti-apartheid movement, individuals and governments, who supported us all these years.

Once again Pretoria's traditional allies are counselling that De Klerk should be rewarded for responding positively to our peace initiative.

In this regard, the Harare Declaration, which has since been adopted by the United Nations, albeit with some modifications, should not be undermined. However in defending this document, it is no longer enough for us to repeat the tired slogans. We should therefore carefully re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions, given the new developments in the country and abroad.

No struggle has been won on the strength of wishes. Any contest for political power is serious business. It may be that in the months and years ahead, we could find ourselves relying more on mass action as the predominant form of the struggle.

Confidence

To this end we must build the ANC and other democratic formations as never before. No single town, village, street, or indeed house should be left unorganised.

The election of a constituent assembly would assist in restoring people's confidence in democratic processes. The new democratic constitution thus not only become workable, but would also enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of the people.

Apartheid has denied and continues to deny our people opportunities to learn and acquire skills and know-how. Because of the twisted logic of racism, our rulers would sooner import skilled white labour rather than educate blacks in the country.

The education crisis is a national calamity that should be tackled as such by all of us. The resolution of this crisis, especially black education, is a task that both black and white South Africans must undertake for their own sake.'

* This speech has been shortened.
ANC warns over talks

The ANC yesterday announced a programme of mass action and warned that unless obstacles to negotiations are removed, it will consider pulling out of the negotiation process.

At the end of its three-day consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg, the ANC declared its commitment to the transfer of power to “all South Africans”.

Mass action has been called around the time Parliament opens to highlight the ANC’s demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tripartite and bantustan systems.

The conference decided that unless all obstacles to negotiations are removed by April 30, the ANC will consider suspending the whole negotiation process.

In a draft programme of action, the ANC intends to hold a mass meeting in each town to discuss the withdrawal of delegates from the Constituent Assembly and to demand the establishment of an interim non-racial government.

To Page 2
SOME Pan Africanist Congress officials had to use taxis to dash out of the country when they could not get flights on Friday - because their temporary indemnity was due to expire at midnight.

A source close to the organisation said a message was sent through on Friday afternoon that some exiled PAC members could face arrest if they defied the indemnity period.

"Some people had to use taxis to go Tanzania via Swaziland because they could not get flights as they were fully booked," a source said.

Of the 33 PAC officials who came into the country under temporary indemnity, the expiry time for 24 of the members was midnight on Friday. The indemnity for the other nine was due to expire on January 31.

PAC officials were granted temporary indemnity to attend the organisation's second national congress in 30 years inside South Africa last weekend.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said PAC members whose indemnity was due to expire at midnight on Friday were liable for arrest if they were found inside the country.

Kotze confirmed that 24 PAC members had to leave the country on Friday. - Sapa.
ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday called for an end to the violence sweeping the black townships.

Tambo was addressing about 50,000 people at a rally at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg. He received a standing ovation.

The rally was held at the end of the ANC’s first consultative conference within the country which started on Friday.

Tambo said those responsible for the violence should know they are “cutting their own throats”.

He said it was an “emotional” occasion for him to address people who had made it possible for the ANC to return triumphantly into South Africa after 30 years of exile.

He deplored the fact that most of the exiles, including the “victorious” Umkhonto we Sizwe, were still in exile.

Tambo said thousands of South Africans had refused to accept their oppression as God-given and had fought for freedom over the years.

“As long as apartheid exists, all South Africans have an obligation to wage struggle against the system. The struggle must continue on all fronts.”

Tambo said the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and others are as capable as anyone else of ruling this country.

He said more than any of the ANC’s conferences before, the membership had shown that it had the capacity and political will to win freedom.

Tambo thanked heads of several African countries for their stand against apartheid and the help offered to the ANC. He singled out Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda who offered assistance when Tambo became ill and chartered two planes which brought him to South Africa last Thursday as a “lover of mankind”.

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba handed Tambo the first membership card of the youth group. Tambo had earlier said he was still a member of the ANCYL.

“Once a youth, always a youth.”

Mokaba also handed the ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela a spear and a shield in recognition of his contribution to the struggle, especially the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe which celebrated its 29th anniversary yesterday.

Among the guests were the ailing wife of former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli, who was on stretcher. She had travelled from Natal to meet Tambo.

Mandela called her “The Mother of the Nation”.

Mandela said it was a great let-down that the European Community had lifted sanctions on new investment. The ANC would make it its top priority to persuade South Africa’s leading trading partners to retain sanctions next year.

He concluded with a rallying call: “Tighten your belts for the final assault, for victory is in sight. As a united people no force on earth can defeat us.”
1990 — Year of Trium

Joy and Sorrow

1990 ... one of the most momentous years in the history of South Africa. It was a year in which people took to the streets to celebrate the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Nine days later, millions of people across the world ex-

FM HOME: Veteran trade unionist Ray Alexander returns home after more than two decades in exile.

HISTORIC: ANC leader Nelson Mandela, flanked by President F.W. de Klerk, reads a statement issued after the historic Groote Schuur talks with the government in May.

DAY OF DEATH: Sebenza youths carrying an injured resident run for cover when police open fire on a crowd of marchers on March 26, killing 11 people.

DEFIANCE: Boland priest Fr. Michael Weeder, centre, and residents of Ashton sit defiantly in a cloud of tear smoke after a march to the municipality to protest against racism in the small town.

GRAND SPEECH: Nelson Mandela makes a few hours after being released from V
PH and Tears — 1990

Above: Island release: A tearful reunion as Mrs Zabelda Karriem greets her son Ashraf after he was released from Robben Island, having served a two-year sentence.

Right: Unknown victim: Mourners at the mass funeral for unknown victims of the Reif violence which claimed hundreds of lives.

In front: ANC supporters take to the streets to celebrate the unbanning of the organisation and the SACP.

In first public address on the Grand Parade in Cape Town:
1990 – Year of Triumph and Tears

Labour Uproar

HEIGHTENED political expectations and uncertainty were reflected in an upsurge in industrial action. In response to the rapid pace of political events, the labour movement moved swiftly to ensure it would not be relegated to the role of observer. A decision to attempt to flush out its alliance with the ANC and the SACTWU was followed by a series of protests, strikes, and stoppages, with workers demanding a new constitution as well as investigating economic options for South Africa. Long-held certainties gave way to new debates in the light of the fall of Eastern Europe.

Violence cast a bleak shadow over a year which began with the Groenkloof massacre of San strikers. While the new political space meant unions could organise around new issues, they faced old spectres, not least the state of the economy.

Almost everyone downsaw tools. From previously subsistent homestead workforces to public servants, workers asserted their claims for a slice of the pie. By midyear, economists were sprawling over one another to issue dire predictions as a strike wave peaked with more than 40,000 workers around the country downing tools.

Dissatisfaction with wages were the trigger in most strikes, an increasing number of which were directed against small-scale employers - a trend likely to continue next year.

Industrial militancy was spearheaded by the recently reunited South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union (Saccwa) and the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers’ Union (Pprint) which, also unsuccessfully, took Barlow Rand subsidiary Nampa over centralised bargaining.

More than 3,000 members of Nactu affiliates, the National Union of Wine, Spirits and Allied Workers’ Union (HUWS), saw the Cape Provincial Administration Hospital services almost grind to a halt before settling a major concessions to the strikers.

Hluwla blocked a trail that hospital employees elsewhere in the country were quick to follow.

Flambouyant Cape Town municipal workers’ leader Mr. Salie Mnde led the resignation of the controversial Lingklo- the West council.

A new giant union was born with the formation of the South African Democratic Teacher’s Union, the end product of three often painful years of unity talks between teacher bodies.

Political changes saw union leaders juggling different caps as they assumed leadership positions in the ANC, SACTWU and PAC.

The ANC’s international labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), voted to end its cadres, which began to trickle back into the country and into Cosatu affiliates.

The Food and Allied Workers’ Union (Pwu) took control of the environmental area with a fishing industry campaign which bit against gilt netting.

Hluwla the bitter three-month long strike by more than 24,000 members of the South African Railway and Harbours Workers’ Union ended with a victory for Sactu in the end of draft unions on strike.

Despite hype about major strikes looming, Cosatu’s big three - Numsa, Sactu and Suesihla - drafted with the Chamber of Mines, Sars, and Cape clothing manufacturers without resorting to strike action.

The spirit of negotiations teamed with the threat of mass militancy won the day when the other federations, employers and the state reached an eleventh hour agreement on labour legislation, staving off a massive showdown.

The tripartite agreement, which acknowledged in principle the right of all workers to collective bargaining, included a draft amendment to the LRA, bringing to close a two-year battle against the controversial law.

New labour laws drafted for Ciskei and Transkei met with a mixed response from unions.

For trade unions, employers and the state, 1990 was a turbulent year in which the major actors on the labour front faced up to new and often bleak realities while coping with the shadow of old legacies. Political change also made an impact on labour in various ways, reports CHIARA CARTER:

Five years after its formation, Cosatu restructured itself in an ongoing attempt to ensure greater cooperation between affiliates and organise largely untouched sectors like farmworkers.

Unions deepened their work around parental rights, provident funds, housing and educational schemes.

The South African Domestic Work- ers’ Union continued to battle for legislati ve protection for domestic workers and an end to child labour.

Many strikes were marred by bloody confrontations, often triggered by employ- ers’ use of scab labour.

On the mines, white and black miners had battles - no old Xhosas and Zulus.

In Natal and the Transvaal, Cosatu unions were seriously weakened by ongoing violence.

Unions, like employers, were forced to face bleak realities as South Africa’s economy showed little sign of recovery. Factionalism, redistribution, and short time left many unions in a weak bargaining position and widened the gap between the employed and a growing army of jobless people.

Slightly hard hit were the mining, metal, clothing and textile industries.

Cosatu continued to be strong in the Western Cape despite changes in leadership and the presence of Sactu.

Nactu continued to be virtually non-existent in the Western Cape.

Rifts and rivalries continued in the Public Service’s League but, despite predictions that the PSL, leadership was about to fall, the hierarchy endured.

Another long-awaited split failed to materialise when delegates to Nactu’s conference managed to set aside their political differences, at least in the public gaze, and reiterate the federation’s non-aligned position.

Little progress was made towards the formation of a single trade union federa- tion.

Political tensions in the Food and Al lied Workers’ Union made headlines when expelled workers and dismissed organisers in the union’s Cape Town branch waged a “campaign for democracy” against what they claimed were Stalinist union bosses.

Former general secretary Mr. Jan Theron entered the fray with an article in the South African Labour Bulletin. Political tensions also surfaced in the newly-united South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union.

Arguably the most efficient union in the country, Numsa, had to weather a rebel- lion in its ranks when Mercedes Benz rebels in East London downed tools to protest against a central bargaining forum to a conclave of Numsa, and Cosatu.

In Cape Town the legacy of plant level

Nunna’s Moses Mayekiso

Cape Town City Council workers on a strike which stunned the city. As garbage piled up in the streets, the city fathers were forced to acknowledge the key role council workers played in ensuring the smooth functioning of the city.

A similar experience awaited other municipalities and, as the year drew to a close, Kanyelivhle was crippled by strikers who downed tools to demand the
MARGARET Thatcher summed up 1990 perfectly on that freezing winter’s day in London last month.

“It’s a funny old world,” the one-time “Iron Lady” reflected ruefully, shortly after Cabinet colleagues had persuaded her to step down as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Thatcher’s announcement on November 22 was totally out of character: there was no gleam of defiance in the eyes and no strident fighting talk.

In fact, to the surprise of many, the butt-kicking premier who had vowed to fight to the end to keep the keys of 10 Downing Street, succumbed in the tensest possible way.

There was rich irony in her demise, too. Who would have thought that Thatcher, the fervent anti-communist, would get the order of the boot in the same year that the political careers of many communist leaders in East European countries were also brought to a sudden end?

But it was a funny old world.

For instance, what sane person would have dared to predict, say, 18 months ago, that:

- East and West Germany would unite;
- Most of the inhabitants of the countries of Eastern Europe would opt for multiparty democracies, free market-type economies and conservative-leaning governments;
- The leader of an increasingly disunited USSR would be awarded a Nobel Peace prize.

The world’s most famous political prisoner would be released after 27 years in jail;

The greatest government of all time, which is 42 years, fixed-timed one of the world’s worst 20th-century political dictatorships — apartheid — would promise to scrap all forms of racial discrimination.

On the other hand, the things that changed in some parts of the globe, the more they stayed the same in other parts. In Africa, millions of people, victims of famine and war, continued their desperate battle to stave off starvation.

In India and Thailand, countless numbers of children under the age of 10 were sold by poverty-stricken parents into prostitution and slavery.

Conquer

In countries near the equator, the destruction of tropical rain-forests continued at breakneck speed despite the efforts of the conservationists; the ozone layer remained depleted; soil erosion turned large areas of land in northern Africa into worthless desert; and elephants, rhino and numerous other animals continued to be hunted towards extinction.

And all the time, the Aids time-bomb kept ticking away.

In the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict continued in much the same way as it has since 1948, when the state of Israel came into being.

In Nicaragua, meanwhile, President Daniel Ortega, one of the heroes of the Sandinista National Liberation Front that had swept the Somoza dictatorship from power in 1979, was himself ousted.

In a general election in February, the charismatic Ortega, whose presidency was plagued by a revenue-sapping border war with US-backed rebels operating from neighbouring Honduras, was easily beaten by Violeta Chamorro, a 60-year-old newspaper owner.

But once, the revolutions and the revolutions-in-the-making in South America were all but over, he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize.

Unpopular

In the short term, the new Germany stood the best chance of creating reasonably comfortable living standards for its citizens. But for most of the others it is going to be a long, hard and painful slog — as the Soviet Union is discovering.

One of the features of Mikhail Gorbatchev’s tenure as president of the USSR is that the more unpopular he has become at home, the more his popularity has soared abroad.

At the beginning of December, when his standing in the Soviet Union hit rock bottom, he was awarded the Nobel Peace prize.

It was not only drought, war, starvation and corruption that flared in the headlines on Africa this year.

On March 20, Namibia shed its last colony in Africa, turning the United Nations’ newest independent state, after 75 years of South African rule.

Elsewhere, the winds of change blew across several of the continent’s most troubled countries, notably in war-embroiled Mozambique and Angola, where plans for multiparty democracies were announced.

In June, 15 people were killed and scores arrested in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, after a government decision to increase the price of maize by more than 100 percent sparked violent unrest.

Funny world

Former British premier Maggie Thatcher summed it up aptly when she was ousted last month: "It’s a funny old world". Few could have predicted the major global political developments that happened in 1990. But the more things change in some parts of the world, the more they stayed the same in others, writes DOUGIE OAKES.

Briefly...

- More than 400 people died in an earthquake that struck the northern Philippines on November 12.
- In Japan, Emperor Akihito formally assumed the 130-year-old Chrysanthemum throne on November 12.
- Jessica Tandy walked off with the Oscar for best actress for her role in "Driving Miss Daisy".
1990 — Year of Triumph and Tears

Newsmaker of the Year

NELSON MANDELA

The expectations of millions of people were high. Mandela was going to force the government to negotiate; Mandela was going to end unemployment in South Africa; Mandela was going to stop the violence in Natal.

But soon after Mandela's release, reality hit home. He was not a god or a miracle maker, but a dedicated member of the ANC who followed instructions from his organization.

Besides, in the first few months after his release, Mandela had little time to work miracles. An exhausting whirlwind tour of Europe and the United States began — a flattering tribute to the world's foremost freedom fighter.

From ticker tape parades in New York, addresses to the United Nations and congresses to music concerts, the world celebrated the release of Mandela in a way few other leaders have received adulation from foreign countries.

Although it is the image not the man and the organisational structure and membership on the ground which forms the ANC, Mandela is still regarded both inside South Africa and abroad as the lysabond of the ANC.

and the others who made the news

FW DE KLERK

He was the man who took South Africa across the Rubicon and back into the world's centre stage.

In a remarkable speech in February, State President PW de Klerk unmasked long-silenced political opponents and announced his government's intention to free political prisoners, allow them to return, lift the state of emergency and media curbs and suspend the death sentence.

Later in the same month, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela walked free and the song was set for talks about talks.

Tribe leaders to De Klerk poured in from around the world, and despite the ANC's protests, South Africa began the slow climb back to international acceptance.

De Klerk tied with Mandela for international attention and joint off to foreign clinicians to win the support of world leaders for his reforms. South Africa began developing links with Eastern Europe, the USSR, and the rest of Africa.

By the end of 1990 — despite the vast difference in vision of a free South Africa between the ANC and the Nationalists, the growing violence in the country and the continued existence of apartheid — De Klerk had managed to convince most of the world that South Africa was on an irrevocable path to democracy.

At home, however, his opponents are still waiting for him to deliver most of his February 2 promises. Critics charged him with deliberately stalling on political prisoners and refusing to set a date for the release of the 27 ANC leaders.

The security forces were repeatedly linked to violence which rocked the townships, increasing doubts about the government's sincerity.

GATSHA BUTHELEZI

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, featured prominently in media coverage of township wars.

When ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela called for Natal's Inkatha members to "throw your weapons into the sea", many expected a similar call from Buthelezi to his followers.

When this was not forthcoming, it became clear that Buthelezi's interest lay with the protection of Inkatha members rather than ending the war. His insistence that Inkatha members have the right to "defend themselves" from attacks shocked his image further.

Apart from township violence, other controversies involving Buthelezi this year can be summed up as follows:

- Buthelezi's insistence on Umkhonto 웃wesekinwe, as the only venue for Inkatha-ANC conciliation talks.

WINNIE MANDELA

The South African who received the unkindest media attention this year was undoubtedly Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Her "mist by media" regarding the circumstances surrounding the death of activist Stompie Seapuri and the subsequent attempted murder of President Mandela has added more fuel to the fire of her reputation.

As the country awaits her trial, she remains a figure of controversy and the focus of much media attention.

The ANC wanted a neutral venue, this position was seen by many communists as a bid to thwart the peace efforts.

- The familiar scathing attacks on the ANC's campaign against the violence in Inkatha.

- The Inkatha leader's public embrace of Dr Andre Venter's Conservatyve Party, a move seen by many as a desperate attempt to secure a place at the negotiating table.

The refusal to attend any unity talks involving major political organisations in the country. This included Archbishop Desmond Tutu's interim and the ANC-initiated summit of homeland leaders.

All in all, it was a year of triumph and tears, with the world watching as South Africa emerged from decades of conflict and division.
Govt refuses PAC indemnity extensions

JOHANNESBURG. — Applications for the extension of 24 PAC officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution — which expired on Friday last week — have been turned down.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the recent PAC national conference here.

Mr Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night, adding: "A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds, but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country."

PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi said in Mbabane yesterday that schools should not be used as venues for violence.

Mr Mkhwanazi said the PAC firmly believed an educated generation was essential for building a new, peaceful and democratic South Africa. — Sapa
**FW set to hit back**

Presidential Staff

President F.W. de Klerk is expected to respond in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight to the ANC’s threat to break off talks.

A spokesman for Mr. de Klerk said yesterday the president would speak on matters facing the country, including the threat at the weekend by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April. The obstacles to negotiations the ANC wants removed are the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which Mr. de Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night. In his address after the 8pm news Mr. de Klerk would respond to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC’s consultative conference, including the decision to form 11 defense units in the township government. Sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline for the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that Mr. de Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule.

The spokesman for the president also said last night that no request had been received from ANC president Mr. Oliver Tambo to meet Mr. de Klerk.

Mr. Tambo returned to South Africa last week after being out of the country for 30 years. The two men have never met.

**Group Areas**

The United States State Department yesterday criticized the ANC’s threat to suspend negotiations with the government if its conditions are not met as “unacceptable” and said it may confuse South Africans about the organization’s intentions. But the ANC’s decision to endorse and continue its negotiations with the government was significant.

Referring to sanctions, a U.S. spokesman pointed out that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 still governed U.S. policy.

The action had been taken in order to ensure that South Africa had to “clarify” before sanctions could be lifted.

Three of the conditions had already been met. There was no objection to the release of political prisoners and the call for the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

- There is widespread fear among police, military and political parties that the recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period.

The Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Koepe, responding to the ANC’s weekend call for unity in a speech to the Senate, said the government would not tolerate private political activism or vigilante actions by members of the police.

Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other. Captain Koepe said.

**From page 1**

“We can only deal with the symptoms of the violence and try to keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties and the police. The ANC’s threat are only a holding action,” he said.

The Pan-Africanist Congress has come out in support of the ANC on the continuance of mass action and said Mr. de Klerk should be isolated internally and internationally.

The Democratic Party’s spokesman on constitutional affairs, Dr. Denis Worrall, said yesterday it would be a mistake for whites “to head off for a white political kraal” in response to decisions taken at the ANC conference.

“Mr. de Klerk and the ANC rank-and-file showed yesterday that they don’t accept that whites are committed to an apartheid-free and non-racial South Africa — hence the cynicism and suspicion. The only way whites are going to break this wall will be from a democratic vantage point or by throwing their lot with black organizations like the ANC or Inkatha, and so influencing them from within.” Dr. Worrall said.

Mr. Nelson Mandela was correct in saying that the National Party could not be the referee and the party to the negotiating process, Dr. Worrall said. An independent facilitator was needed. Key state functions like security and SATV had to be put under neutral supervision and multi-party commissions had to get cracking on major issues like housing, health, education and land reform.

At Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticized the ANC’s weekend “war talk” and said the escalation of black-on-black violence “presents probably the greatest threat to peaceful negotiations that exists.”

“Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated for this to happen.”

He said the ANC had given the impression it was being opportunistic about its involvement in the negotiation process.

South Africa wants to know that the ANC will enter negotiations and abide by the consequences of agreements reached which are endorsed by the population, either in a referendum or in an election.

To present either an ultimatum to the South African government about the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the ending of repressive legislation is just not called for in any objective political terms,” Chief Buthelezi said.
WASHINGTON — The US administration is expected to give the ANC in South Africa $5 million to help strengthen its position in the process of negotiations. According to the US administration, the money is to help the ANC in its negotiations with the government and to help alleviate internal differences within the ANC. The ANC's leader, Oliver Tambo, is expected to travel to the United States in the near future to receive the funds.
ANC MEMBERS this weekend spent as much time examining their organisation as they did planning action to address the complexities involved in transforming the country into a democracy.

Only the most confident and self-assured national executive committee (NEC) members emerged from the national consultative conference with any sense of their future in the ANC’s leadership.

One was Joe Slovo, who remarked, “It was wonderful. It was democracy in action.”

This assuredness permeated through the rank and file delegates who, for the first time, felt they had got a grip on determining the policies and strategies of the organisation.

However, this week there will be many NEC members wondering — given the strong criticism of them at the June congress.

Adopted at the conference were positions which have significant ramifications for the ANC’s relationship with the government. Calmer, credible, heads in the organisation managed to tone down the most militant demands of the membership and keep the basic negotiated strategy in place, but several concessions had to be made to demands from the floor.

For example, a proposal from delegates that the ANC withdraw from negotiations if all obstacles are not removed by April 30 next year — the date set in the Pretoria Minute for the release and return of all political prisoners and exiles — was toned down to a resolution which stated the ANC would “consider” suspending its participation if all obstacles were not removed by that date.

Setting such deadlines in a complex negotiating process — potentially painting oneself into a corner — is not easy when it is the ANC negotiators who, as a result of the organisation’s adherence to the Harare Declaration, already have limited room to manoeuvre.

Another example was the militant demand that reference be made to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres deployed to head up defence units in the townships to protect ANC supporters against attack.

Realising that any resolution which was too close to suggesting this would immediately result in a major conflict with government, the drafters of the resolution on violence avoided using any language.

Instead the resolution spoke obscurely of the “necessity” resources being made available to units and of MK playing a “facilitative role in the defence of our people”.

Worse, the resolution left open to interpretation. Previously, senior ANC officials have insisted they did not envisage armed defence units operating in townships.

But if, as ANC officials believe, it means MK soldiers armed with ARA’s protecting people, this will become one of the greatest challenges the ANC faces. The KwaZulu government has yet to address.

The tone of the conference brought home to the NEC the need for an entirely new style of leadership. The infantile approach which might have worked in the 50’s, and the conspiratorial approach necessary for fighting an underground struggle, are no longer good enough for a membership which wants to be involved in as much of the decision-making as possible.

Mandela conceded as much when, in his closing remarks, he commented: “The leadership has grasped the principle that they are the cutting edge of the people and that they must seek guidance from the masses in choosing important positions and in the formulation of policy.”

However, he and colleagues face a tricky task in balancing this with the continuing need to lead from the front.

He showed himself to be up to this challenge when he attacked “men and women who use the platforms of the organisations for unprincipled discussion, who play to the gallery, whose aim is to prove how revolutionary they are, who have no idea whatsoever of what a mass movement has to offer.”

While saying he hoped there were no such people, he also acknowledged the need for an entirely new style of leadership.

Opposition to confidential meetings with government, he averred, “could only be justified by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations. . . . We are not prepared to sacrifice our duties as a leadership because of views which . . . are totally unreasonable.”

In taking a stand against a strong sentiment held by many at the conference, Mandela is taking a risk that such things will, in future, bring material rewards. So far — in the eyes of delegates at least — this has not happened.

The leadership also faced a challenge on its dealings with homelands leaders, which manifested itself in a clause in the resolution on violence. The clause said talks “with Inkatha and other surrogate governments” would take place only after full consultations with all the regions of the ANC, particularly those affected by violence.

In a less than direct reference to this, Mandela argued that certain (unnamed) governments, especially those in Angola and Mozambique, had refused to talk to the ANC’s representatives more than a decade ago. Their economies had been shattered by civil war and they were now talking.

Especially significant in view of the analogy that the ANC has drawn between itself and the ANC. After the recent visit to South Africa by former ANC. Mandela warned members to “take account of such experiences”.

This ability to lead from the front and, equally importantly, to take the membership with him, ensured that the end of the conference Mandela emerged strengthened.

He and other leaders are going to have to continue doing so if they are to achieve their goals of building a powerful and disciplined political party and playing a significant role in the transition to a new SA.

Their foremost challenge — and government’s, for that matter — seems to be to transcend the futile exchanges of culpability for violence and begin developing structures to effectively address the root causes of the problem.
Maharaj’s resignation from NEC confirmed

THE ANC yesterday confirmed that Mac Maharaj, a key figure in Operation Vula, had resigned from the organisation’s National Executive Committee (NEC). Maharaj, who is out on bail of R5 000, and Ronnie Kasrils, who is being sought by the police, were key figures in what was originally described as a “red plot” to establish underground structures in SA in case negotiations failed.

Marcus said Maharaj had cited personal reasons, saying he wanted to spend more time with his family. Maharaj was one of a number of senior ANC members who unsuccessfully stood in recent elections for the Natal regional committee of the ANC.

Marcus said he had not resigned from the ANC.
From MONO BADELA
THE African National Congress (ANC) last Sunday ended its most important conference in 31 years with a firm commitment to continue negotiations with the South African government, although it threatened to pull out of talks unless a strict timetable is adhered to.

Delegates voted to maintain all existing sanctions against Pretoria, although they agreed that consultations should begin on easing trade, academic, cultural and sporting sanctions.

Resolutions passed at the end of the three-day conference were couched in militant rhetoric, reflecting dissatisfaction among many of the 1,600 delegates - many of whom were youths - with concessions made by their leaders at the negotiating table.

Reflect

But Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president, appeared to have consolidated his authority over the radicals in the movement, with the resolutions appearing to reflect little significant hardening in the ANC positions on key issues.

However, the ANC did impose a timetable on negotiations for the first time. It warned that it would "consider the suspension of the whole negotiation process" unless Pretoria acted before April 30 1991 to halt township violence, release all remaining political prisoners, allow all exiles to return, repeal the remaining security and other "repressive" legislation and halt political trials.

Progress in these areas has been stalled for months because of a dispute between the two sides over the ANC's decision to continue recruiting and training guerrillas despite its agreement in August to suspend the armed struggle against Pretoria.

The conference also warned the government that it "must act to end the violence which has left more than 1,000 people dead since August. Delegates threatened that the ANC would consider resuming the armed struggle if this was not done."

Defence committees are to be set up to counter the violence and will involve members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, in what officials said was a purely defensive role.

This hardline position, which Pretoria will no doubt reject as exacerbating unrest in black townships, reflects consensus within the ANC that violence has been inspired by the State to weaken the anti-apartheid movement.

But Mandela stressed in his closing address to the conference that "the overwhelming majority of our people generally and the delegates in particular support negotiations between the ANC and the government". The statement was greeted with applause from the floor.

In a masterful address at his most imperious, the ANC leader acknowledged criticism from the floor that the ANC had failed to consult its supporters sufficiently on major policy decisions.

"The leadership has grasped the principle that the leaders are servants of the people and must seek guidance from the masses," he said.

Incable

But, in a remarkably candid attack, Mandela firmly put down radicals within the ANC "who play to the gallery, whose aim is to prove how revolutionary they are, ... who are incapable of putting forward constructive ideas and who are quick to pull down what others have built".

He defended the leadership's right to continue what he called "confidential discussions with the government. In short, he stated his claim as a leader to be allowed to lead rather than having to pass every decision through lengthy democratic voting procedures."

Senior ANC leaders, who acknowledged criticism from the floor, had at times been harsh, emerged from the conference with a broad mandate to proceed with "talks about talks" at their discretion.

FREED: Ms Nontembiso Ndabeni, released from prison last Saturday for guerrilla activities, was a special guest at the ANC conference.

Mass protests to coincide with opening of parliament

THE ANC's year of mass action - announced at its conference last weekend - will start to coincide with the opening of parliament next year and reach a peak on Solomon Mahlangu Day, April 6.

The ANC decision to step up pressure on the government for the transfer of power in 1991 could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

The campaign will be launched to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly, for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and an end to political trials and detention.

The programme of mass action will include a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies - particularly the SA Communist Party and Cosatu - will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged in the context of the demand for the removal of all obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.
Get to know SACP

THE SA Communist Party’s past and future will be the subject of one of the courses of the UCT’s 1991 Summer School in January.

UWC history professor Colin Bundy and Mr Jeremy Cronin, an SACP national executive member, will discuss the origins, character and role of the party.

The course of five lectures will be held from January 14 to 18 and will include a panel discussion.

For details of registration, contact the Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies. Tel (021) 650-2888.
Tragic, but give no quarter — Tambo

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was in the midst of one of the most tragic phases in the struggle for freedom, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said.

Mr Tambo was speaking at Watville Stadium near Benoni at a welcome rally for him and his family.

He said that although South Africa was at the threshold of freedom, apartheid-related violence had claimed more than 3,000 lives in Natal in the past five years.

The mindless violence continued, claiming more lives daily and spreading like wildfire.

The East Rand had borne the brunt of the violence recently, he said, to cheers from the crowd of about 2,000.

"Hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle."

We must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said.

The only way oppressed people could free themselves was by uniting in action.

Mr Tambo called on the youth to link hands with other political structures so the liberation movement could move forward as a united front.

His wife Adelaide urged young people to return to school and arm themselves with education. Education was the key to the future.

"We should therefore prepare ourselves to take charge of our lives when apartheid is gone," she said.

Earlier, Mr Tambo visited his hometown of Benoni to an emotional welcome.

Mr Tambo officially opened Tamboville, an informal housing settlement outside Benoni. He cut a black, green and gold ribbon on land given to the squatters this year.
Who gets what via US Congress grants

WASHINGTON — The US State Department and the US Agency for International Development have provided a breakdown of who will receive grants in a proposal to spend the $10m set aside by Congress to promote democracy and negotiation in SA.

Nine grant requests were selected from 44 submissions for a total of $140m. The US embassy in Pretoria was chiefly responsible for making the choices.

The ANC receives $3.73m to enable its department of legal and constitutional affairs “to establish itself in SA”. The funds are to be spent on a year’s rent for the ANC’s national headquarters, professional and administrative salaries, equipment purchases, conference costs and travel expenses.

Inkatha’s Action Group for Democracy gets $1m for a research and information department dealing with economic and constitutional policy, training in “management, political communications and election organisations”, and office rent.

The National Republican Institute for International Affairs, a branch of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), receives $1.2m to conduct public opinion surveys, draft rules for the functioning of parties under a new constitution, and provide “political party training and infrastructure assistance”.

Its sister group, the National Democratic Institute, gets $1.2m “to enhance public awareness and understanding of the negotiating process”.

The US Information Agency gets $500,000 for projects providing “expertise” and “practical information”, while the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is allotted $500,000 to administer a conference in SA on policy alternatives.

The Washington-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law gets $400,000 to help set up a legal and constitutional advisory committee in collaboration with the ANC, and to establish a constitutional law library at “a selected SA institution”.

The Wits Centre for Policy is granted $225,000 to “identify the social and political processes required for a negotiated transition”.

The NED’s Free Trade Union Institute receives $45,000. It will assist the Co-operative for Research and Education to develop a workers’ charter based on internationally accepted standards.

In addition, $700,000 is set aside for a reserve fund “primarily to support the infrastructure requirements” of parties not yet eligible for funding because they “have not ... chosen to participate in negotiations” and have not renounced violence. If this money is not applied for by February 26, most of it will be reallocated to the ANC and Inkatha.

The NED, which is to oversee the transfer of funds, gets $500,000 for administrative costs.
Unity major issue at Azapo congress

CART TIMES Political Correspondent

EFFORTS to forge a common strategy among anti-apartheid organisations in dealing with the government will be one of the major issues debated at the Azapo national congress, to be held here at the weekend.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday that up to 2 000 delegates from across the country were expected to attend the organisation's 10th annual congress.

Mr Moodley said other key issues to be tackled included:

- The internecine violence sweeping the country;
- Azapo's demand for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, and;
- Sanctions, including the cultural and sports boycotts.

Azapo will also debate changes to its constitution, including its current system of regularly circulating leadership.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala will open the congress with a "state-of-the-nation" address on Saturday morning.

The keynote address will be delivered on Saturday night by Dr Anbalavancer Sivanandan, the director of the British Institute for Race Relations and editor of the journal Race and Class.

The two-day congress will be held in the St Francis Church-Hall in Langa.
In only one year, the political process had been normalised and all political parties could operate freely, all political leaders could participate in national debate and all ideas and ideologies were openly examined and dissected.

This had helped to change international perceptions and major strides had been made away from international isolation.

The opening up of society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears as well as dangerous and unrealistic expectations.

A state of fear had descended on many black townships. More than 3000 people had died in violence, millions of rands' damage had been caused, hundreds of thousands of young people had lost a whole year's education and in some areas local government had ground to a halt.

"Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night described Mr De Klerk's speech as "motherhood and apple pie."

"He says a great many entirely supportable things, and when he wishes us a merry Christmas, I am sure we all respond positively."

The DP leader said the recurring theme of the president's message was that the incidence of crime was unacceptable.

"Of course it is — every politician can confirm that the people are crying out for crime to be brought under control. But it is not the task of the DP to stop the crime. It is not the task of the ANC or of the Conservative Party.

"As long as Mr De Klerk runs the country it is his responsibility and that of his government."

It was all very well for the president to say that claims for an interim government or a constituent assembly must not be substituted for the negotiating process.

"We largely agree with him, but it is his responsibility to get the negotiations off the ground and running."
Tambo calls for intensified struggle against apartheid

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo told the crowd at his welcoming gathering in his home town of Wattville, near Benoni, yesterday to intensify the struggle against apartheid and to prepare to take full control of their lives.

"Let us hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle — we must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said to a tumultuous crowd of about 1,500 at Wattville Stadium.

Mr Tambo had just completed a day of reunions with family and friends in Wattville, where he lived before his 30 years of exile.

He said his return had come at one of the most tragic phases in the history of the country.

"The violence that apartheid has unleashed on our people with blind fury has claimed countless lives in Natal."

He also expressed his sorrow to the families of victims of "the ruthless slaughter which has claimed over 3,000 lives since June."

Earlier he "officially opened" Tamboville — an informal housing settlement — as well as the land marked for his house to be built in the township early next year.

Both ceremonies were marked by Mr Tambo's cutting of black, green and gold ribbons while crowds sang, danced and shouted "Viva Tambo."

Mr Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide, his two daughters, his son, grandsons, relatives and friends.

Tamboville was officially given to squatters and proclaimed an informal housing settlement after negotiations between the Wattville Concerned Residents' Committee and the Benoni town council earlier this year.

The council has provided water and mobile toilets and the area is extremely clean. There are not many residents yet.

Mr Tambo is expected to travel to his birth-town of Bizana in Transkei later this week. — Sapa
De Klerk ready to open doors for exiles

The government yesterday gazetted legislation which will allow most of South Africa's estimated 40,000 exiles to return to the country.

In notices published in yesterday's government gazette, President F W de Klerk granted unconditional indemnity to all people who illegally left the country before October 8 this year.

A separate notice unconditionally indemnifies people who were members of an unlawful organisation or who assisted an unlawful organisation materially.

The notices come just days after a resolution at the ANC's consultative conference which threatened to consider suspending the negotiation process if all obstacles — including the unconditional return of exiles — were not completed by the end of April.

It is believed that most exiles are guilty of only the offences covered by yesterday's government notice. Most estimates put the number of exiles at between 40,000 and 60,000.

"This will grant indemnity to a large number of people who have not committed any other offences," a Justice Department spokesman said yesterday.

People seeking indemnity will still have to make formal applications, as laid down in the working group agreement between the government and the ANC, and the blanket indemnity will not apply to those who committed other offences.

Although many exiles are now automatically indemnified, they still have to furnish the information required in the application form which appeared in a government gazette published last month.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches yesterday announced that temporary indemnity had been granted to a group of 28 South Africans currently living in Kenya.

This would include details such as applicants' identity numbers, whether they left without valid travel documents and whether they left at a place other than a legal port of exit.

Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, welcomed the legislation last night, but he said it would help the repatriation process if more categories of indemnity were identified.

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Police warn ANC on private armies

By Esmaé van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The police have warned that the ANC's intention to set up self-defence units in the strife-torn townships could lead to civil war.

It also labelled as totally unacceptable the ANC's plans for mass action campaigns next year, and dismissed the organisation's renewed accusations of State involvement in the township carnage as "nonsense".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, yesterday launched a scathing attack on hardline resolutions dealing with the security forces, which were adopted at the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg last weekend.

Vehemently denying police partiality in the violence, he said only a "dramatic change in attitude" from the funding parties would address the root causes of the violence.

Pretoria was silent yesterday on the ANC's ultimatum that it would consider abandoning talks if certain conditions were not met by April 30.

The Pretoria Minute sets this date as the latest date envisaged for the completion of the task of the Joint Government/ANC working group which deals with the granting of indemnity to political offenders.

Senior Government members were locked in a State Security Council meeting in Pretoria yesterday, at which the ANC's newly-adopted measures were discussed. They would not, however, comment.

President de Klerk is expected to speak on the ANC's decisions in his Christmas message on television tonight.

Observers believed the hardline policies adopted at the weekend were unlikely to endanger the peace process. They said the deadline was a compromise between the moderates and militants in the movement and was "fair" and could speed up negotiations.

In a long statement Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's warning that it might consider breaking off talks and resuming the armed struggle.

"I think it is rather sad that the ANC is taking the way it is about the possibility of resuming an armed struggle...."

"The escalation of black-on-black violence presents probably the greatest threat to peaceful negotiations taking place that exists."

Subvert

Captain Kotze said the police strongly disapproved of the formation of private political armies.

"These can only heighten the conflict in our communities and will inevitably lead to further confrontation and even civil war. These private political armies are completely unnecessary as it is the task of the SAP to protect everyone, including ANC members."

The police would not allow anyone to take over or subvert its law and order functions.

He said mass actions exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest and was therefore completely unacceptable. Mass action contained immense conflict potential which had already erupted into violence in our townships and other areas.

"The SAP will strictly, yet with the necessary discretion, enforce the law in this regard."

Responding to a hard-hitting ANC resolution on police involvement in the violence, he said: "Wild allegations of this nature must be backed up with evidence."

"The SAP categorically denies it is involved in the violence or that it takes sides. The fact that accusations of partiality are leveled at the force from both the ANC and Inkatha makes a mockery of these claims."

"Mere repetition of hackneyed allegations ad nauseam does not constitute evidence."

* Sapa reports that the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's commando units, Servaes de Wet, had no objection to the ANC's plans to form self-defence units provided "they remained in their own areas only and left the white communities alone."

Mr de Wet said the AWB had launched the countrywide commando units for white protection in direct response to the Government's release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from prison and the unhampering of various political organisations. He said the "revolutionary climate" in the country had since increased and exposed many whites to danger.

Mr de Wet pointed out, however, that the training received by AWB commando members was "a lot less aggressive" than the training received by cadres of the ANC's Umkhonto we-Sizwe who had learned "to handle explosives, bombs, rocket launchers and other weapons used in revolutionary warfare."
Azapo's stance on Govt talks

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is expected, after its national congress in Cape Town this weekend, to join the Pan Africanist Congress in declining to enter into negotiations with the Government.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, yesterday said the issue did not rank high in the list of items to be tackled at the congress as the organisation's position on talks was well known.

"There's very little to discuss on this issue except to reiterate our position," Moodley said.

Meeting

Azapo has, like the PAC, repeatedly said it would not enter into negotiations with the Government unless the process was preceded by an election of a Constituent Assembly based on one person, one vote on a common voters' roll.

The congress, to be held under the theme, "Defend the People, Fight for Neo-colonialism and Advance Socialism", is the most crucial annual meeting since the organisation was formed about 12 years ago.

"The congress is extremely important because of the obvious developments taking place in the country. It comes at a time when there are deep divisions among liberation movements and when the international community is giving the Nationalist regime a new lease of life," Moodley said.
Aid fund on way back after ban

LONDON — The International Defence and Aid Fund is to transfer its activities back to South Africa, where it was banned nearly 25 years ago, it decided at a special conference.

The fund plans to use its resources to provide defence for those in court for opposition to apartheid, and to inform the world about apartheid.
PAC indemnity plea for officials rejected

APPLICATIONS for the extension of Pan Africanist Congress officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution, which expired last Friday, were turned down.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of PAC officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the organisation's national conference in Johannesburg.

Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night and inadequate arrangements were made.

"A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country", he said.

-Supa
THE Government believed the establishment of ANC "self-defence" units was "completely unnecessary".

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday police were "completely opposed" to the formation of private political armies.

These armies could only lead to further polarisation and ultimately constituted a recipe for civil war, he said.

Kotze said: "The SAP will not allow the law to be broken in this regard. It is the task of the SAP to protect all the citizens of South Africa, including ANC members, and the formation of political military structures is therefore completely unnecessary."

He said only a drastic change in attitude between warring groups would solve politically motivated violence.

Meanwhile, SAPA reports that the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging's commando units had no objection to the ANC's plans for creating self-defence units in black townships - provided "they remained in their own areas only and left the white communities alone".

Mr Servaas de Wet, Sea Point's retired police station commander, started the countrywide Boer commando system seven months ago and was appointed its commander-general shortly thereafter.

He said the AWB had launched the self-defence units for white neighbourhoods in direct response to the Government's release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the legalising of political movements.

"There now is a revolutionary climate in South Africa in which police stations are being attacked with impunity, police patrols ambushed and murdered and civilian communities left practically unprotected by understaffed police," he said.

Over the past two months, the commandos' membership had increased by 365 percent. The greatest growth was shown in the Vaal Triangle and the eastern Transvaal, he said.

"The AWB's central infrastructure and communications systems are now in place and our units are being trained countrywide in self-defence methods," he added.
Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading

For an exceptional moment, South Africa was full of hope. From the day Nelson Mandela walked free in February to the night he suspended his movement's armed struggle in August, black and white South Africans were moving towards peace.

Since August the road has been blocked by township slaughter, the security forces' misconduct, and retribution all around.

Political violence is killing 10 South Africans a day — three times as many as in past years.

Mr. Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk on November 27 was the sweetest they have had.

Outsiders need to decide who is to blame for this impasse as they consider whether their sanctions against South Africa should be continued.

The European Community may lift some sanctions — partly on the ban on new investment — at the EC summit that begins next Thursday.

The United States and the Commonwealth may follow suit next year. Official sanctions matter, not least because they influence where private money goes.

It has not been going into South Africa: lower exports and capital flight have kept real GDP growth below the 5 percent a year the economy needs to absorb all the young blacks pouring into the workforce.

The only argument for imposing this degree of pain on South Africa — and disproportionately on South African blacks — has been that it was needed to prod whites into serious moves towards sharing power.

Mr. de Klerk has made these moves. In particular, he has done the three things The Economist recommended six months ago as the condition for dropping sanctions: he has lifted the state of emergency, agreed to free political prisoners, and began to let black exiles return.

He has also promised to rescind the Land Act (which reserves 80 percent of the land for white owners) and the Group Areas Act.

The only argument for prolonging sanctions is that, unguided, Mr. de Klerk will backtrack.

Mr. Mandela argues that he will. The African National Congress is starting to wonder, he says, whether Mr. de Klerk has really abandoned apartheid.

He cites the President's insistence that, in return for permitting black exiles to come home, the ANC must stop organizing demonstrations.

He points to the security forces, saying they shoot when blacks demonstrate and look the other way when whites beat up black schoolchildren.

He laments Mr. de Klerk's refusal to hand over to a government of transition, or to accept the ANC's proposal for a constituent assembly.

Mr. Mandela's complaints are by no means persuasive. Peaceful demonstrations are a normal democratic right, but in abnormal South Africa they often turn lethal.

The security forces are regarded to many quarters as a menace, but Mr. de Klerk is trying to control them, and often succeeding.

As an interim administration sounds reasonable, but the Government already consults Mr. Mandela's people frequently, and the ANC is shy of the responsibility even that brings.

A constituent assembly raises the question of how to elect it — and an answer would go to the heart of the constitutional issue before the assembly even met.

The worst guarantee of Mr. de Klerk's genuineness about negotiations in that he has no way of turning back.

By uncorking black politics, he has destroyed the old white monopoly.

He must call an election within four years. If he has not first created a new security, based on reconciliation, the white voters will probably boot him out.

In fact Mr. de Klerk has embraced change more thoroughly than the ANC has.

Whereas he swiftly persuaded his party to accept non-white members, the ANC agonised about whether it really has given up its armed struggle (which, anyway, was a token).

The Congress has also delayed a meeting between Mr. Mandela and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, without which the end of township violence and the start of negotiations seem impossible.

Instead, the ANC talks of intensifying its (unarmed) struggle, which includes the disruption of townships until sewage leaks onto the streets.

Perhaps it is Mr. Mandela who now needs the goading.

The ANC sympathisers plead for time. If Mr. Mandela moves too quickly, they say, hardliners will undermine him.

Yet dithering probably threatens him even more. Plenty of blacks are sick of demonstrations and boycotts. Far fewer are attending the ANC's rallies; some estimates, the crowds are down to a tenth of their old size.

Some of the disillusioned may have joined the radical Pan-Africanist Congress. But more — judging from the scathing evidence — now back faster reconciliation, in the shape of Mr. de Klerk.

The ANC'suteness is caused in part by simple disorganization.

It is understandable that, after years of exile, banning and prison, the ANC wants to get its act together before taking on Mr. de Klerk's negotiators, who bristle with fax machines and car phones.

It is understandable but not forgivable: South Africa's blacks have no time to spare.

As the days slip by more of them get killed; more nurses detain; tribal harmony be ever more remote.

And more blacks get violence and disturbing, businesses, who are whether the new South good food.

By the late 1990s government will be investment. What will be the whole to scrap same, Economist News Service

Nobody seems to have referred to the fact that the only technology

...
Mac Maharaj retires from ANC post

ANC executive member Mac Maharaj, implicated in "Operation Vula", has "retired" from the organisation’s leadership.

Both Mr Maharaj — the first senior ANC member to have been detained since the organisation’s unbanning — and the ANC remained silent yesterday on rumours that he had quit the leadership in protest against the lack of "practical" steps taken to secure his release.

Mr Maharaj, who is also an SACP central committee member, was arrested in July in connection with the alleged ANC/SACP insurrection plot. He was released on R80 000 bail in early November, but his indemnity from arrest has not been renewed.

Speaking from the Mayfair, Johannesburg, home of ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa, Mr Maharaj yesterday declined to comment on the reasons for his resignation. He referred all inquiries to the ANC.

ANC spokesman Gilly Marcus said yesterday Mr Maharaj had informed the organisation in June that he would "retire" for personal reasons in December. This was before "Operation Vula" had been exposed, she said.

She would not comment on speculation that Mr Maharaj had quit in protest against the ANC’s inadequate efforts to secure his release.

Mr Maharaj was not on stage with the other members of the ANC’s national executive committee at the organisation’s consultative conference, which ended on Sunday.

An ANC source revealed on Sunday that Mr Maharaj had quit, and that the ANC would not make his resignation public at this stage.

Relations between the ANC and the Government turned sour after the Government in August refused to renew the indemnity from arrest of Mr Maharaj and senior colleagues Ronnie Kasrils (currently in hiding) and Umkhonto we Sizwe, chief of staff Chris Hani.

Mr Hani was later given temporary immunity from arrest, while Mr Kasrils had been labelled "armed and dangerous" by the police and is still being sought.

In a declaration adopted at the consultative conference the ANC called on the Government to “stop hunting” Mr Kasrils and other “comrades in hiding”. The ANC recommitted itself to “defending our comrades".
Mass action is unacceptable, says De Klerk

President F W de Klerk last night challenged the ANC to choose between supporting the commitment of its leaders to peaceful negotiations and reverting to the old order of confrontation and conflict.

In a hard-hitting televised address to the nation, De Klerk rejected the ANC's programme of mass action as one of a number of undemocratic and unacceptable strategies employed by the organisation.

The ANC had refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in SA. However, "for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic," De Klerk said.

He said the ANC continued to talk about the transfer of power while it knew the purpose of the proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

"The organisation was trying to preempt the necessary negotiations and constitutional process by its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government," he said.

De Klerk said the ANC continued to advocate outdated revolutionary doctrines and radical methods "knowing full well that these militate against a true commitment to peaceful solutions."

He said it was disappointing that some political movements were still caught up in undemocratic and unacceptable strategies and methods.

"It is also disappointing that at its recent conference the ANC appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation."

The government would not allow a state of anarchy in the country, would not capitulate to radical pressure and would not shrink back from using all available resources to ensure stability, De Klerk said.

He said government would steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation next year, but there would be no compromise on the protection of basic democratic and civilised values.

"We will continue to build a new SA in step with the free world ... which will assure peace, prosperity, progress and political participation for all our citizens," he said.

Tim Cohen reports that an ANC spokesman said last night that the organisation stood by the decisions of its consultative conference, but that it would provide "clarification" of these decisions.

The spokesman said the ANC had taken note of the points raised in De Klerk's address.

If government required clarification or more information about conference decisions, it would be provided. The spokesman would not comment further.

De Klerk said strategies that were undemocratic and unacceptable were:

- Violence to advance political objectives;
- Intimidation to terrorise others or to force them to act against their will;
- The incitement of racial hatred and slo-

De Klerk also warned of violence against black South Africans.

Non-payment for services;
Mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which may result in violence; "Such mass action breeds confrontation and conflict. Some of those involved imagine that they can dictate the future of SA by inflammatory mass mobilisation. That is the road to disaster," he said.

Also unacceptable were the increasing incidence of crime and the role of radicalised youth who had caused or greatly inflamed many of the problems.

De Klerk spent a large part of his message addressing violence. He said while great strides had been made, the opening up of SA society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears among some, and dangerous and unrealistic expectations among others.

The high level of social unrest had too
Tragic phase for SA, says Tambo

By Thabo Leshilo

South Africa was in the midst of one of the most tragic phases in the struggle for freedom, ANC president Oliver Tambo said in Wattville, near Benoni, yesterday.

Mr Tambo, who has been in exile for 30 years, was speaking at a welcome rally organised for him and his family by the local community. The rally was held at the Wattville Stadium.

He said that although SA was at the threshold of freedom, the violence that apartheid was visiting upon people had claimed more than 3,000 lives in Natal in five years.

The mindless violence continued claiming lives and had spread through the country.

The East Rand had borne the full brunt of the violence recently, he said, to cheers from the crowd of about 2,000.

"Hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle. We must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said.

The only way oppressed people could free themselves was by uniting in action, he said.

Mr Tambo called on the youth to link hands with other political structures so that the liberation movement could move forward as one united front.

His wife Adelaide urged the youth to return to school and arm themselves with education.

"We should, therefore, prepare ourselves to take charge of our lives when apartheid is gone."

Earlier, Mr Tambo visited his hometown of Benoni to an emotional welcome from friends.

Sapa reports that Mr Tambo officially opened Tambovilli, an informal housing settlement outside Benoni.

In the shade ... ANC president Oliver Tambo, watched welcoming rally at Wattville Stadium, Benoni, yesterday. (PIcture: Alf Kumalo)
ANC direction a path to disaster, warns FW

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

State President F W de Klerk last night accused the ANC of continuing to advocate "extreme revolutionary doctrines and radical methods", and warned that the organisation's plans for intensified mass action campaigns next year would lead the country to disaster.

In his end-of-year address to the nation, broadcast on TV, Mr de Klerk expressed disappointment at the course taken by the ANC at its first consultative conference in South Africa in 10 years.

The weekend decisions appeared to be a step back towards "outdated rhetoric" and would fail the test of confrontation.

However, he indicated that the Government was aware that the ANC's top leaders, in adopting a hard-line attitude, had bowed to the pressure from militants.

Mr de Klerk said: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they really prepared to follow their leaders' commitment to Graca Machel and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions; or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

He sternly warned that intimidation, violence and the disruption of essential services would not be tolerated.

Mr de Klerk further criticised the ANC for:

- Continuing to talk of the transfer of power, while the organisation knew that the purpose of proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.

- Continuing its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government, thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation process.

- Refusing to acknowledge that fundamental change had taken place.

Reiterating that the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable, Mr de Klerk said the Government had determined to take "whatever further action may be necessary" to ensure peace.

He announced that important policing activities aimed at restoring stability in violence-torn areas had stepped up shortly.

The Government also intended stabilising local government in order to enable the redumption of basic services to all black communities.

Responding to the speech last night, the ANC said that the Government should provide an explanation for its actions at the end of its consultative conference at the weekend, which would be given.

ANC spokesman Gill Mashaba said the organisation had "taken note of the points raised in President de Klerk's address."

Zimbabwe planning to 'confiscate land'

HARARE - Multinational companies with farmland holdings in Zimbabwe would have them confiscated by the Government in terms of the controversial new land programme, senior sources in the ruling ZANU-PF Party said yesterday.

They quoted Witness Mangwende, the Minister of Agriculture, as telling the ZANU-PF central committee at the weekend that legislation being drafted aimed expressly at taking the multinationals' land.

The sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the legislation was part of the Government's new land policy which held that foreign investors should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation follows parliament's approval last week of an amendment to the constitution which adds to the Government's powers of confiscation by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation - and stops affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare lawyer, Robin Hardley, said land values could be fixed at nothing substantially less than the market value and could cause banks to seize huge amounts owing to them, which were unascertained and not payable.

A financial analysis said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers. - Sapa.

’T’ Shotgun’ aims to be a big hit

By Gezine Jaffe

The cheerful strollaway they call 'Shotgun' is on target to become one of the big hits of the Pembanter Junior Cricket Week in Johannesburg.

Luvuyo Gezengana (13) is determined to make it to the top.

Three years ago, the Eastern Province selectors left Shotgun out of the UK Week under-13 side.

Selectors could not believe their eyes as we arrived in Port Elizabeth when he climbed out from under a bus seat.

They played him in some of the games and since then he has made his mark as a batsman and bowler.

This is his second year at the Week and with a handful of wickets already to his credit, Shotgun, through the EAGU's township scheme, has the opportunity to develop up into a top all-rounder.

Eric Gezine, chairman of the Ziva Cricket Union and Shotgun's coach for the last three years, along with EFF's Adrian Botha and Donald Mil, said that cricket had replaced soccer as Shotgun's first love.

TED matric examination results posted at schools tomorrow

Transvaal Education Department (TED) matric results will be posted at schools from 3 pm tomorrow.

The Star will publish a special matric supplement with all the results in all editions on Friday.

A special telephone service will also be available at The Star from midnight on Thursday. For TED results, phone 633-2165 or 633-2293.
PAC warns on sanctions

WINDHOEK - The Pan Africanist Congress has warned Western countries that any relaxation of sanctions now against South Africa would constitute a "recipe for increased violence" in the country, PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr. Gora Ibrahim said yesterday.

"Any relaxation of sanctions now will not help propel the struggle in our country but rather it will constitute a recipe for increased violence."

"The Western countries will be responsible for the increased violence caused by the premature relaxation of pressures and sanctions against the apartheid regime," he told a media briefing in Windhoek.

Ibrahim, who is based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, attended the Africa Fund meeting in the Namibian capital last week after taking part in the PAC congress in South Africa.

He said the decision by the European Community this week not to prohibit new investments in South Africa was a violation of the United Nations consensus resolution adopted last December, "because the UN consensus resolution categorically states that all forms of pressure against the apartheid regime, particularly sanctions, must remain in place until apartheid is eradicated". - Sapa.
ANC member Mr Mac Maharaj yesterday refused to comment on rumours that he had quit the organisation’s leadership and the SA Communist Party in protest against the lack of steps taken to secure his release from jail.

Maharaj, implicated in “Operation Vula”, was arrested in July in connection with this alleged ANC/SACP insurrection plot.

Released on bail in early November, his indemnity from arrest has not been renewed.

Well-placed sources said it was widely believed in ANC circles that Maharaj’s decision had been prompted by the failure of the organisation to intervene to secure his release.

The ANC had been surprised by the arrest, as they had not expected the Government to detain members while the organisation was still negotiating with them and many political prisoners were being released far in advance of the completion of their sentences, the ANC sources said.

The rumour that Maharaj had resigned from the national executive committee started when he failed to appear or apologise for this at the ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg over the weekend.

He said yesterday he had nothing further to add to the statement made by the national executive committee on the subject.

In an apparent reference to reports that had also said he had resigned from the SA Communist Party, Maharaj, who was reached at the home of Mr Nelson Mandela, also said: “The organisation will comment”. - Sapa.
Tambo goes back to his Benoni roots

THE president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, yesterday returned to his hometown of Wattville, Benoni, after an absence of more than 30 years.

Accompanied by his wife Adelaide and other members of his family, Tambo briefly toured the township he last saw 31 years ago when he left the country to establish the then outlawed ANC in exile.

Frail and visibly weak, the 73-year-old ANC president, who walks with the aid of a stick, told more than 2 000 ANC supporters at a hastily arranged rally at Wattville Stadium that the people would be faced with a challenge of protecting their gains once apartheid had been crushed.

"We must prepare ourselves if we unite in action and act in unity," he said.

After visiting his sister's home in the township, Tambo went to a newly-established squatter camp named after him to cut a ribbon to officially open the camp.

He also visited a site at Dubbo Street where his house is to be built in the near future.

The house is expected to be completed by June next year when he and his family finally return from abroad to settle permanently in the country.

By SY MAKARINGE

"We can only free ourselves if we unite in action and act in unity," he said.

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The house is expected to be completed by June next year when he and his family finally return from abroad to settle permanently in the country.
Inkatha is alarmed at ANC units

THE ANC's stated plans to form self-defence committees in the townships were slammed by the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday as "no more than a thin disguise for Umkhonto we Sizwe to rebuild its underground terror structures".

The IFP regional leader for the Vulinilela area, Mr David Ntombela, said in a statement that moreover, the African National Congress' self-defence plans for the townships had already been urged by the ANC's Natal-Midlands leaders three months ago.

Ntombela said this weekend's announcement by the ANC was met by the IFP's Natal members "with considerable alarm".

He claimed that the ANC-Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala and the Cosatu branches had first mentioned setting up self-defence units in the Pietermaritzburg area in October. Gwala had allegedly issued a concerted call for ANC supporters in the Midlands area to "pay special attention to this task". - Sapa
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night warned that the Government would not “capitulate to radical pressure.”

He said this in a message to the nation on TV.

From his address it was clear that as far as he was concerned the time for the mailed fist had come, and he would not hesitate to use it.

In a tough and uncompromising stance, he said: “The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders’ commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions: or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?”

He said his Government would not hesitate to use “all available resources to ensure stability.”

He said in addition to measures the Government had taken this year – such as declaring unrest areas, strengthening the police force, using the SADF “where necessary” and the establishment of the R3 billion fund to tackle socio-economic issues – it would shortly announce more measures in regard to both security action and positive initiatives.

In a blunt warning to the PAC, he said slogans such as “one settler one bullet” were unacceptable.

This is the first official reaction by De Klerk to decisions taken at the recent ANC and PAC congresses, and to a renewed campaign of mass-mobilisation by the ANC.

He singled out seven areas which he said were unacceptable. These were:

* The countrywide violence;
* Intimidation, which he said was irreconcilable with democracy;
* The incitement of racial hatred through such slogans as “one settler one bullet”. He said South Africans should not tolerate those who fanned the fires of racial hatred;
* Non-payment of services and rents. He said some communities may be faced with the collapse of services;

*No*
Political change only is futile, says Mbeki

JOHANNESBURG. — The implementation of political change not underwritten by economic change would be a futile exercise, ANC director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki said last night.

Addressing a group of businessmen attending a National Federation of Transport Organisation dinner party, he said economic change could take place only with the training of blacks and the opening up of equal opportunities for them.

"We are presently talking to Spoor and the SA Airways to consider restructuring their management schemes in preparation for the transitional phase," he said.

It was the responsibility of all South Africans to try to resolve "our differences without having to lose lots of lives". — Sapa
‘Subdued’ ANC response to FW

Political Correspondent

President F W de Klerk’s hard-hitting state-of-the-nation address has met with a subdued response from the ANC.

In his televised address Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of fanning the flames of confrontation. He rejected the ANC’s mass action strategy as undemocratic and unacceptable and charged that the ANC’s demand for a constituent assembly was an attempt to pre-empt the negotiation process.

Mr De Klerk also said the ANC refused to acknowledge that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa and suggested there were divisions within the organisation between the leadership and the rank-and-file membership.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that the organisation had taken note of the points raised by Mr De Klerk.

However, the organisation stood by the decision taken on a number of critical issues at its weekend consultative conference.

Should the government require clarification or more information about the conference resolutions or decision, these would be provided, the ANC spokesman said.
Top PAC man for Azapo's city congress

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PAC's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, will deliver a message to Azapo's 10th annual congress in Cape Town at the end of the week.

This comes at a time of increasing moves towards unity among anti-apartheid groups and amid growing calls for black political organisations to form a "patriotic front" in confronting the government.

Attempts to forge a common strategy in dealing with the government in relation to proposed negotiations are expected to be a major theme at the Azapo congress.

Azapo, the PAC, the ANC, the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action have demanded that a constituent assembly, elected on a common role, draft a new constitution.

There has been a growing tendency during the past year for these organisations to invite representatives from other parties to attend their congresses as observers.

The Azapo congress will be attended by a large PAC delegation, including its secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille, secretary for information Mr Barney Desai, Western Cape secretary Mr Madoda Mvunda and Western Cape vice-chairman Mr Sisa Mhambi.

About 2 000 delegates will attend.
Hendrickse expects
bid to oust him

Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday said he believed a dissident group was planning "to do a Thatcher" on him at the party's 25th annual congress in the city next week.

However, he was confident he would weather any attempt to oust him.

Mr Hendrickse said the dissidents were a small group of "reactionary right-wing types" in the party. If such a challenge was mounted, it would be the first time his leadership was formally opposed at a congress.

He said the congress would largely deal with the LP's political future and a new political dispensation. The LP policy of a geographic federation would come up for thorough scrutiny.

President F W de Klerk will be the keynote speaker when the congress gets formally under way at the Goodwood showgrounds on Friday morning.
FW and Tambo hint at future meeting

A MEETING between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo seems on the cards — although no arrangements for talks have yet been made.

Both leaders hinted this week that a meeting between them is likely.

Mr Tambo, who returned to South Africa last week, told Agence France Press he might be willing to hold talks with Mr De Klerk.

And the president’s office, after being asked about a meeting, told the Cape Times: “The president has not had a request to meet Mr Tambo.

“If such a request does come forth, it will obviously be considered.”

As Mr De Klerk went on leave yesterday, a meeting is unlikely to take place in the near future.

Although President De Klerk has had a number of meetings with the ANC’s deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, he has never met Mr Tambo.
Senator slates US grant to ANC

WASHINGTON — The US administration’s decision to give the ANC more than a third of the $10m set aside by Congress to promote negotiations in SA is leading to calls that the so-called “Transition to Democracy Project” be scrapped altogether.

“Neither the SA government nor its opponents need US assistance to negotiate a fully representative, free market political system,” Republican Senator Jesse Helms has told the administrator of the US Agency for International Development (AID), Ronald Roskens.

Helms is particularly angered by AID’s decision to grant the ANC $3,73m while giving Inkhatha $1m.

The ANC, he contended, could not get 37% support in its own country “without the use of violence, terror and intimidation”.

Under the current proposal, the ANC, Inkhatha and the Centre for Policy Studies would, between them, receive about $4,8m.
**In the game of politics, the NP is streets ahead**

**The Negotiation Process** by Gavin Evans

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**The ANC**

nelson mandela's release: 10 months on, the ANC has moved towards an electoral front. For a few months, it was swept up by the euphoria which this created, before being confronted by a set of troubles which threatened to undermine the movement. But while it has succeeded in attracting thousands of white and Indian members, its support in the white community is limited and the ANC may be seen as an racist movement.

**The government**

The ANC has faced some challenges, but it has also shown resilience. In October, the ANC announced a new strategy to engage with the ruling National Party. The strategy involves building bridges with the NP, as well as with other opposition parties. The ANC has also established a new committee to oversee its engagement with the NP.

**The SACP**

The SACP has been a key player in the negotiations. It has played a crucial role in bringing the government and the ANC together. The SACP has also been involved in negotiations with other opposition parties.

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**Key players: President FW de Klerk**

The NP has shown some signs of weakness in recent months. The government has been criticized for its failure to make substantial progress in negotiations. The NP has been under pressure to make concessions, but it has so far resisted.

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**ANC leader Nelson Mandela**

Mandela has been the face of the ANC in recent months. He has been involved in negotiations with the government and has played a key role in bringing the ANC and the NP together.

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**The SACP**

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ANC cleric accuses CCB of parcel bomb attack

By ANDREW MELAFUMI

ANGLICAN priest and African National Congress member Father Michael Lapsley accused South African President FW De Klerk of responsibility for the parcel bomb which nearly killed the militant cleric in Harare this year.

Both Lapsley's hands were blown off and one eye destroyed by the April 28 blast which came in a book mailed to him from South Africa, according to evidence held by the Zimbabwe police.

Speaking publicly for the first time since the explosion, Lapsley addressed a protest demonstration in front of the South African Trade Mission in downtown Harare on Monday.

"It was the South African government through its sinister Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) which mailed that bomb to me," charged Lapsley, shaking the metal hooks that now serve as his hands.

"The bomb was not supposed to injure me, but to kill me. Ultimately De Klerk holds responsibility for those covert death squads. Pretoria still maintains a Department of Death, a department to kill the opponents of apartheid inside and outside South Africa."

Lapsley (43) urged the international community to maintain pressure on the South African government through sanctions.

"The international community is making a mistake if it thinks apartheid is gone just because Nelson Mandela has been freed and the ANC and the South African Communist Party are now legal," he said.

Many in Harare believe that it was Lapsley's effective campaigning for sanctions in Canada, Australia and his home country of New Zealand, that caused him to be marked for assassination.

Surveying the crowd of some 300 ANC exiles at a few hundred Zimbabweans holding anti-apartheid banners, Lapsley said: "I am surprised to see so many of my South African sisters and brothers still here. I thought you would have been in South Africa by now."

As a result of his injuries Lapsley went to Australia for several months for reconstructive surgery and therapy before returning to Harare last week.
Azapo faces three main issues at its congress

This month has been a busy month for black political organisations in South Africa. Early in the month saw the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) holding national congresses in Ulundi and Johannesburg respectively.

The PAC's congress, the organisation's first in the country in three decades, attracted more attention especially because one of the main issues on its agenda was the government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks.

Neutral venue

The PAC rejected the government's invitation, saying negotiations had to be preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly. However, the organisation said it was prepared to talk to the government in "neutral venue" about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

At its first consultative conference to be held in the country in 50 years, the African National Congress reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and called for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which has welcomed the demands for a constituent assembly from the PAC and the ANC, will hold its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. This will be Azapo's second congress in less than a year.

Three issues

Azapo, which received a "talks invitation" from the government after the PAC got theirs, was the first to reject the invitation, taking a position similar to that taken by the PAC.

Unlike the PAC, Azapo did not say it was prepared to enter into talks about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

There are at least three main issues to be discussed at Azapo's congress this week, according to the organisation's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

Azanian People's Organisation must deal with several important issues when it holds its congress starting tomorrow. KAIZER NYATSUMBA, The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg looks at some of the issues facing the organisation.

These are, a linkage of the demand for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unhindered political activity"; Azapo's recognition as a liberation movement by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations - which at present recognises only the ANC and the PAC; and the "consolidation" of the organisation's leadership and membership.

In an interview, Dr Mokae said Azapo was the first to call for a constituent assembly, when other organisations were calling for a national convention. Azapo welcomed the fact that the PAC and the ANC had now joined the call for a constituent assembly, and believed the government would soon give in to the demand.

However, at its congress this weekend Azapo will link the call for a constituent assembly with a call for unhindered political activity. This, Dr Mokae said, was in the light of the recent violence he alleged was perpetrated by the government and the ANC.

Resigned

Dr Mokae confirmed reports that Azapo president Professor Humilele Ngosa Mosala had resigned his lecturing post at the University of Cape Town to take up a job he had been offered abroad. However, Professor Mosala has made himself available for the presidency, but so also have Nkosile Molah, Lybon Mabasa and others.

Although Dr Mokae refused to say if he was himself available, he is believed to be one of the favourites. His position as Transvaal vice-president is an added advantage, and in the past two months he has been granted interviews and giving statements on behalf of the organisation.

Dr Mokae said the congress, like all other major functions of Azapo in the past, would also be attended by members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). Azapo would not "publicly flaunt" these people, nor would it apply for them to be granted limited indemnity.

Violence

"We in Azapo believe the people who need indemnity are not from the oppressed class. They are from the ruling class and have been responsible for all kinds of violence for many years," he said.

Azapo, which prides itself in having been the first to call for a united front of the oppressed, is expected to once again express itself in favour of such a front. The PAC and the ANC have also endorsed the call for a constituent assembly.
Grim ordeal—but ANC emerges stronger

THE African National Congress' national executive committee members emerged from their consultative conference on Sunday looking like they had just had their wisdom teeth removed. It had been a grim ordeal, some of them seemed to be saying, but nevertheless a worthwhile and necessary experience. The organisation had emerged strengthened for the challenging new year ahead.

The main value of the conference was that it permitted an airing of the grievances that ANC supporters have expressed with mounting frustration over the past year. The organisation came out with much the same policies and the same leadership, but NEC members have a compelling reason for listening to what was said: they face re-election in six months. The drawback is that this might restrain them in attempts to formulate the kind of strategic vision necessary to counteract the government. And, curiously, though the rank and file made it clear that the organisation would have to become more democratic, the ANC emerged from this conference more dependent than ever on the skills of deputy president Nelson Mandela to keep the show on the road.

Still, the ANC surprised its critics, some of whom have attempted to delegitimize it to the status of a basket case political organisation. The searching self-examination that took place last weekend was a major advance for the movement, and it was balanced by strong and frank leadership from Mandela, who ended the conference in top form, and firmly in charge of proceedings.

The leadership was exposed to the full blast of the militancy of the rank and file. The violence in the townships and the perceived intransigence and petty obstructionism of the government heated up the debate tremendously. There was also genuine anger at the leadership for not consulting, particularly over the suspension of armed struggle.

In his closing address, Mandela gave a lawyer-like summary of the arguments at the conferences. The delegates had expressed serious reservations about the way the ANC had handled issues such as negotia-
Genial FW sets the tone for a clash with ANC

The state president's festive season message was gilt-wrapped — but it contained a strong warning. **JO-AHNE COLLINGE** reports

**Despite** the Christmas wrapping, President FW de Klerk's festive season message was one of no compromise and pointed to a head-on clash with the African National Congress in the not-too-distant future.

In genial tones, the National Party leader made it clear to his large television audience this week that the "purpose of proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interests of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided".

De Klerk firmly put the ANC's recent reaffirmation that it was striving to secure the transfer of power to the majority beyond the rules of the NP's negotiating game.

The president's speech reinforced the impression created by the ANC's recent consultative conference that 1990 — despite being a year of incredible change — had not fulfilled its early promise. And at a fundamental level, "the more things change, the more they remain the same".

From his bag of observations, De Klerk produced two promises for 1991:

- **Intensified** police activities to prevent "crime, disorder, unrest, and intimidation".
- **The stabilisation of local government so that basic services can again be supplied to these areas.**

The latter raises speculation whether some form of interim local government — attempting to involve popular organisations and bridge the divide between township and white town — is in the pipeline.

De Klerk, in a quarter of his speech to a critique of the ANC-gathering — which made the continuation of talks conditional upon the government's removal of obstacles to negotiations by April 30 and the continued suspension of the armed struggle conditional upon the state's putting an end to political bloodshed — De Klerk expressed the view that the ANC "continued to advocate outdated revolutionary doctrines".

Playing on the fact that the ANC's renewed militancy emanated from the rank and file rather than the national leadership, the president asserted: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitments at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

The prospects of heightened friction over mass action were confirmed by the president's attitude. In the face of the ANC's assertion that the weekend of 1991 would be a year of mass action for the transfer of power, De Klerk made it clear that the "normalisation" of political activity notwithstanding, he saw mass action as essentially linked to the disruption of society and the breeding of conflict.

"The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable," he warned.

In a bid to position himself in the "reasonable" middle-ground, De Klerk took a swipe at the political violence which has crippled the Reef in the latter part of the year, emphasising with those touched by the "state of fear and terror" (which) has descended on many of our black townships".

Assiduously avoiding identifying the initiators of this bloodshed, De Klerk nevertheless promised an "intensification and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in the affected areas" in the new year.

Inkatha escaped the president's critical eye despite its well-documented role in escalating violence, and the main velvet-toned tongue-lashing was reserved for the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ultra rightwing were nipped over the knuckles.

Said De Klerk: "The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as 'one settler, one bullet' and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable."
No plan for De Klerk-Tambo talks

There appear to be no plans for a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC president Oliver Tambo. The State President's Office said yesterday the suggestion had not yet been made.

Mr Tambo has been reported as saying he might be willing to have talks with Mr de Klerk. He told a French news agency this week that such a meeting would be arranged by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she was not aware of any specific plans for a meeting. — Political Reporter.
‘Keep violence out of politics’

By Kaizer Nyatumbu
Political Staff

The Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) will link its demand for a constituent assembly with a call for “free and unhindered political activity”, says Azapo Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

In an interview with The Star, Dr Mokae disclosed that Azapo would make the demands at its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. Only once these demands had been met would Azapo enter into negotiations, he said.

Azapo recently rejected an invitation from the Government to enter into exploratory talks with a view to paving the way for real negotiations, saying it would only negotiate within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Now that other organisations, notably the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), had joined the call for a constituent assembly, Azapo found it necessary insist on freedom of political activity, said Dr Mokae. This was specially necessary in view of the recent violence.

He said if this linkage were not made, the National Party and the ANC “with its history of violence and political intolerance” could end up being rewarded with “bloody votes”.

Dr Mokae denied Azapo was moving the goalposts. He said a constituent assembly could take place only in a climate free from intimidation and violence.

The congress, the second to be held by the organisation this year, will start on Friday.

The second deputy president of the PAC, advocate Dikgang Moseneke, will personally deliver a message to Azapo’s 10th annual congress on Saturday.

The PAC delegation to the congress will include internal foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille, Mr de Sai, western Cape secretary Madoda Mvundla and western cape vice-chairman Sisa Mhambi.

Three issues facing Azapo

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Azapo must deal with three important issues

December 1990 has been a very busy month for black political organisations in South Africa. The first weekend of the month saw the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) holding national congresses in Umlazi and Johannes-
burg respectively.

The PAC's congress, the organisation's first in the country in three decades, attracted more attention especially because one of the main issues on its agenda was the Government's invitation to the PAC to hold exploratory talks.

The PAC rejected the Government's invitation, saying negotiations had to be preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly. However, the organisation said it was prepared to talk to the Government in a "neutral venue" about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

At its first consultative conference to be held in the country in 30 years, the African National Congress reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and called for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which has welcomed the demands for a constituent assembly from the PAC and the ANC, will hold its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. This will be Azapo's second congress in less than a year. Azapo, which received a "talks invitation" from the Government after the PAC got theirs, was the first to reject the invitation, taking a position similar to that taken by the PAC.

Unlike the PAC, Azapo did not say it was prepared to enter into talks about the modalities of a constituent assembly.

There are at least three main issues to be discussed at Azapo's congress this week, according to the organisation's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomotso Mokae.

These are: a linkage of the demand for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unblinked political activity"; Azapo's recognition as a liberation movement by the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations - which at present recognise only the ANC and the PAC; and the "consolidation" of the organisation's leadership and membership.

In an interview, Dr Mokae said Azapo was the first to call for a constituent assembly, while other organisations were calling for a national convention. Azapo welcomed the fact that the PAC and the ANC had now joined the call for a constituent assembly, and believed the Government would now give in to the demand.

However, at its congress this weekend Azapo will still link the call for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unblinked political activity". Azapo's vice-president, Dr Mokae said, was in the light of the recent violence he alleged was perpetrated by the Government and the ANC.

Dr Mokae confirmed rumours that Azapo president, Professor Tsotsobe Mosia, had resigned his lecturing post at the University of North-West to take up a job at the University of Cape Town. However, Professor Mosia has made himself available for the presidency, but no other news of Dr Mokaze, Mosia, or delegates to the Congress has emerged.

Although Dr Mokae refused to say if he was himself available, he is believed to be one of the few black South Africans with an in-depth knowledge of the organisation's political and organisational structure.

Azapo, which prides itself in having been the first to call for a united front of the oppressed, is expected to once again express itself in favour of such a front. The PAC and the ANC have also endorsed the call for a constituent assembly.
Groups slam De Klerk over speech

The ANC and PAC yesterday reaffirmed their commitment to a constituent assembly despite strong criticism from State President FW de Klerk.

On the other hand, the Azanian Peoples Organisation dared De Klerk to use the malled fist and repeated its call to all other liberation groups to get together to act against the Government.

The ANC’s deputy head of information, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said De Klerk’s address to the nation on television on Tuesday night contained nothing new.

He hit out at De Klerk’s criticism of the PAC slogan “One settler, one bullet”, saying it was “nothing but hysteria”.

“‘The only significant thing about his speech is what he did not say. He said nothing about all exiles returning, when political prisoners will be freed and when security legislation will be repealed,’” Kathrada said.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said his organisation still wanted a constituent assembly.

“Our policy is a peaceful one. All we want is a constituent assembly. Why don’t they give us what we want instead of telling us it’s impossible.”

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance “noted with satisfaction” what it said was De Klerk’s acknowledgement of the role other political groups had to play in the negotiation process.

The group praised De Klerk’s statement on the curbing of violence.
Matter of fact

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has objected to a report which appeared in Tuesday's Sowetan under the headline: "Azapo's stance on Govt talks".

The report stated that Azapo was expected, after its national congress in Cape Town this weekend, to join the Pan Africanist Congress in declining to enter into negotiations with the Government.

The organisation has since brought it to our attention that the decision not to take part in negotiations was taken in March and endorsed at its national council meeting in September this year. The error is regretted.
PAC call for end to rising violence

The liberation groups should pull their heads together about the escalating violence and jointly find a solution, the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, said yesterday.

He also called, in his Christmas message, for an intensification of sanctions on all fronts.

Mr. Makwetu said 1990 was the year about talks for talks, the release of a few political prisoners and the return of a tiny group of exiles, but it was no use crying over what had happened — instead one should plan for 1991.

"The misguided slogan 'liberation before education' should be a slogan of the past," he said.

"Our education is in a crisis now. We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu Education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open."

Mr. Makwetu said the PAC trusted that the Azanian masses would turn 1991 into a happy new year "by destroying white domination and creating peace through justice."
Azapo stays firm on negotiations

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) would not budge from its refusal to take part in negotiations when its 10th national conference met in Cape Town this weekend, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

"We are not going to waste our time negotiating," he told a press briefing.

Key issues facing the conference included strategies for stopping and discouraging violence in the black community and ways of preventing a "neocolonial sell-out solution".

Mr Moodley said Azapo's opposition to talks with the National Party government had been endorsed at its March conference after consultation with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Mr Moodley dismissed the decision of two Durban members to withdraw from Azapo and establish the Revolutionary People's Movement as "a bid to make mischief by little boys who are insignificant".

Mr Ambalavaner Sivanandan, director of the British Institute of Race Relations, will deliver the keynote address at the conference tomorrow.

The two-day conference takes place in the St Francis Centre, Langa, and starts at 10am today with Azapo president Professor Jerry Mosa's "state of the nation" address. It is open to the public. — Sapa
PAC message: it is time for education.

TIM COHEN

The misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

"Education was in state of crisis," he said. "We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open." 

He said 1990 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front. "We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.
Top Azapo men resign

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — High-ranking members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) here have resigned to form the Revolutionary People's Movement.

In a statement issued on the eve of Azapo's 10th national congress, the chairman of Azapo in Durban, Mr Imrann Moosa and secretary Mr Monwabi Vuza, said they were disillusioned with Azapo's position on negotiations because it was no different from those of the ANC and the PAC.

Mr Moosa and Mr Vuza dismissed the proposed constituent assembly as "a sham through which a new oppressive ruling class would emerge."
Bop expels doctor and ANC man

A MEDICAL doctor and an ANC member are to be expelled from Bophuthatswana for activities “not conducive to the public interest” of the homeland.

Dr. D.A. Green and ANC Secretary General Mbhatho have been served with warrants for their removal from the homeland by January 1, 1991.

The ANC yesterday condemned the plan to expel them from the country. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of the deportation order.

In a statement, a spokesman for the Bophuthatswana Ministry of Internal Affairs said both men had been operating on work and residence permits issued to them in terms of the Aliens and Travellers Control Act. On review, these permits had not been renewed.

In its statement, the ANC said Daphne had refused to sign the order.

It called for an end to “Mangope’s systematic war against peaceful, democratic political activity” and said Daphne and his wife had both previously been detained without charge in Bophuthatswana.

Bophuthatswana’s Department of Internal Affairs was unavailable for further comment. Green and Daphne could not be reached. — Sapa.

GOVERNMENT is releasing political prisoners who fall into the disputed public violence category, a move that is likely to affect a large number of prisoners says ANC official Penuel Maduna.

Maduna is a member of the joint group working on the issue of political prisoners release.

In an interview yesterday he said although there was still disagreement about the definition of some political offences, the ANC had the impression that people convicted of throwing stones or committing arson in unrest circumstances were being considered political prisoners.

However, Maduna stressed government still regarded as important the exact context in which a particular act of public violence was committed.

Criticised

Maduna said government had accepted a definition of political offences which covered these cases.

The ANC was expecting the release of more than 50 political prisoners by the end of the year, but criticised government for “not having the necessary will” to speed up the process, he said.

The ANC estimated that less than 100 out of 3500 political prisoners had been released.

Maduna said the ANC had “floated” prisons with indemnity application forms and was beginning to get feedback from prisoners.

He denied reports that prisoners were hesitant to sign the forms, saying the response had been good and that prisoners wanted to come out to play a constructive role in the political process.

He guessed government was hesitant to release prisoners because of its “wrong perceptions.”

“People in government think that if they release the commanders of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and allow thousands of militarily-trained people from outside to come back into the country, the situation will get out of hand.”

Once they disburse their minds of this wrong perception that all hell will break loose once these people are out and once the exiles are back, things will move even faster.”

He said the ANC felt it was not necessary for prisoners to be placed in a particular legal category.

“The government comes out with categories exactly because of its wrong perceptions.”

Attempts to obtain comment from the Justice Department this week on political prisoners’ release were unsuccessful.

Vlok rejects newspaper allegations

PRETORIA — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday rejected newspaper allegations that police had abandoned two wounded men in the face of an alleged Zulu impu attack in Thokoza earlier this month.

The allegations, run in the Weekly Mail last Friday, were based on video footage taken in the township.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber said his newspaper had evidence that the two men were still alive when the police left. He asked why police had not bothered to contact independent witnesses during the past week.

A second area of contention centred on scenes of impu passing two stationary police vehicles. When the impu retreated
Buthelezi calls on whites to back FW

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged white South Africans to support President F W de Klerk to ensure the success of the negotiation process.

In a year-end message to whites, Buthelezi said it was the strength of the whites' commitment to negotiations that would prescribe "the speed with which we can begin notching up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national levels."

"And the more powerfully they back De Klerk, the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them to establish a SA in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites."

He added that he and "many other black leaders" would be working next year to eliminate political violence. They would be working towards a stabilised and normalised SA in which whites could make their mark as a "party to the salvation" of the country.

PAC message: it is time for education

TIM COHEN

The misguided slogan "liberation before education" should be a slogan of the past, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

"Education was in state of crisis," he said. "We should not only be thinking of giving away with Bantu education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open."

He said 1989 was marked by talks about talks, the release of a few political prisoners, and the return of a tiny group of exiles.

Violence had been escalating in alarming proportions. While the PAC could not specify a solution, if liberation movements worked together, he was confident an answer would be found.

The PAC had called for a united front.

"We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination, irrespective of political persuasion, to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end."

The PAC was appealing for an intensification of sanctions, he said.
Brokers sent scurrying as short circuit triggers blast

A BRIGHT flash followed by billowing smoke yesterday sent brokers scurrying for cover at the JSE annex across the road from the main JSE building, prompting one wag to say the event took some of the sparkle off the gilts market.

The JSE had to be evacuated shortly after lunch following the electrical malfunction. Security officials feared the gas resulting from the blast might have been poisonous.

But the interruption only lasted about 30 minutes, after which the brokers drifted in.

JSE president Tony Norton said trading was not affected for long although power in the building had to be turned off for a short time.

Only the computers on the gilts floor had been affected for any length of time before the JSE's back-up power sources came into operation.

He said trading on the floor had been slow anyway, and rejected the suggestion that the power malfunction resulted from an attempt to inject some energy into the floor.

He also rejected the idea that the malfunction was the result of brokers attempting to make an early getaway before the Christmas holidays, saying the blast was "definitely unaccustomed".

"This is really irritating, " he said, commenting on the fact that the JSE had just moved into the building on August 10.

He said the large box where the malfunction occurred, just outside the lift on the first floor, was burnt out from what had clearly been a short circuit.

Azapo labelled a sellout by breakaway branch

THE Durban branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has withdrawn from the organisation and established the Revolutionary People's Movement (RPM), saying it had been apparent for some time that Azapo was "hanging onto the coat tails of the ANC".

Azapo's Durban chairman Imran Moosa and secretary Monwabisi Vuka yesterday accused the organisation of being in no different a position from the ANC and PAC regarding a negotiated settlement.

A constituent assembly would be "a sham through which a new multicoloured, exploitative, oppressive ruling class would emerge", they said.

By late last night there had been no comment from Azapo on the breakaway.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday, Azapo vice president Peter Jones said he hoped recent rank and file criticism of the ANC would make that organisation less hostile towards a consultative conference of liberation organisations.

Jones said partially representative talks between liberation movements and government would not solve intercultural violence. These organisations needed to meet on a representative forum in order to have the capacity to intervene and resolve conflict by peaceful means.

Azapo had formally adopted a position towards a meeting between liberation movements, involving the ANC, PAC and others, to move towards a consultative conference. — Sapa.
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Police blow up Mandelas' gifts

THREE Christmas presents in a parcel sent to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie were blown up by police outside the ANC's national head office in central Johannesburg last night.

ANC security officials alerted police at 5.25pm that the suspicious-looking parcel wrapped in M-Net Christmas paper had been put through their X-ray screening machine. 

The operator noticed what appeared to be wires in two of the gifts inside the parcel, a policeman on the scene said.

Police explosives experts arrived at the scene at 5.50pm and searched the Munich Reinsurance building which houses the ANC head office. Traffic officers cordoned off roads around the city block before the bomb squad blasted open the parcel with a small detonating device in the middle of Sauer Street.

The parcel was found to have contained two desk lamps with M-Net inscriptions and a book entitled The Holistic Smuts — A Study in Personality.

Patrons at the Hotel Elizabeth, next door to the Munich Reinsurance building, were only slightly distracted from their sundowners, and gathered at the hotel entrance, drinks in hand, to take in the action.

It was unclear last night who had sent the gifts to the Mandelas. M-Net spokesman John Badenhorst denied that the TV station had sent lamps or books to anyone, including the Mandelas.

"Whoever sent those parcels to the Mandelas was not from M-Net," he said.
Unity is eluding liberation groups

THE African National Congress calls it the “patriotic front”, the PAC says it is the “united, principled front” and Azapo dubs it the “consultative conference.” Whatever one chooses to call it is immaterial. What is important, however, is that at last there is a unanimous consensus among the country’s three major liberation movements that unity is the best weapon for achieving political freedom.

They may not agree on the name, but they definitely agree like never before, that a common strategy, with which to confront the Government, needs to be formulated in order to achieve what they had been fighting for all these years.

While they seem to have accepted the fact that none of them can claim to be the sole custodians of the struggle for liberation, they appear to be admitting that the time for political one-upmanship and intolerance, mudslinging and vilification must be a thing of the past if genuine democracy, peace and stability are to prevail in this country.

Afrikaner

Although one would not like to use the Afrikaner unity as a yardstick because it was based on racism, one cannot ignore the fact that the National Party achieved power through unity, drawn from the old Dutch slogan, Een Dracht Maakt Macht (Unity is Strength).

When State President F W de Klerk unbanned the organisations on February 2, everyone was caught off balance. Many people thought De Klerk was committing political suicide.

But, as it later turned out, De Klerk had another ace up his sleeve.

He had, it now seems, capitalised on the disunity that was prevailing at the time. His watershed announcement did more harm to black unity than ever before. Some organisations cried foul to the Government’s intentions, but this was immediately dismissed by others as just rhetorical hogwash. The ANC, for example, was criticised for entering into “talks about talks” with the Government.

Political intolerance became the order of the day as the liberation movements tried tocupstate one another by hanging their dirty linen in public.

There was no doubt that political intolerance, which stemmed from lack of unity, was a major contributory factor in the carnage that claimed thousands of innocent lives in recent months.

There were no winners, only losers.

The savage way in which blacks butchered another black made everyone sit down and take stock of themselves.

Sanity prevailed when the liberation movements, despite their political differences, found their feet.

The initiative of a united forum was first mooted by Azapo when, concerned about the unnecessary bloodletting that was going on, the organisation invited the ANC and other movements to an emergency meeting at Funda Centre in September.

Political intolerance was at its peak at the time and the initiative hit snags when certain organisations refused to take part. Some said they would participate provided certain organisations also attended. Others said they would take part only if a certain organisation was not allowed to attend.

The meeting did take place but failed to bear any fruits as major players in the political arena did not even care to take part. Others made half-hearted efforts while some gave flimsy excuses for not attending.

Undeterred by this, Azapo continued to press for a “consultative conference” of all organisations which fall under the ambit of liberation movements.

But the call for such a conference was a lone voice in the wilderness until the issue was taken up by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Right Reverend Bishop Desmond Tutu, when he called all black leaders to his Bishopscourt residence in Cape Town.

Problem

The call for unity was soon echoed by the PAC, at least publicly, and not long after its national congress about two weeks ago. At its consultative congress at the weekend, the ANC also agreed on what it called the “patriotic front”.

Although all three movements agree to this in principle, the big problem facing them is how to approach it. The problem is compounded by the fact that one of the players, the PAC, has set pre-conditions for such a front, saying it must be based on certain principles, including:

- Non-cooperation with Government-created structures.
- The acceptance of a democratic solution via a constituent assembly.

Another burning question is whether Inkatha Freedom Party, homeland leaders and so-called cultural movements such as Imbokodo and Inyandza should be part of this unity.

There is argument in some quarters that Inkatha is a political party and the Government does not fall under the ambit of liberation movement. Others, however, argue that Inkatha should not be left out as it was an issue in the current violence.

As for homeland leaders and their structures, there is a strong feeling that they should not be part of this deal as they see themselves as “committed crimes against humanity” by perpetuating the racist policies of apartheid.

As it emerges from its consultative conference, certain members of the ANC are dissatisfied with the way the leadership was willing homeland leaders into its fold.

The three major liberation movements already agreed on certain aspects towards the attainment of freedom. They include the convening of a constituent assembly, which the Government firmly rejects.

The PAC and Azapo have declined to be part of a negotiating process while the ANC is considering pulling out of the talks if certain conditions are not met by April 30 next year.

The three also agree on the intensification of the struggle on all fronts, while the ANC says it may consider resuming the armed struggle if the Government did not remove the remaining conditions conducive to negotiations proper.

It is highly unlikely that such a front can be realised overnight. But if unity is to be achieved, the organisations should concentrate on issues which bring them together than on those they have differences. They can maintain their independence, but speak in one voice when the opportunity arises.
ANC role on SA culture is attacked

THE ANC's department of art and culture was "causing a great deal of concern and confusion" on the cultural front, the director of the South African National Gallery, Miss Marilyn Martin, said on Wednesday.

Speaking at a cultural convention in Cape Town that was hosted by World Vision and Pen International, she said the ANC's cultural boycott had "profoundly affected the scope and quality of the productions and exhibitions offered in South Africa".

"The national culture towards which this country is striving, and which contains the very process of nation-building and of national unity, will be poor and desperately lacking in substance if we have to fall back on our own undernourished and depleted resources alone.

Education "And yet we should have enough faith in our own, cultural production and potentialities to welcome outside influences," Martin said. South Africans had been deprived by an education system that did not provide adequate access to either Western or African cultural influences.

In addition, the efforts of the masses to express themselves culturally had been negated or actively opposed.

"We must remember the wealth of culture which we have lost, which has been destroyed and banned and we must prepare ourselves for the cultural enrichment which the returning exiles are bringing," she said.

R180 000 gold bar arrest

A CARLETONVILLE miner was arrested on the road between the town and Johannesburg on Wednesday after police found a R180 000 gold bar strapped to his waist. Captain Bram Wid, of the Gold Unit in Randfontein, said the man was spotted by Potchefstroom He is a miner at Western Deep Levels Gold Mine.

Wild said it was unusual to catch someone stealing a gold bar although miners were
Groups to meet

THE Azanian People's Organisation, ANC and PAC have agreed to hold a consultative conference but have still to agree on a date, according to Azapo official Mr Peter Jones.

Representatives of the three organisations met during Archbishop Desmond Tutu's recent peace summit to discuss the idea of a consultative conference.

"We agreed on the need for a conference. What we could not agree on was a date," said Jones.

No decisions on negotiations with the Government will be taken at the conference, said Azapo publicity secretary Mr Srin Moodley.

"De Klerk's threats this week reinforce Azapo's position. We have already said his mandate is to ensure white dominance."

Sowetan Correspondent.
Azapo meets in Cape Town

The Azanian People's Organisation would not budge from its refusal to take part in negotiations unless it meets in Cape Town tomorrow, said Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley.

Key issues facing the conference included strategies for stopping and discouraging violence in the black community and ways of preventing a "neo-colonial sell-out solution".

An "aggressive programme of political action for 1991 for members of Azapo to engage in at grassroots level" would also have to be decided on, said Moodley.

The programme was meant to overcome the "paralysis and depoliticisation which the negotiations euphoria has produced".

Moodley said Azapo's opposition to talks with the National Party government had been endorsed at its March conference after consultation with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Azapo vice-president Mr Peter Jones said the organisation remained committed to a consultative conference between liberation organisations which would decide on future strategy.

Sivanandan, a Sri Lankan who has worked in the United Kingdom for the past 25 years, said he saw racial oppression as complementing class exploitation.

He asked the press not to refer to his doctoral title, as this was how "rightwingers" in Britain referred to him.

The two-day conference takes place in the St Francis Centre, Langa, and starts at 10am with Azapo president Prof Jerry Mola's "state of the nation" address.
Two top Azapo officials resign

Two high-ranking members of the Azanian People's Organisation in Durban have resigned from the organisation to form a new group, the Revolutionary People's Movement.

In a statement issued on the eve of Azapo's 10th national congress, the chairman of Azapo in Durban, Mr Imran Moosa, and secretary Mr Monwabisi Vuza, said they were disillusioned with the organisation's position on negotiations.

They said Azapo's position was not different from those of the ANC and the PAC.

Contacted in Cape Town for comment yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley dismissed the RPM's allegations as "rubbish".

He said Azapo was busy with preparations for its congress starting in Cape Town today and would respond to the allegations and the split after the congress.

Azapo and the PAC have rejected the Government's invitation for talks and the ANC is already involved in talks.

Moosa and Vuza dismissed a constituent assembly as "a sham through which a new multi-coloured, exploitative, oppressive ruling class would emerge".

They said that since about 1983 Azapo could hardly call itself a Black Consciousness organisation because "at the heart of BC lies action with and among the masses, and there was little evidence of this in Azapo's operations".

It had been apparent for some time that Azapo was "hanging on to the coat-tails of the ANC".

Sowetan Correspondent.
Sobukwe Forum meets Inkatha

The escalating of violence was discussed yesterday at a meeting between the Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum, a group of Pan Africanist Congress dissidents.

In a statement from Ulundi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said agreement was reached on the direction for a new South Africa. The meeting also agreed that it is time to end "the traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism".

The statement said this would benefit the whole African continent. The leader of the Sobukwe Forum, Prof Makhaola Bolofo, said the forum was not a separate organisation but was instead a pressure group within the PAC.

He said the banning of the PAC had led to a "loss of constitutional direction".

Prof Bolofo called on the PAC to allow the national executive committee, elected in April 1959, to resume its functions. - Sapa.
The anti-apartheid struggle's US link

ANC US representative Lindiwe Mazibuko: Black people in the US support us because they have their own form of apartheid.

LJM: I thank you must have been from the publicly given to the visit. It had an enormous, electrifying impact on the people of that country. We have never in our lifetime seen such an outpouring of emotions over a black man and one who is not a native son of the US. The last time we saw anything like that was in some of the rallies of Martin Luther King. But, even then, you never saw the kind of crowds in every city, and every town, of people filled stadiums.

This must be credited to the work of the AAM in the US. It had worked, some times without recognition, putting paper, making phone calls, organizing, preparing, mobilizing, whatever it was in the schools or the trade union movement, to push our position.

I wish to emphasize the historical role that has been played by the trade unions there, by the churches. Because the whole question of discrimination and sanctions became such a compelling moral issue that really took root firmly within the churches and the colleges.

Many people who had been involved in these struggles over many decades in the colleges had gone out of school and were in various occupations, but still pursuing that cause. What the visit seemed to say to the people of the US was: Your work was worth it. You imposed sanctions on your government, on your President, and he listened.

Indeed, they take the leadership of the ANC as their own leaders.

We have to understand that they have worked to hard because it is so close to them, since they have had their own form of apartheid.

It was also surprising to see the US government come out in support with material resources. Millions of dollars were sent into the United States, to make sure that nothing happens to American soil to our delegation, particularly to our deputy-president.

And this happened when the US is not even giving economic assistance to the ANC. But that fact alone that the government ensured through generous resources that the visit was successful... made it a state visit, even though, if officially, it was not. I do not know what a state visit looks like that was not one.

In the financial capital of the US, New York, business stopped because the only business of the day was greeting ANC leaders in town. I mean, that was history in living colour.

NtN: Does the partial lifting of sanctions by the European Community mean that you will have to redouble your efforts to convince Americans not to follow suit?

LJM: When FW de Klerk was in, the US, US president George Bush, unfortunately, announced that the process of change in South Africa was now irreversible. Of course, we know that this is not correct. The process is faced with many dangers. There are many changes which we want to see before sanctions or any other measures in terms of the isolation of the apartheid regime are removed.

When Bush made that announcement, we knew that he was signalling to the EC that they could now begin rethinking sanctions, and, of course, we saw the consequences.

He himself could not do it because he is lid up by American legislation. This legislation puts conditions that have to be met before sanctions can be lifted.

These include the repeal of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, which have not yet been repealed.

It also points out that free political activity must be achieved and by that means that a climate must be created for a one-person, one-vote system.

We know there is a desire on the part of the Bush administration to assist the De Klerk regime by removing this legislation. But we know that there is going to be a lot of pressure from forces on the ground in the US, from the AAM, and from Congress.

The situation here is not as easy as at the EC, because racism is part of what the American people also have to deal with in our situation.

They will question why it is so easy for De Klerk to get away with massacres. We have seen how they apply sanctions in the case of the Gulf. It is a very relevant example of how sanctions work when white people are not involved.

We know why sanctions are not working properly, because they are protecting a white minority regime.
Azapo, the Azanian People's Organisation, will stage its congress this weekend in Cape Town to discuss sanctions and the unity of the liberation movements.

The organisation wants liberation movements to develop a strategy for a common assault on the government and will call for the maintenance of sanctions imposed on South Africa by the international community.

Azapo holds its tenth annual congress in Cape Town this weekend on the theme "Defend the People, Reject Neo-colonialism, Advance Socialism".

Azapo publicity secretary Sirini Moodley told NEW NATION that the critical issues on the congress agenda would be a program for unified action; sanctions and other strategies of isolating South Africa; and the consultative conference of liberation movements.

Recent conferences of both the ANC and PAC have called for the maintenance of sanctions.

Azapo wants liberation movements to develop a strategy for a common assault on the government. The apparent shift towards lifting sanctions should be attacked and exposed for the opportunity it represents, Moodley said.

"Azapo will seek ways and means by which the international community can be confronted on its decision to give further credibility to the nationalist regime in the light of continued exploitation and oppression," he said.

The government had done "nothing" for the oppressed people, he said. The international community's collusion with the nationalist regime was therefore a betrayal of the people of South Africa inspired by selfish motives.

Moodley said Azapo felt that the liberation movements and their armed wings should not only continue the armed struggle but seek ways to work out a strategy for unified action.

This need for a common assault on the government has inspired Azapo to motivate the PAC and a consultative conference for the liberation movements.

The idea has gained great currency, with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela calling for "a patriotic liberation front" at last week's ANC consultative conference. The PAC has also called for a united front.

So far, Azapo has secured an agreement in principle for the organisations to come together.

Azapo intends to draw together those organisations determined to change the status quo. This, according to Moodley, would include the ANC, PAC, SA Communist Party, New Unity Movement and Workers Organisation of South Africa.

However, homeland and other government-created structures would not be invited, which would exclude the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), he said.

The keynote address at the Azapo congress will be delivered by Sri Lanka-born activist Anbavaler Sivanandan, the director of the Institute for Race Relations in London and an analyst on racism, liberalism and the anti-apartheid movement.
Sobukwe Forum meets Inkatha

NATIONAL unity and the escalation of violence were discussed yesterday at a meeting between the Inkatha Action Group for Democracy and the Sobukwe Forum, a group of Pan Africanist Congress dissidents.

In a statement from Ulundi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said agreement was reached on the direction for a new South Africa.

The meeting also agreed that it is time to end "the traditional division between African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism".

The statement said this would benefit the whole African continent.

The leader of the Sobukwe Forum, Prof Makhaola Boloko, said the forum was not a separate organisation but was instead a pressure group within the PAC.

He said the banning of the PAC had led to a "loss of constitutional direction".

Prof Boloko called on the PAC to allow the national executive committee, elected in April 1959, to resume its functions. - Sapa.
It is going to become fashionable to argue that the position of perceived ANC moderates must be shored up by all who wish to see the emergence of a democratic SA.

Oliver Tambo, quietly questioning the shelf life of sanctions; Nelson Mandela, stating the case against impulsiveness; Thabo Mbeki so acutely aware of changing world perceptions of the ANC — these are the leaders who have to be supported against the rising clamour of militancy represented by the 1 600-odd delegates to the historic Consultative Conference last weekend.

We take the point. While it is difficult to see the ANC going “back to the bush” — as the khaki-clad Winnie Mandela puts it — there are already so many obstacles in the way of constitutional talks that the prospect of the old-timers being overthrown or weakened is depressing.

On the other hand, the kind of leadership shown by the National Executive Committee as it stands is also depressing. No new ideas, no apparent hankering for the pieties of Sixties revolutionism, incompetence — these are all elements in a picture of devastating muddle.

This is not good for government — or business — and it would be pleasant if it could all be wished away. The trouble is that the leadership is evidently resented most by many of those it claims to lead and that the penalties could well include splits, palace rebellions and a defection to the Left, such as the PAC and its like.

Mandela referred to the impossibility of sounding out popular opinion within the ANC on every issue he discusses with F W de Klerk in unscheduled meetings. He is quite right — and should have spoken even more forcefully, since he has had to deal with rapid, uncontrollable events in a year beyond all our wildest dreams. He has a right to do so, since he has dedicated much of his year to travelling abroad in search of funds for the ANC; since, to much of the world, he is the ANC.

And since they made him their leader, they should allow him to lead. Consultation is one thing; taking orders from the bottom up is another.

Unfortunately, his and the moderates’ position can hardly improve in the months ahead, once final obstacles to the return of the exiles and release of political prisoners are cleared away and the remaining apartheid laws are abandoned.

More militancy is likely to increase the precariousness of his position and he may well find his second year of freedom more difficult than the first.
ANC CONFERENCE FM 21/12/90

AFTER THE HONEYMOON

The lesson for government from the ANC Consultative Conference this past weekend is clear: if it wants to negotiate with radicals it should continue dragging its feet. But if it is serious about a negotiated peace it has to move fast to strengthen the hand of moderates within the ANC.

The meeting was the most significant in the history of the ANC and gave the clearest indication of the challenges it faces. To its credit, the organisation made no attempt to disguise the blood-letting; indeed, deputy president Nelson Mandela devoted an hour in the final session to discussing it. The fact that he ended in command was reassuring and a tribute to his leadership qualities.

The meeting was attended by 1,603 delegates from around the country and overseas. The average age was well under 30 and they dragged the leadership over the coals in unprecedented fashion. A hardline attitude prevailed over pragmatism in several areas — in particular, the maintenance of existing sanctions and the formation of defence committees backed by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The conference revealed what many analysts have been saying: the ANC leadership is out of touch with its members inside the country, and its failure to include internal leaders at the talks table was a serious mistake. Few National Executive Committee (NEC) members have dirtied their shoes by consoling the victims of violence in the townships, by visiting squatter areas, by consulting their constituencies.

The challenge for the leadership is to educate their followers politically. Slogans and war talk need to be dimmed — even though the conference clearly wanted a harder line — and the niceties of diplomacy must be introduced.

The membership clearly does not understand the tactics the leadership is using. For instance, Mandela had to explain the subtleties of encouraging homeland leaders to work with the ANC. In a reference to this, and the fratricidal war with Inkatha, he referred obliquely to Mozambique and Renamo, who are now holding peace talks in Rome: "The war has not brought about what they hoped to achieve. I would hope that our comrades would take cognisance of that and take measures to ensure that such tragedy does not befall us."

The cogent sanctions paper, written mainly by international affairs head Thabo Mbeki and calling for sanctions to be used with more tactical skill to force advances, was not even discussed. Apparently delegates refused to discuss the document and told the NEC they never wanted to see anything similar again.

The leadership acceded to these angry protests and a position paper that could have kept the sanctions initiative with the ANC was rejected and a hardline approach maintained. One gloomy member of the old guard admitted to the FM that the NEC had failed to get documents to regions early enough for discussion; instead of delegates seeing Mbeki's plan as a means of strengthening sanctions as a weapon, they regarded a removal of sanctions as a way of "rewarding De Klerk."

The debate on violence, according to delegates, was the most emotional and influenced all other discussion. The second lesson for government is that it must somehow find effective means "other than further oppression," as Mandela put it, to stop the violence. Once again, the actions and image of the police will be vital.

On the other hand, it was surely no coincidence that Mandela's wife, Winnie, came dressed in combat gear to the closing conference, where there was emphasis on the rapid establishment of defence units and the obliquely worded "facilitative role" MK will now play in the "defence of townships."

The townships are already more heavily armed than they have ever been. The line between defence and pre-emptive attacks or outright assaults is a very fine one: soldiers may understand the difference but do untrained citizens wielding pangas or AK-47s? The potential for civil war is terrifying. The ANC will have to proceed with extreme caution here.

The leadership did not mutually accept the hammering it received at the conference. While conceding certain points, Mandela criticised "the men and women who play to the gallery . . . to prove how revolutionary they are, who have no idea whatsoever of working in a mass movement, who are totally incapable of putting forward constructive ideas and are quick to pull down what others have built."

The NEC accepted that there would be no discussions on a new constitution until all obstacles to negotiations are removed — the lifting of repressive laws (in particular the Internal Security Act), the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

There seems to be no reason — beyond bureaucratic fumbling in his civil service or mutiny among his senior colleagues — that President F W de Klerk cannot fulfil his side of the bargain in these areas, before the ANC's deadline of April 30 (which is in fact no more than the deadline agreed to by government in the Pretoria Minute).

The capacity to get things done, to get beyond the fine words and ideas — this will be the ultimate test of De Klerk's leadership, as it will be of Mandela's. More than ever, while remaining intense adversaries, they need each other — and it is in the interests of each to avoid weakening the other wherever possible.

EMBASSY BLAST FM 21/12/90

NOISES RIGHT

A Foreign Affairs official has been detained by the police in connection with the bomb blast which occurred at the residence of US Ambassador William Swing in October. The name of the official is P J Kruger, who has been working at the department's Development Co-operation section (which deals with foreign aid) since August.

Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Alynne Reesberg confirmed the detention to the FM on Tuesday. But "justice must take its course and the department cannot comment on the matter at this stage," said Reesberg.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha condemned the bombing at the time. He asked police to take steps to ensure that missions represented in SA get the necessary protection. "The investigation will continue until the culprits are apprehended," said Botha.

Swing was at home when the attack took place in the early hours of October 4 after he had been entertaining guests a few hours before. The home-made bomb was fastened to a gate which leads to the swimming pool, tennis court and braai area in the garden. No one was injured, but the blast caused considerable damage.

All recruits to Foreign Affairs are
Dissident ANC, PAC exiles back

JOHANNESBURG. — Eleven exiles — mostly dissident ANC or PAC members — arrived here from Kenya yesterday afternoon expressing hope that their grievances with their organisations would be resolved.

"We had and still have some misgivings about the functioning of these organisations in exile. Many of these grievances still await resolution," the group said in a statement.

"Nevertheless, we are coming home with the spirit of reconciliation and in hope that these issues will be attended to with the fairness they require."

Initially 18 returnees were expected yesterday, but some of them had dependants in exile who had not been registered with the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles (NCCR) and thus did not have travel documents, according to the organisation's chairman, the Rev Frank Chikane.

The rest of the group are expected to arrive home tomorrow. In total, about 34 exiles in Kenya are expected to return to South Africa by tomorrow.

In their statement delivered at Khotso House the group — most of whom were part of the "Soweto 1976 generation" and left the country around that time — expressed their dissatisfaction that apartheid was not yet totally eradicated.

There were scenes of jubilation at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday as families were reunited.

One of the returnees, Mr Peter Ngcamu, left the country in October 1976 and saw his son, Junior, who was born three months later, for the first time.

Those who returned yesterday are: Fikile Mdeleni and Bandile Ketelo of Cape Town; Mzwandile Bopheka of Bloemfontein; Zamxola Thoma of East London; Isaac Mogotsie of Alexandra; Peter Ngcamu, David Lephotso, Victoria Motauqng, Themb Pakubeko, Mandl Ncasi and John Sebe, all of Soweto. — Sapa
LONDON. — A key anti-apartheid organisation, the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), has decided to transfer its operations to South Africa.

The organisation was banned in 1966 in South Africa and moved to Britain.

The decision was taken at a recent special conference of the IDAF's international council of trustees in London, called to consider the fund's future in the new situation that existed in SA since the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in February.

According to an IDAF statement, the conference expressed concern that progress in removing repression and implementing the Pretoria Minute had been slow.

Activist organisation to return to SA

"Political prisoners had not yet been released in the numbers expected and political trials were still continuing.

"The conference agreed that the need for the work of the fund of providing legal defence for those in court for their opposition to apartheid, and aid for their dependants, as well as keeping the world informed about apartheid, still remained... but this work could now be better done in South Africa where it could be based in and be supported by the community."

The IDAF conference was addressed by ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nhobe, Mr Achmet Dangor of the Kagiso Trust, and the Rev Beyers Naude, who presented his keynote address, giving his view of the situation in SA.

The fund's objectives are to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures, support their families and dependents, and to keep "the conscience of the world" alive to the issues at stake."
HELEN Suzman, former MP for Houghton, is now president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. She has never been known to mince her words. This also holds true for her opinions of players on the political stage. When they were imprisoned, banned or exiled, she fought for their rights. Now she does not hesitate to criticise them if she sees fit. THEO Coggins interviewed her for Race Relations News.

HELEN Suzman's outspoken views in defence of a just system know few bounds. This became clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

So, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman said that she could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come, and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr de Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "international situation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rosalie Troop, Fleur Hollings, Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Constitution Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the National Party.
could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

A Black resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "total onslaught" threat.

Mrs Suzman is also convinced of the President's sincerity: "He'd have to be a very good actor to come across the way he does if he didn't mean it."

There is no rancour in Mrs Suzman as she reflects on the changes of the past few months.

"I want to make it clear that I do not care who makes the changes or does the work, what is important is that it happens.

Nevertheless, the frightful scenes of the past few months show how easy it is for activists to take over if the great mass of people, the silent majority, allow them to do so, she says."

It is in this climate that the South African Institute of Race Relations still has an important role to play.

The institute's critical role in fighting for universally recognised human rights has not changed since those early days. One of its strengths, Mrs Suzman believes, is that it is not identified with any particular political party.

"This is what gives it its objectivity. It criticises the government and has done so for many years. But, should it occasionally throw a word or praise the government's way, it is not being disloyal to any other political party."

Of her parliamentary days, Mrs Suzman says that the most demanding years were those as the solitary Progressive Party member in the House of Assembly. Yet she did not find the experience intimidating, even though she clashed bitterly with prime ministers H F Verwoerd and John Vorster (the latter also when he was minister of justice) and with Jimmy Kruger as minister of justice. She recalls how she was treated with great fairness by the Speaker.

She recalls, too, that the 1960s were a fertile period for the number of new bills, amendments to acts -- such as the Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act -- and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the United Party and ending as a representative of the Democratic Party.

She is forthright about the Democratic Party.

"I have no empathy with the Democratic Party really. Many of the original Pros, such as Ray Swart and Clive van Rynedel, are no longer on the political scene and Janie Steytler has died."

"With the exception of people like Colen Eglint, Zach de Beer and Peter Sool, I have no real relationship with the newcomers who are late arrivals on the scene. This is simply because I cannot get over the fact that so many of them remained with the National Party during the worst years. They remained with them at the times of the forced removals and detention without trial. It took a long time for them to shed their old skins."

"But I do not impugn their sincerity, indeed, many converts will be more enthusiastic and the original members."

Despite her longing to "sink without trace", Helen Suzman will remain on the political scene for many years as the wisdom and experience gained during her 36 years is hard won. She has been a leader by the institute, journalists, diplomats and interest groups throughout the world.
PAC says 'yes' to govt but 'no' to LP

THE Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday told the government that it was prepared to enter negotiations at a neutral venue — but only on the question of constituent assembly elections.

The organisation also disclosed that it had turned down an invitation to speak at next week's Labour Party congress, telling it to dissolve and join the PAC.

The PAC yesterday released the text of a letter, signed by its deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The letter, dated December 20, said the PAC believed the central issue to negotiations was a new constitution for South Africa and this constitution should be negotiated with a democratically elected constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person one vote on a common voters' roll.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC congress had granted its national executive council a mandate "to pre-negotiate with you and other interested parties, at a neutral venue, the modalities of the constituent assembly elections."

"The PAC believes that peace will return to our country once the issue of political power, the question of the land and other resources, have been resolved by democratically elected leaders."

Dr Viljoen wrote to the former PAC president, Mr Zophonias Mophopeng, on August 18, inviting the organisation to participate in the negotiating process.

In a letter to the Labour Party, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said he was impressed the LP had invited him to address its congress, but that he was not in a position to accept the invitation.

The ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, also turned down his invitation, but President P W de Klerk has consented to speak.

"Today, there can be no doubt that the life of the tricameral parliament is almost over," wrote Mr Alexander.
Aussie call to lift bans on sport

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

MELBOURNE — Australia's Opposition Leader, Dr John Hewson, on Thursday put strong pressure on the government to lift sporting bans on South Africa.

Dr Hewson said that ending the 13-year-old ban should be the reward for the apartheid government if it removed the two most notorious instruments of apartheid — the Group Areas Act and the Land Act.

Repealed

Dr Hewson said he was expected that both Acts be repealed when the South African Parliament met in February.

After that, he added, the Australian government should take any action for the Commonwealth to overturn the ban.

Dr Hewson's call received the usual reaction from the Government — that it was watching the situation closely but it was not yet time to make any decision.

Meeting in defiance of ANC ban

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is said to have met President de Klerk on Monday this week, in clear defiance of an ANC ban on “secret” meetings with the Government.

Senior sources said yesterday that the meeting had taken place on Monday, a day after the ANC's crucial consultative conference and a day before Mr de Klerk's hardline year-end address on television to the nation.

Mr Mandela is said to have been accompanied by the ANC's foreign affairs director, Basie Mhudi.

Delegation

Our Pretoria correspondent says Mr Mandela's delegation included Mr Sonto, Umhlanga Store chief of staff Chris Hlatshwayo and political committee secretary Valli Moosa. The government delegation included Law and Order Minister Adam Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

ANC president Oliver Tambo apparently did not attend the meeting.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk's office said he had no knowledge of such a meeting, while an ANC executive committee member said he would have expected Mr Mandela to give the national executive committee prior warning of such talks.

At the consultative conference, the ANC endorsed the concept of talks between the Government and the ANC but passed a resolution that contact would take place "without any secrecy and confidentiality.

Mr de Klerk's year-end address to the conference, Mr Mandla said confidential meetings between the two negotiating teams would continue.

He said those ANC members opposed to the idea "do not understand the nature of negotiations", adding that talks had been under way and that there had been no negotiations at all.

In his year-end address, Mr de Klerk adopted a hardline attitude towards the ANC on matters such as its plans to intensify mass action next year and its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

However, in an implicit acknowledgement of the ANC leadership's bona fides, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had to decide whether the two leaders' commitment was being upheld and negotiated solutions to the country's political problems.

Observers said yesterday that the meeting had ended with the two men saying that they had had a good working relationship and trust between the two men.

While praising Mr Mandela for having travelled to engage in "frank and direct" negotiations — he rejected some of Mr Mandela's being "ultimately transparent" — the sources expressed concern about Mr de Klerk's speech.

They said he had been careful to play to his with-the-situation constituency and had not crossed the bridge of party interest to the same extent as Mr Mandela.

OFF TO DISNEYLAND: Thomas and Florence Kilkine of Soweto are the lucky winners of a week in Disneyland. They receive two return air tickets compliments of Varig Brazilian Airlines and a week's accommodation at Stovall's Inn courtesy of TTC Tours and Best Western Hotels. Here Thomas and Florence celebrate at Fantasyland with Mickey and Donald. Fantasy Land closes tomorrow so, if you haven't been there yet, go to Sleepingbeaut Park (on the road between Yerwell and Sumeo Lake) between 11 am and 10 pm for a day of fun. Entrance fee is R8.
The lessons the ANC must learn

THERE were a number of notable features at the ANC consultative conference last week.

Firstly, reason, compromise and pragmatism, which were generally conspicuous by their absence, surfaced in unexpected quarters.

Both the President and Deputy President of the ANC, Messrs Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, exhibited these qualities. These two gentlemen had every reason to be bitter, considering the long years of suffering they endured.

One returned home after 30 years of exile, a mere shadow of his former self as a result of a serious illness that struck him in the service of the liberation struggle. The other survived physical and mental torture during 27 years of imprisonment.

I had to ask myself: if these two gentlemen are still able to be reasonable and pragmatic, what justification have we (including the 1600 delegates at the ANC conference) to profess bitterness and radicalism?

Rand and file

Secondly, it became very clear during the conference that Mr Mandela and his negotiating team have not begun to share the rules of the “negotiation game” with the ANC rank and file. As Mr Mandela himself later observed, some of the statements made and resolutions passed could only be acceptable to people who did not understand the negotiation process.

I find this rather disquieting and I sincerely hope that the ANC leadership will immediately take steps to introduce at least some of their rank and file members to the culture of negotiation politics. Then perhaps they too will realise that the engine that drives negotiation is compromise.

Thirdly, one watched in disbelief as the ANC’s 20-year-old and highly successful international sanctions campaign went up in flames as a result of unbelievable ineptitude in strategic planning. I am an ardent opponent of sanctions against South Africa, but I am mature enough to recognise and applaud success when I see it.

Through excellent diplomatic initiatives which cost a lot of energy and planning over many years, the ANC achieved an almost total isolation of South Africa internationally and contributed to the socio-political changes we are experiencing today.

Now the ANC is failing to make use of this success as it continues to call for the maintenance of sanctions, as it insists on forcing open doors that are already ajar and as it puts its forces on a state of military preparedness, presumably to fight a war that is no more.

The ANC is failing to take the initiative and lead the campaign to roll back sanctions with the same vigour and expertise it displayed in spearheading the campaign to impose them. The humiliation that has already started will see the international community unilaterally lifting sanctions regardless of what the ANC has to say. Victory can sometimes be more costly than defeat if the victor is unable to use it to his advantage.
Indemnity extended for Tambo

THE State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has extended the period of immunity from prosecution granted to 72 people under the Indemnity Act, including several ANC leaders.

In terms of a notice published in the Government Gazette yesterday, their temporary unconditional immunity has been extended from December 31 until February 15 next year.

Among those affected are African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo; the commander of the organisation's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Joe Modise; his chief of staff Mr Chris Hani; the ANC's secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo; its head of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki and the leader of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo. — Sapa.
BULAWAYO — The bomb blast at a Bulawayo house occupied by ANC members on Tuesday was seen as an act of "enemy agents" whose targets also included ANC houses in Lusaka, Ziana news agency reports.

Sources close to the ANC told Ziana yesterday that five other ANC houses, including that of the movement's treasurer-general Tom Nkobi, were bombed in Lusaka two weeks ago. No one was injured in any of the blasts.

The blast at 117 Ullswater Drive in Morningside, Bulawayo, went off at 9 am. The occupant, who did not want to be identified for security reasons, said he was waiting for "some people" before he could give more details on the matter. He was referring to ANC officials who were expected to arrive by today from Harare.

Other sources in Bulawayo said the Lusaka houses were extensively damaged and household goods destroyed. "It must be a well-planned and executed move by enemy agents, because the Lusaka houses all belong to the ANC. All the bombs were set to explode during lunch-hour for maximum destruction, as that is the time when most people return home," an unnamed source said.

"Had the explosions taken place 15 minutes later than they did, many people would have been killed or maimed," he charged.

An ANC official in Harare said he had not heard about the bombings in Zambia.

Bulawayo police confirmed the bombed house was occupied by South African refugees sympathetic to the ANC.
Azapo ‘militia’ enters SA without indemnity

COMBATANTS from Azapo’s external military wing, the Azanian Liberation Army, were at the organisation’s 10th annual conference this weekend — without government indemnity.

The Azania members were not identified by name yesterday, but an Azapo spokesman said their presence was “in defiance of the illegitimate Pretoria regime”.

Azapo’s deputy president, Maitshwe Aubrey Mokoape, made the surprise announcement after reading out a message of solidarity from Azania.

Azania is the PAC-Azapo equivalent of the ANC’s Umkhonto we Sizwe.

“The Azania freedom fighters have honoured us with their physical presence here today as an act of solidarity,” he said.

“They will reveal themselves if and when it suits them. They are here without asking (F W) De Klerk or (Minister of Police) Vlok for permission to be on African soil within Azania.”

Three London-based organisations were also present and read their own messages of solidarity at the congress in Langla, Cape Town.

It was clear by yesterday morning that an even closer alignment between Azapo and the PAC was on the cards.

A similar symbiotic relationship as that within the UDF-ANC-Cosatu alliance exists among the Azapo-PAC-Nactu group.

Divided

Although the desirability of a unified front among black “liberation” movements was emphasised, there remained a clear divide over negotiations with the government.

The ANC and PAC, along with their affiliates, agreed on a call for a constituent assembly based on a one-man, one-vote system — a demand already shot down repeatedly by Pretoria.

In his opening address, Azapo’s outgoing president, Professor Ilumeleng Jerry Mosala of UCT, repeatedly mocked the significance attached in SA and abroad to President De Klerk’s February 2 opening of parliament speech.

“February 2 has produced nothing but violence, misery and confusion in the black community,” he charged.

“Apart from the South African Police posturing with black leaders in a bid to give respectability to their illegitimate presence in the black community, the De Klerk reforms have brought nothing but confusion among the politically untutored.”

The conference continues today but it is already clear from the militant and incisive tone of most speeches that the PAC and Azapo and their affiliates are determined to continue holding out against negotiations.
PAC urges LP to join its ranks

By KURT SWART

THE Pan Africanist Congress this week declined an invitation to attend the Labour Party's annual congress.

Instead, it urged the LP to abandon the tricameral parliament and join forces with the PAC.

The LP has also invited President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to speak at its 25th annual congress in Cape Town next week.

Mr. de Klerk has accepted the invitation, but there has still been no reply from the ANC.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said he was "not in a position" to attend the congress.

Regret

In an open letter to the party, Mr. Alexander recalled the decision of the ANC-aligned Coloured People's Congress in the 60s to dissolve and join the PAC "as indigenous Africans".

He said: "My advice to your party is to do the same. Take the bold step of pulling out of the system which will, in any case, drop you for a partner with a more visible and credible international image."

LP national spokesman Peter Hendricks said the party regretted Mr. Alexander's "unwillingness" to address the congress.

"But we appreciate the fact that he replied to our invitation. We also appreciate the tone of the letter."

"Though the PAC is unhappy with our policies, there is recognition of the role we have played."
Hani’s men ‘to help in townships’

The Argus Correspondent
UITENHAGE. — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders are to be sent to black townships to help in the formation and strengthening of people’s defence committees, MK chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani has said.

He made the announcement yesterday while addressing a rally attended by more than 15 000 ANC supporters at Jabavu Stadium, Uitenhage.

Mr Hani said the move to send MK commanders to the townships should not be viewed with surprise as it was one of the resolutions taken at the recent ANC consultative conference held in Johannesburg.

Self-defence

“We are asking for no permission from the government because we were given a mandate by the conference, a supreme decision-making body of the ANC.”

The people had a right to defend themselves, Mr Hani said.

“The government has allowed the existence of paramilitary groups like neighbourhood watches to defend white citizens, but when we build our defence units it is said to be illegal” he said.

He said no struggle or revolution could succeed without defence.

The government had been “running from pillar to post, not releasing political prisoners or allowing exiles to come back to their motherland”.

He called for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The government, he said, had to stop “ruling with brutal force” and the “white parliament” had to be suspended and replaced by an interim government.

‘Let us vote’

“We are no longer prepared to be marginalised. Let us vote and talk about our parliament on the streets as this is the last white parliament... They cannot be players and referees at the same time” he said.

Present were Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC’s internal leadership, John Gomomo, national vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and an executive member of the SACP, and many MK commanders returned from exile to attend the ANC’s consultative conference in Johannesburg last weekend.
Azapo blames ANC, gov't for violence

Political Correspondent

AZAPO yesterday barred the media from part of its congress during a sensitive discussion on whether the ANC or the state was more responsible for violence in the townships.

The press was originally invited to attend the entire two-day congress but was "reduced" to proceedings when a commission report on the sources of violence highlighted different interpretations.

Delegates from the floor argued that allowing the press to be party to deliberations would lead to hostilities between Azapo (ANC) and the ANC.

An overwhelming majority of the 450 delegates indicated that they thought the media should go.

Earlier, during a report-back from the violence commission, it was noted that violence against people was politically motivated and dated back to 1985 when the Azapo allegedly isolated categories of organisations for being "hostile" to the regime.

The report noted that violence in the black community had manifested itself in the form of "defence units" and the inference of "acts of violence" committed against other organisations. The ANC and its bid to impose its "political hegemony".

A second source of conflict was the lack of political education, particularly among the youth, which was subject to coercion by the dominant political organisations.

A third source of conflict was the "provocative" songs, graffiti and slogans which were aimed at provoking young people as members of the ANC youth and every student as a member of the (ANC-affiliated) SA National Students' Congress.

The report added: "Rejection of this results in political violence."

Stayaway calls and school boycotts in the name of mass action also led to violence as these were marked by coercion and intimidation.

However, the report noted that violence could be blamed entirely on Azapo as the government was also "definitely involved" in perpetrating violence and benefited from the violence in the townships.

The commission urged Azapo to "relinquish its right to self-defence and maximum retaliation".

The report also suggested a political education and propaganda campaign in violence-prone areas to expose the causes and responsible people involved in acts of violence.

However, the report then stated that Azapo was "not making the ANC an issue or making any political settlements that weaken our enemy".

Azapo also stated that it was "not responsible for the South African Police".

When the report was opened to discussion, Azapo delegates rejected the report, with the real problems of violence our people are subjected to being largely ignored by the government.

"We should consolidate the mindset that the violence which occurs is state violence," he told delegates.

Ex-Island prisoner is Azapo head

MR Phandelwani Ntotwokhodwe was elected Azapo president at its congress in Langa last night.

The 44-year-old former Robben Island prisoner, former president of the South African Student Organisation and outgoing Azapo secretarygeneral, was the unanimous choice of the 450 delegates.

He replaces Dr Jerry Motsai, the UCT religious studies professor, who will be lecturing at Oxford University for the next three years.

Dr Aubrey Mokoape retained his position as deputy president of Azapo.

Azapo soldiers slip into SA to attend congress

Political Correspondent

IN a gesture of bravado and defiance, guerrillas from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania slipped into the country to attend Azapo's 10th annual congress in Langa at the weekend.

Azapo deputy president Dr Mokoape described the delegates from the Azanian Liberation Army (Azania) to attend the congress as "a demonstration of physical solidarity" with Azapo members living inside SA.

Dr Mokoape said the Azania members had entered the country without asking for the necessary permission from the government.

"They are saying we must fight the regime - we will be with you at this congress and not under Vlok and De Klerk's Landaardt laws," he announced.

At the end of the congress, newly elected president Mokoape noted that Azania was the armed wing of Azapo's sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

"Azapo does not have any responsibilities for the activities of Azania," he said.

The congress, which had as its theme 'Defend the people, resist neo-colonialism', was marked by militant rhetoric and outspoken resolutions.

Reform 'only to keep the system in place'

THE AZAPO congress resolved that sanctions should be maintained to retain the isolation of South Africa.

The government had "overreached" itself to keep in place, said Azapo president Mr Phandelwani Ntotwokhodwe.

Besides the sanctions issue, the congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action for support for cultural and sporting isolation, a consistent struggle, movement and opposition parties, and negotiations.

Deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape dismissed claims by a former Durban member of the organisation that the organisation had negotiated with the government.

The congress adopted a resolution that the government and the ANC could not join the government in talks with the ANC, he said.

Dr Mokoape said that the organisation was ready to set the agenda and assist others to do so.

"We will consider (talking) outside our own borders, their power will be stripped and their security forces dismantled," Dr Mokoape said.

Transfer of power

"However, at some point, when the conditions are right and the regime is ready to address the real problems of the people, we will consider (talking) - outside their borders, their power will be stripped and their security forces dismantled," Dr Mokoape said.

Ex-Island prisoner is Azapo head

MR PHANDELWANI NTOTWOKHODWE WAS ELECTED AZAPO PRESIDENT AT ITS CONGRESS IN LANGA LAST NIGHT.

THE 44-YEAR-OLD FORMER ROBBEN ISLAND PRISONER, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANISATION AND OUTGOING AZAPO SECRETARY-GENERAL WAS THE UNANIMOUS CHOICE OF THE 450 DELEGATES.

HE REPLACES DR JERRY MOTSAI, THE UCT RELIGIOUS STUDIES PROFESSOR, WHO WILL BE LECTURING AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

DR AUBREY MOKOAPE RETAINED HIS POSITION AS DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF AZAPO.

THE CONGRESS, WHICH HAD AS ITS THEME 'DEFEND THE PEOPLE, RESIST NEO-COLONIALISM', WAS MARKED BY MIGHTY Rhetoric AND OUTSPoken Resolutions.

THE AZAPO CONGRESS RESOLVED THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED TO RETAIN THE ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE GOVERNMENT HAD 'OVERREACHED ITSELF' TO KEEP IT IN PLACE, SAID AZAPO PRESIDENT MR PHANDELWANI NTOTWOKHODWE.

BOMBS WON'T WIN - ANC

JOHANNESBURG - THE ANC said the destabilisation and violence against SA continued in the frontline states.

THE COMMENT CAME AFTER BOMBS EXPLODED AT ANC NAZ Member of Parliament, Mr Albert Sisulu, was injured in Bulawayo on Friday, and five other bombings in the last week.

THE ANC said the bombings were designed to 'undermine the pact, but would not succeed.'
Johannesburg — An ANC spokesman said yesterday the ANC-government working group on armed action was still on track.

The spokesman described last week's meeting attended by President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela as part of a regular meeting of the group. However, informed sources said the presence of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, who are not members of the regular group, was thought necessary to get the group "up and running again" after its work was suspended following its November 22 meeting.

The meeting, which was also attended by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, took place on Monday at the president's office in the Union Buildings.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo was not present at Monday night's talks, the ANC spokesman said. The working group is expected to resume regular meetings after hitting what political sources termed "snags" over the ANC's announced intention to begin a mass mobilisation programme next year. Informed sources said yesterday that since the suspension of the working group's activities on November 22 because of "no progress" being made in the interpretation of what constituted a related activity of armed action, more militant members of the ANC had been pushing the mass mobilisation policy.
Azapo reiterates opposition to talks

CAPE TOWN — The Azanian People's Organisation re-committed its opposition to negotiations, support for sanctions and unity of the "black oppressed" at its 10th national congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Neither would Azapo attend a recently mooted pre-negotiations conference suggested at talks between top ANC leaders and President de Klerk.

Veteran Black Consciousness activist Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was elected to succeed Professor Jerry Mosala as Azapo president.

The congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action, sanctions, support for cultural and sports isolation, a constituent assembly, violence, unity with other "liberation organisations", the educational crisis and negotiations.

Re-elected Azapo deputy president Nchaupe Mokoape dismissed claims that the organisation had negotiated with the Government.

Azapo could not join the Government in talks where "the regime was on its own terrain, subject to its own laws and its security forces intact", Mr Mokoape said.

Under these circumstances, talks could only be a sham, as had been shown with the pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and Government, he said.

"We do not believe the regime is ready to talk about freedom to black people.

"However, at some time, when conditions are ready and the regime is ready to address the real problems centrally, we will consider talking — outside their terrain, their powers stripped and their security forces dismantled."

On sanctions, Azapo resolved that the isolation of South Africa should continue.

It did not believe Pretoria should be rewarded for what the "international community" says P W de Klerk has successfully carried out", Mr Nefolovhodwe said.

On the cultural and sporting front, Azapo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa said South Africans should be allowed to perform and play in other countries but the reverse should apply to foreigners. — Sapa.
Mandela calls for peace, prosperity

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has urged all South Africans to join hands and transform the country into a peaceful and prosperous land for all its people.

Mr Mandela delivered a short Christmas message to the country at a press conference at his Soweto home this morning.

"Together let us walk this last, long gruelling mile to reach a non-racial, non-sexist society where all our people will be equal before the law, where all forms of racial discrimination are abolished, where a bill of rights protects every individual, where political tolerance prevails, and the existence of different political parties is encouraged.

"Let us vow never to celebrate another Christmas in chains," he said on the eve of his first Christmas as a free man in almost 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he trusted that all South Africans would join him in a prayer for peace, for justice and for all South Africans to be driven by the spirit of goodwill.
MK to defend townships – Hani

UITENHAGE – Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders are to be sent to black townships to assist in the formation and strengthening of people’s defence committees, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was addressing a rally attended by more than 15,000 ANC supporters at Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage.

Mr Hani said the move should not be viewed with surprise as it was one of the resolutions taken at the recent ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

“We are asking for no permission from the Government because we were given a mandate by the conference, a supreme decision-making body of the ANC.”

Mr Hani said the people had a right to defend themselves.

“The Government has allowed the existence of paramilitary groups like neighbourhood watches to defend white citizens, but when we hill our defence units it is said to be illegal,” he said.

He called for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Among those present were Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC’s Internal Leadership Cell; John Gomomo, national vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and an executive member of the SACP; and many MK commanders who had returned from exile to attend the ANC’s consultative conference.
Azapo wants defence units

Congress rejects negotiations

The Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) proposed the formation of defence units to protect supporters of the Black Consciousness movement.

The proposal was contained in a commission report read by the deputy president of Azapo, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, at Azapo’s 10th annual congress at Langa, Cape Town.

The commission also blamed the Government and the African National Congress as the main perpetrators of violence in black townships.

Mokoape said the violence was creating confusion and division among liberation movements.

Meanwhile, a rejection of negotiations, calls for unity between liberation organisations and socialist policies dominated the start of Azapo’s congress.

About 1 000 delegates attended the conference in the St Francis Community Centre in Langa on Saturday and yesterday to discuss issues rising from the conference theme: “Defend the people, resist neo-colonialism, advance socialism!”

Members of the exiled Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) were seated in the audience, according to Mokoape, “without asking for indemnity from the forces of the regime”.

Azapo president Professor Funemeng Mosala said the congress had to adopt a programme which aimed at intensifying the resistance of black people against the forces of “neo-colonialism” which “threaten to sell out the aspirations of blacks in Azania”.

“It is our task in Azapo and the Black Consciousness movement to defend our people, to resist neo-colonial betrayal of the struggles of our people and to construct a socialist project that will provide the wealth without which there is no real freedom.”

While invited, the African National Congress was apparently not present at the congress and no message of support from the ANC was read.
De Klerk 'behind' violence

SOWETO: Foreign Staff

Yesterday, in a letter to The Times, Dr. Allan Jacobsen, author of "The Religious Factor in South African Politics," said that the government is allowing forces in the rural areas to destabilise the African National Congress, according to a report here yesterday.

Mr. Louis Pretorius, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, wrote in The Star that President FW de Klerk was either unwilling to risk destabilising the security establishment or to follow up a "double strategy":

"One is hesitant to attribute such Machiavellianism to a president who seeks to democratise the state and change his predecessors, but there is some evidence against him."

Evidence

That evidence includes:

- the appointment of General Andries "Ko" Lieboer as chief of the Defence Force, and the whitewashing of the death squad by De Klerk.

Sparks warned: "If the intention was to destabilise the ANC, it has backfired."

"Only the ANC's moderate leadership has been destabilised, while its constituency has been united, angered and radicalised."

"The ANC leadership must now respond to the militant mood or be voted out of office at its congress next June.

ELECTION

Sparks says initially it seemed clear that De Klerk wanted to strike a deal with Mandela that would lead to a coalition government of the ANC and the National Party.

But as the year advanced and the ANC gave the impression of inefficiency, "the idea began to take hold in National Party circles that the ANC might be defeatable that by forming other alliances, the National Party might be able to win an election and stay in power."

A reason for De Klerk's "double strategy" would be, suggested Sparks, "so he can get the constitution he wants and, with his allies, win the election."
The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane welcomes the PAC and ANC dissidents on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport. With him is an excited PAC dissident Mandla Mazibuko (centre) and friends.

Dissidents want peace talks

THE 11 PAC and ANC dissidents who returned to the country last Friday want to have meetings with their former organisations to resolve their differences.

This emerged from a statement they made at the offices of the South African Council of Churches soon after touching down at Jan Smuts Airport, where they were met by jubilant relatives.

While they were happy to be back home with their families and relatives, the group's first priority was to "talk peace" with their former organisations.

They said they still regarded themselves as members of the PAC and ANC although they "suspended" their membership and activities because of certain problems.

"We are coming back home with hope that we will be able to talk our problems over with our respective organisations," they said. "There were certain things that we did not agree with.

"Those factors made us to leave our organisations while we were in exile.

"We want to stress that we did not rebel from our organisations like it is made out. What we did was that we stayed away from them in protest," they said.

The ANC dissidents, most of whom fled the country during the 1976 Soweto disturbances, said they were "shocked" to learn that apartheid was still alive.

They said they had heard that there were some changes but they did not see anything to that effect.

The 11 are Fikile Mdleleni, Bantile Kekela, Mzwandiile Bopheka, Zanihlo Xitimane, Isaac Mogopotse, Peter Ngcukuni, David Lephoteng, Victoria Motaung, Themba Mazibuko, Mandla Ncila and John Sebele.

They were met at the airport by the SACO Secretary-General, the Rev Frank Chikane, whose organisation organised the homecoming.

The group was fetched from Pretoria by SACO officials Mr Tony Matshaba and Mr Moss Chikane.

The 11 spent more than two hours with immigration officials before they were reunited with their families.
Group formed to protect returning dissidents

AN organisation to look after the interests and safety of returning political dissidents has been formed.

The organisation, known as the Returning Exiles Co-ordination Committee, was formed by Mr Mzikazi Twala, a former commander of the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe. He is the chairman of the organisation.

Twala was among the first ANC dissidents to arrive in the country several weeks ago. Mzikazi and seven other dissidents criticised the ANC leadership and accused it of having committed acts of

expelled the security

them out to people who differed with their

 organisations. We are

now living in fear of our

lives. We also do not have

money to see us through

our daily lives.

"I believe we will re-

late well as a group of

returned dissidents as this

will boost our morale," he

said.

"I want to appeal to

the community to treat us

as people. We have not

committed any crime," he

added.

Twala stressed that

RECC was not a political

body but a social and cul-

tural organisation.
Azapo congress gives talks the thumbs down

CAPE TOWN — A militant rejection of negotiations and calls for unity between liberation organisations and socialist policies dominated the start of Azapo’s 10th national congress on Saturday.

About 1000 delegates met in Langa, near Cape Town, to discuss issues under the theme Defend the People, Resist Neo-colonialism, Advance Socialism.

Azapo vice-president Aubrey Mokoape stated that members of the exiled Azanian Liberation Army (Azania) were in the audience “without asking for indemnity from the forces of the regime”.

Azapo president Jerry Mosaia said the congress had to adopt a programme which aimed at intensifying the resistance of black people against the forces of “neo-colonialism” which “threaten to sell out the aspirations of blacks in Azania”.

Messages of support were received from the PAC, New Unity Movement, Workers’ Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Azania, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and the Black Sash. None from the ANC was read and Mosaia said he hoped the ANC had a “genuine reason for not being here”.

Reforms

Richard Roques, of Britain’s Revolutionary Communist Group, received deafening applause when he said: “Our struggles are united by a common goal — defeating British imperialism, resisting the apartheid regime and transferring power to the Azanian working class.”

Guest speaker Ambalavaner Sivanandan of the London-based Institute of Race Relations, said President F.W. de Klerk’s reforms were taking place at the behest of multinational corporations.

The fight against racism was also the fight against exploitative power. “You cannot negotiate your way into socialism. Those who have, do not give; those who haven’t, must take...”

“There is not socialism after liberation; socialism is the process through which liberation is won,” he said.

PAC vice-president Dikagang Moseke, reading a message of support from his organisation, said a united front had to be forged between liberation organisations to discuss violence and political strategies. A consultative conference needed to be convened and based on the principles that only the African masses were the vehicles of change; apartheid could not be reformed, only eradicated; and the armed struggle had to continue. — Sapa.
ANC-Inkatha talks crucial, says Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC and Inkatha was a crucial step towards stopping violence, Mr Nelson Mandela said in a Christmas address.

The ANC vice-president said the ANC was confident that organisations which had declined to talk to the government — the PAC and Azapo — would at some time take the necessary steps towards negotiations.

He asked that people join him in prayer for peace and justice to prevail.

Mr Mandela said he had fears the culture of violence was becoming endemic, afflicting not only society, but also many in the security forces.

"Let us all commit ourselves to work together for peace, for the speedy transformation of South Africa into a genuinely non-racial and democratic country."

"Let us vow never to spend another Christmas in chains."

But Mr Mandela said that despite a year of factional violence which had killed some 3,000 people and threatened to derail talks between the ANC and the government, he was confident of a peaceful future.

"We have confidence in the wisdom and good sense of the majority to share the hope with you that the New Year will bring all of us nearer to a situation of justice and peace for all the people of our country," he noted, apparently seeking to play down a recent war of words between the ANC and the government. — Sapa
Welcome for Tambo on Transkei visit

UMTATA.—ANC president Mr. Oliver Tambo, 73, and his family were welcomed by military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and other Transkei government officials when they arrived here yesterday.

This was Mr Tambo's first visit to Transkei after 30 years of exile.

General Holomisa said Mr Tambo would be flown to his birthplace, Bizana, later in the day.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would join Mr Tambo today, and they would address a rally in Umtata on Sunday.  — Sapa and UPI

PRETORIA.—ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who returned to South Africa earlier this month after 30 years in exile, met President F W de Klerk for the first time on Monday, in talks which ended in agreement that the country's conflicts should be peacefully resolved.

Mr Tambo, 73, described Mr De Klerk as "most pleasant and understanding" and their 60-minute talk in the Union Buildings as "useful".

He was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla of the ANC. Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok assisted Mr De Klerk.

A government statement said the two leaders had jointly expressed a hope for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's protracted conflict.

"There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end to enable proper negotiations to start," it said.

Mr Tambo said he hoped 1991 would be "a great year for South Africa" and also that the country would make a "full recovery from apartheid by next December". — UPI
ANC objections to all-party summit

PETER DELMAE

THE ANC will not take part in a mooted all-party summit — to be arranged by government — on procedures for full-scale constitutional negotiations if this entails a rejection of its demand for a constituent assembly.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday demands for a constituent assembly and interim government would be the "burning issues of 1991". She was responding to earlier reports that government was seeking to set up an all-party conference to find broad agreement on an agenda and procedures for negotiations.

She said the ANC remained committed to seeking a common strategy with elements of the PAC and Azapo to press for these demands — both rejected by government.

A senior PAC source said this week his organisation was still committed to a proposed summit involving the PAC, ANC, Azapo and other liberation movements being planned for early next year.

Former Azapo president Jerry Mosala said last weekend ANC participation in the proposed government conference would amount to "a betrayal" of the ANC's undertaking to join a consultative conference with other liberation movements.

Azapo deputy president Aubrey Mokoape said his organisation would not consider taking part in a conference attended by "forces of the enemy".
ANC president Oliver Tambo met President F W de Klerk at the Union Buildings on Monday morning in what was described as a courtesy call.

Tambo, joined by his wife Adelaide and NEC members Joe Nhlanhla and Jacob Zuma, held mid-morning discussions with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Afterwards, Tambo told journalists the meeting had been “most pleasant and in the spirit of understanding”.

A statement issued by the President’s office said the discussions had been of a general nature and had not focused on specific issues.

The statement said De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery. He also expressed appreciation for Tambo’s call to the youth to return to school in 1991.

Both parties expressed the hope that 1991 would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

Sapa reports that Tambo and his family were welcomed by Transkei government officials led by Maj-Gen Bantu ‘Holomisa’ when they arrived in Umtata yesterday.
Mandela fifth in news poll

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The release of Nelson Mandela has been ranked by US newspaper and broadcast editors as the fifth, most important news event of 1990.

Mr. Mandela was ranked as the fourth most important male newsmaker of the year.

A survey of 180 editors by news agency United Press International found that 124 selected Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the stand-off with the US that pushed the two nations to the brink of war as the top news story of the year.

President Saddam of Iraq was voted as the top male newsmaker of the year.

The American editors were asked to rank news stories in order of importance from a list of 20 drawn up by UPI.

The top five news events were: Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the US reaction to it, the re-unification of Germany and the democratisation of Eastern Europe, the formal ending of the Cold War, the collapse of the US savings and loans industry — and the release of Mr. Mandela.
A KENYAN newspaper, the Daily Nation, appealed to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "rise above petty differences based on personalities", the SABC's Africa desk reports.

The newspaper said in an editorial that the problem in South Africa called for the ultimate effort in negotiating and bargaining.

The paper added that unless Mandela and Buthelezi could rise above petty differences based on personalities, they would be faced with the impossible task of convincing their people and the world to accept the violence engendered by their differences in place of that bred by apartheid. - Sapa
Tambo and FW have great hopes

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo have expressed the hope that next year would bring about more real progress towards peaceful solutions.

In a joint statement issued after they met at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday, the two leaders said: "There was agreement that violence and intimidation should come to an end in order to enable proper negotiations to start."

Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide and national executive committee members Mr Joe Nhlanhla and Mr Jacob Zuma.

De Klerk was accompanied by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The statement said discussions were of a general nature and did not focus on specific issues.

De Klerk wished Tambo continued recovery and indicated he was encouraged by Tambo’s call to the youth to return to school next year.

Tambo, who briefly posed for photographers and answered questions, described the meeting as "most pleasant" and De Klerk was "pleasant and understanding". The ANC president added he had "a useful time" with De Klerk and the Government delegation.

Asked what he would like to receive as a Christmas gift, Tambo said: "Everything, everything. I came here for the first time in my want life. This is the day before Christmas. In a way I had the greatest Christmas present this year."

Asked whether his health would allow him to stand for re-election next year, Tambo said: "We all thought that the year 1991 would prove to be a great year for South Africa and it is with that expectation that we enter January 1, 1991."

Tambo is due to leave South Africa in the middle of January.

Sowetan Correspondent.
Mandela, Buthelezi to meet ‘soon’ on violence

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi are due to meet soon in a bid to resolve the conflict in Natal and Witwatersrand townships.

Speaking at a Press conference on Monday, Mandela said a meeting between himself and Buthelezi “was on the cards” but that it had been organised on the ANC’s initiative.

“A meeting between the ANC and Inkatha is crucial if we are to end the violence,” Mandela said.

He did not say when or where the meeting would take place.

In his Christmas and New Year message, Mandela called for peace and the “speedy transformation of SA into a genuinely nonracial democratic country.

“In such a democratic country there will be no international sanctions against our common motherland — our sports people, industrialists, diplomats and all our citizens will be received with open arms in all countries of the world,” he said.

Mandela also reiterated his call for a bill of rights protecting individuals and the existence of different political parties in a politically tolerant society.

In his message, Mandela thanked all those who had contributed to peaceful change in SA regardless of their political affiliations and urged them to continue with “their noble efforts”.

Mandela warned that “the culture of violence” was becoming endemic in South African society and criticised the security forces for using what he described as “maximum force as an instrument of the first resort”.

“The violence of a social system which has produced for one section of the population massive unemployment, widespread poverty and death by starvation. In these circumstances violence becomes inevitable,” he said.

Release

Mandela, reminiscing about past Christmases in prison, said last year he did not have an inkling of his imminent release.

“There were talks between myself and government about the unbanning of the ANC, but talks about my unconditional release only began in January,” he said.

His first Christmas in prison changed his life: “On our first Christmas on Robben Island we were very miserable but we had many friends, one of them was the church, which brought us sweets, biscuits and dried fruits.

“I never cared for sweets in my life but from then on I found them most delectable,” Mandela said.
SAIRR keeps a watchful eye on SA

WEN the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) drew up its list “What to watch for in 1990”, it could hardly have imagined this year’s succession of headline-making events.

High on its list of what to watch out for this year was whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet. The list was compiled before Mandela was released from prison and before violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters spread from Natal to the Reef.

Unable to anticipate that hundreds of people would die in violence on the Reef in the latter half of the year, the institute wondered whether “black on black violence” and Natal’s violence would end.

The violence did not end. More than 1,000 people were killed this year in Natal.

And the two leaders have yet to meet.

Top of the SAIRR’s list was to watch whether government extended its talks with the ANC beyond Mandela.

By the end of the year, two historic ANC-government summits had produced the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes.

In terms of the minutes the ANC agreed to suspend its armed struggle, government agreed to review security legislation and a joint working group was set up to facilitate the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Most exiles still require indemnity and the majority of political prisoners are still behind bars.

Instructed by the SAIRR, SA watched for and witnessed the meaning of the ANC and PAC and the scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.

However, CP towns found a loophole in new municipal by-laws to exclude “non-residents” from amenities.

The SAIRR was right when it pointed to a possible agreement between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Soweto. In September the signing of the Groote Soweto Accord ended Soweto’s five-year-long boycott.

Even before his watershed speech of February 2, SA was told to watch whether President F.W. de Klerk was invited to the White House — and whether he accepted.

He was ... and he did, but postponed his trip to allow Mandela to go first. In the meantime, de Klerk visited Britain, nine European countries and some in Africa.

As British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher accepted an invitation to visit SA but did not make it before her 11-year reign ended.

Events that the SAIRR predicted but that did not materialise included the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister and the reversal of government’s decision to transfer JG Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg to own affairs. In April hospitals were declared open to all races, although the own affairs health services remained intact.

White schools were given the option of opening to all races provided such a move was approved by a majority of parents. Teacher training colleges have not yet been given this option.

Other SAIRR pointers for 1990 which should bear watching in the new year are whether stability returns to black schools, whether De Klerk loses or retains the political initiative, whether violence stops and, of course, whether Buthelezi and Mandela do meet.
Nelson Mandela is approaching the end of the most remarkable year of his life. It brought him freedom after nearly three decades in prison, adulation among countless South Africans and world fame. It also brought a back-breaking programme inside and outside the country. ANTHONY HEARD spoke to Mandela about past events and his vision of the future.

I received when I came out of jail, both from our own people, black and white. In the even more surprised at the reception which we as an organisation received from the press as well as from the international community.

Now the only problem that we do have is getting from the press, of course, is not uniform. There are some who appear to be still committed to the status quo but there are many conservative newspapers who have supported us in the struggle against apartheid and who have given us fair coverage. So I think that as part of the liberation movement, this country I have not received fair treatment from the country and from the international community. I think that my visit to Africa, Europe, Canada and America have been quite important and we have been able to raise large sums of money on our trips...

Question: Looking to 1981, what do you reasonably expect negotiations can achieve on the ground during the year?

Answer: The next point in our discussions with the government is to chart a way forward and that is to consider how we should identify the people who are going to sit around the negotiating table, and draw up a constitution. One thing to bear in mind is that we cannot be expected to have any resolution of our problems without the involvement of the government and vice versa. There cannot be any resolution of our problems without the involvement of the ANC. Whether we like it or not, destiny compels us to work together. We have covered some ground in that direction and in spite of the efforts, there is still a long way to go. Whether we are serious, I have reason to believe that we will be able to iron them out in due course and make the progress which the country and the international community expects from us.

Question: Do you feel "locked in" to negotiations with De Klerk?

Answer: Well, not really "locked in". I mean we are committed, I am committed to negotiations. Although Mr De Klerk and his government have done things which have raised doubt about their seriousness about negotiations, I have no doubt — especially when I hear in mind our discussions recently — that we have a powerful case and we will be able to persuade them to live up to expectations. As you know, I have referred to Mr de Klerk as a man of integrity both in my political work inside and outside the country. That image has been dented a bit as a result of recent weeks, but we have friendly discussions recently and I think he is going to make every effort to ensure that the problems that threaten the whole process are settled.

Question: What sort of South Africa do you envisage?

Answer: Well, very simple: it is a South Africa which is based on the Freedom Charter, which is our basic policy... a non-racial society where all population groups would enjoy equality, before the law and where all forms of racial discrimination were abolished... There will be a bill of rights defining the rights of citizen, enshrined by the ability of any person who considers his rights are threatened or violated to have access to an independent judiciary... It is a South Africa in which there will be participation, in which we will not be dealt with in a way which shows a lack of patience and of political tolerance.

Question: In what ways can your ideas and plans make various communities feel secure, in drawing up of the constitution and in living under a new constitution? It seems to be a central issue.

Answer: It appears to me that no community in this country should fear the future, if it looks at our policy as formulated in the Freedom Charter. It is the most progressive policy for the country and there is no other political organisation which has put forward the policies that we have announced. It makes sure that there would be no domination of one group by another. This is an issue I dealt with when I handed my memoir to the government before I met (former President) PW Botha (this meeting was before Botha resigned).

I said that one of the issues that would face the ANC and the government was the fear among whites that the implementation of major policies would mean the domination of whites by blacks. We say that there are whites that they have nothing to fear in the future. It is not possible to speak in advance about the actual measures that will be adopted to reassure the various population groups that they have nothing to fear in the future. It is sufficient for me to say that we are well aware that this fear, although misplaced, is very real and we have to address it jointly with the government.

Question: How have you found the negotiating process with the government so far? Has it met your expectations? The hiccups you refer to — have they been worse than you expected?

Answer: I think, on the whole, the discussions which have been going on have been quite fruitful. It would be unreasonable for anybody to imagine that, taking account of the background account of our country, agreements would be reached overnight. We have to bear that in mind, and the fact that we have made impressive progress. Difficulties have arisen — some of them, of course, will be impossible to avoid... But we are discussing those problems.

The fact that we were able to meet and discuss was itself an achievement... I am confident we will be able to resolve the issues — some of which will be very sensitive — that we are going to face during the next 12 months.

Question: It has been said by some that a constituent assembly implies a winner-takes-all situation after an election. Do you believe that?

Answer: No, I don't think so. All organs of government in democratic countries are based on free and unfettered elections. That is the foundation of democracy as practised in the western world, for example... and there is no reason why we should have a different formula. If we want to draw a comparison, I guess it is going to enjoy credibility and allegiance, then the people who are entrusted with the task of drawing up that constitution must be properly mandated.

Ensuring that the fears of the minorities are removed is an (aspect) we are addressing. I have said that there will be no domination of the ANC and the government will be able to address the question of how to reassure the various population groups in this country that their future will be guaranteed.
FW warns: No room for radicals

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday warned that the disruption of local government and essential community services was presenting "a serious obstacle" to real constitutional negotiations.

Addressing the Labour Party's annual congress in Goodwood, Mr de Klerk slammed such "destabilising actions" as totally unnecessary and illegitimate.

In an apparent reference to the ANC's boycott actions and campaign to crush black local authorities, Mr de Klerk said that such actions cast serious doubt on the real intentions of those who "inflict unnecessary suffering on innocent people and communities".

He said negotiations about the future of local government should begin as soon as possible.

The government had already declared its commitment to replace the present system of third-tier government with a new and democratic system in which ethnic fragmentation would be avoided.

After receiving a rousing reception by more than 10 000 delegates and 3 000 LP observers, Mr de Klerk said that the government and the National Party were ready to negotiate the speedy establishment of a new South Africa.

He noted that he and the NP planned to become "part of the majority" in a new negotiated dispensation. He added that he was certain the LP would form part of this group, too.

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and the Labour Party found each other yesterday.

The adoring reception accorded Mr de Klerk at the LP's annual congress in Goodwood marked an end to years of bitter enmity that characterised relations between the LP and the leader of the National Party during the PW Botha era.

Mr de Klerk, the first NP leader invited to address an LP congress in its 23-year history, was given a rapturous reception - including five standing ovations - by the more than 10 000 delegates and about 3 000 observers at the congress.

Mr de Klerk - sporting a rosette in LP colours - responded in kind, lavish praise on the role played by the LP and its leadership over the years.

"Seen against the background of the historical relationship between the LP and the NP, it marks another milestone on the road to a new South Africa," he said to whistles, cheers and applause.

However, the process of negotiation required an environment of orderliness and discipline.

Mr de Klerk said to applaud that the government was committed to replacing the present ethnically based local authorities with new structures, but warned those who persisted in using violence to bring about such changes, that "South Africa will reject them and history will pass them by".

Mr de Klerk announced that in the coming months the police and defence force would intensify existing measures and implement new measures aimed at ending the violence and restoring peace.

He said the time had arrived for all leaders not merely to condemn violence but to lead and discipline their followers away from violent and intimidatory practices.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa was coming to the crossroads of its history regarding the building of a strong consensus of moderates, in which there was no room for radicals.

"South Africa cannot wait forever. We want and we need all leaders on board. It will be a grave pity if some of them were to miss the boat."

Mr de Klerk said the first challenge facing the country was to build a broad national consensus for the new South Africa.

The first foundation of such an consensus should be freedom - from poverty, fear, suspicion, frustration, violence, intimidation and protest.

The second involved justice, and in this regard the government committed itself to the removal of all forms of discrimination.

"In the new South Africa there can be no place for racism - all citizens will have to enjoy the same rights."

The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts would be a priority when Parliament reconvened next year. It was also important to improve the lot of those who had limited opportunities in the socio-economic realm, he said.

A democratic new South Africa would be achieved only if violence, disorder and discrimination were eliminated," Mr de Klerk said.
Where is South Africa's gold reserves? – PAC

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamonds and gold believed to be kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said in Harare.

In a report by Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana, Alexander said De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of the land he claimed was stolen from “our forefathers”.

De Klerk, he said, may also be confronted with questions like the transfer of power.

He said 1990 saw De Klerk being asked “peripheral” questions which he had answered “brilliantly”, thereby establishing a good image in the world. Alexander is in Harare paying a courtesy call on the PAC diplomatic mission there.

He criticised De Klerk’s vision of a post-apartheid South Africa.

De Klerk, he said, had rejected the principle of one-person-one-vote in favour of a system that sought to co-opt “Africans” so that no one would have power over another.

“That means a situation of perpetual powerlessness, and that will be firmly rejected by the PAC,” said Alexander.

He said the alternative would be for the PAC and the people to intensify the struggle “on all fronts”.

Alexander expressed pessimism over the release of PAC political prisoners. Such releases, he said, would be made conditional and dependent on a concession in which the liberation movement should suspend its armed struggle prior to negotiations.

Commenting on the issue of a united front currently being debated inside South Africa, Alexander said his organisation had put forward five points of discussion for creation of a front:

- That apartheid cannot be reformed but should be eradicated;
- That East/West collaboration should be kept out of the struggle in South Africa;
- That all forms of struggle should continue, including the sanctions campaign, with the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle;
- That the vehicle for social change was not the “racist settler colonialist regime” but the African masses; and
- That a democratic solution be sought through a democratically elected constituent assembly on the basis of one-person-one-vote on a common voters’ roll.

“We believe these are principles the ANC and others will easily accept, and if they are serious, a united front could be on the cards in the first six months of the new year,” said Alexander. – Sapa
June congress high noon for ANC

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC's first consultative conference held inside the country in more than 30 years is behind us and now the organisation is preparing for what most concede could be its toughest challenge - the national congress to be held in six months.

Given the many problems the organisation faced since its unbanning in February, the three-day consultative conference held at Nasrec outside Johannesburg could be said to have passed with a veneer of success. Serious differences were papered over.

However, some observers see this as only a temporary "truce" between hardliner and more moderate factions in the organisation.

The conference passed hardline resolutions. These included the organisation's commitment to making this year "the year of mass action" - a resolution that could place the ANC on a continuous collision course with government.

The threat is to suspend ongoing talks about talks unless obstacles to negotiations are removed by the government. This includes the repeal of racist laws like the Group Areas Act, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Government has been given until April 30 to meet these demands or else negotiations could well be scuppered. This will be two months before the all-important national congress.

Hard talk by the ANC, interpreted as a victory for the radicals, came as little surprise to political observers. Since the ANC started talks with government, it has been under extreme pressure from most of its militant members who believe it has conceded much without getting anything in return.

The hardliner solutions, it is said, were meant to placate these angry members - and from the look of things, this has succeeded so far. But it was not victory all the way for the militants.

Towards the end of the last day of the session which was open to the Press, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addressed himself more specifically to the radicals among the 1,600 delegates.

While frankly admitting mistakes committed by the National Executive Committee, he took the hardliners to task for not acknowledging the good work done by the NEC under trying conditions. He made short shrift of allegations that the leadership was top-down and that activists came from above without any consultation with members on the ground.

In short, the moderates, personified by Mandela, made important concessions to the hardliners. But at the end of the day the overall impression was that between now and the June congress, the leadership is firmly in the hands of those around the veteran leader.

But if the Mandela faction won at the end of the day, the coming six months are going to be even more demanding on the ANC leadership. Unconfirmed reports mention that several factions within the organisation will be vying for power in June. The structure of these factions are not well defined.

There's the old guard who include veterans like treasurer Thomas Nkobi and secretary general Alfred Nzo. They are said to be fighting for political survival after several years of bad management in exile.

Although it is taken for granted the seemingly affable Nzo and by extension Nkobi are on the way out, there are those who advise against such simplistic conclusions. "Nzo and Nkobi did not survive all those years of bitter rivalry in exile unless they were good fighters."

The young cadres, mostly products of the 1976 June 16 uprising, are also said to be pushing for their own leadership and are not overly impressed with the current negotiations. The other problem which concerns these cadres, largely a logistical one, is that they are not well briefed about the day-to-day talks with government.

There are also Robben Islanders who are said to be unhappy at some of the organisation's activities, including the current negotiations. Some cadres on Death Row also sent a memorandum to the conference detailing their grievances.

The memorandum was not made available to the Press. Mandela told a Press conference that if there were any members of the organisation for whom they were doing everything in their power to secure their release, it was the Death Row prisoners.

And of course there are the homegrown leaders of the ANC, those who rose to public prominence in various groupings sympathetic to the ANC like the UDF, Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement. These groupings, it is argued, feel they advanced the cause of the struggle more than others and feel they need to be well represented on the incoming NEC.

Bringing these various groupings together and forging some unity is what will tax Mandela to the full in the next six months. Mandela's leadership is unquestioned and with his friend and president Oliver Tambo incapacitated by ill health, it is a foregone conclusion that Mandela will be elected the new leader of the ANC.

These internal problems are going to demand more of Mandela and the ANC leadership, but there are other problems to contend with. The current violence sweeping through the country has the potential to weaken the movement. After it was unbanned the ANC aimed at pushing membership to at least a million by the time of the consultative conference. However, it now claims to have 300,000 members and some put the figure at lower than that.

Serious financial problems, in spite of pledges by overseas governments, have not impacted on the organisation's growth. Lack of finance will put more strain on the repatriation of exiles and their reintegration into society.

But, more ominously for the ANC, the government seems to have gained the upper hand over its main rival and this must be a serious problem giving the organisation's leadership sleepless nights.

Can the ANC patch up the differences of its various factions; improve its growth rate; help bring violence under control and seize the political initiative?

If the current ANC leadership fails to achieve most of these things, the hardliners of the December consultative conference may rise to power. And what might do to the negotiations process is anybody's guess.

Alfred Nzo ... the old guard fighting for political survival?

Thomas Nkobi ... simplistic to say that he is on the way out?
New Azapo boss ‘smiling hardliner’

By SEKOLA SELLO

THOSE close to the newly-elected president of the Azanian People’s Organisation, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, say his easygoing manner disguises a hardline Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) intellectual.

Nefolovhodwe, who has a disarmingly deceptive smile, says he is unperturbed that his organisation is considered to have no real significance in the unfolding South African scenario.

He says Azapo’s stand will be vindicated by history. “People are talking about negotiations taking place at the moment. What we are saying is that we are preventing a neo-colonialist solution triumphing,” he says, smiling that smile.

His elevation to Azapo’s top post has sent different signals to political observers: that Azapo is digging in its heels on not negotiating with government and is adopting a more hardline stance and, on the other hand, that after the rhetoric has died down, Azapo will in fact join such talks.

Nefolovhodwe, a 43-year-old bachelor from Polokwane in Venda, has been in the thick of BCM activity since its inception.

He entered the University of the North (Turfloop) in 1969 when student affairs at the so-called ‘black universities’ were on the boil — soon after the launch of the South African Student Organisation.

The peasant’s son who tended goats, cattle and sheep, was expelled from Turfloop a few months before completing his science degree and spent six years on Robben Island for organising the Viva Frediwe rallies in 1974.

He denies Azapo risks being marginalised if it does not accept the government’s invitation to talk about talks now. “We are said to be making radical demands and this will marginalise us. Look at what happened at the ANC conference. Most of the demands we are making were made by the delegates and the leadership had to accede to them.”

Nefolovhodwe says whereas other organisations prove their existence by killing political rivals, “this is the last thing we are going to do. We are not going to show the world that we exist by killing rivals.”

He will not give Azapo’s numerical strength but says membership is growing rapidly. “We have revived all the 186 branches which ceased to operate when we were banned.”

Nefolovhodwe, who was Azapo’s secretary general, will hold office until 1992. He says Azapo will have come into its own by then. But sceptics doubt it will have come out of the shadow of both the ANC and PAC.
Labour Party on brink of financial ruin

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party faces bankruptcy by April, treasurer Paul Kleinsmith warned in his annual report.

Revealing that the party's finances were in a critical state, he said: "Should the present state of affairs continue, financial ruin stares the party in the face."

He said that when he took over as treasurer last year "various financial records and documents were not available and are still outstanding".

"This is unacceptable, bordering on gross negligence."

Mr Kleinsmith presented his report behind closed doors at the LP national executive committee meeting, when new leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse opened the party’s 25th annual conference in Cape Town's city hall on Friday.

In an overview of the party's finances, gleaned from the auditors' report, Mr Kleinsmith noted the party earned a record income of R872,292 during its 25th year.

It earned interest on investments of R246,542 and an income of R300,376 from monthly pledges by public representatives, including MPs, MECs, members of the President's Council and ministerial representatives.

But several branches and individuals had issued bad cheques to the party, said Mr Kleinsmith.

He said the controversial R1-million credit line account — the source of great discord between the party and previous trustee Roy Williams, who was expelled from the LP at last year's annual conference — "is a severe drain on the party's financial resources".

In a desperate attempt to save the party from bankruptcy, Mr Kleinsmith recommended that consideration be given to the liquidation of the R1-million credit line, which was draining LP funds at the rate of R52,500 a month.
ANC venture into free market booms

By SHARON CHETTY

THE ANC has launched itself firmly into the free market arena with a new business named ANC Productions.

Based on sound supply and demand principles, it has done a roaring trade in the ANC's black, green and gold memorabilia — ranging from traditional T-shirts and badges to trendy quartz watches.

After a humble start as a mail-order enterprise, there are now plans for bulk sales to major retail outlets.

Bulk orders are contracted out to various manufacturers around the country and there is something for everyone — prices start at R3.50 and go up to R125.

Quality

The business, the brainchild of ANC finance department head Vusi Khanyile, was launched after the organisation registered the copyright on its flags, badges and emblems soon after its unbanning.

According to Mr Khanyile, the organisation saw this as a way of ensuring that good quality merchandise was available at reasonable prices while generating funds for the ANC.

Mr Khanyile said the products were selling "extremely well".

T-shirts and posters have always been popular among members and supporters, but now they are also able to buy ANC watches and key rings.

Said Mr Khanyile: "We found that, once the ANC became legal again, business people used our name and logo to sell a variety of items. The quality of goods was poor and prices high."
Hendrickse warns on exiles

Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse warned the government not to give returning exiles preferential treatment when it came to housing and jobs.

Mr Hendrickse was loudly applauded by the 1,000 delegates at the LP's congress when he said that those who remained behind should receive priority in social upliftment programmes.

"The government must be careful and act circumspectly when it comes to returning exiles," he said.
HARARE. — South African liberation movements should unite in 1991 to map out a common strategy to end violence and forge a united front against the Pretoria regime, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

Mr Makwetu also said the black education crisis should be dealt with decisively, and that children should go back to school. He called for abandonment of the "liberation now, education later" policy and asked the community to instead launch a campaign to "really open those schools claiming to be open" (to all races).

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamonds and gold, "kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain".

Mr Alexander said Mr De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of land "stolen from our forefathers".

In reaction to Mr Alexander's statement, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonger said Mr De Klerk had painted himself into a political corner.

"The PAC and ANC's demands for land could never be avoided if the entire South Africa belonged to everyone," he said. — Sapa
Tambo urges end to violence

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday urged the government and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realize the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing over 10,000 people at the Independence Stadium here.

He said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the state to prolong the lifespan of the "doomed" apartheid system.

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who could contribute to ending the violence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not continue to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo restated the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations, but insisted on the formation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

He urged intensified struggle and warned against divisions "on the eve of our freedom". He appealed to KwaZulu leaders to join hands with the ANC.

Mr Tambo spoke warmly of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who had earlier welcomed the ANC president as "the distinguished son of Africa who has blazed a heroic trail across the entire globe in his quest for the freedom of our people".

After his speech, Mr Tambo was clothed in a tribal animal-skin and head-dress and given a shield, a similar honour to the one bestowed on Mr Nelson Mandela on his arrival in Transkei earlier this year.

Earlier, Mr Mandela had hailed Mr Tambo as a leader unequalled in modesty and humility, who's success was reflected in the fact that the ANC today had officially-recognised representatives in over 40 countries, Mr Mandela said. The government had been unable to compete with the ANC on the diplomatic front.
ANC readers prefer PAC survey shows

The ANC, the ruling party in South Africa, faced criticism and challenges within its own ranks. The survey showed a shift in preference among ANC members toward the Pan African Congress (PAC), a political party that advocated for independence and opposed apartheid. The survey results were seen as a response to the growing dissatisfaction with the ANC's handling of internal affairs and its ability to address the social and economic challenges facing the country. The survey was conducted to gauge the membership's sentiment on key issues such as political factionalism and the leadership's ability to unite the party. The results suggested a need for the ANC to reassess its strategies and make changes to regain member confidence and to ensure its continued relevance in the political landscape. The survey findings were a wake-up call for the ANC's leadership to address internal divisions and to address the needs of its constituents in more effective and inclusive ways.
LP congress prepares for future alliance with NP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party's 25th annual congress at the weekend went out of its way to lay the foundations for an alliance with the ruling National Party.

LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said at the end of the congress that there was "no doubt" that the LP and NP were now closer to each other than ever before.

Asked about the timing and possibility of a formal alliance, Mr Hendrickse said the LP still had to have further discussions with other parties.

There was a strong feeling among delegates that the party should retain its identity for the foreseeable future.

Mr Hendrickse was speaking after the LP congress in Goodwood instructed the party leadership to engage in exploratory talks for new political allies.

But the over 1,000 delegates decided that it would be premature to settle on specific alliance partners at this stage.

The congress heaped praise on Mr De Klerk and his initiatives and many of the gestures were reciprocated when Mr De Klerk became the first leader of the ruling party to address a LP congress.

The tone and content of many of the 11 resolutions adopted was virtually indistinguishable from current NP policy.

The resolution on alliances noted that the LP believed that the future of South Africa would be determined by political alliances between organisations or parties with common goals and objectives.

A resolution condemning the countrywide violence called on Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet.

The congress expressed "appreciation" for the police in trying to maintain order, but appealed to the security forces to exercise circumspection and operate in the interests of all South Africans.

A resolution on the Republic's continued sporting isolation appealed for international sporting organisations to re-admit South African sports bodies to the international arena.

There was also an appeal for an end to the cultural boycott. Congress decided that calls for sanctions amounted to "a crime".

Proposals for a constituent assembly were rejected on the grounds that all parties should be given an opportunity to make inputs to a new constitution.

In other resolutions the congress:

- Called on President F W de Klerk to abolish separate sittings and voting in Parliament, as well as the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.
- Endorsed proposals for a non-racial geographic federation with two Houses of Parliament.
- Resolved that there should be a unitary education system with one minister in the cabinet.
- Urgently appealed to all LP MPs to strive to get the Group Areas Act repealed in the first three months of the coming parliamentary sitting.
- Welcomed the unbanning of political parties but restated the party's opposition to all forms of communism and totalitarianism.
- Reaffirmed the LP belief that a social market economy would serve as the best vehicle to remove inequalities and empower disadvantaged groups.
- The Labour Party will donate R2,000 to the Red Cross to assist squatters who lost their shelters during a Christmas night fire, Mr Hendrickse announced at the weekend.
White ants' in LP, says leader

Political Correspondent

LABOUR PARTY leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said at the weekend that he was tired of MPs in his party trying to "white ant" the LP leadership.

He was speaking after a mooted challenge to his leadership failed to materialise at the LP's 25th annual congress.

Mr Hendrickse was elected unopposed as leader for the 13th time.

He said members should either accept LP policies or choose another road.

Deputy leader Mr Miley Richards was also re-elected.
Indian Congresses urged to disband

JOHANNESBURG. — The international adviser to the Black Sections of the British Labour Party, Mr Benny Dunsec, jetted out of South Africa at the weekend with a strong message to the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to disband and join "national African politics".

Speaking before his departure, Mr Dunsec expressed disappointment that "ethnic politics" continued to exist in South Africa.

"My travels here have illustrated the need for a national consensus among black people. There just has to be unity," he said. — Sapa
Blacks view future with more hope than whites — poll

WILSON ZWANE

FOR the first time in eight years, urban blacks in SA are more positive about the new year than their white counterparts, according to figures released by the Markinor research group.

Forty-seven percent of urban blacks are confident the coming year will be better than this year, while only 34% of whites share the same view. The present level of optimism among blacks is the highest in eight years, says Markinor.

The poll, a part of an international year-end study conducted in 38 countries by Gallup International, was conducted last month among 2 500 urban adults — 1 800 whites and 1 500 blacks.

Markinor says among blacks optimism about the future is highest in Port Elizabeth (52%), East London (52%) and Cape Town (54%).

Among whites, those living in Durban (44%) and Cape Town (41%) are most optimistic about the future, says the research group, adding that English-speaking people (45%) are more optimistic about the coming year than Afrikaans-speakers (24%).

"Only 38% of English-speaking people feel that 1991 will be worse than 1990 while 50% of Afrikaans-speaking people share this belief," says Markinor.

People in the upper income brackets are also more optimistic about the future: those in the lower income brackets.

The Gallup poll was first conducted in 1962. During the years 1962 to 1985 optimism about the future plummeted, largely because of the introduction of the state of emergency.

That trend changed in 1986, with the election in 1987 having a positive effect on South Africans' view of their future.

Overall optimism took a dip again in 1988 and 1989 when township violence increased.

It was towards the end of 1989 that optimism among blacks started rising for the first time. Since then levels of optimism among blacks have continued to rise, particularly since President F W de Klerk began implementing his reform programme.

However, over the same period optimism among whites dropped dramatically, says the research group.
Liberation movements should unite against Pretoria – PAC

HARARE — South African liberation movements should unite in 1991 to map out a common strategy to end internecine violence and forge a united front against the Pretoria regime, Pan Africanist Congress President Clarence Makweni said in his New Year message from Harare yesterday.

Zimbabwe’s national news agency Ziana reported that the message was released by the PAC’s diplomatic office.

Mr Makweni also said the black education crisis should be dealt with decisively, and that children should go back to school.

The PAC president called for abandonment of the “liberation now, education later” slogan and asked the community to instead launch a campaign to “really open those schools which are claiming to be open” (to all races).

He further said the violence in South Africa was escalating to “alarming proportions” instead of being reduced.

The PAC believed that if liberation movements put their heads together and jointly looked into the question of violence, a solution could be found.

“For decades now PAC has been preaching the gospel of a united front.

“We urge all those who have a contradiction with white domination — irrespective of political persuasion — to come together to devise means whereby racism in our country can be brought to an end,” Mr Makweni said.

“At no stage are the oppressed expected to engage in talks-about-talks to bring this about. We are not at all obliged to make concessions to De Klerk to create such a climate.”

In early December at its national conference — where Mr Makweni was elected as successor to the late Zeph Mothopeng as president — the PAC had rejected a government invitation to hold exploratory talks.

Instead, the PAC had demanded a meeting at a neutral venue to discuss the establishment of a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote. — Sapa.
Exile condemns black 'bloodletting'

PIETERSBURG — Exiled black consciousness movement leader Mosibudi Mangena said in his New Year's message from Harare that no one had realised that the events in 1990 would be 'a prelude to an orgy of bloodletting in the black community'.

Mr Mangena, exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania), said the year 1991 should see black people 'resolving to rid themselves of all forms of senseless and cruel violence'.

He promised that BCMA and Azania would 'continue with the struggle on all fronts until final victory'.

Mr Mangena said black people 'have killed more of each other during the period between February and December than they have killed the enemy in 30 years of declared armed struggle against white minority settler rule'.

'The African component of the black community is being brutalised by a combination of a component of the liberation movement, a puppet political group, the police and ultra-Zionists,' he said. — Sapa.
Do not shift blame for the violence, says Tambo

UMTATA — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo yesterday urged Pretoria and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realise the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing a rally in his honour at the Independence Stadium in Umtata. It was attended by more than 10 000 people.

In his speech, the recently-returned president spoke warmly of Transkei and the homeland's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Tambo's ailing health was evident as he slowly moved towards the podium using a walking stick and accompanied by his deputy, Nelson Mandela, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Mr Tambo said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the State — the aim being to prolong the lifespan of apartheid.

"The ANC will not allow this to happen, because we are determined not to spend another year under apartheid rule."

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who had a contribution to make towards the ending of the violence which had plagued many parts of the country but would not continue to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo said the ANC had reaffirmed its commitment to peaceful negotiations in ending apartheid. However the organisation continued to insist on the formation of an interim government and constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Mr Tambo also stressed the importance of education in enabling blacks to play a meaningful role in South Africa.

He made an appeal to the leaders of KwaZulu to join hands as the last phase of the struggle was entered. — Sapa.
PAC head gives his New Year message

The Pan Africanist Congress says it will outline campaigns to address violence in the townships, and pursue "rigorously" talks already afoot between itself and the ANC on forging a united front of liberation movements.

In his New Year message, PAC president Mbeki said 1990 was a year of great success and tribulations for the organisation.

"The year will be remembered for three critical things:

1. The bold attempt by the present regime to change the face of racist domination by embarking on a programme of "reform";

2. The Groote Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute, both of which failed to deliver what they were intended for; and

3. The inordinate violence unleashed on our people by both the present regime and certain undisciplined sections of our community."

Makwetu said the PAC's message on violence would be in line with its slogan, "peace among Africans, war against the enemy."

On the question of a united or patriotic front of all principal liberation movements, Makwetu said: "Never before has there been such a high level of consensus among the oppressed that our liberation movements can only maximise their gains if unity in action is achieved in order to ensure a total transformation of our society.

"In this regard it pleases us to announce that preparatory discussions between the PAC and ANC for the creation of a united or patriotic front are proceeding and will be pursued rigorously in the first few months of the new year."

The PAC leader also lauded as triumphant resolutions taken by the PAC, ANC and Azapo at their annual congresses on unity in action and demand for a constituent assembly based on a one-person-one-vote on a common voters' roll within a unitary state.

Other measures to be announced early in 1991 will include a "clearly defined education policy and strategy".

Makwetu said in 1991 the PAC will maintain "all forms of struggle".
Indians told to join black parties

The international adviser to the Black Sections of the British Labour Party, Mr Benny Bunsen, jetted out of South Africa on Friday night with a strong message to the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to disband and join "national" African politics.

Mr Bunsen made his comments at Jan Smuts Airport after ending a month-long fact-finding mission to South Africa. He is to report to the Black Sections — a lobby group recently recognised by British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

Speaking before his departure, Bunsen expressed disappointment that "ethnic politics" continued to exist in South Africa.

"My travels here have illustrated the need for a national consensus among black people. There just has to be unity. While the two congresses have played a role in the past, their time is up.

"Already, there is a debate in the ANC about the continuance of such groupings, which include the 'coloured' Labour Party. Whereas the short term political expediency of such groups as the NIC, TIC and Hendrickse's Labour Party has been recognised in the past, the long term is now to create a national political thought. They must either get involved or be left behind."

Bunsen said South Africans of Asian origin could not believe in "Indianism".

"They are living in an African country on the African continent, their history is also one of fighting against colonialism and racism, and they... therefore, just cannot be allowed to continue with hollow, hollow deeds," Bunsen charged.

The perpetuation of "Indianism", he found, had locked that community into parochial interests, which endangered the creation of a post-apartheid South Africa.
Labour Party rejects constituent assembly

The Labour Party yesterday rejected the idea of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system. Instead its 25th annual congress at the Goodwood showgrounds decided that all political groups should be allowed to make contributions to discussions on constitutional reform.

The congress also decided that the party leadership must investigate the possibility of alliances with other groups.

A resolution passed said the future of the country would be decided by such alliances.

They should between groups with common goals and objectives with each group retaining their separate identities.

The congress reaffirmed the party's policy for a geographic federation.

It condemned the recent waves of violence and called on all political leaders and parties to address the issue.

There was an appeal particularly to Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief C. J. De Klerk to rise above their differences and to meet in the interest of the country. The congress also called for the Group Areas Act within the first three months of next year. - Own Correspondent.
1990 prelude for blood, says exile

HARARE - Mosibudi Mangena, the exiled black consciousness leader, said in his New Year’s message that no-one had realised that the events in 1990 would be “a prelude to an orgy of bloodletting in the black community”.

Mangena, the exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as well as commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army, said the year 1991 should see black people “resolving to rid themselves of all forms of senseless and cruel violence and re-dedicated to black consciousness and its inherent promotion of the dignity and sanctity of black lives”.

He promised that the BCMA and Azania would “continue with the struggle on all fronts until final victory”.

Mangena said black people “had killed more of each other during the period between February and December than they had killed the enemy in thirty years of declared armed struggle against white minority settler rule”.

“The African component of the black community was being brutalised by a combination of a component of the liberation movement, a puppet political group, the police and ultra racists,” Mangena further alleged.
ANC and PAC set to put up united front

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly as the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress prepare for talks to create a united political front.

And the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo), which has long campaigned for black unity, is also expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

Democratic choice

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to establish a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters’ roll, which would select a constituent assembly. On this basis, the organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

The government argues that a constituent assembly would render negotiations unnecessary and that its result would not be acceptable to all. It says that only the most powerful organisations in such an assembly would get their way.

The commitment to a constituent assembly could effectively unite both those organisations that are becoming involved in the present round of negotiations — including certain homeland leaders — and those who have so far resisted invitations to talk.

But disappointment could arise over matters such as economic policy.

The ANC source also cautioned that unless there was a clear basis of accountability within such an assembly, it would not be effective.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Mr Ahmed Cesar Ibrahim said at a recent conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a decision in principle to form a united front was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC president Mr Natukunda, and Organisation of African Unity (OAU) president Mr Louis Mountefiore. A date for the meeting had not been set.

Common interest

This was endorsed at the PAC’s second national congress at the weekend.

It resolved that all organisations of the opposition should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies, and that the PAC would “influence other political tendencies among the oppressed… so as to achieve the united front.”

While expecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly.

The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg reported there is not likely to be a meeting between Kwandalala, Chief Minister and Information Minister, and the ANC’s deputy president, for which Ms Dr Ruth Mucumbi of the ANC indicated no arrangements had been completed.

Hunt for pilots

Seatbelt saved me — deputy mayor

By DON HOLYDAY

Municipal Reporter

If you want proof of the value of wearing a seatbelt, speak to Cape Town’s Deputy Mayor, Mr Frank van der Velde — he will tell you it saved his life.

Travelling alone in his car on the eastbound section of the N1, Mr Van der Velde was thrown from the back seat into the dashboard. The impact resulted in a three-stitch wound to his left arm.

He also suffered a cut on his head caused by the seatbelt.

Three stitches

“I would have been dead if I had not been wearing a seatbelt,” he said. “I would have been tossed around the car (like a tennis ball). The cut needed three stitches but otherwise I was unscathed. I did not even have telltale marks.”

“I have advocated the use of seatbelts ever since I was a university student. I came across an accident in which a young man was killed through the windshield. I literally held his face together while we waited for an ambulance.”

“My message to motorists is to ensure your safety belt is in order for your tyres. Check not only the tread but also the walls. Tyres may be expensive but they’re cheaper than a life. And wear a seatbelt.”

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Hunt for pilots

Hunt for pilots
PAC, ANC pledge on a united front

THE PAC and ANC are expected to meet soon, after both organisations committed themselves yesterday to forming a united political front.

The envisaged front would also include other organisations.

PAC foreign affairs (external) spokesman Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said the proposed front was in line with a decision taken at a meeting between the PAC and ANC in Kampala, Uganda, in September.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and newly elected PAC first deputy president Johnson Mlambo met in the presence of, among others, OAU president Yoweri Museveni and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Ebrahim said.

“We agreed the SA organisations needed to meet and we will be pursuing that decision,” Ebrahim said.

No date had been set for a meeting with the ANC, he said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC had been working on a united front with other organisations since 1987.

“There is a basis for working together on basic minimum demands and we hope organisations are not just paying lip service to this without commitment,” he said.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said it was resolved at the national conference held at Shareworld at the weekend to form a united front. He said the PAC would initiate a forum “in which all organisations of the oppressed will consult with the purpose of finding areas of common interest and common strategies”.

The PAC would also participate if the initiative for such a forum came from other organisations that had a “contradiction with the regime”.

Moseneke said the PAC would not negotiate with government or relinquish its call for international sanctions and the cultural boycott until a constituent assembly was elected on the basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' roll. The organisation was prepared to talk only about the logistics of establishing such an assembly.

Ebrahim said government had given the impression that conditions had changed in SA. “The Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Bantu Education Act, the tricameral Parliament and the homelands are still in force,” he said. “The changes depend on the five pillars of apartheid, not on the smile on (President F W) De Klerk’s face.”

Comment: Page 6
37 foreign officials meet on home ground

THIRTY-SEVEN ANC foreign representatives met for the first time on SA soil yesterday.

The representatives, who came from as far afield as the US and Switzerland, are in SA for the ANC's conference of foreign representatives and for its consultative conference which begins on Friday.

The representatives were briefed by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

The two-day conference of foreign representatives was opened yesterday by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela who congratulated the delegates on what they had achieved. ANC NEC member Yusuf Saloojee said.

Saloojee said Mbeki had briefed the conference on ANC meetings with government, violence, socio-economic issues and the need to refocus the foreign mission's external activities in the light of changes in SA.

The issue of sanctions was also on the agenda as was fundraising and projects of the different external missions.

He said the conference also aimed to draw up a memorandum to assist discussion at the consultative conference.

The ANC's foreign representatives last met in February this year in Norway.

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Tambo's homecoming tops the bill at ANC conference

ANC president Oliver Tambo returns to SA on Thursday after nearly three decades in exile.

Tambo, who has been sidelined from active politics since suffering a stroke 14 months ago, will give the opening address at the ANC consultative conference which starts at Nasrec on Friday.

ANC spokesman Mohamed Vahlé Moses said apart from the opening session, which would also be addressed by the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela, the conference would be closed. It would end with a public rally at Soccer City on Sunday afternoon.

He said 1 611 delegates would attend. These included ANC representatives from 36 countries.

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Provision had been made for recently released prisoners and newly returned exiles, who had not had an opportunity to integrate themselves into ANC structures, to attend the conference.

Observers from Cosatu, the UDF and the SAPC would also attend and participate.

Moosa said the main issues to be addressed at the conference would be:

- Negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle;
- Strategies and tactics;
- Violence;
- Building an organisation;
- International isolation; and
- The programme for 1991.
A BILL of rights in a new SA would be meaningless unless all the liberation movements, including the ANC, built a culture of democracy within themselves, human rights lawyer Aziz Cachalia said yesterday.

Cachalia was addressing a meeting in Johannesburg called to commemorate International Human Rights Day.

"The leaders are accountable to their organisations and should be recalled if they do not behave in an accountable way," he said.

He added that punitive action should also be taken against members who breached their organisations' expressed democratic principles.

Concrete steps

"We simply cannot accept political differences to be solved by violence or coercion," he said.

Cachalia also urged government to play its part in the creation of democratic culture by scrapping remaining "pieces of apartheid legislation" and by taking concrete steps to end the culture of violence which "apartheid has bred".

Former PFP and DP MP Helen Suzman suggested to the meeting that public servants be retrained to overcome past bias against blacks.

"It is also absolutely vital for the human rights organisations not to take part in party politics. They should stand between politicians and people," Suzman said.

The meeting was organised by the Black Lawyers Association (BLA), Human Rights Commission (HRC), Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).
UDF backs call for black Christmas

Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal's (CAST) call for a black Christmas in certain Transvaal towns was yesterday backed by the United Democratic Front and the South African Communist Party.

But the ANC was reluctant to openly support the call, which is specifically targeted at black town councillors who have defied pressure to resign.

ANC information and publicity chief Pallo Jordan referred inquiries to the ANC's regional offices.

ANC PWV branch secretary Barbara Hogan said a decision on the matter would be taken at a regional executive meeting today.

UDF publicity secretary Titus Mofolo said his organisation supported the call because it was selective.

"We see the struggle against black local authorities as part of the wider struggle for democracy," he said.

An SACP spokesman said: "The SACP supports any disciplined, democratic actions to bring about the downfall of local authorities."

On the question of enforcing a boycott, CAST general secretary Sam Ntuli said his organisation condemned any form of intimidation.

Street and block committees would explain to residents the call to boycott certain shops.

"I say Mr Ntuli: "The street and block committees will explain the boycott in a peaceful way. If some people don't adhere to the call, those structures will decide upon actions."
PAC takes tougher line after rejecting talks

By Kaizer Nyatumb
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is totally committed to the intensification of pressure against South Africa and to all "forms of the struggle", a press conference in Johannesburg was told yesterday following the PAC's weekend congress.

In addition to rejecting the Government's invitation to exploratory talks, the congress called for tougher sanctions and a blanket cultural boycott against South Africa.

Newly elected PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseweke said nothing had changed in South Africa. Consequently all pressures on Pretoria had to be maintained and intensified.

Mr Moseweke and external PAC foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim said political prisoners were still in prison, exiles had not returned and apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act was still on the statute book.

"To say we don't need sanctions and other pressures now is to be fanciful about the situation," Mr Moseweke said.

In his response yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said those who were not prepared for negotiations were excluding themselves from meaningful participation in the building of the new South Africa.

Dr Viljoen said the Government's invitation to the PAC could still be accepted.

In three separate resolutions passed at its three-day second national congress at Shareworld, the PAC called for the intensification of sanctions, and for "the struggle for liberation on all fronts" and the cultural boycott to be continued.

The organisation also reaffirmed its commitment to a united front "involving all forces who have a contradiction with the enemy".

The PAC would initiate a forum in which all "organisations of the oppressed" would consult with the purpose of finding areas of common interest and common strategies. It would be prepared to participate in such a forum even if the initiative came from other organisations.

The PAC condemned the violence in townships around the country and called on "every African to oppose and expose all the elements in our society that promote the violence".

Not only would the organisation talk to other organisations about the violence, but it would also hold regular seminars, workshops and peace rallies "for all Africans" to spread the message of "peace among the Africans, war against the enemy"

Other PAC resolutions dealt with unity within the organisation, its programme of action, the black education crisis, the "Upington 14" who were sentenced to death on the "common purpose doctrine", the question of funds and the Australian government's charges against a senior PAC member.

Keeping door open a crack — Page 16.
1,600 to attend ANC talks

By Esnarie van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC's historic consultative conference at the weekend — the first of its kind on South African soil since the organisation was banned in 1960 — will be attended by 1,611 delegates, some of whom would travel to Johannesburg from 36 countries, it was announced yesterday.

ANC president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela will open the conference, which will open at 9 am on Friday at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg.

ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa announced details at a press conference yesterday on behalf of the national preparatory committee.

Mr Valli Moosa said Mr Tambo, who would arrive on Thursday, would deliver the opening address.

Thereafter, Mr Mandela would deliver a major political statement.

The rest of the conference would be closed to the media, although the final plenary session on Sunday afternoon might be open.

Decisions

Mr Valli Moosa said the six main issues, which would be debated by delegates in workshops, were negotiations and the suspension of the named struggle, the strategies and tactics of the ANC, violence, building the organisation, international isolation and a programme of action for next year.

He said decisions taken at the consultative conference would be binding.

A rally would be held at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto on Sunday, with Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela as the speakers, he said.

Congress resolutions would be made public at the rally.

Participating observers from the SACP, UDF and Cosatu would attend the conference, as well as people who had not been taken up in ANC structures, such as recently-released prisoners and activists on trial.

The ANC women's league and youth league would also be represented, he said.

Exiled members from 36 countries had been elected as delegates.

Most of them would come from Tanzania, Zambia and Uganda, Mr Valli Moosa said.

Big welcome planned for Tambo

A tumultuous welcome is being planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who will return home on Thursday after 30 years in exile.

But the ANC leader, who is recovering from a severe stroke, will make few public appearances during his three-week visit, after which he will return to London for medical treatment.

The ANC announced yesterday that Mr Tambo — accompanied by his wife, Adelaide, family and aides — would arrive at Jan Smuts Airport from Lusaka at 11.30 am.

He would not address a media conference, although there would be a photo opportunity.

ANC organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa told a press conference in Johannesburg "certain members of the media would have the opportunity of meeting Mr Tambo during his visit."

Asked where Mr Tambo would be staying, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Mr Tambo would have preferred to stay in Wattleville, the Benoni township where he had lived before going into exile 30 years ago.

"However, it doesn't look as if that preference can be accommodated. We are looking at various options," he said.
Kaizer Nyatombu of The Star's Political Staff reviews the weekend's PAC congress: Keeping the door open a crack.

SHAREWORLD, the mecca of entertainment for many South Africans, was a most unfortunate venue for a political organisation's national congress. While the Pan African Congress's congress was in progress from Friday morning to Sunday night, a hundred-and-one other events were taking place at the huge entertainment complex.

Not only was the place milling with people, but delegates also had to strain their ears to hear what was being said.

So had the press when newly-elected PAC president Clarence Mlamuli Makwethu announced, at the end of the congress on Sunday night, his organisation's response to the Government's invitation to talks.

The press had other problems with the venue - no public telephones in the huge complex was working, and journalists could not contact their offices to brief them on delays and other developments.

However, as the place where the PAC held its second national congress and finally decided against accepting the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks, Shareworld will be remembered for many years even beyond Africanist circles.

For most South Africans the main issue on the PAC congress's agenda was the Government's invitation to talks.

In its response, the PAC rejected the invitation, saying it was prepared to negotiate with the ANC under the same conditions as during the two previous rounds of talks.

It announced it was prepared to talk to Pretoria "in a neutral venue" about the modalities of a constituent assembly. This, in effect, means that a somewhat low-key - or even a secret - meeting between the PAC and Pretoria in an African country could be on the cards shortly. Such a meeting could lead to some agreements between the two parties and might later be followed by high-profile meetings inside South Africa.

For the PAC itself, one of the most important challenges facing the congress was the question of leadership. A potentially divisive matter, the issue appears to have been well-handled.

There were said to be two front-runners for the presidency: former vice-president Mr. Makwethu, who assumed the acting presidency when Zephania Methonjeng died of cancer two months ago; and former national chairman Johnson Mlambo, who is based in exile.

Another name mentioned was externally-based administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi, who arrived in the country last Wednesday to attend the congress.

As things turned out, however, Mr. Makwethu was the one to take the presidency. In him, the PAC has a charismatic and stately man with physical features similar to those of ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela.

Mr. Makwethu was not a rousing public speaker, but this shortcoming is more than made up for by his two men he has as deputies. Mr. Mlambo and Pretoria-based advocate Dikgang Mosebenzi, both elected unanimously.

Mr. Makwethu's ascension to the presidency means the two oldest liberation movements in the country, the ANC and the PAC, are now led by people from Transkei.

Mr. Mlambo, the first deputy president, is credited with having held the organisation together in exile and having given it some respectability after it had gone through some internecine wrangling. Apart from being a good public speaker, he also has contacts with a number of African heads of states.

The second deputy president, Mr. Mosebenzi, is a lawyer and a thoughtful and persuasive speaker. His meteoric rise to the top, in an organisation in which he has played crucial behind-the-scenes roles for years, will give substance to the new PAC leadership.

Benny Alexander, a fiery caller of the gallery, and a young man who has been at the PAC's executive, is the new PAC's secretary-general. His former assistant, Philomen Tefu, is out and in comes the young Carter Seleka in his place. The election of Mr. Seleka onto the executive council shows the strength and influence of the PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanya), of which Mr. Seleka was the secretary-general.

Other members of the new executive council are Barney Desai (publicity), Mike Matsabane (finance), Malhudi Mhanda-zayo (political affairs), Pitso Nkwekana (culture), Willie Seriti (legal affairs), Dr. Silva Sana (health), Victor Zemela (labour), Joe Gwabeni (education), Tomson Gapo (economic affairs), Patricia de Lille (foreign affairs), Temba Goti (youth affairs), Nomonde Kakaza (women's affairs), Mark Shinners (projects and development), Solly S'Kosana (environmental affairs) and Paul Masangwana (national organiser).

All members of the externally-based central committee will be absorbed into the new national executive council, which will hold office for two years.

The PAC's congress also marked the formal acceptance of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a liberation movement. The IFP, long regarded as an organisation closer to the ruling National Party (NP) than it was to other liberation movements, finally came in from the cold.

Not only was the IFP represented at the congress, but the Transvaal leader of the party's Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza, was given louder applause than the ANC's Patrick "Terror" Lekota. when the congress opened on Friday morning. Mr. Khoza also gave equally loud applause at the end of the congress on Sunday evening.

The congress was very well attended, and the PAC had representatives of a number of foreign countries as guests of honour. Countries represented included Iran, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Togo, the United States and the United Kingdom.
A day at the beach to prepare for protest

By YVETTE VAN BREDA
Cape Times Reporter at the Workshop

"WILL you leave this beach and go to your own further down. This is a whites-only beach," a policeman said to me on Saturday.

I shook my head and said I preferred to be where I was as all my friends were here.

The policeman was in fact a middle-aged woman, and she and I were one of many groups of two who were assuming the roles of policeman and beachgoer at a session preparing people for the protest planned by the Mass Democratic Movement for Saturday, September 20, on the white beach at the Strand.

About 70 people attended the session at St Dominic’s Church in Hanover Park which the Christian-oriented Standing for the Truth committee organised to tell people what to expect on Saturday and how to deal with certain situations.

The session was run by Archdeacon John Freeth, Mr Alan Barnes, Mr Paul Hess and Father Basil van Rensburg, all co-ordinators of the planning committee.

People who attended were asked to form "buzz groups" consisting of two people and then assume the roles of policeman and beachgoer in various situations.

We were asked to pretend we were being stopped at a roadblock on the way to the Strand, that a "right-winger" was approaching us on the beach and that a policeman was approaching us on the beach.

In groups of eight, we were given 30 seconds to decide what to do when we saw a person throwing a stone or when we saw someone being arrested.

The group I was in decided that a stone-thrower should be surrounded and subdued. Advice at the summing-up for someone approached individually by a right-winger or a policeman on the beach, was: "Be nice, not aggressive, and tell them that all God’s beaches are for all God’s people."

It was also suggested that white people join a black person who was being harassed as "whites were less likely to be harassed."

When confronted by the police and asked to disperse, beachgoers should link arms and stay that way for as long as possible.

When police arrested a particular person, others should support that person and go with him if you want to". We were advised not to resist arrest and to demand the name of the arresting officer and the reason for the arrest.

Stone-throwers should be surrounded and prevented from being violent. If dogs were let loose, we were warned "not to run and if it attacks you try and keep its jaws open".

Marshals could be identified, they would be wearing "the beaches" sunshades, and the marshals would be equipped with loud-hailers and two-way radios.

"A core group, consisting of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and other clerics and lawyers, will move up and down the beach and negotiate with the police if necessary. They will also communicate with marshals and decide on any kind of symbolic action, "I linking hands."

The local community, most of whom were elderly, were told to be provoked under any circumstances. "We want to include all these people in new South Africa," Archbishop said.
ANC cash is held up in the US

David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — More than R10 million raised during the African National Congress tour of the United States under the leadership of Nelson Mandela last June has still not been paid over to the organisation.

According to the US organisers, only about $2 million (R5 million) is so far available and about $2 million more is being held up by accounting procedures.

The US promoters of Mr Mandela's eight-city tour had originally set an unofficial target of raising at least $1 million at each of the ANC deputy president's stop-overs in America, making a total of at least R20 million for the tour.

Huge expenses, a lower-than-expected rate of collection and even some bounced cheques have, however, halved this total.

The money was originally supposed to have been properly accounted for and handed over by August 15, but this has proved to be impossible as each of the cities has worked separately.

In some cases, expenses exceeded funds raised specifically for costs, and local organisers are trying to find ways to settle these without dipping into cash raised for the ANC.

The ANC in the US is not perturbed. The organisation's chief representative there, Lindiwe Mabuza, said the ANC had never asked for any specific amount.

If The ANC had asked its US supporters to give the organisation as much help as possible and it was grateful for whatever it received.

Professor Roger W. Ovation ... Nelson Mandela after addressing the US Congress.

The ANC in turn set up a South African charity to receive the money as in terms of US tax laws political organisations may not receive money from American charities.

Local organisers in each of the eight cities toured by the Mandela party were asked to concentrate on fundraising events. More than a million dollars was said to have been raised in each of the cities of New York, Boston, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

In Detroit, Los Angeles and Oakland, individuals paid between $5,000 (R12,000) and $50,000 (R126,000) each to attend private functions with Mr Mandela.

Expenses included the charter of a Boeing 727 and 'scores' of rooms in top hotels at each stop.
It's a sell-out, claims CP

Political Staff

The Conservative Party yesterday expressed shock at the revelation that the Government was planning to appoint a special negotiating team of senior Ministers, saying the Government was now giving in to the ANC's demand for an interim government.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg denounced the revelation — which has been dismissed as "mere speculation" by a spokesman in President de Klerk's office — claiming it was another example of the Government selling whites out.

Dr Hartzenberg said it was with shock that the CP had learnt that at the weekend the Government had, in principle, accepted to appoint a team of senior Ministers to negotiate on behalf of the National Party while it operated as "some kind of an arbiter".

"It is obvious that this idea is an attempt to meet the ANC's demand for an interim government," said Dr Hartzenberg.

"The result will be that the ANC will, to a certain degree, be brought in to Government structures with elements of an interim government."

He also said the joint statement by Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela condemning violence after their meeting in Pretoria on Saturday contrasted sharply with the statement by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani on Sunday that the armed struggle had to be intensified.

Dr Hartzenberg said the two leaders' joint statement also contrasted with police intelligence information provided to the media in the past about the ANC's plans to engage in a "big scale revolution".
Inkatha calls for a ‘grand peace pact’

The Inkatha Freedom Party has called for a “grand peace pact” between all political parties in South Africa.

The IFP also called on President F W de Klerk to begin negotiating early next year with all those organisations who have committed themselves to such talks.

The calls were made during the party’s three-day weekend congress in Ulundi.

Resolutions passed at the congress indicated that most South Africans were anxious for negotiations to get off the ground.

“They are anticipating major announcements in the State President’s address to Parliament at its opening early next year.”

The congress also called on the United Nations and the European Community to normalise economic relations with South Africa and adopt a rigorous timetable to phase out sanctions as quickly as possible.

The EC should “hear the voice of the masses of South Africa who cry out for economic development and cry out for the investment and the incoming technology and management skills that investment brings”.

The Organisation of African Unity should also re-assess what it needed to do to maximise the growth of democracy in South Africa, the resolutions said.

Regarding the “grand peace pact”, the Inkatha resolutions said they wanted to make the reduction of violence in the country a top priority and called on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 a year of peace for negotiations.

One resolution slammed the rent, electricity and rates boycotts “which have brought unhealthy living conditions and near-bankruptcy to many black townships”.

They called on all groups which wanted to pay rents and services needed for life and health “to have the courage to do what has to be done”.

-Sowetan Correspondent.

PAC and ANC to hold talks on united front

Leaders of the PAC and ANC are to meet to discuss the establishment of a united front to consist of organisations representing “oppressed people” in South Africa.

This was disclosed at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday by the PAC’s foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim.

He said a decision on the matter was taken at a meeting in Kampala, Uganda, in September between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, newly elected PAC vice-president Mr Johnson Mlambo and Organisation of African Unity president Mr Yoweri Museveni.

A date for the meeting had not yet been set, he said.

The PAC’s second national congress in 31 years, held at Shareworld outside Johannesburg at the weekend, had endorsed the decision, Ebrahim said.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies and that the PAC would “influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front”.

-Sapa.
ANC branch is against meeting

THE southern Natal branch of the ANC does not support a one-to-one meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to the congress regional office in Durban.

Reacting to Press reports yesterday, ANC spokesman Mr Cyril Xulu said: “We are a movement of the people. We don’t think it is going to crash the violence in any way if they meet, as Inkatha wants them to, one-to-one.”

He said when and if the regional office recommended a meeting it would call for the ANC national executive to accompany Mandela and Buthelezi to be accompanied by his supporters.

“I don’t think it is correct to say the time is right at the moment,” said Xulu. - Sapa.
ANC hits at takeover reports

WEEKEND reports about an alleged ANC plan to take over government was a "badly written piece of sensationalist twaddle", the movement's Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

However, the report cannot be summarily dismissed because there is a serious aspect where the author, attributes the "hysterical" report to "a highly confidential" briefing given to senior Government officials by intelligence personnel, Jordan said.

"One is left to ponder how on earth the reporter who apparently is neither a member of the Government nor a senior intelligence officer, gained access to such 'highly confidential' information."

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"There could be one of two sources - either an inspired leak by a Minister or an off the record briefing by a senior intelligence officer," he said.

Jordan believes that the only reason behind such a leak was clearly to "create hysteria" and to arouse fears of ANC's real intentions among the public.

He said that it was also no co-incidence that the report comes at the beginning of the week during which the ANC will hold its first internal conference in almost 30 years.

"We cannotfault the newspaper for reporting what it considers to be a newsworthy story. We are, however, alarmed that it appears to be lending itself to such an obvious ploy, which so closely resembles the earlier 'Red Plot' that proved itself to be without foundation," Jordan said.

President FW de Klerk had never mentioned the "Plan" to ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela during any of the successive meetings the two leaders have had in recent months, Jordan believes, De Klerk would have told Mandela of an alleged plan for an insurrection.

He said that the ANC held Government and "its intelligence services" accountable for any untoward consequences that may arise from what he calls "these reckless actions".
By IKE MOTSAPI

THE ANC has distanced itself from reports that the organisation is about to ease its call on sanctions on the Government.

A spokesman for the ANC yesterday denied that the organisation is to gradually phase out sanctions as from next year.

"Everybody knows that the ANC wants sanctions to be maintained until all the apartheid laws have been removed.

"We are not and will not be forced by anybody to change our stand on sanctions," he said.
Protect workers' interests - Nagfaal

THE advent of a new or black government in South Africa would not herald a struggle-free era for workers, the president of the Media Workers of South Africa Mrs Sandra Nagfaal, said at the weekend.

Addressing the regional congress of the union in Pietersburg, Nagfaal said a new government would also be forced to strengthen the economy of the country.

"When that happens, workers' problems would start all over again because the only way of strengthening the economy is to limit wage increases. This time it will even be worse because we will be dealing with our own people in government," she said.

Nagfaal said many workers in independent countries were still being oppressed after achieving political freedom and installation of black governments.

"Trade unionists were being detained in many parts of Africa, indicating that only workers could protect worker interests," she said.

Nagfaal said there had existed a need in the past for trade unions to "promote our organisations like the ANC, BCM and PAC while they were banned.

"If we are part of these respective organisations, let it not hamper our dealings in our unions".

The congress elected the following regional executive: Mr Mathatha Tsedu (chairman); Mr Nathaniel Sefara (vice-chairman); Mr Maphuthi Mpaq (secretary); Mr Subuntu Maphalla (treasurer); Mrs Jostina Mokothla (additional member).
Mandela asks EC: Don’t lift sanctions yet

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela has urgently called on European Community leaders, who meet in Rome this week, to postpone considering lifting sanctions against South Africa until he has held detailed discussions with them.

Mr Mandela says he wants to communicate a “common position” on sanctions “evolved” from discussions the ANC is having with “other democratic formations” in the country.

In a letter to EC heads of government on the eve of the Rome summit, Mr Mandela makes a “humble request” to the leaders to “postpone any decision on this matter (sanctions) until early in the new year”.

The summit is expected to make an announcement on sanctions on Saturday.

Major changes

Mr Mandela asks whether the leaders would “find it within (their) power to direct a later meeting of (EC) foreign ministers in February or March to consider this issue and take decisions”.

The ANC deputy president believes major changes will come in President F W de Klerk’s speech at the opening of Parliament in early February, enabling the sanctions issue to be reviewed by EC foreign ministers soon afterwards.

Mr Mandela confirms in his letter that sanctions have been under serious review by the ANC, as was reported by the Cape Times last week following the leaking of a confidential ANC document on sanctions policy.

Despite the clamour by some EC countries, notably Italy and the UK, for the lifting of sanctions this week, Mr Mandela’s appeal to the EC to wait a few more months could prove persuasive.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in reaction to the letter last night: “I do not think it will serve any purpose to respond to the ANC’s lost cause.”
Bid to limit airport welcome for Tambo

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress and the Department of Law and Order are at loggerheads over arrangements for the reception planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the department had asked the ANC to restrict the welcoming party at Jan Smuts Airport to the 36-strong national executive committee.

He said the department had “refused” permission for thousands of supporters to go to the airport to welcome the ANC leader.

“They (the police) are simply making things impossible. We don’t know what is going to happen. We have told the police that we will handle everything.

Agreement

“But no arrangements have been finalised. People will have to make up their own minds on whether they want to go to the airport.”

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the police and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had agreed that the welcoming party be kept to between 50 and 60.

Captain Kotze said the ANC had failed to attend a planning meeting with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, General Mulder van Eyck, which was to have taken place at the airport last week.

“Their excuse was that they had confused the dates. It is not the police who are causing problems. We want everything to go smoothly and peacefully.”

He said the police had since made several attempts — to no avail — to discuss the arrangements with the ANC.

Homecoming

“We are not standing in the way of a workable solution. The ANC’s organisation apparently seems not to be of the best in this particular matter. ANC officials often don’t show up for meetings,” said Captain Kotze.

Prominent advertisements were placed in newspapers yesterday in connection with Mr Tambo’s return.

Under the heading “A glorious homecoming”, the advertisements read: “Oliver Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

“President Tambo’s return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans in this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example.”
Working group talks on armed action still stalled

BILLY PADDOCK

The government/ANC working group on armed action has not met for three weeks because President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela have not been able to agree on what constitutes activities related to "armed action".

Sources said yesterday the target date for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles agreed to by both sides was now in doubt unless a breakthrough was reached soon.

This was because of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's decision that the return of exiles should be linked to progress made in resolving matters relating to the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle.

The ANC accuses government of tardiness in implementing other sections of the Pretoria Minute, such as the release of political prisoners, and is unwilling to compromise further than it has on "related activities" until it sees progress in the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The working group's task bogged down over government's insistence that mass mobilisation and recruiting for the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were related activities to armed action and contrary to the spirit of the Pretoria Minute, and the ANC's rejection of this.

Both parties decided three weeks ago to suspend their work until the two principals had reached agreement on the definition of a related activity.

The sentences of paragraph three of the minute, which are in dispute are: "As a result of this, no armed actions or related activities by the ANC and its military wing MK will take place"; and "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."
Commission investigating constitutions

TIM COHEN

The constitutional committees of African countries and the ANC's draft bill of rights were being studied by the SA Law Commission, deputy-chairman Mr Justice P J Olivier said yesterday.

He would be visiting Mozambique soon to study that country's constitutional developments, he said.

The commission had also discussed constitutional issues with professors from other African countries, including Nigeria.

African constitutional experts were very interested in Law Commission projects, he said.

Experts from African countries, many of which were undergoing their own constitutional development, apparently felt that they might be able to learn some useful mechanisms from the commission's work, Olivier said.

Commission members have already undertaken an extensive trip overseas, which included visits to Lisbon, Berne, Zurich, Helsinki, New York, Frankfurt and Paris.

The commission is finalising its proposals on group and human rights which will be handed to government early next year.
Row over Tambo's reception

By Esmae van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Ministry of Law and Order are at loggerheads over the arrangements for the reception which is being planned for ANC president Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa tomorrow after 30 years in exile.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the Ministry had asked the ANC to restrict the welcoming party at Jan Smuts Airport to the 35 members of the National Executive Committee.

He said the Ministry had "refused" thousands of supporters the chance to welcome the legendary leader.

The police are simply making things impossible. We don't know what is going to happen. We have told them we will handle everything. But no arrangements have been finalised. People will have to make up their own minds on whether they want to go to the airport," a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said the SAP and ANC deputy presidents Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo were to be kept to between 30 and 60 people.

Captain Kotze said the ANC had failed to attend a planning meeting with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, General Mulder van Eyck, which was to have taken place at the airport last week.

Excuses

"Their excuse was that they had confused the dates. It is not the police who are causing problems. We want everything to go smoothly and peacefully," he said.

He said the SAP had since made several attempts — to no avail — to discuss the arrangements with the ANC.

"We are not standing in the way of a workable solution. The ANC's organisation apparently seems not to be of the best in this particular matter. ANC officials often don't show up for meetings," said Captain Kotze.

Prominent advertisements were placed in newspapers yesterday to hail Mr Tambo's return.

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"President O R Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans in this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example."

The thoughts of Tambo — Page 19.
The thoughts of Tambo

We know we have to pay for it plenty of blood. But it will not stop us.

Most South Africans have not read these prophetic words, for the man who uttered them has been banned in this country for more than 20 years.

They were published in The New York Times in 1962. The man being interviewed on his hopes for a democratic, non-racial South Africa was Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

He was first banned in 1964. The extreme to which the ban was exercised was illustrated by a court fine imposed on The Star in 1963 for quoting Mr Tambo — as saying he could not give up his job.

Today, "Comrade OR" (some libraries are OR) will return to a hero's welcome. Sadly, little will be seen and heard of this legendary leader during his three-week visit.

He is still recovering from a severe stroke he suffered in August last year. The revered ANC leader's speech has been affected and his right side partiallyparalysed. He returns to his country on a brief visit tomorrow, an ailing 73-year-old.

Tomorrow, Oliver Tambo comes home on a brief visit to the country he fled 30 years ago. Myself, the ANC president, banned for most of his political career.

Political Reporter ESMARIE VAN DER MERWE writes on his views, seldom reported.

sure as we have been proposed for us to adopt, namely the cessation or suspension of our armed struggle or the unilateral pronouncement of a moratorium, will do nothing to bring about negotiations.

• On unaccountability (1986): Our own task is very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unacceptable, and our country unaccountable.

• On violence (1986): We would much rather that no blood was lost, that the country was left intact. But not at the expense of our continued enslavement.

• On sanctions (1987): Although one does not expect the Government to fall overnight as a result, hitting Nationalists in the stomach pocket may bring them to their senses more effectively than many more conventional protests which they have ignored.

• On the impact of sanctions on blacks (1988): It is idle to say nothing should be done because blacks will suffer. That kind of thinking, that the ANC is yet to acquire some knowledge, is an absurdity. The ANC has been and must continue to be. It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop by ending apartheid.

ANC president Oliver Tambo ... he is still recovering from a stroke that silenced his speech and left him partiallyparalysed. He returns to his country on a brief visit tomorrow, an ailing 73-year-old.

• On mass mobilisation (1983): Because we could not rely on bases outside South Africa, we had to place more reliance on the masses within. The same holds true here. We have had, as part of our struggle, to develop mass mobilisation, and do this with concentration and consistency.

• On redistribution (1987): The lesson is to how the wealth of our country is redistributed, how the economy of our country is remodelled and that all South Africans may share the wealth. As starting point, our commitment to democracy. There are no glib answers and we are not to provide any.

• On racism (1989): Racism serves to justify exploitative social relations and to suffocate advance. It is also important at all times to seek a deeper understanding of this phenomenon and to be able to rise to the clear causes rather than focus solely on the effected.

• On black empowerment (1971): And who are the blacks in South Africa to complain? The people known, and treated, as "kaffirs", "coconuts" and "boknoses", together with those South Africans whose political identity with the oppressed Africans makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour.

• On black-white relations (1989): The political conflict is developing a dangerous black violence, an nationalism has been and continues to be. It is the pain of apartheid that we want to stop by ending apartheid.

• On relations with the SACP (1981): Ours is not merely a paper alliance (but) a living organisation that has grown out of struggle. We are not the same. Our experience is that the two influence each other. The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced, by others.

• On the PAC (1983): My attitude towards the PAC is that it is not really worth even discussing.

• On Mandela's incarceration (1990): He and the other jailed national leaders have a presence in the consciousness of our people and of the world public.

• On the deaths of civilians in armed attacks (1985): When that cause (apartheid) is removed there will be peace in the country. Otherwise the situation continues to worsen, and they surely have not seen the last bomb attack.
Taking the slow road to peace

Perhaps the African National Congress consultative council this weekend will help clarify the party's attitude to progress in negotiations with the Government. But it is not apparent yet how serious the ANC is about achieving a new democratic order in the minimum time.

Following the march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Friday, ANC executive member and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said the slogan 30 years ago, 'freedom in our lifetime', was no longer good enough. We want freedom now."

The fact is that the ANC and the SAPC could achieve 'freedom now' a lot quicker by changing their tactics, but it is questionable whether they would have the political dominance they seek by doing so. Therefore, in spite of the ANC's marches and propaganda for instant freedom, the growing perception is that their actual priority is building up grass-roots support. Combine that to the negotiation table to thrash out details of a new democratic constitution may well be when the party can do so from a position of strength.

To hold back on achieving practical reforms for the sake of a bargaining position would seem to increase the risks of negotiation being overtaken by violence.

Many say that the hidden tactic in the ANC's strategy is to pit the likelihood that the ANC's relative political position would strengthen as negotiations break down.

Tacticians and principle both have a place in the equation. There are questions such as whether universal freedom is more important than a party's attainment of power, whether any truly democratic system negotiated now is better than a new dispensation haggled out after first establishing political predominance, whether the fears and particular demands of minorities should count as being important compared with the wishes of a majority eager to grasp and exploit power for the first time.

Everything points to the ANC's having decided that assuring power is more important than anything — even if settlement is delayed for a considerable time.

This would explain why it has opted for mass mobilisation and strident rhetoric at a time when it had already established a healthy basis for negotiation with the Government. Mobilisation and protection of grievances inevitably create areas of friction and makes the removal of obstacles to full-scale negotiation more difficult to achieve.

The question arises, whether a different tactic would have borne better fruit.

A quick transition to full adult suffrage, even with concessions to the Government's concern with guarantees for minorities, could have avoided many of the issues bogging down progress at present. Once a non-racial administration took control, the question of exiles and political exiles would be settled by Cabinet decision-making, not by prolonged, often log-jammed, negotiation.

While the return of exiles, release of detainees and political prisoners, and indemnity for political activists would all assist the ANC in building its strength for an election, they are matters that do not materially change the party's bargaining power at a constitutional conference based on consensus, open to all parties having an obvious constituency.

If the Government's plan were proceeded with for bringing a cross-section of political interests to the negotiation table, therefore, the question of detainees, prisoners and exiles would be irrelevant to constitutional progress. Provided an ANC delegation of its own making (including exiles and prisoners if that is so wished) were allowed to participate.

Such a negotiation, however, would be bound by rules of consensus. Compromise would become the order of the day.

The system agreed to would be no less democratic — perhaps it would be more democratic because of the process — but it would not throw up an obvious winner to run it.

The ANC, it seems, is not into that game — for power reasons.

A constituent assembly would limit the number of participating parties at negotiations. And, if mobilisation can successfully heighten public awareness of the ANC as a powerful political instrument, it can increase the ANC's rating as the main opposition to the status quo to the point where it could really hope to obtain a commanding majority — a majority that would reduce the need for compromise.

While such tactics may damage the moral evaluation of the ANC as a people's movement seeking justice, they are in other respects justifiable options for any political movement seeking power.

All the ANC is doing is ensuring it does not separate its bid for justice from its bid for power.

It could be argued that the Government, from its perspective, is doing the same — even while claiming a more moralistic position in appearing to seek no more than justice through the removal of privilege.

It improves the Government's case (if it chooses to be in opposition to the ANC) to be seen to be speeding up negotiations and to blame the ANC for delaying the arrival of democracy.

It improves the ANC's chances of attaining power if it builds its strength from the bottom up, if it becomes abrasive in its demands for redress of any perceived grievances, and if it cuts off from the high road of protest rival organisations such as the PAG, by marching to power on a wave of protest.

In spite of Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's warnings to parties refusing to proceed with the negotiations...
No meeting this year, says ANC

By Kalize Nyatsumba
Political Staff

A meeting is unlikely this year between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Ms Marcus told The Star no plans for a meeting between the two leaders had been finalised, and she did not think such a meeting could be arranged before the end of the year.

It had been agreed last month that Chief Buthelezi and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee would meet Mr Mandela and members of the ANC national executive.

The ANC's southern Natal branch has expressed strong opposition to the meeting.

ANC southern regional spokesman Cyril Xulu said he believed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would not "crack the violence" in any way and that the organisation's Southern Natal region did not think the time was ripe.

Ms Marcus said that if Chief Buthelezi was really committed to seeking an end to violence he would have accepted the South African Council of Churches' invitation to take part in a tour of battle-scarred East Rand townships with other leaders today.

Mr Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu had already accepted the invitation.

A spokesman for Chief Buthelezi, Godfrey Dlamini, told The Star Chief Buthelezi had not yet seen the SACC's invitation.

Ms Marcus also said the ANC was not opposed in principle to the PAC's call for a united front.

The ANC, Ms Marcus said, had been calling for a united front against apartheid for a long time. However, she did not think that a meeting between the two organisations was possible before the end of the year.
POLITICAL pressure is expected to mount on government negotiators in the new year over demands for a constituent assembly, as the ANC and PAC prepare for talks to create a united political front.

Another key movement, Azapo, which has long campaigned for black unity, would also be expected to be drawn into the process.

Demands for a constituent assembly would form the basis of unity, according to a senior ANC source.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo insist that the only way to create a new constitution is to give all people an equal vote on a single non-racial voters roll to elect a constituent assembly. On this basis, these organisations argue, a new constitution drawn up by the assembly would reflect the democratic choice of the country.

The government argues that a constituent assembly would render negotiations unnecessary and the result would not be acceptable to all. It says that only the most powerful organisations in such an assembly would get their way.

The commitment to a constituent assembly, the ANC said yesterday, was based on the principle of a united front, was taken at a meeting in Kampala in Uganda in September this year between ANC, PAC, and the Congress of South African Nurses (formally non-racial). The meeting was attended by F. Mambu and Organisation of African Unity president Yoweri Museveni. A date for the meeting had not yet been set.

This has been endorsed at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

It had resolved that all organisations of the oppressed should find areas of common interest as well as common strategies, and that the PAC would influence other political tendencies among the oppressed to achieve the united front.

While rejecting participation in the present round of negotiations, the PAC was prepared to discuss the logistics of establishing a constituent assembly.
ANC to build posh house for Tambo

THE African National Congress has bought a huge site to build a posh house for its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who returns temporarily to the country tomorrow.

The plot, in Tambo's home town of Watville, Benoni, was originally zoned for a park.

Estimated to be about 3 000 square metres, the site was allocated to the ANC by the Watville Council after it was rezoned in July, sources told Sowetan yesterday.

This ends months of speculation on whether Tambo and his family would return to their modest four-room Watville home or buy a house in one of the plush townships on the Reef.

The ANC president will arrive to a hero's welcome at Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow to attend the organisation's consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg this weekend.

He is expected to spend a few weeks in South Africa before returning to England.

The house, rumoured to be probably bigger than Mr Nelson Mandela's Orlando West mansion, is expected to be completed in June next year when Tambo returns to settle permanently in the country.

Sources said yesterday that Tambo's wife, Adelaide, appeared satisfied when she inspected the site during her brief visit to the country earlier this year.

The site, at Duve Street, has already been fenced off in preparation for building to commence.

The ANC could not give details of the new home.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said Tambo would return to Britain in a few weeks time and "any accommodation that will be arranged for him will be a temporary one".

"But I assume he has always expressed the wish that he would like to go back to his home town of Watville when he returns to settle permanently in the country," Marcus said.
## ANC Needs Strategic Clarity

Raymond Suttner speaks on the issue.

- See page 10

## Triumphant Homecoming

Occasion of reunion, triumph and nostalgia.

- See pages 10 & 23

## Joe Slovo Optimistic

We must try to make it happen.

- See page 23

## ANC's Balancing Act

Ensuring rapid change democratically.

- See page 25

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**Return Of The 'Astute' Statesman**

South 13/12 - 17/12 1990

If the historical role of the African National Congress in South African politics is recorded, the name of "OR" Tambo will feature strongly.

Known as the person that kept the movement together in its darkest days during the late sixties and seventies, his name has become inseparably linked with the ANC.

Oliver Reginald Tambo, who has been at the centre of South African political action all his adult life and has been in the forefront of all the innovations and developments within the African National Congress.

Tambo, 73, is five years younger than the ANC which marked its 78th anniversary on January 8 this year.

His strong leadership qualities have always been admired by all who have known and worked with him. He is received with honour by leaders and governments throughout the world to whom he is known as an astute statesman.

However, he was for many years in the eyes of the South African government regarded as public enemy No 1, as a blood-thirsty "terrorist leader" controlled by Moscow.

The prominent South African leader was born on October 5, 1917 in the rural town of Blyde, Transkei.

Tambo comes from a Christian family and is still known to be a Christian. (Continued on page 10)
A GLORIOUS HOMECOMING

Viva Comrade Tambo!

Across the length and breadth of our land, from every village and homestead, from the cities and towns, from the schools and campuses, let us together join in the celebration of the heroic return of a great leader and astute statesman.

The coming home Comrade President O R Tambo, at a time when a historic landmark in the history of our struggle has been reached, is in itself a clarion call for every South African who cherishes a new united and nonracial order, to engage more intensely in the transformative process. Our common resolve to triumph over the ills of apartheid oppression and artificial division should be emphasised more than ever before. Our watchword must remain unity in action!

"In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation. Nothing will change except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata; Nothing will change without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. No force on earth can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle.

"We invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek to find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure." — O R Tambo, 1979.

O R Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

President O R Tambo's return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans at this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example.

Fight! Produce! Learn!
African National Congress
Youth League

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Fight! Produce! Learn!
ANC CONSULTATION

Triumph

From MONO BADELA on 14/07/90
JOHANNESBURG — The first conference of the African National Congress to be held inside South Africa since 1959 will be an occasion of reminiscences, homecoming and triumph. More than 1,600 delegates from throughout South Africa and 36 foreign countries will attend the first conference, to be held at the Nasrec conference centre in Johannesburg this weekend.

Reunions

For many of the older leaders — such as ANC president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Nzo and Walter Sisulu — there will be nostalgia everywhere with many reunions and reminiscences.

For many others, recently returned from exile with government permission to attend the conference, it will be a week of coming home like no other. For activists who have spent their
time in exile building the ANC, it will be a triumph like few others in this country's history.

Tambt was due to return to a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts Air

port on Thursday and give the opening address at the conference.

Initially the ANC had planned to have a full-blown, national conference this December.

However at its meeting in October, the National Executive Committee (NEC) and internal leadership core (ILC) decided to postpone the national conference to June 1991.

Mandela is expected to deliver a major policy statement at the opening of the conference.

The conference of was "such a status that it could take decisions that could be binding on all ANC members," according to Mohammad Veli Mokossa, an ANC spokesman.

Observers

Participating observers from the SAP, UDF and Cosatu would attend the conference as well as people who had not been taken into ANC structures, such as recently-released prisoners and activists on trial.

The ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League would also be represented, Mokossa said.

Exiled members from 36 countries had been elected as delegates.

Most of these would come from Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

ANC in need of strategic clarity

By JENNY CARGILL on 02/11/90

THE ANC faces the pressing demand for a programme of action and greater strategic clarity, according to its political education chief, Raymond Suttner.

Overall, says Suttner, the consultative conference cannot be expected to go beyond "generalised statements" on the issues before it.

But there has to be an exception in the case of the formulation of a programme of action, he argues.

Weakness

In an interview, he highlighted a "lack of strategic direction" as the ANC's main weakness.

"Everything seems to have collapsed into talks in a way that has not harnessed the power of the people.

"I think one of the things we need to do is develop a programme of action that will involve the masses and give direction to all elements involved in the liberation struggle.

"Suttner says there is a greater awareness in the national leadership about members "dissatisfaction" with the negotiating process after the August 8 Pretoria Minute.

"The need to review the way negotiations are being conducted, particularly since the government is not abiding by its agreements," has also been accepted.

Suttner says the political context in which the conference is taking place
E CONFERENCE

Plant welcome
Support for ‘freedom’ campaign

From YASMIN KHAN

HARARE. — A campaign for “Peace and Democracy NOW” in South Africa is taking on a regional complexion with news here of a planned demonstration on December 17.

The ANC has asked Zimbabweans, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and foreign embassies to participate and identify their organisations, and to carry banners calling for “Peace at Christmas” and “Exiles home for Christmas”.

The ANC points out in its publicity brochures that the people of South Africa are the victims of the worst violence the country has ever seen, despite the current “peace process”. The liberation movement states that only one percent of political prisoners have been released, while most exiles have not yet been allowed to return to their country.

The “Peace and Democracy NOW” campaign, which runs until the New Year, aims to link mass struggle to the negotiating process.

In South Africa the campaign began a week ago and is coordinated by a National Peace Committee with leaders from the tripartite alliance comprising the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Candlelight marches

There are also regional campaign committees made up of activists working directly for the ANC or attached to organisations allied to the organisation.

Issues at both national and community level are being taken up by the campaign.

Through candlelight marches, pickets, acts of defiance and letters to President FW de Klerk, the campaign will focus on the violence.

At community level the campaign will demand an end to local repression, the reinstatement of electricity and the right of communities to self-defence.

The campaign is expected to consolidate the relationship between the partners of the tripartite alliance.

Many believe that despite the huge Cosatu and SACP constituencies, the alliance has not been properly understood by the various sections within the ANC.

Alliance sources say they hope the campaign will not only provide the platform for a massive recruitment “drive”, but that it will strengthen and formalise the relationship between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu which, until the launch of this campaign, had been viewed by many activists as a “paper alliance”. — MIA
ANC robbers to stand trial

DURBAN. — Two ANC members, including an office-bearer, are expected to appear in court soon in connection with the R50,000 armed robbery of an agency of the Perm in Umnento on Monday.

Police said the men, who are aged 27 and 43, are thought to be members of the ANC southern Natal region, but an ANC statement yesterday claimed they belong to the party's Umzobaba branch.

The ANC confirmed that one of the men serves on the branch committee while the other is a member.

The suspects were arrested when a dramatic shoot-out and a high-speed chase ended with police recovering only R10,155 in cash and seizing an AK-47 rifle and a pistol.

The remainder of the money was snatched by pedestrians when it fell out of the thieves' bags which they apparently forgot to zip closed.
Brainchild of the Harare Declaration

From JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

IN the early 1960s, Oliver Tambo was invited to address the United Nations General Assembly on a subject of his own choice.

Mr Tambo spoke eloquently and at length on the inadequacies of the Bantu Education system.

When he had finished, to massive applause, the then South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, stood up. “That, gentleman,” he said, “is an example of Bantu Education.”

Whether he knew it or not, Louw was wrong. Oliver Tambo was not educated under the system. He went to St Peter’s College in Johannesburg, a private school which produced many distinguished blacks of his generation.

In his first public appearance this month, after a stroke last year, Mr Tambo spoke again on education. He urged the South African youth, now that apartheid was being dismantled, to concentrate on education on their main liberation weapon.

If this suggests consistency of thought, Mr Tambo’s close colleagues would say that consistency — or “purity of conviction”, as one put it — is perhaps the greatest attribute of his leadership.

Mr Tambo is, by all accounts, foremost a moral man, a devout Christian who was deeply influenced by Father Trevor Huddleston. During the years he lived in Lusaka he attended the Church of England regularly, neat and dapper in his Sunday best.

Modesty

Much has been written about Mr Tambo’s modesty and, indeed, he is usually self-effacing. But he can also be very persuasive when he feels the need to be.

It was “O R”, as his lieutenants call him, who effectively put an end to the monstrous practice of necklacing.

That happened at the Frontline Children’s Conference in Harare in 1987, where young victims of the Southern African conflicts were displayed to the world. Among them were limbless children from Angola and Mozambique, casualties of Unita and Renamo landmines.

Also present were several hundred ANC members from South Africa.

After the conference, Mr Tambo addressed them all. He told them necklacing was barbarous, inhuman beyond description, and was thus outlawed as far as the organisation was concerned.

Banning has denied South Africans knowledge of Oliver Tambo. Even to many ANC supporters, he is a political enigma.

A youthful Oliver Tambo, in Oslo for talks with the Norwegian government on action against South Africa, in 1962.

It is 30 years since he went into exile, since he cut the link with his more famous partner in legal practice — Nelson Mandela. The one personality has grown in stature, though incarcerated. The other has spent that time, as far as most South Africans are concerned, in a limbo of publicity.

But talk to the cadres in the field, in Zambia and Tanzania for example, and hear their regard for the man who, by his stability, has held the various factions of the ANC together for so long. Even through revolutions, like the one in the Angolan camps in 1982.

An ANC official in Dar es Salaam told me recently, “O R has always been the leader in touch with us. There has been a lot of euphoria about Mandela since his release, but many of us consider Nelson Mandela yesterday’s man.”

Brainchild

Without a doubt, the Harare Declaration which preceded negotiations with the South African government was Mr Tambo’s brainchild. Indeed, ANC lore is that he might have caused himself irreparable harm by the delivery of it.

The stroke happened soon after an intensive lobbying session about the document with Front Line leaders.

So Oliver Tambo is unlikely to be tomorrow’s man in dealings with the De Klerk administration. He remains ill and debilitated by weight loss. His speech is impaired, though his mind may not be. He walks with a shuffle, and he is 73 years old.

Speculation is that he will hand over the ANC presidency to Nelson Mandela when he returns — as he has already tried to do from London — and then retire entirely from politics.

To do what? Most probably to listen to good classical music and dabble in watercolours, as has been his wont in this time of recuperation.

The essential difference is that he will be home.
Camp mayor ‘willing to go’

By VUSI KAMA
Staff Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana says he is willing to resign from his post but does not want to “disappoint” followers who believe he can yet unify the strife-torn squatter camp.

This is one of the statements in a document outlining the minutes of a closed meeting of the Crossroads Town Committee and town clerk Mr Ricky Schelhase made available to The Argus.

In the document Mr Ngxobongwana said he had problems with the idea that joining the ANC would help him bring peace to the area.

In hiding

Mr Ngxobongwana, who went into hiding after his Crossroads house was torched by his rivals, said he would never join the ANC in spite of the fact that he agreed with a number of its policies.

"To him the ‘struggle for freedom’ and what to do with ‘freedom’ is still confusing if one follows the arguments and statements of the ANC," the document said.

In the meeting Mr Schelhase requested members to review their future participation in local government.

"Now with the government’s decision to enter into a phase of negotiation with its previous revolutionary enemies, with the view to their participation to form a new constitution for the country, the pressure upon local government has increased to the extent that it is forcing the existing structures into a state of virtual collapse."

While the the ANC and its allies had declared the present system of local government in black areas a stumbling block in the struggle for freedom, the government stood helplessly by and was employing the security forces to "salvage" an already hopeless situation.

However, the councillors who with the exception of one live outside Crossroads, refused to resign as they did not want to "yield to pressure."

One councillor, a Mr Ndungu, refused point-blank as he felt they were not "toys to be pushed around."

Mr Schelhase declined to comment on the document and Mr Ngxobongwana was not available.

Battles

Crossroads has for almost a year been hard-hit by battles between Mr Ngxobongwana’s supporters and rival ANC-supporting Mr Jeffrey Nongwe’s.

Mr Ngxobongwana’s Crossroads supporters had been forced to flee the squatter camp and many have formed a new squatter area at a nature reserve on the Faure Road.

Mr Nongwe, with the full backing of the ANC, is enjoying tremendous support among the squatters.
ANC, PAC to move closer at conference

The PAC's national executive committee will send its publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, and its assistant general secretary, Mr Carter Seleka, to the conference as observers.

A senior ANC member, Mr Patrick Lekota, attended the PAC's conference last weekend. Sources yesterday described the moves by the organisations as part of a "getting closer together situation".

Meanwhile, Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, has been invited by the ANC to form part of a select welcoming committee when ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo returns to South Africa today, after decades in exile.

Holomisa has also been invited, together with a variety of other leaders and dignitaries, to attend the ANC's consultative conference, which begins tomorrow.
In Thokoza rose to 124 yesterday, with police reporting that 52 people were killed on Tuesday.

A large SADF contingent was present in the township yesterday. Armed soldiers on foot and in dozens of Casspirs patrolled the streets and ringed the hostel and Phola Park squatter camp, the scene of the worst violence.

Mr Mandela and other members of the SACC delegation, including SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, Mrs Helen Suzman, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and several foreign diplomats, toured the squatter camp on foot.

The visitors were mobbed by hundreds of singing and toyi-toying residents, many waving ANC flags and taunting police who were monitoring the tour from Casspirs.

Residents showed the visitors the burnt-out shells of several shacks, a gutted taxi and two other taxis riddled with bullet holes. They gave graphic accounts of the alleged Inkatha attack on the Phola Park squatter camp on Tuesday, claiming police stood by before raiding the camp themselves.

Mr Clikane said it had been a "healing" experience for victims to be visited, and that the visitors' experiences would make them more motivated to assist in ending the violence. He regretted it had not been possible to visit the hostel and hear the residents' views.

SA Institute of Race Relations director Mr John Kane-Berman said he was "not sure whether the exercise was a fact-finding mission or a photo-opportunity" as foreign television crews, reporters and chanting and toyi-toying residents hampered the progress of the delegation.

He said small groups of people spending time with members of the community would be a more instructive exercise.

Yesterday morning Chief Buthelezi said he had declined an SACC invitation to join the tour which had "totally bewildered" him.

He said he could have re-scheduled his appointments if he had been consulted in time.

Chief Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok arrived early in Thokoza and after brief discussions at the Thokoza municipality offices they toured the township and outskirts of Phola Park in two Casspirs, before the Inkatha leader addressed a crowd of 2000 cheering supporters in the township's open-air auditorium.

Asked by reporters if it was not possible for him to join the SACC-organised tour as he was already in the area, Chief Buthelezi said it would be "madness" as he had to be back in Ulundi for a caucus meeting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly over which he had to preside.
At the age of seven he began his formal education at the Ludeke Methodist School in the Bizana district and completed his primary education at the Holy Cross Mission.

He then moved to Johannesburg, completing his high school education at St Peter's College.

After matriculating, he went to the University of Fort Hare in Alice and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1941.

It was at Fort Hare that his political career began. Here he met Nelson Mandela, who was to become his friend, colleague and comrade.

He was expelled from the university for having led a student boycott and could not proceed with his studies for a BSc Honours degree.

In 1942 Tambo returned to Johannesburg as a maths and science teacher at St Peter's. Tambo soon became deeply involved in the ANC. He teamed up with other young militants like Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ashby Mda, Anton Lembede, "Congress" Mbata, Nkolwe, David Bopape, William Conco, Patrick Molaoa and Archie Gumede.

Tambo was instrumental in the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, becoming its first national secretary.

He then served as its Transvaal president and in 1948/49 was national vice-president.

In 1946 Tambo had been elected to the Transvaal ANC executive, and in 1949, he, Mandela and Sisulu were elected to the ANC national executive.
end Mandela visit to hostel

Shouting mob turns back SACC tour

SANCA's tour turned back by angry mob

Hostel visitors waving Mande

Mandela Shouting mob ends Mandela's visit to hostel

On Monday, the SACP delegation including the SACP national secretary Joe Slovo, Helen Sisulu, PAC national secretary Akhona Dlamini and ANC leaders were met with a hostile crowd at President Mandela's former residence in Soweto.

Slovo said that a group of people had been prevented from entering the residence by a group of armed soldiers.

A mob of people had gathered outside the residence, and Slovo said that the group had been prevented from entering.

The mob had been attempting to enter the residence to meet with Mandela, but were prevented by the soldiers.

Slovo said that the group had been prevented from entering by a group of armed soldiers.

The crowd became violent and threw stones at the soldiers.

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PRETORIA — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough yesterday called on the ANC to honour its undertaking to ensure eastern Transvaal residents resumed payment for rents and services and to stop calling for such boycotts.

A statement said he wanted to remind the ANC of its undertaking, made on September 28, to stand in for losses incurred as a result of non-payment of rents and services fees to local authorities in the eastern Transvaal.

"In the eastern Transvaal an agreement was reached between the ANC, the TPA and other parties on August 31 1980. As part of this agreement the ANC undertook to ensure that residents resumed payment for rents and services — the response has been very slight."

Attempts to blame the Transvaal Provincial Administration and CP-controlled councils for hardships experienced by blacks in the eastern Transvaal were "far-fetched".

Hough was reacting to a statement by ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthemba, published in a Johannesburg newspaper.

Mthemba had warned that the ANC would call for a consumer boycott in the CP-dominated eastern Transvaal if essential services to affected townships were not reconnected immediately.

Hough said intimidation and coercion of people into withholding payments or joining consumer boycotts could not be reconciled with democracy and the freedom of choice that democracy was supposed to guarantee.

TIM COREN reports ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night she had no knowledge of the undertaking referred to by Hough. — Sapa.
Ease isolation, says ANC Youth League

THE ANC Youth League, one of the organisation's largest power-bases, has approved a plan calling for the phased lifting of sanctions. 

The league's acting secretary-general Billy Mafetha confirmed yesterday that the league was preparing a detailed response to the ANC's discussion document on international isolation.

The discussion document proposes that substantial reforms to the apartheid sys-

Youth League

Youth League president Peter Mokaba said in a recent interview that the league had inherited 1.5-million members from the SA Youth Congress and said it hoped to triple this number.

Mafetha said the league and the ANC's discussion document favoured encouraging government by reducing sanctions in tandem with the process of change in SA.

"Apart from the stick, we need to use a little carrot," Mafetha said.

He said a problem to be discussed at the conference was which sanctions should be lifted in response to which changes to the apartheid system.

He said the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of certain aspects of security legislation would be considered concrete changes to the apartheid system.

On the other hand, the youth league was not particularly impressed by the opening of parks and toilets, he said.

He said the Youth League did not believe sanctions were crumbling and added that this did not play any part in its decision.
Special briefing for ANC chief representatives

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC’s diplomatic corps were recalled this week for a special briefing on negotiations and the preparations for the movement’s consultative conference.

The 37 foreign representatives came from as far as South America, Scandinavia, the Middle East and Japan.

During their three-day conference that began on Monday, the “diplomats” were briefed by ANC’s international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Discussions included the talks held with the De Klerk government, current inter-necine violence on the Reef, socio-economic issues and the need to focus the movement’s external activities in line with the changes in South Africa.

Mbeki said in an interview that the diplomats had looked closely at the ANC’s foreign activities as the matter was an important item on the agenda at the consultative conference.

He said the outcome of their discussions would be presented at the conference.

An ANC representative in Australia, Mr Eddie Funde, said the ANC hoped to increase its number of diplomatic mission to 47 by the end of 1991.

Among those at the discussions were Lindiwe Mabuza, the ANC’s chief representative in Washington, Billy Modise, who is based in Sweden, Mendi Msimang from London, Solly Smith from Paris, Simon Makana from Moscow, Tim Maseko from Denmark, Teddy Pekana from the European Economic Community (EEC), and Jerry Matsila from Japan.
By JENNY CARGILL

There has not been an ANC conference quite as historic as the one which takes place at Nasrec in Johannesburg this weekend. The gathering will also be an emotion-charged celebration of struggle, being the first legal ANC conference held in South Africa in more than three decades.

Delegates from throughout the country and from overseas — including ANC chief representatives — will attend.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will also be making his first public appearance in the country after 30 years in exile. Arriving back in South Africa just a day before the opening, Tambo will complete the line-up of all the living leaders who led the movement into an armed struggle in 1961. It will be a unique picture of old “comrades-in-arms”.

**Future governing**

Certainly, the agenda includes only the most pressing matters, making the character quite different from that of the postponed national conference which had in its programme policy issues relevant to future governing.

According to the organisers, there are six major issues on the agenda — the ANC’s strategy and tactics for what the organisation calls “this transition period”, negotiations, violence, building the ANC’s organisational base, South Africa’s international isolation and a programme of action.

The delegates will divide into six commissions or workshops to deal with these topics, and then present their recommendations to a plenary session on the final day.

The conference takes place against the backdrop of growing agitation among ANC members about the pace of the negotiations process and what they feel is government’s failure to fulfil its side of the deal — specifically in relation to the return of exiles, the release of political prisoners, and the ending of the state and rightwing violence.

Therefore, as the situation stands at the moment, many ANC members are in no mood for conceding more to Pretoria — least of all on what they see as their main weapon, mass action.

The 10 months since the unbanning of the ANC have thrown up some very particular and difficult new problems. Negotiations have become an intense battleground in a way which the ANC perhaps never anticipated.

Says South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo: “The other side is using the whole process (of negotiations) as a terrain of struggle, a phrase which we have always used to characterise what we should be doing”.

Leading ANC sources believe Pretoria has been quite unrelenting in using its superior resources, manpower and government structures against the ANC’s “inevitable” difficulties in relocating its organisation inside the country.

They also regard the timing of the escalation in political violence with great suspicion. Just as its branches were about to be launched, the Johannesburg region was shaken by unprecedented violence, making effective political organisation almost impossible.

But, say the sources, the conference would run aground it if it adopted a “woe is me” approach. All blame for the ANC’s current problems could not be laid at Pretoria’s feet, they say.

Slovo points to the need “to achieve greater clarity in our strategic perspectives”.

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South 13/12-17/12/90
Makwetu a veteran politician

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG. — Newly-elected president of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Clarence Mlamli Makwetu, was a prominent figure in the 1960 march from Langa to Cape Town.

Makwetu negotiated with the police the peaceful end to the march even though he was later arrested.

Born of peasant parents in the district of Cofimvaba, Transkei, Makwetu is a veteran politician.

Imprisoned

He has been detained, imprisoned, restricted and banished.

He was drawn into politics during the 1952 defiance campaign organised by the African National Congress.

He joined the ANC Youth League in 1954 but by May 1959

he was part of the Africanist faction within the ANC which broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress.

One of Makwetu's reasons for supporting the PAC was its commitment to restoring the land to its “rightful owners, the African people”.

Following the break with the ANC, Makwetu was prominent when the PAC formed branches in the Cape Town townships of Nyanga and Langa as well as in the squatter areas at Windermere and Crawford.

Makwetu was detained from March to August 1960 after the government declared a state emergency.

In August 1961 he was arrested in Cape Town and escorted to the Transkei where he was again detained from September 1961 to February 1962.

Following his release he returned to Cape Town, but was arrested in May and sent back to Cofimvaba.

There he was arrested in September and held in detention until he was charged in April 1963 for furthering the aims of the PAC.

He was tried at Engcobo, Transkei and sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Banished

After he was released from Robben Island, Makwetu was taken to the Transkei where he was restricted for two years until 1970.

He was detained several times during the seventies and was again banished to the Libode area for five years.

Makwetu, like his father, Gongo Makwetu, is a crop farmer in Transkei.

Clarence Mlamli Makwetu
ANC CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

ALTHOUGH the ANC's conference this weekend has been "scaled down" from a congress to a consultative conference, the gathering will have to make some incisive decisions on the way forward.

The key task of the conference will be to determine strategies to maintain the moral high ground the movement presently occupies and methods of increasing its strength.

Strategies must be worked out to keep the negotiation process on track and to implement the ANC's demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

Delegates will be expected to come up with tactics to build the ANC's membership, and keep them involved in campaigns and informed of political decisions.

Softening

A discussion on the ANC's position on sanctions is expected to generate the most debate at the conference and may lead to a softening of the movement's stance on the isolation of apartheid South Africa.

The ANC has been extremely successful in its 20-year campaign to have mandatory sanctions imposed by international organisations. The ANC is expected to hold its ground on sanctions.

Sanctions, the ANC has to take into account the recognition achieved by President FW de Klerk in the international arena since February 2.

De Klerk's warm reception during his two major trips to the US and Europe this year was an early warning to the ANC that the world was willing to re-establish ties with South Africa.

De Klerk has also managed in recent months to forge economic links with the African continent, signing agreements with countries such as Malawi and Mauritius.

Diplomatic ties have been re-established with Eastern European countries, and even the Soviet Union and Cuba have shown an interest in re-opening offices in Pretoria.

The South African government has also made major strides in persuading the world to lift sanctions, leading to calls from allies of the ANC for a rethink on the movement's position.

What will most likely guide the ANC's discussion is its assessment of the "irreversibility" of the negotiation process.

It is important that the ANC maintain its two "wepons" — sanctions and the armed struggle — to persuade the government to go all the way in transferring power to the South African people.

However, the conference will have to guide the ANC in how far its campaign to maintain sanctions can go. There are already indications from ANC sources that there will be no compromise on some financial sanctions and the oil and arms embargoes.

What could emerge from the conference is a commitment from the ANC to enter into discussions with its allies internationally to decide jointly on a timeframe for the lifting of some forms of isolation.

The ANC's approach to the period of transition in South Africa is expected to be discussed at the conference. The bottom line demand is the peaceful transition of power from a white minority to the majority of South African citizens.

How it will achieve this objective is earmarked for intense discussion.

Potential

Within its limited political space, the movement has the potential to harness the active support and goodwill of a range of individuals and organisations.

It has to ensure that every member and supporter is part of the process and that its organised force spreads throughout the country.

While the movement is committed to the country's problems being resolved peacefully, at the same time it has to remain vigilant of attempts by the state and reactionary elements to derail the process.

Key elements in its programme of action in the next six months until the annual congress, thus, is to recruit members and democratic structures.

The key portfolios of Chris Hani, Mbeki (international) and Thabo Mbeki (military), left, and Thabo Mbeki will be under discussion.

The ANC has a balancing act between ensuring that the process of change is rapid but at the same time democratic. This is one of the tricky challenges faced by the more than 1 600 delegates to the movement's consultative conference to be held in Johannesburg this weekend, reports REHANA ROSSOUW:

The conference will go ahead. There are already indications from ANC sources that there will be no compromise on some financial sanctions and the oil and arms embargoes.

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The Foundation For Peace and Justice

Dear Brother

We, the staff of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, would like you to know how grateful we are that you have recovered your health.

We welcome you and your dear wife back to this, our beloved country, from which you were forced to flee the tyranny of an evil system so many long years ago.

You and all political exiles have a special place in the hearts and minds of the majority of South Africans because of your commitment and belief in a just struggle for the liberation of our people was a constant source of inspiration to all of us here at home. You sustained us.

We cannot imagine what an exile's life really is, what effect it has on family life and how you kept it all together through difficult times specially in those uncertain, lonely early days. We salute you and your dear wife for your courageous sacrifice.

You have made an invaluable impact on South Africans and the international community as leader of our movement.

We hope that your leadership, your integrity and Christian faith will continue to inspire us in our struggle for a truly democratic and nonracial South Africa.

God bless you richly.

Welcome home brother!
Against the grain

Getting high on agendas

ONCE more ‘is the season to be jolly’ and I wonder what the connection is between this and so many political gatherings having their national gatherings at this time.

I suppose for those whose way of life revolves around smoke-filled meeting rooms; who get high on agendas and resolutions and whose kids came from voting for decisions that were already taken before the meeting, this is indeed a jolly season.

As for the rest of us, we’re just in late-night shopping, getting priced-out-on-large-crowds, spending our bonuses to the tune of jarring Christmas carols and telling our kids for the 58th time that no, we are not going to buy them another Ninja Turtle!

Huge stocking

Santa Claus has already brought a few small gifts like an open Dynaray Woodstock and Observatory. There we were all with our huge collective stockings, hoping to receive an open South Africa. But with the recession, Santa must be a bit (mostly?) hard up or maybe he’s waiting till February 2 to dish out more presents.

I thought that I would enter into the spirit of the season and do my bit to boost the city’s tourist trade, so off I went to join the Mayor at the airport to hug a few Vaalies.

On my way there, a beer-drinking driver with a NUP 432 T number plate nearly crashed into me. Then the occupants of another car up north were casually relieving themselves along the road.

Safe to hug

But I don’t believe any of my patriotic intentions to hug a Vaalie or two for the sake of our regional economy, good neighbourliness and to prove that in an age of AIDS, it was safe to hug.

I was also a bit nervous because, although we were out of it in the new South Africa, I wasn’t sure if we could comfortably hug across the colour line or if we had to play it safe by hugging one of our own. After all, I didn’t have a moral gold chain around my neck.

I hadn’t yet sorted out this moral dilemma when this huge stream of Vaalies descended on us from flight SAD37 to search beer, beaches and a hug.

Directly in front of me was what looked like the entire one-night stand who played up the whole weekend and who spent the rest of the week in the townships as a policeman.

I was about to throw my arms and throw my arms around him in a new South Africa blandness when I noticed his NWB arm band.

I was then that — quite involuntarily — brought up my breakfast all over his freshly-finished khaki shirt.

Good sign

When I realised, I wanted to think up and splutter some explanation about having just flown in from Yellow Bay, that I must have got stoned on the seagull being dumped there and that this was a good sign to him as a Vaalite to witness.

He wasn’t impressed though, not least because he couldn’t swing any way. He would have liked to have a beer, but either he had come to participate in an NWB march against open beaches. He said he was lucky not to be a black child on a Sunday school picnic or he would have beaten me up.

At that point, I wished that I had a hug like that and then I could have said, ‘You see, it’s involuntary story about a singer who named his two little children — Goodness and Mercy. — I just read the front pages of a Sunday newspaper for a few words. — I was bitten like with assault because I heard about the doggie-9-crush.

THE outcome of the congress of the Pan-Africanist Congress last weekend and the consultative conference of the African National Congress this weekend will play a large role in shaping South Africa’s destiny.

Essentially, the issue faced by both the PAC and the ANC is how to proceed within the new political terrain in South Africa and adapt to fast-moving changes in the region and the rest of the world.

The reality of our situation is that the nature of struggle against an oppressive system and regime has had to undergo a major transformation, virtually under forced circumstances.

Resistance

Options like armed struggle had to be replaced by peace talks and new forms of resistance.

To a large extent, the political developments in South and Southern Africa are a spill-over from the dramatic political changes in Eastern and Western Europe and the end of the Cold War.

Against this background, the decisions adopted at the PAC congress at Johannesburg’s Shanaworld appear to be a flight from reality.

The congress adopted a predictable approach to the government — no compromise and no talks except over the ‘modalities’ of a constituent assembly.

Easier

The decisions of the congress were obviously made easier by the fact that the PAC is not the largest liberation movement in South Africa and has no army of note or known training bases that could compromise a host country.

Internally, its organised branches are few and hardly active in any of the major centres in the country.

What is easiest is not always best. The PAC might have cause to regret its stance as the organisation becomes even more marginalised — an actor on the political stage who has been relegated to the wings.

The congress failed to move the country in the direction of peace and a new South Africa — the fervent wish of the vast majority of its people.

Possible

The ANC dare not fail in the same way when its delegates meet at the Nasroc centre near Soweto this weekend.

They will have to bear in mind that ‘politics is the art of the possible’ when they debate positions on sanctions, a programme of action, strategy and tactics.

A key issue they will have to look at is the state of the organisation. They will have to examine carefully how best to maximise the organisation’s position and ensure the quickest possible road to a united, non-racial and democratic country.

Critical questions face the movement, not least how to regain the initiative in the negotiating process, how to strengthen itself, ensure mass involvement and ouwit attempts to derail the demand for a constituent assembly.

The ANC needs to internalise the change from protest politics to a pro-active approach which asserts the organisation’s vision of the future.

Violence

The changes that have taken place in South Africa, themselves indicative of how the democratic movement has weakened the apartheid state, mean that delegates will have to acknowledge the move from a perspective of seizing power to negotiating.

While the delegates talk, the violence in black townships continues unabated, the country’s economy is in a state of crisis and millions of people lack the basic necessities of life.

It is these realities of South Africa that underscore the immensity of the challenge facing the liberation movement and the urgency of a speedy resolution which is acceptable to the majority of the country’s people.
Return of ‘Mr ANC’

By REHANA ROSSOUW

“O R” TAMBO, the president of the African National Congress this week stepped back into the South African spotlight after an absence of 30 years.

In spite of his ill health — he had a stroke 15 months ago — the 73-year-old leader adds a new factor to the South African political scene.

Tambo, with the experience of three decades at the helm of the ANC, is widely respected in the ranks of the movement and is expected to play a critical role in the ANC’s strategic programme.

Instrumental in some of the major decisions of the movement, he is expected to strongly influence unity and cohesion in the ANC, particularly in bridging the gap between exiled and internal members.

The ANC denied this week that Tambo was stepping down as president of the movement to make way for Nelson Mandela.

Said ANC spokesman Mr Tom Selita: “It is not true that Tambo is going to leave the presidency as it has been claimed.

“If such a thing has to happen, it can only be done at a national conference, not a consultative as the one that is being held this week.”

Tambo has been granted three weeks indemnity by the government and will return to London.

He will return to live in South Africa in June.
Death Row prisoners in freedom bid

By HENRY LUDSKI
DEATH ROW prisoners this week made a bid for freedom with at least 20 of them applying for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Among them are the Upington 14 who were sentenced to death last year for the murder of a municipal policeman in 1985.

Others are ANC cadres Mr Robert Mcbride, sentenced to death in 1987 for the bomb blast at the Parade Hotel in Durban, and Messina trialists Mr Mthetheleli Mncube and Mr Mzondilele Nondla.

This was confirmed this week by a spokesperson for Lawyers for Human Rights in Pretoria.

A total of 52 political prisoners are being held at Pretoria Central prison.

Rightwing mass murderer Mr Barend Snyman, who shot dead eight people in November 1988, recently lodged a 1 000-page application for indemnity on the basis that his actions were politically motivated.

The government — and the African National Congress — are under pressure to speed up the release of hundreds of political prisoners who are becoming increasingly impatient over constant delays in their release.

A Lawyers for Human Rights spokesperson confirmed on Wednesday that political prisoners on Death Row would present a document at this weekend's ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

Campaign
It is expected that they will raise the issue of their release.

This week, as a campaign to get prisoners released before Christmas gained momentum, an office was set up in Pretoria to assist with the processing of indemnity applications from prisoners.

The ANC believes that as many as 3 000 political prisoners are eligible for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 6 and the definitions of political prisoners as outlined by the government a month ago.

Azapo's economic policy

By MUSA NDWANOWE
THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will reveal its economic policy at its national con...
Hundreds to greet Tambo on his return

Hundreds were expected to meet ANC president, Oliver Tambo at Jan Smuts Airport today on his return after three decades in exile.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had not made transport arrangements for people, but expected a significant number to welcome the ANC president.

Mr. Tambo, who is believed to have recovered considerably since suffering his stroke last year, will deliver one of the main addresses at the ANC's consultative conference at Narec, south of Johannesburg, which starts tomorrow.

Miss Marcus said between 60 and 80 people, including members of the ANC national executive committee, would be allowed on the tarmac under an agreement with the police.
ANC can see Govt ‘seizing initiative’

By Shaun Johnson

The basic document on strategy and tactics to be presented at the ANC’s crucial consultative conference which begins tomorrow warns that the Government may be seizing the initiative as the primary “force for change”.

The document characterises the negotiation process as a “theatre of intense struggle”.

It indicates that the conference will be combative in its attitude towards the Government.

The document reaffirms unequivocally the ANC’s commitment to mass action campaigns, the maintenance of “combat forces”, an interim government, and the retention of sanctions.

The Star has seen a draft copy of the 23-page document, “Advance to National Democracy — Theses on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC”.

It is understood to be the work primarily of four senior ANC officials, including international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The document sets out a broad plan of action for the ANC and analyses developments since February 2.

It is argued that there is a grave danger that President de Klerk and his negotiators are seeking to supplant the ANC as the “force for change”, and to buy time to “evolve schemes intended to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation”.

● The question facing the ANC — Page 24.
ANC strategy is combative

The basic document on strategy and tactics to be presented at this week's crucial ANC Consultative Conference warns that the Government might be seized of the initiative as the primary "force for change", and characterises the negotiations process itself as a "theatre of intense struggle".

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The document, which will be hotly debated at the three-day conference opening tomorrow, sets out a broad plan of action for the ANC in the coming months, and analyses in detail the developments since February 2 which have led to the movement's commitment to a process of peaceful transition in South Africa.

It is argued that although the negotiations phase was brought about at the ANC's initiative, the situation is "fluid" and the "balance of forces" with the Government is subject to continual change. There is a grave danger that President FW de Klerk and his negotiators are seeking to support the ANC as the "force for change", and buy time in order to "evolve schemes intended to compromise the depth of the process of democratic transformation".

Constitutional trickery is being planned in this regard, the document argues.

The document proposes the retention of a hard line on:
* The right to vigorously "mobilise the people" throughout the process of negotiations. This includes the right to demonstrate, strike, demand the repeal of repressive legislation, and secure the return of exiles and political prisoners - essentially, to "deepen the crisis gripping the apartheid system";
* The demand for an Interim Government and the convening of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, the establishment of Defence Units in townships;
* The maintenance of Umkhonto we Sizwe "combat formations" and structures of the political underground until such time as a transfer of power is achieved;
* The need to mobilise the broadest possible front of people, including those in the homelands and in state structures such as the army and police;
* The need to strengthen and structure alliances, particularly with the South African Communist Party and Cosatu, but also with less committed allies; and
* The continuation of pressure on the international community to maintain sanctions.

The document reemphasises the organisation to the provisions of the 1955 Freedom Charter, including the redistribution of wealth.

It acknowledges that strategic thinking has shifted on the question of a seizure of power in South Africa. Because of pressure on Pretoria, the document argues, circumstances are such that a transformation might be secured through negotiations. However, "While in the past we pursued the objective of seizure of power, and pledged to enter negotiations if the situation arose, the approach today has definitely changed. We have entered negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power - armed and/or otherwise - if the situation changes."

The document acknowledges that the ANC's organisational capabilities require urgent attention, and says the leadership is duty bound to consult closely with its membership. The ANC also intends to "sharpen its strategy and tactics as well strengthening structures pertaining to negotiations in the narrow sense."

"This means, first and foremost, ensuring consistent political leadership to our negotiating teams, the mastering, on the part of the movement as a whole, of the art and science of parley, and ability to assess and utilise a given balance of forces as well as consistency and flexibility at the negotiating table."

"In order to ensure that we give leadership to the whole process, and not find ourselves responding to initiatives from the other side, we need to deploy such resources as are necessary to the area of negotiations and act with deliberate speed in the formulation of our policies and approaches to various issues."

It concludes that South Africa "has entered a decisive stage in the struggle for national liberation. The strategy and tactics of the ANC must ensure that this advance is as rapid as possible, leads to genuine democratic change, and places the democratic movement at the vanguard of this process."

The "main tasks" facing the ANC during the transitional period are:
* A rapid advance towards the transfer of power through the adoption of a constitution negotiated by an elected Constituent Assembly;
* The establishment and maintenance of an Interim Government to supervise the transition;
* The defence of gains won, particularly the ANC's recently achieved "political space" in South Africa; and
* A stress on the involvement of "the masses", particularly with regard to "running their own lives and improving socio-economic conditions".

"It is primarily the strength of the ANC and its allies and not the integrity or otherwise of the forces in power, which will guarantee the success of the process of transition," the document concludes.
ANC Women's League talks

The national conference of the ANC Women's League will be held in Kimberley from April 26 to 29 next year.

The decision to hold the league's first national conference inside the country in 30 years, was taken at the league's consultative meeting.

The league said delegates noted with concern the "obvious absence" of women in ANC structures and in negotiations with the Government.

Delegates also observed that the ANC's policies of non-sexism and affirmative action insofar as women were concerned were not being applied by the movement, the league's statement charged. The "gender question", said the league, would be one of the issues to be raised at the ANC's consultative conference this weekend.

"Autonomy of the league and its structural relations with the organisation will also be raised by the league's delegation."

The consultative meeting also examined the league's state of organisation countrywide, including progress in its recruitment drive. The meeting also made preparations to launch a national campaign for a charter of women's rights.
Forum on economics
By ALI MPHAKI

FOUR black political organisations will present papers on their economic policies at a symposium in Johannesburg today. Sunday 13/12/90.

Representing Inkatha will be Mr Alf Mkhwanazi, secretary for economic affairs in the KwaZulu government and Dr Gavin Woods.

Mr Sipho Shabalala of the University of Zimbabwe will represent the PAC.

A member of the ANC's department of economic planning, Mr Tito Mboweni, will stand for the organisation, while Mr Matsala Molepo, of the University of the North, will represent Azapo.
Rethink on sanctions against South Africa

By ALI MPHAKI

patience to trade with SA and a need for South African black businessmen to position themselves strategically for a post-sanctions era.

It was not surprising to hear the SADCC’s call for SA to be given immediate observer status within the organisation. As Nafoco president Dr Sam Mosuvenyane, who attended the conference, puts it: “Despite their vehement condemnation of South Africa, practical difficulties make it impossible for African countries not to trade with South Africa. These have forced them to buy under the table with South Africa.”

As far back as last year, we in Nafoco said the question of bringing an end to sanctions had become imperative. Nafoco should begin to talk to political organisations about the possibility of lifting sanctions.

“All this year we have not been first to talk about the sanctions,” he said.

The sanctions issue has come under the spotlight during an ANC meeting with 60 top black businessmen in Johannesburg last week. The businessmen called for the ANC to take the initiative to phase out sanctions because “we have brought the Government to the negotiating table, sanctions no longer had a role.”

“Although this was our position, we cannot as business people unilaterally call for an end of sanctions because we were not the first to talk about them,”

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Stripped

Albeit, there seems to be a semblance of truth in the statement that black political organisations have been stripped of their militancy - are clinging to the sanctions lobby as their last bargaining chip at the negotiation table.

Simultaneously, the draft ANC discussion document on sanctions indicates the organisation could be on the brink of moderating its uncompromising support for sanctions.

There are proposals of a new look at sporting and cultural sanctions. Diplomatic isolation and trade sanctions, the document proposes, have little impact any longer.

Mosuvenyane added: “It has become apparent that the business people are seeking to help the future government of this country to formulate free market policies.

“We believe strongly that the business people should dictate to politicians when it comes to the economy because we have been involved in business and we have the experience.”

But former African Bank MD of African Fikos and now director of Fabco, Mr Gaby Magomola, does not believe business has the capacity to dictate to government.

Optimism

“It has never happened anywhere in the world that business should dictate to government or political organisations. Business can only advise on economic legislation and nothing more.”

Magomola, while conceding that Fabco has not taken an official stand on sanctions, says there is growing optimism that discussion taking place by political leaders will reach a point where sanctions will no longer be necessary.

“The general notion is that sanctions would be lifted sooner or later within the next 12 months. People are positioning themselves for a post-sanctions era. The question is to what extent is our readiness to trade with the rest of Africa,” he asked.

Magomola also cautioned that while Africa is anxiously looking for over the table trade with South Africa, there is also a fear of South Africa’s economic imperialism.

While the sanctions debate continues, the ANC, PAC and Azapo, have unilaterally called for an intensification of sanctions.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said everybody knows that the ANC wants sanctions to be maintained until all apartheid laws have been removed.

“We are not and will not be forced by anybody to change our stand on sanctions,” he said.
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Mandela US visit has divided city

NEW YORK - THE city of Miami is still struggling with the dissension caused during Mr Nelson Mandela’s visit to the city earlier this year.

Local politicians, angered by the ANC leader’s praise for Cuba’s Fidel Castro, rescinded plans for an official welcome for Mandela and his wife Winnie, who were then on a triumphant tour of the United States.

Now, with arguments still raging between Miami’s two major ethnic groups, blacks and Cubans, over the way Mandela was snubbed, local black groups, who are demanding an apology, are enforcing a boycott of meetings and conventions that will cost Miami, a resort city and convention centre, an estimated dollars 4.5 million in revenues.

Despite these pressures, however, the municipal officials have refused to apologise. - Sowetan Foreign Service
Thousands give Tambo a hero’s welcome

TOP: Mr Oliver Tambo, with his family and Mr and Mrs Mandela, waves to the crowd yesterday.
ABOVE: Mr Tambo is embraced on his return. On the right is Mr Nelson Mandela.

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Oliver Tambo returned home yesterday, ending three decades of exile, and was met by ecstatic cheers from supporters and embraces from his deputy, Mr Nelson Mandela.

About 5000 dancing and singing supporters roared their welcome when his chartered plane touched down two hours late at an overcast Jan Smuts Airport.

"Viva Tambo, Viva ANC, Viva Baba (father)," chanted the crowd, held back from the terminal building by dozens of heavily armed police, many with dogs.

Mr Tambo, a symbol of the fight against apartheid, smiled broadly as he descended the steps of the aircraft that brought him from Zambia, via a brief stop-over in Zimbabwe.

The ANC's welcome-home delegation, including

To page 3
SA changes 'irreversible' — Mugabe

HARARE. — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe softened his fierce criticism of the South African government yesterday by saying that its programme to end apartheid was irreversible.

Mr Mugabe said this during a meeting with Mr Oliver Tambo when the ANC president stopped over here on his way to SA.

"We are optimistic. The momentum has been there and there can be no going back," Mr Mugabe said.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports from Johannesburg that the ANC will begin charting a course for a new SA when more than 1,600 delegates attend the organisation's first legal congress here since its banning in 1960.

Mr Tambo will set the tone for the ANC's future course when he delivers the opening address today.

His address will be followed by a speech by Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected to spell out the main decisions facing the ANC.

Two issues are expected to dominate:

- Ways of beefing up the ANC's organisation and support base in an increasingly competitive political environment.

Other issues that will enjoy the attention of delegates include SA's international isolation (particularly sanctions), the violence and the ANC programme of action (including mass action) for 1991.

The conference is viewed by organisers as a way for rank-and-file supporters to make a more meaningful input into ANC decision-making — particularly the organisation's stance on negotiations.

The PAC, Azapo, the Democratic Party and diplomats have been invited to attend today's opening session as observers.

Neither the National Party nor Inkatha have been invited.

Arrangements have also been made for recently released prisoners and returned exiles who have not formally rejoined ANC structures to attend.

The conference will also be attended by representatives from dozens of ANC missions abroad.
UK paper calls for end to SA cultural boycott 'shambles'

LONDON — The cultural boycott against South Africa can no longer be enforced or understood, said criticism of the boycott's shambles in the same paper yesterday. Editorial line raised the dilemma where the boycott should be seen as destructive and the cultural exchange between South Africa and the rest of the world, while others felt they were severely punished. The article on the boycott the weekend, held for the problems the boycott had, held for the problems the boycott had in its head. Paul Simon's Graceland project and Johnny Clegg's problems with the British Music Union were highlighted in the article.

While some anti-apartheid campaigners viewed Graceland as an inevitable erosion of the boycott's political status, others — including members of the boycott's executive — took the opposite view. Clegg, who was critical of the boycott, said they ignored the boycott by the British music industry, held for the problems the boycott had. The boycott said to the apparently simple edict of apartheid and closely associated with the ANC, the boycott's aim was to return to South Africa what it had lost — a lost home to its music. Black South Africans have been — unlike black South Africans in Britain and South Africa — obstructed by the British and South African cultural officials. The boycott aimed not to exist and should the boycott be renewed by the UK on February 1997, next year.
A hero's welcome to end three decades in exile

LIVER TAMBO came home yesterday after 30 years in exile to a rapturous welcome from thousands of supporters.

Clasping both hands above his head — the left arm supporting the right one, weakened by the stroke he suffered last year — the 73-year-old African National Congress president gazed down from the balcony-like upper driveway of Jan Smuts airport at the exuberant throng below.

Earlier, Tambo was welcomed on the tarmac by a party of dignitaries headed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie. Clutching a walking stick as he stepped out, Tambo found there was a second unofficial welcoming party — about 300 bafana airport workers who encircled the plane.

En route from Lusaka, Tambo stopped briefly in Harare where Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe joined him in the airport VIP lounge, greeting him with a bear-hug. In rehearsal for the Johannesburg scene, hundreds of dancing supporters awaited Tambo in Harare.

For more about the Tambo family, see Pages 15, 16 and 17
ANC reacts to technology report

The ANC has criticised various aspects of the Department of Trade and Industry's draft report on technology policy and strategy.

In a statement released yesterday, the ANC's interim science and technology group called for a consultative, multiparty process of policy-making — particularly in the area of technology.

The group said no technology policy could be effective unless it came from a legitimate government elected by the people.

It believed the report was limited by its focus on the manufacturing industry and that it ignored various aspects.

The department's report, released towards the end of November, aimed at generating comment from the private sector to help government formulate a policy on technology early next year.

The response to the report follows an ANC conference on technology held towards the end of November.

The group said a valid technology policy needed to develop out of the political priorities of government which would inevitably include jobs, education and urbanisation.

It also said the report ignored the considerable impact of various government policies on the public sector, including parastatals, and thereby their massive potential for the development of technology.

The group said it was crucial to strengthen the manufacturing sector of the economy as part of a long-term strategy for economic development.

However, the underpinnings, namely education and infrastructure, transport and communications, were so weak it was essential to attend to these as part of a long-term strategy rather than to merely tinker with monetary and fiscal measures such as tax incentives and tariff barriers.

The ANC welcomed the emphasis on export promotion in the report, but said this should not occur at the expense of successful local industries.

The group said: "We see selective measures, rather than blanket policies, as essential in encouraging industries and creating jobs." Policy formulation was an ongoing process.
Shares for all, says PAC

THE PAC envisaged a post-apartheid SA in which companies would be "asked" to create funds to enable workers to buy shares, the organisation's Zimbabwe-based economist Sipho Shabalala said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Giving a PAC perspective at a seminar organised by the Wits Centre for Policy Studies and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Shabalala said to avoid over-capitalisation, existing shareholders would be asked to reduce their level of shareholding by selling part of their shares to workers.

Shabalala said new shares should be issued to workers where the problem of over-capitalisation did not exist. "Here we are not talking about token share participation by workers, but sizeable magnitudes. The shares must also have voting rights attached." The exact size and percentage could be investigated further with full participation by workers, management and government officials where considered necessary.

Saying the state would also directly or indirectly support the fund, Shabalala added: "The state might consider money contributed by existing firms to be tax-deductible within particular ranges of magnitude."

Legislation would be passed to ensure the involvement of workers in financing, investment and dividend/reserve decisions.

The right of workers to have access to information to enable them to participate fully in these decisions would also have to be legislated, Shabalala said.

Once the workers' needs had been seen

□ To Page 2

PAC

The organisation added that direct taxation would be used to transfer income from companies to the state to enable it to effect the redistribution of wealth.

Through collective bargaining — subject to firms' capacity to pay, the need for employment generation and consideration of macro-inflationary effects — "income-denominated" wealth should be redistributed through wage increases in favour of African workers.

Shabalala said firms would be required to effect human resources training and development programmes to enhance the skills of African workers and to open up promotion opportunities.

"Through the tripartite system and decision-making processes, it shall be made obligatory in labour terms for companies to contribute to the social benefits of their employees such as education of children, housing of workers, health and insurance, recreation facilities, etc."

The PAC-directed state would respect the articulation of workers' needs by the African workers themselves.
FW not sincere about reforms, says PAC exile

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will get negotiations moving if he commits himself to a constituent assembly, says Mr Neville Legg, chief representative of the Pan Africanist Congress in Australia.

Mr Legg, a former Cape Town resident, is back in South Africa after a 20-year absence. He was interned for seven days by the government to attend the PAC's national congress and leaves South Africa today.

He said: "I'm unhappy about my short stay. The regime is trying to force us into negotiations by saying that we have to come to the negotiating table if we want our exiles to return home and political prisoners freed."

He slammed President De Klerk's version of democracy as "tainted with a white veil."

"I don't think he's sincere about bringing democracy to South Africa. His democracy is not the kind known to the rest of the Western world."

"We are challenging him to commit himself to a constituent assembly, elected on the principle of one-person-one-vote. He will take up the challenge if he is sincere and get negotiations moving."

The changes introduced by Mr De Klerk on February 2 had not been motivated by a sincere desire for change. "His reforms were geared at getting sanctions lifted. Even now some governments are talking of rewarding him."

Mr Legg said that President De Klerk's reforms were making his job difficult.

"The media is pushing his changes. I don't think that the situation has changed that much for black South Africans. One can talk of real change once he starts dismantling the five pillars of apartheid."

He identified these pillars as the Population Registration, Group Areas and Land Acts; the government's "Bantustan" policy and "Bantu" education and the tricameral system.

The ANC enjoyed a bigger support in Australia, but the PAC was allowed to spread its message on community radio in Sydney and Canberra.
Dhlomo pinpoints causes of violence

Political Staff
POLITICAL consultant Dr Oscar Dhlomo has identified sources of violence sweeping South Africa.

In an address in New York this week, he said the first level of violence was inter-group violence affecting political organisations such as Inkatha, the ANC, Azapo and the PAC.

"The violence that has persisted for almost five years is between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance. This violence has been defined as an ideological power struggle, exacerbated by lack of a democratic culture of political tolerance and freedom of association among black political groups."

"Socio-political factors such as a scramble for scarce resources and criminality have also been cited as complementary causes of this violence."

Mass action
Dr Dhlomo said the second level of violence resulted from confrontation between State agents of law and order and ANC and civic association members involved in mass action to dismantle local government structures and force black town councillors serving in these structures to resign.

"This violence is driven by lack of consensus between the government and the ANC with regard to the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute. The government is of the opinion that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC also implies the suspension of mass action. The ANC on the other hand maintains that armed struggle and mass action are mutually exclusive strategies."

The third level of violence was white rightwing violence aimed at black South Africans in particular and the government in general. "Some white rightwingers feel extremely threatened by the process of democratic transition which they perceive as a threat."

Such groups rejected constitutional negotiations as they alleged that the government wanted to sell out the white minority to the black majority through a negotiated democratic transition.

The fourth level of violence was criminal violence resulting from the breakdown of law and order, as well as the frustration and desperation of a "lost generation" of young people who had dropped out of the black schooling system.

Democratic transition was severely threatened by violence which had almost become endemic in some areas, he said.
Big crowd welcomes Tambo home

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo returned to South Africa after three decades in exile to a tumultuous welcome from thousands of supporters in what airport officials described as probably the biggest reception ever seen at Jan Smuts Airport.

On a day that will be recorded as one of the most memorable in South African politics, Mr Tambo and his life-long friend, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, stood side by side waving and smiling at the ecstatic crowd from a balcony at the airport building.

Helped out

Police and ANC marshals jostled well-wishers and journalists who crowded around the red Mercedes-Benz carrying the two leaders, and Mr Tambo was unable to get out of the car for some time.

Adelaide Tambo and Winnie Mandela, both dressed in elaborate African outfits, followed, but were temporarily cut off from their husbands in the melee.

After Mr Tambo was eventually helped out of the car, aides had to lift his legs to the ground, he moved ponderously to a makeshift podium. He is still clearly afflicted by the effects of the stroke he had in August last year.

Amid loud cheers, the two men fondly looked at each other, and smiled.

Catching the first glimpse of the legendary leader, the crowd responded with a thunderous “viva” and chants of “Oliver, Oliver”.

I'M HOME: ANC president Oliver Tambo arrives at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Mandela briefly addressed the chanting, ululating and toyi-toyiing crowd, describing Mr Tambo as “one of Africa’s greatest heroes”.

He said: “The day for which we have all waited, has come. Comrade Oliver Tambo is here. He and his comrades have fought for the right to be here today. We have won that right.

“On Sunday, President Tambo will address you at the FNB Stadium. At present, he wishes to say he is happy to be here.”

Mr Mandela then requested the crowd to disperse peacefully.

Huge banners were held aloft, one bearing the legend: “The people of Benoni welcome President O R Tambo back home”. Mr Tambo has said he wants to return to Wattville, Benoni’s adjoining township, when coming home permanently.

After savouring the spectacle of the large crowd for a few minutes, the two leaders, both wearing cravats in ANC colours, were driven away in Mr Mandela's car.
some members of the national executive committee (NEC) are trying to ingratiate themselves with Nelson Mandela in the hope of maintaining their positions.

At a meeting which followed the PWV region elections, a representative complained "that the regional leadership was not in control of the conference (and) NEC members were allowed to intervene. Clear political decisions and procedures taken were not adhered to — for example elections were not by secret ballot."

However, the other reason for the negative answer is the incredible inefficiency of the ANC. The president of Madagascar recently complained to a senior congress official that he had received no response to letters he has written to the ANC. Talks with the SA government have been characterised by the cancellation of meetings — fewer delegates than expected turning up — or the failure of delegates to arrive at all.

A recent working group on the cessation of armed action was cancelled after MK chief of staff Chris Hani reportedly forgot about the appointment. This past weekend ANC publicity reported that Hani would be speaking in King William's Town at noon and at Alexandra township — across the country — at 2 pm on Saturday. Either regions are deliberately misleading the public or someone in Hani's office is double-booking.

Similarly, new education chief John Samuel failed to arrive for a meeting last week with Education & Training Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

Part of the problem is that the ANC has only about 100 senior leaders operational in SA and their work burden is enormous. A greater problem is that they are not drawing on the extensive skills of mass democratic movement activists and not delegating authority. Internal leaders have been sidelined as external leaders attempt to grab all positions of power.

Jacob Zuma and Matthew Phosa are without doubt two of the most competent men in the ANC; but they cannot possibly adequately service all the portfolios they hold. Zuma is not only the intelligence chief of the ANC, he is now head of the southern Natal region, the congress's chief negotiator, and he holds positions on three working groups as well as being in charge of the ANC's peace effort in Natal. Phosa, a former regional MK commander and a skilled lawyer, is a member of three working groups, is one of the people responsible for reportbacks from working groups, and has recently been elected head of the eastern Transvaal region.

So talent is stretched thin and the consequences are beginning to be felt.

The European Community, for example, has withdrawn funding from Natal — a region desperately in need of aid — because it discovered that funds were going to ANC structures staffed by incompetents rather than to the projects for which they were earmarked. This is a problem that predates Zuma's appointment but indicates the need for tight regional control. Further EC withdrawal would without doubt cause others to pull out.

Cosatu — with the example of eastern Europe before it — is examining the advisability of union leaders holding key positions in political parties. Food & Allied Workers' Union leader and deputy president of Cosatu, Chris Dlamini, is on the executive of the SACP — and a growing lobby is against such duplication of roles.

Behind closed doors at this weekend's Consultative Conference there is certain to be a debate about the lack of consultation, report-backs and mandates. There will also be controversy about the lack of internal leaders on the three working groups; the absence of women at the top table despite a policy of "non-sexism"; and accusations that people are often awarded positions not because they are the best for the job, but for proven loyalty.

This climate has stultified the growth and ambitions of would-be leaders. The folly of the territoriality of the leadership clique has not yet been grasped — and outsiders are largely unaware of it. A little more openness on the issue would be a healthy sign — but it seems the ANC is not yet ready for such openness.
Project Free Enterprise. This study showed the level of ignorance about free enterprise in the black community and suggested ways in which it could be changed. "It is only since then that I have understood how deeply entrenched apartheid has become, and how reluctant business has been to eradicate it," he says.

The three main CBM committees reflect traditional topics of "concerned" businessmen. One is the Development Forum Focus. According to Eloff, "without a commitment to a development policy, which the ANC can take back to its constituents, negotiations will never get off the ground."

Then there is the In-House Change Group, which aims to show how changes can be carried out in companies leading to the best use of human resources available. "We need to show that we are not an economic autocracy," says Eloff. "Changes within companies are vital for the survival of business."

The newest committee, the Economics Project, according to a pamphlet on the subject, is more concerned with development goals, wealth distribution and ownership and control than with the efficient working of the economy. It is even debating the old chestnut of concentration of ownership and will address itself to "the extent to which current patterns promote the most efficient use of resources."

Bethlehem says one debate will be on the nature of the mixed economy. "I am hostile to interventionism and, if the mixed economy is the surrogate of the interventionist economy, I am against it. But the mixed economy is a fait accompli in this country already. The State controls 50% of the country's fixed capital stock. The State's role may be too big but to expect it to withdraw entirely from the economy is unrealistic."

Compromise features highly in the CBM. Premier's Wrighton, who is the CBM's Transvaal chairman, admits that the fact that 85% of Premier's customers and work force are black has made it essential for him to address their concerns. He also notes: "Business people can make the future work, or they can shun the process."

Bethlehem asks: "Should the business of business be business only — or should it recognise its role in the broader business environment which includes political and social change that can impact heavily on business?"

The consensus talk of the CBM is clearly more congenial to the ANC than the more gloomy realism dished out by the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), which has outlined the immense problems involved in economic transformation in its own Economic Options paper. Jacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg says: "The CBM is an enthusiastic organisation so it isn't surprising that it gets carried away by its own optimism from time to time. We wanted to bring some reality to temper the high expectations which politicians are raising and to show the enormity of demands for equality compared with what we can afford. We suggested that the most realistic way in which to address poverty is through a 10-year programme."

Van Rensburg says there is room for both Sacob and the CBM, as long as it is realised that the CBM cannot speak for business. "Sacob is mandated and its policies are developed in a series of subcommittees, committees and conferences. The CBM, on the other hand, can express views without these constraints." Inevitably, because of its mandated nature, Sacob takes a more sober approach than the CBM.

The CBM's credibility with black organisations, its supposed major strength, was addressed for us by Joe Manchu, a black business consultant. He says the CBM should strengthen its links with black business. "The CBM is a white organisation at this time and it should change into a more broad-based movement with all races."

But, he says, the organisation is at least trying to speak in language which black can understand. "Some businessmen have reacted unfortunately to demands for a more socialist economy. They say that socialism has failed in eastern Europe, so there is nothing to discuss. This just serves to confirm that business does not want to change. The CBM at least is not slamming the door."

The Black Management Forum's Lot Ndlonva says the CBM has been willing to confront contentious issues in a way organised business has never been prepared to do. "Whether they will support substantive changes which society needs is another matter, but they are at least willing to talk."

Where the CBM claims notable success is in the regions. It has played a pivotal role in persuading the ANC and Inkatha to discuss violence in Natal.

If the CBM sticks to its brief, it must have a limited lifespan. When negotiations and discussions are second nature at all levels it should quietly disappear. That's the theory. But perhaps those of its more pragmatic leaders who reason along these lines are being short-sighted. They might not have taken adequately into account the need for a bureaucracy to perpetuate itself. The temptation to go back and write another work programme when it should be writing itself out of a job might be overwhelming.

The CBM lost a great deal of its relevance after February 2. As an icebreaker it had its use, but in its need to avoid becoming a vehicle to negotiate for business, or to avoid dabbling in the formation of public policy, it could be talking itself out of existence. There is a danger, too, that in an effort to achieve consensus it might set unfortunate precedents or perpetuate economic myths impossible to achieve.

For instance, by accepting that wealth distribution is as important as wealth creation there is a tacit admission that there is an economic or moral ceiling to the accumulation of individual wealth or property. Private property and freedom of contract are the very crust of classical liberal values. While they inevitably give rise to markets — which are the interactions of buyers and sellers for the purposes of exchanging ownership titles — they are values that are absolutely necessary to peace, prosperity and liberty. That is not a theory. It is a matter of observable fact.

Moreover, mixed economies that include substantial social security systems have persisted only because they first concentrated on the creation of wealth before attempting to redistribute it, as Frank Vorkies argues in another part of today's issue (see Business). Wherever the process has been attempted in reverse, the system has quickly failed. If the CBM is facing these harsh economic and social realities in its fireside chats with the comrades, no one can argue that it is selling business out.

But if the statements of its spokesmen in this article are taken at face value, pragmatism might be in danger of becoming a euphemism for appeasement.
Chanting crowds and confrontations greet Tambo at Jan Smuts

- BOISTEROUS crowd, delays, confusion, procession of dignitaries and confrontations with police marked the return yesterday of ANC president Oliver Tambo after 9 years in exile.

Tambo was met on the tarmac of Jan Smuts Airport by the ANC's entire national executive committee and other dignitaries for his chartered plane touched down at O.R. Tambo two hours late at 1.30pm. A crowd of about 5,000 chanting ANC supporters waited outside the airport for the return of the 73-year-old leader, who is still suffering the after-effects of a stroke.

Tambo was warmly greeted by the dignitaries, among them ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, several diplomatic representatives, former DP MP Bela Buma, SAPC leader Joe Slovo and lawyer George Bizos.

He was then taken in Mandela's Mercedes Benz to the first-floor office area where he waved down at the crowd.

Mandela, who called Tambo "one of Africa's greatest leaders," announced to the crowd that the ANC had fought for Tambo's return, and Tambo wanted to say he was happy to be back.

Mandela told a disappointed crowd Tambo would not be addressing them. But, he said, the ANC president would address a welcome-home rally at the First National Bank Stadium in Soweto on Sunday.

A small police contingent was present at the airport.

More than 20 people were bitten by police dogs in several incidents. A police statement said stones were thrown and riot police were summoned after several pistol shots were fired by someone in the crowd.

Police insisted on the removal of a number plate bearing the inscription "ANC 1" which was attached to the silver Mercedes Benz used to convey Tambo. ANC members compiled but later replaced it.

Police also confiscated a South African flag from an ANC member who had removed it from a flagpole. He replaced it with an ANC flag, which was also removed.

After the crowd had dispersed peacefully, the police arrested a man who they said was drunk and who had sworn at them.

A small media pool was allowed on the tarmac to record Tambo's welcome.

One of them, a Sapa journalist, reported that after disembarking from the plane, Tambo got into Mandela's car. When the dignitaries arrived, he got out of the vehicle assisted by Mandela, to be greeted.

Walking slowly with a slight limp, he warmly embraced Slovo. He then greeted the dignitaries lined up alongside the aircraft.

A smiling Tambo said he felt "fine, fine, free" when he was asked about his health.

About 300 airport workers circled the plane, ululating.

Sapa reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said earlier: "With

From Page 1

Mugabe told him the SA government's programme to end apartheid was irreversible.

"We are optimistic . . . there can be no going back," he said.

Meanwhile, it was reported from Bishop that the head of Ciskei's Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Guzwa, had extended an invitation to Tambo to visit Ciskei.

He said: "We all owe this man a great debt for keeping the fires of liberation burning.'
Natal’s SACP leaders named

By GAVIN EVANS

TWO of the Operation Vula accused are among the 10 members of the South African Communist Party’s Natal leadership structure announced yesterday.

Billy Nair (61) and Pravin Gordhan (43) were both recently released on bail and are facing charges of terrorism under the Internal Security Act following the Operation Vula detentions.

Former Natal United Democratic Front leader Gordhan, who was allegedly assaulted during his recent four-month detention, has been appointed a member of the Natal interim leadership group’s political committee. Nair, who was released after a heart attack, is also a member of the SACP’s central committee and national interim leadership group and will serve on the Natal structure in an ex-officio capacity.

The convenor of the new structure is the Congress of SA Trade Unions’ southern Natal secretary Thami Mohlomi, African National Congress Natal deputy chairman Jeff Radebe is the secretary and former Robben Island prisoner Blade Nzimande his secretary. Treasurer is University of Natal politics lecturer Dr Ian Phillips, who also serves on the ANC Natal executive.

Other members of the political committee include Ben Martin, Important Mkhize and Maggie Gxovender, while ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala is an ex officio member.

SACP representative Geraldine Fraser said the committee would cover the whole of Natal, but that separate offices would be set up in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The names of additional members will be announced later.
ANC, Inkatha move closer to Natal peace

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

WHILE the battle rages on the raid, prospects for peace in Natal have improved significantly with renewed commitment to efforts at ending the violence coming from both the African National Congress and Inkatha.

After a meeting of delegates from the southern Natal region of the ANC last weekend, officials said for the first time all Natal regions were now agreed on a "multi-prong strategy" including the need to continue talks with Inkatha.

Even talks between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would get the approval of the ANC in the province, provided they were part of a wider meeting involving executives of both sides, and not "one-on-one" talks.

Meanwhile in Ulundi at the official launch of the new look Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the conference resolved to call for a "great peace pact" among all political parties which would aim at reducing the violence.

It also called on the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to declare 1991 "a year of peace for negotiation".

The IFP also expressed concern that continuing violence was preventing national negotiations from getting off the ground and called on all political parties as well as the South African government "to make the reduction of violence a top priority".

Delegates said people were impatient for talks to begin and resolved to give a message to State President FW de Klerk from "black people across all ethnic and across most political lines" that negotiations "must not get off the ground with those who have committed themselves to negotiations".

The issue of negotiations also featured at the ANC's southern Natal region meeting.

Vice-president Jeff Radebe said the ANC had been active in assisting the negotiation process and in helping overcome obstacles.

On the question of violence, delegates approved a resolution laying the blame on both sides, and not "one-on-one" talks.

A key resolution undertook to build "effective defence committees" as a key element in community response to the violence. All the resolutions from the meeting will now go to the ANC national consultative conference.

It is the first time that all Natal regions of the ANC have reached a common position on the question of talks with Inkatha and this is seen as a significant development.
The last mile to freedom

The day for which we have all waited has come. Commander Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, is here," Mandela began. "This is a day of great significance in our struggle. The people of South Africa have waited long enough. Today, we are united in our determination to build a free and democratic South Africa.

The crowd集聚ed in celebration, a testament to the enduring spirit of the people. The flags and banners represented not just a nation, but a movement of resistance. They waved in unison, a symbols of hope and freedom.

Then they turned and poured through the parking lot to the buses. The official entourage took a turn through the crowd, which burst into cheers of ANC and "Tambol Tambo" praises. The excitement was palpable, a testament to the power of the people.

Mandela stepped out of the bus, greeted by the cheering crowd. He walked towards the stage, where he was introduced. The crowd erupted in applause, a symphony of joy and liberation.

Mandela began his speech, his words ringing out across the expanse of the crowd. "We are gathered here today to celebrate a historic moment. Today, we are free. Today, we are united. Together, we will build a better South Africa.

As the sun set over the horizon, the crowd dispersed, but the spirit of the moment lingered. The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front — will be empowered to take bold and principled decisions.

The path to freedom was long and arduous, but the people of South Africa have shown that they will not be defeated. The struggle continues, but the spirit of the people is unbreakable. Together, we will overcome.

Photo: KEVIN CARTER
The return of Tambo, the gentle inquisitor

SOUTH AFRICA'S exile-of-exiles returned this week in the grey person of Oliver Tambo. Every exile's return is a poignant event. The return of the weakened and slightly disabled African National Congress president is particularly moving, the stroke he suffered in 1989 a reminder of how nearly Tambo did not come home and of the many whose lives ended in exile. It is also a signal that the political wheel has come full circle, when the man charged with establishing the external mission of the ANC returns 30 years later to a situation where his organisation commands centre stage, along with the government, in the process of negotiating a new constitution for the country.

Tambo's homecoming will undoubtedly be hailed by a militant generation who were not even born...
SAP and Thokoza: What impartiality?

The South African Police have a few questions to answer following the video footage taken in Thokoza and reproduced in part in The Weekly Mail.

Why do police abandon two injured men, leaving them to bleed to death by an "impala" of highway dwellers? Why do police take action against an "impala" that is evidently about to attack the townships with a lot more than "traditional weapons"? Why do police ignore when the "impala" is forced to retreat, and then act only against the "cowardly"? Why do police disappear from a scene of conflict at the most critical moment?

It is evident from the video that "impala" knows its place and its police inhibitors are made even to hide its purpose or its weapons. Why?

Michael Lauber and Order Adrian Vlok have said The Weekly Mail's video should be subjected to various interpretations. We have shown the video to a number of lawyers, human rights activists and journalists, none of them has come up with acceptable answers to the questions it raises.

The video does give an answer to the most important question of all: why is it that a powerful and efficient police force cannot contain the East Rand Violence? The video suggests that police on the ground may not be able to discern the truth.

If there is an explanation for this extraordinary police behavior, then we are eager to hear it and carry it in our newspaper. In the absence of that, however, Vlok must take the strongest possible action to ensure that police do their job.

The real SABC News

This newspaper has taken a clear lead behind the scenes of the SABC's massive news department. What's the role of an organisation that is raiduned by incompetence, and at worst unchanged in its devotion to twisting the news in favour of the govemment and its own agenda?

It is clear there is no acceptance in Auckland Park of some of the basic principles of fair journalism: hear and reflect all points of view; always give people a chance to answer allegations against them; and, quite simply, to reflect what actually happened.

Few media in this country have an impeccable record, but this is the kind of hostcd conflict, almost all have dipped to some degree at some time. But few have reached the depths of the SABC - a subsidised public service.

There can be only one conclusion: what is needed is not retraining of the SABC or Liberalism, but the creation of a more representative structure of control and the appointment of a respected management that can shake the very foundations of this ivory tower.

Welcome home, OR

OLIVER TAMBO'S Survival at Jasa State Airport is bound to be an event of enormous importance, second only to the release of his colleague from prison. As the man sent to start the ANC's mission is exiled, his return signals the completion of a three-decade cycle of freedom.

Tambo is valued not for charisma, but for his quiet and unassuming strength. His authority stems not from his office nor from his dynastic background, but from wisdom and consistent skill. He has led not by wielding the power of his presidency, but by a slow building of respect among his peers.

In the unusual manner, he has been the glue that has held together an unwieldy movement through the most difficult of times. He maintains respect among the rank and file, and the officials and the moderates, his supporters and his rivals.

All his skill and consistency will be needed to assist the ANC when it finds itself facing major choices to which the only right answer may be no answer at all.

Welcome home, OR.

Derek Bauer's World

Prior to the PAC's national congress last weekend, speculation was rife that they might change their stance on negotiations. They didn't. This may provide a clear signal for the financially-pressured organisation on big business hostility towards it mounts.

By TSHOKOLE WA MOLAKENG

PA's stand on talks dries up its money funds

It became abundantly clear this week that the Pan Africanist Congress had no funds.

The organisation resolved that every working member should donate 3½ percent of their salaries to its coffers.

This was one of resolutions passed at the PAC's 19th national congress held over the weekend at Scorewood estate outside Soweto.

The organisational bankruptcy could be attributed partly to its refusal to pay a rival group compared to the rival African National Congress. But the main reason is that its ideology and policies, contrary to the ANC, do not generally carry favour with the world.

And the PAC gained no more acceptance and popularity after its "highly successful" congress, at which the organisation categorically turned down the government's invitation to participate in preliminary negotiations.

Prior to the congress, it appeared that massive pressure from pro-negotiations quarters could force the organisation to change its anti-negotiation stance with the government. Observers predicted that the PAC would give in under threat of "marginalisation" by pro-negotiations bodies.

A different pressure was also exerted internally by youth alliance members in the National Youth Unity and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation.

Sources told The Weekly Mail that members of the youth organisations had threatened to break away from the main body should it accept the invitation to negotiate.

While over 1,200 delegates engaged in "serious and sharp" debates inside the venue, rank-and-file members were outside locked in temporo discussions about the invitation.

Perhaps the mood was summed up by a youth who said: "No liberation organisation was formed to negotiate. They are formed to liberate the oppressed masses."

The youths - "revolutionary watchdogs" - were aggressively impatient and worried why the discussions inside had to drag on when one simple decision had to be taken: no negotiations, and the Nats intensification of the struggle until the enemy had capitulated.

They also demanded ardently about the late president Zeph Mothopeng and PAC stalwart Jeff Mance, both of whom died this year.

The organisation said it could only enter into negotiations if they were preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly based on the one person one vote in a common voters roll.

A new constitution could only be drawn up by the assembly, new president Clar-

national community included, admits that sanctions contributed to the existing shortage. "The other countries cannot move them until the system has been de-

strayed."

In the same light the cultural boycott had to be maintained, the organisation re-

strated.

The group also decided to hold workshops and press briefings on all for Africans - irrespective of political persuasions - in order to spread the message of "Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy".

This slogan has seen the PAC formally recognise the Inkatha Freedom Party as a liberation movement.

Perceptions that the PAC was more ambi-

cisely disposed to Inkatha than the ANC went from apparent in October at Molo-

mpa's head offices. Both organisations' flags fluterned close to each other at Orlando stadi-

um where the meeting was held. The PAC-Inkatha camaraderie raises questions about the proposed PAC-ANC united front as there is no love lost between Inkatha and the ANC.

Interestingly, Emrham said this week that the PAC and ANC were to meet at an unspecified time to discuss the front. The decision, he said, had been made by the organisations in September at Kanga-

ra, Uganda. Whether Inkatha would be in-

cluded remains to be seen.

There is another seeming contradiction in the PAC's willingness to club together with the ANC. It is based on the clause of the resolution which states that the PAC would enter into a united front with anti-

apartheid forces provided, inter alia, the PAC is guided by the principle that such forces "encourage all forms of struggle, with the armed struggle as the principal one". The ANC has suspended armed move-

ments.

Meanwhile the PAC's guerrilla warfare has been described as "historical and infec-

tive". When asked how the organisation would sustain the action, Emrham said: "I cannot discuss his military activities in public."

Mothopeng, who has been acting pres-

dent since Motshekga was arrested and dis-

missed by two deputy presidents. The first deputy is former national chairman, John-

son Miamo, who is based in Tanzania, and the second deputy is Dikgang Mose-

seke, a Pretoria lawyer.

Benjamin Alexander was re-elected secre-

tary general and his assistant is C. P. Mat-

azunu secretary general, Carl Serdske.

The national executive committee, which ceased to operate after the congress, has been restructured from 18 members to 40 members in the executive council.

NEW PAC president, Clarence Makwethu,

Le Makweuthu said he attended the end of the con-

cresses on Sunday.

"To this effect, the congress has instructed the new national executive to ap-

oint a campaigning committee by the end of January. Its task would be to implement "mass actions" campaigns which would hasten the constituent assembly. The PAC maintained that apartheid still existed. Its foreign secretary in the external mission, Gona Ephraim, called the five "par-

lary of apartheid" to harass the argument.

They were the Population Registration Act, the Land Act of 1913 and 1936, Burman Education, the tricameral parliament and the "homelands" structures. Sad Ephraim: "These pillars still exist - but they say De Klerk has changed."

He added: "We must fight these things. We must not be defied by De Klerk's smile. The PAC does not work on his promises."

As a result the PAC resolved to intensify and strengthen the sanctions campaigns, and condemn efforts aimed at undermining sanctions. "Everybody, big business and the inter-

"CHANGING the South African system is going to cause for sacrifices from innocent and gallant civilians, from the soldiers and non-civilians alike. As long as the system is there, that is the price that has to be paid."

- Oliver Tambo, 1963
A place for the president
in Wattville’s park

The ANC leader had one desire
— to return to the Bemoni
township of Wattville. And the
residents ensured his wish came true.

By ARTHUR MAIMANE

provided by President Kwame
Nkrumah in 1966:

It was a cloak-and-dagger operation
that is still remembered with regret by
neighbours. Emily Maplanja had
been his neighbour for only a few
years but her eyes missed with nostal-
gia last Tuesday when she remem-
bered the gentle and be-whiskered
man who had “one day just simply
disappeared without a goodbye”.

Number 2883 Maseko Street is now
the home of another old woman, Neli-
y Mzwase, who says Tambo told her
he was moving to Madagascar.

She has extended it from a four-
room matchbox into a comfortable,
three-bedroom home with a living
room that must take up half of the
original. She hopes the Tamboes will
have time to spend a night there during
their visit.

Adelaide Tambo did visit the house
when she made her first trip back this
year for the launch of the ANC Wom-
en’s League. And now Mzwase is
looking forward to meeting the hus-
band again — and so is the rest of
Wattville. The township’s council has
allocated a section of a playground for
his retirement home.

There will be a white addition to the
Tambo family and, if time allows, a
goat will be slaughtered for the Lon-
don banker who married the eldest
daughter, Tambo. He has already
learned to address older African exiles
as “uncle” — which is not a very Brit-
ish custom.

Arrangements for Tambo to settle
back into Wattville are being co-
ordinated by Chester N’hlanhla, meas-
urer of the local ANC. He was, with
Nkwazuma, the other Bemoni accused
at the first mass, and marathon, trea-
sion trial that started at the Johannes-
burg Drill Hall in the mid-1950s. They
were re-arrested in Lusaka during 1986
when Tambo exalted: “I can still re-
member when we last met: 24 years
and six months ago.” Nhlanhla spent
a week at the Tambo home in north
London last June to discuss the fami-
ly’s return to their favourite township.

For the parents it will be a sentimen-
tal home-coming; for the children it’s
more likely to be discovering a far-
way — but very familiar — land. It’s
been a long time and a long road for
them, which might be the reason the
youngest daughter is called Tstanoe; a
little road.

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MINE WORKERS

SALUTE

COMRADE PRESIDENT
O R TAMBO

We the oppressed and exploited
mineworkers of South Africa
saturate and warmly welcome the
people’s hero and leader Com-
rade OLIVER REGINALD
TAMBO as an outstanding
fighter of our freedom struggle.

Your return to our country after
30 years of exile is a resounding
victory for the oppressed masses
of our country.

Through your unflinching com-
mitment to justice, freedom,
democracy and peace you in-
spired millions to battle against
the inhuman system of apart-
heid.

Through your political insight
and maturity you guided our
liberation movement through
almost insurmountable barriers
until the racist government was
forced to open prison and bor-
der gates.

Our country is still governed by
a racist white minority supported
by monopoly capitalists.

Forces of counterrevolution
have been unleashed in defence
of white supremacy and privi-
lege to maim, torture, intimiti-
de and murder freedom-lov-
ing people of our country.

We are fully behind you and the
noble ideals you stand for. Your
presence in our midst will lend
new quality to our liberation
struggle.

We commit ourselves to re-
double our efforts in making a
non-racial democratic South
Africa a reality sooner than
expected.

FREEDOM NOW!

TAMBO IN! DE KLERK OUT!

LONG LIVE ANC-SACP-COSATU ALLIANCE!

AMANDLA! MATLA!
The gentle inquisitor, Tambo, finally returns

Akhunbou, it is Tambo’s compulsion to serve the dispossessed that has forged this unbounding quality. Certainly, Tambo’s speech on Radio Freedom shortly after the declaration of the partial State of Emergency in 1985 has the ring of steel. “Our own tasks are very clear. To bring about the kind of society that is visualized in the Freedom Charter, we have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unworkable and our country ungovernable…”

“Tambo long ago displayed the underlying belief that black South Africa’s struggle is part of a greater world struggle. He realized that the struggle for the liberation of one people could not be separated from the world struggle for human rights and liberties,” said C.J. van der Westhuizen, member of the ANC’s Military Committee and a member of the ANC’s executive committee in the 1970s.

Now a leader in the ANC, Tambo’s influence is felt throughout the movement. His words are listened to with respect and his policies are followed with determination. The ANC, under his leadership, continues to strive for a better future for all South Africans.

The journey of the ANC since 1963, following the banning of the party, has been marked by struggle, sacrifice, and ultimate victory. The ANC has come a long way since its inception, and Tambo has been a key figure in its development and growth.

In conclusion, the story of Tambo is one of dedication, resilience, and unwavering commitment to the cause of freedom and justice.

Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

Olive Tambo’s house will be...
PAC’s stand on talks dries up its meagre funds

It became abundantly clear this week that the Pan Africanist Congress had no funds.

The organisation resolved that every working member should donate 3.3 percent of their salaries to its coffers.

The resolution was one of several resolutions taken at the PAC’s three-day national congress held over the weekend at Shareworld entertainment arena outside Soweto.

The organisational bankruptcy could be attributed partly to its smaller membership compared to the rival African National Congress. But the main reason is that its ideology and policies, contrary to the ANC, do not generally curry favour with the world.

And the PAC gained no more acceptance and popularity after its “highly successful” congress, at which the organisation categorically turned down the government’s invitation to participate in preliminary negotiations.

Prior to the congress, it appeared that massive pressure from pro-negotiations quarters could force the organisation to change its anti-negotiations stance with the government. Observers predicted that the PAC would give in under threat of “marginalisation” by pro-negotiations bodies.

A different pressure was also exerted internally by youth affiliates — the Azanian National Youth Unity and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation.

Sources told The Weekly Mail that members of the youth organisations had threatened to break away from the main body should it accept the invitation to negotiate.

While over 1,200 delegates engaged in “serious and sharp” debates inside the venue, rank-and-file members were outside—locked in ex tempore discussions about the invitation.

Perhaps the mood was summed up by a youth who said: “No liberation organisation was formed to negotiate. They are formed to liberate the oppressed masses.”

The youths — “revolutionary watchdogs” — were aggressively impatient and wondered why the debates inside had to drag on when one simple decision had to be taken: no negotiations; and the blanket intensification of the struggle until the enemy had capitulated.

They also reminisced adoringly about the late president Zeph Mothopeng and PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola — both of whom died this year.

The organisation said it could only enter into negotiations if they were preceded by a democratically elected constituent assembly based on one person one vote in a common voters roll.

A new constitution could only be drawn up by the assembly, new president Clarence Makwethu said at the end of the congress on Sunday.

To this effect, the congress has instructed the new national executive council to appoint a campaigns committee by the end of January. Its task would be to implement “mass action” campaigns which would hasten the constituent assembly.

The PAC maintained that apartheid still existed. Its foreign secretary in the external mission, Goba Erhahim, cited the five “pillars of apartheid” to buttress the argument.

They were: the Population Registration Act, the Land Act of 1936 and 1936, Bantu Education, the tri-cameral parliament and the “homelands” structures. Said Erhahim: “These pillars still exist — but they say De Klerk has changed.”

He added: “We must fight these things. We must not be deluded by De Klerk’s smile. The PAC does not work on his intentions.”

As a result the PAC resolved to intensify and strengthen the sanctions campaigns, and condemn efforts aimed at undermining sanctions.

“Everybody, big business and the international community included, admits that sanctions contributed to the existing small changes,” Erhahim said. “We cannot remove them until the system has been destroyed.”

In the same light the cultural boycott had to be maintained, the organisation resolved.

The new national executive council also pledged to hold workshops and peace rallies for all Africans — irrespective of political persuasions — in order to spread the message of “Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy”.

This slogan has seen the PAC formally recognise the Inkatha Freedom Party as a liberation movement.

Perceptions that the PAC was more amilably disposed to Inkatha than the ANC were first apparent in October at Mlobopeng’s funeral. Both organisations’ flags fluttered close to each other at Orlando stadium where the service was conducted.

The PAC-Inkatha camaraderie raises questions about the proposed PAC-ANC united front as there is no love lost between Inkatha and the ANC.

Interestingly, Erhahim announced this week that the PAC and ANC were to meet at an unspecified date to discuss the front.

The decision, he said, had been made by the organisations in September at Kampala, Uganda. Whether Inkatha would be included remains to be seen.

There is another seeming contradiction in the PAC’s willingness to club together with the ANC. It is based on the clause in the resolution which states that the PAC would enter into a united front with anti-apartheid forces provided, inter alia, the PAC is guided by the principle that such forces “encouraged all forms of struggle, with the armed struggle as the principal one”. The ANC has suspended armed action.

Meanwhile the PAC’s guerrilla warfare has been described as “rhetorical and ineffective”. When asked how the organisation would sustain the action, Erhahim said: “A general cannot discuss his military (activities) in public.”

Makwethu, who has been acting president since Mothopeng’s death, will be assisted by two deputy presidents. The first deputy is former national chairman, Johnson Mlambo, who is based in Tanzania, and the second deputy is Dikgang Mosebenze, a Pretoria lawyer.

Benny Alexander was re-elected secretary general and his assistant will be ex-Zambezian secretary general, Carter Seoka.

The national executive committee, which ceased to operate after the congress, has been restructured from 18 members to 40 members in the executive council.
Tambo jets in for indaba

Political Staff

More than 1,600 ANC delegates today gathered at Faisceau outside Johannes- burg for the first national constituency congress since being banned in February.

High on the agenda of the three-day congress will be the party's attitude to con- tinuing negotiations, the armed struggle, the intensifi- cation of sanctions, the party's internal or- ganisation, and the return of political prisoners.

Much of the congress pro- ceedings are being held behind closed doors, but the ap- proved direction of the party is expected to become clear at a rally in Soweto on Sun- day, to be addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and president Oliver Tambo, who returned yesterday after three dec- ades in exile.

Calling Mr Tambo returned to a tumultuous welcome from thousands of sup- porters in what airport offi- cials described as probably the biggest reception seen at Jan Smuts Airport.

An elated Mr Tambo ak- nowledged the roaring wel- come with a cheerful hand- shake. He did not address the crowd.

Mr Tambo and his lifelong friend Mr Mandela stood side-by-side, waving and smiling at the ecstatic crowd from a balcony.

Police and ANC marshals ejected well-wishers and journalists who crowded around the Mercedes-Benz transporting the two leaders.

When Mr Tambo was helped out of the car — aides had to lift his legs to the porch — he moved pell-mell to a makeshift podium. He is still clearly afflicted by the stroke he suffered in August last year.

Catching the first glimpse of the legendary leader, the crowd responded with a thunderous "Viva!" and chants of "Oliver, Oliver!"

Addressing the crowd, Mr Mandela described Mr Tambo as "one of Africa's greatest heroes."

Mr Tambo's plane touched down shortly before 13.30 pm. He was met by ANC execu- tive members, diplomats and resistance leaders. No Gov- ernment representative at- tended the reception.

Asked how he felt, the ANC president answered: "Fine, fine, fine."

He spoke slowly and deliber- ately, and one side of his mouth drooped slightly when he smiled. He walked with a limp and used a stick.

Several snaffles broke out during the day between the police and ANC supporters. A few people had to receive medical treatment after being bitten by police dogs.
Big shift in style of PAC leaders

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Pan Africanist Congress has shown a major shift in its leadership composition - it has moved away from the grass-roots, workerist-type of leadership to an Azapo-style hierarchy where intellectuals dominate.

The executive, elected at the end of the PAC's national congress at Shareworld in Johannesburg at the weekend, boosts, among others, two medical doctors and two lawyers.

Some of them have been elected into vital positions in which their skills and their wealth of knowledge will be greatly needed to help bolster the organisation's image as it faces the crucial years ahead.

Heading the list of intellectuals in the 19-member committee is Mr Dikgang Moseneke, a well-known Pretoria advocate who was elected as the second deputy president of the organisation.

Moseneke, who represented many people in political trials, is respected for his oratory skills and is seen as an excellent choice for the position he assumed after the congress.

Secretory

Mr Willy Seriti, of the Pretoria-based Seriti, Mavundla and Associates law firm, was elected as secretary of the legal affairs, a position which was until recently held by unionist Mr Phillip Dlamini.

Dr Selva Saman, a Durban medical practitioner, was appointed to head the organisation's department of health, while Dr Solly Siswana was elected to the position of secretary of environmental affairs.

But its outlook as a liberation movement is evidently clear as most of the people on the executive still bear scars of their fight against the system.

Many served lengthy jail sentences on Robben Island in their struggle for freedom and total emancipation of the "oppressed, dispossessed and exploited African majority."

Besides being harassed and terrorised, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, the man who took over the reins following the death of president Zeph Mothopeng, spent several years on the island for his beliefs in "Pan Africanism and African nationalism."

He was banished to the remote area of Comflyaba in the Transkei in an attempt to break his spirit, but he weathered the storm and continued his fight for freedom.

Mr Mark Shinners, secretary for projects, also spent several years on the island after he and other leading PAC members, including Mothopeng, were convicted of treason in the marathon Bethal trial in 1978.

Secretary for finance Mr Mike Matsobane and national organiser Mr Mpofoshe Mangangwana also had lengthy spells on the notorious island.

Although he had not been to Robben Island, Mr Carter Seleke, general secretary of the Azanian National Youth Unity and newly-elected assistant general secretary of the mother body, also had his fair share of detention without trial.
Activists slam rival AAM as 'sectarian'

TWO British anti-apartheid activists, in the country on a fact-finding mission this week, criticised the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement as a sectarian organisation.

The activists, Mr Andre Schott and Miss Jenny Winter, are members of the rival City of London Anti-Apartheid Group.

They arrived in the country last Wednesday at the invitation of the PAC and Azapo.

The group broke away from AAM in 1985 due to "fundamental reasons".

Schott and Winter were granted observer status at the PAC's national congress at the Shamworld entertainment complex at the weekend. They have also been invited to Azapo's national congress in Cape Town next weekend.

In an interview this week, Schott criticised AAM for not reflecting the aspirations of the black majority in South Africa, saying that they should call themselves "the ANC support group."

Hostile

He said AAM supported all liberation movements, including the African National Congress, although "its office in London is hostile to us."

He said when AAM put forward its position as a non-sectarian organisation, they were themselves branded "a sectarian movement" and accused of splitting the solidarity movement against apartheid.

Schott said they would hold talks with groupings such as the National Council of Trade Unions, the Black Lawyers Association, the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Students Congress, the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Movement during their stay in South Africa.

They will also visit the Upington 14 at the Pretoria Central Prison within the next few days.

Schott said arrangements were also being made to meet with representatives of the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

He said although AAM was one of the most active anti-apartheid movements in Britain, its activities were either ignored or played down by the British media.

Row brews over nuclear site

EARTHLINE Africa is up in arms at an announcement by Eskom that it had completed a study to establish a second nuclear reactor about 70km east of Hermanus in the Cape.

It said in a statement on Wednesday the study was "universally decried as the area is known as an international heritage site".

"Of greater concern to Earthline, however, is the proximity to the holiday resort of Hermanus. Although the town is well beyond the 50km exclusion zone recognised by the Council for Nuclear Safety (which does not take into account for Koedood)."

CONSIDER EVERYTHING
Tambo back home

Wild scenes as ANC leader returns

OLIVER Reginald Tambo is back home.

The 73-year-old president of the African National Congress received a tumultuous welcome at Jan Smuts International Airport yesterday afternoon after spending nearly three decades in exile.

More than 5 000 ANC sup-

porters waited patiently outside the airport building for Tambo's chartered jet to arrive. Many had been waiting for the ANC president since 1963.

Visibly frail, Tambo sent the jubilant crowd into ecstasy when he finally appeared on the first-floor balcony of the airport shortly after 2pm.

He was flanked by his wife, Adelaide, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

The septuagenarian, his right side partially paralysed after suffering a stroke early this year, shuffled to the balustrade and slowly raised his right fist with his
PAC envoy
Mogadi dies

By MONK NKOMO and SAPA

THE chief representative of the Pan Africanist Congress in Germany, Mr Phillip Mogadi, has died, the PAC announced yesterday.

His body is to be flown to Johannesburg and he will be buried in Mamelodi, outside Pretoria.

An announcement of the date of his burial will be made soon. \( \text{Tempo} 10/12/90 \)

The PAC did not say how old Mogadi was or give the cause of his death, but said he had been in exile since 1963.

Immunity

Meanwhile 13 exiled senior leaders of the PAC, whose legal stay in the country ends today, have applied for extension of immunity until January 4 next year.

Their lawyer, Mr Moss Mavundla, yesterday confirmed that they had submitted an application to the Ministry of Justice this week requesting the extension.

The exiles include the organisation's foreign affairs

Mogadi

From Page 1

fairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim. \( \text{Tempo} 11/12/90 \)

Mavundla said there were several reasons why they could not leave the country yet. "Members want enough time to attend to their personal and family matters before they go back," Mavundla stated in the application.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice in Pretoria, Mr D Swanepool, confirmed receipt of the application yesterday morning.

"The request will be processed in the normal manner and the State President will make the final decision on whether the extension of immunity was granted or not," Swanepool said.

Mavundla said they had requested the authorities to respond to their application soon.
Police raid home of exiled PAC man

THE Kagiso home of exiled PAC member Mr Jimmy Matsapola, currently in the country, was raided by West Rand police early yesterday morning.

Police searched the house and questioned his 63-year-old mother about his whereabouts. They also wanted to know whether Matsapola was in the country legally.

"I was told of the raid when I telephoned my mother to notify her I was on my way," Matsapola, a lawyer in the United States, said.

"I returned home later and received a message to phone an officer at Onderdaal at 8am."

"Before I could telephone him I got another message while at my sister's house that the police were visiting again. I was advised to consult my lawyer in Pretoria."

Police liaison officer for the West Rand Captain Hester Bester confirmed yesterday the raid had taken place.

**Rule**

"As a rule the SAP does not confirm visits to premises during the course of their duty," she said.

"However, we confirm that the house was visited. The after-hours visit was necessary because he (Matsapola) could not be located during the raid," she said.

A member of the firm of attorneys representing Matsapola telephoned the police on his behalf and was told they suspected Matsapola was inside the country illegally.

"They wanted to know whether he had indemnity," he said.

Matsapola, who left the country in 1974, is one of 18 PAC members who were granted immunity to attend last week's congress.
Attempting to discredit ANC is shortsighted

All whites need to come to terms with certain realities about the ANC, argues RONNIE BETHLEM, a group economics consultant at JCI and author of Economics in a Revolutionary Society.

It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side also. If it did, it could mean Mr. W. de Klerk would move even further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a disinterested ANC (which such an ANC possibly necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and blacks) he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-Apartheid whites which would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous delusion. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large section of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution, just as it is only the NP which could do the same with whites. (That is why de Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indigulng in thoughts about its future dispensability.)

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff! it does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 80% of black ideas with the ANC or ANC-oriented organisations.

Unreadiness

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms with, is nowhere near being ready to govern. It is often argued that it is not yet properly ready for partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continued confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokespersons, the inability of senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In this context, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites that is even more important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have had about the organisation, its top leadership and its middle strata. The ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle class. Its demand for socialism, its anti-semitism, its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (though some might question it), its inclination often to slip into a domination mode (itself) are not only bourgeois and decadent, they are values all should want for South Africa.

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of interventionism, etc., the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush was with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which Mr De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, which is the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC, and need it badly. One could almost say that if the ANC did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

Disastrous

Rather, therefore, than being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists on the government side are still doing, the ANC should have preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for South Africa, for it would only happen in the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely presage a lurch into heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years of exile and internal bantering during which time the government did all it could to break down the ANC, it would be a lot to expect that the organisation establish itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. Now it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of South African society has been lost by the government and the business community, and both need a credible partner with whom they will be able to work to bring about the political transformation that has become a precondition for liberation of the economy.

If South Africa can be stabilised socially and politically, there are few countries that will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained. South Africa is rich in resources and it will be starting from a low base. But it has to get its own house in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you feel tempted to tell an anti-ANC joke, so much the worse for you in certain white circles at present, think twice. And when next you watch TV and witness the continuing portrayal of the government as the only good guys, and the ANC as the most frequently bad, or the spoilers, think yet again.

Mr George Bush
Mr Michael Dukakis

Lump for US war in Gulf
War on strong-arm tactics

By Vivien Horler
Weekend Argus Reporter

MR. Nelson Mandela has denounced ANC supporters who use intimidation and "strong-arm tactics" to bully rivals into silence.

Their tactics are completely contrary to ANC policy, he said. The handful of misguided individuals who engage in such actions, claiming to be acting in the name of the ANC, should take this as a clear warning that we will vigorously pursue the objective of ending all acts of violence that are perpetrated against the people.

Mr. Mandela was speaking at a special graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town last night, at which an honorary doctor of laws degree was conferred on him by the chancellor, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer.

Mr. Mandela said the ANC was determined that talks with the government must continue on the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa.

"We even took the bold step of unilaterally denying ourselves a key weapon in the struggle against apartheid — use of arms."

"We wish to pose in Cape Town that when nuns have been matched by an equal commitment, all levels, the opposite side of the government."

"Peace, we believe, can be secured only when there is justice," he said.

Restating a call for an interim government and a constitutional assembly, Mr. Mandela insisted that an assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, be established with the opportunity to canvass support for its views of the future constitution.

"An assembly elected in this manner will have the virtue of representing the people and the added bonus of conferring legitimacy on its final product.

Mr. Mandela said an elected assembly would be able to deliberate and draft a new constitution, which would be the best means of achieving a speedy transition in South Africa.

Referring to the University of Cape Town, he said the composition of the university council should be faithfully reflected in the community in which the university operates.

"The challenge that faces our university today is that of transforming this great centre of learning into institutions that will have relevance for the lives of the dispossessed and disfranchised.

"The student's admission policies needed re-examination to increase access to this institution for those who are "prived" and called for the faculty and student body to reflect the demographic make-up of South Africa."

Knee-bending? Unnecessary, sir!

By Vivien Horler
Weekend Argus Reporter

Mr. Nelson Mandela did not kneel before Harry Oppenheimer, chancellor of the university of Cape Town and former Anglo American chairman, during a controversial graduation ceremony yesterday.

Mr. Mandela said afterwards: "I was prepared to kneel, but the chancellor was kind enough not to make it necessary for me to do so.

"Controversy had preceded the ceremony, at which Mr. Mandela was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree. After student and worker bodies claimed that UCT graduation ceremonies were exclusive and unavailable to the community.

"They also said that Mr. Mandela could not have kneel to Mr. Oppenheimer, who they described as the "arch-capitalist.

"There were several meetings between the university and the workers and the university authorities before it was agreed that the ceremony would take place on the university's rugby field instead of the usual venue, Jameson Hall, which seats just 1,360."

"The issue of who was to confer the degree was always non-negotiable. Dr. Saunders later told the university staff and the question was never raised by Mr. Mandela himself, one of the most courteous people I have ever met."

Not customary

After yesterday's ceremony, Dr. Saunders said it was not customary for UCT graduates to kneel while being capped.

"Mr. Oppenheimer did not kneel when I conferred an honorary degree on him, and I didn't kneel when he conferred one on me."

Mr. Oppenheimer declined to comment.

One of the most vociferous of the student bodies, the South African National Students Congress (SANC), issued a statement "enthusiastically welcoming Mr. Mandela to the campus, adding that it regarded "this landmark occasion as an acknowledgement of the inevitable process of democratic transformation of all aspects of the university."

"More than 400 people attended yesterday's ceremony, although some seats remained empty. The weather was still and fine, and the mood behind the university buildings and Devil's Peak made an impressive backdrop to the proceedings."
Knee-bending? Unnecessary, sir!

By VIVIEN HOPKINS
Weekend Argus Reporter

Mr Mandela did not kneel before the university hall as was expected.

Mr Mandela said afterwards, "I was prepared to kneel, but the chancellor was kind enough not to make it necessary for me to do so."

Controversy had preceded the ceremony at which Mr Mandela was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree. And the question was never raised by Dr O'Connor, one of the most courteous people I have ever met.

Not customary

After yesterday's ceremony, Dr Saunders said it was not customary for UCT graduates to kneel while being capped.

"Mr Mandela did not kneel when I conferred the degree on him, and I didn't kneel when he conferred one on me."

Mr Oppenheimer declined to comment.

One of the most vociferous of the student bodies, the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), issued a statement "enthusiastically" welcoming Mr Mandela to the campus, adding that it regarded "the landmark occasion as an acknowledgement by UCT of the inevitable process of democratic transformation of all facets of the university."

More than 1,000 people attended yesterday's ceremony, although some seats remained empty. The weather was still and fine, and the grass, the teaching buildings and Devil's Peak made an impressive backdrop to the proceedings.

Security, provided by the university and ANC cadres, was tight, and everyone arriving at the rugby field had to pass through a metal detector.

The decision to confer the degree was taken by the university council to resolve the question of the public interest. The ANC leader was not in prison at UCT, and the university wanted to honour a man whose life and work are celebrated in South Africa.

ANC president Oliver Tambo's wife Adelaide applauds him after he was awarded the Freedom of the London borough of Haringey.

Dr Nelson Mandela... It was a moment that even the visionary Cecil John Rhodes could not have foreseen... an opponent of colonialism and deputy leader of a movement committed to democracy honoured with an honorary doctorate of laws by the university he helped to found.

LONDON: An obviously frail but broadly smiling Mr Mandela, president of the African National Congress, made his first public appearance here after a stroke that occurred on Tuesday.

His message last night, delivered at a freedom rally in London, was for the black youth of South Africa to concentrate on education as their main liberation weapon, now that apartheid was being eradicated.

"Surrounded by a sea of black youth, I was able to speak directly to them. They are the future of our country."

Mr Mandela said apartheid was being eradicated and urged the youth of Britain to concentrate on education as their weapon for future liberation.

"We are (now) eradicating apartheid and our new weapon must be education."

ANC president Oliver Tambo's wife Adelaide applauds him after he was awarded the Freedom of the London borough of Haringey.

"Yes (the youth) must be armed with your education and skills so that you don't have to go on your knees before anybody."

"Education is the weapon of the future," she said. - Sapa.
Plan for mini-summits

President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela have agreed to a series of private "mini-summits" in coming weeks to resolve political stalemates.

This is the upshot of this week's two-hour meeting in the Union Buildings which was afterwards described in a joint statement as "productive and very cordial".

However, sources say the discussion was of a very general nature and that the "real issues" were only briefly touched upon.

A series of private meetings between the two leaders is planned for the coming months. Talks on substantive constitutional issues through joint working groups will also begin soon.

President de Klerk and Mr Mandela decided on this strategy through go-betweens before their meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Sources say the talks are expected to begin soon, and a number of meetings are likely before the ANC's national consultative conference starts on December 14.

Among the matters to be resolved are:

- Differences on the definition of "related activities" included in the Pretoria Minute in the light of the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Confident

- Hitches in attempts to grant indemnity to ANC prisoners in jail and members in exile. ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said a decision by Justice Minister Kobus Coetsee that the return of exiles should hinge on progress in the suspension of the armed struggle was "totally unacceptable."

However, senior ANC members were this week confident that the negotiating process was still firmly on track.

"The big problem was infrequent contact and gaps in communication," an ANC source said. "Once meetings take place on a regular basis, most of the friction points can be removed."
PAC indemnity given

TEMPORARY indemnity has been granted by President FW de Klerk to 18 members of the PAC, including 14 externally-based leaders whose indemnity applications were rejected last month.

The group applied for indemnity so they could attend the PAC's national congress and the funeral of PAC president Zephania Mothopeng.
ANC: How we'll punish the racists

A MAJOR new ANC discussion document suggests individuals, rather than parties, should be prosecuted for racism in a future South Africa.

The document, compiled by the ANC's committee on constitutional affairs, warns that the prosecution of parties that support racist policies might merely drive them underground. "Education is a better way of dealing with this problem," says the document.

The proposal has particular relevance for the CP, HNP and other right-wing groups like the AWB, whose policies are labelled racist by the ANC.

The new document is to be circulated for debate.

On minority rights and group protection, the document says President F W de Klerk's government is considering a directly-elected, regionally-based upper house with the same legislative powers as the present assembly.

Opposed

It could include special representation for groups and Bills on certain matters may require the support of a weighted majority (say two-thirds) to become law.

The document says: "It is obviously hoped, in this way, to make strong provision for the protection of minorities.

"The ANC is opposed to proposals which will have the effect of constitutionalis"ing ethnicity and is opposed to special powers which entrench unequal power and privilege in the hands of racial groups.

"The elected representatives of the majority should have the right to decide.

"Effective government is not possible without an acceptance of this principle.

"The majority should not be able to ride roughshod over the constitutional rights of citizens and the minority should not have the power to prevent the government from legislating — which is why the ANC's constitutional guidelines make provision for an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights.

The ANC committee considered the possibility of UN-supervised elections to a non-racial parliament, but concluded this would be "probably too expensive".

The document suggests the establishment of a powerful electoral commission, made up of respected people acceptable to all South Africans, with wide powers to supervise and administer all aspects of the elections.

Since 1910, it continues, white voters have used the "first-past-the-post" system.

Seats

It points to the drawbacks of this, expressing concern that constituency boundaries could "be manipulated or gerrymandered" to ensure safe majorities for the government in power.

The ANC appears to favour proportional representation which, the document says, closely relates the number of votes to the number of seats.
A right to work, but who pays the wages?

BRIAN POTTINGER discusses the weak spots in the ANC's draft Bill of Rights

government funding policies dictated by law?
The ANC does not say. In its preface to the draft Bill of Rights it merely observes: "Exactly how the economy is to be organised and how revenue is to be raised is a matter for the parties to argue about and for the electorate to decide upon."

That is not the only area of likely dispute.

Article 17 of the SA Law Commission's first proposed Bill of Rights, now being substantially reworked, refers to "the right of every person or group to disassociate himself or herself from other individuals or groups".

This section drew the most opprobrium, with the Law Commission being seen by many critics as the back-door to a form of neo-apartheid.

Courts

The ANC document, conversely, places emphasis on breaking down groups: all organs of government are committed to dismantling structures and practices which "compulsorily divide the population on grounds of race, colour, language or creed".

An interesting side-bar to this however, is that within the resistance groups themselves there is some confusion on the exact role of groups.

Cosatu's recent draft Workers' Charter appeals for the recognition of collective rights in the constitution otherwise it may well result in constitutionally protected individual rights being used by the courts to strike down collective interests."

The issue of political group rights as opposed to merely cultural, religious or linguistic rights is thus still very much alive.
A VERY lively debate is raging within the ANC on the need for decentralising political power.

The need to bring governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised.

There is a general feeling that, although the central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy and must ensure uniformity of standards, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage in exercising a choice.

The present debate underlines the fact that stronger regional government and larger local authorities would be able to conduct their affairs more efficiently.

They would be better able to amass and manage local resources and provide better services than the central government — and, thus, be better able to fulfill an important objective of national policy.

As such, they could easily act as development agencies in the regions, with an integrated structural and social plan.

Effective

There is a general consensus that the "bantustans" should be discarded in favour of regional governments.

But there is a danger that, in that case, white local authorities would become the dominant powers.

For this reason the recently released policy document by the ANC and Cosatu, The Economy Beyond Apartheid, emphasizes that "state policies would include the integration of towns and cities into metropolitan management structures and an end to separate black local authority structures".

Any reliance on present structures will result in all-black and all-white local authorities, with distorted tax bases.

For this reason, the ANC-Cosatu document advocates that the idea of making poor communities financially self-sufficient be abandoned and that divided urban areas be integrated, with a single tax base.

Technical questions of efficiency should be considered no less important than political questions.

The recent ANC Consultative Conference on Local Government, held in Johannesburg in October, stressed the need for flexibility in future policy formulation.

It also called for the setting up of "temporary regional and local structures for areas which are

and will be undergoing major changes, to address the specific problems which arise in the transitional period".

The goals would be:

- to create the basis for the reunification of South Africa by incorporating the bantustans;
- to promote national reconciliation, establish the basis for a more just and equitable allocation of resources and to rectify the legacy of apartheid;
- to foster economic growth, democratise government and empower communities;
- to develop efficient and effective structures to plan for rapid urban growth and service delivery and to support smaller local authorities and rural areas.

The conference stressed the need for regional governments to facilitate and co-ordinate the process of restructuring local authorities.

It warned that such a process should not take place in abstract but should have a clear political direction aimed at empowering the people.

In conclusion, the ANC sees a definite need for some form of intermediate government between national and local government, but such regional government should not detract from the creation of a unitary democratic, non-racial South Africa.

While we reject federalism and decentralisation as a strategy to retain privilege, we see the need to create new forms of regional government which recognise and address the problems of apartheid settlement patterns and the current uneven development across the country.

Dr Skweyiya is the director of the ANC's Legal and Constitutional Affairs Department. This is an extract from a speech delivered at Stellenbosch this week.
ANC to stand by mass action

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC would never back down from its campaign of mass action, Mr Nelson Mandela said at a funeral yesterday for a man killed in police action two weeks ago during a march through Johannesburg.

Mr Mandela told the 300-strong crowd at Wits University that mass action was accepted as normal in democratic countries.

Mr David Tshoga later became the first black person to be buried in Johannesburg's West Park cemetery. — Sapa
ANC Midlands elections

MARITZBURG. — The first Natal Midlands conference of the ANC in 30 years took place at Cedara at the weekend and elections were held for a new regional executive committee.

The present chairman, Mr. Harry Gwala, was again voted in, with three new faces elected to positions of vice-chairman, treasurer and secretary. They are respectively, Mr. Anton Xaba, Mr. Jethro Nqjo and Mr. Shakes Moses Cele.

At a brief press conference, Mr. Gwala said the most important achievement was the “spirit, unity and comradeship” which had prevailed.
Attemptng to discredit ANC is shortsighted

It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side. If it did, it would push Mr F W de Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC (which we cannot see happening), it will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous innovation. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organization that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution. Just as it is only the ANC that can do the same with whites. That is no way to detract from the importance of others - Inkatha, PAC, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity - but to the talks process.

There are four realities about the ANC with which Mr de Klerk is not, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts about its future dispensability.

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff. It does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Just look at Natal, 60% of blacks identify with the ANC or the ANC-oriented organizations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Unreadiness

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national reconstruction.

The continuing confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokespersons, the inability of senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalized, often non-break the ranks and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something real and meaningful regarding poverty and repression while still trying to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its party or credibility.

This is why the ANC is insubstantial in all the beliefs of most of them and they have about the organization, in its leadership and also in its middle strata. The ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal views that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle-class. Its non-racialism, in its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (therefore would want to remind it of its obligation of all kinds (therefore would want to remind it of its inclination often to slip into a domestic mode itself), not only non-

About the future dispensability.

All whites need to come to terms with certain realities. A partner in the ANC, argues RONNIE BETHLEHEM, author of Economics in a Revolutionary Society.
Dismay over ANC's mass action vow

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government reacted with dismay today to ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela's vow yesterday that the ANC would intensify its mass action campaign.

The mass action strategy has become the major point of difference between the ANC and the government and has contributed largely to bringing the negotiation process to a halt.

Mr Mandela's strong public call comes while he and President de Klerk are involved in what is expected to be a series of secret one-on-one meetings to try to resolve the mass action issue and other problems obstructing negotiations.

The government seems to be dismayed that Mr Mandela is continuing to make public statements after an agreement to handle the problem low-key.

Mr Mandela and President de Klerk met last week in Pretoria to discuss delays in negotiation and agreed to meet again.

Secret meetings

It is understood their subsequent meetings might take place in secret as both the government and the ANC believe the high expectations created by their meetings often lead to dashed hopes, which hinder the progress of negotiations.

Senior government sources today expressed shock over Mr Mandela's statements in support of mass action at the funeral of Actibop official David "Oupa" Thoga, 26, yesterday.

They said the government had no objection to mass action, such as peaceful protests, meetings or marches which were acceptable as democratic activities.

"What is unacceptable to the government is mass action resulting almost consistently in violence and intimidation, which results in stayaways or boycotts and mass action with the intended aim of the ungovernability of government structures.

"While negotiations are taking place the maintenance of sound administration by existing structures should continue until the negotiated structures take their place."
'No backing down on mass action'

THE ANC would "never back down" on its campaign of mass action, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told about 300 people gathered for a funeral at Wits University that mass action was a right and accepted as normal in democratic countries.

"Mass action is going to remain an important part of our policy," Mandela said.

He added that the ANC would apply for permission for all marches, giving government "the responsibility of refusing permission".

If no permission was received, or if it was in an unacceptable form, the demonstrations would go ahead anyway.

The body of David Tshangha, who was killed by police during a march in Johannes burg on November 17, was before him because "the perception is that the life of every black man is very cheap", Mandela said.

He said he had informed President F W de Klerk of what the ANC saw as the cause of the violence, namely the involvement of the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence.

In addition, he had given names of officials in the security forces who had "tortured" recent detainees, he said. No action had been taken, nor had any investigation been launched.

Mandela welcomed the fact that the PAC would be holding its annual congress inside SA, and he hoped it would consider

Mandela 3/1/90

the call for a united front in "the struggle against apartheid".

On the subject of his wife, Mandela said he was encouraged by the level of support she had received.

He criticised the conduct of police investigating her alleged offences. "This is no ordinary case," he said.

He accused the media of having found his wife guilty before she appeared in court.

United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, in calling for mass action to be intensified, accused the police of

being "trigger happy" and "racist".

He said Inkatha marches were tolerated but "our marchers are mowed down like"

Molefe said the police and the security forces should be put on trial and that society should be free of "legalised killers" like the CCB.

Actstop's Cas Coovadia said people should bury David Tshangha with "discipline and dignity, but also with anger". The anger, he said, should be channelled into "intensifying the mass struggle". — Sapa.
SACP 'to protect Transkei'

By Brian Sokutu

UITENHAGE — The SA Communist Party yesterday warned it would step up pressure against the Government should it interfere in Transkei.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo told a rally attended by about 20,000 at the Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage that Transkei Military Council chairman General Bantu Holomisa deserved praise.

"We warn the Government that we will not tolerate interference on people like Holomisa," Mr Slovo said.

His organisation would use "everything at our disposal to protect Transkei". Attempts to topple Transkei would not succeed.

Mr Slovo said there was nothing illegal about having an underground structure as the Government also had "an underground structure, the Broederbond, which operated for almost 50 years".

Strikes

Mr Slovo called on President de Klerk to contribute to the peace process by forcing two Cabinet Ministers — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan — to resign.

"There is no country in the world where Malan and Vlok could have survived as Ministers following their involvement in the killing of our people."

He warned that people would meet violence with violence if legal methods of dissent such as consumer boycotts, strikes and other forms of mass action were closed.

Mr Slovo said President de Klerk had to prepare to hand over power to ANC president Oliver Tambo and his deputy, Nelson Mandela.

Another member of the SACP's central executive and national vice-president of Cosatu, John Gomomo, warned the Government not to cut off aid to Transkei.
PAC calls for unity of liberation movements

By MONK NKOMO

Mogasho, who died in West Germany on December 10, was described by Mookie and the PAC's national secretary as a "true" political activist. The PAC said it will carry on with its fight for liberation and democracy in South Africa. The PAC's national secretary, Mookie, said the PAC will continue to support all liberation movements, including the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Afro-Asian Congress members in full cry at the funeral service of Mr. Phillip Mokgadi, the PAC's Westminster representative, who was buried in Melville on Saturday. (PACSer)

Police in Bop disrupt meeting

The African National Congress in the northwest accused police of disrupting an ANC meeting in the Winneboko and arrested 56 people. Police said they arrested two people after dispersing an illegal meeting. ANC Secretary General Poly Boplaas said police disrupted the meeting and went home to record ANC responses. Boplaas said police dispersed the meeting and arrested two people.

Azapo's plans for year ahead

The Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) President, Dr. Benakeh, announced that Azapo will continue to support all liberation movements, including the ANC, COSATU, and the SACP. Azapo will also continue to support the struggle for liberation and democracy in South Africa. Azapo will also continue to support the struggle for liberation and democracy in South Africa.

PAC says FW has SA gems in foreign vaults

HARARE - President F.W. de Klerk would again be asked to account for South Africa's diamond and gold wealth believed to be kept in the vaults of the Bank of South Africa. The United States and Britain, PAC general secretary Dr. Breyten Alexander is reported to have engineered a CIA sting operation. Alexander said De Klerk would be asked questions regarding the return of the land, the economic situation, and the political situation in South Africa. He said De Klerk would be asked questions regarding the return of the land, the economic situation, and the political situation in South Africa.

PAC diplomatic mission in foreign vaults

Alexander said he would send a cabinet-level delegation to South Africa to protest what he described as "apartheid". Alexander said he would send a cabinet-level delegation to South Africa to protest what he described as "apartheid".
Mandela ignores Govt, vows to intensify ANC ‘mass action’

By Shehanaz Bulbulia and Monica Nicholson

The ANC vowed yesterday to intensify its “mass action” campaign in spite of Government threats that it could hamper negotiations.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela was addressing more than 400 mourners at the funeral of Actstop official David ‘Onya’ Tshoga (36), who died during a demonstration in Johannesburg on November 17.

Mr Tshoga made history as the first black to be buried at the West Park Cemetery, made possible by the city council.

"In a country where the majority don’t have the vote, live under oppressive conditions and are killed daily, the Government cannot expect the ANC to call off its mass campaign," Mr Mandela said.

A well-founded perception was that the Government and its security forces did not respect the life of a black person.

"The freedom struggle is filled with massacres. Blacks have been slaughtered by Government agents, so much so that the masses believe the slaughter to be a part and parcel of their existence," he said.

It was difficult discussing peace with the Government when it did not take steps to end police violence.

He had met Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss alleged torture of detainees and the treatment of recently released detainees such as SACP official Mac Maharaj.

Not a single action had been taken against the police, nor had the Government instituted investigations of the alleged torture of detainees.

Much of Mr Mandela’s speech extolled the virtues of his wife, Winnie.

He commended Actstop for passing a resolution which articulated total support for his wife, and accused the press of finding her guilty before she had appeared in court to prove her innocence. He condemned the State and its security forces for her political persecution.

"My wife has been true and loyal to me for 27 years. While I was in prison I could not protect her, but now I’m out," Mr Mandela said.
A struggle that defies unity

ALLS for the formation of a broad unity front of South Africans in liberation movements or anti-apartheid organisations have come and gone unheeded countless times in the past decade. The calls, which tended to originate mainly from bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and some African countries, were directed mostly at the two oldest liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in the foreign capitals from which they operated.

The calls for a united front have been seen as a wise strategic move to enable the liberation movements to speak with one voice on black aspirations and exert maximum pressure on white-controlled apartheid and give way to a new democratic order. Various African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, have expressed support for such a front.

These persistent calls, however, have largely been ignored by the two organisations, and accusations and counter-accusations have abounded as to who among them has consistently called the talks, effectively ensuring that the front was still-born.

Top PAC leaders interviewed in Barare in September pointed accusing fingers at the pre-February 2 ANC leadership, which was based in Lusaka, saying it had constantly forced talks on plans to form a united front. This, they said, was because the ANC believed itself invincible at the polls and therefore saw no reason for a united front.

ANC leaders have denied these allegations and argue their resolve on February 11 this year. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been consistent in his calls for the formation of a broad front to break with the past and start negotiating in good faith.

Mr Mandela, who paid a tribute to PAC acting president Clarence Makwetu, made this call again before African heads of state in Swaziland last month.

Mr Mandela told the Swaziland conference that since Mr Makwetu took over from the late Zephania Mkhosana last month, prospects for unity between the two organisations had never been brighter. Mr Makwetu rose to the occasion, telling the conference he was in favour of a joint approach with the ANC to President de Klerk's reform initiatives and that the PAC would decide at its second national congress in Johannesburg next month whether or not to join the ANC in a united front.

But until calls for a united front emanate not only from the leaders but also from the different organisations' rank and file, the proposed united front will not take off. Significantly, while Mr Mandela's position in the ANC is quite secure and he is quite likely to assume the ANC presidency when Oliver Tambo bows out of active politics next year, the same cannot be said with certainty about Mr Makwetu.

The PAC leader stands on shaky ground, and there is the December 7-9 PAC national congress which will determine whether to confirm Mr Makwetu in office.

In spite of the uncertainties, the leaders of the different organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), are optimistic that such a front will get off the ground. The ANC's Gill Marcus said her organisation had repeatedly stated that "to move forward, we have to get the opposition involved." It was for this reason the ANC had held talks with a variety of organisations, including homeland leaders.

Miss Marcus said all organisations which stood for peace, democracy and "the transfer of power to the majority" would be welcome in such a front, and this did not exclude the ANC's arch enemy, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), if it subscribed to the same ideals.

PAC general secretary Philemon Tefu was equally optimistic. The PAC, he said, had always stood for "unity in action" among the oppressed, and it now welcomed Mr Mandela's pronouncements on the need for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Like Mr Tefu, AZAPO president Professor Itumeleng Mosa said his organisation had "always been pushing for unity among the oppressed." This was the reason AZAPO had constantly called for a consultative conference of all the liberation movements, and he hoped the foundation for the formation of the united front would be laid at the meeting convened last week by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town. The successful outcome of that meeting will strengthen those hopes.

Despite the optimism expressed by the leaders, the united front's success will depend on its acceptance at grassroots. The three organisations are all aware of this, and have pledged themselves to selling the idea vigorously to their followers.

The anti-war issue, presently dividing the potential partners in the organisation of negotiations with the Government, will determine the pace of negotiations with the Government. The ANC fully endorses negotiations and takes pride in having initiated the "peace process," but AZAPO has rejected the Government's invitation to enter into exploratory talks. The PAC has yet to announce its response to the invitation. Unless these organisations adopt the same position on negotiations, the planned united front could be short-lived.
LAW and Order Minister Adriann Vlok yesterday dismissed video material released by the African National Congress at the weekend alleging police support for Inkatha as a "crude and thinly disguised propaganda campaign against the police".

Speaking at a Press briefing in Pretoria, Vlok said he had viewed the video and after ascertaining the facts had arrived at a conclusion diametrically opposite to that claimed by the ANC.

Vlok said he was informed about the video by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last Tuesday. Mandela had promised to submit the video to him but failed to do so.

Vlok said he was perturbed by newspaper reports which alleged that the video contained footage indicating police collusion with Inkatha members.

He said there were discrepancies in the video material and "it is clear that it has been edited and manipulated selectively to suit the political propaganda of the ANC."

"He said police acting as mediators in an ANC/Oxibasha clash in the East Rand squatter camp of Zook'izwe provided two casspirs to transport Zulu and Xhosa representatives for talks on violence on November 12 to ameliorate the situation."

"These representatives were dropped off at the same casspir at separate points in the camp after the talks. It is obvious that whoever compiled the video chose not to show police transporting Xhosa representatives," Vlok said.

**Serious**

He requested the video from Mandela yesterday morning after reading about it in the newspapers.

"I regard these allegations in such a serious light that I intend discussing the matter as soon as possible with the ANC," he said. Also present at the briefing yesterday was Mr Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information.
A gigantic step towards peace

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"Today we exchanged views with the aim of bringing about unity among black leaders in the struggle for total liberation of our country," the joint communiqué said.

"We are unanimous in our desire for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist government in one country. We believe there is an urgent need for fundamental human rights, including those of freedom of association, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly to be respected including the "homelands,"" the communiqué read.

While the liberation movement welcomed the agreement by homeland leaders on the aforementioned, it was emphasised that the activities of the homelands' administrations should reflect the verbal commitments "more urgently and more stridently and within specific time frames."

The roots of the current violence in the country was said to lie in the more than three centuries of white domination and oppression which culminated in the vicious system of apartheid.

The spiral of violence was perpetuated by a "third force" which, according to the Bishopscourt communiqué, called upon the people of South Africa to strive for peace.

Archbishop Tutu ... hosted conference.

Archbishop Tutu ... hosted conference.

The only enemies of the people, counter-revolutionaries and those opposed to black liberation stood to gain from recurrent violence in black communities, the leadership agreed.

"Some of the violence is the result of political rivalries. We wish therefore to issue and appeal to our followers and our people for discipline in order that we may develop a culture of tolerance. If we cannot establish such a culture, there is a danger of Renamo-type forces developing in our country."

"We urge our people to make free choices, without coercion, in political activity. Specifically we call on them:"

- To respect the right of people to join collective political action, such as boycotts and stayaways, and their right not to join it,
- To allow people who belong to organisations of their choice,
- To recruit members only on a voluntary basis,
- To work for the expression of political differences in vigorous but peaceful debate.

It was also decided that political leaders would consult each other when calls are made for mass action "to avoid intimidation."

"We also call on leaders to avoid abusive and uncomplimentary attacks on one another."

"Our call for tolerance includes one for respect and for the rights of those returning from exile under the new organisation programme," the communiqué stated.

Political leaders during the course of the meeting raised the question of perceptions that assistance given to organisations by aid agencies - including religious service organisations - was allocated in a partisan way.

The meeting agreed to call for allocation of aid on a strictly non-sectarian basis.

Observers said it was the country that stood to benefit from last Thursday's talks. They noted that it was now up to the followers of Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi - both of whom failed to attend - to demand that peace be given a chance on the continent."
ANC will not yield on mass action

The ANC will "never back down" from its campaign of mass action, according to Nelson Mandela.

The ANC deputy president told a crowd of about 300 gathered for a funeral at Wits University yesterday that mass action was a right and accepted as normal in democratic countries.

"Mass action is going to remain an important part of our policy," Mr Mandela said. He added that the ANC would apply for permission for all marches giving the government "the responsibility of refusing permission".

If no permission was received, or if it was in an unacceptable form, the demonstrations would go ahead anyway, Mr Mandela said.

He said the body of David Tshongra, who was killed by police on November 17 during a CAST march in Johannesburg, was before him because "the perception is that the life of every black man is very cheap".

If the government does not stop the violence, then the ANC would find it difficult to proceed with the negotiation process, Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela said he welcomed the fact that the PAC would be holding its annual congress inside South Africa, and he hoped that the PAC would seriously consider the call for united front in "the struggle against apartheid".
MBABANE - The PAC has welcomed the granting of temporary indemnity by the Government to 18 exiled members of the organisation.

The Department of Justice announced at the weekend that temporary indemnity from prosecution had been granted to 18 PAC members, including 14 who had earlier been refused immunity.

An announcement on the indemnity will be made in the Government Gazette today.

PAC secretary for administration Mr Joe Mkhwanazi yesterday said the decision was the result of the PAC's determined struggle against discrimination.

He was interviewed in Manzini, Swaziland, where a delegation has been waiting for permission to enter South Africa to attend the PAC conference in Johannesburg this coming weekend.

Correct

Mkhwanazi however said State President FW de Klerk's decision was correct if the Government was genuine in its call to all parties to enter peaceful negotiations aimed at establishing a new peaceful democratic South Africa.

Mkhwanazi said the decision would enable leading exiled members of the PAC to take part in the conference.

Among other matters, the conference on December 7, 8 and 9 will decide the PAC's response to De Klerk's invitation last month to participate in negotiations. - Sapa.
ANC applies for indemnity

Sowetan 3/12/90

Several politicians opposed the amendment and a former Minister of Trade and Industry, chief Moski Moiapo, said the military in Lesotho should give the Basutoland a true democracy and no military man should become a member of the civilian government.

The debate, according to the radio, has gone on since last week. - Sapa

The radio meanwhile reports that a heated debate is taking place in the Lesotho Constituent Assembly.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Kelebone Maope, proposed an amendment that the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force should also be a member of the cabinet after the country returns to civilian rule in 1992.

Offices

He disclosed the ANC plans to open offices in all neighbouring countries of South Africa and representatives have already been appointed for Botswana and Swaziland.

The radio quoted Ndlovo as saying he had already met the South African trade representative in Lesotho, Mr Gemu Geldenhuyts, to check on those already granted indemnity.

Ndlovo was among more than 400 ANC supporters deported to Lusaka in Zambia in 1986 after the military takeover led by Major-General Metsing Lekhanya.

On his return, he was met at the airport in Lesotho from Lusaka by senior government officials.

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On his return, he was met at the airport in Lesotho from Lusaka by senior government officials.
Vlok seeks meeting on ANC video

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is determined to clear up allegations of police collaboration with Inkatha — but no definite meeting date has been set up yet with the ANC to discuss the matter.

Mr Vlok rejected ANC allegations that a video, filmed in Zonkeziwe township on the East Rand, showed that the police were collaborating with Inkatha and described the video as crude and thinly disguised propaganda.

A Law and Order spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday that Mr Vlok had requested a meeting with the ANC on the issue.

The ANC had not yet responded to the request, he said.

Mr Vlok said on Sunday that he viewed the reports in a serious light and he would raise the matter as soon as possible with the ANC.

The footage, which was shown on SATV on Sunday night, shows a man with a red bandanna alighting from a police Casspir and marching with others.

However, Mr Vlok said the police provided two Casspirs to transport three representatives of the Zulu community and four representatives of the Xhosa community for talks on violence on November 12.

The man shown in the video was one of the Zulu peace talk delegates.
Brief indemnity for PAC officials

GOVERNMENT has backed down on its demand that 18 exiled PAC leaders commit themselves in writing to peaceful political solutions before receiving indemnity, which will allow them to attend the organisation's national conference this week.

Temporary indemnity for the 18 — until December 14 — was gazetted yesterday. Government's apparent about-face is understood to be the result of intensive negotiation.

A brief Justice Department statement said the PAC leaders had satisfied government that granting temporary immunity "would be conducive to the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions".

The PAC disclosed last month that government had refused indemnity for 14 top members because they had refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

Unlike the ANC, the PAC has refused to suspend its armed struggle. A formal decision on whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations will be taken at this week's conference.

Government's earlier refusal to grant indemnity was seen by many people as making it almost impossible for the conference to approve negotiations.

Those named in yesterday's Government Gazette include foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, administrative secretary Joe Mhlanga, economic secretary Nlanzukhaya Gqobo and welfare secretary Agatha Boli.

Sapa reports the PAC's chief UN representative Count Pietersen will return to SA after addressing the General Assembly's annual debate on apartheid. However, his name was not among those gazetted yesterday.
Slovo calls for township defence units

By Patrick Laurence

The South African Communist Party yesterday urged township residents to form well-disciplined self-defence units.

Its call, made in response to continuing township violence and the apparent inability of the authorities to check it, was linked to a demand for the resignation of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

In an interview with The Star, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said: "We consider these units as purely legal organs (devised) for purely defensive purposes."

He compared the SACP's proposed self-defence units to neighbourhood watches and civic guards, arguing that it was quite legal to defend oneself against attack and to use "commensurate force".

In a statement, the SACP labelled the continued presence of General Malan and Mr Vlok at their posts "astonishing", saying: "Their records show them to be either incredibly incompetent or reluctant to take the necessary steps against warlord and death-squad violence."

It noted that the death rate was now running at 10 people a day, with at least one person a day being killed directly by the SAP or SADF.

The SACP appealed to "patriots" in the SAP and the SADF to emulate rebel policeman Gregory Rockman by coming forward to expose those elements in the police and army, no matter how high-ranking they were, who were part of the "sinister third force".

Mr Slovo later cited circumstantial evidence which, he said, pointed to the existence of a third force responsible for orchestrating the violence. It was drawn from "elements in the security forces".

He denied that the SACP was conducting a vendetta against the SAP and SADF. But, he said, they had changed minimally either in composition or leadership since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech promising a new beginning and a new South Africa.
Mandela's turnabout shocks Govt

The Government reacted with dismay yesterday to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's vow on Sunday that the ANC would intensify its campaign of mass action.

Mr Mandela's strong public call came while he and President de Klerk are involved in what is expected to be a series of secret one-on-one meetings to try to resolve the mass action issue and other problems obstructing negotiations.

Senior Government sources yesterday expressed shock at Mr Mandela's strong statements in support of mass action at the funeral of Achetstop official David "Oupa" Thoga (28).

They said the Government had no objection to mass action, such as peaceful protests, which were acceptable as democratic activities.
NEWS IN BRIEF

Top PAC exiles return

PAC external foreign secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim and chief representative of the organisation at the United Nations Mr Count Petersen return to South Africa on Thursday. They are among 18 PAC members granted immunity from prosecution to attend the organisation's first national congress inside the country in 30 years. - Sopa.
Gwala is Natal leader

SOUTH African Communist Party member and convenor of the interim committee of the ANC in the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala, has been elected chairman of the new executive committee of the ANC in the region.

Gwala heads the 11-member committee elected at the organisation's first conference at the weekend.

Sapa.
Single student union planned

A SINGLE, national, non-racial student organisation is on the cards, senior ANC national executive committee member, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said on Sunday night.

He was delivering the keynote address at the ninth annual congress of the SA National Students Congress at the University of Natal in Durban.

Kathrada said there was a strong probability that the two largest student organisations - Sansco and the National Union of South African Students - would merge.

At present, Nusas' membership is exclusively white, while Sansco draws its membership from black students.

"The ANC has exploded on to the scene and is occupying the centre stage of South African politics," Kathrada said.

He warned that the ANC would seek to intensify its campaign of "mass action" saying that in neither the Groote Schuur nor the Pretoria minutes had the ANC agreed to suspend "mass mobilisation".

Until the government agreed to all demands made by the ANC, the process of "mass action" would continue, Kathrada said.

He said there was a campaign to weaken the ANC through the use of a "hidden hand" and that the organisation would do everything in its power to defend itself. Sapa.
Vlok wants to meet the ANC

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has requested a meeting with the ANC following reports backed by video footage of police collaborating with Inkatha by transporting a "warlord" in a Casspir to lead a march, a spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Vlok rejected the weekend reports and labelled the video footage filmed at Zonk'izizwe squatter settlement on the East Rand and released by the ANC as crude and thinly-disguised propaganda.

The footage shows a man with a red bandanna alighting from a police Casspir and marching with others.

Vlok said in Pretoria on Sunday the SAP had provided two Casspirs to transport three representatives of the Zulu community and four representatives of the Xhosa community for talks on violence on November 12.

The man shown in the video excerpts was a Zulu representative to the peace talks, he said.

Whoever had compiled the video material chose not to show the Xhosa representatives, he said.

Vlok said he viewed the matter in a serious light and would raise it as soon as possible with the ANC.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed they had requested a meeting with the ANC on the issue.

The ANC had not yet responded to the request. - Sapa.
MORE than 50 Pan Africanist Congress exiles return this week.

The PAC general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said yesterday that among those who would be returning for the conference were administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim.

The others are welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Boo; economic affairs secretary Mr Mfana Shepo; chief representative to Uganda, Mr TM Ntantana; chief representative to Nigeria, Mr Maxwell Nzemvivanadzi, and Mr Count Pieterson, chief representative of the observer mission to the United Nations.

Observers at the congress, which will be attended by some 2000 delegates, include the founder-member of the original ANC Youth League, Mr AP Mda, two representatives of the ruling Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe and diplomats from around the world.

Alexander said an exiled leader who would not attend was chairman Mr Johnson Mlimbo, who is also chief commander of the military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He described the Government's decision to grant indemnity to the 14 leaders as "positive".

He said the organisation's lawyers were finalising indemnity applications for about 30 others to enable them to attend.

Alexander said the congress would put the PAC "on a structural footing to meet the challenges of continuous struggle, pressure as far as negotiations are concerned and mass action".

He said the organisation would have to come out very clear on a "principled united front", as it could not afford to isolate itself.

Other issues that will be discussed include the continuing internecine violence and political intolerance.

Alexander said the organisation would also draw up a programme of action.
PRETORIA — The future role of the United Democratic Front, whose existence has been in question since the unbanning of the ANC, is under discussion by its affiliates throughout SA.

The UDF, an umbrella organisation of anti-apartheid organisations endorsing the ANC's Freedom Charter, has identified the vanguard role of the ANC at its inception, and acknowledges it cannot compete with the ANC for leadership.

A paper on the transformation of the organisation, presented at the UDF's NEC meeting last month, will form the basis for discussion until a decision on its position is made at a national conference in February.

While the options in the paper are vague and do not outline clear structures, they suggest different roles and objectives for a transformed front of anti-apartheid organisations. Arguments in favour of the dissolution of the UDF are:

- It was a stand-in for the ANC and should now step back to give the ANC its rightful place.
- Its growth circle is complete, and there is little chance it will win over organisations like Azapo and the PAC.
- Its resources and best leaders should be deployed in the building of the ANC.

Those in favour of a transformed UDF recognise that the adoption of the Freedom Charter alienated a number of anti-apartheid organisations.

The UDF's objective is still the transfer of political power from the minority to the majority, but it realises a broad front of anti-apartheid organisations is necessary to achieve this objective. A restructured UDF would therefore not stipulate the endorsement of the Freedom Charter as a condition of membership.

One of the options being discussed is that it should be a proactive organisation concentrating on development and reconstruction rather than on the weaknesses of the authorities.

There are a number of service organisations dealing with issues like education and health, but there is very little co-ordination and co-operation between the groups, and therefore duplication arises.

A changed UDF, it is claimed, would pull in organisations like church groups, health groups and progressive lawyers' organisations which previously identified themselves with the Mass Democratic Movement but did not affiliate to the UDF.

While the UDF would not take charge of the technical work of development, it would provide political guidance and formulate priorities and strategy.

Foreign funds

An argument in favour of this model is that foreign governments have refused to fund political parties, but would apparently not be against funding projects not associated with the ANC or other political parties.

A second option is a united front of anti-apartheid organisations with a higher political profile than the first option. It would consist mainly of organisations that attended the Conference for a Democratic Future.

It would be united by a set of common principles, and its role would be co-ordinate mass action against apartheid, rather than concentrate on reconstruction and development.

Those in favour of the latter option accept that any ANC or SACP presence could alienate organisations which oppose apartheid but do not necessarily see the ANC as their political home. The emphasis for membership of this United Front is therefore on organisations rather than political parties.

A new UDF could be restructured to include components of the first two options, thereby combining mass action and reconstruction.

The last option provides an overtly political role for the UDF in a Patriotic Front spearheaded by the ANC. This front would include political parties like Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and homeland parties.

The role of this Patriotic Front would be to concentrate on constitutional matters. It would call for a constituent assembly.

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LRA clauses on farm labour ‘to be dropped’

THE National Manpower Commission (NMC) has accepted to drop clauses which include agrarian labour in the new labour relations legislation due for promulgation in the first 1991 parliamentary session, it was claimed at the weekend.

Matthew Curtin
Mandela's appeal for consensus on peace

Given the reality that the majority of South Africans have no reason to accept the legitimacy of a wholly unrepresentative government, continued insistence that one of the parties to the negotiation process should exercise exclusive control over the levers of State power, can only have the effect of eroding confidence. Popular confidence in the authorities will both enhance the possibility of peace and will guarantee the integrity of the negotiations themselves by removing the temptation to abort the entire process by a unilateral deployment of military forces.

Speedy transition

It has been often repeated that no player can also seek to be referee. The matter is even more serious if the players refuse periodically seeks to change the rules of the game and claims exclusive control over the playing field.

It is clearly insufficient that every political grouping, large or minuscule, representative and unrepresentative, be accorded a seat at the negotiating forum. By calling an election for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote, every party will be given the opportunity to canvass support for its view of the future constitution. An assembly elected in this manner will have the virtue of representativeness and the added bonus of conferring legitimacy on its final product. We want to see a speedy transition that will set the democratisation of South Africa irreversibly in motion.

An elected constituent assembly, which will negotiate and draft a new constitution for South Africa, in our view, will be the best means of achieving this.

The process of building democracy must involve also, the steady penetration of a democratic political culture into all facets of life, including universities, colleges, schools, factories and other workplaces. The universities could set the pace by adopting democratic practices that will empower all sectors of the university community. Meaningful student and worker representation on their decision-making bodies will not impair, but will enhance their effectiveness and legitimacy. The composition of the university council should faithfully reflect the community within which this university operates.

As renewed violence takes a dreadful toll of lives in the Transvaal, NELSON MANDELA has called for the building of national consensus on the need for peace. These are extracts from his address at UCT last week.

WE WANT to appeal to all South Africans to join us in calling for an end to violence. We invite all our compatriots of whatever political persuasion and irrespective of race, to join us in building national consensus around the need for peace, for it is a matter in which all of us, while disagreeing on other matters, share a common interest.

Our own commitment to peace, as the ANC, cannot be doubted. It was in pursuance of this peace that we sought talks with the government. We are determined that these talks will succeed so that the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa are removed. We even took the bold step of unilaterally denying ourselves a key weapon on the struggle against apartheid — use of arms.

Can it, in all honesty, be said that our commitment has been matched by an equal commitment, at all levels, on the side of the government?

Peace, we believe, can only be secured when there is justice. Certainly those who suffer deprivation, hunger, poverty and unemployment as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid are impatient to move as quickly as possible to achieve redress of their disabilities. Moreover, in the eyes of the majority of South Africans, our country is ruled by a government that derives its mandate from less than 14% of the population. To the disenfranchised, it sounds like frivolous quibbling to deny that such a government is illegitimate and has no moral right to exist, regardless of the government's seriousness about the need for change.

The illegitimacy of the government, in the eyes of the majority, cannot be disassembled into discrete compartments. It affects every facet of government and is underscored by the brutal actions of its security organs and their auxiliaries which have been the object of severe judicial strictures.

Eroding confidence

If therefore we want lasting peace, we must commence from the premise that the continued exclusion of the vast majority of the population of our country from the centres of power is a prescription for conflict and provides dry tinder for violence. A commitment to peace and an end to violence demand a great deal more than words and vociferously expressed hopes. It must entail, in the first instance, a determination to eradicate the inequalities that foster and fan the flames of conflict, root and branch.

On the surface, it would appear that the majority of political parties in our country have come to accept the need to dismantle apartheid and establish a democratic system of government. Despite this apparent agreement on broad principle, there is no doubt that vastly different meanings are ascribed to this commonly shared objective.

The ANC, for its part, has insisted and shall continue to insist on a process that is inclusive. We welcomed the expressed willingness of Dr Carel Boshoff and his colleagues to engage in the national dialogue about the future of our country despite our vastly differing perspectives of what that future should be. It is consistent with this principle that we have called for an interim government and a constituent assembly as two indispensable instruments to effect the transition from minority domination to democracy.
PAC denies 'plan' to attack whites

uum<br>Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday described reports on a rumour that the PAC was planning to attack white holidaymakers in Transkei during the festive season as a propaganda campaign against the PAC and Transkei.

The SABC yesterday reported that the SA Department of Foreign Affairs was "monitoring" the rumours.

The chairman of the PAC in Transkei, Mr N S Zamela, said the report was aimed at discrediting the PAC and emanated from "forces wanting to destabilise Transkei, evident since the abortive coup".

He said any member in PAC colours who threatened anyone would be dealt with severely.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, dismissed the rumour as an "ongoing campaign against Transkei by certain mischievous individuals".

He declined to elaborate on who the "mischievous individuals" could be.

The Transkei Police assured holidaymakers they would be safe.
ANC members could get posts

Campaign to recruit black diplomats

THE Foreign Affairs Department has embarked on a rigorous campaign to recruit black South Africans into the service, and is not ruling out the possibility that members of the ANC and other organisations active abroad could be appointed to positions.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said in an interview yesterday that the foreign service would have to become representative of the population and political realities.

While the foreign service had to serve the government of the day, it would also have to open doors to other organisations which were active abroad.

Van Heerden said he did not foresee an amalgamation of the foreign service and ANC international representatives. Rather, he added: "We will be talking to all the parties, expanding contact with all parties in the extra-parliamentary arena."

In addition to this the department had embarked on an active recruiting campaign to draw black South Africans into the service. These appointments would not be at the beginners level only. There would also be "lateral entries" into middle and senior positions.

In the past year, and especially since February 2, the number of countries with which SA had diplomatic ties had grown by a third. In order to staff these new missions the department had received additional funds from government's R2bn contingency fund. It had also rearranged priorities and some missions, like La Paz, Reunion and Sydney, had been closed.

Van Heerden described as "miraculous" the extent of the thaw in SA's relations with the international community.

The most remarkable breakthroughs had been achieved in Eastern Europe. SA already had missions in Hungary and Poland. In Romania, Poland and Bulgaria would be operational within six months.

Compatibility between the economies of SA and Eastern European countries would not be achieved overnight, he said. However, the political realignment of these countries would fundamentally affect the operation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The non-aligned group, with these central European countries at the fore, had hitherto formed an effective anti-SA bloc in dealings of bodies such as the UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

He said there were concrete signs that the Soviet Union wanted to have diplomatic ties with SA. However, given the remaining ideological framework within which the Soviet Union worked, it was difficult for them to do so. Developing ties between SA and the Soviet Union would be a long, steady process, although there had already been a number of commercial deals.

Since February 2, SA had also achieved a number of significant breakthroughs into Africa and the department had been given funds to open new missions in Madagascar, Mauritius and the Ivory Coast.

Van Heerden said it was difficult to put a time frame on when SA would develop diplomatic ties with large African coun-

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MIKE ROBERTSON

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Diplomats

tries like Kenya and Nigeria. He added, however, that as with sanctions resistance in the AU to developing links with SA was being eroded.

- There would be important contact with Nigeria when SA jurists visited the country to study its constitutional. The Nigerians had invited the jurists as they believed SA could learn something from their federal constitution.

- He was not able to provide figures but said there was an enormous escalation in trade with Africa. In many countries SA was replacing France as the main supplier.

- While economies of countries like Angola were in a poor state, they had commodities like oil which SA needed, which would enable them to pay for imports from this country. The same applied to countries producing tea, coffee and hard woods.

While President P W de Klerk's visit to Morocco had been an important breakthrough in contact with the Arab world, little other progress had been achieved. This was not because SA did not want greater access to the Arab world, but because of its close ties with Israel.

It was hoped De Klerk would pay a visit to the Far East next year. The main focus of this trip would be Japan and Taiwan.

He said China had just announced that SA tourists would be welcome to visit.
PAC unlikely to budge on negotiating stance

ACTING PAC president Clarence Makwetu was virtually assured of his organisation's leadership and the movement would probably stick to its refusal to enter negotiations, senior members predicted yesterday on the eve of the PAC's second national congress.

Representatives of 500 PAC branches will gather at Shareworld near Soweto this weekend for the organisation's first congress inside SA in 30 years.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Nkole told a media briefing yesterday the PAC would apply for temporary indemnity for 34 of its exiled members after government on Monday granted 18 immunity.

Issues to be discussed will include government's invitation to constitutional negotiations; township violence; the education 'crisis'; and a proposed anti-apartheid front, possibly including the ANC.

PAC leaders declined to disclose the decisions of the PAC's 18 regions on the negotiations issue.

However, it was predicted that the PAC would continue to insist that government agree to a constituent assembly before the PAC would negotiate.

In another development, it was disclosed that the foreign-based chairman of the PAC's central committee Johnson Malambo — earlier considered Makwetu's main rival for the presidency — would not attend the conference.

Malambo's non-attendance was explained by the fact that the PAC had to look after its members in exile during the conference. Malambo has also not been nominated for the presidency.

Struggle

Others mentioned as likely contenders, Mark Shinners and Mahlubi Mbandazayo, have not yet been nominated and are unlikely to enter the race.

 Asked if the PAC's armed struggle would be re-evaluated at the congress, Nkole said the struggle would continue on all fronts.

 Secretary for legal affairs Phillip Dlamini yesterday denied claims that PAC cadres planned to attack white South Africans holidaymakers in Transkei.

Dlamini said the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had directed attacks only against the security forces and never against a "wimpy bar, hotel or holiday resort."
Plan to attack whites denied

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied allegations that it was planning to attack white South Africans visiting Transkei during the festive season and blamed unknown individuals for trying to besmirch the organisation's image.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, PAC legal affairs secretary Phillip Dlamini said: "It is the policy of neither the PAC nor our military wing, the African People's Liberation Army, to attack civilians. All Aplas attacks have been directed at the police and the army."

He was reacting to allegations in a circular from Transkei deputy commissioner of police Major M Z Nongдейa saying he had unconfirmed information that the PAC planned to attack white South Africans visiting the homeland and to seize guns and other valuables.

Transkei's Consul General, Victor Mdishwa, said yesterday it was safe to travel through the territory.

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PAC set to discuss Gov't's invitation

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Political Staff

The Government's invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to hold exploratory talks will be one of the main issues on the agenda at the PAC's second national congress at the weekend.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntole said in Johannesburg yesterday that the organisation's response to the invitation would be announced at the end of the three-day conference.

Mr Ntole said other issues to be discussed included policies and programmes "for the realisation of a united front" on the black education crisis in the country and inter-organisational violence.

A new PAC leadership, including a successor to the late Zephaniah Mophopeng, would be elected.

Among the 500 delegates attending will be 14 externally based PAC leaders who have been granted limited indemnity, including administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gorah Ebrahim.
**Mandela gets grant from US Jews**

By Marika Sborsie

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has accepted a grant of R52,000 for the M.C. Weiler School in Alexandra from an American organisation which fosters relations between blacks and Jews.

Mr Mandela received a cheque in Johannesburg last week from Leslie Bergman, outgoing chairman of the Southern African Union for Progressive Judaism, which organised the grant from the Kovler Institute in Washington.

Mr Mandela said he was delighted with the contribution.
LONDON - African National Congress President Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa next week after 30 years in exile, the ANC representative in Britain said this week.

Mendi Msimang said Tambo, who has been in London undergoing rehabilitation after suffering a stroke, would arrive back home on December 13.

He may start his journey later this week, visiting one or two countries on the way.

Tambo (73), who left South Africa in 1960 after the ANC was banned by the Government, came to London in April this year from Stockholm.

Reformist President FW de Klerk legalised the ANC in February this year and shortly afterwards released Nelson Mandela, now ANC deputy president, from 27 years in jail.

Tambo has been president of the ANC, South Africa's oldest anti-apartheid movement, since 1969.

During many of his 30 years in exile, he was based in Lusaka, Zambia, where the ANC had its headquarters.

But he travelled widely, becoming a roving ambassador for the black nationalist cause. - Sapa-Reuter
ANC is urged to open up to all members

LONDON - The leadership of the ANC has been urged to broaden democracy within the organisation's structures in order to enable members to play a greater role in its future direction.

The call, said to reflect the thinking of a growing number of the ANC leadership, is made in a confidential document being circulated in the ANC, says the London-based journal, Front File.

According to Front File, the anonymous document severely criticises the ANC for failing to involve members in "political struggle" and in some cases risking alienating allies such as the powerful Congress of SA Trade Unions.

Failure

Among the ANC's weaknesses it lists:

* Its failure to provide leadership over the main issues that concern its followers, such as township violence and the land question.
* The development of a style of leadership "which excludes the masses and reduces politics to dialogues with the regime, working groups and endless post-apartheid specialist discussions'.
* The failure since February 2 to "concept the revolutionary alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu".

Warning

The document is quoted as warning that the alliance is now merely symbolic, with Cosatu, for example, having had "no real input into the negotiations process".

"If we look at the area of economics, most of the ANC's statements are directed at distancing itself from nationalisation," it says. "Without demands for nationalisation, which one knows to be the position of some of the major unions, our policy formulation is skewed," the document cautions.

It urges the ANC to urgently give bold leadership on a wide range of issues while at the same time ensuring that its members were actively involved in its decision-making processes. - Sovietas Correspondent
PAC denies claims of attack plans

The Transkei government and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday rejected allegations the movement was planning to attack white people on holiday there this month.

“South Africans are assured of a peaceful and quiet holiday in Transkei,” the homeland’s leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said yesterday.

He attributed the allegations of a sinister PAC plan to a propaganda campaign launched by people wanting to destabilise Transkei and make it a “no go” area.

He did not identify those he thought responsible.

Holomisa said South Africans were free to travel in Transkei and should direct any enquiries they had to his government.

He said officials would probe the allegations. “But at this point, in the light of good relations we have with the PAC, I would classify that information as a smear campaign.”

He said the PAC had never attacked whites or holidaymakers. Their attacks had always been aimed at the police and the South African Defence Force.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday it would approach the Transkei government over the alleged threat.

Letter

Holomisa did not deny the existence of the letter but said his officials would interview the major to ascertain the source of his intelligence.

The letter read: “Information at the disposal of this office which has not been verified reveals that military trained Pan Africanist Congress members are planning to attack white holidaymakers in Transkei during the December 1990 holidays.”

A PAC spokesman said yesterday the allegations were not in line with PAC policy or with the policies of its military wing.
ANC marches get go-ahead

THE ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" marches in Johannesburg and Pretoria will go ahead tomorrow as planned after permission was received from the authorities.

Johannesburg's chief magistrate and the city council have given permission for the march and the Pretoria City Council has approved a second application after the march was initially banned.

Final permission still has to be obtained from Pretoria's chief magistrate but ANC sources said they did not anticipate any problems.

The organisers have appealed for calm and restraint from marchers and the authorities to ensure there was no repeat of the bloody clashes on November 17 between police and marchers in Johannesburg, which resulted in two deaths.

"We are calling for people to conduct themselves in a peaceful and orderly way and for the authorities to act with restraint and flexibility," said ANC spokeswoman Barbara Hogan.

In Pretoria, marchers will gather at Cosatu House in Brown Street at 10am.

They will proceed at noon to Du Toit, Vermeulen and Administration streets to Government Avenue to present a memorandum at the city hall.

In Johannesburg, marchers will gather at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10am.

They will proceed along Plein Street at 11am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed over to officials at the city hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square where a second memorandum will be handed to police.

The memorandum calls for the release of detainees and political prisoners, an end to political trials and the granting of indemnity to all exiles before Christmas.

It also calls for the creation of an interim government and constituent assembly, the repeal of security legislation, an end to violence and the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.
ANC stands firm on video film footage

By SY MAKARINGE

THE African National Congress yesterday stood firm on its claims that last week's video recordings at Zonk'izizwe squatter camp had proved there was collusion between the police and "vigilantes".

The organisation said the visual evidence it showed the media last week was "irrefutable" and called on Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok to make "a credible official explanation.".

It rejected Vlok's denial, saying this was not the first time that evidence of police collaboration with "vigilantes" had been presented to him for investigation.

Police said yesterday the video "conveniently avoided showing footage of "Xhosa negotiators" in another Casspir.

Vlok yesterday authorised the release of 25 photographs, taken by a police photographer at Zonk'izizwe on the same day, "to finally put the matter in perspective".

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria where the photographs were released, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the photographs clearly showed that both "Xhosa negotiators" and "Zulu negotiators" had been transported by police in separate Casspirs in the squatter camp on November 12.
Harms: Matanzima might be charged

PRETORIA — Former Transkei president Kaiser Matanzima could be charged with subversion in a Transkei court for encouraging the SA government to withhold funds from Transkei, military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said last night.

In a statement responding to the findings of the Harms Commission of inquiry into cross-border irregularities, Holomisa said the commission had proved Transkei's earlier claims that Matanzima had written to Pretoria demanding "the RSA government freeze all monies payable to Transkei until Transkei had paid Temba ConSTRUCTION in full".

Temba Construction is one of the companies comprising Jalc Holdings (Pty) Ltd.

Holomisa said Matanzima's letter seemed to demonstrate that he had a vested interest in the affairs of the company.

"It is ironical that Transkei was indeed strangled after the letter written by him in 1986," Holomisa said.

The Transkei government would have to establish whether Matanzima's encouragement of the SA government to withhold funds from Transkei was subversive or not. If subversion was established, Matanzima would be charged, Holomisa said.

ANC envoys meet on lifting sanctions

ANC foreign representatives from around the world are to meet in Johannesburg next week to discuss mechanisms for the lifting of sanctions and the integration of ANC and official government missions abroad.

ANC foreign relations administrative secretary Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday the meeting would be attended by officials of all 40 ANC foreign missions, as well as department director Thabo Mbeki and his deputy Stanley Mazibiza.

Although ruling out an immediate lifting of sanctions, Saloojee said ANC foreign representatives had to be prepared when the current process became irreversible — the point at which the ANC would call for a lifting of sanctions.

The ANC, he said, would continue to call for boycott of South African products abroad.

"But we need to start working out some kind of mechanism and the timing of how sanctions will be lifted," Saloojee said.

Lifting sanctions would also have to be preceded by wide-ranging consultations with various organisations and governments.

Saloojee said a new development was a growing perception internationally that apartheid had been abolished. The ANC would discuss how to combat this belief at next week's meeting.

It would also consider how to focus the international community's attention on SA's needs in the post-apartheid era, particularly in housing, education and health.

Saloojee said ANC embassies were being "besieged" by SA diplomats wanting to speak to their counterparts.

"We need to work out, do we talk to our counterparts in SA embassies and what is the purpose of that talk?"

The meeting would also consider how ANC and SA missions would be restructured "in a future situation" where dual representation was unnecessary.

Saloojee said the ANC attached great importance to its foreign relations. This foreign affairs conference was of "crucial importance" in the current climate and before the ANC's national consultative conference.

The meeting would formulate a new foreign affairs policy for discussion.

Council to look into converting hostels

JABULANI men's home in Soweto is a complex of five-in couples, shebeens and discos — and the discovery has moved the Soweto City Council to look into the question of converting hostels into family units.

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Singing crowd greets exiles

JOHANNESBURG. — A crowd of about 100 chanting and singing PAC supporters gathered at Jan Smuts Airport last night to welcome returning exiled leaders.

One of those to return was PAC administration secretary Mr Joe Mkwazazi, who had been in exile since 1962.

Also returning with Mr Mkwazazi was Mr Mfanashekaya Gqobose. Earlier, three PAC exiles returned from London. They included the PAC’s chief representative in London, Mr Vuyani Ngaza, and his son, Mr Khuselo Ngaza. — Sapa
Excitement as Tambo heads home

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, returns to South Africa next week after almost 30 years in exile — but not before he stops over in Lusaka to speak to the organisation’s members based in the Zambian capital.

Mr. Tambo is expected in Lusaka at 11 am on Friday, his first visit after he suffered a stroke 15 months ago.

Mr. Tom Sebita, the ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said Tambo — who has been recuperating in London and Stockholm — would arrive in South Africa on December 13.

An elaborate programme has been prepared for the ailing ANC president in Lusaka. Among other things, he will address the ANC membership there early next week.

Rousing welcome

Sebita said “a rousing welcome” would await Tambo at the Lusaka airport, where ANC members are expected to turn up in large numbers.

“People are looking forward to receiving their president. You can be sure hundreds will be there to welcome him,” said Sebita.

Tambo will be a guest to the Zambian State President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. His wife, Mrs. Adelaide Tambo, is expected to join him in Johannesburg.

In South Africa, Tambo will address the organisation’s national consultative conference that begins in Johannesburg next Friday.

... Tambo, 73, left South Africa in 1960 after the ANC was banned by the government.

... He suffered a stroke in Lusaka in August last year and was transferred to London to receive medical attention.

... During most of his 30 years in exile, he was based in Lusaka, where the ANC had its headquarters before being banned on February 2.

... Tambo made his first public appearance in 15 months in London last Friday when the Haringay Council in Tottenham, north London, gave him the freedom of the town.

... His wife delivered a message from him, in which he called on the black youth of South Africa to concentrate on receiving an education.

... Aides told reporters that the ANC leader was saving his first public words for when he arrives in South Africa.
ANC ‘switch’ on sanctions

Dolphins in ‘mass suicide’ off coast

UMTATA. — Sixteen dolphins were found dead off the Transkei Wild Coast near Bloukamma Game Reserve yesterday morning.

The acting head of nature conservation in Transkei, Mr Andrew Grobbelaar, said there could be numerous reasons why the dolphins had died.

He said sometimes they committed suicide. It was also possible they could have died because of lack of oxygen in the water.

Mr Grobbelaar said he had already contacted relevant scientific institutions to come and study the dolphins. — Sapa

Pavarotti awarded ‘Truffle of Year’

ALBA, Italy. — Italian tenor Luciano Pavarotti’s love of food has been known to rival his love of song.

So when he was chosen for a local award it was only appropriate that the prize meet his taste — a 600-gram truffle.

The ‘Truffle of the Year’ award was granted to Pavarotti this week by Mr Emanuele Del Monte, mayor of this town in Italy’s north-west Piedmont region.

The annual prize is given to producers in Italy who promote the image of Italy in the world. — Sapa-AP

Man trips up Pretoria

PRETORIA. — A man yesterday short-circuited the power supply to the city centre and adjoining suburbs when he fell on to a high-voltage power cable.

He received third-degree burns over 20% of his body and was admitted to the E F Verwoerd Hospital. He asked hospital staff not to release any details about him.

Municipal sources, however, identified him as Mr Jacques Myburgh, who was apparently working on new power cables at a substation when he fell about 10 metres and came into contact with lines carrying between 70 000 volts and 182 000 volts. — Sapa

BEACH BUOYS ... This is one of three new buoys which will be used 100 metres off Clifton’s fourth beach as a barrier to boats. In the past bathers have had close shaves with boats coming too close to shore, according to Clifton Lifesaving spokesman Mr Eddy Coasar. Yesterday the Clifton Beach Lifesaving Club took possession of the buoys. Admiring them are, from the left, Melanie Wolpe, lifesaver Jason Fialkov, Chantel Solom and Gill Vaughan Jones.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A draft ANC document has proposed a phased lifting of sanctions, including a substantial easing of trade and sports barriers, from next year.

The still-secret document, “Managing the process of transition”, calls for a thorough re-evaluation of the ANC’s sanctions stance.

It notes that local and international developments have reduced the effectiveness of diplomatic and trade sanctions.

Sport and cultural embassies on particular codes should be lifted once they have a united, non-racial governing body.

But financial restrictions, including investment by the IMF, should be opposed “on the grounds that the country is still governed by a white, minority regime”. Oil and military sanctions should also remain.

SUN BANNER reports that developments at the United Nations indicate the ANC accepts that Western nations will soon begin to ease sanctions.

Mbeki ‘delay’

Diplomats believe this underlies the hardline draft resolutions offered by the ANC’s African supporters which seek to bind members to maintaining existing measures and to endorsing the ANC’s official analysis of the situation on the ground.

They also aim to give the impression that the ANC remains in charge of the eventual lifting of sanctions.

Briefing Western envoys at the UN on Tuesday, ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki is understood to have urged European governments to delay their decision to ease sanctions “for a few months” until political prisoners were free and Pretoria had fulfilled its undertakings to repeal the Group Areas Act and Land Act, and “review” security legislation in the next parliamentary session.

ANC leaders of government are believed to be ready to start rolling back sanctions when they meet on December 13.

And strong Western opposition to the two draft resolutions thus far offered by the African bloc and the UN Special Committee against Apartheid has not diminished.

The secret ANC document argues that sanctions could be eased because the “strong adverse reaction to any regression” on the government’s part would ensure their reimposition.

ANC sources said the report had been discussed and endorsed by a large section of the ANC’s top and middle leadership and would be debated at a vote of adoption at the ANC’s national consultations conference which starts next week.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has briefed South Africa’s own delegation on SA’s stance at the UN General Assembly’s annual apartheid debate. Mr Botha also wrote to the UN objecting to the debate as “inopportune”, “uncalled-for” and echoing the ANC.

crack of dawn
By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC and South African Jewish organisations have patched up their relationships after serious strains between them developed earlier this year over the ANC's support for the Palestinian cause.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday, after a meeting with a high-powered Jewish delegation in Johannesburg, that "a post-apartheid government would value a warm relationship with the state of Israel".

It also said it had "reaffirmed its recognition of the right of Israel to exist within secure boundaries as well as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination".

In a separate and in some respects significantly different statement, the national director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr Seymour Kopelowitz, said the ANC delegation had "expressed appreciation for the contribution of the South African Jewish community".

However, Mr Kopelowitz did not refer to the Palestinian question, the very issue which caused tensions between the ANC and Jewish organisations.

The strains between the ANC and Jewish organisations developed after Mr Nelson Mandela met and embraced the PLO leader, Mr Yasser Arafat, and had supported the Palestinian cause.

When reformist Rabbi Ady Assahi invited Mr Mandela to speak in Temple Shalom in Johannesburg, he received 23 death threats, mostly from Jews. This week's meeting between the ANC and Jewish leaders was clearly aimed at reducing these tensions.

The ANC delegation at this week's talks was led by Mr Mandela and consisted of Mr Jacob Zuma, a member of its national executive, Ms Jesse Duarte, Mr Gibson Mahanda and Ms Gill Marcus.

The Jewish community was represented by the president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Professor Michael Katz, the president of the SA Zionist Federation, Mr Julius Wainstein, Mr Gerald Leissner, Mr Solly Sachs, Mr Mendel Kaplan, Mr Harry Schwarz, Mr Mervyn Smith, Mr Stiya Hanns Saenger and Mr Kopelowitz.
GRIEVING... Mrs Helmine Myburgh, the widow of the former editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, is comforted by Times Media Ltd MD Mr Stephen Mulholland at yesterday's memorial service in Johannesburg.

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Sunday Times editor and ambassador-at-large Mr Tertius Myburgh was "one of the greatest architects of the new SA", Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a memorial service for Mr Myburgh here yesterday.

Mr Botha said Mr Myburgh, who died of cancer on December 2, was a "bridge-builder" who had helped bring all South Africans closer together.

He conveyed President F W de Klerk's praise for Mr Myburgh's achievements and condolences to his wife Helmine and children Phillip, Danielle and Jacqueline.

Leading politicians, journalists, businessmen and diplomats, including British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick and US ambassador Mr William Lacey Swing, joined hundreds of people in paying their respects at the Ned Geref Kerk in Parkview.

Times Media Limited MD Mr Stephen Mulholland paid tribute to Mr Myburgh as a man whose "charm was legendary, and his courtesy unfailing".

At a memorial service held simultaneously in the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Independent Development Trust, said Mr Myburgh was one of a small circle of South Africans who had played an important part in the moulding of the country. — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter
Govt elements seek to end mass protests

DURBAN — Key elements in government had set out to foster carnage to halt mass action and paralyse the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela alleged yesterday.

Speaking at alliance talks at Natal University between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mandela said the country was entering a time of hope — but elements in government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that government's positive actions had not been made without pressure.

Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today, and reiterated the ANC's position: "We are excluded from democratic participation; mass action is our only alternative." — Sapa.
ANC mass marches given the go-ahead

PETER DELMAR

Mass marches by tens of thousands of ANC protesters will be staged today in Johannesburg, Pretoria, the Free State and eastern Cape.

But in many of its largest regions, the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" campaign will get off to a slow start.

Spokesmen for the ANC's eastern and western Transvaal, northern and western Cape and Border regions said yesterday they had no marches planned. There will also be no marches today in southern Natal and the Natal Midlands.

Intervention

The ANC's northern Transvaal and northern Natal regions could not be reached for details of any marches today. A western Cape member said the campaign had already been launched in Cape Town last weekend.

An ANC FWV spokesman confirmed yesterday permission had been obtained for mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg. He could not confirm a Sapa report that permission for the Pretoria march was granted after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

GERALD REILLY reports permission for the Pretoria march was granted by Chief Magistrate P A J Burger after the city council approved a second amended application.

The march will be led by ANC national executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pallo Jordan. It will not start from Church Square as originally planned, but from Brown Street.

Johannesburg organisers expect 20 000 marchers. Between 10 000 and 20 000 are expected in Pretoria.

Despite government's concern about the ANC's mass action, ANC regional leaders said magisterial permission for all but a few marches had been granted by late yesterday.

Eastern Cape publicity secretary Mike Xego said the ANC would follow up its marches - planned for townships throughout the region - with mass marches on black councils to demand that councillors resign.

The only other ANC region to organise widespread marches is the Free State. There will be marches in Bloemfontein, Thabong (Welkom) and six plateland towns.

This would be followed by further mass action around the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

The campaign will highlight demands for the speedy return of exiles and the release of political prisoners as well as call for government action to end the township violence.
PAC faces up to major issues at its congress

MAJOR issues confront the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) at its national congress to be held at Soweto in 1989, begins its three-day run tomorrow.

The congress, the second since the organisation’s formation in 1959, begins its three-day run tomorrow.

PAC publicity secretary Benny Ntoele says delegates from 16 PAC regions, representing a total of about 500 branches, are expected to attend.

The organisation is expected to amend its 1959 constitution and the policies and guidelines enshrined in it to bring it into line with present-day challenges.

It also has to take a decision on the government’s invitation to enter into exploratory talks, with a view to paving the way for real negotiations early next year.

For many South Africans and political observers here and abroad that is where the congress’s overriding importance lies.

Will the PAC accept the government’s invitation, thus joining the ANC in detente with Pretoria, or will it decline the invitation, thus joining ranks with the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo)?

PAC leaders were not giving any hints this week.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Ntoele confirmed that the government’s invitation letter would be on the agenda.

Also included on the list of important issues to be discussed are policies, principles and programmes “for the realisation of a united front” with the ANC and other liberation movements, amendments to the organisation’s constitution, the education crisis in the country and the rampant inter-organisational violence.

Equally important will be the election of a successor to the late PAC president Zaphania Mothopeng, who died of cancer in October.

Possible contenders for the presidency are acting president Clarence Makwethu, national chairman Johnson Mlambo who — though credited with holding the organisation together in exile — was not chosen by his colleagues in exile to attend the congress, the young Benny Alexander and national executive committee members Mbazayo Mahlubi and Mark Shimers.

PAC’s internal leaders announced on Sunday that nominations for the presidency were still streaming in, but they would not divulge the names.

Mr Ntoele emphasised during an interview that whoever was elected president would not radically alter the PAC’s policies.

The PAC’s direction and ideological position, he said, was not “in any way related to or determined by leadership personalities”.

Instead, it was based on the broad principles of pan-Africanism which had its roots in Kwanu Nkrumah’s Ghana.

Mr Ntoele said the most significant contribution of the congress would be the “restructuring” of the PAC after almost 30 years of operating as a banned organisation in exile. The “unusual focus” on the government’s invitation letter, he said, was a mere coincidence.

At least three of the main issues on the congress’s agenda — the government’s invitation letter, the black education crisis and the inter-organisational violence — were also discussed at the PAC’s special three-day consultative conference in Harare in September.

Present at that conference were members of the organisation’s South African-based national executive committee (NEC), members of its externally-based central committee and heads of different departments and missions abroad.

At the end of the three days, the PAC told a press conference that the government’s talks invitation had been referred back to various PAC structures inside the country for further discussion, and that the then PAC president Mr Mothopeng would announce the organisation’s response at this weekend’s congress.

Asked why the issue was on the congress’s agenda when the various PAC structures had, as per brief, exhaustively discussed the matter and consequently made recommendations on it, Mr Ntoele said the congress would only ratify whatever decision the various regions had made. He would not reveal how many regions had voted in favour of accepting the invitation and how many had voted against doing so.

Mr Ntoele would also not say whether the PAC would retain its present system of parallel leadership structures, with the national executive committee headed by internal general secretary Benny Alexander and the central committee by national chairman Johnson Mlambo.

The congress’s major limitation will be the poor representation of the organisation’s external mission. Only 23 externally-based senior PAC members will attend the congress if Pretoria grants limited indemnity to the 35 others whose applications were urgently filed this week, and this excludes Mr Mlambo who will not be coming.

No delegates will come from the PAC’s military wing, the African People’s Liberation Army (Apla), and the congress will be dominated by internal delegates.
Top PAC exiles for internal congress

From MONO BADELA
Johannesburg. — More than 50 Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) exiles, including members of the PAC’s externally-based central committee, are expected back in South Africa in time to attend the organisation’s first national congress in the country since it was outlawed in March 1960.

The three-day congress, under the theme “Forward to a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly”, will be held at Steroworld, Johannesburg, from Friday.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Benny Ntoe, said secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Gora Elrahim and administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi were among those expected to attend.

Others included Welfare secretary Mrs Nomzula Booi, Economic Affairs secretary Mr Mfana Sekhaya Gqobo, chief representative to Uganda Mr TM Ntanana, chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nomazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative of the observer mission to the United Nations.

However, PAC chairman and commander-in-chief of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) Mr Johnson Mlambo would not attend. Ntoe could not confirm whether Mlambo would contest the position of presidency. Nominations of candidates for the president and general secretary were still being collected, Ntoe said.

The post of president fell vacant with the death of Mr Zephania Mothopeng in October.

Observers at the conference, which according to Mr Ntoe, will be attended by about 2,000 delegates from more than 500 branches and 18 regions, will include the founder-member of the original ANC Youth League, Mr AP Mda, two representatives of the Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe and diplomats from around the world.

The Egyptian government will be represented, as will be the City of London movement and the All African People’s Revolutionary Party established by Dr Kwame Nkrumah.

The congress will discuss the government’s invitation to meet for exploratory talks. Also to be discussed at the congress will be policies, principles and programmes to realise a united front.

Recent internecine violence and the education crisis will also be discussed.
UMKHONTO weSizwe commander Mr Mathew Phosa was elected chairperson of the Eastern Transvaal region of the ANC at the region's congress last weekend. Phosa is a member of the ANC/government steering committee and joint working committee.

About 700 delegates attend the three-day congress at the Kabokweni Mango College in White River.
'Govt out to crush ANC'

Key elements in the Government had set out to foster harassment to halt mass action and to paralyse the ANC, Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at an alliance talk being held at Natal University between the National Union of South African Students and the SA National Students Congress, Mr Mandela said the country was entering a time of pressure.

Excluded

However, elements in the Government were trying to crush the ANC, and it was to be remembered that the positive actions which the Government had made were not something it had done without pressure.

The ANC had spearheaded the struggle to produce that pressure, he said.

The Government had to be further pressured into resolving the obstacles still in the way of negotiations.

Mr Mandela confirmed that nationwide mass protests were being organised for today. He said the ANC's position was clear.

"We are excluded from democratic participation, mass action is our only alternative."

However, in a statement yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said that indefinitely continuation of mass protests over political demands was no longer necessary as the Government was committed to solving a number of problems.

The Government was not against peaceful and democratic protest, including marches and public meetings, but it was concerned about disruption and conflict that appeared to go hand in hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

The inability of "certain political leaders" to ensure responsible conduct by their followers was also an area of major concern to the Government, Mr Viljoen said.

If destruction, violence and intimidation were not part of the political agenda of organisations launching mass action, they should take greater care to ensure orderly and lawful action.

There was "clear proof of intimidation" where the public had been forced to take part in mass action.

Dr Viljoen said no responsible government would allow mass action to deteriorate into acts of violence, destruction and intimidation.

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"Slovo and Winnie to lead march"

Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today.

Pretoria Chief Magistrate P. J. Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosatu House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosatu House from 10 am.

In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.

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"We'll flatten you, AWB warns ANC"

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

LOUIS TRICHARDT - Clear battle-lines were drawn here last night by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche when he issued a third warning to the ANC regarding its planned mass protests.

'I say to you - let one white be injured in one of your protest marches, and we will flatten you (one sal julie gelyk nie met die aarde)."

The atmosphere at the AWB rally was extremely militant. Many young men carried batons, and Mr Terre-Blanche's personal bodyguards carried firearms.

Defending the actions of the white men arrested in connection with an alleged assault on black Sunday school children in the town, the AWB leader said they had simply shown that they would not become anyone's puppets.

He insisted that the men had acted within their rights, as they had not acted in anyone else's territory.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais shared a platform with Mr Terre-Blanche.
SOUTH Africa has a long way to go to meet the expectations of women and ensure their participation at all levels of power.

This was illustrated clearly last weekend at a workshop organised by the ANC’s constitutional committee to discuss the issue of gender in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Women from all over South Africa gathered to discuss the draft Bill of Rights issued by the ANC earlier that week.

What became clear from the start was that this was an attempt to involve women in discussion on the Bill after it had been drafted without their participation.

The ANC’s constitutional committee consists of 19 men and one woman — an unequal situation which exists on most of the organisation’s structures.

Although most political parties in South Africa pay lip service to women’s equality, most have a dismal track record.

Every political movement in the country is male-dominated except for women’s groups which defend their right to exist by declaring their need to create their own political space.

South Africa’s demographics are damning: women make up 52 percent of the population, yet do not enjoy the same measure of representation.

It has already become patently obvious that while some sectors of society may be prepared to accept a black government, they would rather not be ruled by women.

While the ANC is the first political movement to seriously address the gender issue in a coherent and systematic way, it has yet to implement its lofty ideals.

There has been progress in the ANC’s shift towards nonsexism in the past few years.

Its proposed “Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa” had only a single clause in it relating specifically to women.

The Bill of Rights goes a lot further — besides a five-paragraph article on gender rights, nonsexism is stressed throughout the document, except for a few omissions.

The Bill fails in some respects to give equal treatment to racism and sexism.

Its article on “positive action” calls on the state to observe the principles of nonracialism and nonsexism.

Yet, a few paragraphs lower there are calls for nonracial organs of state, a nonracial public service and a nonracial judiciary. The words “nonsexist” disappeared.

But there is a growing realisation that rooting out sexism in South Africa is as imperative as rooting out racism.

This is stressed by the ANC’s draft bill, which examines mechanisms of enforcing its principles, protecting women (and other sectors of society) from discrimination.

The message to the ANC is that it is not enough to assert on paper that the organisation is nonsexist; action is needed.

The emancipation of women should involve the entire community.

Women’s struggles should not be seen as a by-product of the liberation struggle; it is a struggle in itself.

Patterns of discrimination and inequality will not go away without affirmative action. This does not simply mean guaranteeing a certain percentage of female leadership.

Such a quota system ultimately undermines the principle that women must be judged on their own merits and abilities and the best person — man or woman — should be elected to the job.

Instead, affirmative action should concentrate on removing the obstacles — practical and perceptual — which prevent more women from taking their rightful place in our society.
To talk, or not to talk...
Mandela, not De Klerk, may need goading

FOR an exceptional moment, South Africa was full of hope. From the day Nelson Mandela walked free in February to the night he suspended his movement's armed struggle in August, black and white South Africans were moving towards peace.

Since August the road has been blocked by township slaughter, the security forces' misbehavior and recrudescence on all sides. Political violence is killing 10 South Africans a day — three times as many as in past years.

Mr Mandela's meeting with President de Klerk on November 27 was the least they have had.

Outsiders need to decide who is to blame for this impasse. They consider who their sanctions against South Africa should be continued.

The European Community may lift some sanctions—perhaps the ban on new investment—at the EC summit that begins next Thursday. The United States and the Commonwealth may follow suit next year. Official sanctions matter, not least because they influence where private money goes.

It has not been going into South Africa; lower exports and capital flight have kept real GDP growth below the 6 percent a year the economy needs to absorb all the young blacks pouring into the work force.

The only argument for imposing sanctions is that, uneducated, Mr de Klerk will backslide.

Mr Mandela argues that he will. The African National Congress is starting to wonder, he says, whether Mr de Klerk has really abandoned apartheid.

He cites the President's insistence that in return for permitting black exiles to come home, the ANC must stop organizing demonstrations.

He points to the security forces, saying they shoot when blacks demonstrate and look the other way when whites beat up black schoolchildren.

He lamented Mr de Klerk's refusal to hand over to a government of transition, or to accept the ANC's proposal for a constituent assembly.

Moreover, Mr Mandela's complaints are not persuasive. Peaceful demonstrations are a normal democratic right, but in abnormal South Africa they often turn violent.

The security forces are regarded in many quarters as a menace, but Mr de Klerk is trying to control them, and often succeeding. An interim administration is indispensable, but the Government has consulted the ANC's people frequently, and the ANC is shying away from the responsibility it brought.

A constituent assembly raises the question of how to elect it, and an answer would go to the heart of the constitutional issue before the assembly even met.

The current guarantee of Mr de Klerk's good offices to negotiators about negotiations is that he has no way of turning back.

By inciting black politics, he has destroyed the old white monopoly.

He must call an election within four years. If he has not first created a new security, based on reconciliation, the white voters will probably boot him out.

In fact, Mr de Klerk has embraced change more readily than the ANC has. Whereas he swiftly persuaded his party to accept non-white members, the ANC agonized about whether it really had given up its armed struggle (which, anyway, was a token).

The Congress has also delayed a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, without which the end of township violence and the start of negotiations seem impossible.

Instead, the ANC talk of intensifying its (unarmed) "struggle", which includes the disruption of townships until sewage leaks on to the streets.

Perhaps it is Mr de Klerk's patience that now needs the goading.

The ANC sympathizers plead for time. If Mr Mandela moves too quickly, they say, hardliners will undermine him.

But dithering probably threatens him even more. Plenty of blacks are sick of demonstrations and boycotts. Far fewer are attending the ANC's rallies; some estimates, the crowds are down to a tenth of their old size.

Some of the disillusioned may have joined the radical Pan-African Congress. But more — judging from the scanty evidence now back faster reconciliation, in the shape of Mr de Klerk.

The ANC, weakened by the shambles in part by simple disorganisation. It is understandable that, after years of exile, banning and prison, the ANC wants to get its act together before taking on Mr de Klerk's negotiators, who bristle with fax machines and car phones.

It is understandable but not forgivable: South Africa's blacks have no time to spare.

As the days slip by more of them get killed: more nurses, dentists, tribal harmony becomes ever more remote.

And more blacks get poorer: Violence and dithering scare off businessmen, who are deciding whether the new South Africa is a good bet.

By the late 1990s an ANC-led government will be praying for investment. Which is another reason to scrap sanctions now.

Economist News Service.
PAC external leader home after 27 years

By Kaiser Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Pan Africanist Congress administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and two members of the PAC's externally based central committee (CC) arrived in South Africa yesterday to attend the organisation's national congress at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Mr Mkhwanazi (82) and fellow CC members Nomvula Booi and Mfanasekhaya Gqobose flew in from Swaziland and were met at Jan Smuts Airport by his internal counterpart Benny Alex-

The press and the PAC supporters were kept waiting for more than 90 minutes before Mr Mkhwanazi emerged from Customs.

Mr Mkhwanazi, the second man in the external PAC hierarchy, told reporters he had been delayed inside the airport because his luggage had not arrived in time.

Asked how he felt to be back home after 27 years in exile, Mr Mkhwanazi said he was excited and happy to be home but said about the fact that apartheid was still in place.
Mixed feelings on Black Christmas

By Stan Hlophe

The imminent call for a "Black Christmas" received a mixed reception from consumers, workers and professionals surveyed at random by The Star yesterday.

"The Black Christmas call, which is still to be debated by the ANC's national consultative conference starting next week, comes in the wake of pressure from ANC supporters," ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan was quoted as saying the issue was sensitive and could not be ignored. "It's not us who are calling for it but ordinary people in the streets, in view of what has happened in the PWV area in the last few months," Dr Jordan said.

Consumer Kabo Mangwani said the Black Christmas should not be enforced and that it should be left to individuals to decide.

Miss Mangwani urged the community to refrain from festivities — not as a measure to bring pressure on the Government, but to be safe and out of danger.

She said the call for a Black Christmas would not have any positive effect on the Government. "But it will not stop people from going on a spending spree. People will still find ways of getting what they want in town. I think it depends on the individual whether to observe the call or not. To me, it doesn't matter if it's black, white or pink," she said.

Defy

A Soweto teacher said President PW de Klerk had gone further than his predecessors and there was no reason to embark on any form of mass campaign. He added that the Government had agreed to release political prisoners and would allow exiles to return home.

"If you mobilise people unnecessarily, they will defy your call," he warned.

A domestic worker said she was saddened that many would indulge in celebrations at a time when people were in distress. She called for the ANC to give people more time to get the message across.

Connie Motshumi, of Alexandra, said the call to refrain from festivities would save the community a lot of money which they could spend on necessities such as school uniforms.

She urged people to sacrifice their leisure time for a good cause.

Another Soweto teacher said it was unfair to expect people to observe the boycott call when it was the only available time for families to be together.

She said Christmas was a special day.

"Many people have worked hard during the year and would be glad to be left in peace to celebrate the most important day in one spirit," she added.

A Johannesburg receptionist supported the call and pointed out that it was the only peaceful means to press the Government to speed up the process of change.

However, she warned the ANC to consult other organisations and explain to the community, to ensure that the word reached everyone.
THREE senior members of the Pan Africanist Congress, including administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, arrived back in South Africa yesterday after more than two decades in exile.

Mkhwanazi, welfare secretary Mrs Nomvula Booi and secretary for economic affairs Mr Mfanasekhaya Gqobose, were welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by a jubilant crowd waving PAC flags.

In a brief address, Mkhwanazi said, he was happy to be back home, but felt sorry that apartheid still existed.

"We come back to see our people still suffering. The most important thing is that we are not yet free," he said.

The three are among 14 exiled PAC members who have so far been granted limited indemnities.

By SY MAKARINGE

by the Government to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress at Sunworld in Johannesburg this weekend.

The rest of the exiled leaders, including secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Erubah, chief representative to Uganda Mr TM Ntlanana and chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nkamabani, are expected to arrive today.

Chief PAC representative to Britain Mr Vuyani Mgadi and two other members arrived on an earlier flight from London.

Meanwhile, plans are almost complete for the return of many other exiles following the arrival on Tuesday of a South African Council of Churches delegation from Europe.

Chikane said yesterday they had met United Nations Commission for Refugees officials in Geneva and Brussels over the past few days.

The UNHCR had agreed to participate in the resettlement process but were awaiting a formal invitation from the Government.
Slovo and Winnie to lead march

Staff Reporters

Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Joe Slovo, leader of the SA Communist Party, are among those due to lead the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" march being held in Pretoria today. Pretoria Chief Magistrate P.A.J Burger has given permission for the march.

The organisers said no stayaway had been called. However, people had been urged to take leave for an hour or two.

The march, which is scheduled to start at noon from Cosata House in Brown Street to the Union Buildings, is to be preceded by a mini-rally outside Cosata House from 10 am.

In Johannesburg, marchers will begin gathering at the corner of Plein and Wanderers streets at 10 am. They will proceed along Plein Street at 11 am to Harrison Street. A memorandum will be handed in at the City Hall.

Marchers will continue to Commissioner Street and John Vorster Square, where a memorandum will be handed to police.

In Bloemfontein, the Chief Magistrate has granted permission for a march today.
Netshitenzhe gets top ANC position

THE ANC has elected senior information and publicity official Mr Joel Khas徂ukhelo Netshitenzhe as Northern Transvaal regional chairman, writes Mathatha Tsedu.

Netshitenzhe, who replaced former regional coordinator Mr Thabo Makonyane, was among the first group of ANC exiles to receive indemnity.

In his early 30s, Netshitenzhe left the country in 1986 while studying medicine at the University of Natal. He joined ANC and served in several posts including broadcasting and publications. He is ANC’s recently launched co-editor of the magazine, Mayibuye.

He was elected during the first regional conference which was held at the University of the North. He heads a 12-person team which includes one woman, Mrs Joyce Mabudahasi. She is an additional member.

The other portfolios are vice-chairman, Dr Aaron Motswaledi; regional secretary, Mr Collins ‘General’ Chabane; treasurer Mr Edgar Mushwana and seven other additional members. They are Messrs John Phala, Lawrence Phokanoka, Nelson Diale, Seth Nthai, George Mashamba, Castle Mathale and Dr Kgaporla.

Come and have a
Laugh or two with
S’dumo!
New boss for Rhodes

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Professor Michael Smout has been appointed vice-principal of Rhodes University.

PAC founder's memorial

THE memorial service for Mr Guma Mugxali, 59, a founder member of the PAC, will be held at No 10 Ubuntu Drive, Malungu Park, Guguletu, at noon tomorrow.

3 Reef miners missing

JOHANNESBURG. — Three miners have been reported missing after ground falls at the Vaal Reef East Mine.
ANC 'keep-sanctions' plea to EC expected

LONDON. — The African National Congress is expected to ask the international community to keep sanctions in place for just another two or three months.

This was reported in the London Independent newspaper yesterday, while the ANC in Johannesburg tried to play down leaks of a proposed easing of sanctions as just a draft document.

The Independent correspondent in New York reported that ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela would appeal to the European Community summit in Rome next week to put off a decision on lifting sanctions — favoured by a majority in the EC — “for two or three months”.

By that time the obstacles holding up agreements between the ANC and the government should have been cleared away and Parliament would be repealing its security legislation, the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

Anti-apartheid movements in Britain and Europe have recently expressed what they termed “alarm” at confirmation that a majority of the 12-member EC countries are in favour of at least a relaxation of Europe’s 1986 sanctions against South Africa as a concrete response to President F W de Klerk’s reforms.

A leading London broker said yesterday the ANC discussion document would have a positive effect on overseas investor confidence.

Despite the ANC retractions, Mr John Taylor, South African analyst for leading brokers James Capel, said yesterday he believed the existence of the document was a positive sign which “will improve confidence”.

He said there had been much disillusionment with the ANC in recent months.

An ANC spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday the draft document would be circulated at all levels before being tabled at the national consultative conference from December 14 to 16.

He said the leakage of the document at this stage was “unfortunate”. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Hungary fights sanctions — Page 5
"Butterflies" as PAC exile comes in from the cold

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

HOME for Mr Ebrahim Desai is 22 Chester Street, Walmer Estate, which he has not seen since he fled South Africa in 1962.

He dreamed of returning and today begins his journey when he flies from Harare to Johannesburg for the PAC's national congress.

On Sunday he returns to the Cape for a reunion with his bedridden mother and to visit "upper District Six".

"I have very mixed feelings about returning. I'm very emotional and cannot control the butterflies in my stomach," he said from Zimbabwe.

"I will be allowed back for only a week but our lawyers are trying to have my stay extended. I'm sure that this will not be a problem in this climate of generosity."

Mr Desai, he's not related to regional PAC convenor Mr Barney Desai -- is a former member of the dissolved Coloured People's Congress, a former ANC ally.

"There was a general swoop in 1962 and some of my colleagues were picked up. The security branch visited my home, but could not find me."

He made his way to Dar es Salaam.

Mr Desai has been based in London and was formerly the PAC's deputy representative in Zimbabwe.
"Women must have say in constitution"

A NEW constitution for South African women would never adequately represent their interests unless women were involved in constitution-making from the outset.

This was the message at a national workshop at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) last week titled "Gender Today and Tomorrow" organised by the constitutional committee of the ANC, UWC's Community Law Centre and the Centre for Development Studies.

Delegates at the workshop repeatedly called on the ANC to increase the number of women on the constitutional committee, which consists of 19 men and one woman.

Keynote speaker Mr. Kader Asmal of the constitutional committee said the removal of discrimination based on race and sex was part of the "historic task" of the struggle against apartheid.

"There can be no postponement of this task," Asmal said.

"As long as our sisters — constituting over half the population of our country — suffer disabilities and discrimination, none of us will really be free."

Participants at the workshop endorsed the demand that the principle of non-sexism run through the entire constitution of South Africa.

Women's rights had to be spelled out in the Bill of Rights and a women's charter had to be accorded legal status, with proper mechanisms instituted to enforce non-discrimination.

Unpaid labour done by women should be recognised in the constitution and be included in determining the gross national product (GNP), participants resolved.

Training should begin immediately to create a pool of women who could meet the demand for job parity in the civil and public services.

Mechanisms should be created to enable women to continue playing a prominent role in the evolution of law in a post-apartheid South Africa, the judiciary should be restructured to be "truly gender-representative", the participants decided.

The issue of AIDS received special attention at the workshop and the concern of the ANC on the spread of the disease was highlighted.

The workshop called for a national AIDS campaign to be implemented.
Exiles return for PAC national congress today

UP TO 1,000 delegates from SA and overseas meet near Johannesburg today for the PAC's first national congress inside the country in three decades.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim and other exiled leaders were expected to return to SA today. There had been no last-minute hitches in obtaining temporary indemnity for the exiles, he said.

The most important issues to be decided by the three-day congress near Soweto will be the election of a new president and deciding whether to accept government's invitation to constitutional negotiations.

Indications this week were that the PAC would continue to insist on a constituent assembly and that conditions for negotiations had not been met.

Most observers agree the negotiation process would receive a crucial fillip should the PAC agree to take part.

Acting president Clarence Makwethu was being strongly tipped to become president.

Representatives of other "liberation movements" have also been invited to the congress.
Tight control at ANC's city marches

THE ANC yesterday staged a show of strength when thousands of its supporters took to the streets of Johannesburg, Pretoria and other centres.

ANC marshals and security forces exercised strict control and virtually no incidents were reported.

A march through the Johannesburg CBD attracted 15 000 ANC supporters, while about 10 000 marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Sapa reports 3 000 turned out for a similar march in Bloemfontein and 1 000 in Port Elizabeth.

ANC marches political prisoners.

The Pretoria march was led by the ANC deputy president's wife Winnie Mandela and ANC executive members Joe Slovo, Ruth Mompati and Pello Jordan.

Security forces monitored the Pretoria march and escorted demonstrators the length of the 3km route.

The only incident was one in which a man holding placards with right-wing slogans was removed by police and later released.

Hennie Botha, deputy director-general of the President's Office, accepted a memorandum from Mandela and Slovo. Mandela told marchers in front of the Union Buildings the ANC had not said it would talk to government at any cost. If the violence was not stopped, it would have to reconsider its position, she said.

Addressing government fears about ANC mass action, Slovo said the march proved that democracy was not dangerous.

Memorandums handed over at Johannesburg City Hall and John Vorster Square accused government of not being fit to manage the transition to a post-apartheid SA. They said government, though an essential player in the resolution of the country's problems, was engaged in a process of trying to smash all those committed to democracy.

"Our people never trusted you (President F W de Klerk) and your government and since the Pretoria Minute the little trust that was beginning to emerge has been wiped out. Your motives are becoming suspect and our people are questioning your sincerity and our wisdom in negotiating with you," the statement said.

"It is now more urgent than ever before that an interim government be established to restore our people's trust in the unfolding negotiation process," the ANC said.

After the memorandum was handed in at John Vorster Square, ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo told the cheering crowd the march disproved the government's propaganda machinery which sought to show mass action should not be allowed.

Sapa reports that London academic Andrew Willis, 29, was detained briefly by police during the march in Pretoria.

Police bundled him and anti-ANC placards he had been displaying into a car and whisked him away when they encountered him along the route of the march in Vermeulen Street.
Defiance in 1990: Fewer people, wider sweep

ASS mobilisation has become the norm of campaigning in the present pre-negotiation phase. It is merely a useful stick which the government can use to bend the African National Congress — a notion with little basis in reality?

Or is it a proven form of political action which may affect the balance of forces in the negotiating table?

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC’s Nelson Mandela sat down to negotiate about the issue a few months ago, the ANC was in the early stages of its Defiance Campaign.

Nor is there an equivalence of the mass petitions and spontaneous encounters that characterised Mandela’s time days as large.

Nor yet the constant street battles, the empty streets and the climate of unapprovability of the 1965/66 years.

If several recent “occasions” in the democratic calendar have been of modest proportions — especially those which took place in the main urban centres.

But if things are really that same, how is it that so few — if not more — councillors have abandoned their positions at this time, in this phase, in the early years of 1984/85?

By the end of October 300 positions on black councils — or 77 per cent of a total of 1,000 — were vacant. The number has increased since then — the whole of Milford council in the Eastern Transvaal has gone, for instance, as has the high-profile mayor of Daveyton, Tom Boys.

While there is no exact comparable figure for the mid-1980s, between September 1984 and May 1985, according to an official figure, a total of 177 councillors resigned.

There is a tendency to describe the resignations as blatant “immobilisation” and dismiss councillors’ homestead certainly still occur.

More significant is the context of community action in which many of the council resignations take place.

In Milnerton, for instance, authorities responded to the rent and service tariff boycotts in the area by cutting electricity and water supplies. Under the co-ordination of the Milnerton Civic Association, residents retaliated with a consumer boycott of white-owned stores and a five-day sit-in that...

Turnhale’s children join the protest against the decision by Parya Town Council to cut the townships’ water supply. Photo: JUSTIN SMITH

Throughout the Pretoria and Johannesburg areas like the Pampas and Hatfield, action and invasions have taken place, forcing the authorities to allocate land to tens of thousands of homeless people.

Even in the relatively unorganised Western Transvaal there are rent boycotts in Pretoria, Wolvekruin and Lenndelburg — with consumer boycotts in the town. According to Lawyers for Human Rights’ organisational Levi Pretorius.

The Pretoria township of Regency lost months the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CASA) march in the campaign against black local authorities that drew a crowd estimated by local sources to be about 30,000-strong.

Further west, the Northern Cape community of Mafikeng responded to its consumer boycott once it became known that public facilities in the town of Vryburg would be declared open to all races. The rent boycott continued, civic association spokesperson Desker Adefmun said this week, together with a gradual implementation of plans to occupy vacant land in the township.

Rent boycotts, suspension of services and consumer boycotts are to be found in many towns of the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal. In Bloemfontein, for instance, the rent protesters in the Northern Areas, which were violently evicted and led to riots claiming 60 lives in September, are still in force.

In Khayelitsha inhabitants in rent and service charges led to boycotts and calls for the Perseverance, Mafikeng and town council Graham Lawrence — and to a mass march as the first of October, when police and residents clashed.

In its, it is clear that mass action is no phantom. But in this phase of quasi-insurrectionary action, as it was in 1985-6, and the main urban centres — with the exception perhaps of parts of the Peninsula, the Rand Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — are no longer the main focus of popular action.

The actions seems to be reactive, but is often combined with politically empowering demands. The trigger may be the appearance of services or housing shortages, but the political demand for the creation of permanent and fixed townships — with the exception of parts of the Peninsula, the Rand Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — is no longer the main focus of popular action.

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Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply.

Photo: Justin Shook

As President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sit down to discuss what the future of South Africa will be, the issue of water supply remains a significant challenge for many townships.

Residents in Tumahole, a township located in the Free State, have been protesting against the decision by the Parys Town Council to cut off their water supply. This decision has left many families without access to water for drinking, cooking, and basic sanitation needs.

The protest was organized by the local residents, who are grouped into several committees to ensure their voices are heard. The residents are demanding that the council reconsider their decision and find a solution that ensures all residents have access to clean water.

In the meantime, they have resorted to using water collected from nearby rivers and wells, which can pose health risks. The residents are also calling on the government to intervene and provide a permanent solution to their water crisis.

The situation in Tumahole highlights the ongoing struggle for basic human rights in many parts of South Africa. The lack of access to clean water is not only an issue for the residents of Tumahole but for many other townships across the country.

As President de Klerk and Mandela engage in talks, it is hoped that the government will prioritize the needs of its citizens and ensure that everyone has access to clean water.
To talk or not dilemma for PAC meeting

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

Johannesburg. — Crucial decisions face Pan Africanist Congress delegates today at the start of a three-day national conference.

One of the most important and far-reaching decisions will be whether to join constitutional negotiations.

So far, the PAC has been one of the most significant absences from the talks about talks, and one of the most vociferous critics of the ANC's decision to engage in President De Klerk's constitutional initiative.

But its absence from the table hasn't meant its own interests have not been addressed and delegates will have to decide this weekend whether or not to open talks with the government, identify its obstacles to dialogue and seek the rewards, not least the political prominence, that the ANC has won from the process so far.

Debate could be divisive on this crucial issue and might be held behind closed doors.

The decision was put off at the PAC's Harare meeting earlier this year to give the movement's "structures" more time to consider it. The debate within the movement suggests there is no unanimity.

Some want to engage in the process, others are opposed. It is not expected that the decision will be postponed again.

The government will be watching the congress with close interest: the PAC's participation in negotiations in 1991 will make an important contribution to the overall credibility of the government's commitment to ensuring the talks are as inclusive as possible.

Another key matter to be settled at the congress which is being held at Sowetoworld, the entertainment complex between Johannesburg and Soweto, is the election of a new leader following the death recently of Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

Possible contenders are acting president Mr Clarence Makwetu, exiled national chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and national executive committee members Mr Mbandazayo Mahlubi and Mr Mark Shinners.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Mr Mothopeng's successor will be his personality, because if the PAC does enter negotiations, much will depend on the leader's relationship with President De Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and other leaders.

What will clearly have a significant influence on the election is the relatively poor representation at congress of the exiles membership, even though delegates will be free to elect exiles to key posts.

Political violence and organisational matters will also feature prominently.

See page 3.
WITS BUSINESS SCHOOL

LINKING WITH THE ANC

The deep-pocketed Swedish government is considering funding a programme to train government workers at the Wits Business School. But since Sweden never funds universities or other government institutions in SA, it’s the school’s ANC links that may bring in the money. From the school on any suggestion that there may be a connection with the ANC, there are signs that the programme will adopt a pro-ANC model.

FitzGerald, a Wits graduate who was previously based at the Liverpool Institute of Public Administration & Management, writes in the recent issue of the school’s Business Alert publication: “The ANC, as a likely future government, must be given access to the senior civil service and must be able even at this stage to comment on appointments and structures.”

In an interview, FitzGerald reiterated his views on the predominance of the ANC. He says that using the concept of official opposition, “the ANC is the alternative government.” The PAC, Azapo, DP and other opposition groups also should have some access, but “they are not quite as important.”

He believes access to the top ranks of government employment should come about right away through one-off affirmative action. As for the people already holding those jobs: “They will not necessarily be replaced; some will retire and others may go into the private sector. They may have to add a few people.” All this seems to reinforce fears that SA will have a hugely swollen bureaucracy under any future ANC-aligned government.

Christina Hoffman, of the Swedish legation, says ANC involvement in the proposal is a factor in relaying applications to officials in Stockholm: “Yes, it does matter. It’s one of the factors that make it interesting. It adds to the confidence.”

FitzGerald says the programme is not funded by the ANC. He says it is getting outside “bridging” funding, but referred questions on the source of the financing to the school’s dean, Keith Yeomans.

Yeomans referred requests for an interview to Nick Binedell, a senior lecturer in corporate strategy who is helping to establish the programme. Binedell refused to comment on ANC participation, but said his group was “consulting a wide range of organisations, institutions, universities and the State to think through the nature of the programme.” He adds that funding was being provided by overseas supporters and foundations as well as the university.

But the question arises: should a business school be in the business of training bureaucrats?

No, say critics. A business school should not muddy its waters by delving into the training of government workers. The top MBA programmes in the US keep a strict line between the two disciplines. Yale University’s School of Organisation & Management was panned by its alumni in a recent study by Business Week. “Yale still grants a master’s degree in public and private management rather than in business, but (the dean) is trying to bring the programme closer to the mainstream,” Business Week concludes.

In August, Yeomans said the Wits Business School was considering changing its name and some of the possibilities included
ANC’s slow march to a marketable land programme

KEVIN DAVIE

The Development Bank’s point of departure, though, is that this could be done without disrupting productive farming units. Its model attempts to create a market for farm workers to bring the black farmer onto the land, but also attempts to ensure that the economy does not lose farmers who are successful food producers.

The ANC, on the other hand, attempts to give workers the strength of the state by ensuring that land is bought by the state (25% cash, the rest in government stock) and allocated to workers.

A Land Court would presumably attempt to bring some equity to proceedings, to decide which unfortunate white farmers would be made to sell their land, and which fortunate black farmers would benefit.

Development Bank chairman Simon Brand says that in discussions with the ANC land commission, it was agreed that if bank employees were to become producers, farmers would harm the economy. He says a policy which would result in large-scale confiscation of land from whites may not necessarily produce sufficient blacks who want to farm. “We are saying there is already land available. Let’s first see who wants to buy this land.”

He says the Development Bank model began from the point of view that it was not enough just to scrap the Land Act; the required financial support had to be considered, and it was essential not to disrupt agricultural production. The cost of the confiscatory approach, Brand says.

Hence the Development Bank plan. Land such as the 2-million-hectare acquired by the state for apartheid land consolidation reasons, but not yet allocated, should be sold to black farmers, with Land Bank finance and supported by agricultural extension programmes. The bank believes that such affirmative action programmes could immediately release a sizeable proportion of arable land, and that the cost of the state to the state could be as little as between R1bn and R2bn.

This suggestion has not impressed the ANC land commission. Its document responding to the Development Bank position says the present government might welcome the black commercial takeover of about 40 000 less profitable white farming units.

“IT would cure one of the regime’s major political and economic headaches, the pressure to support white farming incomes. The proposals carry minimum state costs.”

The ANC goes on: “It is even cheaper than the implementation of the Lancaster House agreement in which the state incurred heavy costs buying out whites on a willing buyer/willing seller basis to make land available for resettlement.”

Rural dwellers would become second-class “discarded people” in an urban industrially biased economy. The agrarian economy would probably be dominated by “agribusiness.”

The ANC’s own position is best explained in a summary report of a land commission workshop. The workshop, which met over six days in Harare, released its initial findings last month. Delegates addressed themselves to a range of issues, including the need to satisfy land hunger and redress discriminatory land occupation, and the need for mechanisms for the return of land to victims of forced removals, for a land claims commission to adjudicate claims, and for an investigation into restructuring agriculture to make it more equitable, economically viable and sustainable.

There was general agreement among participants that land should be nationalised, and then given back to the people. “It was strongly felt that there should be a principle of one person, one farm. This should be worked towards if it is not feasible to implement immediately,” the workshop document states.

The workshop argued that the advantages of nationalisation included providing easy access to land without people needing money or taking heavy loans, increased state power enabling it to intervene more effectively in land issues, and making land a nationally held resource, not a commodity to be bought and sold.

It is easy to condemn the views of the workshop, particularly as societies which have tried this approach are now actively discarding non-market methods and embracing free enterprise, but some positive points can be discerned.

The first is that the ANC has emphasised that these are preliminary positions for further debate.

A second point is that the workshop noted a string of disadvantages which land nationalisation could bring. These include that nationalisation could create insecurity, even a general economic collapse, that state power would be increased which “may not be a good thing” because of the potential for the abuse of state power, that producers would no longer be able to use land as collateral with commercial banks, that loss of land by some producers might lead to retributory action, that insecure tenure might lead to land abuse where farmers could take a short-term exploitative view of land and soil use, and that tenants might be reluctant to improve their land.

A final serious disadvantage identified by the ANC land nationalisation would have an impact on the financial system, leading to its partial collapse, which would require a financial strategy to prevent the worst effects of this collapse.

This would be because nationalisation would alter property values. “The farmers stop paying bond payments, and the Land Bank could collapse,” it said.

The problem, then, is two-fold. First, it is to convince the ANC that a market system will not carry the disastrous risks of nationalisation, and that, as politically inspired, they can change it. The approach would be to look at the past and then concentrate on building what is already productive.
A DRAFT ANC document on the proposed easing of sanctions, reported yesterday, was only a discussion document and did not necessarily reflect ANC policy, a spokesman said.

Joel Netshitenzhe, of the ANC’s information and publicity department, said
the document — Managing the process of transition — would be circulated at all
levels before being tabled at the national consultative conference this month.

He said the leak of the document to the Press was unfortunate as it was purely
for discussion.

"There is nothing hair-raising about it," Netshitenzhe said.

The document proposes gradually reducing sanctions and easing trade and
sports barriers from next year. — Sapa.
Can the ANC weave its strands into a thread?

It could be a jamboree," a national executive committee member said of next weekend's African National Congress conference. "Preparations are going well. It is going to be very representative and it will be the first time we bring together all the elements of the movement," said a key organiser. "I sincerely think it will not be a bad thing if it dissolves into chaos," another senior ANC member said. "It will show the external leaders that they can't do things this way. They will have to be more democratic and more responsive to the membership. We (internal leaders) would never have let this happen."

These conflicting views reflect the diversity of the 1 500 delegates who will gather in Johannesburg for the first internal conference of the ANC for three decades. It will be a momentous event: Mohammed Vally, secretary of the ANC's political committee and full-time conference organiser, is justified in highlighting the significance of drawing together for the first time the ANC's new internal branches, its international underground, the exile movement (primarily composed of exiled leaders), the military wing, the comrades in military camps, former Robben Island prisoners, the ANC's international representatives from 40 countries around the world, and its alliance partners, the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

It also comes at a crucial time, when the organisation has to confront the many organisational difficulties it has faced since its unbanning on February 2, and the unceasing among many of its members about the fruitfulness of the ANC's engagement in talks with President PW de Klerk's government.

The ANC leadership is likely to get a shock. Few national executive committee (NEC) members attend branch meetings and most are still holed up in hotels around town, having little contact with the vast bulk of members. Deputy president Nelson Mandela, surrounded by large bodyguards who see his political future reliant on his goodwill, has been sheltered. He and others are likely to be taken aback by the hard questions certain to be asked by many members and the level of unease over the ANC's top-down style of leadership, more appropriate to an illegal organisation. Cadres are used to the more participative, consultative style of former Mass Democratic Movement leaders.

Branches feel confused and left out of the negotiating process, which is being conducted on the level of task groups that meet behind closed doors — a far cry from the tradition of mass mobilisation.

The problems facing the ANC are substantial. Those being articulated by members include:

- Organisational disarray and the shortfall in recruitment (membership is around 200,000, far less than the aim of one million). The organisation has launched 603 branches and 12 of its proposed 14 regional structures, but much of this has been done hurriedly in the last few weeks and discussion and preparation for the conference has been uneven.

- Tensions between the different elements of the ANC: some of the exiles — not all of them the most prominent — feeling they are owed ANC jobs, internal activists, resentful of exclusion from some of these posts; underground workers and former prisoners who have become used to a totally different style of operation; military cadres uncertain of their future; and allies who grumble that the alliance exists in name only.

- A lack of clear strategic direction, particularly the poor response to recent township violence and the apparent inability of the ANC to deal with allegations of security force misconduct.

- The exclusion of ordinary members from the process of political change — the path is being set in closed meetings between leaders rather than in the movement's traditional area of strength: the streets.

- An inability to ensure the implementation of the Pretoria Minute. There is grave unease about the remaining restrictions on free political activity (such as continued detentions, allegations of police brutality, bans on public gatherings) and the delays in the release of political prisoners.

- De Klerk's gains in the international arena, one of the pillars of ANC strategy and one in which it has had enormous success in the past.

Overall, there is a strong feeling that these problems have allowed the government to seize the initiative and dictate the course of negotiations. The ANC will face demands that it find a programme of action that reverses this.

In short, the ANC faces a crisis of leadership. Unless the NEC weaves these strands together into a coherent organisation with clear strategic direction and confidence in its leadership, it will continue to blunder on in a situation where the government is gaining strength and the ANC is losing it.

This conference presents the ANC with the opportunity to deal with some of these problems. The question is whether the leadership will rise to this challenge.

Fundamental to the issue is whether there will be enough time to do this in a hastily arranged two-day conference of 1 500 people. To do so, conference organisers have cleared the agenda of ceremony and pageantry: there will be an opening session with key speeches by President Oliver Tambo and Mandela; the delegates will then break into six workshops to deal with the key agenda items (strategy and tactics; negotiations; recent violence; ANC organisation; foreign policy; a programme of action for 1991); then they will gather on the final afternoon for a plenary session which will attempt to pull all of this together.

One drawback is that, with the downgrading in status of this gathering from a national conference to a consultative conference, issues of organisation and leadership — such as a new constitution, changes in the NEC and other elections — have been postponed to June next year.

This will hamper the ANC's ability to deal with the situation. A major part of the problem is that the bulk of the delegates have probably never seen key opposition spokespersons, let alone voted them into office.

Many of the organisational problems will not be solved until there is fresh blood in the NEC, which is currently laden with members ripe for graceful retirement.

ANC members express mixed feelings about the likelihood of the conference meeting the enormous challenges it faces. A number who have seen the draft strategy and tactics document circulated to branch members are in despair about its thinness. Hopefulness comes from those who see the conference focusing on campaigns and mass action, wielding the disparate protests around the country into a broad national campaign for "Peace and Freedom Now". They argue that this campaign, if prioritised, will focus ANC branches on real and not just talking about change, force the government to take ANC demands more seriously and provide a testing situation for local leaders. They also see this as the only way to cut through an overcrowded agenda.
AWB sends chilling warning to Mandela

Political Reporter

Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche has warned ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela personally that the AWB's commandos would "deal with you fast and efficiently" if the ANC were to march over "Boer territory".

In a letter which was faxed to the ANC's Johannesburg head office, and which was released to the media, Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB reserved the right to defend itself in view of continued "blatant intimidation".

The letter was faxed for the attention of Mr Mandela or SACP leader Joe Slovo or ANC and SACP executive member Mac Maharaj.

Mr TerreBlanche said the AWB was in possession of a copy of the ANC's directive to branches which noted that "the strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared".

In a chilling warning to the ANC and SACP, Mr TerreBlanche said: "We wish to inform you that you cannot scare the Boer people in their own country.

"Should you dare to inflict harm on any member of our nation, and the SAP and SANDF are unable to defend us due to the disloyalty of the Government to their nation, then our commandos will deal with you fast and efficiently.

"The territory on which you intend to march is the property of the Boer nation.

"Promises and expectations created by the de Klerk Government are not recognised by the AWB as they are acting without a mandate from the electorate.

"We reserve the right to defend ourselves when you continue with this kind of blatant intimidation.

"We are aware that your marches are nothing but rehearsals with the intent to start your communist-inspired bloody revolution against our nation in their own country. You have been warned."

On the watch... AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and his commandos look on as a protest march goes by in Welkom earlier this year.

Picture: Herbert Mabuza
SOUTH Africa takes one more tiny step towards democracy this weekend when the PAC holds its first conference in the country in 31 years.

Its last congress in South Africa was on December 19, 1956, when it decided to embark on the anti-pass campaign that led to the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of the PAC and the ANC.

I remember that congress at the Orlando Comunal Hall in Soweto. A Mrs Walaaza stood up and said that if the men were afraid to go to jail and fight the pass laws, they must give the women the pants to wear and they would do it.

Emotional

It was an emotional meeting.

This weekend's conference could be just as significant.

The ANC was due to hold its conference next weekend, but it has now been downgraded to a consultative meeting.

This is a step towards democracy because the liberation movements have been operating in the shadows, running guerrilla armies fighting against white rule.

The PAC is not a terrorist organisation. It is not fighting for the freedom of South Africa. It is fighting for the freedom of the African people.

Since that Thursday however the East Rand, among other places, has been torn by some more violence.

What are the people and organisations that took part in the summit doing about this violence?

The conference takes place when De Klerk has out-maneuvered the liberation movements and turned their own weapons against them.

The OAU and the UN demanded last year that the Government meet five preconditions to create a climate conducive to negotiation. It has met only some of them.

But even before creating this climate, De Klerk has managed to extract one major concession from the ANC - the suspension of the armed struggle - and has broken the international isolation of this country.

He has been able to undermine the sanctions campaign and he is still drawing blood from his opponents.

He is not releasing all political prisoners and allowing hostages to return unconditionally, as required by the Harare Declaration.

He is still using his security legislation with impunity.

All sorts of pressures have been put on the PAC to decide one way or another. Delegates will have to push these pressures aside and decide in the best interests of South Africa, not just of the PAC.
Launch of new ANC branch

THE Tshiawelo branch of the ANC will be launched during a three-day fete at the local community hall starting tonight.

The event starts with a "Health Weekend" banquet that will include speeches by ANC officials and a local doctor.

A three-course meal will be served to guests at R12 a couple, R7 a person and R2 for children.

An "African Consumer Health" workshop will be held at the same venue between noon and 2pm tomorrow. It will be followed by a beauty contest and leadership awards.

The highlight of the occasion will be the launch of the branch at 1pm on Sunday.
PAC exiles deplore violence

By Kalir Ncube
Senior Editor

The PAC leaders denounced the "senseless and unnatural" violence, saying their organisation believed in the right of all organisations "no matter how small" to exist.

Mr Mkhwanazi, Mr Gqobose and social welfare secretary Nonvu Boli arrived in South Africa on Wednesday night.

Administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and economic affairs secretary Mfanasekhaya Gqobose told a press conference in Johannesburg that the violence gave ammunition to those who believed blacks were killing one another and were incapable of running the country.

Mr Mkhwanazi said although they were very happy to be back home after spending more than two decades in exile, they had been struck by the fact that apartheid was still very much alive.

The PAC's three-day congress starts at Sharoworld this morning.
Makwetu states PAC’s stance against regime

Mr President, a year ago this assembly, meeting in a special session, adopted the Consensus Resolution which called for the total eradication of the apartheid system.

It called on the apartheid regime to immediately and unconditionally meet certain basic demands so as to create a climate conducive to negotiations. It also spelt out certain steps that were required to ensure that apartheid was on its way out.

The regime, in the last year, met some of the pre-conditions. It unbanned the PAC, ANC and 34 other organisations, lifted the state of emergency and selectively released some political prisoners.

The regime has not unconditionally released all political prisoners. It has not allowed the unconditional return of political exiles. Moreover, it has not removed troops from the African townships.

Security Act

On the other hand, arrests and detention-without-trial have increased. The notorious Internal Security Act remains in force. Violence has dramatically escalated.

The report of the South African Institute of Race Relations just published reveals that on the average, for 1990, 10 persons were killed daily.

Our own investigation into these escalating violence reveal two causes – first and foremost the apartheid policies and structures remain the principal cause of violence in the country.

Secondly, a tendency among some circles to impose their political hegemony through the use of force and intimidation has also contributed to the escalation of the violence.

Mr President, the apartheid rulers of South Africa want to give the impression that much has changed since the speech of De Klerk on February 2 1990. What are the so-called specific changes and what do they amount to?

It is true that the PAC and the ANC and some 34 other organisations have been unbanned. Concretely speaking what does the unbanning entail?

Yes, we can now recruit and organise members. We recruit and organise them to do what? They cannot vote, the regime is opposed to them striking, marching and engaging in any form of struggle.

The lifting of the state of emergency does not create a free political climate because of the existence of a plethora of oppressive laws that still exist on the apartheid statute books.

Mr President, the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania as well as the international community have consistently demanded the total eradication of the apartheid system.

Apartheid to the oppressed people of Azania is concretely manifested in the following:

The Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the racially constituted tricameral parliament system and the bantustans.

These acts represent both the ideology and practice of apartheid. All these remain intact. As regards these pillars of apartheid, therefore, nothing has changed in the country.

Instead of accepting the universal principle of genuine non-racialism, the leaders of the minority regime are still talking about minority rights. In the context of apartheid, South Africa’s minority rights mean the preservation of white dominance and privileges.

Is apartheid not based on white prejudices? The regime rejects the democratic formula of majority rule through the exercise of one-person one-vote on a common voters roll.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently maintained that what has to be negotiated is the new non-racial democratic constitution.

It has called for the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly, elected by all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on a common voters roll.

This elected Constituent Assembly would be truly representative and have the mandate to draw up the new non-racial democratic constitution.

The PAC intends to convene a Congress of the Oppressed every year to unite our people around the demand for an elected Constituent Assembly.

The PAC, since its inception, had advocated for a principled united front with all those having a contradiction with the apartheid rulers. We remain committed to this fundamental principle.

The PAC firmly believes that the decisive factor is the internal factor. The external factor is a complementary factor, but a very important complementary factor. It was internal resistance, including the armed struggle, international isolation and sanctions that compelled the regime to adopt a reformist posture.

Any relaxation of these measures will only prolong the agony and perpetuate apartheid. The PAC is for intensified sanctions and total political, economic and cultural isolation of the apartheid regime.

In particular, the PAC maintains that the oil and arms embargo must be intensified, foreign loans and investments withdrawn and denied to the regime, campaign for a ban on purchase of South African gold stepped up and the cultural and sporting boycott maintained.
THE national congress of the Pan Africanist Congress this weekend could change the complexion of the peace process in this country.

The congress, which starts today at Shareworld, outside Johannesburg, is a culmination of months of deliberations within PAC structures on whether the movement should accept the Government's invitation to the negotiating table.

While some senior members of the organisation admit that there has been pressure from many quarters for the PAC to enter into negotiations, it seems very unlikely that it will abandon its minimum demand for the convening of a Constituent Assembly.

Judging by the theme of the three-day congress - "Forward to a Demo-

By SY MAKARINGE

natically 'Elected Constituent Assembly,' it is very clear that the movement will insist on this demand before it can consider sitting down around the table with the Government.

PAC leaders have repeatedly stated in public debates that they did not want President F W de Klerk as "both a player and a referee at the same time."

Another issue which is expected to receive serious attention is that of a "principled" united front to map out a common strategy against the Government.

While stressing that the PAC needed to form alliances with other liberation movements, its general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the front would have to be based on certain principles.

These included:
- Encouragement of all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle;
- Non-collaboration with Government-created structures; and
- The acceptance of a democratic solution via a constituent assembly.

The organisation will elect a successor to Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the PAC's president who died in October.

Although acting president Mr Clarence Miami Makwethu on the surface appears to be the natural choice for the PAC leadership, there are other candidates.

One of them is the chairman of the externally-based central committee, Mr Johnson Mlambo, who is also chief commander of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

Other leaders include Mr Barney Desai, executive member of the PAC in the Western Cape.

Mr Mark Shinners, who was convicted with Mothopeng in the marathon Bethal trial in 1978, is another possible choice.

The PAC also boasts outspoken leaders in its external mission. These include administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gona Elshahim, chief representative to Nigeria Mr Maxwell Nemazivhanadzi and Mr Count Pietersen, chief representative at the observer mission to the United Nations.

Peace may be shortlived.
Peace may be shortlived

By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is moving towards a settlement that will only buy peace for two years and then collapse, according to Mr Eugene Nyathi, a political analyst.

Referring to negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress, Nyathi said the ANC should not have rushed to the negotiation table because they were not ready to negotiate.

"They should have asked the Government to give them at least 10 months to prepare themselves."

Nyathi was speaking at the first anniversary of the Pretoria Media Club on Tuesday night.

"We are headed for a settlement that will buy peace for two years and then collapse."

He said ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, needed dispassionate competent advisors and not "viva brigades".
An incomplete but useful guide to MK

It is necessary to note that Barrell has publicly declared himself to have been a member of the ANC, and its underground, for a decade. Though he is certainly not uncritical, the weakness of his book, even for a 72-page history, is that it tends to gloss over the weaknesses, divisions, miscalculations and strategic errors.

It is divided into four sections. The first, entitled “Submit or fight — 1960-1965” deals with the birth of MK, its initial successes and its defeats at the hands of the state. This chapter does well in pinpointing the weaknesses in the ANC’s analysis at the time, in particular its under-estimation of the strength of its enemy, but does not provide a real sense of the debates in the movement at the time.

It goes on to focus on “Attempts to get back”, looking at its efforts to set up bases outside the country, its campaigns in Rhodesia in the late 1960s and the attempts after the movement’s 1969 conference in Morogoro, Tanzania, to infiltrate cadres back into the country.

The third section deals with the impact of the 1976 uprising on the movement, its initial forays back into the country and the nature of the attacks in the period up until 1983. Particularly interesting here is the description of MK camps in Angola and the kind of training they received.

The final chapter, “Knocking on insurrection’s door — 1984-1990”, is the most fascinating, but also the least adequate, perhaps because of the lack of space available.

It offers a useful sketch of the immense problems faced by MK in leaving its forward bases, facing an onslaught from the state’s armed and intelligence forces and in attempting to set up an internal underground; the reasons why many combatants abandoned their missions on returning home; and the suspension of the armed struggle.

On the mutiny in the MK camps in 1984 Barrell notes that “some grave human rights abuses occurred”, but does not elaborate. Little is said of MK’s battles with Unita in Angola, the reasons for its limited success in setting up an integrated military and political underground, the state’s successes in infiltrating the movement or the reasons for attacks on civilian targets in the mid-1980s.

Barrell attributes the reduction of armed activity after the release of the Sisulu group of prisoners as a “good faith” step taken prior to negotiations. The other view is that subjective and objective obstacles prevented MK from doing more.

Also left out is any mention of MK’s proposals for ending conscription and building a new integrated defence force, first elaborated on at an Idasa conference with SADF officers and others earlier this year.

But despite these gaps MK serves as a useful and readable reference, and as the first history of its kind, a block which others can build on.

Gavin Evans.
Another view of Nelson M

THE ALTERNATIVE MANDELA
ALBUM compiled by Arnold Benjamin
(Argus, R21.95)

THIS is the month when the bookshop shelves are crowded with annuals — anything from diaries and calendars to collections of what publishers claim are the year’s best cartoons.

The amusing and prolific newspaper columnist, Arnold Benjamin, has compiled a cross between several types of annuals. It’s a satirical book — pictures, cartoons and so forth — which he calls The Alternative Mandela Album. He has turned the pictures into cartoons by adding dialogue in balloons in the style of that other satirical alternative magazine, Private Eye.

The cover picture is of President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, with the president’s balloon saying, “What are you going to do when we let you out?” and Mandela replying, “Your job, of course.”

My favourite has no visuals. It’s the monologue of what could’ve been said when Mandela met FW Botha last year — an event the ANC leader told me he didn’t “over-excite” him. It’s a monologue because Mandela’s side of the conversation could not be reported then, being illegal to quote him (as the editor of Vrye Weekblad was reminded by the courts only last week for indirectly quoting South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo).

In Benjamin’s report of that historic meeting with the world’s most famous prisoner, the Old Crocodile tells the president-in-waiting:

“Yes, that’s a rather nice view of parliament you get from this window, not that you need let its proceedings distract you unduly. Oh, and the red telephone? That gets me through to the SABC-TV newsroom. You’ve no idea how useful it is for seeing that the news is correctly presented.”

Arthur Maimane
Thousands in ANC marches

SOUTH African Communist Party central committee member Mr Mac Maharaj yesterday called for a constituent assembly and an interim government to solve the country's problems.

Addressing thousands of marchers in central Johannesburg yesterday, Maharaj reaffirmed the ANC's seriousness to negotiations with the Government.

But he warned that his organisation "does not want solutions drawn behind closed doors".

He and several ANC leaders, including Ms Barbara Hogan, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Andrew Mlangeni led the ANC's "March For Freedom and Peace" through the streets of Johannesburg.

The procession was closely monitored by Security Police and South African Defence Force members from the rooftop of Darragh House in Wanderers Street.

A memorandum addressed to Johannesburg's acting town clerk, Mr Graham Collins, was handed in at the City Hall.

At John Vorster Square where a petition was handed over to Colonel Desmond Keyser. He assured the ANC delegation that the memorandum would be "immediately referred" to Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan

ANC march peaceful

Vlok (110)

MONK NKOMO reports that SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo yesterday told thousands of ANC supporters in Pretoria that the Government must listen to the voice of the oppressed majority and realise that democracy was not a dangerous game.

Slovo also lauded the police for their responsible behaviour during the peaceful march from Brown Street to the Union Buildings and back.

Shortly after submitting the memorandum containing demands, including the setting up of an interim government, Mrs Winnie Mandela said: "We are tired of burying our people everyday and if this violence continues, the peace process will be in jeopardy".

Mandela and Slovo were part of a delegation of 10 which presented the memorandum to Mrennie Botha, deputy director general at the State President's Office.
Pillars of apartheid are pain in the neck

Mr President, a year ago this assembly, meeting in a special session, adopted the Consensus Resolution which called for the total eradication of the apartheid system.

It called on the apartheid regime to immediately and unconditionally meet certain basic demands so as to create a climate conducive to negotiations. It also spelled out certain steps that were required to ensure that apartheid was on its way out.

The regime, in the last year, met some of the pre-conditions. It unbanned the PAC, ANC and 34 other organisations, lifted the state of emergency and selectively released some political prisoners.

The regime has not unconditionally released all political prisoners. It has not allowed the unconditional return of political exiles. Moreover, it has not removed troops from the African townships.

Security Act

On the other hand, arrests and detention-without-trial have increased. The notorious Internal Security Act remains in force. Violence has dramatically escalated.

The report of the South African Institute of Race Relations just published reveals that on the average, for 1990, 10 persons were killed daily.

Our own investigation into these escalating violence reveals two causes - first and foremost the apartheid policies and structures remain the principal cause of violence in the country.

Secondly, a tendency among some circles to impose their political hegemony through the use of force and intimidation has also contributed to the escalation of the violence.

Mr President, the apartheid rulers of South Africa want to give the impression that much has changed since the speech of De Klerk on February 2 1990. What specifically speaking what does the unbanning entail?

Yes, we can now recruit and organise members. We can recruit and organise them to do what? They cannot vote, the regime is opposing them striking, marching and engaging in any form of struggle.

The lifting of the state of emergency does not create a free political climate because of the existence of a plethora of oppressive laws that still exist on the apartheid statute books.

Mr President, the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania as well as the international community have consistently demanded the total eradication of the apartheid system.

Apartheid is the oppressed people of Azania is concretely manifested in the following:

The Population Registration Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the racially constituted tricameral parliament system and the bantustans.

These acts represent both the ideology and practice of apartheid. All these remain intact. As regards these pillars of apartheid, therefore, nothing has changed in the country.

Instead of accepting the universal principle of genuine non-racialism, the leaders of the minority regime are still talking about minority rights. In the context of apartheid, South Africa's minority rights mean the preservation of white dominance and privileges.

Is apartheid not based on white prejudices? The regime rejects the democratic formula of majority rule through the exercise of one-person one-vote on a communal basis.

PAC acting-president Mlamli Clarence Makwetu this week addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. This is an edited version of his address, and could indicate that the path discussion will take at the PAC congress which starts today.

Mr President, what then is the path that we should pursue to ensure the early demise of this evil system and replace it with a genuine non-racial democracy where all individuals will enjoy protected rights?

The UN Consensus Resolution adopted last December should act as a term of reference.

The path we should pursue is to demand that the pre-conditions laid down for the regime to unconditionally meet in order to create a conducive climate must be unconditionally met. The regime should not be allowed to turn these pre-conditions into negotiation issues.

Prisoners

Once the regime has unconditionally met these pre-conditions, namely the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unconditional return of political exiles and the withdrawal of racist troops from the townships, then we can proceed to the next step, once the conducive climate has been created.

We must reach an agreed mutual cessation of hostilities as provided for in the Harare Declaration and UN Consensus Resolutions.

The Declaration does not demand from us unilateral suspension or renunciation of the legitimate armed struggle, but that there should be an agreed mutual cessation of hostilities. The PAC remains committed to this principle.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently maintained that what has to be negotiated is the new non-racial democratic constitution.

It has called for the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly, elected by all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on a common voters roll.

This elected Constituent Assembly would be truly representative and have the mandate to draw up the new non-racial democratic constitution.

The PAC, since its inception, had advocated for a principled united front with all those having a contradiction with the apartheid rulers. We remain committed to this fundamental principle.

The PAC firmly believes that the decisive factor is the internal factor. The external factor is a complementary factor, but a very important complementary factor.

It was internal resistance, including the armed struggle, international isolation and sanctions that compelled the regime to adopt a reformist posture.

Any relaxation of these measures will only prolong the agony and perpetuate apartheid. The PAC is for a unified sanctions and total political, economic and cultural isolation of the apartheid regime.

In particular, the PAC maintains that the oils and arms embargo must be intensified, foreign loans and investments withdrawn and denied to the regime, campaign for a ban on purchase of South African gold stepped up and the cultural and sporting boycott maintained.
Leading UDF and ANC member Mr. Patrick Lekota has said that at the time there had also been complaints about undemocratic actions.

But it was not a formal organisation and it would be difficult for him prove that any person was a member of the cabal, he said in an interview published in yesterday's New Nation.

Mr Lekota said: "There has never been a conflict in UDF, particularly on the question of negotiations, as it is being alleged."

The problem of the cabal did not arise this year and "as far as I am aware, the complaints relating to a thing called a cabal go back to as early as 1985, or earlier than that."

"There were people arguing that some seniors of the UDF were taking decisions undemocratically," he said.

"Now, because of the state of emergency and so on, formal meetings became difficult to hold."

"That, I believe, was the reason why leaders had to take decisions on their own."

The membership then complained that they were increasingly receiving instructions and not being part of the decision-making.

"So, the concept of the cabal has been there. It was an issue of a grouping of comrades who were seen by others to be acting undemocratically."

Mr Lekota said there was no conflict between the ANC and UDF.
Arthur Miller:
SA is on knife-edge

Playwright heartened by visit to Mandela

By RAMSAY MILNE
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Playwright Arthur Miller, visiting South Africa to conduct a television documentary for the BBC that will include a lengthy interview with Mr. Nelson Mandela, has formed some strong impressions on his first visit to the country — awarding both good and bad marks to South African whites and expressing great enthusiasm for the ANC leader.

In an interview published in the New York Times today, the noted writer says he found South Africainfused with the same failings and failings that he has explored in his plays.

"All the wrong choices were made right down the line and now the birds have come home to roost," he said.

As an American arriving from New York, he said he had found that there's less hypocrisy about racism here perhaps.

But, he said of South African whites, "there's a sense that their eyes are open.

Opulent lifestyle

Miller said he was struck by the opulent lifestyle that many whites enjoyed.

"I have seen some of the most expensive homes across the road from a garbage dump where people are consigned to live. It's like a play where people are blind to what's around them.

"In a way, it's the worst of your dreams," the playwright added. "They live a wonderful life, but you pick up the paper and there's an ad for razor wire in your home. The fear is an inch below the surface. I've found less of it among blacks."

His impression of Mr. Mandela, he said, after spending 24 hours talking to him at his Soweto home was that the ANC leader was more pragmatic than his more militant speeches suggested.

"Had he been born into a peaceful society, he would have been a judge," said Miller. "He's one of the most conservative people I've ever met."

Jobs and houses

He said he senses that Mr. Mandela was trying to distance himself from the ANC's pledge to nationalize major industries:

"I said, 'You don't have a fixed ideological position?' He said, 'Absolutely not,'" Miller reported.

He had asked Mr. Mandela whether the ANC wanted the white community to come up with its own proposals for a more equitable distribution of wealth, to which Mr. Mandela replied that he did.

"He said, 'All we want is jobs and houses and the rest of it. Whatever method will bring us that is what we want,'" Miller told his interviewer.

After meeting a group of South African businessmen, Miller said he believed they wanted to subject to political change. They were, he said, "absolutely committed to a new way of life, and I think they mean it."

"They have to look at the social consequences of what they are doing or they will lose everything."

Ominous outcome

Of the factional black violence taking place in and around Johannesburg, Miller said he thought that pre-saged a more ominous outcome.

He described the violence as "utterly terrible," adding: "But I think there are a lot of white people who think it's great."

What Miller had seen of a changing South Africa did not seem to hearten him.

"It's like a dream paralysis where you're reaching toward something and you simply can't extend your arm."

"I don't think it's hopeless. I think it's on the edge of a very narrow knife that could go either way."
PAC militants rule

JOHANNESBURG — Militancy has marked the start of the PAC’s three-day conference here with sharp criticism of Pretoria’s negotiation initiative and the reaffirmation of the armed struggle front to “destroy white domination.”

Yesterday, amid chants such as “One settler, one bullet” and “Peace among Africans, war against the enemies,” the notion of compromise was declared “catastrophic” and the present negotiation process “political deception.”

Militant statements echoed the loudest applause, often accompanied by shrieks, whistles and cheers from the 800 delegates.

Behind closed doors

But when they get down to the nitty-gritty of strategy and deciding whether to enter the negotiation process alongside the ANC, the government, the homelanders and other parties, it will be behind closed doors. Debate today and tomorrow has been closed to the Press. A Press briefing is due to hold this afternoon.

The congress got under way at noon yesterday with a reading rendition of the National Anthem. Following a full-throated: “One settler, one bullet” from delegates.

Evidently, the most portentous gesture of the opening day was the deafening applause in response to what was by far the most violent speech against negotiations, the De Klerk government and “sell-outs” who had accepted Pretoria’s invitation to talks.

These statements came not from the PAC but in a message of support from the New Unity Movement.

The movement’s representative said a “negotiated settlement” was a “label of deception” and the compromise the makers of which were asked to make was a “fraud.”

Those who had accepted the government’s invitation had been “hoodwinked” by “baspets and bribes.”

He said: “No ruling class ever so stupid to pay its enemies so much about what they detest. We pay no negotiation, no compromise, no sell-out. There is no political virtue in bargaining away our freedom. We must work towards a united liberation movement to secure victory.”

Earlier, acting PAC president Mr Clarence Matsheka said in his opening address: “The present task of the PAC is to engage in all forms of struggle, the armed struggle as well as the democratic demand for a constituent assembly, and the formation of a principled United Front.

“All forms of struggle are to be encouraged with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle.”

Plea for peace

He said the government could not be the “vehicle for social change,” only the “dispensers of rewards.”

In a strong plea for peace in the township, Mr Matsheka urged “warring parties” to enter into talk to peace and to respect the need for political tolerance.

Debate today will be dominated by the third item on the agenda, “PAC on negotiations.”

The sensitivity surrounding this issue, particularly, has prompted the decision to restrict coverage of the debate. It is an issue on which there is unanimity.

The election of a new leadership takes place tomorrow.

Tackling violence in the black community and finding ways to create a united black political front are also key matters.

The Cape convenor of the PAC, former exile Mr. Barney Desai, denounced that the congress was being held under difficult conditions, that the movement was in some ways illustrated for a meeting of this scale and that the decisions the congress would have to make were problematic, yet bold. We make no apologies for the difficulties we face, unlike the ANC, that it was necessary to get the internal and external elements of the movement together and to give our people a chance to meet the leadership.

“Faced with these reasons we decided not to put off the conference.”

“Even if it is not a very momentous effort, it is a threat for democracy.”

Exiles have a week to talk

JOHANNESBURG — PAC exiles attending the movement’s three-day congress here this weekend were given to leave the country within a week.

The seven-day indemnity was granted by the government to allow them to take part in discussions on strategy and the movement’s stance on negotiations.

Exiles were told that they will be on the move and that they must leave the country within a week and that they will be given only seven days in their hands.

When I arrived at Jan Smuts Airport the immigration official asked how long I’d be staying. And I said to him: ‘It’s a strange question to ask a person how long he will stay in his own country.’

“Can anyone blame the PAC for saying that the struggle must continue unabated?”

* Ex-UGC Minister of Sport, Culture and Youth, Mr. Moses Kojo, was among the guest speakers. He spoke on French, with former PAC exile Mr. B. M. B. Bhatia translating.

* Mr. Kojo told the congress no black man could be satisfied with the “status quo” the PAC had waged in South Africa.

* He acknowledged the De Klerk reforms, but said they could not be reformed.

* Messages of support were received from diverse organisations, the Australian government, which acknowledged PAC’s role in South Africa and would make an important contribution.

* Other messages came from the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation of South Africa and the PAC’s armed wing.

‘We must stop the carnage’

JOHANNESBURG — A senior PAC exile has bluntly acknowledged that a lot of the township violence is caused by power-hungry elements in the liberation movements.

This significant admission came from external organiser, and administrative secretary Mr. Joe Mkwazini during the opening of the PAC’s three-day conference yesterday.

Mr. Mkwazini said it was widely accepted that apartheid was the root cause of the violence and that “once it goes, there will be no carnage.”

“Then let’s be honest. A great part of the violence is as a result of hegemonic tendencies among some people in the liberation movements.”

He said the PAC fully supported the view that all organisations had a right to exist and express their views without fear or intimidation.

“We must use the little time we have now, back in our land, to seriously address the fundamental terms that what can be done to stop this carnage. It is unacceptable and must be stopped.”

“The date at which people are killed worries us. It makes us wonder if the rate continues, whether in a few years’ time we will still speak proudly and forcefully of the African majority.

“Some people who support our struggle are beginning to ask whether it was worth it.”

“And those who never supported us are saying they knew that if they gave us freedom we wouldn’t kill each other.”
The African National Congress is on the verge of a decision about its operations in exile, about whether to close them down or maintain them until the situation in South Africa becomes clearer. JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service, reporting from Morogoro in Tanzania, was the first foreign journalist in several years to be allowed to visit ANC settlements there.

On the outskirts of this poverty-eroded centre, beneath foreign mountains and beyond an international checkpoint, lies a slice of South Africa about which most South Africans have never heard.

Locals know the place as Mazimbulu and wonder as they pass at the trim fields and ordered buildings. But to the exiles who live there it is the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

College is something of a misnomer, for the complex defies such description. It is much more like a town, with three schools and rows of ranch-type houses and a population of 1,500.

There is also a comprehensive farm at the fringe, producing quantities from 1,500 pigs, maize and rice and Further other crops and enough milk from a dairy herd to feed the pupils.

And a furniture factory, pawning on order its economics to the Tanzanian nation. And even a 25-bed hospital which is used 80 per cent of the time by residents of Morogoro.

The new chief of Mapungubwe, though they have a district hospital of their own.

The availability of drugs and the quality of care persuades them to cross into the odd, seething enclave.

Mr Solomon Mahlangu, some South Africans may remember, was one of three African National Congress members involved in the Goebbels Street shooting in Johannesburg on June 13 1977 in which 16 men died.

Although the court concluded that one of the others actually fired the machine pistol which killed Mr Robert Gwelo and Mr Kenneth Wolfdale, Mahlangu was found guilty of complicity and sentenced to death.

The 21-year-old ANC man was hanged on April 4 1978 — the year the organisation was given this tract of land by the Tanzanian administration on which to build a secondary school. Thus, with a ready martyr to name it after, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College came into being.

Mr Martin Dondo, now the assistant farm manager at Mazimbulu, was one of the original students. He fled South Africa in 1976 at the height of the pressure against Bantu education.

"A number of us ended up near Morogoro, but on the other side of the valley," Martin says. "We were totally bored with exile, with doing nothing, so we had started teaching one another. Some were good in certain subjects and some in others and we swapped knowledge."

So the idea of a school was born. The land given to the ANC by Mr Julius Nyerere's government was an abandoned cattle farm with several buildings which are still there. The college has been consigned around them.

The nursery school at Mazimbulu. Some children are orphans of the armed struggle.

Workers, above, in the Anons factory, Dukawa, right. They see a problem at the ANC schools is the teacher shortage.

by the Tanzanian Government.

Incredibly, although nobody could have foreseen the events of the past year in South Africa, Mazimbulu faces a decision over its future just as it is nearing completion. Among the last amenities has grown considerably through the violence in Natal and young refugees — mainly males — continue to arrive almost weekly.

As a result, the principal function of the centre is clearing and re-organisation. Some of the dormitories have been converted into office space and the furniture factory is about to be dismantled.
The dairy herd provides enough milk for the pupils.

The furniture factory at Mazimbu sells its excess products to the Tanzanians.
Sad welcome for Tambo

LUSAKA — Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday to a low-key but emotional welcome from the Zambian leader and hundreds of ANC members.

He walked shakily down the steps of an executive jet belonging to the multinational Lonrho into a long embrace with President Kaunda, as hundreds of exiled ANC members sang and danced.

There was an expectant silence as Mr Tambo was assisted to the microphone to make his first public address since he suffered a severe stroke.

His speech was slow and deliberate and slightly slurred. The stroke almost paralysed the right side of his body. It was clear he would never again be able to play an active political role.

Mr Tambo thanked President Kaunda, who, he said, had taken personal charge of his treatment.

"My health has improved tremendously, otherwise I would not have been here today. I thank all those who contributed to saving my life.

"We are returning home to continue with the struggle," he told ANC members to loud applause.

"We hope that soon we shall be inviting the people of Zambia to come and join us in celebrating our freedom."

Although those at the airport put on a brave face, many were saddened to see the once active Mr Tambo so weakened.

"It's great to see him back alive. We're excited, but it's sad to see him this way," said one activist.

See PAGE 4.
THE African people are not deceived by the shift from petty apartheid "to white veto domination with frills and trappings" and want to see the Government "relentlessly harassed", says Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) acting president Clarence Makwetu.

Opening the PAC's national congress at Shareworld in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Makwetu said the PAC would continue to " Wage the struggle against the white minority settler regime".

This would be done by consolidating the unity of the oppressed, encouraging mass action and working for South Africa's continued isolation through sanctions.

**Delegates**

The congress, attended by about 1,000 PAC delegates, diplomats and representatives of South African political parties and organisations — including the Democratic Party — is the second such gathering since the organisation was formed in 1959.

Mr Makwetu, who took over as acting president when former president Zephaniah Mothopeng died two months ago, said the congress would be "open, honest, clear and disciplined".

The PAC, he said, would not "disappoint Africa", and at the end of the congress would "show the light and the masses will find the way".

Mr Makwetu came out strongly in favour of "a principled united front" with all organisations opposed to the Government. Such a front, he said, would be based on the following principles:

- Apartheid could not be reformed but had to be "totally destroyed".
- East-West interests would be kept out of the "Azanian struggle".
- The Government was not the vehicle for social change, "but the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed African masses led by the African working class and land-hungry peasants".
- All forms of struggle were to be encouraged, "with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle".
- The acceptance of a democratic solution to the country's problems via a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote "to destroy white minority domination".

Both Mr Makwetu and external PAC administraive secretary Joe Mkhwanazi strongly condemned inter-organisational violence, saying no organisation, no matter how small or unpopular, could be wished out of existence.

Mr Mkhwanazi told the congress that the violence gave ammunition to those who believed blacks were incapable of running the country.

Even those who had unwaveringly supported the liberation movements over the years were now beginning to wonder whether their support was still worth it.

**'Unacceptable'**

"Although the root cause of the violence is apartheid... a great part of the violence is a result of hegemonic tendencies among some organisations in the liberation movement. It is unacceptable and must be stopped now," Mr Mkhwanazi said.

Neither man made any reference to the Government's letter of invitation to the PAC to enter exploratory talks with a view to getting negotiations off the ground early next year. The issue of negotiations will be discussed today.

Mr Mkhwanazi drew loud applause when he told the congress he brought "revolutionary greetings" from PAC national chairman Johnson Mlambo and the organisation's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla).
Sad welcome for Tambo

LUSAKA — Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday to a low-key but emotional welcome from the Zambian leader and hundreds of ANC members.

He walked shakily down the steps of an executive jet belonging to the multinational Lonrho into a long embrace with President Kaunda, as hundreds of exiled ANC members sang and danced.

There was an expectant silence as Mr Tambo was assisted to the microphone to make his first public address since he suffered a severe stroke.

His speech was slow and deliberate and slightly slurred. The stroke almost paralysed the right side of his body. It was clear he will never again be able to play an active political role.

Mr Tambo thanked President Kaunda who, he said, had taken personal charge of his treatment.

"My health has improved tremendously, otherwise I would not have been here today. I thank all those who contributed to saving my life.

"We are returning home to continue with the struggle," he told ANC members to loud applause.

"We hope that soon we shall be inviting the people of Zambia to come and join us in celebrating our freedom."

Although those at the airport put on a brave face, many were saddened to see the once active Mr Tambo so weakened.

"It's great to see him back here alive. We're excited, but it's sad to see him this way," said one activist.

See PAGE 4.
All will soon learn this man is no ‘Uncle

SOME Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters have a rude name for the president of the African National Congress, their bigger rival which favours a negotiated, rather than revolutionary, settlement in South Africa.

They call Oliver Tambo “Uncle Tombo”, suggesting that he and his organisation have been “sold out” to the whites in this country.

They could not be more mistaken. Tambo, who has been out of the limelight for more than a year after a serious stroke but is about to return to a hero’s welcome in Johannesburg, is invariably described as a “moderate”, a “pragmatist”, and a man of strong Christian convictions.

All these observations are correct, but they are often extrapolated to mean that he is within ANC circles a “soft touch”, a man more likely to compromise than his colleagues. This conclusion does not follow.

The septuagenarian who has led the ANC in exile for nearly three decades is instead an urbane, charming, quietly spoken man. He is no firebrand at the lecture, relying on gravitas rather than showmanship, and he eschews rhetoric and sloganeering.

ANC’s SECOND GIANT: Oliver Tambo still an enigma.

But his intellect is matched by a commitment to nothing less than a fundamental transfer of power in South Africa. Those in this country who believe Tambo’s return will herald a softening of ANC positions on stumbling blocks to negotiations will be disappointed.

If anything, it will have the reverse effect. Tambo is believed to share the concerns of the growing numbers of ANC officials who feel that the organisation has given away too much to the Government and received too little in return. It is noted in ANC circles that deputy president Nelson Mandela’s strongest recent affirmations of the organisation’s right to encourage mass action came immediately after his last meeting with Tambo in London.

Politically, Tambo remains something of an enigma for South Africans, both black and white. He was officially “ungagged” only in February — after his stroke — and had previously been quoted only very selectively inside the country.

Apart from a famous interview with the Cape Times in 1985 and some brave efforts by other newspapers to present the ANC supreme council’s views to the South African public, Tambo was heard in his own words only when special permission was forthcoming from the Government.

Unsurprisingly, permission was granted to publish only the most bald and unctuous of his utterings.

His international reputation as an unassuming statesman and a canny political operator who served as the “glue” which held together a fractious ANC in the 1960s and 1970s is undoubted, but diplomats and politicians who have had dealings with him all attest to an unflinching side to his personality — whenever it becomes necessary.

It is now thought that Tambo will play a major role in shaping the policy which emerges from this month’s ANC consultative conference because, although he has been physically scarred by his stroke and that will limit his mobility and stamina, his intellect is as keen as ever.

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal, who saw Tambo at his Alexandra Park Road home in North London in October, says: “There is absolutely nothing wrong with his mind.

“He is alert, bright as ever, and very well informed about developments in South Africa.”

OLIVER TAMBO

Written by: SHAUN JOHNSON

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“He is alert, bright as ever, and very well informed about developments in South Africa.”

With Mandela’s, his name has been most frequently invoked in times of protest and mobilisation — the number of schools renamed unofficially in his honour bear eloquent testimony to this.

Two years ago, Tambo said he would live to see the collapse of apartheid. That moment will come in the lifetime of Nelson and myself,” he said. That was in the time of F W Botha; Mandela was still in prison; and Tambo himself was preparing the ground for the ANC’s benchmark document on negotiations, the Harare Declaration.

Now, within days, he will be home, probably for good. He has said he is looking forward to his homecoming with impatient excitement, and has expressed a wish to live in Watville, Benoni’s abutting township.

According to Soal, Tambo’s weight loss since his illness has wrought an “enormous physical change”, and the Tambo of today is much more gaunt than that of the newspaper photographs of a year ago.

“He has made great progress,” says the MP, “because immediately after the stroke he was totally paralysed and speechless. Now he is still not entirely mobile — he shuffles rather than walks and has to shake hands with his left hand — but he can get around.”

Tambo’s return is of tremendous psychological import for the ANC and its supporters. He is inextricably tied to his struggle in South Africa’s iconography and, along with Mandela, is the stuff of legend.

From the time that the two young lawyers ran an attorney’s practice in Johannesburg, Tambo chose to adopt a lower profile than his charismatic colleague: where Mandela was the inspirational leader, Tambo was the organiser. Nevertheless, his reputation was always that of being Mandela’s equal.

Throughout his years in exile he paid tribute to Mandela, often insisting that his was a caretaker role. Rumours of a power strug-
ANC president Oliver Tambo arrived in Zambia on Friday for a seven-day visit after 15 months absence from the country following a stroke.

Tambo, 73, who looked frail, was met at Lusaka International Airport by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and senior government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and other ANC members.

In a short address, characterised by a struggle to speak, Tambo said Zambians should be invited to the independence celebrations of a new South Africa because of the contribution they had made towards the current political trends in South Africa.

"I have waited for too long to be back in Zambia, and South Africa in particular, which I left more than 30 years ago," Tambo said as he praised the people involved in his treatment in Zambia, London and Stockholm.

A non-racial South Africa was imminent, Tambo said.

Tambo is expected to have a private audience with President Kaunda.

Diplomats in Lusaka commenting on Tambo's state of health hinted that he might cede power to his charismatic deputy, Nelson Mandela, during next week's consultative conference in Johannesburg.
PAC's call to arms

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE PAC opened its second congress — the first since 1959 — in Johannesburg this weekend with virulent calls to violent insurrection.

The organisation made it clear that it would place stringent conditions on its joining negotiations.

The exact terms were debated in closed session yesterday and will be addressed again today. A press conference later today will explain the PAC's position.

PAC officials were yesterday talking about negotiations at a "neutral venue" — probably outside SA and under OAU chairmanship.

The congress was to have debated the government's negotiations invitation yesterday, but the debate and the election of a leader to succeed the late Zeph Mothopeng were delayed.

At the congress at Shearworld, near Soweto, many of the approximately 500 delegates turned up in combat fatigues and T-shirts with slogans that read: "Consolidate and mobilise for people's war" and "Arm the nation".

Repeated chants of "one settler, one bullet" filled the auditorium.

At one point the crowd chanted: "Kill the bosses, kill them."
PAC affirm demand for assembly

JOHANNESBURG. The PAC's external mission yesterday affirmed their demand for a constituent assembly.

The group, currently in South Africa for today's PAC congress, yesterday dismissed questions on a possible compromise regarding present exploratory talks between the government and the ANC.

PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, who heads the delegation, said the concept of negotiations would be debated by congress. But he indicated the leadership was expecting delegates not to budge on the demand for a constituent assembly.

Mr Mkhwanazi added that as far as he was concerned there were no political changes in the country he left almost three decades ago. — Sapa
PAC sheds its chains: What now?

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE first PAC congress in South Africa in 31 years was yesterday locked in closed session at Sharpeville near Soweto as delegates grappled with two serious issues.

Although the PAC has tried to downplay the significance of negotiations, it is rumoured that this topic has created divided opinions.

PAC insiders told City Press that while rank-and-file members are totally opposed to negotiations, some senior members would like to take part.

They say the PAC’s main rival, the ANC, has been “negotiating with government for the past four years” and they would also like more time.

The PAC apparently fears that if it enters into negotiations, it may find itself outsmarted by government and the ANC.

The PAC faces a serious risk of being outflanked.

While the issue of negotiations was at the top of yesterday’s agenda, the discussions were also expected to shed light on the overall direction the PAC will take on matters like creating a united front made up of opponents of the government. Clarence Mlamli Makwetu reiterated the need for what he called “the broadest, principled, united front”.

Representatives of New Unity Movement and the Workers’ Organisation for Socialist Action were also warmly received.

The PAC will elect its new president today.

Makwetu, who has been acting president since the death of Zeph Mothopeng two months ago, is the hot favourite.

It is believed some members are in favour of a ‘presidential council’ while others prefer the present set-up.
ANC rank and file to have their say after 31 years

LONG-HELD beliefs and strategies will be up for discussion — and possible change — when the first conference of the ANC inside South Africa since 1969 takes place in Johannes burg this week.

More than 1 000 delegates — including representatives from Africa and abroad — will attend the three-day conference, due to be opened by ANC president Oliver Tambo on Friday.

Dominating the agenda, according to congress organiser James Stuart, will be the ANC's strategy for the coming negotiation phase between the government and liberation movements.

Views

Indications are that fundamental aspects of ANC policy and strategy may be revised to strengthen the hand of the ANC's negotiating team.

Thus far, the negotiating group, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, has received its orders from the 32-member national executive committee, but this week's congress will enable rank-and-file members to make their views on the issue known.

Mr Stuart said much of the time available would be devoted to small discussion groups to enable ordinary members to speak their minds.

Allies

The sudden decision by President P W de Klerk's government to enter into negotiations with the ANC has prompted a rethink within the movement on strategy and tactics.

According to the ANC mouthpiece Mayibuye, some of the questions to be discussed are:

- What alliances should the ANC build with other movements? Should there, for instance, be a "tactical alliance" with big business?
- What are the differences between Mr de Klerk and his predecessor, PW Botha? Are Mr de Klerk's moves indeed irreversible?
Organise for self-defence, urges Kasrils

IT was absolutely imperative for people to form self-defence structures to put an end to the current violence in South Africa, says MK intelligence chief and Vula fugitive Ronnie Kasrils.

"In 1961, MK was formed to defend the people against the violence of the state," Kasrils told City Press in an interview.

"The violence of the state is continuing today with greater fury. And today, the problems facing poverty-stricken people are exploited – for example migrant workers and their alienation from urban society. It's the regime that's behind this, it's the police that are behind this as (ANC deputy president) Nelson Mandela has pointed out.

"Our people are faced with tremendous violence. As in 1961, they must be able to defend themselves. They can't wait for MK to come home with guns.

"Our people have to find methods of organising at the community level – be it a township or a squatter camp – and to organise committees for defence of their areas accordingly, as in a way such that the whole community can be mobilised to defend their homes, their lives.

"Organising people in their villages and townships in terms of self-defence proved very popular in countries like Nicaragua in the struggle for liberation; Salvador at the moment (and) in Vietnam. Rudimentary weapons can be used very effectively. What counts is how people are organised. When they are organised in a specific manner for self-defence, they have the basis to defend themselves and of course, they must be armed.

"Firearms are necessary, and people must demand firearms. It's a question of demanding the right to life – to demand licensed firearms, to apply for them.

"Of course, there's the question of having to raise money, but I would say our people have to do it – it's a question of life and death.

"This question of self-defence units must be discussed with MK comrades. Comrades who are coming out of prison, comrades who are returning with the liberation movement. Workshops should be organised at which experiences are exchanged and methods and plans for defence developed."

Asked whether this was not contrary to the peace process the ANC says it is committed to, Kasrils replied: "Not at all. What they're doing is defending themselves and therefore defending the peace process and helping to create a peaceful, liberated South Africa."

Ronnie Kasrils, who turned 52 earlier this month, has been in the ANC most of his adult life – and a soldier for most of that.

He joined the Congress of Democrats, a white affiliate of the ANC-led Congress Alliance, at the age of 20. Banned soon afterwards, he joined Umkhonto weSizwe, working full-time in its Natal High Command.

Late in 1963, he was ordered to leave the country to undergo military training. Based in Tanzania, he worked in the ANC's Dar Es Salaam office, where he was joined by his wife Eleanor – also an MK cadre who was arrested in 1963 but managed to escape from custody.

In 1966 Eleanor moved to London where the birth of their two sons was born.

From London they worked throughout the 1960s to rebuild the ANC's underground inside South Africa and to build the international anti-apartheid campaign.

In 1976 he was summoned to Angola to train the hundreds of Soweto activists rapidly filling up the ANC's military camps.
ofile of SA's t wanted man

ANC national executive, one of only two white members of the NEC.

In 1987 ANC president Oliver Tambo launched “Operation Vula” (200000 by the road). the movement's most ambitious underground operation - the establishment of a nationwide network, under the direction of top-level ANC leaders, to co-ordinate and combine political and military resistance to apartheid.

In 1983 he was again moved - promoted to head of MK's military intelligence. He held the post until 1987 when he was co-opted to the ANC national executive, one of only two white members of the NEC.

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In 1987 ANC president Oliver Tambo launched “Operation Vula” (200000 by the road). the movement's most ambitious underground operation - the establishment of a nationwide network, under the direction of top-level ANC leaders, to co-ordinate and combine political and military resistance to apartheid.
THE ANC has for the first time admitted its performance has not been up to expectations since it was unbanned 10 months ago.

A report in the latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye, lists several reasons for the lacklustre campaign that has only netted about 200,000 new members countrywide.

ANC regional organisers met last month to discuss factors "which were making it difficult to draw in members and to establish dynamic regional and branch structures".

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Among the reasons listed were:

- The violence in black townships has made it difficult for organisers to move about freely. Membership forms and fees have also been confiscated.

- The power of right-wing and reactionary forces. The organisation is having difficulty getting access in ANC supporting civil servants have been sacked from their jobs.

- The lack of human and material resources has led to poor administration.

- Members in branches and regional organisations have distanced themselves from community-based organisations and have estranged themselves from grassroots support.

Slow

- There is inadequate communication in areas where people are uneducated.

- Membership recruitment has been slower than expected. "Organisers must visit people at their homes, their places of work and recreation," the report said.

- People doubt the practical value of supporting the ANC. "Organisers point out that people would rather join the Civic (organisation) because it is doing something concrete while the ANC is discussing abstract policy questions."

- The R12 annual membership fee is considered too high: "Because people have supported the ANC for so long, they feel entitled to join the ANC without paying a fee."

Organisers have agreed there should be some flexibility over membership fees.

- Too little autonomy for local branches.

- Lack of contact from the regional offices.

Crises

"This contact must not arise at times of crises — it has to be regular and ongoing," the report said.

- Insufficient co-operation between the ANC and its affiliated structures, the SA Communist Party, Cosatu and the UDP."
ANC sticks to its guns on security

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE ANC has published proposals for a new defence and police force with Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders in command positions.

The proposals revealed in the latest edition of the ANC's mouthpiece, Mayibuye, follows the recent rejection by Defence Minister Magnus Malan of a merger between the defence force and MK.

According to the ANC, the present police and defence forces "are racist institutions that the government's reforms have so far left untouched".

The ANC says that though 50 percent of police are black, over 90 percent of the officers are white, with no blacks commanding white units.

Among ANC proposals for a new police force are:
- An increase in the number of recruits.
- "Affirmative action" to increase the number of black officers.

Weapons
- Reorientation of the security police with all those known to have assaulted or tortured detainees to be retired.

Mayibuye says the SADF is "a racist force which relies on the conscription of young white men to force the politics of the government on the people".

The process of building a new defence force should begin immediately with as first step the return of MK "as an army with its weapons".

Military wings of organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress will also be included if they swear allegiance to a new constitution.

The ANC's proposals for creating a new defence force also include:
- Conscript replaced by voluntary service.
- Integration of the homeland armies and disbandment of ethnic units.
JOE Mkhwanazi, administrative secretary of the external mission of the PAC, was less than 30 minutes on South African soil after almost 30 years in exile when he declared: "Nothing has changed in this country."

It was this remark which prompted one observer at Jan Smuts Airport to accuse Mkhwanazi of allowing his judgment to be restricted by ideological blinkers. "What could he have seen in a few minutes to pass this judgment?" said the man.

It was also the sort of statement which led one white to claim that the PAC was aiming at a "hands up, hand over" by the government.

Impromptu

"They are unrealistic if they think this will happen," he said.

Twenty-four hours later, after Mkhwanazi had settled in his city hotel, seen part of Johannesburg and spoken to a number of his political comrades, I spoke to the veteran politician and asked if he was playing to the gallery when he made those impromptu remarks at the airport.

"Far from it," he said. "Those who believe that there are changes, are missing the wood for the trees.

"When I talk about change, I mean fundamental changes. I am not talking about structural changes, like more highways and more high-rise buildings."

Mkhwanazi, who has escaped several assassination attempts, admits the attitudes of whites (at least those he has come across so far) have changed.

Polite

"I am aware that today when whites serve a black they are as polite as they are to whites. When I left, it was: 'You, what do you want?' Today, it is: 'Sir, can I help you?' just like they address fellow whites.

"Even the customs official who attended me was very polite. He did not have a granite face. "In fact, most whites I came across are no longer showing the granite face of the past."

But, Mkhwanazi emphasises, he did not join the struggle to see South Africa having beautiful highways and high-rise buildings or to be called "sir" by whites - or to see their granite faces replaced by friendly smiles.

I'm not playing to the gallery, says PAC secretary

The attitude of whites towards me has never been a bother to me.

Mkhwanazi says he joined the struggle to see African majority rule established in the country and the land returned to the indigenous people.

"These are fundamental things to me. These are the things I have fought for all my life. Africans still do not have the vote. They do not have the land. So what changes are people talking about?"

Unreasonable

Mkhwanazi, from Empangeni in KwaZulu, is one of the two most senior members of the PAC who have been given seven days in the country.

"I will not even have time to see the graves of my parents, visit relatives, do a post-mortem on the conference or meet other political organisations - and people think I am being unreasonable when I say there are no changes in the country."
Violence, govt delays
the main obstacles

TALKS between the ANC and the government were in danger with
talks about talks unlikely to kick off early next year.

That is the view of leading ANC member and SACP general
secretary Joe Slovo, who reckoned that the talks have not yet been
"derailed".

"But I think there are very serious danger signals," he said in one
of his most forthright comments yet as an ANC leader on what
are still "talks about talks".

Gently urged by Pretoria's demand that the ANC drop the use
of "mass action," the SACP chief said: "I think we have got to make
our point clear to them that we are not a defeated enemy. We are very much
alive and we have the power to move towards the transformation if
not by a negotiated settlement, then by other means.

President F W de Klerk and his team of negotiators were
"using the talk process" as a terrain of struggle - a phrase which we
"have always used to characterise what we should be doing".

But lately, he said, Pretoria had been more effective than the
ANC. He pointed out the government had an edge on the ANC in
terms of resources and established structures.

Slovo said it was not possible to "begin serious negotiations on the
constitutional future without most of our exiles outside, with most of
our prisoners still locked up, and with indemnities unreasonably tied
to a commitment to cease the political strug-
gle".

There is a growing impatience within ANC rank and file over what they see
as the government's failure to meet its side of the
Goubrad Schuur and Pretoria Memorandum. And this is likely to be intensely
debated at the ANC's three-day consultative
conference this week.

Slovo also reckoned negotiations would founder in the long term
if the bloody township violence could not be re-
solved.

He said Pretoria needed to understand the ANC would not contin-
ue the talks if it became
clear the regime is not prepared to do anything about the carnage being
perpetrated against our people."

But Slovo said the ANC still believed Pretoria was interested in
talking. The government
know, he said, "that without the kind of resolu-
tion we are trying to work for, there is no way
they will emerge from their crisis." - AIA
ANC petition to oust mayor of Khayelitsha

By PETER DENNEHY
Municipal Reporter

THE ANC intensified its campaign to oust Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza yesterday by announcing that it would circulate a petition demanding his resignation to every house in Khayelitsha in the next two weeks.

Addressing a crowd of about 2,000 at the Khayelitsha stadium yesterday, ANC national organiser and executive committee member Mr Steve Tshwete said that nearly 800 striking Khayelitsha municipal workers must be supported by their community, by people from all over the Peninsula, and eventually by the whole country. The workers are on strike until the entire Lingelethu West town council resigns.

Mr Tshwete said the government had taken advantage of its people's initial lack of organisation to hold an election during the state of emergency "in which Mr Hoza saw himself as the unchallenged leader of Khayelitsha".

"The fact that the Pretoria regime still allows Mr Hoza to carry on as he does... is ample demonstration that this government is not serious about a democratic transformation of this country," Mr Tshwete said.

Western Cape Civic Association leader Mr Michael Mapongwana, whose wife Nomsa was killed by vigilantes in October, proposed that rents should not be paid until the councillors resigned. If force was used to evict people, force would be used to take the houses back, he said.

Mr Tshwete said it was not only in Khayelitsha that the government was "propping up" people "operating against the democratic forces". The same thing was happening in Natal with the KwaZulu police, and elsewhere.

It was "amazing" that a government with what was believed to be the most sophisticated police force on the continent was unable to stop armed cohorts from marching six kilometres to attack sleeping residents, he said.

Mr Mali Hoza was not available for comment last night, but Lingelethu West town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence said calls for the resignation of the council were "nothing new".

Mr Lawrence said the municipal strike had been going on for three weeks. The matter had gone to court, but it had been postponed until next year. Meanwhile, a policy of "no work, no pay" was being applied.
Violence:
Mandela,
FW meet

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met at the weekend and identified the need for urgent follow-up steps to end violence.

In a brief joint statement the two leaders said they had met on numerous occasions over the past two weeks.

“Our main concern was the ongoing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property, as well as the destabilisation of our communities,” they said.

They said significant progress was made at the weekend meeting, adding: “We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps.”

In the near future there would be further discussions and statements.

At their last publicised meeting in Pretoria two weeks ago, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed they would achieve more if they were able to meet in private.

After that meeting they emphasised the value of the special relationship existing between them in advancing the negotiation process.

Their weekend meeting came shortly after the cabinet and senior government members held a three-day bush summit outside Pretoria.

The ANC’s continued commitment to mass mobilisation, and the failure to make significant progress by the working group set up to resolve outstanding aspects flowing from the ANC’s decision to suspend armed action, was high on the agenda.

*ANC meeting to focus on sanctions — Page 5*
PAC congress sets stiff conditions for talks

From MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a small, but significant step towards negotiations with the government, but with tough conditions that will limit talks strictly to the setting up of a non-racial constituent assembly.

Any meeting, PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu told a defiant gathering of 2,300 delegates at the Soweto complex near Soweto, would be considered only as a "neutral venue" outside South Africa.

And all the PAC would be prepared to discuss, or "pre-negotiate", were the "modalities of creating a constituent assembly", the date, the voters' role, the supervision.

In the meantime, the PAC remained committed to "continue the struggle for liberation on all fronts, including the armed struggle".

In an eight-point resolution adopted at the congress yesterday after extensive debate, consultation with the external movement and foreign countries sympathetic to the PAC, the movement said that there was "no principle, tactic or policy barring the PAC from seeking a democratic solution to the country's problems... It will not negotiate with the De Klerk regime unless all negotiations are preceded by an election for a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person-one-vote on a common voters' role in a unitary state".

The PAC said it would only return to the桌 talks with the National Party government.

The tough rhetoric of the congress — spiced with frequent and vigorous chants of "one settler, one bullet" and "peace among Africans, war against the enemies" — underlined the sentiment of the long-awaited response to the government's letter to the PAC inviting them to the talks table.

Undeniably, the PAC has gained support in the black community by resisting the De Klerk overtures and the tantalizing promise of talks without serious public debate on the ANC's policies.

But, at the same time, there are concerns among some in the movement that the PAC must find a way to engage in the negotiation process, without losing face.

Journalists protest against Press censorship

Political Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: Journalists covering the PAC congress here clashed last week with two senior movement officials over what they considered to be business Press censorship by the PAC.

The matter remained unresolved after a tense exchange.

One of the two senior PAC members, a newsmaster, addressed the journalists after a meeting with PAC officials.

The clash arose after an incident in the Soweto complex near Soweto, where the congress was held, on Saturday afternoon.

While waiting for a briefing, a journalist from the American Broadcasting Corporation encountered a snarl of photographers and cameramen after trying to take pictures of the gathering.

If you follow this, you will have no problem," he said.

Referring to the incident on the concourse, he said: "There must have been a reason why we were prevented from taking pictures. Let's make an issue of this!"

He added: "Nobody has been generally stopped from taking a picture of what is generally accepted as a reflection of the black community was not helped by the predominance of coverage of negative issues such as violence.

Makwetu at the helm

Political Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: PAC acting-president Mr. Clarence Makwetu was unanimously elected president by the movement's second national congress here.

Mr. Makwetu became acting-president after a two-months' absence of Mr. Zephaniah Motopeng.

By all accounts the unanimity of the choice was surprising, given the wide acknowledged tension between the internal and external sections of the movement.

External chairman Mr. Johnson Mambo — a candidate for the presidency but absent from the congress on "official business" in West Africa — was unanimously elected first deputy president.

The second deputy president is Advocate Mr. Dang Omoseneke, considered a rising star in the movement.

Mr. Benny Alexander retains his post as general secretary, assisted by Mr. Carter Seleke.

Cape Town's most prominent PAC members, Mr. Barney Desai and Miss Patricia de Lille, were both elected to the NEC — Mr. Desai as secretary for publicity and Miss de Lille as secretary for foreign affairs.

PAC rejects govt negotiation bid

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has rejected the government's invitation to constitutional negotiations.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu — whose election was announced last night — told an audience of 1,000 at the organisation's congress near here that the PAC was prepared to negotiate with the government only on the mechanisms for a constituent assembly election.

A congress resolution said negotiations on the "legalities" of a constituent assembly election would have to take place at a neutral venue — apparently outside South Africa.

Mr Makwethu said the congress had also called for a strengthening of sanctions and stood by its demand that the land and resources be returned to the "African masses". The PAC would also maintain its armed struggle.

Two senior PAC members said last night that the decision on negotiations had been approved by an overwhelming majority of delegates.

The PAC's exiled chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, was elected Mr Makwethu's first deputy president in an apparent compromise between the external and internal wings. Twenty internal and 16 external members will serve on the PAC's national executive.
A book reflecting the changed SA

WHO'S WHO IN SA POLITICS No 3, by Sheilagh Gastrow (Ravan, R49.95)

THIS useful reference book is different this time round. The ANC and the PAC's unbannings have altered the political scene drastically.

P W Botha, head of state when the first two editions were published in 1985 and 1988, now doesn't even make Gastrow's list of 100 politicians worthy of note. From the PAC's Benny Alexander to the ANC's Jacob Zuma, Gastrow has included many leaders of formerly banned organisations, and had to update hurriedly as Azapo changed its executive and the SA Communist Party announced the names of its interim leadership group.

Her selection of biographies ranges across the spectrum: AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, national intelligence chief Niel Barnard and Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani, homeland leaders and government Ministers, youth leaders and unionists.

Chris Heunis, Colin Eglin, Louis Stoltberg, Helen Joseph and Beyers Naude are among those who don't make it this time.

Mandela took delivery of a very capitalist symbol, a luxury
Mercedes made for him by the workers at the local plant. Colour? Red

MPA  A sample from The Alternative Mandela Album, by Arnold Benjamin (Argus Newspapers/Arnold Benjamin).
ANC to discuss phased lifting of sanctions

AN ANC discussion document proposing a phased lifting of sanctions would be the major point of discussion at today's meeting of recently returned ANC diplomats, NEC member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

He said the heads of mission — among them ANC representatives from Paris, the US, Brussels, Ethiopia and Mozambique — would exchange views on the sanctions discussion document.

The representatives would brief delegates on the views of governments of the countries in which they were stationed, on the proposal that sanctions should be gradually lifted.

Pahad said all the ANC's heads of mission were in SA. About 60 more ANC members were expected to arrive for the conference. He expressed the hope that delays experienced at the weekend, which led to many of the organisation's diplomats being held up at Jan Smuts Airport for two days, would not be repeated.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's intervention had been responsible for the admission to SA of 25 ANC members delayed at the airport. It was vital that ANC delegates who were still to arrive be allowed into SA before registration for the ANC conference on Thursday, Pahad said.

Sapa reports that the SABC quoted Home Affairs chief director of migration Mike Bester as saying special authority had been given to admit the ANC returnees on Saturday night.

He said the group had been delayed at the airport by "administrative and procedural problems" as his department had been receiving "too little warning" of the ANC members' return.
PAC rejects Govt’s offer of talks

By Kalzer Nyatsumba,
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday rejected the Government’s invitation to hold exploratory talks to pave the way for real negotiations, saying it would negotiate only within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Newly elected PAC president Clarence Makwethu made the announcement at the end of the organisation’s three-day national congress at Shareworld, Johannesburg, last night.

Mr Makwethu said the PAC would negotiate only if negotiations were preceded by elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one-person one-vote on a common voters roll. It was therefore incumbent on the Government to create the right conditions for negotiations.

However, Mr Makwethu said the PAC was prepared to talk to the Government at “a neutral venue” about the modalities of such a constituent assembly.

Mr Makwethu called on the international community to intensify all pressures against Pretoria, saying his organisation remained committed to all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle.

The PAC was also committed to its policy on the return of the land to the indigenous people.

The PAC president said that the organisation remained committed to fight for an end to white domination.

“On that question there can never be a compromise. The Government now realises that separate development can no longer be defended and this shows that we have been correct all along. We must now brace ourselves to crush white domination for ever.”
ANC to act on 'entry refusal'

Staff Report

The 28 African National Congress returnees, who were barred from entering South Africa at the weekend, have been allowed into the country with temporary visas which expire today, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The 26, mostly senior officials, were not allowed to clear customs after landing at Jan Smuts Airport at intervals at the weekend. Some landed on Friday.

They remained in the transit lounge until they were granted entry on Saturday night after the intervention of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. Some were stranded without food or money and the ANC had to rush funds to the airport.

Ms Marcus said the ANC intended taking the matter up with the Government. She did not anticipate problems in extending the visas.

"The Government was sure to have been aware that they were arriving. It is ridiculous to expect them to have organised visas when some were coming from central African countries like Senegal," she said.

Among the group who were refused entry were the head of the ANC's mission in United States, Lindiwe Mabuza; the chief representative in Paris, Solly Smith and the chief representative in Ethiopia, Godfrey Mosepe.

Exile Sidney Molifi, from Mozambique, who had arrived in ill health, had been treated by a doctor after being allowed through customs, Ms Marcus said.

Asked whether the returnees did not have visas as initially reported by the SA authorities, an ANC source who arrived from Lusaka at the same time said she thought arrangements had been made.

"I think they expected to be admitted but not to experience problems."
Violence:
Mandela, FW meet

President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on Saturday held an urgent meeting to discuss the continuing violence plaguing black townships.

In a joint statement, the leaders said the meeting focused on the continuing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property as well as the destabilisation of communities.

"Significant progress was made. We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis, we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps," the statement said.

It said that of primary importance was the need to focus on the resolution of outstanding problems regarding paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute states: "In the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed action with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed that no further public statements would be made on the issue. — Sapa.
THE Azanian People’s Organisation yesterday claimed its insurgents had been in and out of South Africa on numerous occasions, “in pursuit of their revolutionary mission”.

Azapo said it would not approach Pretoria to seek indemnity for exiled members wanting to attend the organisation’s 10th annual congress from December 21 in Cape Town.

Azapo said besides not recognising President F W de Klerk’s authority to grant indemnity, “we find it extremely odd that comrades engaged in the just war of liberation should require indemnification whereas white agents of the wicked war of oppression and genocide against our people should roam occupied Azania with impunity”.

The statement said exiles disallowed from entering the country would “find ways and means” of attending the congress without asking for indemnity, “just as they did in previous congresses and other Azapo gatherings”. —Sapa
BOPHUTHATSWANA's opposition, Seoposengwe Party and its branches will soon change into structures of the ANC.

Spokesman Mr Moatshe yesterday said the party delegates unanimously resolved at the weekend the party should immediately distance itself from homeland politics and join "the peoples' march towards a united South Africa".

The move leaves President Lucas Mangope's nominally independent territory a de facto "one-party state".

Moatshe said the NSP's weekend congress agreed that the party be dissolved, but the process had to be pursued in phases, with NSP branches to be first contacted and advised to join the ANC.

The NSP as a political party was expected to be dissolved sometime next year.

The party's links with the ANC surfaced when the NSP leader, Mr Victor Sifora, was reported to be associated with the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Moatshe said the NSP would in the future team up with other Mass Democratic Movement structures in mass protest and defiance action. - Sapa
Mandela resolves entry wrangle for exiles

A group of 26 returning exiles and ANC members initially refused entry by authorities on Saturday have been admitted into the country after intervention by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela confirmed at the weekend that he had intervened to secure the release of the exiles, who are in the country to attend this week's consultative conference of the ANC.

A high-placed ANC source, who arrived on a plane from Lusaka at the same time as the 26, said the authorities first refused to allow them into the country at Jan Smuts Airport about 1pm.

The source said she then contacted Mandela and other ANC officials when authorities would not allow the exiles in the country.

Problems

"He (Mandela) intervened with other members of the ANC and I think on the basis of that they were allowed in the country," she said.

She said the group was allowed about midnight on Saturday and the matter was expected to be pursued with the authorities today.

Asked whether the exiles did not have visas as initially reported by the authorities, she said she thought arrangements had been made.

"I think they expected to be admitted, but not to experience problems."

ANC official Mr Yusuf Saloojee confirmed at the weekend that Mandela had been at the airport to resolve the situation.

He later left for Pretoria to take up the matter with Government officials.

Meanwhile SABC quoted a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mike Bester, as saying special authority had been given on Saturday night to admit the exiles.

Special arrangements had been made at Jan Smuts Airport to process papers of ANC members arriving for the organisation's conference.

He said the group had been delayed at airport by "administrative and procedural problems", and that the difficulties had been largely because of his department receiving "too little warning" of the return of ANC members.

- Sapa
PAC may still hold out for ‘minimum demand’

DELEGATES to the PAC national congress were last night still locked in a heated debate over whether the organisation should accept the Government’s invitation to the negotiation table.

The congress, the second inside the country, since its formation more than 30 years ago, was held over three days at Sharoworld complex, outside Johannesburg.

Contrary to speculation that the PAC might accept the invitation in view of pressure from the Frontline states, indications last night were that the organisation would not negotiate until the Government had acceded to its ‘minimum demand’ for a constituent assembly.

The youth, who see negotiations as capitulation, were expected to play a major role in the outcome of the debate.

The congress was also expected to elect the successor to the late PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who died of cancer of the throat at the Johannesburg General Hospital a few weeks ago.

Acting president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, was widely seen as a natural choice.

Mr Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the organisation’s external mission and chief commander of Azanian Peoples’ Liberation Army, was also tipped to take over the reigns.

Mlambo, together with other members of APLA, could not attend the conference. He was expected to be elected in absentia.

The organisation was also expected to release details of its programme.
ANC decisions at summit 'binding'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's consultative conference at the weekend, the first of its kind on South African soil since the organisation was banned in 1960, would be attended by 1,011 delegates, some of whom would travel to Johannesburg from 36 countries.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will open the conference on Friday at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg, at 9am.

ANC organiser Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa announced details at a Press conference yesterday on behalf of the national preparatory committee.

Mr Valli Moosa said Mr Tambo, who would arrive on Thursday, would deliver the opening address. Mr Mandela would then deliver a major political statement.

The rest of the conference would be closed to the media, although the final plenary session on Sunday afternoon might be open.

Mr Valli Moosa said the six main issues, which would be debated by delegates in workshops, were negotiations and the suspension of the armed struggle, the strategies and tactics of the ANC, violence, building the organisation, international isolation and a programme of action for next year.

He said decisions taken at the consultative conference would be binding.
ANC comes of age

From JOHN BATTERSBY
THE ANC’s consultative conference was a landmark event — not only for the Afri
can National Congress but for all South Africa.

The ANC emerged from the conference stronger, more united and with an ar
essiveness and self-confidence which had been missing from its return to the
country earlier this year.

“This is a very remarkable achieve
ment,” observed a senior Western
diplomat after the opening session.

“The ANC is beginning to look
more like an alternative Govern
ment.”

It was the moment the ANC came of age — an important event on the long and painful transition from a liberation movement to a fully-fledged political
movement. As an observer, one could not help be
struck by the seriousness and unity of purpose, the maturity and mutual re
spect of the different groupings and the integrity of the leadership.

The immensely dignified presence of the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver
Tambo, was a powerful symbol for the organisation.

The mutual respect that ANC deputy
president Mr Nelson Mandela and Tambo showed for each other was as

touching as it was genuine.

Tambo’s diplomatic skills, competence and compassion had kept the ANC going
through its darkest years — the 1960s — when its internal organisation was
crashed and its leadership jailed.

Courage

It was an intensely moving expe
rience to see a man who had sacrificed the best year’s of his life in exile return
to the land he longed to see free.

His courage and determination was
evident in each word he painlessly ut
tered, despite the considerable disabil
ity he inherited following a serious stroke last year.

His message was encapsulated in one
sentence of his opening address: “We should observe democratic practices in all our structures,” he said.

“Conditions of illegality, which in the past imposed some limitations on our
adherence to principles of democracy, no longer prevail.”

The subtlety and sophistication of the
pre-conference preparation was evident in the careful but interrelated nature of the six commission topics — an attempt to

COMRADES-IN-ARMS: The “old firm” of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo received a standing ovation at the opening
ceremony of the ANC conference.

South, 19/12/90

This is a tough climb to President
FW de Klerk. Demolish the walls that
still divide us or we (the people) will do
it ourselves.

Could the final burial of apartheid resemble the spectacular demise of the
Berlin Wall last November? It is not
unthinkable.

In his closing address — one of his
most impressive public speeches since his release in February — Mandela struck a delicate balance in acknowledging the vigorous criticism of the leadership and drawing the lines of his author

ity.

He was humble in accepting the criti
icism but firm in making clear what he
would not tolerate revolts which had
no respect for democracy and members who did not show respect for
national executive members.

He forcefully defended the holding of confidential meetings with the govern
ment and reminded delegates that, without
them, the conference would not have been taking place inside the country.

Mandela was most moving when he
articulated the magical chemistry of the conference: it was precisely because
there had been such a vigorous exchange that delegates — often from vastly dif
ferent experiences — were closer to one another and the organisation was
stronger.

For the first time the internal compo
nent of the ANC was fully represented
along with the exiles, the former Rob
ben Island prisoners and the cadres of
Umkhonto weSizwe.

“These four strands of experience have
the potential of enriching our move
ment greatly,” Mandela said, “provided
we recognise the values of each and work
ourselves into a robust cord so that they are mutually reinforcing.”

In local media coverage, much of the
significance of the event has been
omitted by the inevitable focus sur
rounding the ANC’s stand on sanctions.

Sanctions are on the way out and the
ANC will have to acknowledge that sooner rather than later. But that’s not
the point. People who are fighting for
survival in a vicious civil war are not
prepared to see reason.

The conference was — by any stan
dards — a visually and organisationally
impressive event.

For this correspondent — who had
just spent a week covering an MPLA
conference in Luanda, Angola — the
contrast was as striking as moving from
Albania to Washington.

BANKED: Some of the 1600 delegates at the conference held near Soweto
Mandela: 'Put your trust in us'
Next year will be a year of mass action

From ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

The ANC has declared 1983 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the government for the transfer of power, a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action, adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday, contains details of several events which will take place in the new year.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the correction of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised around the opening of parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly, and the abolition of the tribal and homelands systems. This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to mobilise people around the objectives of an interim government and constituent assembly.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the government into ending the carnage in the townships. Such action will be waged within the context of a demand within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations as spelt out in the Harare Declaration and the dismantling of the homeland and other apartheid structures.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces against the government.

The organisation's Land Commission has been given a mandate to draw up a programme of action for the "return of the land to its rightful owners".

A mass education programme will be started to enforce a "culture of learning" among students and to mobilise support for a common education system and the provision of adequate funds to education.

The NEC has been instructed to set up a National Defence Committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in the country's violence-ridden townships.

ANC members, with a replica gun, keep back the crowds at Oliver Tambo's homecoming at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

ANC will 'tackle' EC

The ANC will take up the European Community's decision to lift sanctions with individual European governments to seek support for its call that sanctions be maintained, ANC foreign affairs director Vhua Mbeki said yesterday.

Participating in a press conference after the ANC's three-day consultative conference, Mr Mbeki said: "The struggle for the isolation of the apartheid regime continues.

Aware of the world's changing attitude on punitive measures against South Africa, the ANC would also hold discussions with the American government, the international anti-apartheid movement and the democratic movement inside South Africa to push for the maintenance of sanctions.

In a resolution on international isolation, adopted at the conference, the ANC said it would urgently organise an international summit to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.

The ANC considered the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as testament to anticipating defeat on the issue, it said.

The document, however, introduced a relaxed stance on trade sanctions.

It said the ANC would tie the lifting of trade restrictions to the removal of discriminatory practices in the export sector. Discussions to affect this would be held with trade unions, business organisations and the government.
FOR TAMBO FOR TAMBO
A Jubilant Homcoming

Rhodias's loss
The slaughter
from Port Harcourt

by Escola Setto

[Image of a Triumph: Rhodias's loss]
Supporters today received a rousing welcome after nearly three decades in exile.
The question facing the ANC

Opinion

Political writer Shawn Johnson Second-success this weekend’s historic conference

"...The ANC is facing a crisis of legitimacy and leadership. Its failure to deliver on its promises of growth, transformation, and national unity has eroded public confidence and trust. The ANC needs to address these challenges head-on, and the second conference this weekend provides an opportunity for the party to demonstrate its commitment to renewal and reform..."
PAC opens to talks as door opens

SOUTH VIEW

SOUTH, December 13 to December 17 1990 27
African National Congress
Youth League

A GLORIOUS HOMECOMING

Viva Comrade Tambo!

Across the length and breadth of our land, from every village and homestead, from the cities and towns, from the schools and campuses, let us together join in the celebration of the heroic return of a great leader and astute statesman.

The coming home of Comrade President OR Tambo, at a time when a historic landmark in the history of our struggle has been reached, is in itself a clarion call for every South African who cherishes a new united and non-racial order, to engage more intensely in the transformative process. Our common resolve to triumph over the ills of apartheid oppression and artificial division should be emphasised more than ever before. Our watchword must remain unity in action!

“In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our own history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation. Nothing will change except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata; Nothing will change without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. No force on earth can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle.

“We invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek and find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure.” — OR Tambo, 1979.

OR Tambo ranks among the greatest political figures of our times. His sagacity, maturity and humility are the marks of a towering personality imbued with a deep sense of justice and an inspiring love for the people.

President OR Tambo’s return to our country and people is perhaps one of the most important blessings to come our way as South Africans at this decisive period. More of us need to emulate his example.

**Fight! Produce! Learn!**
ANC POWER PLAN

REPORT BY HILTON HAMANN

PLANS FOR REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN 1994

Security chiefs allege clandestine

South African...
THE first phase of a countrywide mass mobilisation campaign to force the government to establish an interim government saw an estimated 30 000 ANC supporters march in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein this week.

In the Free State's Ficksburg, 1 000 marched while in Wepener there were 400, Cradock had 1 500, Bultfontein 300 and Brakpan 400 on a trouble-free Thursday.

South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said government's opposition to mass action would not be considered until people had direct representation inside the Union Buildings: "We shall not get off the streets of this nation because they are our only parliament."

"Until there is parliament for all the people, we shall continue to walk."

Demands also included a constituent assembly, the repeal of repressive laws, freedom for political prisoners and the unhindered return of exiles.

The Pretoria and Johannesburg marches were led by ANC and SACP heavyweights like Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Albie Sachs, Noo and Ahmed Kordana. called on the government to "quit its pretensions" and reiterated his organisation's commitment to negotiations.

In Pretoria, Slovo took to the entrance of the Union Buildings in what he said was the climax of a march which began 350 years ago.

"It has been a 350-year walk to the Union Buildings. Our people have been walking to them for the past 350 years and shall continue walking until we get inside the buildings."

Slovo was joined by ANC officials Ruth Mompati, Pals Jordaan, Jackie Selebi and Winnie Mandela.

Other demands are the immediate curbing of township violence which has claimed more than 800 lives in the past few weeks.

Slovo praised police at the march: "The police have behaved themselves. This is why there has been no death, no shooting or teargas."

"We hope this is a lesson to the rulers that the practice of democracy is not dangerous."

The biggest march took place in Johannesburg with 15 000 supporters.

"We shall overcome ... Jo'burg had the biggest turnout."

Mandela (U.D.)

Maharaj, who led the Johannesburg march with veteran ANC politicians like Andrew Mlangeni, Noo and Ahmed Kordana, called on the government to "quit its pretensions" and reiterated his organisation's commitment to negotiations.

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Mandela (U.D.)
15,000 marchers took to the streets and headed for John Vorster Square.

Badge of freedom ... marchers wield the big bat in Pretoria this week.

Heavyweights ... the ANC's Winnie Mandela and the SACP's Joe Slovo outside the Union Buildings after the Pretoria march.