BLACK POLITICS - 1991

JULY
ANC 'peace architects'

DURBAN — The African National Congress was the architect of the peace process in South Africa and was determined to continue this momentum forward, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

He arrived in the city accompanied by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo to attend the ANC's 48th national conference.

About 200 people chanted and toyi-toyiied at Louis Botha Airport as Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela made a brief appearance before being whisked away.

Mr Tambo did not address the crowd. But Mr Mandela said: "You will hear the president addressing delegates (to the conference). It's not necessary for him to say anything now."

Mr Mandela added that the conference would address issues facing the transformation from an apartheid state to democracy.

Other issues would be an interim government — "a sovereign body with complete control of all organs of control" — a constituent assembly, patriotic front, all-party conference, and negotiations.

"We are the architects of the peace process and we're determined to continue this momentum forward," he added.

Build-up to vital conference — Page 11
Key ANC personalities lobby for top positions

THE SPARRING is over, and now the gloves are off in the fight for the top jobs that are viewed by many as a prelude to future government positions. It is for this reason that lobbying has been fierce, and the jockeying for position between different factions has been intense.

Already, the one battle seems over, that of former United Democratic Front officials for recognition of the role they played in mobilising the people while the ANC was banned and in exile. Resentment had built up because when the ANC was unbanned, "Lusaka was just transferred to Johannesburg", as one observer said, "as if the internal activists did not have any political ambitions."

To a large extent, this alienated the UDF and its labour ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the ANC found it difficult to re-establish itself because it depended on grassroots structures of the Mass Democratic Movement.

It was perhaps in recognition of this that the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa, who was being wooed by the SA Communist Party through its "workerist" thrust, has been nominated for the position of secretary-general.

Also as an indication of how seriously the ANC views the role of the union movement, another NUM official, Gwede Mantashe, has been nominated for one of the 50 positions on the national executive.

The much-talked about plan to oust the "old guard" has generally been watered down, and described rather as a "renewal process" which, members say, is a natural process for any organisation that does not wish to become stagnant.

However, sources within the ANC suggest that the group referred to in internal discussion documents as "reformists" seems to have held so much sway that it was decided to neutralise their argument for speedy settlement.

The reformists are seen as "Mbeki, Barbara Masekela, Steve Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu, Joel Netshitenzi, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Ahmed Kathrada, Zola Skweyiya, Allie Sachs, Thomas Nhlabathi, Alfred Nzo, Simon Makanaka, Joe Nhlanhla, Josiah Jebe, Joe Modise, Siza Sigxashe and Mzwai Piliso. Of these, only the first 11 have secured nominations.

A document detailing why it is believed the "reformists" are wrong in their assessment of the situation and of President de Klerk has been circulated.

According to ANC sources, the organisation has been "sending out confusing and sometimes disorganising signals" and there was a need to debate issues of strategy openly.

The view that Mr de Klerk was prepared to concede "all the major objectives of our national democratic struggle" is faulted, as is the view that the right wing is the major threat in the process towards a democratic South Africa.

"Mr de Klerk and his Government have not embarked on the negotiations process because they now believe in the broad objectives of our national democratic revolution... on the contrary, they are negotiating and reforming in order to conserve as much white power and privilege as possible..." declares the document.

Says the ANC source: "Opposition to the reformist position is not based on opposition to negotiations. In fact, the negotiation process presents very real possibilities for a meaningful democratic advance, provided we understand and handle them correctly."

The document claims that there is no one within the ANC calling for "an armed alternative to negotiations, but there are those calling for a firm approach to talks". Instead, power derives from mass support and mobilisation at home, it says.

Another issue that is likely to spark much debate is representation by women on the national executive. Among those nominated are Cheryl Carolus, Sandra Africa, Barbara Masekela, Maggie Govender, Jane Mollefe, Janet Love, Albertina Sisulu, Phumlani Williams, Sister Bernard Mncube, Thandile Mntuso, Freeny Ginwala, Nosiwo Madlabi, Hilda Ndou and Bridgette Mabandla.

It has been resolved that at least one third of the executive must consist of women.

On the basis of broad support, it looks as if the final directly elected executive of the ANC will be: Nelson Mandela, president; Walter Sisulu, deputy; Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general; Popo Molefe, assistant secretary-general; Arnold Stoffel, treasurer-general.

The 50 elected NEC members most likely to be elected are: Billy Nair, Sbu Ndebele, Dulliah Omar, Thabo Mbeki, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Suttner, Dr Aaron Motwaledi, Chris Han, Govan Mbeki, Kadar Asmal, Lawrence Phokanoka, Dr Pallo Jordan, Sydney Mfumadi, Blane Nkabinde, Willis Mchunu, Steve Tshwete, Ebrahim Ismail, Ibrahim, David Ndawo, Charles Ncakula, Gwede Mantashe, Joe Slovo, J M Patho, J M Patho, Terror Lekota, Harry Gwala, Gugulethu Nkwini, Raymond Mhlaba, Joel Netshitenzi, John Nkabinde, Father Smangaliso Mkhatswa, Professor Mohammad, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Ahmed Kathrada, Job Makgoro, Zola Skweyiya, Albie Sachs and the women listed above. D
A decisive week in South Africa's political history starts in Durban tomorrow, when the African National Congress holds its congress.

JOE LATAKOMO and ESMARIE VAN DER MERWE examine the issues and the personalities.

The election, crucial as it may be, pales in significance compared with the strategic decisions to be taken at the University of Durban-Westville, the venue for the historic gathering.

The ANC will have to formulate a clear, unambiguous strategy to regain the initiative it is perceived to have lost to the Government. To do this, it will take stock of its achievements and failures in the 17 months since its unbanning.

With negotiations officially having been called off, although talks are undoubtedly continuing on some level between the two parties, the ANC will have to decide whether to push ahead with talks about talks.

It will have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of compromising even more than it has up to now — even on key demands such as a constituent assembly — or delaying negotiations further by maintaining a hardline attitude to force some concessions from the Government.

Initial indications were that the rank and file were directing their frustration about the slow progress being made with negotiations at the "moderates". These men were unfairly blamed for having given too much away. Yet, as greater realism is setting in, some of the leaders wrongly blamed for the ANC's performance seem to be rising in the popularity stakes again.

A related issue of similarly critical importance will be to convince supporters of the need for negotiations. The grassroots is becoming increasingly disgruntled because it has seen little effect of negotiations on their lives.

While the ANC can obviously not be blamed for not solving the housing or unemployment crises, it can lower expectations — something it has not done up to now — and contribute to efforts to solve these burning issues by formulating attainable policies to implement once it is in a position of power.

One area it should focus on is the government's economic policies, which have been a major source of frustration. The ANC should use its influence to promote economic policies that benefit all South Africans.

Another area of self-examination will be its relationship with other political forces. The Government's actions have left the ANC with little choice but to take a stern look at its own leadership, its financial position and ways of getting its message across to the man in the street.

The party's primary focus must be on its ability to unite forces against the Government and to be successful among groups on the political Left, with the much-anticipated apartheid-front conference now scheduled for August, but much still needed to be done.

A key issue which will be grappled with is sanctions. Delegations are expected to arrive at strategies to stop the protracted violence which has torn communities apart and turned township life into a living nightmare.

The ANC has little evidence of self-defence units having been set up. Talk of the armed struggle won't bring the bloody fighting to an end. Neither will the hope that the security forces will miraculously get their act together, or that alleged Government agents, accused by the ANC of deliberately trying to destabilise it, would stop doing so overnight.

In view of this, the ANC will have to examine its relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose forces have been implicated in most of the violent attacks, and speed up efforts to arrive at an agreed code of conduct for the security forces.

Amid reports that the ANC's membership drive has been less than satisfactory, it will have to take a stern look at its own leadership, its financial position and ways of getting its message across to the man in the street.

The Government's suggestion of granting ministerial positions to extra-parliamentary leaders is expected to come up for debate, and care will undoubtedly be given to ensure the membership that the ANC will not allow itself — as the government-in-waiting — to be co-opted.
Vital week for the ANC

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The ANC’s week of reckoning has arrived, with more than 2,000 delegates gathering for the national conference, starting tomorrow, which is to decide on a new set of leaders, policies and strategies.

At Louis Botha Airport last night, Mr. Nelson Mandela told a welcoming crowd that the outcome of the conference would indicate the “way forward from an apartheid state to an interim government.”

He said the ANC had been the original “architects of the peace process in this country.”

The outcome of the conference, the first in South Africa in more than three decades, and the choice of leaders will decide the direction of the 500,000-strong movement for the next three crucial years as South Africa moves into the transitional phase of negotiations and some form of interim government.

Major focus

Events at the week-long conference at the University of Durban-Westville will be closely followed by South Africans from all parties and also by the more than 350 high-profile foreign guests from countries as diverse as Libya, Malaysia, Cuba, Australia, the United States, Norway and the Soviet Union.

A major focus of interest will be the leadership race — for the top five positions on the executive and the elections for a further 50 positions up for grabs on the expanded executive.

Although formal balloting for the positions will begin only on Friday afternoon, hopefuls will be lobbying feverishly for the top spots all week, both during largely closed sessions of the conference and behind closed doors after hours.

The election results — expected to be announced about the same time the Durban July is decided just a few kilometres away — are likely to see the dumping of a large number of the ANC’s old guard who currently dominate the 35-member national executive committee.

Although Mr. Mandela and Mr. Walter Sisulu appear to have the positions of president and deputy president sewn up, younger activists from the former Mass Democratic Movement are expected to displace a number of the ANC old guard from leadership positions.

Whatever the final outcome, the elections should provide the ANC with a more self-confident leadership corps which, as a result of their fresh mandate, will be able to stamp their authority on the ANC and give the organisation a greater sense of coherence and direction.

However, top government sources fear that holding the elections late in the week might produce a more radical line-up which would be difficult to deal with in the upcoming multi-party conference and during negotiations for a new constitution.

The pledge was made in a resolution passed at the party’s central committee meeting here.

“We declare that we will do all we can to ensure that the ANC can hold its congress in peace,” the committee said.

The central committee would continue acting as an interim national executive arm of the party.

The IFP also stated that it looked forward to the coming meeting between the ANC national executive committee and IFP central committee to resolve the outstanding problems between the two organisations.
2) Intangible Benefits is generally regarded a benefit which is
difficult to assign a monetary value to it. It is

However, other techniques such as Value Analysis are used
THE ANC was definitely interested in buying the colliery village of Springfield next to the disused Grootvlei power station, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said at the weekend.

The village, which will be auctioned tomorrow, could fetch up to R18m. It consists of more than 250 houses, a small hospital and vacant land, and was put up for sale by Anglo American earlier this year.

Macozoma would not elaborate at the weekend on what the ANC would do with the complex if it bought it.

However, he did say the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returning Exiles (NCCR) was not involved in plans to buy Springfield.

Auctioneers Chase and Son director Tony Chase said there was no reserve price on the complex, but that he expected it to fetch "somewhere between R4m and R8m".

He confirmed that the ANC had shown an interest in the colliery, and said a group of local farmers had also formed a committee to bid for it.

There were at least five other possible buyers, but they had asked not to be identified, he said.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan confirmed at the weekend that the ANC had shown an interest in the property, but refused to name other possible bidders.

Members of the local community oppose the sale.

At an open meeting in May, Grootvlei residents, residents of the nearby Eskom village, and members of the nearby farming community elected a committee to find a local buyer for the Springfield complex.

Committee member Daan Pretorius said at the weekend: "The aim was to keep the village open for the rural community."

The committee had found a "partnership" that was interested in buying the village, he said. The partnership, which he would not name, would bid tomorrow and would rent the land to local community members, including pensioners and people working in nearby towns.
Eskom rejects ANC's criticism

Eskom has rejected ANC criticism that power stations are being closed despite the fact that more than 20 million people are still without electricity.

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said this week that instead of closing power stations, government (and therefore Eskom) should attempt to provide electricity to the about 80% of SA's population who have not got it.

Eskom CEO Ian McRae agreed there had to be a massive effort to provide electricity to the majority of South Africans, but said there were still a number of issues to surmount.

A major problem was the "politicisation" of electricity services. Another major problem was funding for the infrastructure.

Eskom corporate electrification manager Johan du Plessis said: "Eskom has surplus generating capacity and older, less economical power stations were mothballed to cut costs by using the modern, economical power stations with a better fuel efficiency and lower maintenance costs."

Eskom still had sufficient generating capacity to supply electricity to all the people of SA without having to build a single extra power station, Du Plessis said.

McRae said the electrification of 20-million homes could provide up to 2-million jobs.

Du Plessis said that although it was Eskom's vision to bring electricity to all, it could be done only where it was economically viable — where people could afford it and were prepared to pay for it.
LONDON. — The South African government is expected to steal some of the ANC's thunder during its conference this week by announcing the signing of an agreement with the UN High Commission for Refugees enabling exiles to return home.

This was suggested yesterday by the London Sunday Times in one of several previews of this week's ANC conference. All the articles focus on the leadership battle and the expected voting out of top office of much of the formerly exiled leadership.

The probable election of Mr Walter Sisulu as deputy president is widely seen as a compromise, delaying for a time the confrontation between the hawks as represented by Mr Chris Hani, and the doves represented by Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Under the headline "Mandela's battered ANC seeks new path", the Sunday Times says the jockeying for leadership in the ANC "underlines the dilemma facing the ANC: Whichever it can transform itself from a national liberation movement into a streamlined political party complete with specific policies".

A broad movement with members ranging from Stalinists to social democrats, the Sunday Times says "the moment it defines precisely where it stands politically, it will lose supporters".

But it says it would be a mistake to write the ANC off. Polls show it still commands the support of 70% of urbanised Africans. The Observer, like the Sunday Times, does not believe Zulu moderate Mr Jacob Zuma will be elected to the deputy presidency. "As if to give the kiss of death to Mr Zuma's deputy presidency, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he would welcome Mr Zuma's election to a senior position."

Writing in the Independent on Sunday, columnist and Oxford fellow Mr RW Johnson said the conference means that the ANC, "having long talked the language of democracy, is now making a praiseworthy attempt to practise it".

He said no matter what is discussed at the conference, "negotiations with the government will probably recommence soon afterwards".

Another independent correspondent predicts that judging by the nominations so far, two-thirds of the present leadership will lose their seats".
ANC and government work together to shape foreign policy

Zimbabwe maintains a 15-man diplomatic mission in Johannesburg to oil the wheels of its growing trade with South Africa.

Torpedoed

Diplomatic sources said the structure of the EPU Mark II delegation under Chief Anyaka had already been agreed. So, too, had the topics the delegation would discuss at a closed conference before going on to Harare to report to the heads of government.

The South African government is keen for the EPU Mark II to see the changes that have occurred since the first disastrous EPU under Pretoria’s General Obasanjo in early 1998. On that occasion the EPU Mark I was edging close to an agreement under which the ANC would suspend armed struggle in return for Pretoria releasing Nelson Mandela from prison and opening negotiations.

But the EPU mission was deliberately torpedoed by Pretoria’s hawks when the South African army launched raids into three neighbouring states.

The government’s attitude towards the Commonwealth has changed completely since President F W de Klerk came to power. Both the government and the ANC agree that South Africa should rejoin the Commonwealth. The late Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd led the country out of the Commonwealth after the March 1961 London summit at which his apartheid policies were severely criticised.

ANC adamant

The South African government believes that Commonwealth civil servants have become more professional and realistic in the late Eighties and that the organisation can play an important role in smoothing the re-entry of South Africa into other international organisations.

For that reason the government would be happy to rejoin Commonwealth membership before South Africa’s new democratic constitution is in place; but the ANC is adamant that the country should rejoin only after the first one-person-one-vote election some time in late 1994 or early 1995.

The ANC is keen for South Africa to join the Commonwealth. During its long years in exile it received important support from many Commonwealth countries, and official such as Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs, and Paddy Jordan, director of information, maintained good relations with Commonwealth secretariat.

For its part the government feels the Commonwealth has undergone an important and positive transformation — ironically, largely because of the issue of South Africa.

Because it had dominated summits for the past 20 years and threatened to break up the Commonwealth, key actors decided that the organisation must “grow up” and get involved with a host of other important world issues, such as global security and human rights rather than those pertaining in South Africa.

Pretoria feels that the new breed of Commonwealth technocrats can play a particularly important role in organising an EC-type Southern African Economic Community, to the benefit of everyone in the region.

In their extraordinary secret negotiations on foreign policy the government and the ANC have agreed that South Africa has a moral responsibility to play a vital role in the recognition and development of the shattered or run-down economies of the region.

Watershed?

Now that South African foreign policy is no longer exclusively in the hands of the government the Commonwealth seems likely to succumb to temptation and act as facilitator.

Diplomatic sources said the EPU Mark II visit could turn out to be the watershed in the whole South African reform process. An endorsement of that process could give momentum to the constitutional talks, which are likely to be under way by the time the Commonwealth leaders meet.

Most other South African parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party and the Black Consciousness Movement, support a return to the Commonwealth.

Only the Afrikaner far right wing is opposed and sees it as a British plot, a continuation of the Boer War objectives of subjugating the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners. A recent commentary in Die Afrikaner, the voice of the right wing Conservative Party, said last month’s visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher was a conspiracy — with the communist Gorbachev against the Afrikaner nation.

The Afrikaner added: “Britain’s objectives are, most probably, to have southern Africa in the British sphere of influence; and for this, South Africa is the most important ingredient.”

“Thatcher’s motivation was not primarily a love for the blacks and the communist, but a British obsession to remove Afrikaner nationalism from South African politics — the old Milner-Rhodes-Chamberlain politics which never succeeded.” — Sunday Telegraph
Alleged coup leader on way to ANC talks

The Argus Correspondent

Johannesburg — Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing — arrested when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday — was on his way to Durban to attend the ANC's national congress, sources within the organisation said here.

Mr Malebane-Metsing, who allegedly masterminded the abortive 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana, was released on bail of R100 after appearing in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on Saturday night.

He faces extradition to Bophuthatswana.

Spokesmen at the homes of ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said Mr Malebane-Metsing had come to South Africa for the congress.

His arrest has reportedly angered the ANC and has had government departments at loggerheads.

Justice Department spokesman Mr Nick Grobler said Mr Malebane-Metsing had been granted indemnity from prosecution for illegally leaving the country.

But the indemnity did not apply to the extradition application.

Department of Foreign Affairs sources indicated surprise at Mr Malebane-Metsing's arrest.
ANC conference holds key to political future

By MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

One of the most important political gatherings of the negotiation era starts in Durban tomorrow when the ANC gets down to laying clearer policy guidelines and choosing a new team to deal with the government.

The outcome will have a direct and crucial bearing on the course and style of negotiation politics.

Feverish lobbying is expected among the 2,000 delegates before voting starts on Friday for the 50-plus top executive committee posts.

The movement’s 46th annual conference, the first within South Africa in more than 30 years, will also clarify policy guidelines on key issues. Among them is the demand for an interim government to run the country during the transition to a new order.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, who is expected to be elected president to replace the ailing Mr. Oliver Tambo — who will probably become honorary president — said on television last night that the conference would spell out a detailed position on the demand for an interim government.

The most important feature of the conference will be the leadership elections. These will be closely watched by all political groupings in South Africa, and by governments abroad.

The present leadership is expected to come under fire for its handling of the slow release of political prisoners, likely to be aired by delegates representing former Robben Island prisoners, and the return of exiles.

Other issues likely to provoke criticism are suspension of the armed struggle without wider consultation, a belief that leaders are not fully accountable to the membership, and the perception that the ANC gave more than they gained from the government at their Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings.

It appears that Mr. Walter Sisulu is assured of the post of deputy president, but tough contests are expected for the post of secretary-general, now held Mr. Alfred Nzo, and the other 50-plus in the NEC.

There are broadly two camps in the ANC: those who stress the movement’s role as a national liberation movement engaged in a struggle against apartheid, and those who want to see the ANC acting as a political party or a government in waiting.

Both camps are committed to a negotiated solution, but differ on how to achieve it.

Unionists are expected to send a powerful lobby to the conference.

See page 2.
IFP to ensure peace for ANC's conference

THE Inkatha Freedom Party says it will ensure no violence occurs during the national conference of the ANC which opens in Durban today.

The pledge was made in a resolution passed at the party's central committee meeting at Ujundi, KwaZulu's seat of government.

**Political party**

"We declare that we will do all we can to ensure that the ANC can hold its congress in peace," the committee said. **Durban 17/11**

In another resolution, the IFP acknowledged it had not completed its transition from a tribal movement to a modern political party. It said there had not been sufficient time and resources.

The central committee would continue acting as an interim national executive arm of the party. - Sapa
IFP rejects ANC’s indaba invitation

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has declined an invitation to send two of its representatives to the African National Congress national conference in Durban this week.

The President of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said relations between his organisation and the ANC would first have to be normalised.

The IFP leader said he had just returned from abroad when he was told that Mr Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the ANC, “has conveyed to Dr Frank Mdlalose the ANC NEC’s willingness to meet the central committee of the IFP after its (ANC) congress to resolve the setback in our relations caused by attacks by the ANC on the IFP in the ultimatum that was sent to President de Klerk by the ANC.”

“He said, in a meeting which the deputy president of the ANC discussed with me on the telephone and which we agreed was necessary in order to normalise relations between the ANC and the IFP,” Buthelezi said.

“We hope this meeting will normalise relations between the two organisations. The central committee stated that Inkatha Freedom Party cannot place the cart before the horse. We have to wait for the normalisation of relations between the two organisations first before we relate in the normal way to each other as organisations and as members of our organisations by, for example, accepting the kind of invitation under discussion,” Buthelezi said.

Members of the IFP were totally committed to bringing about a multi-party democracy.

“For this to happen relationships between political parties will have to be normalised. This in turn will only happen if violence abates and dialogue between political parties begins,” he said.

He said the central committee had resolved to “wish the ANC well in holding its congress . . . and applaud the attempt by the ANC to link itself to the wider society around it.”

It stated that Inkatha was looking forward to discussions between its central committee and the ANC’s national executive.

It also said it looked forward to meeting the ANC’s executive committee to resolve “the outstanding problems.”
ANC’s forgotten leaders left in cold

Focus

By SY

MAKARINGE

They came home to a tumultuous and emotion-charged welcome in a spectacle that captured the imagination of the international community.

Traffic came to a virtual standstill in the townships while horde of local and international journalists jostled with hundreds of youths in an effort to get the first glimpse of Mr Walter Sisulu soon after he and six other ANC veterans walked out of prison where they had spent a total of 167 years.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were carried shoulder-high by chanting youths and ecstatic ANC supporters when they arrived at their homes in Soweto and Eldorado Park on the morning of October 15 1989. The same went for Mr Raymond Mhlaba in Port Elizabeth and Mr Oscar Mptaha in Cape Town.

Chants, ululations and singing filled the air as cries of “our leaders are back” reverberated across the dusty and sprawling townships of Soweto.

Conference

Meanwhile the dust has settled and most of these men have now assumed the unfortunate status of “yesterday’s heroes.” Less than two years after their release, they have taken a back seat on the ANC wagon.

And as the organisation’s first national conference inside the country draws closer these men, who sacrificed themselves for the emancipation of the oppressed black masses, are moving further and further into the shadows.

With the exception of Sisulu, former general secretary of the ANC, the men seem to be languishing in the dark.

Their unwavering commitment to the struggle has been forgotten.

The price they paid for their beliefs is no longer appreciated.

Not a single line is written about them as the names of possible candidates for the ANC’s new national executive committee keep cropping up in the media.

For example Kathrada, affectionately known as “Kathy”, tasted well-deserved power when he was appointed head of the organisation’s department of information and publicity. Described by those who know him as a man of vision and dedication, Kathrada (62) was also part of the ANC delegation which met the Government to draw up the Groote Schuur Minute last year.

Disappear

He also accompanied ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela on his first overseas trip. But all this was shortlived.

Kathy was later to disappear into oblivion when a younger and more energetic Dr Pallo Jordan returned from exile and subsequently took over the responsibilities of the department.

Mlangeni (63), who looked as strong as a bull on the day of his release, addressed a number of rallies in the first few weeks of his freedom. He was later elected as patron of the ANC-aligned Operation Masshane for the Homeless, formed to address grievances of shack dwellers and the homeless.

Health

His contribution too was overshadowed by other political developments.

Motsoaledi, plagued by ill-health, addressed a few rallies before he too disappeared from the public eye.

Mkwayi, Mhlaba and the ailing unionist Mptaha also seem to have been left out in the cold.

As younger and more militant ANC activists wait in the wings to be elected into the organisation’s decision-making body, the older men’s chances of being part of the executive committee continue to fade away.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is set to bow out due to failing health.

No doubt

There is absolutely no doubt that the centre stage now belongs to Mandela and other ANC members such as Mr Jacob Zuma, ANC’s representative in Natal; Mr Joe Modise, community leader in Umkotho we Sizwe; Mr Chris Hani, Umkonto we Sizwe chief of staff; Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of the ANC’s international affairs; Sisulu, chairman of the internal leadership corps; and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other activists whose names are always on people’s lips are Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; Mrs Gertrude Sizwe, president of the ANC Women’s League; and Mr Peter Mokaba, leader of the ANC Youth League.

Other people who are expected to be elected into the executive are some of those who spent several years in exile.

The death knell for less prominent veterans was sounded on February 11 last year, when the charismatic Mandela was released from Pollsmoor Prison.

Thousands of Sowetan schoolchildren packed Orlando Stadium the following day where they expected Mandela to address them.

Mandela was delayed in Cape Town and could not come to Johannesburg immediately - a fact the children didn’t know.

Kathrada and Mlangeni were asked to deliver the message to the waiting schoolchildren. When the pupils saw these climbing the makeshift stage, they immediately knew Mandela would not be coming.

It was clear they did not want to listen to what Kathrada and Mlangeni had to say; they flocked out of the stadium.

It will be interesting to see what role these men are to play in the so-called new South Africa.
ANC to boot out SACP men - IFF

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) is likely to lose a number of key positions on the ANC's national executive.

The International Freedom Foundation said yesterday it had set up a "Congress Barometer" to analyse events leading up the ANC Congress this week.

"Indications are that over half the members of the current ANC NEC will lose their positions to internal ANC leaders... this will result in the SACP losing a number of key members on the current 36-member NEC."

Key factors against their re-election to the NEC included their age and their lack of a grassroots support base. However, this would not necessarily result in a decrease in SACP influence over the ANC.

The party would still hold important ANC administrative posts, and many younger party members, "who have risen through the ranks of the ANC’s internal leadership and the trade union movement, will be elected to replace their ageing members on the current NEC.”

The IFF listed 15 SACP leaders serving on the ANC’s NEC who it thought faced little chance of re-election:

Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Ismail Ibrahim - senior SACP members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who enjoyed a high public profile at a grassroots level - also stood a good chance of election, said the IFF. - Sapa
Independent team to monitor ANC voting

By Esmeré van der Merwe and Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — The ANC has brought in an independent team to monitor and control the election of its new national executive.

A four-man electoral commission has been proposed by the existing National Executive Committee (NEC).

The independent team is headed by Charles Nupen, who founded the Independent Mediation Service of SA, an organisation which has helped to resolve disputes between trade unions and employers.

He will be assisted by Arthur Chaskalson, a leading lawyer and national director of the Legal Resources Centre, Enos Mabuza, former kaNgwane chief minister, and the Rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Dr Jaram Reddy.

The commission, once approved, will be assisted by representatives from each of the ANC's 14 regional delegations.

The appointment of an independent electoral commission is unusual in South African politics and reflects the desire of the NEC to be seen as neutral and not trying to manipulate the elections.

It comes amidst intense competition for the 55 directly elected positions on the executive.

The election will be preceded by a series of sessions, run by the electoral commission, to explain the voting procedures to the 2,000 delegates.

The result of the election will be announced on Saturday.

The Star's Durban correspondent reports that the 2,000 delegates at the ANC conference at the University of Durban-Westville were without telephones for most of yesterday after vandals cut the main cable to the area.

All phones in the Durban suburbs of Reservoir Hills and Westville North were out of order after 150 m of copper cable was stolen near the area exchange on Sunday night.

ANC appeal to whites

— Page 2
Azasco slates proposed takeover of white schools

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee's planned occupation of empty white schools would lead to the "de-culturisation" of black pupils if the move were allowed to go ahead, the Black Consciousness-aligned Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) warned yesterday.

The student movement was reacting to plans by the NECC southern Transvaal region to occupy Orange Grove Primary School, which was closed at the beginning of the year, and to spread this campaign to other under-utilised white schools in the PWV area.

"Education must be community-based and we believe the Government is not unable to provide black pupils with the same facilities it gives to whites," said Azasco publicity secretary Sipho Maseko.

The campaign to occupy empty and under-utilised white schools came under the spotlight last week when the NECC southern Transvaal region announced plans to bus black pupils to these schools.

The campaign was "temporarily" called off on Wednesday when police threatened to take "very strong" action if the NECC went ahead with plans to move pupils to Orange Grove Primary.

NECC southern Transvaal general-secretary Amon Msane yesterday said the pupils would now be moved on Friday.
Ramaphosa gets nod to stand for ANC

DURBAN — The NUM national executive at the weekend gave permission to its general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa to stand for election as ANC secretary-general — but it is not yet definite he will do so.

Union sources said Ramaphosa's candidacy depended on certain unspecified "contingencies". They may be related to which other candidates accept nomination for election to the position.

Ramaphosa has indicated he would prefer to remain as NUM general secretary but apparently came under strong pressure to make himself available.

Conference organisers said the ANC continued to see itself as a liberation organisation and would not use the conference, which gets under way today, to transform itself into a political party.

National executive committee member Mahomed Valli said the ANC would not enter the debate on whether it was a political party or a liberation movement. "We are still seeking national liberation and we continue to see ourselves as a national liberation organisation," he said.

It is the first ANC conference to be held inside SA for more than 30 years and the first opportunity ANC members will have to elect leaders since the ANC Kabwe Conference in Tanzania six years ago.

The conference would give the ANC the "sharp edge" it needed to lead the country into a new future, under a new constitution and to elections which the ANC must be in a position to win, Valli said.

He said the conference would "weld together" the different ANC elements — exiles, released prisoners and internal operatives — which had been forced apart because of "extreme repression".

The ANC did not meet as the representative of only its half million members. "We

meet here as the organisation which history has placed at the helm of the process of transformation in the country," he said.

At the same time, the new situation had given the ANC certain features of a political party, he said. It would want to ensure it could win an election.

National preparatory committee head Simon Makanana said the conference would concentrate on the organisation's strategy and tactics in the new environment.

It would also have to decide on the broad outlines of a new constitution for the country and would define the organisation's policy on a broad variety of issues such as

land, the economy, local government and education and health.

ANC officials said exiles and Umkhonto we Sizwe would be represented.

ANC spokesmen yesterday confirmed that former NEC member Mac Maharaj, who resigned his position after the ANC's consultative conference in December last year, had been nominated for the NEC.

They would not comment on why he had decided to return to a senior position.

Spokesmen described a report that former KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza might become the organisation's chief London representative as "unlikely".
Join us, ANC appeals to whites

By Patrick Lawrence

DURBAN — Simon Makana, chairman of the preparatory committee for the ANC's national conference, yesterday appealed to whites to join the organisation in the final push to end apartheid.

Speaking on the eve of the five-day national conference, the first since 1938, Mr Makana told journalists from all over the world that the ANC wanted to build the "broadest possible patriotic front".

He specified: "We want to involve the whites as much as possible."

Mr Makana, a member of the ANC national executive, said one of the key tasks facing the 2,000 delegates was deciding on the "broad elements" of the ANC's proposed constitution for South Africa.

A discussion document, drawn up by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been prepared for debate. It includes proposals for a bill of rights, proportional representation and a limitation on the tenure of office of the future president to two terms of five years each.

The conference will also consider another vital issue: the appropriate "strategy and tactics" now that the ANC is no longer a proscribed movement but a legal organisation invited to help negotiate South Africa's future.

Debate

Mr Makana was asked whether the conference would debate the question of whether the ANC should continue to operate as a "liberation movement" or whether it should transform itself into a political party.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a leader of the soon-to-be-dissolved United Democratic Front and likely to win election to the national executive, took the question.

The ANC, he said, was in the process of drawing together the various components of its leadership, the exiles who had lived in the Frontline states and further afield, the guerillas from its camps who had fought in the war against apartheid, the men and women from South Africa's prisons and those who had served in the struggle at home.

Its purpose was to give the organisation the "sharp edge" it needed. There would be no debate about whether the ANC should be a liberation movement or a political party.

The ANC was already characterised by some of the elements of a political party. Members had been registered and organised into 900 branches, he said.

The conference opens today with the delivery of an address by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo is tipped to become the ANC's elder statesman and honorary president. His address should therefore be a valedictory oration.
Outlaw the pillage of black culture, says Serote

JUST what did Wally Serote, head of the ANC's arts and culture department, mean when he said legislation should be passed to preserve black culture? Does he envisage art police storming into studios and confiscating work that did not comply with official standards, arresting actresses who did not toe the party line?

On the contrary. Speaking at the Grahamstown Festival where he opened an exhibition of works by Mabalaba Dumile, Serote said the ANC was keenly aware that SA culture was not exclusive and that it was the duty of the ANC to ensure that as many SA people as possible were able to express SA culture.

"But we can begin to demand that the pillage and rape of our craft, arts and antiques through sheer exploitation and cunning must stop. We can urge that it is the duty of a democratic state to nurture, promote and protect SA culture through non-racial and democratic cultural institutions, (through) funding, and by passing legislation intended to preserve our culture," he said.

"We must demand restrictions that will curb the exportation of valuable arts and crafts that should remain here."

Serote said 40 years of apartheid had created a situation where it was impossible for blacks to express or appreciate culture. They were denied halls, access to art institutions and exposure to what other people were doing in the cultural world. They were denied the chance to develop their skills, to learn, and appreciate culture. Now those who wished to become cultural teachers or creators had to be trained.

"Apartheid has polarized blacks and whites, and we have to find a way of reducing that gulf. Whites in this country have to learn to accept themselves as Africans, and at the same time blacks are going to have to learn that they are part of the world from which they have been excluded for too long," he said.

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JOHN MICHELL at the Grahamstown Festival

Last year the Grahamstown Festival was officially addressed by the ANC for the first time when Barbara Masekela, then arts and culture secretary, gave a fiery speech in which she said the ANC would "bring our political perspectives to bear" on the course the festival would take in future, and to develop a new and unique national aesthetic.

"Apartheid has polarized blacks and whites, and we have to find a way of reducing that gulf. Whites in this country have to learn to accept themselves as Africans, and at the same time blacks are going to have to learn that they are part of the world from which they have been excluded for too long," he said.

Not much has changed since then — once again Grahamstown is flouting with flags and banners and there is a daunting array of theatre, dance and exhibitions, reflecting the beliefs and ideologies of a wide variety of participants. One of the highlights was Cape's Coai Fan Tutte, directed with spectacular success by Janice Honeyman who not only opted for an English libretto, but also brought the humour back into Mozart's famous comic opera.

This, one presumes, is precisely the sort of "Eurocentricity" Masekela was ranting against, but so far there have been no walkouts or sit-ins, no pickets or protests. Nothing, however, has appeared under an ANC banner. When I asked Serote why, he replied that he did not believe Masekela meant that there was a need to express ANC culture specifically. The ANC's goal, he said, was to ensure that as many South Africans as possible could express their culture.

Still, it would have been gratifying to see more positive activity from the ANC, particularly after all their sabre-rattling last year. Unkonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and women's league president Gertrude Shope both cancelled their lectures to the festival's Winter School at the last moment.

Art, apparently, will run its course without the intervention of party politics and this was succinctly illustrated at the world premiere of the Road to Mокоа. The film adaptation of Athol Fugard's play based on the life of Helen Martins, the strangely recluse woman whose unique sculptures are preserved in the now famous Owl House, is probably the finest film to emerge from SA.

Yvonne Bryceolland takes the starring role as the ageing, frightened Miss Helen who tries to banish darkness from her soul by creating a world of fantasy and light. Playing opposite her is Kathy Bass, who won the Oscar for her part in Misery, and who has contrived a suitably South African accent for the film's stark Karoo setting. Bates gives a great performance, but it's Bryceolland who hogs the honours this time, giving the most moving and powerful performance of her career. In fact, she acts Bates right off the screen and indeed justice does exist in the world of arts, Bryceolland deserves to have the Oscar trophy firmly on her mantelpiece this time next year.
ANC poll: 'Neutral overseers'

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — Neutral commissioners, including the former Chief Minister of KaNgwane Mr Enos Mabuza, have been appointed to oversee the elections later this week for the ANC's national executive.

Elaborate electoral mechanisms, including an independent mediation service, supporting staff — including lawyers — and computer voting systems, will be used in the elections to determine the ANC's leadership for the foreseeable future.

The extent to which the ANC has gone to ensure that the elections are both fair and accepted as legitimate underlines their importance for the future of the organisation.

Apart from Mr Mabuza, three other commissioners have been appointed. They are the principal of the University of Durban-Westville, Professor Jayram Reddy, the director of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, and the head of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa), Mr Charles Nupen.

Imssa is also supplying administrative staff, including an advocate, Mr Paul Pretorius.

Although the elections for 55 positions on the ANC national executive committee, including the position of president, deputy president, secretary-general, assistant secretary-general and treasurer-general, are to begin on Thursday and continue on Friday, nominations are due to close at 1pm tomorrow.

With more than 2 000 delegates voting for 55 different positions, as well as re-voting if no one has a 50% majority, the potential problems with the election procedures are enormous, but the ANC hopes these will be kept to a minimum with the appointment of the four commissioners and the use of professional mediation experts.

The results of the election are to be publicly disclosed at an open session of the conference when it ends on Saturday.
Durban packed to capacity

DURBAN. — The city's Golden Mile faces a week of chaos with thousands of ANC delegates and supporters vying with July Handicap fans for scarce hotel accommodation, hired transport and other facilities.

A visit to major beachfront hotels yesterday showed that many July punters will have to forsake their favourite hotels. Staff at the hotels said they were all fully booked at a time when they usually face their greatest demands of the year.

"I don't know where all the horseracing fans are going to go," said one harassed receptionist.

The situation has been complicated by the massive interest shown by ANC supporters and world media in the historic conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

Only about one-third of the more than 3,000 delegates, supporters and media representatives have been accommodated at the university.

Meanwhile, last-minute preparations at the conference hall were still under way last night.

The hall is festooned with massive swaths of cotton painted in bright colours, each one representing a different theme of the conference.

The backdrop to the stage is covered in massive drapes of black, green and gold — the ANC colours.

Hundreds of metres of fabric and buckets of acrylic paint were used by Durban artist and ANC member Mr Andrew Verster to create the spectacular effect.

The ANC has made elaborate plans for the security of its delegates, including a mass evacuation of the conference centre in an emergency and extensive health facilities. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff
Momberg duo at ANC meet

Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC's national conference which starts here today is being attended by both Mr Jannie Momberg, the MP for Simon's Town, and his son, Jannie junior.

Jannie senior is one of five Democratic Party observers at the conference. Jannie junior is attending as a Western Cape delegate of the ANC.

"I am very proud of him," the MP for Simon's Town said last night.
ANC posts for Boesak, Mabuza?

OWN CORRESPONDENT LONDON. — Dr Allan Boesak is tipped to win a senior position on the ANC's executive this week and former homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza is named as a possible ANC representative in Washington. This is according to the journal Africa Confidential.

In a two-page analysis of the ANC's national conference, Africa Confidential says many existing departments “like the rest of the national executive committee, need a serious overhaul”.

The journal says Dr Boesak has been suggested by “some ANC stalwarts” as a possible new ANC treasurer-general or national organiser. “He could use his eloquence to garner financial support internationally. He is also well connected abroad and could relieve (Nelson) Mandela from his some fund-raising trips overseas.

“Boesak is still very popular and has been missed from the political centre stage.”

The journal says members of the SA Communist Party in the Western Cape were known to have tried to use the controversy surrounding his personal relationships to “marginalise” him.

“Boesak is, however, unstoppable for election to the NEC and its (25-member) working committee.”

Also likely for election to the NEC, says Africa Confidential, is former KaNgwane homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza. Noting that his namesake, Mr Ldniwe Mabuza, the present ANC representative in the US, has been “comprehensively outmanoeuvred” by new Pretoria ambassador Mr

Harry Schwarz, the journal says this is an area where Mr Mabuza’s “diplomatic savvy is required”.

However, it adds, “Mandela is also known to value Mabuza’s expertise in the negotiating process.”

The journal says: “If the conference votes — as is likely — to continue negotiations with the government, there are likely to be calls for the dissolution of Umkhonto we Sizwe.”

It also speculates quite strongly that ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki could become the new deputy president. It believes his place could be taken by information and publicity department head Dr Follo Jordan, with New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu moving into the publicity hotseat.
Toughy about facts

The ANC likewise has been chronically blinded — by prison walls, suppress- sion of言论, and habitual justifiable ignorance, to both cause and, last but not least, the sort of confusion (indeed, still choose to keep) to know. Now that for the first time in their history, they are facing the reality of their lack of vision, they are being forced to come to term with it. The old geopolitical verities no longer apply. Swapping South Africa's conditions with the fact that the country will become a viable nation, the truth, when it was finally realized, came as a shock to many.

Misunderstanding

Broadening the focus of new gathering and expanding the range of voices that must be considered creates widespread readers are one thing. Quite different is the matter of the interpreta- tion and evaluation of events to bring the needs and concerns of the public to terms with the way that various political ideas and prejudices of the changing marketplace.

That may entail something worse than simple confusion of "black facts" for black readers — for many there is a distinct danger that a mis-understanding of the way these events are and will continue to be interpreted by the various actors involved in shaping post-apartheid South Africa.

The need to give an important example, need to know as clearly as possible what the chances are of American sanctions being lifted in the next few weeks and whether those opposed to such a move have any real hope of preventing it is also a matter that has not yet been sufficiently considered. The country's future may hinge on such informa- tion.

Now a lot of activists, Congressmen and others would like South Africa to believe that they still have the power to obstruct a decision by the US to lift sanctions in the Comprehensive Antiterrorist Act. They do not. Their fullimi- nations on this issue must be based on their actual capabilities, even at the risk of giving offensive.

Obstacles to suit

Senator Edward Kennedy has threatened to invoke the Trade Act if the sanctions against South Africa, either directly or in effect, the executive branch has failed to act to terminate the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Antiterrorist Act.

The law was designed to provide the executive branch with the power to impose sanctions against South Africa, but it has yet to be set in motion. Kennedy's intervention may be one of the last chances to make a difference.

But in the absence of such action, even if the Bush administration chooses to lift sanctions, the chances are that the sanctions would be lifted only on a temporary basis, and that the ANC would be left to fend for itself.

The ANC's situation is analogous to that of a man who has been imprisoned for years and is finally released. He may be able to start a new life, but he will still have to overcome the psychological scars of his imprisonment. The same is true for the ANC. It may be able to start a new life, but it will still have to overcome the psychological scars of its imprisonment.

Finally, even if the ANC is able to overcome these obstacles, the future is far from certain. The country is still deeply divided, and there is no guarantee that the ANC will be able to make the necessary changes to win the support of the people. But the ANC must continue to work towards a better future, and it must do so with the full support of the international community.

The ANC is a powerful force, and it has the potential to be a great force for change in South Africa. But it will take time, and it will require the support of all South Africans, not just the ANC members.
Hani, Mbeki quit

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
DURBAN — Leading figures in the ANC’s hawk and dove factions — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and foreign affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki — have pulled out of the ANC’s leadership stakes.

In another development, the National Union of Mineworkers executive has allowed the union’s general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, to stand for election as ANC secretary-general. However, it is not yet certain that he will do so.

Yesterday top ANC sources said Mr Mbeki and Mr Hani, representing divergent tendencies within the movement, had dropped out of contention for the top five positions on the eve of the organisation’s national conference to avoid a potentially damaging and divisive succession battle.

The move will open the way for the ANC’s ageing internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, to step in as a broadly acceptable compromise candidate for the crucial post of deputy president.

The successful candidates will be announced on Saturday afternoon — soon after the running of the Durban July.

Top sources said Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki are almost certain to get posts on the 90-strong national executive committee.

Their withdrawals come amid indications that some ANC regions — particularly the three from Natal — are approaching the historic conference in a militant mood.

An ANC source said yesterday that recent outbreaks of violence in Natal were being seen as little more than warnings to the organisation. “The mood is ugly,” he said.

At the weekend 16 victims of violence — including a two-year-old child who had been stabbed to death — were buried at Richmond after an outbreak of fighting in Ndaliani township.

ANC spokesmen at the funeral alleged that the 16 died in an attack by Inkatha.

The mood from the Natal regions could boost the prospects of arch-militant Mr Harry Gwala, who has been nominated for the deputy president’s job by Southern Natal.

Mr Ramaphosa has recently indicated he would prefer to remain as NUM general secretary but apparently came under strong pressure to make himself available for the ANC position.

Mining union sources said his candidacy decision may be related to whether other candidates accept nomination for election to the position.

ANC officials said exile would be represented by about 100 delegates and that the ANC’s armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be represented by a delegation.

The chairman of the ANC’s national preparatory committee, Mr Simon Makana, said that a major focus of the conference would be “the rebuilding of the ANC and consolidation of our ranks”.

He emphasised that the ANC needed to build unity across colour lines as it attempted to play a leading role in shaping a new, non-racial, democratic constitution for the country.

Mr Makana said that the other major areas of discussion at the conference, the first national get-together on South African soil since 1968, were:

- Tactics and strategy in the new era of negotiation.
- The continuing violence.
- A new constitution.

Today’s opening session will include a two-hour address by the ANC’s outgoing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

The congress is expected to elect Mr Nelson Mandela as the ANC’s new president, with Mr Tambo being given the position of honorary president.
ANC appeals to whites
By MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DURBAN — President of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo urged delegates at the movement’s historic annual conference here today to refocus international attention on the development needs of the future and the reconstruction of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Opening the ANC’s first conference within South Africa in 30 years, Mr Tambo also emphasised the need to maintain the ANC’s mass-based character and emphasised the importance of the ANC maintaining a leading position in the unfolding political process.

The ANC must remain the “peoples parliament” and unity was a vital element of this.

“The unity in action of our people has remained the guiding beacon throughout the days of illegality.

To reach our goal of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, sooner rather than later, then we must not deviate from this course.

Popular support

“We considered it important that decisions of the ANC were to be shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times even if such decisions were acceptable within the movement; they would have come to nought unless they enjoyed popular support beyond the bounds of the ANC itself.”

Mr Tambo’s address was devoted almost entirely to reviewing the history of the ANC’s campaign against apartheid, but he turned the attention on the future when he said the ANC “must continue to assert its leadership” of the political process.

“This means we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations. As in the past our leadership should be exercised both here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community.

“We must therefore refocus international attention on the need for continued support, including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and region in the post-apartheid era.”

Won initiative

In his assessment of the past Mr Tambo said the ANC had succeeded in winning the initiative internationally and “managed to push the enemy into crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order”.

“For the first time possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created.

“As a result of the struggle the closed door that our late president Chief Albert Luthuli knocked on for many decades was finally opened.

“It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity.”

Transition must be short
— Huddleston

From MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DURBAN. — South Africa could not look forward to a future of peace and hope until the source of the violence had been uncovered and exposed and the government had met its pledges to prisoners and exiles, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston told the ANC conference here today.

Opening the movement’s 48th national conference at the University of Durban-Westville, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner and president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement urged delegates to make sure the transitional period was a short one.

He said unity was a vital step and a priority in negotiating peace.

On violence, Archbishop Huddleston said: “From my point of view I cannot but feel there’s a deliberate attempt to destabilise the peace process and to do so by trying to weaken and destabilise the ANC itself.

“We all pray that this violence may not prevail—that we may be able to go forward with confidence for the future,”

Archbishop Huddleston said.

“I do not think we need to look anywhere else except to the Freedom Charter as our guide and inspiration.”

See page 13.
Eyes of the world on ANC in Durban

THE eyes of the world are on Durban today where the ANC begins its 48th national congress.

The last legal congress of the movement held in South Africa was ironically in the same city in 1958.

The overriding difference between then and now is that today everyone who has a vested interest in the future of South Africa is holding their breath and keeping their fingers crossed.

In 1958, the ANC was regarded as a bunch of outlaws, and only a few years away from being banned.

Today, the future of the country lies as much with the ANC as it does with the Government.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on arriving here on Sunday that this week’s conference, which ends with a massive rally at Kings Park Stadium on Sunday, would be of the utmost importance for the future of the movement.

Game plan

He indicated that the ANC expected to emerge from the conference with a mandated game plan for the future and reiterated the movement’s demand for an interim government during constitutional negotiations.

He said the outcome of the conference would indicate the way ahead “from an apartheid state to an interim government.”

In the weeks leading up to the congress the ANC has been scrutinised in almost microscopic detail.

The media have speculated wildly (perhaps even accurately) about the new leadership which the conference will elect.

This provoked a subdued rebuke from Mandela, who said the media was trying to run the ANC.

At Durban’s Louis Botha airport, Mandela again took a swipe at the Press.

He jokingly said that the conference would not focus on elections as “the Press has been holding them for us”.

What the media had been ignoring was the significance of the political conference, not just for the ANC, but for the country as a whole, a senior source within the movement said yesterday.

He said, because of the position the ANC holds, the future of the entire country should be in slightly better focus by the end of the week.

The ANC leadership sees the violence and its demand for an interim government as inexorably linked.

It is believed within the movement that the violence is not just orchestrated to unravel the fabric of township structures that the ANC has been trying to weave.

It is simultaneously (and primarily) aimed at creating the perception that if the Government were replaced by an interim structure in which the ANC played a part, the country would slip into chaos.

This was ostensibly the reason why the ANC has said violence is a major obstacle to negotiations.

While the perennial violence is on the top half of the list the question of an interim government is not very far down the agenda for this week.

The ANC’s deputy director of foreign affairs, Mr Stanley Mabizela, last week extolled the merits of an interim government.

He said the call for an interim government did not mean that the ANC had turned its back on the Freedom Charter.

It was merely a tactical means of achieving the total objectives of the charter, Mabizela said.

“It would be idle and insensitive on the part of the ANC to wait for years to negotiate a new constitution while there was a crisis in education, housing, unemployment and senseless killing,” he said.

Mabizela explained that the transition period could not continue unmonitored.

The security forces had to be held in check until a new constitution had been finalised by a constituent assembly.

Extrapolating from this, one can safely assume that the ANC is still in favour of a constituent assembly and that this will be discussed at this week’s conference.

Demands

At this point, and in terms of earlier demands made, the ANC has said it prefers free and fair elections on a basis of one-person-one-vote to a constituent assembly.

There is little chance that the movement will change its position in this regard.

The movement’s new constitution, which hopefully will be adopted by the conference, specifically calls for elections to a constituent assembly.

It is also important to note that, in terms of the new constitution, the next national congress of the ANC has to be in three years.

This coincides with the general election which, in terms of the country’s constitution, is due in the same year – 1994.

It is therefore in the interest of the ANC to concentrate on two things in the next three years – building the organisation (after the battering it has taken in the townships) and entering more serious talks with Government.

At the same time the ANC fears closer ties with the Government.

State President FW de Klerk, indicated in London earlier this year, and again later in Parliament, that black people could be represented in central government – possibly in the Cabinet.

The big fear here would be that any person who participates in central government could be accused of being co-opted.

It is however interesting to note that the ANC and the Government have already started some kind of transitional “government” agreement.

Blueprint

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Agreement joint working groups have been established.

So, while the world is sitting and watching, the ANC will later today go behind closed doors to establish a coherent political blueprint for the future and elect a National Executive Committee which would lead the movement, and perhaps even the country, to political stability.

There is, however, something very unsettling about being watched while you work – especially if you’re trying to do the right thing…

On the other hand, Government has rejected outright all previous demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

This could mean that there is a long, hard slog ahead for both the politicians and ordinary people in South Africa.
ANC gunning for elections

THE ANC wants to emerge from its 48th national conference at the end of this week with the cutting edge needed to win any forthcoming election.

The immediate aim of the movement is to rebuild and consolidate its structures, and to draw up a constitutional blueprint that is to be altered if need be by as broad a selection of people as possible.

While the ANC would concentrate throughout the six days on all issues of South African political life, violence would a major topic of discussion.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Simon Makana, yesterday said that the violence in the country had become a national disaster.

"A disaster not just for black people, but for all South Africans," Makana said.

He said that the ANC would also work hard at uniting people of all colours.

"We want to involve white people as much as possible. We must sort this problem together," he said.

A second spokesman, Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa, said at the pre-conference briefing yesterday that approximately 100 delegates from at least 40 countries around the world had arrived in the country over the past week for the conference.

These delegates came from military bases and settlements in countries such as Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

There would be 2,000 delegates at the conference from 900 branches, Moosa said.

"This conference will give us the cutting edge.

"We want to ensure that we have the capacity to win any future election," Moosa said.

The conference starts today and runs for five days.

On Sunday, the newly elected national executive committee will be introduced to supporters at a rally at Kings Park Stadium in Durban.
ANC would win poll

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IFP ‘wishes the ANC well’

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are making tentative peace moves.

The violence in the townships has largely been perceived as being between the two organisations, while the IFP has repeatedly attacked the ANC’s policies.

The ANC too, has been relentless in its criticism of the IFP, notably in its open letter of April 5 to the Government.

However, in what appeared to be a conciliatory gesture, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi “wished the ANC well” for this week’s conference.

Speaking at a Christian youth conference in Natal on Sunday, Buthelezi praised former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli.

During Luthuli’s days at the ANC helm the political watchword was tolerance he said.

“‘We were led by a man to whom Christ was king.

‘At that time we followed a strategy of trying to achieve our liberation through non-violent means.’” Buthelezi said, referring to his days in the ANC.

The IFP central committee also agreed to meet with the newly elected NEC of the ANC shortly after the conference.

Both organisations have agreed that a meeting should take place with the full executive of the ANC and IFP.

Buthelezi reportedly said that ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo had expressed his organisation’s willingness to meet with the IFP executive within 10 days.

The IFP will, however, not send a delegation of observers to this week’s national congress of the ANC.
Azapo calls for education indaba

ORGANISATIONS need to meet to take urgent steps to address the collapse of learning in schools, the head of Azapo's education secretariat, Dr Gomsile Mokae, said.

He said this in his address to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris last week.

Mokae said the conference should be non-secretarian and cross-ideological and should look at issues like the collapse of the learning culture at schools, pupil and parent and morale and the need for a code of conduct governing behaviour of pupils, students and tutors.

By GRACE RAPHOLO

"The education crisis cuts across the ideological divide and for any initiative to succeed, it has to be jointly organised from inception by all relevant bodies irrespective of ideology."

Mokae told the UN that organisations like the Black Students Study Project, Black Adult Literacy Advancement, Community Health Awareness Project and the Imbeleko women's organisation have been denied international financial support for their programmes because these organisations espoused Black Consciousness."
Azasco hits at school strategy

By GRACE RAPHOLO

THOSE campaigning for the occupation of empty white schools ignored the practical limitations like transport, security and the level of income which invariably defeated the purpose of such occupation.

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azasco publicity secretary Sipho Maseko said the move sought to further sacrifice the learning process for political motives.

He said whites were capable of transporting violence into black townships and chaos would result if black pupils forcefully occupied those schools.

He urged parents not to risk the safety of their children by making them vulnerable to attacks by rampaging white gunslingers, whose track record was known in the townships.

Azasco demanded the establishment of township schools of the same standard as those in white suburbs.

He said the onus was on the Government and not on the pupils to do something about the shortage of classes.
Blinkered ANC is willing to be deluded by powerless allies

SIMON BARBER in Washington

 Blinkered ANC is willing to be deluded by powerless allies

The ANC is woefully mistaken. Its failure to address the issues at hand has led to its current predicament. The ANC needs to re-evaluate its strategies and actions.

The ANC's failure to address the issues at hand has led to its current predicament. The ANC needs to re-evaluate its strategies and actions.
ANC tipped to buy town

THE ANC is tipped to make a bid for the deserted mining town of Grootvlei, which comes under the hammer at 2.30pm today.

It is understood the organisation is planning to purchase the town for the resettlement of ANC exiles.

Hot bidding is also expected from the local community, according to a spokesman for Anglo American Corporation, which owns the remote western Transvaal town.

The auction will take place at the Springfield Colliery recreation club, near the Transvaal/Free State border, said spokesman Mr James Duncan.

The village consists of more than 250 houses, a small hospital and vacant land, and was put up for sale earlier this year.

Media representatives will be allowed to tour the property before the auction, leaving from the club at 1.30pm. - Sapa
Senior PAC member dies in Transkei

A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Templeton Ntantala, has died in Transkei.

Ntantala, a member of the PAC's national executive council and founder of the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, died last Friday after a long illness, according to PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai.

In a statement yesterday, Desai said Ntantala returned to South Africa in December last year to attend the PAC's second national congress in Johannesburg after he had been granted limited indemnity.

When his indemnity expired soon after the congress, Ntantala went to Transkei, his place of birth, where he remained active until his death.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said Ntantala's death was "a great loss to the PAC and to the entire liberation movement".

Mosesa, who would have "a special place in the pantheon of PAC heroes", was one of the leading ideologists of the PAC and the liberation movement in general.

- Political Staff
Mr. Visik... insisted that taxpayers' money spent on Inkatha had not been wasted.

moneys were deposited for Inkatha. I think you should put the question to Bushelton as to whether he knew of the feeding or not.

Mr. Visik on two occasions brought up the ANC's covert operation "Operation Vulva" following attacks Mr. Harber put to him, saying that it was important to be fair and even-handed. The ANC was indemnified, he added.

Mr. Harber accused Mr. Visik of the abuse and theft of taxpayers' money and of conducting secrecy over the use of this money.

Mr. Visik said there were "good reasons" as to why the finding of Inkatha could not be done openly - and added that Inkatha was against sanctions and the police were helping them to get their message across.

He conceded that in the past the police had been involved in party politics, but that now it had distanced itself from the political activities of President de Klerk's reform program on February 2 last year.

"But the rally funded by the police came two months later.

"Were you deputing the State President?" asked Mr. Harber.

Mr. Visik again reiterated the point that the rally was aimed at spreading the anti-sanctions message and he was satisfied that the aim was reached.

Mr. Harber said he had evidence that the police had funded other organisations apart from Inkatha.

Asked whether this was in fact the case that other organisations were funded, Mr. Visik said: "Not as far as I'm concerned in my department."

Mr. Visik then asked Mr. Harber to provide him with the information before it was published to enable him to investigate it. Mr. Harber replied that he had been stopped by Mr. Visik from appearing on television when information to be published had become known to him (Visik), fearing reprisals. "You also closed my newspaper."

"Regressing to the sensational of the Weekly Mail under emergency regulations."

Mr. Visik conceded that people had perceived the police to be partial, but insisted that the "era when police took part in party politics is over."

Police projects planned before the "new era" had even been cancelled in order to facilitate this new distancing approach.

"The State President feels strongly that taxpayers' mony should not be wasted. The police will make sure it is used judiciously. There were good reasons, on that occasion, it could not be done openly. We cannot do it openly and I prefer it that way," he said.

Asked whether "my heads will roll" over the affair, Mr. Visik said the situation was "carefully looked into" to see whether there were any laws or regulations broken.

He had placed his trust in the State President and his Cabinet to deal with the matter.

In a heated interview with a newspaper journalist on television, Chief Buthelezi angrily denied that he had or IFP officials were aware of the government aid.

In either dramatic developments yesterday, renewed calls were made for Mr. Visik's resignation, the Conservation Party called for the boycott of the government to resign, IFP leader Chief Buthelezi referred to the disclosures as "bullish..." and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. P. Botha justified the payments as part of a widespread sanctions-busting campaign.

In Venda, an emotional Chief Buthelezi - who was re-elected unanimously as IFP leader at the organisation's national conference -- dismissed calls for his resignation by saying anyone who thought the country's future could be decided without his participation should have "their heads read."

Revelations of the government's clandestine funding of the IFP - one of the ANC's main rivals - coincided with renewed calls of a sophisticated police "dirty tricks" campaign to fuel township violence.

The weekly newspaper New Nation on Friday claimed that a special security force unit, S Reece, had used attackers from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique to carry out attacks, including the bloody Reef train massacre.

Amid fears that the negotiating process could be derailed because of the government's covert support of the IFP, the ANC announced that its national working committee (NWC) would meet today or tomorrow to discuss the repercussions of the scandal.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the IFP had been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

The violence in South Africa was not black-on-black, but a prepared strategy, orchestrated by the security forces, between "this black organisation and the government. That's why they are paying them."

Mr. Fikile Mbalula yesterday issued a statement to justify the use of Foreign Affairs funds to sponsor IFP activities.

Following an earlier announcement that he had authorised R200 000 from the Foreign Affairs Special Account to sponsor Inkatha rallies and Duwana's anti-sanctions activities, the minister said the government's funding of sanctions-busting organisations had nothing to do with the support of a political goal or ideology.

It was aimed solely at the ending and the prevention of further sanctions.

Mr. Botha said his department did have plans to ensure "in good faith support bona fide attempts by the police sector, academics and a variety of organisations to oppose sanctions."
ANC ‘does not want newspaper’

THE ANC did not want to own newspapers or radio stations, the organisation’s information chief, Fallo Jordan, told a Media Association of SA meeting last week.

SA should not expect to see a Radio ANC, ANC TV or an ANC daily, he said.

Jordan’s comments came a few days before it was reported that the ANC was to make another bid to buy the Sowetan newspaper.

Weekend reports quoted ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma as saying that a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was under way.

Argus Newspapers CE Peter McLean said the Sowetan was not for sale.

Jordan told the meeting the ANC did not want to own media.

It would join with other interested parties to establish “a democratic media”, as there was not a consistent voice for the democratic movement in SA.

He said the ANC “would participate with a consortium of which we would be a shareholder, with a democratic voice”.

The ANC was not opposed to political parties owning newspapers, but it would not go that way, he said.

Media and freedom of expression in SA had suffered “some of the gravest assaults imaginable”.

The battle for freedom of expression had not been won, said Jordan.

There were at least five vigorous African newspapers in SA before 1910. Now the English-speaking community had the most papers serving it. The Zulu community, which was three to four times larger, had only one, and other groups “probably none”.

There was an alarming concentration of ownership and control of print media in SA, and the state controlled the bulk of electronic media, he said. The latter was the tool of government policy, not a publicly owned information asset.

Freedom of the media should entail giving people the capacity to produce media in their own languages.

The ANC had three propositions for media in a democratic SA:

☐ Media production in all languages;

☐ The “disaggregation” of media monopolies, especially in the print sector; and

☐ Demarcation of state-owned electronic media, which, with privately owned media, should reflect the variety of the community.

Jordan said a government which sought to curtail media freedom was one that wanted to evade public scrutiny.

The ANC would accept criticism from every quarter and reserve the right to respond.

He said a poor community would not be an attractive market for advertisers.

Media owners who could stand on their own feet should do so. Others should be given a safety net to keep them going, both in the electronic and print sectors.

Jordan said monopolies might be willing to assist in setting up own-language media through grants or long-term loans.

Alternative Press still seeks a distinct identity

THE mainstream and alternative Press are moving closer together in terms of editorial content, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher.

She says the “protest media” are changing their strategies to face the challenge of 1991, which is to be distinct without becoming extinct.

New Nation, Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail have each chosen their own response to “mainstream encroachment”, she says.

“It is becoming increasingly difficult to out-radicalise the mainstream press without marginalising yourself right off the planet.”

Mainstream newspapers were able to accommodate wide-ranging views in the year ahead and “the protest papers” were showing a lot of inventiveness in response.

New Nation’s marketing is now being handled by the Argus and Caxton Groups’ Newspaper Marketing Bureau.

Vrye Weekblad is becoming more like a magazine and more bilingual as it seeks to widen its appeal.

The Weekly Mail is now “labelling out to both left and right”. 
UN team aids ANC in investment review

By Hugh Robertson
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A four-man team of experts on foreign investment and monopolies has been appointed by the United Nations to assist the ANC in a review of its economic investment policies and to advise it on the privatisation of state-owned monopolies.

The team was appointed at the request of the ANC and has already visited South Africa for "preliminary discussions". A report is to be presented to the UN and the ANC in the next few weeks, and the South African Government has been briefed on the UN action.

In terms of a UN General Assembly resolution, the world body is empowered to give advice and assistance to UN-recognised "liberation movements" on matters pertaining to the dismantling of apartheid structures.

The UN Centre for the Study of Transnational Corporations — a body set up in the mid-1970s to draw up a code of conduct for international companies — appointed a senior member of the UN secretariat, Maurice Odle, to head the team.

Other members are Joe Davidson, an American lawyer and expert on investment policy and monopolies and the author of a book on foreign investment and free competition, Dr Michael Faber, an economist and development specialist at Sussex University, and Roland Brown, former general counsel to the UN Centre for the Study of Transnational Corporations and an expert on investment law.

A member of the team said yesterday: "To some extent our discussions so far have been more a process of mutual education. We have tried to establish what the ANC's major concerns are, what their present position is on various economic matters, and from that to develop a design for specific research on South Africa.

"A report of our preliminary talks has been drawn up, and last Friday we also had a meeting in Pretoria to brief the government on the purpose of our activities.

"We are, after all, being employed to do this job by the UN, and South Africa is a member of the UN, so it was only natural that we should keep the government informed." A copy of the team's report is expected to be made public in the next three weeks.
Some 68 percent of blacks say they would definitely vote for the ANC if there were an election, according to a recent Gallup Poll by Markinor.

Markinor said in a statement yesterday that the Inkatha Freedom Party had far more support among whites than among urban blacks, while "home" for many whites remained the National Party with 42 percent indicating a definite "yes" vote.

These results by Markinor were drawn from 800 whites and 1,300 blacks in metropolitan areas throughout the country.

The poll did not ask for straight "pro" or "con" attitudes towards specific parties, but different degrees of acceptance and rejection, according to Markinor deputy director Christine Woessner.

"It looked at the dynamics operating within each party. This method of questioning is very popular overseas because it enables politicians to pinpoint specific segments of the population who are uncertain in their allegiance, and, therefore, open to external influences such as advertising."

Some 62 percent of metropolitan blacks rejected Inkatha "completely and on principle", with another 16 percent personally opposed to it. Only 3 percent said they would definitely or "perhaps" vote for it in the event of an election.

Just more than 50 percent of whites said they felt "quite good" about Inkatha, with an additional 15 percent "perhaps" voting for it and 4 percent "definitely" supporting the party if there were an election. "Not unexpectedly, the ANC emerges as the standout winner among metropolitan blacks, with 68 percent saying they would definitely vote for the party and another 12 percent saying they would perhaps support it in an election."

For blacks, next in line in popularity was the PAC with 7 percent definite support. However, an additional 24 percent said they would perhaps vote for the PAC, with 17 percent "feeling quite good" about the organisation. Its potential stood at 48 percent.

Among the whites, the National Party came out ahead, with 42 percent of respondents registering a definite "yes" vote, 20 percent a possible vote, and 11 percent "feeling quite good" about the party although they would not vote for it. This added up to a resounding total of 73 percent potential support.

Among blacks, potential support came to 46 percent, consisting of 6 percent "definite" votes, 22 percent possible votes and 18 percent "feeling quite good" about the NP.

The Conservative Party was rejected totally by 48 percent of blacks and 38 percent of whites, and partially by 18 percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites.

Only 16 percent of whites would definitely vote for the CP, with 9 percent possible votes and a further 10 percent "feeling quite good about the party."

Markinor said the Democratic Party showed some strength among both whites and blacks. Some 6 percent of whites and 4 percent of blacks would definitely vote for the DP, while 17 percent of whites and 10 percent of blacks would possibly vote for it. — Sapa.
Boesak keeps the ANC guessing

DURBAN — Dr Allan Boesak is keeping the ANC guessing on whether he is making a bid for the leadership stakes — despite having commanded considerable support for election to the national executive committee.

Nominations for the NEC elections at the ANC national conference here close today, and still Dr Boesak has not clearly indicated whether he will seek election.

He said yesterday he was still awaiting "clarification" from the ANC leadership on issues he had raised with deputy president Nelson Mandela at a private discussion more than two months ago.

Dr Boesak, a UDF patron and anti-apartheid activist, is known for his strong opposition to the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party. — Political Reporter.
Mandela: More attention to recruitment

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday expressed concern that the organisation was failing to attract large numbers of whites, coloureds and Indians and said urgent attention had to be paid to more effective recruitment strategies.

He commended the ANC for recruiting 700,000 members in the 17 months since it was unbanned, about 200,000 more than the official total a month ago.

However, he said the organisation could ill-afford to be content with the low level of success in attracting whites, coloureds and Indians to the ANC.

He also said that something had to be done about the low membership in rural areas. Much more had to be done to get members from these areas as well as those from the middle strata.

"We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so. . . confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future," he said.

The ANC had to remain a movement representative of all the people of South Africa both in name and reality.

"As we build our organisation, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population," Mr Mandela said.

Referring to the trade union movement, the civic associations and other organisations, he said contact had been had and had to be improved. The ANC's strength lay in the masses and the closest attention had to be paid to them.

The ANC had to ensure that the masses were in fact engaged in the struggle and were drawn into the fundamental discussions about the future of South Africa.
ANC beaten in bid to buy town

GROOTVELD. — A bid by the African National Congress to buy the Springfield mining village collapsed yesterday when a young attorney snapped it up at a swift auction.

But it emerged after the auction, which lasted less than 30 minutes, that lawyer Mr Danie Heyns, 32, had entered into a pact with the mining village community to keep the area in white hands.

The white people at the auction smothered him with congratulations after his contenders failed to outbid his R4,6 million.

Lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob, apparently representing the ANC, stopped his bid at R4,5 million.

The three portions of the 740-hectare village were provisionally sold separately, but were offered en bloc after the auctioneers, Chase, felt dissatisfied with the R1,315 million total.

"I'm not buying this property for any political party," Mr Heyns said.

‘Ganging up’

Mr Ayob declined to comment on the outcome of the auction, which severely tested the tempers of the mainly Afrikaner community that has settled here since 1960.

Mr Heyns, a Pretoria-based lawyer, said he had offered to buy the property in May, but farmers and businessmen in the village co-opted him into a close corporation in what appeared to be a ganging up against the anti-apartheid movement.

The auctioneers did not identify the bidders, but at least four people entered the battle. It was not immediately clear who the other bidders were. But it emerged that one bidder, Mr Gert Viljoen, a mastermind behind the corporation, had liaised with Mr Heyns.

The 300-odd mainly white group gathered in the tent watched proceedings with bated breath and stifled murmurs rose when initial offers fell short of the auctioneer's expectations.

A few police officers, who had walked from the nearby police station, were in the group.

A group of blacks, one clad in khaki and ANC colours, sang on the side of the road just a short distance from the club. — Sapa
Local farmers outbid ANC for Grootvlei

THE ANC yesterday failed to buy the Springfield colliery near Grootvlei in the southern Transvaal when a group of local farmers outbid it in a public auction.

The colliery, serving the mothballed Grootvlei power station, was put up for sale by Anglo American last year. It incorporates a 150-house village, a high-density hostel complex, a game reserve and a dam on its 773ha of land.

The ANC was believed to be interested in using the colliery as a base for returning exiles.

But in yesterday's tense auction, held in a marquee on the colliery grounds, 200 white farmers looked on as a bidder from the hastily formed Grootvlei Development company outbid the ANC's final offer of R4.5m.

DANIE HEYNs, the 3 Pretoria businessman, and his partner, local farmer-turned-businessman Gert Viljoen, were immediately mobbed by the jubilant crowd.

Ayob slipped out soon afterwards.

Viljoen said the company planned to sell off the houses in the village — with existing residents being given first option to buy — before redeveloping the area and attracting new residents.

He and Heyns insisted that their company's bid was not politically motivated.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan said yesterday only 350 mining personnel still lived at the colliery.

© Picture: Page 3
MUCH of the publicity and speculation in the run-up to the ANC’s conference in Durban this week has quite understandably involved the leadership races for the top spots on the executive.

But a related issue, the battle for the ANC to establish a new identity, is probably of greater significance in the long term.

The organisation will this week try to resolve the vexed question of whether it really wants to be a “national liberation movement” or a modern political party.

By the time the conference opened on Tuesday morning, it was clear that the issue was still very much up in the air and that some members of the organisation continue to hope that it will try to be everything to all people.

Briefing journalists shortly before the start of the conference, one of its chief organisers, the respected Vaill Mokoena, did not want to commit the ANC to either going the way of a liberation movement or that of a conventional political party.

**Model constitution**

The party versus broad liberation movement dilemma facing the ANC is also evident in the area of policy.

At the moment, the ANC’s membership reflects a wide range of ideological groupings ranging from Stalinists to social democrats.

One of the dangers facing the ANC is that if it tries to force its many disparate elements into a straight-jacket of specific policies on issues of the day, it is bound to shed some support.

Perhaps that is why the chairman of the ANC’s national preparatory committee for the conference, Mr Simon Mokana, told journalists just before the conference that the ANC would not strive to come up with “fixed and unchangeable” positions on a variety of policy issues ranging from the economy and land reform to education, health and local government.

Neither would the ANC conference take a vote “in the strict sense of the word” on a model constitution.

Instead, it would concentrate on drawing as many of its supporters and those outside the movement into the broad debate of what the new South Africa should look like.

**Election**

But by delaying a final decision on specific policy positions, the ANC would be denying itself the opportunity of going into an election with a set of crisp, clearly identifiable positions on issues of the day.

Such a tactic would appear all the more surprising given the fact that, as outgoing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo pointed out in his opening address, this is the last regular conference the ANC will be holding before non-racial elections for a new constitution in South Africa.

If some in the ANC do not believe that an election will be held for some time, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is clearly not one of them.

**Responsibility**

Apart from stressing the need to get the ANC’s election machinery ready as a matter of urgency, he noted that the process of gradually elaborating the ANC’s policies on issues of the day could not go on forever.

“We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with this country once we become the governing party,” he emphasised during his opening address.

Mr Mandela emphasised that the conference should give the ANC’s followers a clearer indication of its policy position as quickly as possible.

“The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility.

“They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision.”

Clearly, the scene is set for a lively debate.
Mandela’s praise for MK

ANC ‘war talk’

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
DURBAN. — The ANC concur-
ence got off to a militant start
here yesterday with president-
elect Mr Nelson Mandela ac-
cussing the government of pur-
suing a double agenda —
"talking peace while actually
conducting war".

The lively opening day of the
conference was marked by stric-
test rhetoric from a number of
speakers, with the loudest ap-
plause being reserved for the
members of Umkhonto we Sizwe
and military achievements.

The tone for the conference
was set by Anti-Apartheid Move-
ment leader Archbishop Trevor
Huddleston, who attacked those
countries now lifting sanctions
as being motivated by "greed and
the desire to make money".

Outgoing ANC president Mr.
Oliver Tambo, who was given a
rousing welcome by the dele-
gates, received the loudest ap-
plause during his lengthy ad-
dress when he said the Defence
Force had "not only failed" at the
battle of Cuito Cuanavale in
Angola.

His remarks about ANC pro-
grammes to make the country un-
governable and make apartheid
unwinable also struck a respon-
sive chord among delegates from
the IFP regions.

Mr. Mandela, in his address,
was repeatedly applauded dur-
ing a long section on the ANC's
" heroic army" campaign.

Points made during his ad-
dress included:

- The ANC had merely sus-
pended, not terminated, the
armed struggle and that MK —
whether cadres were deployed
inside or outside the country
had the responsibility to keep-it-

self in a state of readiness.

- The ANC would have "a vital role"
to play once an interim govern-
ment had been installed and in
the meantime had to help com-
unities in establishing self de-
fence units.

- The SA Communist Party
was a "firm and dependable
ally" of the ANC and all efforts
to drive a wedge between the
two organisations would be re-
buffed.

- Wraps needed to be found to
arrest the erosion of sanctions so
that "we do not lose this weapon
which we so dearly hope will not
lead to the democratic consti-
tution that has been adopted".

- The government's contention
that mass mobilisation stood in
the way of the negotiating pro-
cress was rejected and the mobili-
isation would continue until all
had the vote.

To page 4.
Focus on top posts.
One-man-one-vote and
democracy.

BY DENNIS CRAWFORD

A WELCOME IN OAU

FIVE DP MR.

by Dennis Crawford

Government on

not to

ANC Youth.
ANC fails to buy village

By THEMBA MOLEFE

TWO white developers beat the ANC to the post in buying a mining village at an auction in Grootvlei yesterday, leaving hundreds of black villagers disappointed.

The 774 hectare village, which includes a farm, 250 houses, a hostel housing 900 people, a hospital and vacant land was bought for R4,6 million by Mr Tony Hyns and Mr Gert Viljoen of the Grootvlei Development Agency.

The ANC's representative, attorney Mr Ismael Ayob, gave up after bidding R4,1 million.

Inside the huge marquee at the Springfield Colliery Recreation Club, scores of khaki-clad AWB supporters cheered and carried Hyns aloft, some kissing him after he outbids Ayob.

Outside, hundreds of Grootvlei villagers were singing songs saying ANC leader Nelson Mandela would buy them the land.

When they heard that Ayob had failed in his bidding, one woman said:

"How could 'the old man' (Mandela) fail to pay R5 million for the land?"

Mr Joseph Kheswa and Mr Jaba Nyeume, who are teachers at the mine village, said they were doubtful whether the future of their school was secure.

"Does the ANC not have R5 million, to be beaten by whites?"
ANC's budget

THE ANC has budgeted R2 million for the accommodation and meals of 2,000 delegates and 350 foreign guests at its conference in Durban.

Hotel bills, will be R500,000. Durban artist Andrew Veister was commissioned to design the hall's interior decorations.
Mandela warning

From Page 1

... - subject to advances and reverses as any other form of struggle.

"Despite our heroic efforts, we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people.

"There are therefore some issues which are non-negotiable. Among others are: our demand for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights," Mandela said.

As soon as the obstacle to negotiations have been removed, he said, the ANC must proceed to an all-party congress - an event which the Government initially placed on the agenda.

But Mandela warned that, before an all-party conference could begin, the Government had to meet the demands made in the Harare Declaration, among which was the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

"One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the Government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations by dragging its feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed to," Mandela said.
PAC, Azapo support business boycott

By IKOE MOTSAPI

THE PAC and Azapo have thrown their weight behind the consumer boycott called on the Reef by the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP.

The two organisations, however, said they felt other black organisations "should have been consulted before the decision to start the boycott was taken".

The boycott, which started yesterday, was called by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance to protest against the Government's secret funding of Inkatha and its labour wing, the United Workers' Union of South Africa.

Scandal

Mr Phambile Ntokwe, of Azapo, said his organisation supported "this type of action" especially in the wake of the slush fund scandal.

Mr Bonginkosi Mhlanga, an official in the regional office of the PAC, said: "My organisation supports the call for a boycott of white shops in principle."
LEN from Soweto said the NP would come first because it has proved to a lot of former ANC supporters that it has control.

He said the ANC blames the NP for a lot of things that it itself cannot control, like violence.

Peter, a staunch ANC supporter from Carletonville, said the ANC would win and to him it was immaterial who came second.

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ANC, Govt in fresh row

A FRESH row between the Government and the ANC overshadowed yesterday's opening of the ANC's first legal conference in South Africa in 30 years.

As 2,000 ANC delegates gathered for the conference, President FW de Klerk announced on Monday that his Government and Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC had agreed there were no more political prisoners in South Africa.

The presidential statement was swiftly denounced by the ANC.

"This is absolute twaddle," ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said. "There has been no such agreement. Somebody is playing propaganda games. We don't know why."

The row focused on a long festering dispute between the ANC, the country's biggest black grouping, and the Government.

Prisoners

The Government says it has released all political prisoners - a key condition for the lifting of US sanctions - while the ANC says more than 900 are still in jail.

ANC displeasure with the pace of Government action in freeing political prisoners, as well as what it calls the Government's failure to halt black township violence, has stalled black-white power-sharing talks.

Conference organisers said the ANC was looking ahead to forming the country's first non-racial government after elections due in 1994.

"We are here to prepare the machinery to be the next government," said Natal ANC leader Mr Manto Tshabalala.

"We are hoping to come out with a clear programme for majority rule."

Political analysts say the conference will seek ways of recapturing the initiative from De Klerk. - Sapa-Reuters
Tambo calls for assertion

TIM COHEN

DURBAN — ANC president Oliver Tambo opened the ANC's conference yesterday by calling on the organisation to lead the process of negotiations and stressing the need to refocus international attention on SA.

The ailing president said operating within the logic of a "people's struggle" with support from the international community, the ANC managed to push "the enemy" into a crisis.

"For the first time, possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created.

"As a result of struggle, the closed door that our late president Chief A.J. Luthuli knocked on for many decades was finally opened," he said.

The organisation had to seize this historic opportunity, he said.

But the ANC should assert its leadership of the process of negotiations.

He said that the ANC had to refocus international attention on the need for continued support which was needed to reconstruct the country.

Jacob Zuma, ANC intelligence head and a candidate for the post of secretary general, delivered the welcoming statement.

He said the ANC's next conference must be held in a democratic country.
ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Concern over failure to attract minority groups

DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed concern yesterday that the organisation was failing to attract large numbers of whites, coloureds and Asians and said urgent attention had to be given to more effective recruiting strategies.

Speaking to a packed audience of more than 2,000 delegates, hundreds of dignitaries, diplomats and media at the ANC's national conference, he commended the organisation for recruiting 700,000 members in the 17 months since it was unbanned, about 200,000 more members than the official total a month ago.

However, he said the organisation could not afford to be content with the low level of success in attracting whites, coloureds and Asians.

Something had to be done, too, about the low membership in rural areas. Much more had to be done about this and about getting members from the middle strata.

"We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so... confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future," he said.

The ANC had to remain a movement representative of all the people of SA, in name and reality.

Referring to the trade union movement, civic associations and other organisations, he said contact had been bad and had to be improved. The ANC's strength lay in the masses.

The ANC had to ensure that the masses were, in fact, engaged in the struggle and were drawn into fundamental discussions about the future of SA.

To ensure this, ANC organisers should concentrate on door-to-door campaigning and smaller local meetings.

By being in touch and responsive to their needs, the ANC would be capable of "drawing them into action in their millions" and enjoy genuine allegiance and voluntary support.

Mandela said the conference would be discussing the ANC's internal constitution. It had to be ensured that all agreed on a structure which enabled the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction.

The leadership that was elected should recognise that, while it was accountable, it should not compromise its ability to lead.

"Much work remains to be done (within the ANC) to raise the level of political consciousness so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our movement, its character, strategy and its tactics," he said.

DURBAN — Nelson Mandela yesterday told critics of the ANC's alliance with the SACP to "outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multiparty democracy".

Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to the alliance and its goal of ending apartheid, and said the ANC would rebuff attempts to drive a wedge between the two organisations.

However, he emphasised that the ANC and the SACP were separate organisations which did not decide one another's policies.

Mandela also referred to the ANC's alliance with Cosatu. He said the ANC would respect the independence of the trade union movement.
MK will stay

Mandela

DURBAN. — The ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will have an important part to play when the issue of control of the security forces under an interim government arises, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Rejecting the recent call by President F.W. de Klerk for the ANC to move beyond suspension of armed action and to declare it terminated — and, by implication, disband MK — Mandela paid tribute to MK's efforts, which, he said, brought SA to the point of negotiations.

Mandela said control of the security forces was one of the major tasks which still awaited MK and was one of the most important issues for an interim government.

The ANC's army should also, where possible, "make its expertise available to those communities engaged in the process of establishing their self-defence units", Mandela said.

In the longer term, "MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of the reconstruction of our country.

"The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution," he said.
Mandela calls for full talks to start soon

DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday steered the organisation's 48th national conference towards an urgent resumption of the negotiating process.

In his opening address, delivered jointly with Oliver Tambo, he urged delegates to prepare for the next stage in the process — a multiparty congress — "sooner rather than later".

Mandela said those responsible for the violence that had delayed the talks "should not be allowed to succeed in their intention of slowing down the process".

In a brief and ambiguous reference to sanctions, Mandela charged the conference with the responsibility of finding ways to arrest the erosion of international economic pressures.

Indications from other top ANC officials suggest the ANC leadership believes this would be best achieved by adopting a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions as various stages of progress are reached.

Mandela said the ANC did not wish to "lose this weapon, which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted".

Meanwhile, Mandela said the first principal step towards a parliamentary election was the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations including the ending of a "campaign of terror against the people".

Mandela attacked the NP saying "it has never been on the agenda of the party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power".

There are people within state structures who remain opposed to the transformation of the country and who did not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of exiles, the termination of political trials and a review of security legislation, he said.
AAM's role to be discussed

From GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement has called a national conference for its local groups and affiliates to decide its role in — and attitude towards — a post-apartheid South Africa.

But it has ruled out any suggestion of winding up the movement until all the people of South Africa can elect a democratic government of their choice.

The meeting's main objective will be to establish a post-apartheid solidarity movement to investigate "possible structures and alternative timetables" for the process of transition.

The decision to convene the Consultative Conference — to be held on July 13 — was taken at the movement's 1990 annual meeting held in Sheffield last year.

A spokesman said: "It will be one further stage in a process of debate and discussion which will also involve organisations with whom the AAM has been working over the years."

It will be opened by AAM chairman Mr Robert Hughes, who will report back on the ANC national conference.

He said: "Our AGM decided this conference should be convened at a time when there was much greater optimism that the 'peace process' would move forward rapidly.

In fact President De Klerk has broken his promises over the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and above all failed to curb the violence which has put the entire prospect of political settlement at risk.

"But we have decided to go ahead so we can take stock of the situation and begin to make the necessary preparations for the future. I will be able to report on the role the ANC sees for the international anti-apartheid movement.

"Above all we want to get across the message that if, we achieve the goal of the AAM — a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa — this does not mean that solidarity work in Britain and internationally will be over."
ANC would win an election, says poll

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — In a one-man, one-vote election today the ANC would win, but nine out of 10 people in the townships believe that it would have to build the future through negotiation, not confrontation, with the government.

A new poll says on average President F W De Klerk’s National Party would emerge as the second-largest party among township residents.

These are three of the key findings from research into the attitudes of people in the townships of South Africa’s main cities, published today.

The research was conducted during March this year by the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and was based on questions formulated by the centre’s director, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

The survey, a nationwide sample of all ages, found that only one out of 10 people support the armed struggle and three out of 10 support consumer boycotts and stayaways.

But nearly half of the people back protest marches, meetings and demonstrations and about the same number believe in protests aimed at the resignation of black town councillors and homeland leaders.

The survey found that 65 percent of all township residents feel “close” or “very close” to the ANC.

In Soweto that falls to 49 percent and in the hostels to 12 percent. In the hostels more than seven out of 10 people feel “close” or “very close” to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Nationally, the organisation which seven out of 10 people feel closest to is their church.

The research asked the people who they thought was responsible for starting the violence in their areas. Nearly six out of 10 people in Soweto blamed Inkatha Freedom Party. Sixteen percent of people in hostels felt the same.

Others blamed for the violence, in order of frequency, were youths who were pseudo “comrades”, the police, ANC or Communist Party-linked activists, and then certain headmen and vigilantes.
Mandela a certainty

Battle on for top ANC posts

DURBAN — Nelson Mandela yesterday became the undisputed president-elect of the African National Congress, but potentially major battles loomed for the next four top positions, including the deputy presidency.

As preliminary nominations closed yesterday, the prospect of a clash for the deputy presidency re-emerged despite earlier indications that a compromise had been agreed upon.

Top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa figured prominently as a candidate for the key position as secretary-general when nominations from the ANC's 14 regions were finalised yesterday.

And intelligence chief Jacob Zuma — believed to have been damaged by premature speculation about his prospects — appeared to...
had been agreed upon.
Top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa figured prominently as a candidate for the key position as secretary-general when nominations from the ANC's 14 regions were finalised yesterday.
And intelligence chief Jacob Zuma - believed to have been damaged by premature speculation about his prospects - appeared to

More reports Pages 6 and 22

have made a comeback with nominations for two of the top five positions.

To the surprise of many observers, ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, a reputed "dove", emerged as a candidate - along with hardline communist Harry Gwala and the veteran compromise candidate Walter Sisulu - for the position of deputy president.

Earlier indications had been that Mr Mbeki would stand back to avoid a clash between "hawks" and "doves". It was not clear last night that he would.

Nor is it certain that his rival Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC underground army, would not challenge him.

His exclusion from the list of nominees for the top five positions surprised delegates. He could be nominated from the floor today, thereby precipitating a clash.

A last-minute withdrawal by Mr Sisulu in favour of Mr Mbeki - a possibility raised by observers yesterday - would probably bring Mr Hani into contention.

Mr Mandela was the only nominee to succeed Oliver Tambo as president on a "preliminary list" of candidates.

Three candidates have been nominated for the positions of deputy president, secretary-general and his deputy, and four for the post of treasurer.

The nominees are:

- Deputy president: ANC stalwart Mr Sisulu, Mr Mbeki and Natal Midlands chairman Mr Gwala.
- Secretary-general: the incumbent, Alfred Nzo, Mr Ramaphosa and Intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.
- Deputy secretary-general: Mr Nzo, United Democratic Front general-secretary Popo Molele and Mr Ramaphosa.
- Treasurer: incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, Border regional chairman Arnold Stoffile, ANC chief representative in Britain Maimang Mendzi and Mr Zuma.

At least four members of the present ANC executive.

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<th>Battle for top ANC posts</th>
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<td>From Page 1</td>
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- From Page 1

dropped out of the reckoning: South African Communist Party chairman Dan Tloome, trade unionist Steve Dlamini, and their colleagues Anthony Mongalo and Sindiso Mfenyana.

Excluding the five top positions, 102 candidates were nominated for the remaining 50 directly elected positions on the national executive.

A total of 25 of the candidates were women, for whom 16 positions have been reserved on the executive.

The position could change slightly today when the 2,000 delegates will have the opportunity to nominate candidates from the floor.

The question which observers were asking yesterday was whether Mr Hani would be nominated from the floor to challenge Mr Mbeki for the critical post of deputy president.

At one stage it was thought that neither Mr Mbeki nor Mr Hani would stand and that Mr Sisulu would be elected as a candidate acceptable to both "doves" and "hawks".

But according to conference speculation, the 70-year-old Mr Sisulu - known to have been reluctant to continue holding a taxing senior job - could even stand down in favour of Mr Mbeki.

The list of 102 candidates nominated by the regions included 12 people who were already assured of places on the executive. They were drawn from the ranks of regional chairmen and their deputies as well as the president and national secretaries of the ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League.

One of the 102 candidates was Winnie Mandela, controversial wife of Mr Mandela. The reservation for women of a third of the 50 directly elected seats for women makes her election highly probable.

Among the 102 candidates were several leading members of the SACP: Joe Slovo; SACP general-secretary Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the UDM underground operation; Mac Maharaj; and his underground comrade, Raymond Suttner, a former university lecturer, prisoner and detainee.
DURBAN — The ANC ended its financial year to December in the red — despite large donations pledged during deputy president Nelson Mandela’s tour of the United States (which have not been received), head of finance Vusi Khanyile said yesterday.

This was the situation for the period March to December, in which the ANC had to transform itself — at great cost — from a purely external movement to a fully fledged internal organisation.

“It is a question of barely having enough for what we need,” he told a media briefing.

Financial statements could not be released publicly, and all he was prepared to say was that the ANC was working on a tight budget and had not allowed for the sudden increase in its political activity in the past few months.

Mr Khanyile said that from September to December, membership fees had accounted for less than 10 percent of financial income.

This figure did not reflect the true state of the finances because some members — such as pensioners and unemployed people — were excluded from the R12 membership fee, while some had paid the full annual amount and others were paying in monthly instalments.

He said the ANC would concentrate on raising its members’ contributions.

The report was the first to be delivered since the ANC’s 1995 conference.

National executive member Azz Pahad said that by a conservative estimate, ANC membership was now 700 000 — up more than 20 percent in a few months.
The ANC leader says a new coalition should be formed after elections. He is talking about how the party's leaders need to work together. It talks about the importance of unity and how they need to maintain the relationship with the black community. It mentions that the ANC needs to continue with its commitment to education and development. The writer also mentions the need for the ANC to work towards a more inclusive society. It talks about the importance of the ANC in the new South Africa and how it will be the leader of the new political landscape.
ANC ‘wrong to think it has claim to power’

Staff Reporter

The ANC was mistaken in believing it alone had a claim to political power in South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

He said the IFP would not tolerate ANC attempts to mobilise blacks against whites in order to achieve a handover of power to the ANC by the Government.

"There shall be democratic procedures that determine who governs after apartheid," he told the National Student Federation congress in Midrand.

The ANC was trying to develop what it called a patriotic front in order to dominate the negotiating process.

"The patriotic front they have in mind is a patriotic front of black political organisations."

A multiparty conference, involving leaders across the political spectrum, had become an urgent necessity.

He predicted that the ANC would emerge from its current conference committed to determining the constitutional future for South Africa through "mass action."

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP was doing its utmost to establish cross-constituency ties because it wanted reconciliation between black and white. Without this there would be no democracy.

There could be no real consultations with the people while the level of violence continued.

Inkatha was waiting to finalise dates for an ANC national executive committee/IFP central committee meeting to examine what could be done to normalise relations.

"But I must say that I am not encouraged by the message that came through in the opening address (at the ANC congress) of the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela," he said.
New code of conduct called for

DURBAN — The ANC's leadership had not always met expectations on accountability and democracy, national executive member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

This was attributable partly to its 30 years' enforced exile and "the state of repression", he told a media briefing on the ANC secretary-general's report which was presented at the organisation's national conference.

Mr Pahad said the congress had proposed that a new code of conduct should be implemented to ensure that these concerns were addressed.

Delegates told The Star that secretary-general Alfred Nzo's report was received critically during the closed session.

However, Mr Pahad said the report had been received enthusiastically and that its general trend had been accepted.

Speaking to the media . . . ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad.

He said yesterday's discussion on the report had reflected deputy president Nelson Mandela's concern that the membership drive among whites, Indians and coloureds should be stepped up.

Mr Pahad said the "wealth of support" for the ANC had not been fully exploited, largely because of the overarching problem of violence and organisational difficulties since the ANC's unbanning.

One way of attracting members was through "mass action", he said, although the ANC was fully conscious that it was "moving into a new (political) situation".

He did not believe mass action campaigns had alienated "the middle ground".

The ANC was "heartened by the good progress" of the Women's and Youth leagues, Mr Pahad said.

He added that the ANC would, far from shutting down its external missions set up during exile, seek to expand them.
Mandela's speech warmly praised

DURBAN. — Diplomats yesterday gave Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the opening of the ANC conference here warm, if qualified, praise.

The diplomats particularly welcomed his commitment to negotiations and his call for the organisation to transform itself by preparing for elections for a constituent assembly.

However, his strong support for the ANC's close links with the SACP drew reaction which ranged from concern to open alarm.

The diplomats pointed out that the ANC had been steadily losing ground on the international front by maintaining its warm association with a political party whose policies are now in disrepute throughout the West and the former Eastern Bloc states.

They noted that Mr Mandela's brief reference to sanctions was ambiguous, although it could pave the way for a possible rethink at this week's conference.

They believe sanctions are on the way out anyway, regardless of the ANC's views, and if the ANC did get in step with changing international realities, they will lose their ability to wield influence on world forums. The diplomats also pointed out that Mr Mandela's wide-ranging address attempted to meet the concerns of a variety of disparate interest groups that make up the ANC.
DURBAN. — The ANC raised about 10% of its funds inside South Africa during the last three months of 1990, an ANC financial spokesman, Mr Vusi Khanyile, said yesterday.

He also said the ANC would have to generate far more of its finances from inside the country, particularly as some sources of funding had dried up.

No political organisation in the world had ever survived by being dependent on subscriptions alone and fund-raising was essential, he said at a press conference at the ANC’s conference here.

He also said that none of the money raised by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela during his tour of the United States more than a year ago “have been remitted to the ANC”.

Mr Khanyile declined to state how much money had been pledged, but it is understood to be about R9 million.

In another development, Detroit mayoral representative Mrs Margaret Baylon arrived at the conference and told journalists she had travelled to South Africa with letters to the ANC from the city to find out what the organisation wanted to do with the R3.3 million it had raised.

She said the money had not yet been sent to the organisation because the city had no idea what the ANC wanted to do with it. “Whatever they say, we will do,” she added.

Neither Mrs Baylon nor Mr Khanyile could explain why the money had not been remitted to South Africa.

Mr Khanyile made his comments at a media briefing on the treasurer-general’s report, which had been delivered to a closed session of the conference.

He declined to disclose details of the ANC’s balance sheet, but said the ANC had to operate on a “tight budget”. 
Boesak bid to surprise ANC candidate on list

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — In a shock move, Dr Allan Boesak has been nominated for the ANC's national executive committee, despite not being a member of the organisation.

But the unprecedented step immediately sparked controversy among a number of delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a position in an organisation of which he is not even a member.

The high-powered election commission still has to rule whether the former UDF patron's candidacy is valid, but Dr Boesak's name does appear near the top of a provision-
al list of 120 candidates released at the ANC's national conference here last night.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said non-members could not be elected on to the executive.

However, she later said that those whose names appeared on the list had effectively accepted that their nominations go forward and it was unlikely that they would withdraw.

Repeated attempts yesterday to contact Dr Boesak to qualify his position were unsuccessful.

However, a delegate from Transkei yesterday told the Cape Times that the homeland had nominated Dr Boesak for a position on the NEC - but it is understood that Dr Boesak did not get the backing from his own Western Cape region.

One of the thorny problems facing the election commission is that the ANC's own constitution will only be finalised this week and this could have a decisive bearing on whether his nomination will be accepted.

More candidates could still be put on the list, but the election for 50 places on the executive is hotly contested and 15 of these have provisionally been reserved for women.

ANC 'must look for internal funding'

See PAGE 2

The developments have exacerbated tensions within the ANC's Western Cape region and some delegates have said Dr Boesak was merely a guest at the conference and, as such, would not be considered for election.

When he arrived at the opening of the conference on Tuesday he sat among the guests at the back of the hall.

In the past Dr Boesak has made it clear that he would not join the ANC until it had clarified its relationship with the SA Communist Party and "personal and ideological" differences with the ANC's Western Cape leadership were resolved.

It is known that the Mr Nelson Mandela held discussions with Dr Boesak about joining the ANC.

It has been suggested that Dr Boesak could improve the low level of recruitment to membership of the ANC in the Western Cape.

However, the Western Cape leadership have made it clear that they feel Dr Boesak should first join the organisation and become a member of a local branch, instead of leaping into a top leadership position.

One Western Cape delegate said yesterday that Dr Boesak apparently hoped to be voted on the national executive by "acclamation"...
Close contest for top jobs

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — A close contest exists within the ANC for the positions of secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general.

This emerged yesterday when the ANC released the names of people who had been nominated by two regions for positions on its national executive committee.

The list shows that 102 people, 25 of them women, have been nominated for the 58 vacancies on the national executive.

Mr Nelson Mandela has been nominated unopposed as the new president of the ANC and Mr Walter Sisulu is also expected to be unopposed as deputy president.

The position of secretary-general is to be contested between the incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, the general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma.

Both Mr Nzo and Mr Ramaphosa have been nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

Treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi faces the ANC's London representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, Border chairman the Rev Arnold Stoffel and Mr Zuma.
ANC Recruiting Drive

The ANC is recruiting members nationwide to build a strong and vibrant party. If you believe in the principles of the ANC and want to be a part of its mission, join us today!

The ANC welcomes anyone who is committed to the cause of African liberation and who shares our vision of a free, democratic, and prosperous South Africa. Together, we can create a better future for all South Africans.

Visit our website at www.anc.org.za to learn more about our programs and how you can get involved. You can also contact your local ANC branch to find out how you can participate in our recruiting efforts.

Let's build a stronger ANC together!
Govt lawyer outbids ANC

Mr Danie Heyns, the Pretoria advocate who outbid the ANC for the mining village Grootvlei, is on the staff of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal. Mr Don Brunette.

Heyns (32) yesterday bought the East Rand village for R4.6 million on behalf of a consortium of farmers and businessmen called Grootvlei Ontwikkelings.

His successful bid was R100 000 higher than that of Johannesburg attorney Mr Ismail Ayob, who bid on behalf of the ANC.

Although Heyns said after the auction he had appeared on behalf of a close corporation that had no political motives, the closing of the sale was greeted by cries of "Op die boere!" and "Mooi sol!" from local residents.

Local businessman Mr Gert Viljoen, who heads Grootvlei Ontwikkelings, said the consortium intends to keep the village intact with its present infrastructure.

He said part of the village will be developed as a retirement resort.

Grootvlei came under the hammer after Eskom decided in November to close the Grootvlei power station, which served the Springfield Colliery near the village.

The property consists of more than 250 houses, a hospital, farmland and a golf course. - Sapa.
ANC elections put into perspective

FOCUS

RONNIE MAMOEP A, regional spokesman for the ANC, puts this weekend’s leadership elections into perspective.

IT is universally customary that elections are a subject of speculation by the Press. The object of such speculation is usually centred on individuals to be elected and the policies they represent. The ANC too has been subjected to such speculation by the media.

We welcome the interest shown by the media in our elections but we think it is misdirected.

While we in the ANC remain committed to the freedom of the Press, we differ on the way in which the nominations of candidates to the National Executive Committee have been handled.

The way in which the media has sought to deal with the question of elections shows a distinct misunderstanding of the nature of the movement. This should be corrected.

Disturbing

A particularly disturbing feature of the way in which the media seeks to address our elections has been its emphasis on the role of individuals. It has sought to interpret developments in such a way as to imply a leadership crisis and struggle for power. Such is not the case.

The root of the problem is that the media does not seem to understand or accept that the ANC is a national liberation movement and not a political party.

In contrast to a political party, which conducts itself on the basis of a party programme or manifesto, the ANC seeks to carry out the mandate of the people it represents. Accordingly, the emphasis that should be placed on us is not who is in our leadership but what is the mandate of the people.

Having said that, we do not wish to underplay the importance of the role played by individual leaders. After all, it is the charisma and clear-sighted vision of leaders of the calibre of Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu that has been responsible for leading our people to the present heights that the movement presently commands.

While the individual’s role in the shaping of destinies of countries cannot be undermined, history is not made by individuals but by society or certain sections of society which have had demands placed upon them in a particular historical moment.

Our society at this juncture demands of its people a transfer of power to the majority of people, who will then use that power to radically transform our society into a non-racial democratic order.

And the forum for such discussion is the national conference, which is the highest decision-making body in the movement.

The strategic objective of our time remains the transfer of power - and this is the guiding light of the national congress of the ANC now being held in Durban. The congress basically will focus on how best and quickly this transfer of power can be achieved.

It is this strategic objective which will and should guide the conference. Those who will be elected will be expected to operate within the broad guidelines of our strategic objective.

Mandate

The office-bearers of the new national executive committee are therefore obliged to carry out the mandate given them. In the fulfillment of duties directed by the conference they do so, not as individuals, but first and foremost as members of the ANC and finally as part of a unit, that of collective leadership.

However, collective leadership does not imply a forum of like-minded people. For obvious reasons, there will be differences of opinion. There is nothing wrong with this. If the differences are carelessly handled they will result in destruction but, if properly channelled, they will become the force of development in the organisation.

In all the speculations of the Press, there is an implication that the differences within the ANC are so severe that the organisation is likely to crumble. One newspaper even ran the headline: "Knives are out in the ANC."

There are those who emphasise negotiations over all other forms of struggle, particularly armed struggle.

The decision to suspend one form of struggle was not the decision of one leader or a section of the leadership but a result of constructive debates within the ranks of the movement.

It took into account the fact that the armed struggle was one of the four main pillars of the struggle and not the only one.

The ANC prides itself on handling differences in such a way that they have led to the growth and development of the organisation in those trying and dark movements in the history of our struggle.
Mandela for president a formality

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was also nominated for both positions.

Mr Jacob Zuma was the third nominee for the position of secretary-general. He was also nominated treasurer.

United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe was nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

Three other nominees for the treasurer’s position were Mr Arnold Stofile, Mr Thomas Nkobi and Mr Mendi Msimang.

More than a hundred other people were nominated for the new NEC which will be elected tomorrow.

Among the newcomers were Mr Elijah Barayi, Dr Allan Boesak, Ms Barbara Hogan, Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Saki Macozoma and Mr Moses Mayekiso, Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa, Mr Peter Mokaba, Mr Murphy Morobi, Mr Mohammed Vali Moosa, Ms Marion Sparg and Mr Raymond Suttner.

Step down

25 women were nominated.

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who indicated he would step down, has been nominated for a seat on the NEC along with his wife, Adelaide.

The preliminary list of nominees include human rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, constitutional expert Mr Kader Asmal, Cosatu secretary-general Mr J Naidoo, Sister Bernard Ncube, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Chris Hani, Mrs Gertrude Shoppe, Mrs Ruth Mompati and Mr Joe Slovo.

Three Sisulus have been nominated (Albertina, Max and Walter), as has Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Three regions have nominated Mbeki for one of the five offices - president, deputy president, secretary-general, assistant secretary-general and treasurer-general - but he has indicated he was not particularly interested in one of these five positions.

Smooth flow

Delegates and guests at this week’s conference have commented on the smooth flow and high standard of the conference.

A simultaneous translation service has been provided, including Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho.

A giant video screen provides close-ups for delegates.

There is a medical service, refreshments are served while delegates are seated and on the first day of the conference the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, decreed: “Those who want to smoke must do so outside.”

* Nominations can still come from the floor but Mandela’s position remains unchallenged.
MR NELSON Mandela was yesterday unanimously nominated for the presidency of the African National Congress.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Walter Sisulu were among three nominees for deputy president.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The present secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, was nominated for two positions - secretary-general and deputy secretary-general.
MRS Adelaide Tambo on Tuesday night gave outsiders a rare glimpse of the strain of 30 years in exile.

Mrs Tambo briefly addressed foreign guests at an informal reception in Durban to thank foreign countries for their support of the ANC during three decades of banning in South Africa.

She said she had been married to Mr Oliver Tambo for 34 years but from 1961 to 1988 she had seen her husband for four days a year only while he had been based in Africa and she had been living in Britain.

"The climate was cold, while the people were warm," she said.

Although most countries did not have a traditional African way of life, which she had missed, they had steadfastly supported the "extended" Tambo family and the ANC.

"You were there to give us moral support, to help us with our revolutionary struggle and to make life tolerable.

"Thank you for making it possible for my husband to carry on for 30 years while other leaders were in jail."

- Political Staff.
Surge in activity puts ANC in the red

DURBAN — A surge in the ANC's activity since it was unbanned had landed the organisation with an overdraft, its finance department head, Yusi Khanyile, said yesterday.

Delivering a briefing on the treasurer-general's report presented to the national conference, Khanyile said the ANC had "barely enough for what we need".

He said the finance commission, which will sit at the conference over the next few days, would do some serious planning for fund raising.

He said the ANC wanted to work towards a situation where membership fees made up the bulk of its income, which was not the case at present.

He said that while the ANC suffered from the same financial strains as any other political party, its problems were compounded by high levels of unemployment among its supporters.

Khanyile said details of the ANC's bank balance were confidential.

Legal advisers were involved in efforts to have transferred to SA funds raised by deputy president Nelson Mandela during his US visit last year.

Speculation has put the amount destined for the ANC at about R6m.
Boesak nomination whips up a storm

DURBAN — UDF patron Allan Boesak has been nominated for the ANC's NEC, despite not being a member of the organisation.

The unprecedented step sparked controversy among some delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a position in an organisation of which he is not a member.

An independent electoral commission ruled yesterday that his candidacy was valid.

Boesak's name appears near the top of an alphabetical computer printout of more than 90 candidates circulating among delegates.

Boesak's nomination has exacerbated tensions within the ANC's Western Cape region and some delegates have flatly stated that Boesak was merely a guest at the conference and, as such, should not be considered for election.

When he arrived at the opening of the conference on Tuesday morning, he took his seat among the invited guests at the back of the hall in raised seating, separate from the more than 2,000 delegates on the conference floor.

In the past, Boesak had made it clear that he would not join the ANC until it had clarified its relationship with the SACP, SACP and 'personal and ideological' differences with the ANC's Western Cape leadership were resolved.

It is known that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has held discussions with Boesak about joining the ANC.

It has been suggested that Boesak could improve the low level of recruitment to membership of the ANC in the Western Cape, particularly among coloured people in both urban and rural areas because of his widespread popularity.

However, the Western Cape leadership has made it clear it feels Boesak should first join the organisation and become a member of a local branch, instead of leapingfrogging into a top leadership position.

One Western Cape delegate said yesterday that Boesak apparently hoped to be elected to the national executive by accolade and had let it be known that under these circumstances he would have no choice but to respond to popular demand.

Attempts to contact Boesak yesterday were unsuccessful.

Qualified praise for Mandela speech

DURBAN — Diplomats yesterday gave Nelson Mandela's opening speech at the ANC conference warm, if qualified, praise.

The diplomats particularly welcomed his commitment to negotiations and his call for the ANC to transform itself by preparing for elections.

However, his strong support for the ANC's close links with the SACP and Communist Party drew reaction which ranged from concern to open alarm.

They pointed out that the ANC had been steadily losing ground on the international front by maintaining its warm association with a political party whose policies are discredited throughout the West and the former East bloc states.

The diplomats noted that Mandela's brief reference to sanctions was ambiguous, although he could pave the way for a rethink at this week's conference.

They believe sanctions are on the way out anyway, regardless of the ANC's views, and if the ANC does not get in step with changing realities it will lose its influence in world forums.

The diplomats pointed out that Mandela's wide-ranging address attempted to meet the concerns of a variety of interest groups that made up the ANC.

"Mr Mandela was clearly trying to straddle the different streams within the ANC, but it is not yet clear whether the organisation will emerge much more unified," said one senior diplomat.

Diplomats said they were not unduly concerned by the several apparently hardline references Mandela made in regard to Umkhonto we Sizwe, mass action and self-defence units, saying it was clearly an election speech aimed at the broad mass of the 2,000 delegates.
Cosatu wanted to expose harassment, court told

VERA VON LIERES

COSATU officials did not use the man they allegedly kidnapped as a pawn to enhance their political interests but wanted to expose the harassment of Cosatu, its general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

Naidoo told the Johannesburg Regional Court that senior union officials had called a news conference at Cosatu's offices to expose the harassment and fears the federation had experienced and to enable security policeman Monge Maleka to explain what he was doing when he was apprehended outside the Cosatu building.

Naidoo, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, office staffer Baba Schalk and Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso have pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assaulting Maleka on August 28 last year.

Naidoo said he did not consider Maleka a pawn as Maleka had in his possession two photographs of SAPC official Geraldine Fraser and had admitted he was watching the building and was to contact his superior if Fraser left the building.

Naidoo said it was not a premeditated decision to hold the news conference before the police arrived. A conference explaining what Maleka was doing would be important in putting pressure on the police to investigate the matter.

"To have Maleka himself having to explain in a Press conference may have been stronger than us explaining as Cosatu."

Naidoo denied he put pressure on Maleka to attend the media conference and said Maleka agreed to address it.

He conceded that Maleka's reaction at the news conference was fearful, but said his fear was based on the fact that he did not want to be photographed.

Asked by prosecutor Joe Davidowitz whether the Cosatu officials felt they were entitled to take the law into their own hands, Naidoo said he did not think they had taken the law into their own hands.

He said the intention in apprehending Maleka was to get the SAPC to investigate suspicions "with greater enthusiasm and success" than in the past. This required a political intervention which was made by contacting the ANC's security department.

The case continues.

Tambo's daughter linked to R3m home

ONE of ANC president Oliver Tambo's two daughters is believed to have bought a R3m mansion in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, while her famous father will soon move into a house in Watville, Benoni, worth R850 000.

An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday that one of Tambo's daughters and her husband, believed to be an American banker, were buying a property.

An estate agent operating in the northern suburbs said the house had been sold for more than R3m and the property behind it for an undisclosed sum.

It was previously widely speculated that Tambo would swap his Watville home for a larger Sandhurst property, Villa Rose.

The spokesman said Tambo would definitely move into the house in Watville, where he lived before leaving SA.
Secretary-general race draws three

By ALAN SINE, TIM COHEN and BILLY PADDOCK

DURBAN.—With Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu assured of becoming the ANC’s president and deputy president, the way has been cleared for a tough fight for the organisation’s third most important post, that of secretary-general.

A preliminary list of nominees for all leadership positions was released yesterday. Independent Mediation Service of SA director Charles Nupen, appointed by the ANC to head an electoral commission at the conference, stressed that the list was not necessarily complete.

Nominations were still open and nominees might still decline nomination, he said. A deadline for nominations had provisionally been set for about midday today, but conference might change this, he said.

The preliminary list indicates that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is the only nominee for the post of president.

Walter Sisulu, Harry Gwala and Thabo Mbeki have been nominated for the deputy presidency. However, it has been widely predicted that other candidates would stand down if Sisulu accepted the nomination, and yesterday he confirmed to Business Day that he intended doing so.

Three powerful candidates have been nominated for the post of secretary-general. They are NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC intelligence head Jacob Zuma and incumbent Alfred Nzo.

Ramaphosa has not personally indicated whether he intends accepting nomination. However, both NUM president James Motloubi and vice-president Elijah Barayi said yesterday that Ramaphosa would stand in the election for the post. Zuma and Nzo could not be reached for comment, but are also expected to contest the position.

Ramaphosa and Nzo, along with former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, have also been nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

However, a number of delegates yesterday said they did not expect either Nzo or Ramaphosa to accept nomination for the junior position. This will result in Molefe being elected unopposed if no further nominations are forthcoming.

Four candidates have received the required support of at least two ANC regions for the position of treasurer general: the incumbent Thomas Nhobi, ANC chief representative in London Mandla Maimang, former UDF leader and chairman of the Border region Arnold Stofile, and Zuma.

There are 102 nominations for the remaining 50 national executive committee (NEC) positions.

There are 25 women on the list of nominees. If the conference approves a quota system whereby 30% of the NEC must be women, a special electoral system will have to be devised.

The list of nominees includes the bulk of the existing NEC, a few trade unionists including Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo and Sydney Matumadi and Numsa’s Moses Mayekiso, a number of former UDF leaders and ex-political prisoners.

Among the nominees are Allan Boesak, Winnie Mandela, Marion Sparq, Mac Maharaj, Albie Sachs and Gill Marcus.

See Page 4
from DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS

ANC line-up for top jobs

DURBAN. — Eight Western Cape political personalities — including surprise candidate Dr Allan Boesak — are in the line-up for top jobs in the ANC.

The Western Cape nominees will vie with 94 others for the 30 posts in the movement’s “shadow government”, the National Executive Committee, which will be elected at the weekend.

Mr Nelson Mandela is certain to consolidate his leadership and be elected president, but the militant Mr Harry Gwala and the finance minister Thabo Mbeki have emerged as possible contenders for his deputy.

The surprise nominations could turn the battle for the deputy presidency into a three-way contest with veteran Mr Walter Sisulu, who has the support of many regions, including the Western Cape.

Sources say his election would unite the ANC and avoid head-on fights between factions.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani and ANC intelligence head Mr Jacob Zuma have dropped out of the contest for deputy president but it is understood Mr Gwala has the support of more militant members who would have voted for Mr Hani.

Dr Boesak, a former UDF patron who has not yet joined the ANC, is set to return to national politics with his nomination.

Dr Boesak's popular nominee

Other candidates from the Western Cape are South African Communist Party leader Ms Cheryl Carolus, University of the Western Cape academic and ANC constitutional expert Professor Rader Asmal, Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC publicity secretary, Ms Birta Ndube, Western Cape ANC deputy president; civil rights lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu; ANC co-ordinator Mr Reginald September and author Professor Albie Sachs, who has a post at the University of Cape Town.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the conference would have to discuss Dr Boesak's popular nominee and the other candidates for the deputy presidency.
ANC supports campaign to occupy empty white schools

Support for the campaign to occupy empty white schools is growing and new initiatives are being developed.

The campaign was launched last week by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC).

Indications are that almost all ANC branches in the Johannesburg area, including the white suburbs, have pledged their support for the campaign and have shown a willingness to take part in it.

The Johannesburg Education Committee also supports the campaign.

On the other hand, progressive structures in Johannesburg are on the lookout for empty schools in the white residential areas.

A planning meeting was held this week in which several structures, including ANC branches, took part. The meeting discussed ways to intensify the campaign in the Witwatersrand area.

One of the issues discussed was the plight of pupils attending inner-city schools, most of whom are "fly-by-nights".

Reliable sources said the possibility of starting a campaign to move pupils from these institutions to the empty white schools was discussed.

Region

Commenting on the move, NECC Southern Transvaal regional secretary, Amon Msane, said several of these schools have been closing down due to the lack of funds and other issues such as maladministration.

"Those schools cater for youngsters who do not find accommodation in township schools. But, unfortunately, they cannot operate properly because some of them rely solely on school fees payment to run their daily business.

"Secondly, those schools are inside the city, creating a situation where there are no physical education facilities."

"The other factor is that education and training minister, Stoffel van der Merwe, claims that his department would feel compelled to bus students from the township should it make a schools available in the white area."

"If that is the case, then the kids attending inner-city schools have proved that they can pay for their transportation. The department should therefore not worry about that," said Msane.

Msane also disclosed that his organisation was working on a meeting to look into problems faced by private schools. He said several organisations as well as parents of children attending these institutions would be invited.

The owners, administrators and associations of private schools are also expected to attend the meeting.
It's troubling to imagine what lies in store for constitutional negotiations between government and the ANC.

On the eve of the ANC's national conference, and with the release of political prisoners now the major stumbling block to talks, President F.W. de Klerk announced that the ANC and government had agreed that "finality has now been reached in terms of the process of release set out in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

Whatever the truth of the statement — and it was not a model of clarity — something went wrong: Mandela denied its accuracy.

If such an agreement had indeed been reached, say the Lawyers for Human Rights, "we would imagine that a joint statement by the parties involved would have been issued."

To its knowledge, adds the organisation, the release process is "the subject of ongoing discussion and investigation, and we believe that all parties concerned know that in fact it is nowhere near finality." There are still a large number of political prisoners who qualify for release and the Indemnity Committees are still busy on their behalf, it adds.
WATCHING THEIR BACKS

The ANC's Nelson Mandela set the tone for the movement's first national conference inside SA in 30 years with a speech that had something in it for all factions of his broad church. But he seemed to hint several times that the organisation is running out of time if it wishes to regain the political initiative.

Whatever emerges from the four days of closed debate in Durban, Mandela's opening address came across as a holding operation in the best ANC tradition.

It was hardly surprising that the rituals were just that. The real focus was on intense lobbying for the elections at the end of the week. The outcome will set the ANC's political tone for months to come. President F W de Klerk and his chief negotiators will have been watching the proceedings with as much interest as any ANC delegate.

Mandela duly stated that securing the objective of a constituent assembly to formulate the political future could not be achieved through negotiation alone. Rejecting "the regime's contention that mass mobilisation stands in the way of the negotiating process," he argued that it was the only power available in the absence of the vote.

The transitional period was likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex and challenging in the life of the ANC, said Mandela. Only once an interim government generally acceptable to all political movements had been formed would white minority rule cease. The call for a constituent assembly remains central to the ANC's stance.

Such an assembly implies elections, said Mandela, for which the organisation must prepare itself. "Among other things, this means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organisational machinery to do this."

The ANC should continue explaining itself to the people as a whole on the various policy decisions, said Mandela. "We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party . . . all our people want to know how we would govern the country . . . This seemed to be a clear hint to delegates to get their act together.

Among Mandela's other points:

- The ANC recognises that other political groups in the country are entitled to exist.
- Though the ANC has 700 000 members, too few are drawn from rural areas and from whites, coloureds and Indians;
- The ANC has to find ways to check the erosion of sanctions and create the situation where it does not lose this weapon;
- It must strengthen its world links; and
- The SA Communist Party's position as a dependable ally and the alliance with Cosatu are confirmed.

At the hectic conference, leadership contenders Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani carefully avoided the press. Hani had informed Mbeki and Zuma a fortnight ago that he was out of the race for deputy president. Zuma, in turn, made it clear that he sought to be secretary-general.

It emerged on Tuesday evening that miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa was getting strong support from the communist lobby for the post of secretary-general. As he is generally popular in the ANC, his chances were regarded as good. But despite the antagonism of the SAPC lobby, Zuma, the southern Natal chairman, remained a strong contender.

Thabo Mbeki remained firmly in the running for deputy president; most delegates the FM spoke to regarded him as the strongest candidate for deputy president. Walter Sisulu (78) was expected to lose support because of his age.

In a surprise move, Mac Maharaj, head of the proposed Operation Vula, accepted nominations from some regions to sit on the NEC again. Maharaj resigned last year in disgust at the way the leadership handled the Vula affair.

Maharaj, an SAPC central committee member, was long one of the ANC's most important strategists and a valued military tactician. His agreement to serve was seen as an indication that more militant factions in the ANC were uniting against the carefully planned takeover of the NEC by more moderate factions.

Despite Mandela's scolding the press for allegedly inventing factions within the ANC, the organisation leaked profusely as the various factions jostled and plotted for ascendancy. The 2 000 representatives of the 14 regions were meeting informally up to three times a day, before and after their gruelling 12-hour days in conference, to thrash out positions.

Voting by secret ballot was arranged for Friday and Saturday, with the services of independent mediators to ensure fairness.

The influence of the ANC Youth League, powerful during 15 years of militant mass activity, was expected to be moderated by powerful lobbies within the ANC who believe it needs to be more pragmatic.

Powerful Youth League president Peter Mokaba - a victim of pre-conference leaks and allegations of being a police spy - told the FM about some other key issues that the conference would have to address. "The most important is the conceptualisation of the period we are in. Are we in transition or not? In a period of transition we would only deal with how to put people into an interim government and begin to prepare for an election. Those who believe we are in transition will say sanctions must go, for instance."

This latter group is known as the Thabo Mbeki school. It believes sanctions must go; that SA will see nonracial, democratic elections within three years, and that the ANC must prepare for that. But the Mokaba grouping believes that change is not yet irreversible and is committed to mass action.

Next week there should be some clarity on which school of thought has won the soul of the ANC (for now, at least) - after what was probably the most democratic experience in the history of the organisation.■
Heyns ‘not out to stop ANC’

State advocate Danie Heyns, who earlier this week beat the ANC for the mining village of Grootvlei near Heidelberg, has remained adamant that his bid was not a quest to prevent the ANC buying the village.

Both the Department of Justice and the office of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal have stated that Mr Heyns’s bid at the auction was made in his private capacity and no disciplinary steps would be taken.

Mr Heyns said yesterday he did not act on behalf of a consortium of local farmers and businessmen.

“I do not belong to any political party and neither am I carrying R4.6 million for any political party,” he said.

The money had been raised through normal financing channels, he said.

He intended getting the 250-house village proclaimed as a township before selling the houses individually on a first-come, first-served basis.

“A number of people have already indicated they are interested in buying property. I will try to accommodate the present occupiers and I am not after a huge profit. But business is business and profit remains the bottom line,” he said.

He said a committee of local residents, on hearing that he intended bidding for the village, approached him before the auction on Monday to find out what his plans were.

They were apparently satisfied with his plans and did not oppose his bid, although some, including local businessman Gert Viljoen, had bid for some individual properties.

“The whole thing became politicised when it became known that the ANC was interested. It is regrettable that the Department of Justice has been drawn into the controversy, but the department had nothing to do with my bid,” Mr Heyns said.

Ismail Ayob, the attorney who represented the ANC at the auction, said he had no comment on whether the sale was politically motivated. The ANC also declined to comment.

Deputy Attorney-General John Welsh said yesterday that Mr Heyns’s action had been above board.

“There is absolutely nothing to stop him from doing something which leads to profit,” Mr Welsh said.

The village was bought for R4.6 million, R100 000 more than the ANC was prepared to offer. The ANC apparently wanted to use Grootvlei to accommodate returning political exiles.
Discipline essential in defence units – Hani

By Esmé van der Merwe
Political Reporter

DURBAN — Community self-defence units should be strictly controlled to ensure they did not degenerate into vigilante forces, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

Addressing a media briefing at the ANC's national conference in Durban, he said great care should be taken to ensure that self-defence units were accountable and disciplined.

“We are going to be very strict at this conference about the need for discipline and accountability,” he said.

Although he expected criticism from delegates about the delay in setting up self-defence units, there was "no rush" to do this because good foundations had to be laid to ensure control and the participation of all political groupings.

However, such structures, in which MK would be used in a training capacity, would not be necessary if the security forces acted impartially.

He said MK cadres were being re-trained to prepare them for incorporation in the South African security forces.

He admitted they might not have received "adequate attention" since talks with the Government on the suspension of the armed struggle began.

He believed the ANC's national conference would endorse the earlier decision to suspend armed operations. But he would not say whether recruitment for MK was continuing.

Nominee for No 2 spot ... Natal hardliner Harry Gwala at the ANC conference yesterday. Mr Gwala and Walter Sisulu are the only remaining candidates for the position of deputy president.

Picture: Argus
DURBAN — Some journalists count their readers, viewers or listeners in thousands. Some count them in millions.

But Jih Yu Chen of Radio Beijing simply has too many listeners to be able to count them.

Mr Chen is one of the hundreds of journalists from around the world who have converged on Durban to cover the ANC conference.

They are serving newspapers, TV stations, radio stations, magazines and journals around the world.

South African journalists say this is probably the biggest international news event in the country's history.

Before this, the biggest international news event in Natal was the Seychelles hijack trial of 1982. Mharitzburg City Council was so flattered by the presence of so many international journalists that it arranged a civic reception for them.

The conference probably eclipses — in terms of international media coverage — the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.
Tambo gets key role

Open race for 3 top ANC posts

By Esmare van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius

DURBAN — Tough battles for three of the top jobs in the African National Congress are expected today at the organization’s national conference here.

The race for the positions of secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general remained wide open after nominations officially closed yesterday.

After a day of high drama and intense lobbying, several top contenders are out of the race for executive positions. They include foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and leading clerics Dr Allan Boesak, the Rev Arnold Stotli and Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa.

And in a surprise move, outgoing president Oliver Tambo is to retain an executive post — the position of national chairman of the ANC has been specially created for him.

Mr Mbeki’s withdrawal narrowed the contest for the deputy presidency to a straight fight between veteran internal leader Walter Sisulu and Natal hardliner Harry Gwala — who is widely expected to be trounced.

Mr Mbeki’s decision to stand aside followed an earlier announcement by the ANC’s other crown prince, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, that he would not contest any of the top five jobs.

And as expected, Nelson Mandela was elected to the presidency uncontested.

The special position of national chairman — which existed before the banning of the ANC in 1960 — has been reactivated to accommodate the ailing Mr Tambo, who stood down as president but was nominated as an ordinary national executive committee (NEC) member.

This would give him full executive powers, despite speculation that the widely revered stalwart would bow out of active politics.

Information head Dr Pallo Jordan said Mr Tambo’s post — which would include the

To Page 2

Battle for three of top five ANC posts

From Page 1

responsibility of chairing NEC meetings — had been filled by veteran Govan Mbeki in the 1960s, but it had lapsed during the ANC’s 30 years as an underground organisation.

Dr Jordan said the revival of the position would require a constitutional amendment, but the proposal by Mr Mandela had been received “with wild acclamation” by the entire conference.

Indications of the behind-the-scenes moves was the withdrawal of trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa from the post of deputy secretary-general.

He has staked all on winning the key secretary-general job, which he will contest with incumbent Alfred Nzo and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma, the ANC’s highest-ranking Zulu, and chairman of the southern Natal region, seems to have lowered his sights by also making himself available for the position of deputy secretary-general — possibly as a result of reading the mood of the conference.

He was the only person nominated from the floor by a show of hands for any of the top positions.

He withdrew from the contest for the job of treasurer-general, as did the ANC’s Border chairman, Mr Stotli.

This leaves a straight fight today between veteran incumbent Thomas Nhobi and challenger Mendi Msimang, ANC head of mission in Britain.

And as election fever peaked, the conference’s 2,224 delegates nominated a further 40 members to contest the NEC election, in addition to the 162 already nominated by all regions.

Among them are alleged Bo-puthatswana coup leader Rocky Maitshane, human rights lawyer Willie Hofmeyr, trade unionist Alec Erwin and the head of the ANC’s financial department, Vusi Khanyile.

In another dramatic development yesterday, the conference rejected the proposal that at least 50 percent of the 50 positions should be held by women.

Many women delegates vehemently resisted the decision to drop the quota.

More reports — Page 6
Maharaj urges real negotiations

By Shaun Johnson

DURBAN — Mac Maharaj, one of the most powerful and militant personalities in the ANC, confirmed his return to active politics yesterday with a strong call to the ANC to force the Government into "genuine negotiations".

Addressing a media briefing during the ANC's national conference, Mr Maharaj said he had accepted nomination to the organisation's executive because of grassroots pressure. He retired from the national executive council amid a blaze of publicity last year.

It was speculated that the underground chief — and head of Operation Vula — was angry about the leadership's "lack of interest" in his plight as a detainee and that he believed the ANC was giving too much away to the Government.

Yesterday he declined to expand on his reasons for pulling out, but said he was satisfied that "the ANC stood by the underground" and felt he could make a contribution in future.

"I think I am returning because people believe I have contributed, and still have something to contribute."

Support for Mr Maharaj is said to be such in the ANC conference that he is assured of being voted back on to the NEC.

On negotiations, he called for a tough approach from the ANC, with "mass action" and international pressure playing a key part.

Mr Maharaj alleged that he was assaulted during his detention last year at Sandton police station by Colonel Frik Verster, but said the "torture was insignificant compared to what I underwent in 1964."
Boesak joins ANC but won’t run for office

By Peter Fabricius

and Esmaré van der Merwe

DURBAN — Last-minute discussions with ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu persuaded Dr Allan Boesak not to run for office in the organisation.

The maverick churchman and former UDP patron ended months of speculation yesterday by announcing at a packed media briefing that he would join the ANC but not in time to be elected on to the national executive committee this week.

Dr Boesak said that although he had been nominated for the NEC, he did not wish to create controversy by joining the party immediately before the elections.

He explained that he did not wish to create the impression he was joining only in order to be elected.

But there was also a "technical problem" because the ANC constitution was not clear about whether he could stand after being nominated as a non-member. He had thus chosen to stand down to avoid a controversial debate about his eligibility.

However, Charles Nupen, of the Independent Electoral Commission monitoring the elections and ANC spokesmen, had earlier said he believed there was no constitutional reason for Dr Boesak not to join yesterday before nominations closed.

Dr Boesak said he would join the ANC within a week and refused to confirm or deny speculation that he might then be co-opted on to the NEC.

In earlier discussion with Mr Mandela, he had been assured of a special role in the ANC, but not a special position, Dr Boesak revealed.

Asked if he would be brought into the leadership to attract coloured voters, he indicated that he would like to play a wider role and not become the ANC’s "coloured attaché".

It has become clear at the conference that the ANC is growing increasingly concerned about its failure to attract support from coloureds, Indians and whites.

The guessing game over whether he would stand for election raised Dr Boesak from an invited guest to a controversial main player, and diverted media attention.

As nominations closed at 3.45pm it was still not clear whether Dr Boesak had joined the ANC, and hordes of journalists hovered outside the conference hall watching him locked in discussion with Mr Sisulu and spokesman Gill Marcus.

Ms Marcus then called a press conference where Dr Boesak announced his decision.

He said that once he had joined he would raise his concerns inside the ANC about its alliance with the South African Communist Party "without any problem".

He had made up his mind to join because of assurances from the conference, and his personal discussions about ANC policy and strategy issues which had earlier concerned him.

He was satisfied with the ANC’s firm commitment to continue with and speed up negotiations and its commitment to democracy.
ANC denies alliance tensions

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC yesterday moved quickly to play down suggestions that there were tensions within the organisation over the alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan said reports that secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo had included an attack on the SACP alliance in his address had been "blown out of proportion".

He said Mr Nzo's reference amounted to four words in a 30-page report.

Mr Nzo had listed eight reasons why the ANC was not winning support in the Indian, "coloured" and white community. One said: "The alliance with the SACP is perceived as a problem by some communities."

He said Mr Nzo's comment should not be seen in any way as a suggestion that the ANC should distance itself from the SACP.
Pro-woman proposal scrapped

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The most heated debate at the ANC national conference so far has led to the scrapping of a draft proposal for a quota system requiring that 30% of members of the NEC be women.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said a majority of delegates had decided that, while they supported the principle of affirmative action to advance the position of women, they did not think the quota system was the best way of handling it. However, there had been “vehement” opposition to the decision taken after five hours of debate.

An ANC source disclosed yesterday that debate on the issue had sparked a rowdy protest by women in the conference hall on Wednesday evening. She said it was led by Mrs Adelaide Tambo and disrupted procedures to such an extent that chairman Mr Joe Slovo had to call an early supper break.

Mr Macozoma said opposition had been “vehement” but did not know if it could be described as a protest.

Mr Charles Nupen, one of the independent electoral committee that will run today’s elections, said yesterday: “They (the women) will take their place as candidates along with the men.”

The draft ANC constitution had proposed that 30% of the 50 ordinary NEC posts that will be voted on today should go to women.

However, there was resistance to this. Some apparently believed it was entrenching a form of “group rights” in the organisation.

Others argued that the women elected in a quota system would have a diminished status if they did not get their seats in an open contest.

“People felt that while they supported affirmative action, they did not think the quota system was the best way of handling it,” said Mr Macozoma.
DURBAN. — South Africans, both black and white, were concerned that proposed self-defence units could degenerate into "lynching squads", the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday.

He stressed that it was essential that all self-defence units established should be subject to strict control, discipline and accountability.

He also emphasised that defence units should not become the instruments of any political organisation, but should be controlled by communities themselves.

Mr Hani told a press briefing at the ANC's conference here that the establishment of defence units was still "at an initial stage" because a great deal needed to be done to ensure that they were built on strong foundations under democratic control.

"There is no need to rush."

He emphasised that everything possible would be done to ensure they did not turn into vigilante groups.

"Organisations must be careful how they handle the question of defence units. They must be seen by the people as protecting the people.

"They should not be used as an instrument of maintaining the hegemony of any political organisation."

Mr Hani also said that MK and other military formations, including homeland defence forces, the PAC armed wing and the Defence Force, needed to be integrated during the transition process towards democracy.
THE African National Congress succeeded this week in getting across its commitment to negotiation and the speedy adoption of a new constitution.

Even the supposed firebrand and acknowledged communist, Chris Hani, has come across as a reasonable man of moderate views, as much committed to a negotiated compromise as any of his colleagues.

Yet questions arise. In the light of the clandestine violence against ANC members, which continues relentlessly, does the ANC yet feel sufficiently secure to negotiate with confidence?

The ANC will go into negotiations and move ahead as quickly as it can, it appears, because it is anxious to get to a situation where the security forces are subject to non-partisan monitoring and tight control.

What about the ANC’s communist link? What about Mr Hani and his two masters? Mr Hani is no longer seeking a top position in the ANC. Yet the ambiguity of his position and that of others similarly placed is becoming increasingly awkward in the arena of electoral politics. Some will disavow the communist label, no doubt, but others will in time have to make a choice one way or the other.

**Core support**

There is concern among the ANC leadership because the organisation’s support among the white, coloured and Indian minorities turns out to be minimal. The problem, in part, is thought to be the link with the SACP, which troubles middle-class people and seems to have driven quite a few into the seductive arms of the Nationalists. This trend is reinforced by the township violence, which has often come across in the media in simplistic terms as a demonstration of black-on-black savagery.

So far the ANC has been concerned to keep in touch with its core support in the black masses. Judging by the opinion polls, it has succeeded. It is way ahead of its nearest rivals for the support of the black electorate.

Yet the ANC is supposed to be offering a non-racial philosophy of broad South African patriotism. A continuation of the present trend could polarise politics in unhealthy fashion, with blacks appearing to be ganging up against the rest. And the relentless NP propaganda machine is exploiting the situation to the hilt.

Against this background, the process of disentangling the two movements in the public perception and on the ground is already beginning, as the election of ANC office-bearers may well show.

A symbiotic relationship in which executive members of the SACP, such as Mr Joe Slovo, are at the same time executive members of the ANC, is not only damaging to the ANC. It is rapidly becoming untenable for both organisations. Once the country has moved some distance away from armed struggle/repression in the direction of democratic politics, the relationship will not be long for this world.

The SACP is a working-class movement. The ANC has a much broader constituency. There are obvious conflicts of interest which will sharpen as an election approaches. Unless the ANC is going to abandon its current positions, it will reject doctrinal socialism and favour a pragmatic approach. Economic growth is seen as the priority, with a mixed economy and a commitment to redistributing wealth, providing a safety net for the poor — as generously as the country’s resources will stand.

The SACP goes along with this for the present. But its spokesmen make no secret of their long-term commitment to a very different kind of society in which public ownership will be the rule.

Communist spokespersons characterise themselves as democratic socialists, rejecting the label of social democrat. Yet socialism, if it means anything, means public ownership of the means of production. It does not allow exceptions. How can an enforced system of public ownership — to the exclusion of individual rights — be called democratic?

Once private ownership is admitted, on the other hand, what we have is not socialism, but social democracy and a mixed economy. The argument then is about the nature and extent of the mix.

**Legal might**

The contribution of communists to the national debate is valuable, forcing people to think through the arguments and to consider the lot of the poor. Yet their system is wholly discredited and is hardly a threat. If their penchant for conspiracy turns out to be incurable after all, then the legal might of the State can be vigorously invoked.

Obsessive McCarthyite fears, on the Right, and unrealistic expectations in the townships, on the Left, have created a public perception that communists are a powerful influence in national affairs. Perceptions count in politics and so the spectre of communism will no doubt continue to stalk the land.

But no one should lose too much sleep. Negotiations will move ahead, we may hope, as the hard men on all sides lose out to the negotiators, and even the ghost of Stalin himself will eventually go to rest.
Boesak is out

Dramatic last-minute withdrawal

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — Dr Allan Boesak made a dramatic last-minute withdrawal from the ANC's national executive election race — but said he would join the organisation within a week.

Dr Boesak, who held 11th-hour discussions yesterday with the ANC's new president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and its internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said he would not seek membership of the ANC merely to be eligible for tomorrow's election.

Mr Mandela was the only nominee for president of the ANC after nominations closed late yesterday afternoon for the top leadership positions at the ANC's national conference here.

As expected, the organization's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, dropped out of the contest for deputy president and although the ANC's hardline Natal Midlands chairman, Mr Harry Gwala, was in the race, Mr Walter Sisulu expected to trounce him during today's voting.

Earlier, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, confirmed that he would not be contesting any of the top five spots.

The former president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was elected "by acclamation" to the newly created position of national chairman.

The responsibilities of the non-syndicalist position are still largely undefined but he will chair meetings of the national executive and party conferences.

The race for the party's secretary-general post is wide open, with the incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, still contending.

Significantly, Mr Ramaphosa yesterday signalled his confidence of winning the ANC's most tightly contested election by withdrawing as a candidate for the post of deputy secretary-general.

Mr Nzo and Mr Zuma, however, have signalled their willingness to play second fiddle by also making themselves available for the deputy secretary-general post in case they lose the more important contest.

The battle for treasurer-general is now a straight fight between the incumbent, Mr Thomas Mokoena, and the ANC's London representative, Mr Monde Msimang.

FULL LIST OF ANC CANDIDATES

See PAGE 2

These positions will be decided today, in secret ballots under the supervision of the four independent electoral commissioners.

Another 40 people have been nominated for the national executive, and the ANC yesterday decided to scrap the original provision of a quota of 30% of the positions for women, a move which met with "very vehement opposition" from the ANC's Women's League.

With four withdrawals from the race for ordinary positions on the national executive, about 138 people will now be standing for election to the 50 ordinary positions on the national executive committee.

Dr Boesak's nomination to the national executive, without his having joined the ANC, became the talk of the conference, with a number of disgruntled groups openly questioning such an unprecedented move.

To page 2
ANC:
All the names

The full list of candidates for today's ANC elections are:

PRESIDENT: Nelson Mandela (unopposed).
DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Harry Gwala and Walter Sisulu.
SECRETARY-GENERAL: Alfred Nzo, Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma.
DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL: Popo Molefe, Alfred Nzo, Jacob Zuma.
TREASURER-GENERAL: Mendi Maimang and Thomas Nhobi

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (to be elected):
Kader Asmal; Elijah Barayi; Thozamile Butha; Cheryl Carolus; Max Coleman; Jeremy Cronin; Paul Daphne; Ben Dibobe; Ibrahim Issa Elsheikh; Finca Gwina; Archie Gumede; Harry Gwala; Roggie Hadebe; Chris Hani; Wil- lin Hofmeyr; Alex Enin; Pello Jordan; Ronnie Kasrils (ANC Khumalo); Ahmed Kathrada; James Kari; Baleka Kgositsile; Vusi Khanyile; Pius Langa; Patrick "Terry" Lekota; Amos Langa; Janet Love; J J Mabena; Stanley Mabiliza; Judds Modlin; Joe Modise; Thandi Modise; Prof Ismail Mohammed; Peter Mokaba; Job Mokgoro; Timothy Molakoa; Jacqueline Moile; Popo Moile; Ruth Monpa; Anthony Mongalo; Mohamed Vell Mosa; Murphy Morobe; Cebul Molobi; Aaron Motoa; Elias Mosima; Mendi Maimang; Jackson Mthembu; Themba Mthimbo; Eric Mthuli; Billy Nair; Sister Bernard Ncube; David Ndlovu; Sibusiso Ndebele; Curnick Ndlovu; Hilda Ndou; Joel Naidithende; Peter Maybuye; Ivan Ngcina; Buielelani Ngubu; Thobakile Ngcubela; Joe Nhlanhla; John Nkadimeng; Thomas Nhobi; Abe Nkom; Sankie Nkondo; Ngubu Nhla-Thibe; Charles Nkula; Sandile; Siphiwe Ntshona; (Gebuzo); Blade Nzimande; Lindile Mpasi; Saki Macosa; Pasuma Maduna; Sidney Mafumadi; Mac Maharaj; Nomthle Mathews; Simon Makana; Noxolo; Henry Makgothi; Remy Maibane; Melng; Winnie Mandela; Trevor Manuel; Nosipho Mphahlele; (Themba Dywili); Andrew Maphoto; Noni Majaphetse; Gill Marcus; Barbara Maseliza; Andrew Masendo; Ivy Matepe; Jerry Matola; Moses Mokolosi; Thabo Mbeki; Willis Munn; Mathews Mvula; Sindiso Mntunya; Raymond Mhlaba; Dilza MS; Winton Mokwai; Andrew Mlangeni; Alfred Nzo; Dallah Omar; Che o'Garra; Aila Phed; Nada Panleni; Mathews Phosa; Mzwandile Piilze (Tata Mxwali); Ivan Visvill; Jeff Radebe; (Mai- tam); Cyril Ramaphosa; Mzwam Ramgobin; Aible Sachs; Pupsey Sebodago; Tokyo Se Kgqwele; Jackie Selebi; Reginald September; Manto Shabalala; Gertrude Shope; Ncibi Shope; Sisath- kele Sigadla; Albertina Situ; Max Sikulza; Walter Sisulu; Zola Skwonya; Joe Slovo; Marion Spang; Mntsho Sperere; Arnold Stoffic; James Stuart; Raymond Sutten; Adelaide Tambo; Oliver Tambo; Steve Tshwete; Alfred Xobolo; Tony Yengeni; Linda Zuma; Mwosvili Zulu; Jacob Zuma; Nkosazana Zuma.
DURBAN. — The hardline chairman of the ANC’s Natal Midlands region, Mr Harry Gwala, has refused to withdraw his challenge for the deputy presidency of the ANC.

His battle with Mr Walter Sisulu for the position could turn into a major test for negotiations. While both are old guard, Mr Sisulu is a supporter of the pragmatic approach to negotiations where Mr Gwala stands for mass insurrection as a means of forcing concessions from the government.
**Two W Cape regions for the ANC?**

Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC's Western Cape region may be divided into two to give more attention to the needs of impoverished and often neglected rural areas.

The ANC's information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, told a press briefing yesterday that the organisation's national conference here had discussed the possibility of splitting the Western Cape region.

However, no final decision has been taken on whether to create a new sub-region encompassing the Boland and the West and South Coast areas.

One of the issues raised at the conference was that people in the rural areas often lacked the most basic facilities — like telephones, fax machines and vehicles — needed to build the ANC into a strong organisation.

"Perhaps given these highly differentiated regions, a sub-region might be formed so that greater attention can be devoted to the rural areas and better focus can be achieved on the problems in these areas," Dr Jordan said.
Women lose battle of the sexes

DURBAN. A male-dominated ANC conference has made sure women lost a battle of the sexes when they rejected a proposal that 30 percent of NEC posts be filled by females.

Delegates supported the concept of affirmative action to promote sexual equality in the running of the ANC, but they felt that imposing a sexual quota was not the best remedy.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said there had been "vehement" opposition from women delegates.

'It is understood that scores showed their displeasure by mounting their own mass action, toyi-toying up and down the aisles of the conference venue.'
Voting for ANC posts under way

From DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

DURBAN.—Voting is under way in the most closely followed and keenly contested election for the top four positions in the ANC here today in what amounts to the first taste of ballot-box democracy at a national-level for many delegates.

An air of expectancy pervades the campus of the University of Durban-Westville and all eyes are on the outcome.

An independent nine-member electoral commission comprising mainly lawyers is overseeing the election in which only Mr Nelson Mandela's position is assured.

The names of Mr Mandela's four top assistants will be known this afternoon.

More congress reports ... page 4.
Mandela tells diplomats to maintain pressure on SA

DURBAN.—President-elect of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela has told diplomats following deliberations at the movement's annual conference here that international pressure on Pretoria must remain to help maintain the tempo of change.

Speaking at a closed briefing for diplomats at a seafront hotel last night, Mr Mandela indicated that sanctions should be maintained as a means of exerting pressure on the government not merely to remove discrimination, but to speed the end of minority rule and the granting of full political rights to the disfranchised.

However, diplomats said they did not perceive Mr Mandela's remarks as a rigid commitment to existing sanctions so much as a desire to see the maintenance of some form of international pressure.

Though he expressed the view that he believed it would be premature for the international community to shift its position on sanctions, diplomats say the ANC has allowed some leeway by referring to "imaginative ways" of maintaining pressure which would not necessarily be limited to sanctions.
Why Boesak quits executive race...

DURBAN. — Dr Allan Boesak returns to Cape Town in the next few days to sign up with the ANC as a first step towards reviving his role in mainstream politics.

A buoyant Dr Boesak ended intense speculation about his immediate political ambitions — and his response to his unexpected nomination to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) — by announcing his withdrawal from the ballot.

His nomination posed a constitutional dilemma for the ANC because he was not a member.

Constitutionally, only members are eligible for election to the NEC.

Nevertheless, the nomination reflects the Western Cape theologian's popularity among the ANC rank and file. Although he was not nominated by the Western Cape, three other regions put his name forward.

Indeed, he stands a good chance of being co-opted into the ANC hierarchy. Dr Boesak, however, would not be drawn on whether he had been promised a position. Nor had he sought one.

Observers believe that since his decision not to seek election here — and land the ANC in a controversial constitutional dilemma — will save the movement embarrassment, he might be rewarded with an inner-sanctum position.

It is known that reservations about the ANC's alliance with the SACP are among reasons why Dr Boesak has not joined the ANC before now.

However, he told a Press conference yesterday that he had raised his concerns with president-elect Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and was satisfied.

He said he had been impressed by Mr Mandela's opening address to the conference on Tuesday when he emphasised a commitment to democracy, negotiations, an all-party conference and the "taste" with which he urged the ANC to approach the process.

Asked about his constituency, he said: "I will not accept a portfolio which says you are going to be the ANC's coloured attraction."

He said he would address his concerns about the ANC/SACP alliance once he had joined the ANC.
ANC flexible on interim government

DURBAN. — Hints that the ANC would be prepared to adopt a more flexible approach in its demand for an interim government to run the country during negotiations were given here by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani, often considered a hawk by the white establishment, yesterday rejected a rigid approach to negotiations, and expressed a preparedness to consider other proposals offered at the negotiation table.

Asked at a Press briefing whether he considered an interim government "an absolute non-negotiable", he replied: "I would prefer not to use the word 'absolute'. We should never absolutise anything."

"The interim government is the position of the ANC and it wants to discuss that with other parties. "We will go to the negotiation table with that position, but we will listen to other positions put by the government, the PAC, Inkatha and the homelands."

While the ANC believed an interim government offered an important solution to the problems of handling the transition to a new order, he added: "We want to know from other interested parties how they hope to handle the process of transition, and in that process of talks, something that might not be quite what the ANC proposes might emerge."

"You never know what will emerge. You never close your ears to other suggestions."

"The ANC is not going to prescribe to other groups. We will keep an open mind and listen to the reasonable arguments of other groups."

He said he fully endorsed the ANC's commitment to negotiations and was not merely "paying lip service" to it.

Mr Hani acknowledged that his frankness might not always be popular.
ANC pastor’s family shot dead

JOHANNESBURG. — The wife, daughter and grandchild of a pastor and ANC education officer were gunned down on Wednesday night in the township of Boipatong near Vanderbijlpark.

Their house was then set alight.

The Rev Ernest Sotsu was at the African National Congress’s 48th annual conference in Durban when he was told of the AK-47 rifle attack which killed his wife Constance, aged 49, daughter Margaret, 33, and his grandson Goodwill.

Sebokeng Hospital superintendent Dr Anne van der Spuy said that Goodwill, who was about four years old, had died on the operating table after being admitted with bullet wounds.

Two other Sotsu youngsters injured in the attack, Vuyani and Yusi, were in a stable condition after treatment for bullet wounds.

The children were being protected because of inquiries as to their whereabouts, “We have put them safely in hospital,” said Dr Van der Spuy.

Five people — including members of the Sotsu family — were killed and 10 injured in three incidents of violence on Wednesday, the police unrest report said yesterday.

One man was killed and three were wounded when gunmen fired a number of rounds at them in Guguletu.

Another man was shot dead and four others were wounded when shots were fired at two homes at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone.

On Wednesday, police arrested a man and seized a shotgun, a pistol and ammunition at a hostel in Kathlehong, Germiston. — Sapa
Hani rejects ‘individual’ claim

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), yesterday denied that he had ever played a role "as an individual" in the detention of people in ANC camps.

He said the role he had played was as a soldier in defeating a mutiny in 1984 at Quatro camp in Angola.

Mr Hani told a press briefing at the ANC's conference here that rebels had taken over the camp, killing ten ANC members, and "it was only natural for the ANC to assert its authority".

Britain or the United States would have done the same.

"As a soldier, I had to participate in crushing a mutiny against the ANC. That was my role and that was my only role."

The detention of enemy agents was handled by ANC's security wing and he was not involved in this aspect of the ANC's work.

ANC members and rebels had died outside South Africa for a number of reasons, including clashes with UNITA and natural causes such as malaria.

"When we have time we will come up with figures and statistics as to who was killed and when."

Mr Hani said that the ANC had now released all its detainees.

"The ANC is no longer holding a single prisoner. Everybody is free."

All that remained was for former detainees to be transported to areas where they wanted to go.

During the briefing, Mr Hani also acknowledged that the ANC had probably not paid enough attention to MK members still outside the country, but he denied charges that they had been neglected.
Memorial service for Azapo’s Muntu Myeza

THE Azanian People’s Organisation will hold a memorial service in honour of its former defence secretary Mr Muntu Myeza in Soweto on Sunday.

Azapo Soweto branch chairperson Mr Morewabi Duna told Sowetan that the service would be held at the Modisha Yo Botse Church in Zone 4, Diepkloof, starting at 1pm.

Myeza died on July 3 1990 on his way from Bloemfontein under mysterious circumstances when his car veered off the road at about 8pm.

He was discovered the following morning by a young girl who then summoned help.

Tribute

He was certified dead on arrival at the hospital.

At the time of his death, Myeza had been the longest serving member of Azapo’s central committee and served in the post of publicity secretary for a number of successive terms.

Paying tribute to Myeza at his funeral, former Azapo president, Professor Thuleni Ngqakho, said: “It would be an unpardonable betrayal not to mention that above all Muntu Myeza was a black person respected by both blacks and whites.

“For even white people respect a genuine black person; white people do not respect non-persons.”

Duna said speakers would come from Azasco, Azasm, Imbeleko Women’s Organisation and trade unions.
Bop party plans to join the ANC

THE PEOPLE'S Progressive Party, which has been banned in Bophuthatswana, plans to join the ANC.

However, the PPP said it would seek affiliation rather than be absorbed.

Spokesman Mr Mika Moeti said members were advised to join the ANC but to remain members of PPP.

He said he believed the ANC was the party which was going to become the next government.

The PPP would pursue a stand that was non-racial, non-sexist, unitary and in alignment with a new South Africa, said Moeti.

He said the PPP, which has 400 000 members, is considering registering as a political party in South Africa and not in Bophuthatswana because the party sees itself as part of South Africa and has a role to play in the negotiation process.

Moeki said his party wants to emphasise that it strongly abhors the humiliation caused Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing who had been indemnified and granted a visa by the Government, but was arrested by the SAP when he arrived at the weekend.

Responding to the statement by Bophuthatswana Minister of Justice, Mr Godfrey Mothibe, that his government was lodging an extradition application with the South African government, he said it was ironical that this happened when South Africa was releasing its political prisoners and indemnifying exiles.
ANC claims shocks us says Asro

By MONK NKOMO

THE Saulsville/Atteridgeville Interim Committee yesterday said it had been "shocked" by recent official announcements that the local civic organisation was aligned to the ANC.

In a statement released yesterday Mr Nkosi Molala, liaison officer of SAJC, said: "Residents' organisations can ill afford ideological affiliations because nowhere do we find in residents, uniformity of political affiliation."

SAIC was reacting to an article in Sowetan last Friday, in which the general secretary of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation, Mr Simon Tshedi, admitted that the civic organisation was "leaning towards the ANC".

Organisation

Molala said a residents' organisation which was affiliated to a political organisation "does not only cease to represent all residents, but also turns into a political organisation and, without really meaning to do so, actually divides the community it sets out to serve".

The SAJC, which negotiated the reconnection of electricity last month after agreeing to an interim flat rate of R90 a month with the local Administrator, Dr Ernie Jacobson, said: "We either stick to the R50 monthly flat rate, plunge ourselves into darkness or pay the R90 flat rate, retain the electricity supply and negotiate areas of concern. The choice is ours to make."
Govt is keen on ANC debate

THE South African Government was following the proceedings and statements of the ANC closely and with interest, a senior spokesman said yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed the ANC conference as it was important that the ANC should have the opportunity to discuss its policies, positions and leadership issues.

Until this happened, the ANC would not be able to move forward into proper negotiations.

"The Government is watching developments with intense interest, taking note of the statements and positions during the conference."

Government officials had studied the opening statements by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with great care.

The Government was reluctant to comment on everything that came out of the conference as it did not want to be seen to be interfering.
CRITICS of apartheid who dismissed changes in the country as insignificant denied the achievement of ordinary blacks who non-violently caused racist laws to crumble.

In the second edition of *South Africa Silent Revolution* Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, argues that ordinary people, rather than political organisations, sanctions or State President FW de Klerk, contributed more to the scrapping of racist laws.

The *Sowetan* Nation Building programme was a revolt against the myth of black helplessness, against what amounted to a view that the only good black was a powerless black - exploited and exiled and dependent on foreign fundings, Kane-Berman said.

The late Mr Sam Mabe, who was Assistant Editor of *Sowetan*, was quoted as saying: "I am sick and tired of people using apartheid as an excuse for not doing anything for themselves."

Kane-Berman said apartheid legislation was scrapped when the Government realised the laws were not enforceable.
MK to be an ordinary army

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

STEPS are being taken to transform the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from a guerrilla army to a more conventional army.

MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told delegates in the ANC’s conference in Durban that the army in a new South Africa had to serve society.

Under a new dispensation, political parties will not be allowed to have private armies. There will be a single army - which would hopefully be made up of MK, the South African Defence Force, the military wings of the PAC, Apla, and of the Black Consciousness Movement, Azaca, Hani said.

Rumours

The MK chief was commenting on rumours that his army was being "retrained".

He also said that the ANC was committed to the agreements in the Pretoria Minute, which included the suspension of armed struggle.

This week’s conference will stress the importance of negotiations. He agreed that a multi-party conference was the next step, but added that the biggest stumbling block to an MPC was the violence in the country.

In this regard the ANC has encouraged people to establish defence units.

MK would not be used as defence units, but they had a role to play in instructing people, Hani said.

Warning

"Defence units must not entrench the hegemony of political organisations. They will not be defence units of the ANC. They will serve the community," Hani said.

He warned that the ANC would not allow defence units to degenerate into vigilante groups.

Turning to the present race for elections to the top five position as office bearers in the ANC, Hani said that if he were to be nominated from the floor he would not stand.

There was still a lot of work to be done in the organisation and in MK, Hani said.
MK receives homage, but is it a sop?

THE legend of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) has permeated and inspired this week's African National Congress conference.

In the speech on the opening day, the 2,000 delegates burst into applause every time MK was mentioned and in his address, deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us where we are today."

Mandela also insisted that the ANC had "not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto weSizwe ... has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition of a democratic society."

But is Mandela acknowledging a real role to be played by the ANC's army, or was this comment merely a diplomatic but insubstantial sop to an MK that is known to be discontented?

Many members of MK believe that their role has been sidelined since negotiations began, and that, even though they are supposed to be "deployed", lack of funds and lack of commitment from leadership have rendered them impotent.

A strong MK delegation is present at the conference and, while MK commander and ANC head of special projects Tokyo Sexwale commented that "we are here to look specifically at MK issues", he did acknowledge that the cadres present were to decide on "the type and nature of support that MK would give to the negotiations process" and that the army did have specific concerns it would raise, among them the welfare of demobilised soldiers and the role that MK would play in a national army.

But Sexwale is adamant that "MK is committed to the negotiations process. If not, you would have seen the mutiny, you would have seen bombs blowing up all over South Africa. But there hasn't been one incident since the ANC announced its suspension of the armed struggle."

Other MK delegates have commented that while they have obeyed suspension orders, they are unhappy with concessions made in the negotiations process. They told The Weekly Mail they would raise the issue of accountability: isolated in the camps in Uganda and the "forward areas" surrounding South Africa, they feel they have been left out of the thought process behind negotiations.

"Our leaders have made some mistakes," one said, "and we feel that they made these mistakes because they didn't consult widely enough. Mandela might say publically that we are still deployed, but if our role isn't clarified at this conference, it will be impossible for us to continue operating.

MK commander Chris Hani admitted that "because of the preoccupation with the talks, we probably have not paid enough attention to the cadres in the camps". But, he added, it must be remembered that "those talks led to the release of MK cadres from prisons."

Hani said MK was in the process of being transformed into a conventional army. "Only a professional army will be competent to man a future democratic order. MK is preparing to be part of this."

And Sexwale emphasised that "upgrading and recruiting of MK soldiers is continuing" in preparation for this professional army. "We have 15 different armies running around South Africa. If we don't integrate them soon, there will be carnage here — a bloody civil war."

He maintained that the integration of armies was a logical outcome of the negotiation process. "If peace is a national desire, General Magnus Malan has no choice as an individual but to fall in line with the general trend."

Sexwale said that "MK will push very hard for the establishment of an integrated national army, but this is not a precondition for a settlement." Other MK delegates, however, said they would try to persuade the conference to make this non-negotiable.

If the conference were to adopt this stance, it could serve to polarise the ANC and the government further on the issue of MK's role.

Minister for constitutional development Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week that the "dirtiest" comment he could make about the ANC's commitment to peace was that MK was still mobilised. With government holding this position, the issue of MK can only remain a stumbling block in the negotiations process and, unless the conference translates its obvious emotional support for the ANC's army into a clear policy, the army will continue to be sidelined.
Gqozo purges ANC from the airwaves

By FRANZ KRUGER, Grahamstown

THE "Bisho Spring" is over at Radio Ciskel, where military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has barred mention of any political groups he doesn't like.

While Ciskel officials flatly denied that such a ban had been declared, it is clearly reflected in minutes of a June 22 meeting involving top management, the programmes section and the news team, which were obtained by Weekly Mail reporters.

The minutes said there was "an urgent need to change programmes due to a call from the head of state and Cabinet of dissatisfaction on our news and programmes content".

Among the resolutions taken were that the station would now be "highly musical", and that there would be "no mention whatsoever of any political organisation including PAC, ANC, Azapo, etc."

Yet, at the same time, Gqozo is attempting to expand the station's audience.

He has been involved in discussions with the SABC to have the station's signal extended right across the Cape, to reach Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The move is being linked to reports that Gqozo is setting up his own party, the Ciskel Freedom Party. Sources close to Radio Ciskel say the extended listenerhip, coupled with tight control over content, will be used to boost the party.

Observers point to the similarity in name with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and to Gqozo's sympathies with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They believe the party is intended to build a base for Gqozo to pit against the ANC, and earn him a place at the negotiating table.

The Ciskel government has so far been silent on the party, but there have been many reports of recruitment going on in the rural areas, and of membership cards being printed in Dimba in black, green and gold.

The chief executive of Radio Ciskel, Fixile Lubisi, confirmed a meeting was held late last week to discuss the extension of the Radio Ciskel's signal.

Lubisi said the Radio Ciskel delegation, which included military ruler Brigadier Gqozo, had met "top brass" of the SABC. He said he was optimistic the request would be granted.

In response to a series of faxed questions, the SABC's chief executive of radio, Carel van der Merwe, said only that the Ciskel Broadcasting Corporation "has approached the SABC with certain proposals. We are discussing it in consultation with Foreign Affairs".

Lubisi denied the move had anything to do with the Ciskel Freedom Party.

"Our sole intention is to boost revenue which will result in less dependence on government," Lubisi said.

The crackdown on Radio Ciskel comes after a series of conflicts between Gqozo and news staff. In February, news presenter Lindile Slimela was suspended on the direct orders of Gqozo for showing too little respect to him.

In April, disc jockey Mputumi Makani was detained by Ciskel police for three days after allowing an official of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Netawu) to telephone in and announce a union meeting over the air.

During the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in May, two news continuity presenters, Nomvula Didiza and Mzwabanzani Tshikzana, were suspended for inviting Transkei ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa to comment on the visit. — Ecria.

SABC reports Gqozo as blaming "political opponents" of Ciskel for an incident in which soldiers forcibly removed Pan Africanist Congress leader Bernie Dese from Radio Ciskel studios last month.
Bop is the main obstacle in ANC prisoner dispute

BY GAVIN EVANS

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S nominal independence is threatening to become the key obstacle in the way of a resolution between the government and the African National Congress of the political prisoners dispute.

According to the Human Rights Commission at least 133 political prisoners are currently being held in the "independent homeland's" jails, 61 of them currently on hunger strike.

So far there have been no moves to release these people and the problem has been compounded by the Bophuthatswana government's application for the extradition of 1988 coup leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing — now an ANC member — who received indemnity from the SA government to attend the ANC conference in Durban.

ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus stressed that the movement saw no distinction between the Bophuthatswana political prisoners "and those held in the rest of South Africa", and placed responsibility for their release on Pretoria's shoulders.

The Malebane-Metsing arrest, which was ordered by the attorney-general's office following a Bophuthatswana request, seems to have taken the justice and foreign affairs departments by surprise. He was detained by police at Jan Smuts airport on Monday and later released on R100 bail to allow him to attend the Durban conference.

Metsing led the 1988 coup which briefly toppled the government of President Lucas Mangope, before the SADF restored their man to power.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated on Wednesday that there had been no agreement between the government and the ANC on the political prisoners issue. "For the ANC the issue will reach finality when all political prisoners are released," he said, adding that there were still over 900 political prisoners in South Africa.

But he added a note of optimism: "Productive discussions with the government are continuing through the relevant working group. The resolution of this obstacle is therefore not completely out of sight."
Hani, Maharaj differ on strategies of negotiation

DURBAN — Two reputed ANC hardliners, Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj, yesterday expressed greatly differing views on the strategies used in, and results achieved from, the negotiation process.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Hani expressed strong commitment to the process during a media briefing at the ANC's national conference yesterday. He said the ANC was determined to complete negotiations and that the struggle would always exist. "They feel let down and some will use force to defend the status quo."

He called for an integrated defence force during the transition period, incorporating the SADF, Umkhonto and the armed movements of the PAC and other parties accountable to the interim government.

"The ANC cannot have a private army. A number of organisations have built up forces. We need a sense of force during the transition period that will be accountable to the government of the day. Umkhonto should be part of this."

Hani said the setting up of self defence units in the townships was in its initial stages but the ANC was worried about them degenerating into vigilante groups.

"We want very firm control, discipline and accountability." The units should not be used to maintain the domination of political organisations, he said.

Maharaj said government had yielded to pressure of the armed struggle and sanctions to engage in talks with the ANC. However, mass struggle should continue.

"We should actively pursue the talks about talks as a terrain of struggle and we should combine it with mass actions. This is not to destabilise the current position but because we still do not have the vote."
Heated debate ends with scrapping of ANC's female quota proposal

DURBAN — The most heated debate at the ANC national conference so far has led to the scrapping of a draft proposal for a quota system requiring that 30% of NEC members be women.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said a majority of delegates had decided that, while they supported the principle of affirmative action to advance the position of women, they did not think the quota system was the best way of handling it.

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However, there had been "vehement" opposition to the decision.

Another official, Thiery Matala, said that while a number of Women's League members were unhappy about the decision, many had supported it.

This view held that the quota proposal had achieved the goal of raising the issue of inadequate women's representation on leadership structures. However, there were obvious disadvantages to having people elected on a basis other than merit.

Elections for the top five ANC posts were scheduled to be completed by this evening, independent electoral commission head Charles Nupen said yesterday. The results for the remaining 50 NEC posts should be available by Sunday morning.

And it was announced that a sixth top position, that of national NEC chairman, was to be created. The sole candidate is Oliver Tambo, whose nomination was proposed by president-elect Nelson Mandela.

It was emphasised that the post was an active, not an honorary, one.

The field for the deputy presidency narrowed yesterday afternoon when international affairs director Thabo Mbeki declined nomination. This left the contest between elder statesman Walter Sisulu and hardline SACP leader Harry Gwala.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa remained in the race for the position of secretary-general, but has declined nomination for deputy should he not be successful in the contest for the former position. Both other secretary-general hopefuls, Alfred Nzo and Jacob Zuma, were down to contest the junior position.

Incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Mqobi will be up against former London representative Mendi Msimi.

Nupen, director of the Independent Mediation Service of SA (Imsa), said the elections would be managed by nine lawyers or legal academics, all members of the Imsa mediation panel with balloting trained.

Alain Boesak yesterday announced he planned to join the ANC within a week but not in time to become eligible for election to the NEC. This was because he did not wish to set an undesirable precedent.

He said in discussions with ANC leaders he had been convinced that concerns which prevented him joining earlier could be remedied, but declined to elaborate. He said he had been greatly impressed by the general direction of the conference.
The playwright and the politician

A MEETING OF MINDS... Arthur Miller travelled to Soweto to Interview Nelson Mandela

Renowned playwright Arthur Miller was curious about Nelson Mandela's unusual characteristics. He met the ANC leader at his home in Soweto.

Mandela was not wearing one of his formal London suits but a collared short-sleeved African bush with a grooved-embroidered yoke - a clan's blouse, it looked to him. Gila hoped he would relax with me, after all, while he took a close look. But he is by nature a formal, conservative man from a poor country and would have been chief justice of his Supreme Court or perhaps the head of a large law firm. He left first and I finally took my leave after he walked out on his这种方式, and looked down on the Soweto, the dangerous ground for human beings — was how he had been raised. As he walked against the back of his coach, somewhat on guard, having been counselled by some interviewers who find it impossible to believe he simply means what he says. He was the son of a chief, and one could see how serious it was to be a chief's son, he had been taught early on that he would have responsibilities of governing and judging. Even now he can smell a place as if he hated pride, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle took over his education and his life. "My father occupied a position of prominence in our tribe and tribe... the very light of pride. As he told his pride, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle took over his education and his life. "My father occupied a position of prominence in our tribe and tribe... the very light of pride. As he told his pride, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle took over his education and his life. "My father occupied a position of prominence in our tribe and tribe... the very light of pride. As he told his pride, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle took over his education and his life. "My father occupied a position of prominence in our tribe and tribe... the very light of pride. As he told his pride, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle took over his education and his life. 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It's Blood River II as ANC is outbidding

UNDER the blue and white marquee, men with the leather necks and forearms of farmers are slapping backs, shaking hands and embracing one another.

"It's like Blood River," enthuses Walter Beyer, who owns 70 morgen nearby. "It shows what white people can do when they stand together."

"Dankie ou swaar, ou kerels!" a big-bellied, florid-faced reveller shouts over the heads of the assembled pressmen.

A Conservative Party by-election victory? A court judgment against squatters?

In fact, the cause of the jubilation is an auction, and the object of the general gratitude a Pretoria advocate, Danie Heyns — now the provisional owner of 775ha at Grootvlei, near the Transvaal-Free State border.

With the help of his negotiator, local pharmacist Gert Viljoen, Heyns has just purchased land belonging to Anglo American’s now-defunct Springfield colliery for a cool R4.6-million. Included in the deal is a mine compound — politely described in the auctioneer’s brochure as “a high-density complex” — a village for white miners, a dam and an 18-hole golf course.

His under-bidder was the African National Congress — in the person of lawyer Ismail Ayob — who had reportedly targeted the property for rerouting collieries. Heyns was adamant that politics played no role in the transaction. "This is a purely commercial deal," he insisted. "I'm not even a member of a political party."

His aim, he said, was to "breathe new life into Grootvlei". A town would be developed and proclaimed, and the houses sold, with first option going to the current residents.

The dam, golf course and tennis courts could also draw weekend trippers from the Reef.

His collaborator, Viljoen, was equally insistent that race and politics were not the issue.

"Black and white people built Grootvlei with their sweat," he said. "None of them wants to move."

While some locals may have been concerned about an ANC presence, others were just as worried that no one would bid for the property, he said.

For the audience at the auction — local whites had gathered at Springfield from miles around — the sale appeared in a different light. "Op die boere!" went up the cry, as the auctioneer clinched the deal.

"This part of the country is white South Africa," declared Conservative Party MP for Standerton, Rosier de Ville, who had put in an appearance.

"This is a very important day; we have shown the ANC that they cannot survive against the Boer people."

The CP had distributed pamphlets in the area warning that those who bought property there "did so at their own risk."

"We will do everything in our power to persuade the new owners to sell only to whites," de Ville added.

Not all the locals saw the auction as a political battlefront.

"I'm just happy because facilities which have been here for years will stay in the community," said Gerhard Pieters.

But the prevailing mood was summed up by farmer Beyer, a former "South-Wester" now in his eighties: "If the ANC sets up a fort here, we'd be looted out of house and home."

"And they would undermine our employees. We wouldn't live a moment in peace!"
Compromise over quota of women

A curious initiative proposed by the African National Congress Women’s League that there be a 30 percent quota of women on the National Executive Committee — was shelved yesterday after the hottest and most controversial debate yet in the conference.

A compromise resolution supporting affirmative action for women was accepted instead. Even though the Women’s League proposal had the support of the current NEC and many regions, including the PWV, most delegates did not see the need to establish a quota.

In hours-long debate spilling over from Wednesday night to Thursday morning, women delegates were pitted against men over this resolution, and movement leaders were forced to take sides on a potentially divisive issue. Women’s League secretary-general Baleka Kgosiile said that "although we are not entirely satisfied with the outcome, it is a good thing that it has generated this much debate. We have made our point."

Mandela’s Director of research and an NEC candidate, Dr Frene Ginwala, added that "in no stage of our history has the consciousness of gender been raised and argued so substantially. That in itself is important." The Women’s League delegates are, however, bitterly disappointed.

On Wednesday night they were so angry that they threatened to abstain from voting and walk out of the conference.

And Patrick "Terror" Lekota, an active supporter of the quota, publicly upbraided Nelson Mandela for being "hypocritical" when he proposed, in the interests of unity, that a separate caucus decide the issue.

Even the ANC women’s caucus was caught up in the debate when they stood up and declared that 30 percent was already a compromise, and that women should insist on at least 50 percent.

In his opening address on Tuesday,ANC president Oliver Tambo said that "we salute the ANC Women’s League for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issue of the emancipation of women."

But even though ANC leaders say "non-sexist" every time they say "non-racial," the Women’s League maintains that gender discrimination has to be fought first and foremost within the ANC itself: "you can’t have an almost entirely male leadership calling for women’s emancipation, and so at its conference in Kimberley..."

After fierce debate about the quota of women on the NEC a compromise was reached at the ANC conference.

By MARK GEVISSE and PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

earlier this year, the league decided to demand the institution of a 30 percent quota. Initially, the Women’s League proposed that at least 30 percent of the nominations should be women, but it had since narrowed its demand to insist that the quota should be applied to elected and not just nominated candidates.

Twenty-five of the 104 nominees proposed by Thursday for 45 NEC positions are, in fact, women, and most delegates felt that this was as far as affirmative action should go. They think that any quota system is abhorrent, and that leaders should be elected on merit alone. Some members seemed to think that it would be misconstrued as "group rights" and be used against the movement.

Ginwala responded, however, that "affirmative action is not about protection of privilege." She commented that although the ANC leadership had taken "very advanced positions on gender issues, they had not had the time to actually engage and educate the membership." She said the process of educating the membership would have to continue.

ANC spokesperson Macozoma said "there was a feeling that if you commit to a percentage, it can be very inflexible. But if you commit yourself to a principle, you can find more appropriate ways of implementing it." Some women felt that the quota would "penalise" them, putting a ceiling on the number of women elected.

The debate seems to be around the following: Is it enough that consciousness has been raised around the issue of gender-representation, or is there an imperative to make sure that women actually do serve on the NEC? Many men claim to be worried that women who are not qualified will be elected because of the quota — but some of the most effective and competent nominees for the NEC are in fact women: Cheryl Carolus, Frene Ginwala, Barbara Hogan, Linda Nkosi, Barbara Masuku, Tshwene Mphahla, Phumzile Mntambo. It remains to be seen whether these women will be elected anyway, now that there isn’t a quota to help them.

Ginwala commented, however, that more women had been nominated from the floor yesterday after the debate and the compromise resolution.

LEAD MAN: Nelson Mandela, the ANC’s president-to-be

IN SUPPORT: Visiting dignitary Father Trevor Huddleston

Photographs: PETER MCKENZIE

OLIVER TAMBO ... Saluted Women’s League

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SOUTH AFRICA stood on the brink of talks for a new constitution this week as a regenerated African National Congress emerged from its national conference ready and determined to move speedily to negotiations and a democratic South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, soon to be installed as ANC president, delivered one of the most important speeches of his political life at the opening of the conference, laying out the ANC's vision of the country's path to democracy. "We do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter," Mandela said, indicating that the ANC would move with speed into the negotiations and beyond. "The sooner power transfers into the hands of the people, the better."

The conference has a business-like, almost sober mood, in contrast to the toyi-toyi exuberance of last December's consultative conference in Soweto. However, with substantive talks looming, there is a strong feeling among delegates that the ANC has to design tougher strategies to push the government along.

This view is likely to be underlined by the election to top office of many former "internal" activists of the Mass Democratic Movement, whose political baptism was in the mass struggles of the eighties.

Mac Maharaj, who returned from retirement this week to seek almost certain election to the new NEC, said the strategy of mass mobilisation should be combined with negotiations "not simply as an exercise to combine the two, but because we still don't have the vote".

The 26-member National Working Committee team — the inner cabinet that will run the ANC on a day to day basis — looks set to be both mandated and committed to the negotiations, but also much more militant and dynamic in its approach.

Mandela's speech on Tuesday put flesh on the ANC's statement in January calling for an All-Party Congress (APC) to kick off the constitutional talks. Three things still stand in the way of the APC — the release of the political prisoners and agreements on the return of all exiles and on ways to curb and monitor the violence. Sources here have indicated that these obstacles could be cleared within weeks. Mandela confirmed on the political prisoners issue that "productive discussions" were continuing and that "the resolution of this obstacle is, therefore, not completely out of sight."

Agreement between the government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees on the return of the exiles — which would eliminate that obstacle — is expected any day. That leaves only the neutrally-convened violence summit, expected in August, and the conclusion of agreements on codes of conduct for the security forces and all political parties, and mechanisms such as an independent group to monitor the vio-
A CLEAR SIGNAL FROM THE ANC CONFERENCE IS THAT GETTING TALKS MOVING IS TOP PRIORITY

By PHILIP VAN NEERIK in Pretoria

BUSINESSLIKE and confident-looking African National Congress made it clear at its national conference in Durban this week that it was ready and determined to move quickly to negotiations.

The conference was sober, in contrast with the top-tapping exhilaration of last December's consultative conference in Swellendam. It took South Africa closer to talks of a new constitution. The ANC appeared likely to emerge from its deliberations energized and showing it is prepared to move with speed into the negotiations and beyond.

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were virtually assured the two top places in the ANC as a major battle loomed for the post of secretary general.

With the announcement of final nominations yesterday, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki withdrew from the contest for deputy president. This leaves the way open for the 79-year-old Sisulu, fasting only hardliner Harry Gwala, who is expected to be trounced in the election on Friday morning.

The three-way contest for secretary general is the most keenly fought of the elections. National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and the incumbent Alfred Nzo are all still in the running;

Ramaphosa has pulled out of the contest for the Tall-Baker position of deputy secretary general, leaving Zuma and Nzo to face former United Democratic Front secretary general Pepo Molefe.

Photograph: GUY ADAMS

Why does the dog bite the man? Because the man joined a peaceful protest

SECONDS ago, this man was part of an orderly placard protest in front of Joubert Square, calling for charges against union leaders to be dropped.

There were no stones, no burning effigies, no threats to passersby, no attempts to obstruct the traffic. Then came an uninvited warning over a loud-hailer - followed by the dog charge.

First a woman was dragged to the pavement by a dog. Two feeling protesters collided and fell in the middle of the road. And then the elderly man at left tumbled to the ground, his spectacles flying, the right sleeve of his jacket torn off by a police dog.

Within seconds, the area outside police headquarters was cleared. Bystanders with bloodied faces tried to staunch the wounds of the injured woman.

"It was obvious that these people were pushing out emotions and obstructing the sidewalk," explained police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman. The crowd had twice been warned to disperse before dogs were used.

Full story: See overleaf
as ANC talks talks

Mac Maharaj ... "We still don't have the vote"

A conference of “patriotic forces”, due in August, could see the ANC attempting to open the way for the participation of other liberation movements, such as the Pan Africanist congress and Azapo.

Mandela said on Tuesday that the conference should plan for the APC to win a new South Africa. The ANC — to which everyone from the Conservative Party to Azapo and the PAC will be invited — will discuss the constitutional principles for a new South Africa and the mechanism for the actual drawing up of the new constitution.

Interim “government of national unity” can precede an election for a constituent assembly. The government has already moved on this point, indicating that it would be prepared to bring members of other political parties into the cabinet during the transition.

This would push the main sticking point — the constituent assembly — to the bottom of the line, adding speed to the negotiations. This is one of the issues to be tackled by the APC. If the agreement on the constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights is made at the APC, this could remove many of the questions.

A crucial new element is acceptance by the ANC that the formation of an areas of contention from the constituent assembly, which would simply flesh out principles already agreed upon.

The ANC signalled that all of the transition issues were negotiable. Chris Hani, MK Chief of Staff, signalled the overwhelming readiness of the ANC for negotiations yesterday.

“You never know what is going to emerge from the negotiating table,” he said.

The ANC, said Mandela, was already starting to look at the broad outlines of its policies as a future government. “The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us the responsibility,” Mandela said.

MASS ACTION: Under the serried banners of the ANC's regions, 2,000 delegates tune in to conference proceedings.

Photos: PETER MCKENZIE
A SENIOR ANC official has brought into the open the problem of the organisation's long-standing alliance with the SA Communist Party.

According to reports, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, raised in his report tabled at the movement's 48th national conference in Durban, the problems that the ANC faces.

One of them was the alliance with the SACP.

Nzo identified the alliance with the SACP as a problem for the ANC when it came to building membership.

Dr Allan Boesak, a nominee for a position on the ANC's national executive committee, has also raised the question of the alliance.

It has been reported that Boesak was approached to join the ANC by top leadership, but he has declined to do so because, he said, the constituency he represents, the people in the Boland, was uncomfortable with the presence of communists in the ANC and the alliance itself.

Commenting on the issue, Mr Mac Maharaj, a member of the SACP's central committee and ANC executive, said that there has only been a "perception of a problem".

He said that Boesak's constituency was small in relation to the rest of the country.

He said that confining the course of the future to a particular constituency was hindering progress.

"You may lose more votes in the Boland, but I'm not sure how many votes you will loose in Soweto," Maharaj said.

Mr Sakkie Macozoma of the ANC's department of information and publicity yesterday said that "it was a problem among problems" which the conference will discuss.

"But don't raise your hopes. There won't be a special session to discuss the perceived problem of the alliance," Macozoma said.

This was the first time that a senior member of the ANC has mentioned the "problem" of the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

The American government has recently, because of the alliance, decided to withhold millions of dollars which it had promised the ANC.
'Mystery'

FROM PAGE 1.

The daily said that Paris sent an official to Mr Mandela on May 2 to make it clear that "Mr Guenon is not a French agent in any way". In addition, Mr Mandela was also warned to beware of him.

The report said that Mr Guenon, with Mr Mandela's blessing, arrived in Paris 10 days ago accompanied by ANC leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Sisalé Hayiya. They were the guests of SAGEM, who paid their air fares and all additional expenses. Their visit was the logical outcome of an earlier trip here two months ago, also organised by Mr Guenon, Liberation reported.

On this occasion, Mr Sexwale headed a delegation comprised of four ANC men and Transkei President General Bantu Holomisa. Mr Sexwale told Liberation on June 20 that the aim of the visit was "mainly to seek SAGEM aid in training ANC cadres".

He explained that "the Groote Schuur accord does not prevent the ANC from having its militants given military training outside South Africa."

Liberation commented that: "This explains the presence of General Holomisa."

It wondered whether the ANC was seeking to have its armed branch trained in Transkei with its officers sent on courses to Paris.
Soviet ‘bear’ has advice for SA Communist Party

DURBAN — “The SA Communist Party has a right to make its own mistakes — but not to repeat ours.” This pithy advice to the SAPC comes from no less an authority than the top Soviet official who has “minded” the African National Congress and SAPC for 23 years.

The ANC chief contact person in the USSR since 1969, Dr Vladimir Shubin, head of the Africa section in the Soviet Union’s Communist Party and member of the Central Committee, is visiting South Africa for the first time this week to attend the ANC’s national congress here.

He was given one of the loudest ovations by the 2000 delegates when the many foreign visitors were introduced to them.

The USSR has sent a four-man delegation, others being the head of its interest section in SA, Dr Alexei Makarov and two members of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee — the ANC’s chief point of Soviet contact.

Dr Shubin, a big bear of a man, looks like a caricature of a Russian, but scoots at what he regards as stereotype images and perceptions of the Soviet Union’s role in South Africa.

He guffaws at the “total onslaught” perception of the USSR as the sinister puppet-master manipulating the ANC in order to seize South Africa.

Even under Brezhnev, he claims, USSR had no designs on SA’s strategic minerals, as successive National Party governments used to proclaim from election platforms.

But he concedes that Mr Gorbachev’s perestroika policy, with its termination of the USSR’s military involvement in regional conflicts, contributed to the unbanning of the ANC and SAPC.

It helped South Africans overcome the “boycott” image of the USSR as leader of a total onslaught on SA.

“After that it became easier for whites here to accept that the Soviet Union was a country of peace and political settlement,” he says.

He says white SA has wrongly characterised the relationship between the USSR and the ANC as almost entirely military.

In fact it extended much further, with scholarships to attend Soviet universities, medical treatment for Umhonto we Sizwe cadres in the war with the SA Government, and material help in building schools such as the Solomon Mahlangu school in Tanzania.

On current relations, he dismisses suggestions that the rapidly-reforming Soviet Communist Party has become embarrassed by the still-doctrinaire SAPC.

Rather than damaging relations with the SAPC, perestroika has enhanced them, he says, and has made the dialogue between them “more profound.”

It is “nonsense”, to suggest that the USSR has enabled ANC leader Nelson Mandela by putting off two planned visits to Moscow.

The tendency in SA to brand SAPC chief Joe Slovo as a Stalinist is a big joke, he says.

“He was always a very sober politician, very critical of the mistakes of (pre-perestroika) communism.”

“Cave anti-communism” is Dr Shubin’s colourful epithet for what he regards as the local vilification of the USSR and Mr Slovo.

He says that the USSR-ANC relationship has been wrongly characterised as a dependent one of patron to client.

He claims it is rather a relationship of equals — and says that other countries such as Sweden and Norway have probably given more support to the ANC than has the USSR.

Dr Shubin claims that his party “does not advise the fraternal parties” — such as the SAPC — on policy. (Except, of course, to suggest it should not repeat the mistakes of Soviet communism.)

The USSR is interested only in seeing a non-racial democracy being established here, he avera.

It is for South Africans to decide on their own economic system. He observes that nowhere in its official documents, does the ANC proclaim its policy as socialism.

However, Dr Makarov is unable to say whether the ANC and SAPC approved of the Soviet Government’s decision to establish a diplomatic presence in SA.

“We discussed it with them and we haven’t heard any objections. We are continually in contact.”

Both men reject the common wisdom that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet foreign affairs department are at odds over SA policy — with the committee being much more sympathetic to the ANC.

Dr Makarov stresses that although the Soviet Union has a diplomatic presence in SA, it is not yet to establish formal diplomatic relations until it believes the transformation to a non-racial democracy has become irreversible.

Although the USSR has not decided when this point will have been reached, it is likely to be only when a new constitution is implemented.

Both men are critical of what they regard as an inexplicable delay by the Government in releasing political prisoners — a delay they fear might destabilise the delicate political situation.

And both endorse the ANC view that the Government is deliberately trying to destabilise the ANC to weaken it.

But Dr Makarov believes that relations will improve and that the USSR could become acceptable to both blacks and whites.

He alludes to a friendlier past by remarking that Russia assisted the Boer forces during the second Anglo-Boer War. Dr Shubin says the Soviet Union’s relationship with the ANC stretches back to 1927 when the ANC president visited Moscow, but only intensified in the 1960s after the ANC went underground and its leaders fled into exile.

His personal contact began in 1959 when he was on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and was continued there and in Africa.

Dr Makarov relates how in 1981, he took Mr Slovo to visit his birthplace in the town of Obeila in Lithuania — now a republic of the Soviet Union — which he had left in 1935.

“It was mid-September and very beautiful. The leaves were turning yellow and bronze.”

They looked in vain for the house in which Mr Slovo was born, but did find two old ladies distantly related — all that was left of his Jewish family after the extermination by the Nazis.
Mitterrand warns Mandela off 'mystery' man

PARIS — A mysterious French businessman friend of the Mandelas has been discussed at head-of-state level in both Paris and Pretoria, it was reliably revealed here.

President Mitterrand even sent an emissary last May to warn Nelson Mandela about him.

The businessman is Alain Guenon, who has lived in South Africa for seven years and is today the representative of the French firm of SAGEM, specialising in electronic military equipment.

The Paris daily Liberation yesterday devoted a two-page special report to him.

They noted that Mr Guenon had acted as a consultant for two other French firms — the ELF oil company and the Spie-Batignolles construction firm. But these are regarded as covers for his many political activities, centring around both Nelson and Winnie Mandela, the newspaper said.

It commented: "Are Mr Guenon's motives, as he claims, purely commercial?"

"We have in our possession confidential documents which show that both French and South African officials suspect him of being a secret service agent, which he denies. But he has never been able to explain the protection he enjoys in South Africa."

A French friend of his, General Antoine, told Liberation that: "Obviously, acting as Mr Guenon is doing in a country like South Africa, he must have top level official pro-

TO PAGE 2.
ANC in disarray, says secret report

Danger ahead, Nzo warns delegates

ANC

FROM PAGE 1.

numerical strength, but should raise its political profile so that the masses feel that we are addressing the needs of the people and presenting viable alternatives to the present order.

The ANC lacked enterprise, creativity and initiative to maximise support for its policies on major issues, even though these policies could not be doubted. "We appear very happy to remain pigeon-holed within the confines of populist rhetoric and cliches."

The report expressed concern about the ANC performance in a number of areas, including:

- A "very poor relationship" between ANC structures and civic associations. Not only was there a lack of co-operation, but in many instances different approaches were taken on burning issues which affected communities. This had resulted in strain.

- Campaigns by the ANC's Land Commission - a vehicle to mobilise millions of people - had been isolated, largely un-co-ordinated and lacked overall strategy.

- Recent mass-action campaigns had been relatively poorly attended, particularly in the PWV region. Two reasons singled out in the report for this were the township violence and "the poor quality of mass work", particularly in centralised activities.

There was no strategic approach to mass campaigns and the ANC was reactive rather than proactive.

The document said the ANC's approach to incorporating other political organisations in campaigns had been problematic, and that consultations were often only held after ANC structures had taken decisions and printed leaflets and posters.

"The way we take decisions on campaigns makes it difficult to get effective participation even from organisations that have supported the MDM (Movement Movement) in the past.

The report revealed that only four of the ANC's 14 regions had reached their targeted membership figures by June this year.

DURBAN - The ANC has candidly admitted that organisational disarray and complacency could cost it its position as the major political player in South Africa.

A hard-hitting assessment of the ANC's performance since its unbanning 17 months ago is contained in a confidential report by outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo. It was presented to the organisation's national conference here this week.

A copy of the soul-searching document, presented by Mr Nzo as a summary of assessments by the ANC's various structures, is in the possession of Saturday Star.

The document reveals concern within the organisation about its inability to transform popular support into signed-up members.

It is the first official, comprehensive ANC assessment of its performance since the organisation's last national conference in Klaten in 1985.

A constant refrain throughout the highly critical report is the need to adhere to the principles of democracy and accountability.

The report warns that complacency about the ANC's undisputed position as the leading anti-apartheid force could jeopardise its chances of coming to power.

"There is little doubt as to the capacity of the movement to command a degree of massive support. It would be blatantly naive of us to become complacent and act as if under no circumstances whatsoever can the ANC be threatened or even be removed from the leadership position it now occupies."

The ANC should thus not only increase its su
DURBAN — Trade union leader Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday won a stunning victory when he was elected secretary-general of the African National Congress by decisively more votes than the combined total won by his two opponents, both senior ANC men. The election of Mr Ramaphosa at the young age of 38 to the key post of secretary-general overshadowed even the formal election of Nelson Mandela as ANC president and the choice of his lifelong friend, Walter Sisulu, for deputy president.

An eruption of joy greeted the announcement of Mr Ramaphosa’s triumph over Alfred Nzo, the ANC’s incumbent secretary-general until late yesterday, and Jacob Zuma, the organisation’s intelligence chief.

There was consolation for Mr Zuma in his election as deputy secretary-general. He was narrowly against former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe and Mr Nzo.

Mr Zuma attracted 1059 votes against 659 for Mr Molefe and 350 for Mr Nzo.

Mr Ramaphosa was carried shoulder high by his jubilant supporters from his place at the back of the hall to take his place on the podium as a member of the ANC executive.

**Resistance**

Mr Ramaphosa, general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, South Africa’s largest trade union, receives 1155 votes against 371 for Mr Nzo and 495 for Mr Zuma, both members of the executive.

His victory represents the rise within the ANC of younger men and women who led the resistance against the apartheid policies of President P W Botha and, before him, Prime Minister B J Vorster, in the 1970s and 1980s.

It presages success for the many young candidates, drawn from extra-parliamentary resistance movements and from the underground resistance, who are contesting the remaining 60 seats on the national executive. Voting for these seats takes place today.

In the election contest for the post of deputy president Mr Sisulu, 795, easily defeated another septuagenarian, Harry Gwala. He won 1647 votes against 418 for Mr Gwala.

**Big win**

Mr Sisulu was a compromise candidate, chosen to avoid a bruising and probably divisive contest between two younger men, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC’s urban and pragmatic international affairs secretary, and Chris Hani, MK chief of staff and a dedicated communist.

Mr Sisulu’s victory signalled that the ANC rank and file has little taste for the militant, communist and revolutionary rhetoric espoused by Mr Gwala. It does not mean, however, that the new brand of “democratic communism” propagated by men like Mr Hani has no appeal.

Thomas Nkobi, the incumbent treasurer-general, easily beat off a challenge from Mendi Msimang, the ANC’s London representative.

At a news conference after the election results Mr Ramaphosa asked a question on whether he was an SA Communist Party member.

He responded by suggesting that the question was outdated. “I thought questions like that were asked before 1989, before the collapse of governments in Eastern Europe. I don’t think... whether I am a member or not a member of the Communist Party should be of such great interest to people.”

Commenting on the election results, Mr Sisulu said: “I think the conference has shown confidence in the leadership... we will be able to move forward with confidence.”
ANC must search its soul in privacy

At the ANC jamboree in Durban this week — on which all of South Africa's and half of the world's political journalists appear to have converged — a great deal has been made of the organisation's decision to shut all but its opening and closing sessions to the public. There are dark mutterings about anti-democratic practice, secretive konkelings and general political verneukery.

I believe this is unfair and an example of double standards — or at least differential expectations — being applied in the case of the ANC. It is hardly unheard of in Western (or indeed white South African) politics that an organisation should choose to keep some of its most sensitive soul-searching to itself.

And, when you are dealing with a group that is coming together openly for the first time in more than three decades, that is effectively unifying its different components for the first time, it is eminently understandable.

Journalists have a right, if not a duty, to try to open doors that are closed to them by politicians.

But the fact of their closure should not skew their overall judgment.

Two tests should be applied to the ANC at this stage.

One: is what is going on inside the conference hall entirely democratic? And two: is there a genuine will to open sessions of future conferences, once the foundations have been laid? Many of us who have spent the week in Durban believe there is cause for optimism on both counts.

The fact that the race for top positions remained so open right up until the end is in itself revealing of the first. A briefing by ANC constitutional expert and bomb victim Albie Sachs says a lot about the second.

Mr Sachs, whose mutilation by a car bomb in Maputo has not altered his gentle, soft-spoken character, is a man whose integrity is unquestioned even by the ANC's more energetic opponents. His views at this crucial stage in our history therefore deserve careful consideration.

He says the closed sessions this time round should not be regarded as a precedent: "It was an arrangement for this particular conference, under very particular circumstances...

"You must understand that some of the feelings are still so raw... We are now dealing with the very soul and character of the ANC."

The intensity of open discussion on the floor was "enough to give one a headache." He adds: "In fact the debates have been so rich and wonderful that I personally wish the public could have seen them — hundreds of hands shooting up from the floor on every point raised."

Mr Sachs points, moreover, to the wider, extraordinary significance of the process now unfolding in Durban.

Black South Africa is having its first taste of real democracy at home, and is seeming to find the flavour very much to its liking.

"These are very special moments in South African history," says Mr Sachs. "In that hall over there we have what must amount to thousands of years of imprisonments, bannings, exiles and (what they are talking about is) democracy coming together.

"We are establishing for all of our members, from all over the country, that it is through the vote, tolerance and free speech that our problems will be solved. They will be reporting back to their constituencies on secret ballots and the like, on how democracy works."

Away from the clanging of electioneering and sloganeering, away from the famous faces on the podium, ordinary delegates are undergoing — are wrestling with — a political lesson which could determine our future for years to come.

Perhaps the ANC could do with a bit of goodwill from its detractors right now, not for the sake of the ANC, but for South Africa and all of its people.
By all accounts, Messrs Harry Gwala and Joe Slovo were unmoved by the last-minute appeal, and in the case of Dr Allan Boesak, the airborne activist was preaching to the converted. He or she had, however, provided some sorely needed light relief in a day of otherwise unleavened tension.

**Stamina.**

The ANC conference has demanded from its participants and observers a Bruce Fordyce-like degree of stamina. To call the schedule and scale of the thing gruelling is to be unnecessarily coy. It is fortunate for political parties that these occasions do not occur every week — they would otherwise die quick, natural deaths.

There should be no mistaking the fact that what distinguishes this week in the ANC's life from all others is that the movement, after a dodgy re-entry into the world of legality, is fairly bursting with self-confidence and self-respect. Nothing could demonstrate this more graphically than the scenes which greeted the announcement of the winners of the "top five" executive positions.

The more than 2,000 delegates were animated and voluble almost beyond description. Oliver Tambo, National Chairman, and Nelson Mandela, President, received deafening applause. There was none of the staginess which usually attends such events: it was an affirmation of popularity which would not have been out of place at a Revivalist meeting. Mr Mandela looked, for a moment, as if he would weep as he gazed at the sea of adoration; instead he grinned for all he was worth, and then set his face for the gravity of the moment. He was followed by the new Deputy President, Walter Sisulu, no less revered than Mr Mandela. The battle for the position took a strange turn when, after electoral officer Charles Nuppen read out the name of first candidate Harry Gwala, the Natal hardliner's supporters broke into a wild dance. They were sheepish when Mr Sisulu's comprehensive win was announced.

Cyril Ramaphosa, formidable general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, was greeted like a pop star when his successful bid for the secretary-generalship was announced. He was carried, literally, to the podium. Incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi's welcome was less dramatic, but no less heartfelt.

No one who was present in the sports hall of the University of Durban-Westville will ever forget those brief moments. It was the day on which the politics of the new South Africa arrived. The country will never be the same again.
Coat Cymru: Journey to the Top

MAN OF THE MOMENT: Cymru Ambassador is crowned model with the best-dressed competitor of the ANX yastridion.

The event, held in collaboration with the ANX yastridion, is a prestigious competition that showcases the best-dressed models in the region. The model, who has been selected based on their fashion sense and overall presentation, will represent Cymru at the upcoming ANX yastridion competition.

The ANX yastridion is a well-known fashion event that attracts models from all over the country. The competition is highly competitive, with judges evaluating models based on their runway presence, grooming, and overall style. The winner of the competition will go on to represent Cymru at the international level.

The model, who has been preparing for months, is overjoyed to have been chosen for this exciting opportunity. "I've been looking forward to this for so long," she said. "It's a dream come true to represent Cymru in such a prestigious event."

The event is not just about fashion, however. It also serves as a platform for the models to showcase their talents and connect with others in the industry. "This is more than just a competition," said the event organizer. "It's an opportunity for models to network, learn from each other, and gain valuable experience."

The ANX yastridion is known for its high standards and rigorous selection process. Only the best models are selected to represent their regions, making this an honor that the model takes very seriously.

"I'm so proud to be a part of this," she said. "I've worked so hard to be here, and I'm excited to see where this journey takes me."

The ANX yastridion is scheduled to take place next month, and the winner will be announced at the event. The competition promises to be an exciting and memorable one, with models from all over the country competing for the top spot.

In the meantime, the model is focusing on her preparations, readying herself for the competition ahead. "I'm just going to enjoy the experience," she said. "I'm so grateful for this opportunity."
ANC’s finance secrets revealed

From BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The ANC has extensive assets throughout the world but the organisation faces a cash crisis back home, the treasurer-general’s secret report reveals.

The ANC had an income of R79.7 million and spent R69.9 million — mostly on activities outside the country — last year.

A copy of the confidential treasurer-general’s report which the Cape Times has obtained discloses that the ANC spent R10 million during the 10 months between February 2, when it was unbanned, and December 31 last year.

Its income internally totalled R11.3 million but 90.3% came from grants and donations and only 5.3% — R5.984 930 — came from membership fees.

The 43-page document shows that the ANC’s fixed assets outside the country total R65.7 million but much of this is in immovable property in Tanzania which will be handed over to that country when the ANC leaves.

Despite the apparently high budget the ANC is in fact strapped for cash and it had at the end of last year current liabilities of R1.3 million inside the country, including a bank overdraft of R418 138.

ANC financial spokesman Mr Vusi Khanyile told a press briefing at the ANC’s national conference here this week that the overdraft had not been reduced yet but declined to say how large it was.

The internal financial statement shows that the largest item of expenditure (16.6% of the total) went to employment costs or salaries which totalled R19.9 million for the 10 months last year.

Travel costs made up R1.7 million of the internal expenditure (14.9%), and the Women’s and Youth Leagues cost R1.1 million (9.7%).

‘Mandela trip’

Externally, transfers to regions outside the country amounted to R4.5 million (64.1%), administration to R15.6 million (22%), — including R4.8 million for the ANC’s Lusaka headquarters and R6.3 million for its missions — and air travel R6.1 million (9%).

An amount of R604 800 was spent on the “Mandela trip”, the document noted.

It also reveals that the ANC has R4.1 million in cash reserves, including R275 000 at bankers and R31.3 million in the United States.

The ANC’s treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, told a press conference last night that the ANC had received its donations from Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi but had yet to receive the millions Mr Mandela had raised during his recent tour to the US.

Outside South Africa, the ANC owns 269 motor vehicles, including 147 in Zambia, 25 in Zimbabwe and 32 in Tanzania.

It owns seven properties in London with an estimated value of R35 million, as well as accommodation in Brussels, Bonn, Oslo, Stockholm and Toronto.

It also owns 32 “dwelling houses” in Harare and Bulawayo with an estimated value of R3.4 million, various properties in Zambia with an estimated value of R9.3 million, a number of properties in Tanzania valued at R675.8 million. However, the Tanzanian properties will be ceded to the country’s government when the ANC closes down these facilities.

The ANC also owns four farms in Zambia valued at R4.2 million and a farm in Zimbabwe valued at R65 200.

Within South Africa, the ANC owns three properties in Johannesburg valued at R665 000 and vehicles worth over R1 million.

The report reveals that the ANC’s external funding derives mainly from the Nordic countries, Australia and Italy.

But Mr Nkobi warns in his report that external funding will be phased out over the next two to five years and that no new capital investment will take place externally in future.
The chairman for the four independent electoral commissioners, Mr. Charles Nupen, received much jubilation and singing, and Mr. Ramaphosa was triumphantly carried shoulder-high from the back of the hall to the podium by a group of excited supporters.

Voting for the other 50 elected positions on the national executive will be held today.

Delegates and diplomats described the outcome of the elections as a green light for negotiations and said the well-balanced team, representing different streams in the ANC, boded well for forging unity.

"I know one thing: The militaries have been smashed — at least for another three years," a UDF stalwart remarked afterwards.

A senior diplomat commented: "If Harry Gwala had been elected, that would have been the end of the ANC at home and internationally."

Both delegates and diplomats noted that the ANC had merely postponed the issue of which younger leaders would eventually take over from Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Ramaphosa’s elevation to one of the most pivotal positions in the ANC could hurt the chances of both Mr. Chris Hani and Mr. Thabo Mbeki when a successor is eventually chosen.

Addressing a victory press conference after the results were announced, Mr. Sisulu said the conference had discussed many aspects for improving negotiations, adding: "We will be able to move forward in confidence and revitalise after this conference."

Mr. Ramaphosa ducked questions about whether he was a member of the South African Communist Party. "I do not think whether or not I am a member of the Communist Party is of great interest," he told an unconvinced journalist who immediately asked: "Is that a yes or a no?" He did not respond.

"As far as I am concerned, the ANC is the negotiating party and our aims are to negotiate with the government. Mr. Ramaphosa said: "Negotiations are negotiations. So, I don’t think it will be much different."

Mr. Nkobi, who was questioned about the ANC’s reported overdraft, said the organisation did not have a regular budget to cover its costs and that it would have to look at shifting its funding from international sources to contributions from the South African public.

He said to laugther that donations from Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi were "in the movement but funds from the United States are still in the United States."

Yesterday’s elections were conducted by secret ballot and polling and counting lasted much of the day. The process was complicated by the fact that a number of delegates were illiterate and had never voted before.

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr. Joe Slovo, who described himself as "stateless," said: "I am 65. It is the first time I have ever voted in a secret ballot this way."

One of the ANC’s constitutional experts, Mr. Albie Sachs, said: "We are witnessing a very special moment in South African history. We are seeing democracy at work."

"Democracy is lively and effervescent in the ANC, which is the leading political organisation in the country," Mr. Sachs said.
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus
Political Staff

DURBAN — Leadership elections at the African National Congress’s 48th national conference have given a resounding endorsement to its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to continue with negotiations.

In the first elections held by secret ballot, the conference also elected one of South Africa’s most skilled black negotiators, mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, to the key post of secretary general.

In the same three-post ballot, it handed a crushing defeat to the militant Natal Midlands chairman, Mr Harry Gwala, an outspoken opponent of negotiations.

Mr Gwala was defeated by the 78-year-old Rivonia trial veteran and confidante of President Mandela, internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, who now succees Mr Mandela as deputy president.

The vote went 1,367 to 472 against Mr Gwala and is seen as the clearest possible signal that the moderates and the pro-negotiations camp are firmly in control of the ANC.

Mr Ramaphosa’s election triumph has strengthened the ANC’s negotiating hand and emboldened the influence of the Young Turks in the movement. It is expected to exert a unifying influence after increasingly-bitter criticism of the leadership had become a divisive and damaging factor.

The vote showed just how serious the dissatisfaction was: Mr Ramaphosa, cornered 1,168 votes, easily sweeping aside contender Mr Jacob Zuma (450) and incumbent Mr Nzo (a mere 371).

A sea of emotion swept through the hall as the results were announced and elated supporters carried Mr Ramaphosa shoulder-high to the stage where he was warmly congratulated by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his predecessor, Mr Oliver Tambo.

A clearly dejected Mr Nzo sportingingly left his place in the front rank to be among the first to congratulate him.

The 46-year-old Mr Nzo, who has served as secretary general since 1969, faces an uncertain political future.

Mr Ramaphosa is to relinquish his job as general-secretary of the Nation-
al Union of Mineworkers, but will continue to advise the union.

Rapturous applause and singing greeted the unanimous election of Mr Tambo as national chairman and the unopposed election of Mr Mandela as president.

Mr Tambo was the first to congratulate Mr Mandela, and Mrs Winnie Mandela rushed over to hug him as chanting delegates stood with clenched fists, some waving ANC flags.

Mr Sisulu's resounding victory against Natal strongman Mr Gwala — 1 567 against 412 — for the deputy president's job drew an equally enthusiastic response. This was another indication of the movement closing ranks in the interests of unity. Mr Gwala's nomination was seen as a move by hawks to get close to the seat of power and delegates clearly feared this would be divisive.

So enthusiastic was the applause, cheering and whistling that the electoral officer was drowned out before actually giving the full result.

Treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi easily held on to his post, polling 1 275 in a contest with Mr Mendi Msimang who won only 580 votes.

Later last night, after a second ballot, Southern Natal leader Mr Jacob Zuma's election as deputy secretary general brought the curtain down on Mr Nzo's career in the top echelons of the movement. Mr Zuma won 1 069 votes to the 699 of senior MDM figure Mr Popo Molefe, leaving Mr Nzo trailing a poor third with 238. Mr Zuma's success brings a Zulu presence to the leadership of the ANC at a time when the ANC is being accused of being Xhosa-dominated.

Speaking at press conference yesterday, Mr Ramaphosa said he had been "humbled" by his election, "thrilled" at the support he had received, and was "daunted by the task that lies ahead". However he felt "fully equipped" to take on the job.

Asked if he was a communist, he said: "I thought questions of that kind were asked only before 1989, before the governments of Eastern Europe collapsed. I do not think that whether I am a member of the SACP should be of such great interest."

He said he had had much experience of negotiating and there was not likely to be much different about negotiating with the government. "It depends on what is on the negotiating table."

The government will be pleased by the rise of Mr Ramaphosa, as he is highly thought of in top government circles. Government members have been encouraged by that fact that the labour movement in South Africa worked closely with organised business and state officials to hammer out the Labour Relations Amendment Act that went through Parliament in February.

Through tough negotiations over two years, hard attitudes were moulded into what was probably the first nationally agreed upon compromise legislation in South Africa.

The elections to fill the remaining 50 seats on the executive start today but results are expected only tomorrow. There are 134 nominees. Delegates will vote for the 50 members.

The conference ends with a rally at Kings Park Stadium tomorrow.
Unions come out tops with their man Ramaphosa

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

HIGH profile trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's landslide victory for the position of ANC secretary-general is the result of a concerted effort by Cosatu to push unionists into top positions in the ANC.

Intense behind-the-scenes canvassing by Cosatu officials and sympathisers has increased dramatically during the past few weeks and can also be seen as a move to counter the lobbying by the more moderate factions within the ANC.

Sources say Cosatu was unhappy with the political direction the ANC had taken over the past months.

They felt many ANC national executive committee members involved in negotiations with the government were not equipped with the necessary negotiating and bargaining skills which had resulted in the ANC backing down unnecessarily on major issues and often taking what was viewed as a soft line.

Cosatu was also dissatisfied with the lack of accountability shown by many top-level ANC leaders to their members — a feeling, sources said, which was echoed by many rank-and-file ANC members.

Mr Ramaphosa, who is currently secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers, has unquestionable negotiating skills.

Coming from a trade union background, he is also deeply aware of the need for accountability with mass-based and predominantly working-class structures.

"After negotiating with Anglo, the government will seem like a piece of cake," one of his colleagues said.

Mr Ramaphosa, 38, is the son of a policeman and once held office in the Student Christian Movement.

He is from Soweto and traces his political career through the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention.

After qualifying as a lawyer, he moved into trade union work.

In December 1982, he was elected the first person to serve as general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Under his guidance, the NUM grew to 340,000 members. The union spearheaded a national strike by mineworkers in 1987.

Mr Ramaphosa gave the key note address at the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in Durban in 1985.

He has been detained at least twice, once being held for 11 months in solitary confinement.
Support among township dwellers of all ages for peaceful negotiations is overwhelming: barely one out of every 10 favours armed struggle. This is the starting finding of a new study by a top researcher. It offers the first real hope for curbing the current wave of violence.

Majority support for talks

BY LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand

Survey item from Professor Schlemmer's research report:

PERCEPTIONS OF STRATEGY
Ages: 16-24 yrs 25-34 yrs 35-49 yrs 50+
Support armed struggle % % % %
Support talks with govt % % % %
Support boycotts % % % %
Support demonstrations % % % %

try's largest township, Soweto, support for the ANC drops to some four out of 10 people and other parties have correspondingly higher support.

On average, the National Party would emerge as the second largest party among residents of metropolitan townships.

Township residents felt "closest" to their churches, followed by the ANC and the De Klerk administration with virtually the same level of identification: over 60 percent of respondents felt "close" to these organisations.

This virtual "tie" between the ANC and the De Klerk administration was repeated in responses to another question on how satisfied they were with what political leaders were doing.

Just behind the leading organisations were individual trade unions. Over five out of 10 respondents felt "close" to a trade union that they or members of their family belonged to.

Township civic associations, street committees, Cosatu, the SACP and employers are in a broadly equal position in terms of how "close" respondents felt to them.

Very roughly, some four out of 10 respondents feel closely identified with these organisations. In Soweto, once again, Cosatu and the SACP enjoy significantly lower levels of identification.

The PAC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party and black town councillors lag behind the organisations mentioned above. Very broadly, more or less two out of 10 residents identify with these organisations. In Soweto, however, Azapo is not far behind the level of identification enjoyed by the De Klerk administration and the ANC.

A study of current violence shows that by now the violence, in its impacts on all relevant parties, is self-reinforcing. One cannot assume that the people on the ground can be fully controlled. Any intervention must deal directly with the sources of violence.

This point notwithstanding, there are aspects of strategies or responses in all parties and agencies involved which could reinforce tensions, whether deliberately or inadvertently.

All the agencies have their rationales for the responses. This includes police who may be slow to intervene where they might otherwise have been more effective. It certainly includes mass action and consumer boycotts at a time of exceptional economic privation, and it includes assumptions, deliberately or unconsciously made by some participants, that the best method of defence is concerted attack.

Public sanction of such responses needs to develop more muscle.

Against this background, then, it might be appropriate to consider the following guidelines for addressing violence:

- The current emphasis placed on negotiations between political leaders, and on agreements or "pacts" relating to political conduct, are obviously of crucial importance;
- Because much of the violence is beyond the control of leaders, top-level negotiation is not the only answer. Equal emphasis should be placed on establishing active, full-time small task forces of communicators and mediators in each local area;
- The media must strengthen their capacity to editorialise with authority and effect on the behaviour of parties;
- Any action taken against groups whose participation in violence might be in defence of interests or self-esteem must be done in such a way as to make them feel part of the solution, and
- The frequent accusations against the police highlight the need for the systematic use of local monitoring committees involving the police and parties active in a particular district to be revitalised.
Cargo Cult coming down to earth for ANC

HUGH ROBERTSON

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress is fast learning that it is a victim of the Cargo Cult — a naive belief shared by many groups and governments around the world that the United States and, to a lesser extent Japan and Western Europe, are a limitless source of money for deserving causes.

The term has been used to describe the ANC's attitude to foreign capital by an eminent American commentator, Mr Francis Fukuyama, author of the controversial book, The End of History and the Last Man, and it is backed by the ANC's most recent experience of trying to raise money in the United States.

A fortnight ago the US House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to block $10 million (R28 million) earmarked for the ANC by the National Endowment for Democracy, a government body set up with federal money by the Reagan administration to encourage democratic anti-communist movements in countries like Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Ostensibly the vote went against the ANC because of the organisation's links with the South African Communist Party.

Many congressmen said it would be a perversion of the aims and objects of the National Endowment for Democracy for its funding to be used in support of any organisation linked to an unrepentant Communist Party with Stalinist roots and a communist political and economic agenda.

But that was a questionable reason, since the same congressmen backed FED funding to support the anti-Sandinista coalition in Nicaragua, a coalition which ironically includes the Communist Party.

A possible explanation for the hold-up could be uncertainty about the ANC's policy on violence, following statements by MK chief Chris Hani and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The ANC's hassles with American funding bring wry smiles to many Africans in Washington — notably Namibians and Zimbabweans — who point to the huge amounts offered in development assistance to these countries prior to independence, and the comparatively small amounts which have materialised since then.

"It is not so much a question of American big talk as it is of African naivete," a Namibian diplomat remarked this week.

In an article in the conservative political journal, The National Interest, Mr Francis Fukuyama, a former deputy head of the State Department's planning staff, described the phenomenon this way: "The ANC has a rather naive belief in how much foreign capital it can attract, based in part on overzealous promises by Western sympathisers. "Like others around the world, its leaders are believers in the Cargo Cult of the 1980s, the mythical 'Japanese investor' or American foundation that will bring capital to South Africa once its industries have been 'democratised.'"
A high-powered role linked with African National Congress initiatives is on the cards for former homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza — a long-time friend and admirer of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Some analysts see Mr Mabuza as the man best qualified to lead the black homelands back to reintegration with South Africa. Another possibility is a role for him — directly or indirectly — in future constitutional negotiations and in initiatives to seek an end to the current violence.

Known as an influential peacemaker, negotiator and committed democrat, he has also been named as a possible ANC representative in Washington.

Mr Mabuza, who had a key role as a commissioner at this week's ANC conference in Durban, has been appointed part-time consultant with the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town. He will take office on September 1.

He will serve on an advisory committee for a project entitled Understanding the violence in South Africa: Towards interpretation and intervention.

He will also contribute to the Centre's facilitation and mediation services programme now being expanded into a community-based operation.

The trust which the ANC's top leadership places in Mr Mabuza was reflected in Durban this week when he was appointed as one of four neutral commissioners to oversee the elections for the ANC's national executive.

Great emphasis was placed on ensuring the elections were both fair and legitimate, for the very future of the organisation could depend on these factors.

Earlier Mr Mabuza, who resigned in March this year as Chief Minister of KaNgwane, was named by the usually authoritative journal Africa Confidential as a possible new ANC representative in Washington — an area where his "diplomatic savvy is required."

But the journal added that Mr Mandela was known to value Mabuza's expertise in the negotiating process.

Since his resignation as homeland leader Mr Mabuza has accepted directorships of some leading companies.

His links with the ANC and with Mr Nelson Mandela, in particular, go back a long way ...

As he puts it: "Our contact with the movement goes back to well before the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and spans nearly a decade of communication and discussions attended by the top-ranking leadership of the ANC, including the president."

Mr Mabuza made it clear he saw no need for permanent government buildings. At a time when his administration was getting less than R250m a year from Pretoria, he preferred to spend the money on schools, clinics and the like.

At an early stage he was already eyeing the abundance of government buildings in Cape Town and Pretoria where, as far as he was concerned, South Africa's black leaders were going. To him Louieville — and Lusaka — are just stops along the way.
SACP ‘double agents’

Bitter row erupts as unionists accuse party of duplicity

By BRIAN POTTINGER

ASTONISHED Cosatu members discovered only the day before the launch of the SA Communist Party last year that some of their highest executives had been secretly recruited by the party, claims a top union man.

Unionists were again shocked when they discovered that most of the people they had elected to represent Cosatu at a joint ANC-SACP-Cosatu meeting were also representatives of the SACP.

These disclosures by Mr John Copelyn, general secretary of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers’ Union, are the latest exchanges in an increasingly bitter war of words between unionists and communists.

The row — primarily between Mr Copelyn and SACP member Jeremy Cronin — has drawn charges and counter-charges of betrayal, Stalinism, smear tactics and lack of democracy.

And, claims Mr Copelyn, a unionist was recently threatened by a prominent communist with a “people’s court” for questioning the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

At the heart of the row is an acrimonious dispute over whether top unionists should, or can, serve in senior positions in political organisations.

This dispute — called the “two-hats debate” by unionists — has again bubbled to the surface in the SA Labour Bulletin, a respected journal of opinion and news on the trade union movement.

Worse

In September or October last year, said Mr Copelyn, the executive committee of Cosatu was suddenly told by the organisation’s vice-president (Mr Chris Dlamini) that he would be representing the SACP — not Cosatu — in all future dealings between the SACP, ANC and Cosatu.

Worse, said Mr Copelyn, it then became apparent that most of the members who had been chosen by Cosatu to serve on the liaison body between the three were also members of the SACP’s Interim Leadership Group.

“The person who should have been our leading spokesperson was now to represent the party in its dealings with us, and our actual representatives who were to represent us in all our dealings with the party were at the same time on the Interim Leadership Group of the party,” said Mr Copelyn.

Writing in the latest edition, Mr Copelyn says that before the SACP’s launch on July 20 last year, the SACP had secretly approached top members of Cosatu to serve on its Interim Leadership Group.

“Either this was done very late in the day, or all comrades concerned were asked not to discuss the matter in the union until very late in the day. Whichever way this happened, there was no debate whatsoever in Cosatu executive structures prior to July 20.”

Mischief

Mr Copelyn also recounts an incident at a Cosatu meeting in the Eastern Cape when a unionist stood up to question the alliance between the ANC-SACP and Cosatu.

“Raymond Mhlaba, chairperson of the (SACP) Interim Leadership Group, responded curtly: ‘We have had an alliance for decades. Those who challenge it are mischief-makers and need to be brought before a people’s court,’” records Mr Copelyn.

It was this sort of approach, said Mr Copelyn, that needed changing in the party if it was to emerge from the years of illegality and become part of an open and vibrant debate.
ANC sacks its caterers

THE ANC fired its caterer hours before its conference ended in Durban yesterday. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the catering company had been dismissed because its food "was not up to standard".

"There was a lot of unhappiness about the standard of the food, so we told them to pack up on Friday night," he said.

The contract, valued at several hundred thousand rands, was awarded to the Durban catering company Magic Pan.

A spokesman for the company could not be reached for comment.
Resilience

By DAWN DARNAHUZI

Rampaphosa's election, likely key to help negotiate terms alone
ANC talks go-ahead

ORGANISATION GEARS UP FOR
AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE

mandate to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa in the shortest possible time.

The ANC conference in Durban yesterday adopted a resolution which mandated its leadership to continue the process of "talks about talks" and invited Mr Mandela with discretionary powers to decide when real negotiations should start.

Violence remained the main obstacle to the convening of an all-party conference, said spokesmen.

However, the ANC has thrown its full weight behind church efforts to establish codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, and also to resolve the prisoner and exile questions.

Rejuvenated

The achievement of these two, believed to be imminent, will be a signal for Mr. Mandela to start talks on an all-party conference.

The ANC conference laid the blame for violence at the door of the government. The ANC intends to step up mass action and appeal for increased international pressure to force the government to combat violence.

The conference also handed the ANC a clean

victory over unrecognised Stalinist Harry Gwala for the post of deputy president.

This was later reinforced by the election of Mr. Jacob Zuma, the Southern Natal leader who has to date headed negotiations with the government — to the post of deputy secretary-general.

Mr. Thomas Nkobi retained his position as treasurer general.

Political education head Raymond Suttner said the ANC would fight the first non-racial elections in South Africa as a liberation movement and not a political party. The tripartite alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions would remain in place.

The conference also endorsed the involvement of Umkhonto we Sizwe members in setting up defence units to protect communities.

But MK member and former Vula trialist Siphiwe Nyanda was at pains to point out that this would not mean arming communities.

Mr Nyanda said communities were already armed. MK members would provide them with organisational skills and training on certain elementary elements of defence, such as the setting up of barricades and look-out posts.

Fellow Vula trialist Ronnie Kasrils said defence units would be answerable to civic committees and not the ANC.

At the time of going to press, the results of the elections for the remaining 50 places on the NEC were not known.

However, the trouncing of Mr. Nzeto by Mr. Ramaphosa came as a rude shock to many sitting national executive committee members.

Mr Nzeto's poor performance is an indication that many of the old guard might suffer a similar fate.

With 130 members competing for 50 places, few delegates were prepared to hazard a guess as to the outcome.

The only sitting NEC members who can be regarded as definite are international head Thabo Mbeki, information chief Pallo Jordan, MK commander Joe Modise, MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo, Women's League president Getrude Shope and organisation and sport head Steve Twetwa.

Certainties

Others delegates regarded as virtual certainties were former UDF and NDM leaders Popo Molefe, Patrick Gwana, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Raymond Suttner, Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada and former NEC member and Vula activist Mac Maharaj.
THE ANC received more than 90 percent of its total R900-million income in the 10 months to the end of December in grants and donations. This was said by treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi who also warned delegates that foreign funding was drying up. He added that the ANC would have to raise funds internally to survive.

In the short term, the ANC, he said, should endeavour to end its dependence on external forces and become self-sufficient. Unless this happened, it would be vulnerable to external forces.

Recognising that external support would diminish drastically, the key question facing the organisation was whether it could sustain growth "using its own resources.

In the first 10 months after the ANC was unbanned, 86 percent of its R11-million internal income came from grants, while five percent came from membership fees.

The ANC, he said, should endorse the reality that the external sources of financial and other support are not stable.

The ANC's largest expenditure, R17-million, was on travel while the second highest was on employment.

The movement retained a surplus of R1.3-million at the end of the 10-month period.

Its assets inside South Africa are a guest house in Johannesburg, motor vehicles, office equipment and furniture "totalling R1.8-million."

The ANC was facing more social, political, economic and financial problems than in exile, said Mr Nkobi.

These included bringing political exiles back to SA, assisting ANC members with "academic" and military training abroad, re-establishing the ANC inside the country, and the maintenance of MK cadres.

The ANC's external income for the first 10 months of 1990 was R73-million, of which R75-million was in the form of grants and donations. Most of the funding had come from Scandinavian countries.

Total external expenditure for the 10-month period amounted to R69.9-million, leaving a surplus of R3.8-million.

Intended projects to raise money for the ANC internally include the establishment of an ANC travel agency, the purchase of a printing company and the setting up of an ANC garage.

Plans for the establishment of an ANC buying club are also in the pipeline, said Mr Nkobi.

Members of the club would qualify for discounts of up to 10 percent with major furniture chains, clothing and grocery stores across South Africa.

Mr Nkobi said the ANC's donors were keen to support and redirect the bulk of funding inside the country.

Funding for external projects would be phased out over two to five years and there would be no new capital investment.

The ANC's main funders are the Swedish aid agency Sida and the Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Australian governments.
The people shall get their act together

MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

find a fractious but more mature ANC at its 4th annual conference in Durban this week

Strenuous

A breakfast scene at Durban's Maharani Hotel on the third day of the conference captured the
flavour of it all.

At one table sat two representatives of the PAC, eating dried fruit and drinking coffee. At another,
tucking into eggs and toast, was MK member Anto Holomisa. British Labour Party MP Joan Lestor
hovered around while the children of Pan Africanist Congress vice-president Dikgang Moseneke
stirred creamed buttermilk with relish.

With press cameras tracking every move outside the conference hall at the University of Durban-Westville, president
Nelson Mandela worked the crowd like an American president.

The inside conference, delegate according outgoing president Oliver Tambo a standing ovation and the full medal of

Frank

For six hours the delegates debated how to ensure the ANC would take top leadership positions. After a strenuous debate in which more than 70 speakers took part, the ANC rejected a proposal that women members be guaranteed a minimum of 30 per cent of the places on the National Executive Committee (NEC).

This decision was reached despite NEC and Women's League support for the proposal. In the run-up to the conference, secretary-general Alfred Nzo was subjected to seething criticism by those, particularly in the PNP region of the ANC, who wanted him removed from his post. (Later he did go — voted out in favour of Cyril Ramaphosa.)

Delivering his report, which covered the entire period, the ANC spent in exile as well as the 18 months since its unbanning, Mr Nzo argued that he had done everything he could, rigorously to implement party policy.

A section of his report was re-

Important

Among items listed under the heading "Problems hampering growth" are:

- Factionalism, cliquism and ignorance.
- A sense of complacency that nothing is at stake and that the ANC's ascendancy to power is already assured.
- The apparent state of confusion at head office and the bureaucracy that accompanies it.

Commenting on mass rallies and marches, the report says:

"...the Nats are creating an image of being winners" and the ANC was portrayed as inefficient, leaderless, inept, disunited and irresponsible.

Urgent

He told the conference to count on an all-party congress "talking place sooner rather than later, and, therefore, to approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency".

Umbunto we Stephon of the SACP reiterated this sense of urgency later in the week when he told a media briefing that, even if ANC members were killed by security forces, this should not be allowed to sidetrack negotiations.

Compared with the December consultative conference, there was a marked increase in the level of maturity with which delegates approached issues.

The tediousness did not, however, see the removal of some of the old guard. No major breakthroughs were made in talks. The new members of the NEC were no less committed to a negotiated settlement.

Tough talking can be expected.
ANC has
R655 m.
in
foreign
assets

By EDYTH BULBRING

The ANC has external assets worth R655 million, including cash reserves of R41 million and property of R600 million.

This was revealed in the report of treasurer-general Thomas Nhobi to the ANC conference in Durban.

The report said the ANC owns a house in Bonn, an office and a house in Belgium, an office, a printing works, a vacant plot and two flats in London, flats in Oslo, Stockholm and Toronto, 31 houses in Harare, a mechanical workshop and a house in Lusaka. It also has four farms in Zambia and land and buildings in Zimbabwe.

Two projects in Tanzania are valued at R575 million. One, Dakawa, is a village housing about 8000 people with services and infrastructure to provide training and employment.

The other, Mazimbu, is a farm which includes the Solomon 'Mahlangu' Freedom College.

The ANC also has 269 vehicles outside South Africa.

See Page 2
Despite illness, veteran returns to fill ANC job...
I HAD a grandstand seat at the five-day ANC national conference in Durban this week.

Few of the journalists from all over the world who flocked to the conference had such a great view of the proceedings.

Mine was a bird's eye-view of the outgoing national executive committee and all the delegates. I could pick up the smallest sound from the floor, even whispers from those complaining about the long speeches.

On the first day the outgoing ANC president Oliver Tambo, now national chairman, gave his speech.

This was followed by a speech from the new president, Nelson Mandela.

Who would have dreamt a year or so back that we would be holding this conference, let alone attending it dressed in suits, well-ironed shirts and polished shoes?

What happened to the activists in scruffy jeans, dirty running shoes and those T-shirts emblazoned with slogans?

What happened to the toyi-toyi and ululating that punctuated all the speeches?

Not once did I hear the chairman call for order.

Obviously Mandela and the old guard have brought discipline to our youth.

Their presence on the podium was enough to get across the message that the days of goofing off in the name of the struggle were over.

Obviously there were divisions and tensions among delegates. Maybe the internal activists were sceptical of the exiles; the young of the old; the moderates of the radicals or the workers of the intellectuals.

But the ANC conference will go down in our history as orderly, disciplined and constructive.

Mandela set the tone of the conference when he said in his speech: "During the few days ahead of us, we will have to take very important decisions, which may well decide the fate of this country for many years to come ..."

I have been to many black liberation conferences where I came out wondering why they were held at all. They were riddled with political rhetoric, slogans, and hate for the system - but no solutions were offered and resolutions were never carried out.

I saw no hint of this at the ANC conference.

Critical analysis of who we are, where we are, where we are going and how to get there were the order of the day.

The wisdom of the old guard overruled the emotional outbursts associated with the restless and militant youth.

Back to Mandela's opening speech. He spoke about the need for self-criticism within ANC ranks.

He spoke about negotiations being a theatre of struggle and about the transfer of power to the people. He reminded his audience that the regime had not yet been defeated.

But Mandela did not say whether the ANC was aiming to seize power from the Nats or whether they would align with others in the liberation struggle.

The conference agreed to an All-Party Congress, but I cannot reveal what format this congress will take or what its agenda may be.

Also discussed was the question of sanctions.

While the moderates won most of the issues put to the house for debate, they lost this one.

But the most positive aspect that emerged from the conference was that the ANC leadership has a full mandate to lead us to a new South Africa.

Addressing foreign diplomats on Thursday night, Mandela said sanctions were still official ANC policy until the government had met all their demands.

But this political weapon is gradually slipping away from the ANC's control.
NO EASY TALKS TO FREEDOM

By SEKOLI SELLO

THE 48th congress of the ANC ended yesterday with the organisation now believed to be firmly locked into a negotiated settlement as the means of resolving the country’s political problems.

This is the impression one gained during the first three days of the congress. However, with the discussions held in closed session, save for the occasional press briefing, it was difficult to come to an informed opinion.

However, the major issues of strategy and tactics, violence, organising the ANC and international relations had not yet been dealt with at the time of going to press.

Outgoing deputy president and new president, Nceba Mandela, at the same time during his opening address when he stated that the ANC wanted negotiations to start sooner rather than later.

Observers believe this strong pro-negotiations position was given added urgency three days after the congress, following the release of Mr. Mandela and Mr. struggle leaders from prison.
By Sekela Sello

The 4th congress of the ANC ended early with the organisation now believed to be firmly locked into a negotiated settlement as the means of resolving the country's political problems. This is the impression one gained during the first three days of the congress. However, the discussions held in closed sessions were not for the occasional press briefing, it was difficult to come to an informed opinion.

However, the major issues of strategy and tactics, violence, organizing the ANC and international relations had not yet been dealt with at the time of going to press.

Outgoing deputy president and new president, Nelson Mandela, set the tone during his opening address when he stated that the ANC wanted negotiations to start sooner rather than later.

Observers believe this strong pro-negotiation position was given added impetus two days into the congress when, with five hours to go before the election of national leaders, Thabo Mbeki withdrew his nomination for deputy president.

This was interpreted as a tactic by the pro-negotiation lobby to strengthen the hand of another nominee for deputy, Walter Sisulu, against the more hardline Harry Gwala. Sisulu, apart from being a candidate of Mandela, is also considered to strongly favour negotiation.

Gwala is regarded as a wild horse, and there was fear in some quarters that his election to any of the top five positions would divide the organisation into two hostile camps.

The struggle, although not entirely abandoned, is now being accorded less priority - much to the chagrin of many Umkhonto weSizwe commandos, some of whom slipped into the country to lobby congress support for continued armed action.

Yet the party made a move to downgrade the influence of MK. The ANC's fighting arm made several gains at congress including taking part in the deliberations as a constituent party.

For the first time, MK was also printing an automatic representative in about six or seven members (commanders or heads of sections). They also got from congress a concession to have a special commission set up to look into their position in the light of the shift towards a peaceful settlement.

The new ANC leadership is expected to pursue a more vigorous negotiating strategy. The outgoing office reportedly again faced the criticism of being "soft and too conciliatory" in dealings with the government.

However, delegates were quick to emphasize that this did not mean the ANC should, as policy, be conciliatory on talks.

Sisulu did not in fact use the term called ANC hawks had "lost the initiative" as a struggle against moderates.

In fact, a delegate who asked to remain anonymous said the media were being blamed for drumming up the whole idea of two opposing camps.

"There is little of the two camps and accusations that the ANC cannot go on when positions of power are at stake," he said.

However, most delegates reiterated the hard feelings of the December National Executive Committee where it was felt that the ANC had cancelled the conference. Some delegates felt that the ANC was badly by backing down on the issues.

However, during the first two days much energy was spent in the National Executive committee trying to sort out the congress. There was a serious tug of war for positions.

"While the congress dealt extensively with the issue of negotiations, there was some conflict over the strategy of popular demonstrations."

The feeling seemed to be that street marches and sit-ins are now regarded as ineffective and that new political strategies had to be devised.
ANC TO GIVE MK BOOST

By SEKOLA SELLO and S'BUSISO NGADI

THE ANC conference in Durban yesterday resolved to strengthen its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe in a move that could strain relations with the government.

The conference, however, also fully endorsed its president Nelson Mandela's commitment to negotiations.

The ANC yesterday resolved at its five-day conference that:

- MK shall remain combat-ready;
- the ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres taken to court in the execution of their duties, defending their people;
- the ANC would establish MK structures throughout the country at all levels, including the opening of offices; and
- the ANC would maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Until such time MK equipment would not be surrendered.

The organisation stressed that the suspension of armed action did not mean abandoning the struggle.

The conference also resolved to mandate its national executive to continue with talks about talks.

It stressed the need to build unity among those committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa and resolved that a Patriotic Front be established as soon as possible.

The conference said the gains made in the mass struggle would be reflected at the negotiations table and noted that the government had not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations.

It criticised the "campaign of terror" it claimed was being carried out to destabilise society, intimidate people and undermine and weaken the ANC and its allies.

The NEC was asked to implement a policy to defeat this strategy.

The conference set out the steps that would lead to a democratic constitution and a representative parliament, and resolved that a time limit be set to reach these objectives.

It also resolved that immediate steps be taken to put together a comprehensive team of negotiators, working groups and researchers.

It resolved to retain the four pillars of the struggle, namely Umkhonto weSizwe, international isolation of South Africa, underground operations and mass mobilisation.

However, in a shift of emphasis, however, The fact that mass mobilisation and organisation replaced the armed struggle at the centre of the battle for democracy.

The meeting also endorsed and supported the initiative taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

The ANC's commission on strategy and tactics yesterday made it clear the movement was not going to be converted into a political party and was determined to step up mass action.

Chairman Ray Suttner, with two other high-profile members, Ronnie Kasrils and Cheryl Carrolus, conveyed the ANC's position on strategy to a media conference.

Suttner said the ANC was receiving "a lot of unsolicited advice" to become a political party.

"The government feels it easier to deal with a political party and with one of a particular type," he said. "We say, no."

The election of a new national executive committee was still being held last night.

See pages 4, 5 and 13
Ramaphosa election a victory for Young Lions

Ramaphosa's supporters carried him triumphantly to the stage on their shoulders.

The announcement of Sisulu's crushing victory over firebrand Harry Gwala was also received with great applause. The 79-year-old Sisulu polled 1,567 votes against Gwala's 412.

But the afternoon undoubtedly belonged to Ramaphosa.

Although it was a foregone conclusion, the announcement of Mandela's unanimous election to the ANC presidency was greeted with exuberant applause and singing.

Zuma's election to the new position of deputy secretary-general was against the expectations of many people. They expected former UDF secretary-general Popo Molefe to take the post. However, Zuma polled 1,039 votes against Molefe's 659. Nzo polled just 238 votes.

As serving members of the NEC, Nzo and Zuma were on the stage when the results of the election were announced.

Both smiled when Ramaphosa was carried on to the stage, but they were obviously disappointed.

It is expected that Ramaphosa will now resign as ANC secretary-general.

Ramaphosa's election is seen as a victory for the young anti-apartheid activists of the turbulent 1970s and 1980s.

He is the standard bearer of a generation whose fiery township rebellions shook the foundations of white rule while ANC veterans languished in prison.

Ramaphosa and others who cut their anti-apartheid teeth in the 1970s have for months complained of being deliberately excluded from top ANC posts by former exiles and prisoners.

Their criticism of Mandela's generation as autocratic, secretive and undemocratic expressed widespread rank-and-file anger at distaste shown by the "old men" for a tradition of grassroots consultation built up in the 1970s and 1980s.

They said the secrecy employed by former exiles like Nzo was an unnecessary relic born of the insecurity of years of banning and exile.

Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa was born in Johannesburg in 1952 and grew up in Soweto.

Like many of the younger ANC officials, his political roots lie in the Black Consciousness movement of the late Steve Biko, which campaigned to free blacks from what it called a slave mentality induced by both apartheid and white liberalism.

He qualified as a lawyer in Johannesburg in 1981 and joined a labour federation's legal department. He was appointed general secretary of the Num on its formation in 1982.

Union experience

Ramaphosa built the union's membership from 6,000 at its inception to about 340,000 in 1986, but this has fallen to about 250,000 because of retrenchments.

He campaigned against racial discrimination in the industry and staged strikes to demand improved safety and equal pay and pensions.

The union staged one of the largest strikes in South African history in 1987, involving 40 gold and coal mines, but failed to win the pay increases it had demanded. Nine miners died in clashes and 500 were injured.

Ramaphosa was detained twice in the 1970s for a total of 17 months under anti-terrorism legislation. He is active in civic politics in Soweto, where he lives with his wife Nomazizi.
Power to the president!

NELSON Mandela moved closer to becoming the first black president of South Africa on Friday when he was elected president of the ANC at the organisation's 45th congress, held in Durban.

Mandela will head the national executive committee which is expected to lead South Africa into its first non-racial elections.

Should the ANC win at the polls, Mandela is likely to be rewarded for his lifetime's work by being elected South Africa's first black head of state.

Unseen for more than a quarter of a century, Mandela dominated the fight for black rights in South Africa as an enduring symbol of resistance to white domination.

Dignity

He emerged from 27 years in jail on February 11 last year to take his place as a pragmatist, willing to put the past behind him and work with the white government.

"Mandela has emerged with immense dignity and an unshaken belief in his people's demand for justice and equality," said political scientist Gary van Staden.

"He is firmly in charge. He is running the show. He is nobody's puppet. He listens to his close advisers. He executes decisions with stature," he said.

Four months after his release, Mandela and officials of the ANC held historic talks with the South African government to discuss obstacles impeding non-racial democracy.

"(President FW) de Klerk and some of his ministers are serious when they say they want a change in South Africa. I deal with them on that basis," Mandela told reporteors.

But I am not misled by their honesty. They are honest, but I am concerned with harsh reality. And the harsh reality is that apartheid is still in place."

ANC colleagues say that, at 72, Mandela looks well despite his punishing schedule. He has toured major capitals to raise funds for the ANC, to brief heads of government about the reform process and to appeal for the maintenance of sanctions until Pretoria has dismantled apartheid entirely.

Despite his statesman-like stature, things have not been smooth sailing for Mandela.

Abroad, his appeals for the diplomatic isolation of South Africa and intensified sanctions have been politely rebuffed.

At home he has been drawn into a range of domestic conflicts and his appeals to stop vicious township faction fighting between his supporters and those of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party have largely fallen on deaf ears.

His firebrand wife Winnie, who is appealing against a six-year jail term imposed for kidnapping anti-apartheid activists and being an accessory to their assault, has also tarnished his moderate image.

Mandela says since his release he has found the attitudes of whites towards blacks, especially that of De Klerk's ruling National Party, have changed for the better.

But he says the ANC's central demand is the extension of the vote to all South Africans without discrimination on grounds of colour or creed.

"We are very far from that," he said.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in a mud hut in the Transkei on July 18, 1918, the son of a Xhosa chief, and was educated at Fort Hare, where he obtained an arts degree.

He went to Johannesburg to study law while working as a gold mine security guard and then as an estate agent.

He married Evelyn Nomathamsango, a nurse who helped finance his studies but who disapproved strongly of his growing involvement in the ANC. The marriage broke up when he met and married his current wife, Winnie.

He was arrested in 1962 and jailed for life on June 12, 1964 with seven others for conspiring to overthrow the government - Sapa-Reuter
Outsider
Zuma charms his way to top

By SBU MNGADI

DISMISSED by many as standing no chance of surviving the PWV region's intense behind-the-scenes canvassing. Jacob Zuma did what he does best - charmed his way into the hearts of them all.

The Southern Natal ANC leader caused an upset at the ANC conference on Friday when he beat Popo Molefe - "every delegate's favourite" - to become deputy secretary-general.

Zuma polled 29 039 votes against the 659 of former UDF general secretary Molefe, and the 258 of outgoing ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

Those close to him were not surprised. Zuma, chief of the ANC's intelligence and a soldier for all 28 years of Umkhonto weSizwe's armed struggle, is a charmer.

He is praised as an astute diplomat by his counterparts in the ANC-government negotiations, where he is the ANC's chief negotiator.

He has also been singled out for praise by Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his recent diplomacy efforts in Natal.

Since he returned from exile early last year, he has travelled the length and breadth of Natal, meeting even the smallest cells of the ANC.

Zuma had no formal schooling and educated himself on Robben Island, before continuing his studies later.

He was involved in MK's sabotage campaign in Natal, but was caught trying to leave the country, and sent to Robben Island for 10 years.


In exile he rose through the ranks of the ANC and survived several assassination attempts.
WALTER Sisulu, elected on Friday as ANC deputy president, is the patriarch of anti-apartheid resistance; the head of a family of fighters against white domination.

Since being released from jail a few months before his close friend Nelson Mandela, he has headed the internal wing of the ANC, trying to forge the movement into a single, cohesive force.

It has been an uphill struggle, straddling the differences between the elder statesmen, township firebrands, and the leadership-in-exile which has streamed home since the movement was legalised in February 1990.

Sisulu, 79, will continue this unifying work in his new post as Mandela's immediate deputy.

Police seized Sisulu and other senior ANC leaders in a raid on the movement's underground headquarters at Rivonia, near Johannesburg, on July 11, 1963.

He was sentenced with Mandela in June 1964 at the Rivonia treason trial to life imprisonment for plotting sabotage and revolution.

After serving most of his jail term on Robben Island he was moved, along with Mandela, to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982.

During his incarceration, Sisulu's close family continued the anti-apartheid fight.

His wife Albertina, who works as a nurse in a township clinic, is a widely-respected symbol of black defiance and was a target of government crackdowns.

Sisulu's son Zwelakhe, editor of the New Nation newspaper, was one of the most famous victims of Pretoria's State of Emergency, which was lifted last year.

He was detained without trial in December 1986 and released without explanation two years later.

The government slapped severe restrictions on his liberty, however, including a ban on producing material for publication.

Like Mandela, Walter Sisulu was born in the Transkei. He was educated by missionaries.

He worked as a miner and in a bakery, and his militant politics were shaped by strikes and clashes with the authorities.

Sisulu joined the ANC in 1940 but soon became dissatisfied with the organisation's moderate approach. With Mandela and Oliver Tambo he founded the more radical Youth Wing.

He worked his way through ANC structures and in 1949 became secretary-general, effectively running the movement.

In response to the ban on peaceful activities, the ANC formed the military wing Umkhonto weSizwe, which Sisulu joined three months before his final arrest. — Sapa-Reuter
Govt faces tougher ANC stand

'We won’t negotiate as beggars'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

DURBAN — The ANC has emerged from its historic national conference with a rejuvenated leadership and a firm resolve to get tougher with the Government.

Summing up the five-day conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the 2,444 delegates at a pre-dawn closing session yesterday morning that negotiations would be used to realise the ANC’s objective of transferring power to the people.

The ANC was determined that the Government would not occupy centre stage and would not be allowed to be the manager of transition while treating the ANC as an unequal partner which should merely be consulted.

Deliberations with the Government would be backed up by mass action.

And, although calling for the maintenance of sanctions, Mr Mandela publicly endorsed the proposals of international affairs head Thabo Mheki for the phased lifting of punitive measures once the obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

The resolutions adopted at the conference had not been made public by last night. But ANC sources said the conference had adopted a three-phase plan for the lifting of sanctions endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity.

In terms of the ANC-proposed plan, punitive measures including sport, cultural and academic sanctions as well as restrictions on tourism and air links should be lifted once all political prisoners had been freed, exiles unconditionally indemnified, repressive security laws repealed, political trials stopped and effective Government measures taken to stop the violence.

The ANC would support the lifting of trade sanctions and restrictions on foreign investment once an interim government had been set up, and the lifting of the oil and arms embargo once a democratic government had been elected.

The Government hoped the decisions taken at the conference signalled a new willingness to embark on constitutional negotiations, despite the ANC’s “failure to abandon violence”, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

He emphasised that the ANC should keep in mind that it would be only one of the important players in constitutional talks.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was disappointed that the ANC had failed to clear up its relationship with the South African Communist Party, which still appeared to be playing a decisive role in the ANC.

He also said decisions taken on the future role of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, gave the impression the ANC was recommitting itself to violence.

Speaking at a well-attended and peaceful rally at King’s Park yesterday, Mr Mandela said the conference — the “parliament of the people” — had clearly mapped out the road ahead.

“Everyone must understand that we are claiming what is ours. We do not go to the negotiation table as beggars. Compromise may be unavoidable on some questions, but surrender on our basic rights — never.”

The conference had given the new national executive committee (NEC) a clear mandate to lead the organisation through the period of

*To Page 3*
Communists riding high in ANC's new national executive

The New African National Congress executive, elected before dawn yesterday, is a visible embodiment of the organisation's commitment to nonracialism.

Chosen in an independently organised election, it contains men and women of all races.

The two most successful candidates present analyst with a conundrum: Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, topped the poll with 1,858 votes, and Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for international affairs, came second with 1,821 votes.

The two men reportedly represent different factions of the ANC, Mr Hani the militants and Mr Mbeki the pragmatists. But, clearly, a major portion of the 2,244 delegates like both men enough to vote for them.

The dividing line between the two wings is less rigid and more porous than observers think. The new executive may represent a fusing of the various strands in the ANC.

A number of points can, however, be made confidently about the 50 members who were formally elected to applause early yesterday at the close of the five-day annual conference, the first to be held on South African soil in more than three decades.

It is a younger executive.

The only significant exceptions are the men who were elected to office with Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial of 1964, or at about the same time: Ahmed Kathrada (62), Andrew Mlangeni (66), Elias Motsoaledi (65) and Billy Nair (61).

Attrition

Typical of the younger members are Patrick Lekota (43), Popo Molele (38) and Trevor Manuel (38), all of whom had leadership roles in the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement.

They fall into the same mould as Cyril Ramaphosa, the 38-year-old trade union leader who was spectacularly victorious in the triangular contest against two members of the old executive for the key post of secretary-general.

A second point which stands out starkly is the powerful position of the South African Communist Party on the new executive. Although the SAPC lost one or two members, including its chairman, Dan Tloome, that was due to the attrition of age, not to dislike of its members or their policies.

Five of the top 10 positions went to communists, with Mr Hani, a member of the SAPC central committee, and Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SAPC, taking first and second places.

If Mr Mbeki, a reputed member of the central committee, who appears to have become a non-practising communist, is included, communists won the three top places in the poll and seven of the first 10 rungs.

Of the 50 newly elected members, at least half are members of the SAPC. The proportion may be greater. Not all communists in the executive have declared their ideological allegiance.

The official line, voiced by Mr Ramaphosa when he was asked whether he is a member of the SAPC, is that SAPC affiliation is irrelevant and that to inquire is to exhibit an antiquated ideological prejudice appropriate to the Cold War.

Another distinguishing feature of the conference is represented by the surprise election of two men: Rocky Malebeni-Metsing and Mcwayizeni Zulu.

Approval

The two men rose to prominence in opposing leaders in South Africa's tribal homelands: Mr Malebeni-Metsing for leading an attempted military coup in 1988 against President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Prince Zulu, a member of the Zulu royal family, for his opposition to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Their election reflects dislike among ANC rank-and-file members of "bantustan" - as they derisively refer to the "homelands" - and approval of the strong stand taken by the ANC against leaders of these territories who have refused to throw in their lot with the ANC.

Looking at the conference more broadly, one overwhelming theme stands out: a much tougher attitude towards President de Klerk's administration by the ANC, which encompasses supposed "doves" such as Mr Mbeki as much as "hawks" like Mr Hani.

While the conference endorsed the concept of negotiations, they were seen as a terrain of the struggle, and Mr de Klerk as a shrewd political foe whose still-firm hold on power would have to be made loose.

The new executive includes able negotiators. Mr Ramaphosa, who honed his negotiating skills in encounters with South Africa's tough mining bosses, is a typical example.

The conference looked critically at itself, and the outgoing secretary-general's report makes clear. The report highlights a host of organisational weaknesses and the need for urgent remedial action, as well as the reports of the previous and present NEC meetings. It attributes poor attendance in the past to information problems.

The need for urgent remedial action is implicit in the ANC's "mass action" and "mass mobilisation" programme. The new executive has potential to realise these goals.

Competent, cooperative and former ANC executive minister, the new executive has potential to realise these goals. Whether they will realise that potential is that ANC itself, that they improve it.

"Bantustan" recruitment in the majority white, coloured and Indian communities, it has not reversed one of the barriers to which the South African financial structure is almost totally based.

The conference also addressed itself to the question of the ANC's head of state, Voisie Khoje. The conference supported the ANC's decision to elect as its head of state Voisie Khoje, seen as a "hawking" like Mr Hani.

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The "hawking" like Mr Hani.
ANC WANTS MASSES ON THE STREETS

ANC CONFERENCE

The Star Monday 8 July 1991
Riding high . . . Cyril Ramaphosa, newly elected secretary-general of the ANC, is carried shoulder high by an ecstatic supporter after he polled 1,156 votes — more than the combined total of his opponents, Alfred Nzo (371 votes) and Jacob Zuma (450).

Breakdown of voting for NEC members

This is the breakdown of the voting for the 50 directly elected seats on the ANC's national executive committee announced yesterday. Number of votes and percentage recorded after each name.

1. Chris Hani (1,658 - 94.7)
2. Thabo Mbeki (1,824 - 93)
3. Joe Slovo (1,761 - 89.6)
4. Patrick "Terror" Lekota (1,724 - 87.9)
5. Pallo Jordan (1,702 - 86.8)
6. Ahmed Kathrada (1,697 - 86.5)
7. Ronnie Kasrils (1,666 - 85)
8. Harry Gwala (1,644 - 83.8)
9. Steve Tshwete (1,634 - 83.3)
10. Arnold Stofile (1,546 - 78.8)
11. Popo Molele (1,523 - 77.7)
12. Joe Modise (1,510 - 77)
13. Raymond Mhlaba (1,489 - 75.9)
14. Mac Maharaj (1,462 - 74.6)
15. Alfred Nzo (1,420 - 72.4)
16. Ruth Mompati (1,357 - 69.2)
17. Albertina Sisulu (1,321 - 67.4)
18. Raymond Suttner (1,310 - 66.8)
19. Trevor Manuel (1,253 - 63.9)
20. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (1,249 - 63.7)
21. Aziz Pahad (1,198 - 61.1)
22. Cheryl Carolus (1,168 - 59.6)
23. Albie Sachs (1,161 - 59.3)
24. Joel Netshitandze (1,119 - 57.1)
25. Wilton Mkwayi (1,107 - 56.5)
26. Winnie Mandela (1,067 - 53.9)
27. Joe Nhlanhla (1,055 - 53.7)
28. John Nkadimeng (1,049 - 53.5)
29. Dullah Omar (1,031 - 52.6)
30. Mohammed Vaili Moosa (1,014 - 51.7)
31. Gertude Shope (958 - 48.9)
32. Andrew Mlangeni (956 - 48.6)
33. Siphiwe Nkanda (955 - 48.7)
34. Sidney Mufumadi (931 - 47.5)
35. Elias Motsoaledi (927 - 47.3)
36. Mendi Mlambo (894 - 45.1)
37. Reginald September (854 - 43.5)
38. Barbara Mazekela (844 - 43)
39. Billy Nair (837 - 42.7)
40. Mawuyizeni Zulu (814 - 41.5)
41. Sister Bernard Nwebe (808 - 41.2)
42. Gill Marcus (800 - 40.8)
43. Jeremy Cronin (792 - 40.4)
44. Rocky Malebane-Metsing (772 - 39.4)
45. Kadar Asmal (771 - 39.3)
46. Saki Macozoma (758 - 38.7)
47. Peter Mokaba (731 - 37.3)
48. Zola Skweyiya (719 - 36.7)
49. Thozamile Botha (717 - 36.6)
50. Marion Spar (717 - 36.6)

The six top officials, elected by secret ballot on Friday, are Nelson Mandela (president), Walter Sisulu (deputy president), Oliver Tambo (chairman, a newly created position), Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary-general), Jacob Zuma (deputy secretary-general) and Thomas Nkobi (treasurer-general).

Communists riding high — Page 11
ANC to donate R320m in real estate to Tanzania

DURBAN — The ANC has decided to donate more than R320m of its R65bn in assets as an “educational contribution” to Tanzania.

Treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi said in his report to the conference that two of the ANC’s major development projects, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and the Daka Development Centre would be given to Tanzania once the last exiles had returned to SA.

Delegates at the conference voiced strong criticism at the amount of real estate owned by the organisation and wanted to know what the leadership intended doing with property in Europe, Sweden, Canada and Norway.

**Assets**

At the end of December last year the ANC owned property abroad worth R59bn. Since then it has bought two houses in Soweto for R50m, one worth R20m apparently for the secretary-general. It also owns a house worth R13m in Judith’s Paarl, Johannesburg.

The vast majority (R575bn) of the ANC’s assets were in Tanzania, while its head office in Lusaka accounted for R9bn.

Lillies Farm in Angola, where all agricultural activities had been stopped, would also be handed back to the Angolan government. There were no more ANC members in Angola, he said.

Nkobi told delegates that some of the property abroad would be sold and the money brought back to SA.

In the first 10 months since the ANC was unbanned, 86% of its R1bn of its internal income came from grants, while 5% came from membership fees.

The ANC’s largest expenditure, R1.7bn, was on travel, while the second highest was on employment.

The organisation’s consolidated account reflects that the ANC had received a total of R6bn in the 10 months to end of December, nearly 90% in grants and donations.

Nkobi warned delegates that foreign funding was drying up. The ANC would have to raise funds internally in order to survive, he said.

The ANC should try to end its dependence on external forces and become self-sufficient. Unless this happened the ANC would be vulnerable to external forces, he said.

The ANC has R27.9bn deposited with bankers and a further R13bn, raised during Nelson Mandela’s visit to the US, is still to be collected.

Total external expenditure for the ten-month period covered by Nkobi’s report amounted to R65.9bn and it retained a surplus of R9.8bn.
Women form new alliance

A WIDE range of organisations — including the ANC and the Black Sash — have joined forces to set up the Women's Alliance.

The formation of the alliance was yesterday announced at a press conference attended by church groups, trade unions, the ANC's Women's League, the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga), the Muslim Youth Movement, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), Rape Crisis, Azapo and the Black Sash.

Ms Karin Chubb, of the Black Sash, said a campaign would be launched to educate women on their rights and a women's charter would be drawn up. She said negotiations would soon be started for a new constitution and a bill of rights.

It was essential that women were organized as a political force to ensure that women's demands were not ignored. The future South African government would be forced to adopt the United Nations Charter on Women, she said.

The Black Sash, traditionally a human-rights organisation, would now concentrate on women's issues, she said.
ANC opts for young blood

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREET

DURBAN — A younger generation of new leaders has emerged in the ANC: Mr Chris Hani, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Jacob Zuma.

Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki were two most popular candidates in the election for the ANC's national executive committee, while the other two stood out as others who were influential for the key posts of secretary-general and deputy secretary-general.

Although the leadership positions will be filled during the ANC's national conference, the next three years, when the ANC holds its next round of leadership elections, younger generation will be well placed to take over from the ageing Mr Nelson Mandela, 70, the new president, and Mr Walter Sisulu, 79, the deputy president.

Mr Hani, Mr Mbeki and Mr Zuma, all 49, are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) veterans and have won respect for the way they have handled their portfolios.

Mr Hani, who has been in prison for 18 years, has not only built up the National Union of Mineworkers, the largest trade union in South Africa, but is also known for his negotiating skills.

The result of the election comes as a major victory for Mr Mandela, who was perceived to be the dominant figure in the ANC.

On the NEC, Western Cape members on the national executive are, from left: Cheryl Carolus, Reg September, Trevor Manuel and Dullah Omar.

Cheryl Carolus, Reg September, Trevor Manuel and Dullah Omar

The 50 members making up the ANC's national executive committee were elected at the weekend. Yesterday the full results of the vote were announced:

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<td>94.7</td>
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<td>Chris Hani</td>
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Flexible

Mr Mandela said Mr Mbeki had handled the issue very well and was expected to continue in the same vein.

He said little had been heard of Mr Mbeki's speech to the conference because it was an attempt for the delegates to not rely on mere rhetoric but address the position as it was changing.

"Unless we are flexible and imaginative we will be led a blind and nothing else.

"We continue to emphasize the international community to support the ANC and continue using a phased approach on sanctions.

He noted that sanctions have been a potent weapon and the ANC should be allowed to use them for maximum effect.

A number of spokesmen said during press briefings at the congress that international pressure was one of the factors facilitating change in South Africa and called for it to be maintained.

However, Mr Mandela said the ANC had to recognise the economic problems facing many African countries and the suffering that had been caused by the support given to the liberation of South Africa.

The government's approach on sanctions is by trying to relax the sanctions at a time when the ANC has reached a significant milestone in its history.
MK for SA's white suburbs?

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
DURBAN. — The ANC will continue actively to recruit members for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and cadres could in future be deployed in white suburbs to protect ANC members from attack.

The ANC's conference here also resolved that MK, now 30 years old, would establish structures throughout South Africa and defend its arms caches and other equipment until a democratic constitution is adopted.

The resolution adopted by conference emphasised that the ANC had merely suspended the armed action and not abandoned the armed struggle.

Both ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and MK commander Mr Joe Modise said at the weekend that there were still ANC members who believed that the armed struggle should continue.

However, Mr Modise said that this number was relatively small.
Mr Modise told a press briefing that the government was not being fair towards the ANC as it allowed groups like the AWB and Inkatha to be "fully armed" while it was denying the ANC the right to license the arms the ANC needed to protect its followers.

"It our God-given right to defend ourselves when attacked. There is no way we can fold our arms," he said.

Skills
He said the attacks on ANC supporters were currently largely taking place in black townships. However, if this focus shifted "we will have to pay attention to the need to protect brave white progressives".
Mr Modise did not want to provide details at the briefing on the the progress the ANC military wing had made in transforming itself from a guerilla force to a conventional high-tech defence force.

However, he disclosed that MK was training cadres to become pilots, naval officers and army officers with the requisite skills for a modern force.

Mr Modise said some of these cadres had already completed their training and were taking up duties in camps outside South Africa.

He did not say where MK cadres were receiving their high-tech training or where they would be stationed before being incorporated into an integrated new defence force.

• The ANC has decided to hold a special conference to look into difficulties facing MK members both in South Africa and beyond.

The conference would also be attended by all or most of the members of the ANC's new national executive, Mr Mandela told the conference in his closing address.
Nzo spotlighted the weaknesses

DURBAN. — A brutally frank report on the ANC's organisational weaknesses was delivered by its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, shortly before he was ousted from office.

"It is absolutely vital that we shed all illusions, wishful thinking and romantic notions and objectively and realistically prepare our forces for the sharp and complex battles confronting us," he said in a confidential report, a copy of which was obtained by the Cape Times.

He strongly criticised the relationship between the ANC and civic organisations, its organisational work on the rural areas, its regional and branch structures, its recruiting problems, poor attendance at rallies and mass-action marches and the failure of the million-signature campaign.

A number of factors were hampering growth, including factionalism and "cliquism"; lack of local initiative and creativity; total dependence on logistical assistance from head office; a sense of complacency; a lack of apparent co-ordination of departments and a lack of political education to equip organisers and members adequately for their day-to-day work, he said.
Delay in all-party conference?

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The all-party conference to prepare the way for full-scale negotiations may be delayed until next year because of ANC dissatisfaction with the latest government reforms to security legislation.

Senior ANC legal spokesman Mr Mathew Phosa told a press briefing at the weekend that government amendments to the Internal Security Act during the past parliamentary session were insufficient and that existing security laws — particularly detention without trial — remained an obstacle to negotiations. Since the ANC regarded the all-party conference as part of the negotiation process, this obstacle would have to be removed before such a gathering could take place.

Asked whether this meant that the all-party talks would have to wait until Parliament had convened next year in order to remove detention without trial from the statute books, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma responded: "That is the implication."

Mr Macozoma said the government had not consulted with the ANC on the latest amendments to security legislation and that they had not gone far enough. He said that if the government could find "other constitutional mechanisms" to deal with the ANC's objections, then the all-party conference might take place earlier.

Asked if a promise by the government to abolish detention without trial once Parliament reconvenes in February next year would suffice, he said the ANC would be loath to accept the government's word on such an issue, given its past track record in breaking undertakings to the ANC.

Government spokesmen have expressed confidence that an all-party or multi-party conference could be convened as early as September, after the completion of the Patriotic Front conference between the ANC the PAC in Cape Town next month.
Well organised

Still, the well-organised conference, which, with 2,224 delegates, involved enormous logistical difficulties and elaborate security arrangements, was a model of democratic organisation, highlighted by the complex election processes, supervised by four independent electoral commissioners, to ensure fair and free elections.

At yesterday's rally, Mr. Mandela boasted: "The ANC is the parliament of the people. Our parliament now has 2,244 delegates. It is the democratic parliament of our country."

"As far as the majority is concerned, our conference is more representative and it has more legitimacy than the tricameral Parliament.

He also said: "Those who say we are not ready for democracy should have witnessed our proceedings."

Mr. Mandela appeared not to recognise the irony of this statement because in fact the public and the press were prevented from witnessing the proceedings, which were held behind closed doors.

There can be no doubt, however, that the conference was an extraordinary democratic exercise and as such may hold out hope for the future.
Rejuvenated ANC resolves to get tough

Political Staff
DURBAN. — The ANC has emerged from its historic national conference with a rejuvenated leadership and a firm resolve to get tough with the government in negotiations.

Summing up the five-day conference, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told more than 2,200 delegates at a pre-dawn closing session yesterday that negotiations would be used to realise the ANC’s objective of “transferring power to the people.”

The ANC was determined that the government would not occupy the main stage and would not be allowed to be “the manager of transition” while treating the ANC as an unequal partner which should merely be consulted.

Deliberations with the government would be backed up by mass action.

And, although calling for the maintenance of sanctions, Mr Mandela endorsed the proposals of international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki for the phased lifting of punitive measures once the identified obstacles to negotiations had been met.

The resolutions on sanctions adopted at the conference were not made public last night. But ANC sources said the conference had adopted a three-phased plan for the lifting of sanctions recently endorsed by the Organisation for African Unity.

In terms of the ANC-proposed plan, punitive measures, including sport, cultural and academic sanctions as well as restrictions on tourism and air links, should be lifted once all political prisoners had been freed, exiles unconditionally indemnified, repressive security laws repealed, political trials stopped and effective government measures taken to stop the violence.

The ANC would support the lifting of trade sanctions and the restriction on foreign investment once an interim government had been set up, and the lifting of the oil and arms embargo once a democratic government had been elected.

Speaking at a well-attended and peaceful rally at King’s Park yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela said the conference — the “parliament of the people” — had clearly mapped out the road ahead.

“Everyone must understand that we are claiming what is ours. We do not go to the negotiation table as beggars. Compromise may be unavoidable on some questions, but surrender on our basic rights — never.” The conference had given the new national executive committee a clear mandate to lead the organisation through the period of transformation, he said.

Mr Mandela introduced the directly elected NEC members to the conference after a marathon session which lasted throughout the night, and again presented the NEC at the rally.

CONGRATULATIONS: Newly elected ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie shake hands with well-wishers at the closing ceremony of the national convention.
The 50 members making up the ANC's national executive committee were elected at the weekend. They are:

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Cops guard ANC houses

POLICE are guarding round-the-clock at least 12 homes of ANC officials in the Vaal Triangle following last week’s slaying of three family members of an ANC official in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark.

Security was stepped up hours after the wife, daughter and grandson of Mr Ernest Sotsu were gunned down on Wednesday night. Mrs Constance Sotsu, her daughter Margaret, and grandson Sabana died under a hail of AK-47 bullets in their home, which was also petrol-bombed. Mr Sotsu was away at the ANC conference in Durban at the time.

Gangster

All Vaal leaders of the ANC returned home immediately after news of the attack was relayed to delegates in Durban. Their hurried return was also prompted by widespread rumours that the assailants were planning further attacks on ANC homes.

A notorious gangster linked

By THEMBA MOLEFE and SELLO MOTHLABAKWE

to the Sebokeng vigil massacre in January is alleged to be behind the latest attacks. Residents claim to have seen him near the Sotsu home on the day before the attack, and also near the houses of other ANC officials.

Two of the children injured in the Sotsu attack, Vuyana and Vusi, were still in the Sebokeng Hospital yesterday.

It is not clear whether the ANC had asked for police protection for its members or whether it was the police who initiated the 24-hour surveillance.

A Vaal police spokesman, Captain Piet van Deventer, confirmed that police were guarding nine homes, although Sowetan reporters spotted 12. Van Deventer said police had been deployed to guard the Sotsu home, but were withdrawn at Sotsu’s request.

Police have offered a R20,000 reward to anyone who provides information leading to the arrest of the killers.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it was surprised at State President F.W. de Klerk’s “exclusive” offer of sympathy to ANC members who suffered as a result of violence.

The IFP’s national executive said De Klerk, in identifying intimidation as democracy’s biggest enemy, had touched the core of the issue of violence.

“We support his view that the future will be determined through negotiation, not violence, and that the perpetrators of unlawful acts should be apprehended.

“We find it surprising that Mr de Klerk has chosen to exclusively offer his, deep sympathy to the ANC and those of its members and supporters who have lost loved ones and/or have

FREE AGAIN: Snowy Moshoeshoe relaxing at her Orlando East, Soweto, home at the weekend. She was jailed for 10 years in the Zola Mahobe affair. Report on Page 2 today.

P.T.O

Rothman’s

To Page 2
A policeman patrolling the house of Lucky Nkamblana in Zone 14 Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle. Nkamblana was a delegate at the ANC conference in Durban.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

Cops guard ANC in the Vaal

From Page 10

suffered serious damage.

The statement went on to list numerous incidents in which IFP members had been killed or their property damaged in all most eight years of ongoing violence.

"...it would be equally appropriate for the State President to deplore detestable attacks on IFP members and their homes and those experienced by the PAC and Azapo as well as mayors and councillors.

"It would be proper for Mr de Klerk not to appear to be taking sides... clarification is required," the statement concluded.
ANC leaders mirror ideals

The ANC's 48th national conference at the weekend elected a leadership which reflects the movement's activities inside and outside the country over the past 50 years.

Among the 55 national executive committee members and five office-bearers are leaders who spent decades in exile, internal leaders, persons who have been on trial for scandals connected in the name of the movement, others who were imprisoned for the same reason, persons who formed and led the ANC's internal voices (the UDF and MDM), prominent trade union leaders, constitutional experts, commentators, Christians, Jews and Muslims, moderates and hardliners.

There is also a Botha in the new NEC - the ANC's local government executive Mr Thamsibu Botha.

The NEC is the body which executes decisions taken by the conference, and which will in the future represent the party in various areas of political life.

Forty-three people last their positions on the NEC. They are: Mr Robert Corcoran, Mr Steve Tillemans, Mr Si- satsho Maphosa, Mr Harry Mkhazi, Mr Anthony Mongalo, Mr Masibulele, Mr Sipho Sishuba, Mr Njabulo, Mr Timothy, Mr Ntsika, Mr Jackie Motloung, Mr Jacky, Mr Sindiso Motsepe and Mr Stanley Mabola.

Mrs W die Moknethe was elected, as was Mr Albert Sisulu, as a new deputy president.

Among the newcomers, the biggest surprise is the election of Mr Rocky Mdlalose as deputy, believed to have been an attempt to oust President Themba Maseko.

The watching world, however, was the election of President Lucas Mangopa.

Mr Marion Spang, the first white woman to be con-

Most ANC funds still outside South Africa

The ANC has more fixed assets outside the country than inside the country, the movement's treasurer-general's report reveals.

Leaders within the movement have indicated that the cash flow crisis is the main reason why the ANC is unable to spend up to the maximum of almost 10,000 loans outside.

The treasurer-general's report, obtained at the ANC's 48th national conference in Durban last week, reveals that the movement had a total loans of R75,8 million last year and had spent R69,9 million. The bulk of this was spent on activities outside the country.

The confidential report also says that, within the first 10 months of its unification, the movement spent R10 million inside the country.

While money outside the country amounted to R1,113 million, only R20,000 came from members.

Of the money spent inside the country, almost 17 percent went to salaries. R3,4 million to salaries.

On the other hand, however, the document reveals that the ANC has R657,9 million in fixed assets abroad, much of which is in Tanzania and which the ANC will hand back when it clears out commercially from that country.

The ANC also owns property in European capitals.

After he was re-elected to office, treasurer-general Mr Thomas Motso said he expected foreign aid to stop but that any new funds would be directed projects inside the country.

He said the organisation had recently received donations from Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi but the millions promised by the American government were still in the United States.

The American government had said it was withdrawing the money because of the ANC's relationship with the SADF.

Most of the ANC's funding over the past years has been from Scandinavia counties and from Italy, according to the report.

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ANC has mandate to negotiate future SA

THE NEWLY elected ANC leadership emerged from the movement’s 48th national conference yesterday with a mandate and a commitment to negotiate a future constitution for South Africa.

The massive conference, which drew delegates from every corner of southern Africa as well as ANC branches around the world, adopted a resolution on Saturday which gave its new president, Mr Nelson Mandela, a mandate and discretionary powers to get an all-party conference under way sooner rather than later.

In terms of his mandate Mandela has the power to announce a specific date for such a conference.

But the newly elected ANC president

ANC’s mandate clear

warned that, while an APC (or as Government calls it an MPC) was becoming a reality, the violence in the black townships was standing firmly in the way of this.

At the start of the five-day conference Mandela asked delegates to start thinking of a “timeframe” for the election of a parliament, representative of all the people of South Africa.

He cautioned delegates not to be hasty.

There was still the issue of the removal of obstacles by Government, he said.

“This must include ending the campaign of terror against the people in this province (Natal), in the Transvaal and in the rest of the country,” Mandela said.

Only then could the APC commence, said Mandela.

The conference drew a line with regard to the bargaining process. There should be no compromise on the election of a constituent assembly and the appointment of an interim government.

“We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime’s claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition,” Mandela said.

“The ANC is an equal partner, and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted.

“Everything has to be done to build maximum unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-racist, non-sexist, non-sexist democracy and to ensure that such forces act in unison throughout the process of negotiation,” Mandela said.

M a n d e l a a c k n o w l e d g e d President FW de Klerk’s condemnation of an attack on the home of an ANC delegate while he was at the Durban conference.

“If he (De Klerk) had done this (condemned the violence), this violence would not have intensified to the state it has,” Mandela said.
LONDON - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd faces a tough task in encouraging the process of constitutional reform in South Africa when he arrives for a four-day visit today.

Hurd will meet State President FW de Klerk and senior ministers as well as leaders of the black and white opposition parties.

The main purpose of Hurd's visit was to encourage both sides to begin constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks a say in Government following the dismantling of apartheid, the Foreign Office said.

But at the African National Congress's Durban conference, which closed early yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela appeared in uncompromising mood, stressing that "enormous differences" remained between blacks and the Government.

He repeated the ANC's demand for an interim government to oversee a transition to majority rule and for a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial constitution before elections - demands which the Government has already spurned.

ANC officials said they would stay away from talks on a new constitution until the Government ended the township violence that has killed more than 2,000 in less than a year.

Hurd will see Mandela, Clarence Makwetu of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

Buthelezi was in London last month for talks with Hurd and Prime Minister John Major, at which he expressed his appreciation for Britain's policy of relaxing sanctions.

The British foreign secretary is also expected to have talks with Dr Andries Treurnicht.

- Sapa-Reuters
SOUTH AFRICA needs a "Marshall Plan" to rectify the inequality between the "haves and the have-nots", the Pan Africanist Congress says in a policy document titled "Towards a Democratic Economic Order".

In a statement released in Cape Town summarising the document, the PAC maintains that, because of "scarce resources and the existence of extreme wealth differentiation between the haves and the have-nots, the country is in a war-like situation".

The policy document deals with the PAC's economic thinking and outlines policy on: redistribution of wealth and resources; economic development and growth; policy on nationalisation; and policy on foreign investments.

On redistribution, the document suggests its contribution to future peace and the development of one nation with minimum scars inflicted by one section on another and the resulting repercussions with respect to the future economic well-being of the country need to be considered.

The statement says the country's wealth is vested in four companies: Anglo American, Rembrandt, SA Mutual and Sanlam.

**Consumer movement**

While 83 percent of whites earn more than R16 000 a year, only five percent of blacks are in the same position.

"The PAC is aware that the market needs organised countervailing forces against the dysfunctional effects of its operations, and such forces shall be the State, independent and strong workers' participation, a strong consumer movement and a strong liberation and development national movement," the statement says.

**Foreign investment**

The document also says the PAC is not obsessed with nationalising private-sector corporations. "The behaviour of economic institutions is more important than their mere ownership by the State."

"It is not the PAC's intention to redistribute wealth and associated resources by transferring it from a small, dominant, wealthy elite or class or national group to a small, dominant elite from the currently economically disadvantaged African population."

The PAC document says it will encourage foreign investment selectively and for strategic purposes.
Confidence will help the ANC face future challenges

ALAN FINE

A more considered approach has emerged in the area of sanctions. While a three-stage phasing out of sanctions does not satisfy the ANC, it does demonstrate a recognition, albeit a belated one, of the need to engage with the international community. This more strategic approach to questions of power is likely to permeate generally through the ANC.

But none of this should be taken to mean that the "new" ANC has been transformed into a pitiable, meek negotiator. The ANC will not be a partner, but an equal partner, with the UN in managing SA's transition.

This means that once obstacles to negotiations have been removed, the ANC's top priority will be the formation of a broadly based interim government. Its second stage in phasing out sanctions is the establishment of an interim government. The ANC will try to use sanctions as a carrot and stick to achieve this goal.

The ANC can be expected to press government on security legislation, especially the remaining detention without trial provisions. With the political prisoner issue close to resolution and agreement on exiles between the SA government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the ANC will act as the only obstacle before the ANC government will agree to an all-party congress.

The leadership has been mandated to continue with "talks about talks", including continued participation in all working groups. It has also been vested with "discretionary powers" within the limits of declared policy to further negotiations.

It will probably have to use this discretion to determine when the issue of violence has been satisfactorily resolved. There are a number of contradictory views expressed by different individuals on this issue.

One argument is that violence must be ended before talks can proceed. But this seems to be a minority hardline view. A more accommodating view, expressed by ANC and SAPC spokesman Essop Pahad among others, is that a multilateral agreement in which business-sponsored peace process would be an adequate proof of government's good faith.

For the ANC as a whole, this church/business initiative has become central to its hopes for resolving the violence. A number of the commissions, each debating a separate topic — violence itself, negotiations, strategy and tactics — focused on the Louw Alberts-led efforts as an indispensable part of the solution.

The ANC leadership will be determined in the recognition by Mandela and others in the top leadership of the urgency of resuming negotiations with as few delays as possible. The requirement for resumption of the violence obstacle does not seem over-optimistic.

Some ANC leaders, it must be said, are perturbed at the amount of hope being placed on these talks, not because they oppose the initiatives but because they doubt whether the rank and file membership is yet sufficiently convinced of their veracity.

One former UDF leader said many ordinary delegates — sceptical because of the failure of previous attempts — had little hope that these political initiatives would achieve their goals. This, he argued, did not bode well for any future deals becoming effective on the ground.

For the ANC as a whole, too, support for negotiations on the violence is a political process that has gained ground. But even if the return to political negotiations occurs relatively smoothly, the ANC will be anything but appeasing at these talks.

Government ministers who have slammed the ANC for its mass action tactics would probably be surprised at the intense criticism the ANC leadership faces for failing to back demands adequately by mass mobilisation.

The ANC will now have Ramaphosa's counsel on how he has turned the ANC from a political party to a mass movement. The ANC's determination to "defend people and maintain peace and stability" is probably the most serious manifestation of the difficulties that lie ahead.

Despite the encouraging views of the new leadership on negotiation, despite the fact that those leaders were elected by the rank and file, a huge credibility gap exists between the ANC and government. The ANC does not fully accept government's bona fides and is determined to retain a military capability, however rudimentary, as a fallback.

The MK decision is more than a sop to the military cadres. It is a challenge to government to disarm other political groups (the AWB and Inkatha included) and to ensure that normalisation of the political process will not be considered possible until, at the very least, an interim government is established.
NEC elections bring back many old faces

DURBAN — More than half of the outgoing ANC national executive committee members have won re-election to an enlarged NEC, and they have been joined by almost a dozen younger generation internal leaders who became prominent through their work in the UDF.

Results of the poll for 50 NEC members were released early yesterday morning.

Among the talking points will be the strong showing of Winnie Mandela, who came in in 26th position, and Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, who overcame allegations that he was a police informer to grab it in 47th position.

Nine women were among the successful candidates, six fewer than would have been the case had the proposed 30% quota been retained.

Four Rivonia triallists, released at the same time as deputy president Walter Sisulu, were elected to the NEC together with 18 exiled leaders who won seats on the NEC at the ANC’s 1996 Kabwe conference. Five other exiles were elected, as were two recently released guerrillas.

Eight members of the previous NEC who were nominated were unsuccessful.

Ten former UDF leaders were among the victors, although only one union official — Cosatu’s Sydney Mafumadi — made it in the poll.

Nine members of the SAOP’s internal leadership group were elected, including Chris Hani and Joe Slovo in first and third positions respectively.

Memories most likely to bring a “hard-line” perspective on negotiations to NEC deliberations include Winnie Mandela, Mokaba, Harry Gwala, Mac Maharaj, Raymond Suttner and Billy Nair.

ANC information department officials Saki Macozoma and Gill Marcus found their high public profiles had worked in their favour and both were elected.

The complete list in order of votes received, from 1899 to 717, is:
Mass action to take centre stage in approach to talks

DURBAN — The ANC plans to put particular emphasis on mass action in its new, aggressive approach to negotiations.

Political education head and newly elected NEC member Raymond Suttner said the ANC's national conference had identified the four pillars of the party's strategy as mass struggle, the underground, Umkhonto we Sizwe and international pressure.

Mass action had to "be unleashed in a far wider and more concerted way", he said. There had been strong criticism in the secretary-general's report of the ineffectiveness of mass action since the December consultative conference and Operation Vula commander Mac Maharaj also questioned the ANC's commitment to this form of struggle. Maharaj said it had merely been regarded as a slogan.

In his opening address last Tuesday Nelson Mandela also referred to mass action as a central thrust to the organisation's strategy.

But at his closing address yesterday the ANC president said mass action had to be approached with care. He said trade unionists had warned that the organisation should not embark on mass action unnecessarily. It had to be used with discretion because of its effect on the economy and the high rate of unemployment.

Suttner said the strategy and tactics commission resolution, which had been endorsed by the conference, was that the ANC would not take unsolicited advice from government to transform itself into a political party but would remain a liberation movement, Suttner said.

Initiative

TIM COHEN reports that a resolution on negotiations indicated the church- and business-initiated peace conference was the key to the start of talks.

It endorsed the initiative taken by church and business to convene a peace conference and noted violence as an obstacle to negotiations.

The resolution called on the ANC leadership urgently to press ahead with negotiations.

Regarding the removal of obstacles, the resolution said the following steps must be taken:

- The convening of the all-party congress;
- The installation of an interim government;
- The election of a democratic constituent assembly; and
- The adoption of a democratic constitution and elections.

These objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame.

Meanwhile, a briefing document on violence said the main focus of the ANC's strategy to end the violence was to intensify its international campaign to highlight government's refusal or inability to end the carnage.

It said one of government's main weaknesses was its desire to be seen negotiating and reaching agreements with the ANC in order "to portray itself as moving towards an acceptable solution".

Natal Midlands senior official Blade Nzimande said that at the local level the organisation was going to more rigorously pursue the formation and setting up of multiparty self-defence units. They would be accountable to civic associations.
THE ANC has elected a leadership with the experience and tenacity to take on the ruling National Party juggernaut at the negotiation table.

Apart from the 55-person national executive committee elected on Saturday, the 48th national conference of the movement which ended in Durban yesterday elected Mr Nelson Mandela as president, Mr Walter Sisulu deputy president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma assistant secretary-general and Mr Thomas Nkobi retained the position of treasurer-general. Sowetan $31 11

The five office-bearers were voted in by overwhelming majorities over their closest rivals. Mandela was unopposed as president.

A special position, that of national chairman, was created for the outgoing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

This was the first time since Chief Albert Luthuli led the ANC that the position has been resuscitated.

Sisulu beat closest rival, Mr Harry Gwala - the man who reportedly defends Stalinism and who is opposed to talks with the Government - by 1 567 votes to 412.

The third person nominated for the post of deputy president, Mr Thabo Mbeki, withdrew late on Thursday.

Sisulu (79) is a former Robben Islander, a close friend of Mandela and a member of the ANC's negotiating team.

A confidential source (a voting delegate from Gwala's Natal stronghold) told Sowetan that "Natal voted in the majority for Sisulu. He's got more experience".

For the position of secretary-general, Ramaphosa is said to have been "the most intelligent choice" as one of the five office-bearers.

As the outgoing general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Ramaphosa has highly-developed negotiating skills after leading the powerful trade union to countless successes in the past nine years.

While he has never dealt with central Government directly, Ramaphosa has had extensive talks with local government over the rent boycotts.

Ramaphosa is nevertheless highly respected in Government circles for the influence he has had on major labour issues in recent years.

Asked to describe how he felt when he was carried shoulder-high from the back of the hall to the stage after he was voted in, Ramaphosa went quiet for a moment and then said: "I felt very humble to have been elected in the way that I had been."

And how did he think he could help the ANC against "the National Party juggernaut" in the negotiating process?

"Negotiations are negotiations are negotiations," Ramaphosa said confidently, provoking laughter from the more than 200 print and electronic media journalists who had been waiting around in the Durban mid-winter heat for more than three hours for the election results.

Ramaphosa stood against and beat the outgoing secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the movement's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma.

Nzo received 371 votes, Zuma got 450 and Ramaphosa got a stunning 1 156 votes.

Zuma was later in the day elected deputy secretary-general. He was nominated with Nzo and former United Democratic Front leader Mr Papo Molele.

Nzo trailed the troika with a mere 258 while, Molele received 659 and Zuma 1 039.

Nkobi retained his position by beating his colleague, the ANC's London representative Mr Mendi Msimang, by what was described as a "surprising" 1 277 to 680 votes.

The announcement of the election results for the office-bearers was a highly emotional moment in the remaking of black South Africa's political history.

When Mr Charles Nepo, who headed the independent election monitoring committee, told a packed University of Durban Westville Sports Centre that Mandela was unopposed, the delegates, stalwarts, foreign dignitaries, journalists, service personnel and other observers rose in unison to applaud the new president.

Mandela rose slowly from his seat and, with tears in his eyes, turned to outgoing president Oliver Tambo and embraced him.

After spending 27 years in prison, Mandela had finally reached the helm of his movement and, if that were not enough, within minutes his old cellmate and fellow Rivonia trialist Sisulu received a similarly rambunctious applause when it was announced that he was deputy president.

While Mandela and Sisulu embraced, the delegates from Gwala's stronghold, the Natal Midlands, sat silently in defeat while everyone around them danced with joy.

By the end of the day's elections - through a remarkably democratic process - of the five office-bearers the signal went out to the ruling National Party: It's time to get your house in order, the ANC is winning.

In his opening speech, Mandela told the delegates to the conference to prepare themselves and their branches for negotiations - because the ANC was ready.

The mood of the conference throughout the five days was: Let's go for it.

Commenting after the elections of the five office-bearers, newly elected deputy president Sisulu said the ANC had been revitalised.

"We will be able to move forward with the confidence that has been shown to us at this conference," he said.

In his post-election comments Ramaphosa said his job would be complemented by the "wisdom and guidance of the people around him."

As the only person among the five office-bearers who had managed to hold on to his position as treasurer-general, Nkobi has been the ANC's executive since 1973.

Nkobi (68) was born in the then Southern Rhodesia and came to South Africa as a little boy in 1933.

Ramaphosa spent most of his early days in politics in the Black Consciousness Movement. He is a qualified lawyer.

Nzo, Molele and Msimang were elected to the enlarged NEC.

Fifty five people were elected at the conference and 28 (two from each of the 14 branches) are automatically included in the enlarged NEC.
Fiery volleys left women's place in ANC unresolved

Affirmative action

But many of the men in the ANC, who comprised more than 80% of the 2,224 voting delegates at the conference, showed that they were not quite ready for this form of affirmative action. Ironically, ANC spokesmen later confirmed that the principle of affirmative action remained a central pillar of ANC policy, both within the organisation in relation to women and within the broader society in relation to both women and blacks.

The logic is that because the long-standing power relations within society would render a laissez-faire approach to redressing imbalances ineffective, some form of positive or reverse discrimination was necessary to level the playing field.

But this leaves the rather awkward outcome that the ANC currently stands for affirmative action for women in principle but not in practice.

One way out of this paradox is to argue, as some of the ANC's male spokesmen did, that while the ANC supports affirmative action, it does not think the quota system is the best way to handle it. Given the absence of any other practical measures being adopted the argument amounts to little more than a thinly disguised cop-out.

Another reason offered for resistance to the quota system for women was that it smacked of entrenching — horror of horrors — "group rights".

A further powerful argument marshalled by the anti-women's quota bloc was that women office-bearers would enjoy a diminished status if they did not win their positions in an open and equal contest.

Fuzzy arguments

This point, in turn, places an even bigger question mark over the ANC's staunch backing for affirmative action for women and blacks in the public service and private sector job market.

At a Press conference called by the Women's League the day after they lost the quota issue, a number of its members had become surprisingly philosophical as they endeavoured to characterise their defeat as a victory.

Many pointed out that much re-education was needed within the organisation and society at large on this "very complex" issue, which was borne out by the conceptually fuzzy and often contradictory arguments forwarded by league members themselves.

Some noted that the league's managing to force such a lengthy debate on a long-neglected issue had to constitute a victory of sorts.

The ANC's new president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, appeared to concur when he told a closing rally in Durban on Sunday: "Perhaps the debate on women's rights was one of the most important at the conference. We are all convinced that on this issue the ANC will never be the same again."
ANC outlines phased lifting of sanctions

DURBAN — The ANC has decided on a three-phase plan for the lifting of sanctions.

Announcing the decision to loud applause on the last day of the organisation’s 49th national conference yesterday, president Nelson Mandela said: “We wanted to continue to hold the line on the question of sanctions (but) unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination, we will be left holding a shell and nothing else.”

The draft resolution to the conference said because of the erosion of sanctions, it was essential to accept a phased lifting of sanctions, linked to objectives critical to transformation.

The three stages signalling the lifting of particular sanctions are:

☐ The removal of obstacles to negotiations as stipulated by the OAU and UN declarations, as well as government taking effective measures to end the violence;
☐ The installation of an Interim government according to agreed arrangements for the transition to a democratic order (UN declaration); and
☐ The adoption of a democratic constitution, and the holding of elections for a non-racial parliament.

The national executive committee was mandated to determine the precise formulation of the process, in broad consultation internally and in co-ordination with anti-apartheid forces worldwide.

It is understood that sanctions likely to be lifted at the first stage would include those relating to sport, travel and culture. The second stage would probably affect trade, foreign investment and international finance. The oil and arms embargo would be lifted only at the third stage, once the new constitution was in place.

Mandela had charged the conference at its opening on Tuesday with finding effective ways of stopping the erosion of sanctions, and yesterday he praised international affairs director Thabo Mbeki for handling the matter so well.

“What I heard I endorse without reservation because it is an attempt to get the delegates and the organisation not to rely on more rhetoric but to look at the problem as it is developing.”

He said the ANC had asked countries to adopt a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions. He said he had not been disappointed in the reception it had received.

“I do not want my remarks to be misunderstood. We want flexibility and imagination for an approach which is realistic. The flexibility which we want to exercise is intended to ensure that this weapon is kept in our hands,” he said.

He said many of the ANC’s friends had been pressed into lifting sanctions but they would not do so without consulting the ANC. A case in point was the position taken by the Danish parliament that the EC maintain sanctions until all the conditions in the Hargeya declaration were met. US President George Bush’s administration had also stuck to the position of consulting the ANC before making any decision.

Mandela said the ANC had problems with some of the African countries but it had to be understood that their economies had come under strain as a result of their support for the ANC’s cause.

With regard to negotiations, Mandela said government had to realise the ANC

To Page 2

Sanctions

Sanctions was an equal partner and would not be dictated to about becoming a political party or about its relationship with the SACP and Cosatu.

He accepted the criticism that the ANC leadership had not consulted its grassroot membership sufficiently and had kept it in the dark about negotiations. This would be rectified.

He said it was proper that he be brutal in taking the ANC to task for its lack of communication with minority groups. The mere declaration of its policies would not see people running to join the organisation and what was called for was proper door-to-door campaigning.

Too many of the organisation’s structures were set up in such a way that whites, coloureds and Indians were excluded. This had to be changed.

He welcomed President F W de Klerk’s condemnation last week of the attack and killing of an ANC delegate’s family. “When he (De Klerk) does something right, it is right that we should acknowledge it. If he had done this at the beginning of the violence, it would not have escalated to the extent that it has,” Mandela said.

See Pages 2 and 8

Comment: Page 8
Use funds to create jobs. ANC urged

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) hopes that the ANC will liquidate its foreign assets and use the funds — about R656 million — for job-creating investments in South Africa.

The call follows the ANC’s announcement at its national conference in Durban that it has assets of R655 million abroad.

JCCI president Mike Cato said in a statement that his organisation "guardedly welcomed" the appointment of top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa to the post of ANC secretary-general.

Mr Cato said he hoped Mr Ramaphosa would bring to the ANC executive a better understanding of how business operated, and the need for job creation and economic growth.

But the chamber regretted that the ANC had decided to remain a liberation movement; maintain close links with the SACP; continue building up Umkhonto we Sizwe; and step up mass protest action.
Negotiations on hold, Mandela tells Hurd

By Thabo Leshilo and Sapa

“Real negotiations” continued to be the prime ideal for President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after separate meetings in Pretoria and Johannesburg, respectively, with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday.

But while Mr de Klerk said these negotiations would be the fundamental solution to the violence in South Africa, Mr Mandela, while hinting that negotiations were desired, said the ANC would not negotiate until barriers to dialogue had been removed.

Speaking to reporters after their meeting at the ANC’s head office, Mr Hurd said he and Mr Mandela had had a “good, long exchange” and agreed that dialogue should continue.

In particular there was complete agreement that fully integrated South African sport should return to the international sporting arena, Mr Hurd said.

Mr Mandela told reporters he had made it clear to Mr Hurd that the ANC would not engage in negotiations with the Government for a new constitution until certain obstacles had been removed — including the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of political trials, the unconditional return of political exiles and a concerted effort by the Government to end the country’s violence.

Mr Mandela added that the obstacles to negotiations were the same as the obstacles holding up the lifting of sanctions.

However, Mr Mandela explained, the ANC was flexible on the question of sanctions, and “the specific nature of that flexibility will be seen when the moment arrives”.

Referring to negotiations and their relevance to the country’s endemic violence, Mr de Klerk said: “If the supporters see their leaders talking to each other regularly on a round-table basis, then the basis for positioning and violent interaction between political factions falls away.”

Mr de Klerk said that from the point of view of the negotiation process, there was no doubt the ANC conference had been constructive, as the leadership had obtained a mandate for negotiations.
DURBAN — Threats from the ANC, especially its “armed intimidation”, left whites no choice but to protect themselves through neighbourhood watches against attacks, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Commenting on the ANC’s national conference held in Durban last week, Dr Treurnicht said in a statement it was “totally unacceptable and a sign of weakness that the Government continues to invite the ANC to negotiations while it continues making threats of training terrorists”.

It also condemned the ANC for allegedly collecting weapons aimed at the “armed overthrow” of South Africa.

The Government’s scrapping of “protective laws” had plunged the struggle for whites to rule themselves in their own land into a new phase.

“The ANC is not an alternative government, especially not for whites,” Dr Treurnicht said.
Councillors admit firing shots

Court Reporter

TWO of four Lingelihle West town councillors who have denied charges of trying to murder Mr Michael Mapongwana and a 15-year-old schoolgirl at a civic meeting in Khayelitsha last March, yesterday admitted firing shots at the meeting.

Town councillors Mr David Zono and Mr Livingstone Booi admitted in Wynberg Regional Court yesterday that they fired shots from 9mm firearms.

Mr Zono said he fired four shots when he saw several youths armed with bladed weapons coming at him and his co-councillors, and he heard Mr Booi fire two shots.

Mr Booi corroborated his evidence and admitted having fired four shots, saying that in Mr Mapongwana's address to the crowd, he was ordering them to attack him and his co-councillors, Mr Zono and Mr Morris Gxowa.

The fourth accused, Mr Vakhishiwa Gocina, said during a previous hearing that he was not present at the meeting in Town Two on March 7 last year.

A 15-year-old schoolgirl, who may not be named, said at a previous hearing that she was wounded in the leg when the four accused town councillors disrupted the meeting by firing shots.

Mr Zono, Mr Booi and Mr Gxowa all said in their plea explanations that they fired off their handguns in self-defence, and were not guilty of attempted murder.

The trial continues this morning.

The prosecutor is Mr D. John. Mr Martin appears for the accused.
Kanya aware to the issue of individuals such as Thabo Mbeki and C. R. James, the SACP's chief political strategist. However, the ANC's leadership appear to be divided on the issue of enforcing the SACP's discipline.

Further objection gaining ground

There is a growing objection to the idea of maintaining a formal relationship between the ANC and the SACP. This is particularly true among those who believe that the SACP's actions are undermining the ANC's electoral prospects.

Other ideas being floated

Another idea being floated is the possibility of forming a new political party that would bring together elements of both the ANC and the SACP. This would require a significant shift in the ANC's approach to its relationship with the SACP.

Thabo Mbeki, The ANC's soft-spoken foreign affairs director

Mbeki is often seen as the voice of moderation within the ANC. He is known for his pragmatic approach to foreign affairs and his efforts to build alliances with other countries on the continent.

Harry Gwala, still back Stupendous

Gwala is a rising star in the ANC and is known for his bold and uncompromising style. He is seen as a potential future leader of the party.

Politics

The ANC is facing a number of challenges as it prepares for the upcoming elections. The party is trying to balance the need to appeal to a broad base of voters with the need to maintain its traditional support base.

ANC still has a lot to learn after Durban talks

The ANC's recent strategy of forming alliances with other parties has not paid off, according to some observers. The party is now facing the challenge of rebuilding its electoral base and regaining public confidence.

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

Political Staff

What went wrong?

The ANC's strategy of forming alliances with other parties has not paid off, according to some observers. The party is now facing the challenge of rebuilding its electoral base and regaining public confidence.

Long-term strategy

The ANC needs to develop a long-term strategy that takes into account the changing political landscape in South Africa. This includes building alliances with other parties, addressing the needs of the poor, and addressing the challenges facing rural areas.

The ANC's leadership needs to be more transparent and accountable to the public. The party needs to demonstrate that it is committed to the principles of democracy and good governance.

Conclusion

The ANC faces a number of challenges as it prepares for the upcoming elections. The party needs to develop a clear strategy that addresses the needs of the people and addresses the challenges facing South Africa.

End of page
ANC's man in Moscow

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

The ANC's minder behind the Iron Curtain for more than two decades—and one of the most senior Russians ever to visit South Africa—was among the phalanx of exotic foreign guests at the movement's five-day Durban conference.

Remarkably, unlike the others, the Soviet Central Committee member and head of the Communist Party's Africa group is on bear-hugging terms with the ranks of ANC exiles and their leaders whom he met during the Cold War years when the Soviet Union was among the few who succoured the liberation movement.

South Africans might be tempted to endow the ANC's Moscow man with a John le Carre persona, but the bespectacled Dr Vladimir Shubin is not archetypal.

By turns reflective and jocular, modest, at times cautious, but always considered 'and thoughtful, Dr Shubin displays an acute knowledge of South African political history and a sensitivity for the nuances and vicissitudes of a country emerging from notoriety.

Yet, there are limits to his candour. A socialist loyalty underpins sometimes rather cryptic views on the South African Communist Party and its supreme Joe Slovo. His most telling comment seems a very pointed reflection of the Soviet attitude: "We say our friends have every right to make their own mistakes, but they have no right to repeat ours."

Was this pithy epithet his advice to Mr Slovo, perhaps? Dr Shubin says no. "It is not for us to give advice and Mr Slovo does not seek it. We never give advice to fraternal parties. That would be wrong."

Mr Slovo himself, Dr Shubin notes, has "always been a very sober observer, critical of formations and mistakes in the USSR and other countries, so to call him a Stalinist is the biggest joke".

Even so, Perestroika and upheaval in the East Bloc have changed Kremlin relations with Mr Slovo's party, but by "enhancing" them, he says.

Discussions are now "less formal and more frank", he says, acknowledging that in the past, "there was a tendency to portray everything in a good way when it was not so."

On the other hand, there was every likelihood of a visit to Moscow by ANC president Nelson Mandela later this year, possibly within months. There hadn't been a visit yet because of clashing dates.

Relations with the ANC had altered "practically", rather than "in principle". It boiled down to less frequent contacts in Moscow.

The bond actually goes back to 1927. It was formalised in the 1960s, but Dr Shubin came into the picture in 1969 as a member of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, a non-governmental organisation that helped channel assistance to the ANC.

He was their key contact and got to know many exiles very well. Curiously he would not reveal anything of the human side of the intriguing bond between mammoth superpower and liberation movement. The emphasis is on the fraternity, not the brothers in it.
CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said they expected the Government and the ANC to go ahead with negotiations to pave way for a new constitution by next year.

Most of the callers supported the mandate given to the ANC leadership at its conference at the weekend, that the organisation should go ahead with negotiations.

But Berjard of Soshanguve sounded a warning to the ANC, saying the organisation should first stick to its demands made to the Government concerning the return of all exiles, the political prisoners and an end to violence.

Bernard's view was echoed by another caller, 'Thabang,' who said negotiations should go ahead as soon as possible. But, he said, the Government must remove all major obstacles first.

However, Kenny from Johannesburg said the problem was the ANC, because the Government had removed three-quarters of the obstacles but nothing had come out of the talks so far.

"If the ANC did not withdraw (from the talks) things would have come to an end now," he said.

Smilo of 'Zondi said he supported negotiations but unity among black political organisations was crucial.

Dita Rabothata of Naledi, Soweto said negotiations should be through by October 10 this year, and voting for representatives of all parties to the constituent assembly on February 2.

"On April 6, our elected CA should be drawing up our new constitution," he said.
THE African National Congress and the Government have come closer on the question of an interim government, according to ANC publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan.

He was speaking on the Agenda TV programme, which was staged live in the Durban Exhibition Centre with participation by an audience which included Nationalist and Democratic Party MPs, Durban civic figures, Inkatha representatives, members of the House of Delegates, and leaders of the business community.

With Jordan on an ANC panel were secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, and national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Repeating to a question by Professor Mervyn Frost of the Political Science Department of the University of Natal, whether a government of national unity was likely or imminent, Jordan said there had been toewading (overtures) on this issue.

Election

However, he also made it clear that what the ANC had in mind was still very different from the co-optation process suggested by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Repeating to a question by Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, whether the ANC would be prepared to share government with other parties - the Nationalists specifically - he said the idea had merit but would depend on the outcome of a democratic election.

If the ANC won a clear majority in such an election, it would probably prefer to form its own government.

Sections of the largely good-humoured audience laughed derisively when Kasrils, a senior functionary in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed wing, described the organisation as a force for peace.

He was replying to Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.
ANC plan on sanctions opposed

Hurd calls for massive new investment

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said in Johannesburg yesterday that there was an "incredibly important need" for "huge" foreign investment in a new SA.

Hurd, who arrived yesterday for a three-day visit to the country, said he did not agree with the ANC's newly announced plan for a phased lifting of sanctions.

After meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela, Hurd told newsmen he had disagreed with Mandela on the timing of ending sanctions and the pace at which foreign investment should flow into the country, but said the two had found "much common ground".

The ANC's national conference this week adopted a three-phase plan for lifting sanctions linked to the removal of obstacles to negotiations, the installation of an interim government and the adoption of a democratic constitution.

Mandela had agreed that fully integrated sport should be admitted to international competition.

Hurd said after the meeting he was confident an amicable agreement on sanctions could be reached "in due course".

He said the ANC was not inflexible on sanctions, which had been implemented for a specific objective which had not yet been attained.

Hurd told Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk, whom he met earlier yesterday, that the British government had earmarked R4,6m to aid the return of exiles.

JONATHON REES

Some R2,3m would be given to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees once it asked governments for contributions to the cost of repatriation, with the rest going to projects to support the reception and resettlement of returning exiles.

After meeting De Klerk in Pretoria, Hurd said the reform process in SA was of great interest to the UK because SA was equipping itself for a new role in the international community and in Africa.

He said although there was a strong historic bond between SA and Britain, South Africans must find the solutions to their own problems.

Hurd said there was no alternative to negotiations, adding that he hoped the push towards successful negotiations could be resumed following the ANC's conference.

De Klerk welcomed the British government's "encouraging attitude" and its "constructive role" in the process of change.

He said he was confident negotiations could proceed "sooner rather than later" since ANC leaders had been given a mandate to negotiate by their national conference.

Government was "in a hurry" to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

However, Mandela said it was not possible for the ANC to negotiate before obstacles to talks were lifted, including the release of political prisoners and an end to violence in SA.

Asked about government's view on the number of SACP members elected to the ANC executive at the weekend, De Klerk said he was "not worried" about it, in the sense that it might pose a specific threat.

"What worries me, is the fact that it gives rise to uncertainty as to who stands exactly where," De Klerk said.

Hurd also met PAC president Clarence Makwetu and top PAC officials in Pretoria yesterday morning.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the sanctions issue was not raised.

Both sides put forward their views on a multiparty conference, formation of a patriotic front and violence and discussed PAC preconditions to negotiations.

Hurd will hold a series of meetings in Durban today, including one with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sapa reports that Britain's new Ambassador to SA Antony Reeve presented his credentials to De Klerk at the Presidency in Pretoria yesterday.

Reeve greeted De Klerk in Afrikaans, saying it was a "great honour, privilege and pleasure" to have him represent his Queen and government in SA.

*Picture: Page 3*
Give exiles clean sheet, says PAC

Staff-Reporter 16 17

If the Government believed that some of the laws it put on the statute books were unjust, then it must also understand that people left the country to go into exile precisely because of those laws, Dr Lerole Mabe, head of the repatriation division of the Pan Africanist Congress, said this week.

Confession

He was reacting to Government claims that the number of exiles had been-inflated and that few exiles were returning despite more having been granted indemnity.

"Few have returned, because only a few have been-granted indemnity. The indemnity form is a confession of crimes.

"The PAC demands a comprehensive general amnesty because our people left the country because of the Government's draconian laws," Dr Mabe said.

He accused the Government of obstructing the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) from taking part in the repatriation process, which seeks the return of all exiles "with safety and dignity".

"As long as there is no general amnesty, we will have cases like that of Rocky Malebane-Metsing. Who will now trust the Government and return?

"There is basically no protection for the exiles if there is no comprehensive amnesty and no physical presence of the UNHCR, and that is why the exiles are unwilling to return.

"The position of the PAC, the UNHCR and the international community is the same. The Government caused the exodus of our people, and now that it has finally realised the error of its actions it should not obstruct the return of exiles."
BVB won't act on ANC school yet

Sowetan correspondent

THE BOERE-Vryheidsbeweging will request a meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok before deciding on any action to stop children of ANC cadres from being accommodated at Pretoria's old Hillview School.

Police have, however, warned that action will be taken against the BVB should they carry out threats of violence.

Mr Jan Groenewald, the BVB's chief secretary, said yesterday the organisation would be sending a fax to Vlok to seek a meeting. The issue would be discussed before the organisation decided on any action.

He said the decision by the Government to make the school available to the ANC was an "act of deliberate encroachment and occupation of historical Boer territory."

"The ANC school is an object of revulsion for the Boer nation and will be a target of Boer resistance from its inception."

Groenewald called on the Government to revoke the decision "in the interests of stability, order and peace."

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kooza said the police would not allow anybody to take the law into their own hands.

"The time for violence is over in South Africa. Threats of violence will solve nothing."

"The police will respond appropriately to any breach of law."

"Police will do everything necessary to protect the rights of individuals which might be threatened in this situation," he said.
Azapo supports church’s role

An Azapo delegation led by its president, Mr Fikile Nkole, met yesterday with a Rustenburg Steering Committee delegation led by the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts, to discuss the Rustenburg Declaration.

The meeting took place in a relaxed atmosphere and the Azapo members expressed general consensus with the document, Azapo said.

"We welcome what has taken place today. We need these consultations. We need to rationalise together and work out a process of agreement," Nkole said.

Encouraged

Azapo was encouraged by the role of the church as a "watchdog".

"The church must be a servant of all people - to any government of the day."

The organisation put forward the recommendations that: Clear definition be given to the term "multi-party process", everyone in South Africa should understand the value of human life, the Government must be urged to build more schools within communities and economic power should be transferred to all the people.

Sapa
MICHAEL Mapongwana, born 43 years ago in Salt River, was the firstborn of a four-member family.

Mapongwana’s involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle started when he joined the Transport and General Workers’ Union while he worked as a security guard for Anglo American Properties.

He resigned this post because he wanted to devote more time to the struggle. He had worked a 12-hour shift four days a week.

Khayelitsha, Cape Town, community leader Michael Mapongwana was assassinated by gunmen wearing balaclavas this week. Sowetan correspondent, VUYO BAVUMA, provided the anatomy of an atrocity.

Previously he worked for the then Administration Board offices, known as Ikapa Town Council, an institution he sought to dismantle.

Mapongwana, who later became known for his fiery anti-government rhetoric, came to prominence after leading a campaign against “anti-democratic and puppet” Lingeliso West Town Council in Khayelitsha last October.

But his first brush with death had come seven months earlier in March last year when he escaped unhurt after gunmen fired at him while he was addressing a meeting at a creche.

Earlier the short, stocky man was elected chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association.

Unlike other townships at the time, Khayelitsha boasted a functioning Lingeliso West Town council, elected when the political organisations were gagged.

In October there were sharp exchanges between Mapongwana and Mr Graham Lawrence, the council’s town clerk, after residents had protested against increased service charges.

Four days later Mapongwana’s wife Nomsa was killed in a petrol bomb attack at their home. Michael was slightly injured in the attack.

Typically, he told cheering followers that “killings can’t stop me in the struggle for human rights”.

This year Mapongwana became a member of the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee, which attempted to solve the taxi conflict in the Western Cape.
Boraine spells out ANC problems

Political Correspondent
THE two major problems facing the ANC were its close links with South African Communist Party and its lack of clarity on the immediate role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Both these problems would make it difficult for the ANC to achieve its stated goals of broadening the organisation's base and pushing ahead with a programme of negotiations and non-racialism, he predicted.

Speaking at the launch of an Idasa video entitled "Democracy", Dr Boraine said that voters had a right to know whom they were voting for and that this would not be possible if the close alliance between the ANC and the SACP continued to blur their images into one.

"It is in the interests of both the ANC and perhaps the SACP to have a very clear distinction between them because the current alliance will inevitably come back to haunt them."

Dr Boraine said there was no doubt that the ANC's military wing, MK, would play a significant role in a future defence force and police force.

The government should ban the public display of all weapons, including cultural weapons, and neither Inkatha, the AWB, the ANC nor rogue elements within the state should be allowed to run private armies, he said.

Dr Boraine said there were a number of points about the ANC's conference last week, particularly Mr Nelson Mandela's opening address, which served as hopeful signs for the transition period and negotiation polities.

Turning to the performance of President F W de Klerk during the past year, Dr Boraine said Mr De Klerk, like Mr Mandela, had shown himself to be a courageous leader.

"But in the past few months the government has made a number of mistakes which has hindered the transition process and discouraged negotiations."
THE PAC said it would accept the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association’s offer of advice on how to proceed with the democratisation of South Africa.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said seven CPA members visiting the country had expressed their organisation’s desire to assist with expertise on matters concerning the creation of a democracy.

“The PAC may well need such assistance and will be in touch with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association if the need arises,” Alexander said.

The CPA delegation, held talks with senior PAC members yesterday morning.

The delegation leader, Australian politician and CPA executive committee chairman Mr Clive Giffiths, confirmed Alexander’s statement.

“We came not to force our views, but, as representatives of 124 parliaments, we feel we may have the expertise should South Africans wish to take advantage of the offer,” Giffiths said.

The delegation’s representative for the Canadian region, Mr John Reynolds, stressed the CPA was not party political and not concerned with seeing any particular party in power.

Alexander said the PAC had also discussed the creation of a patriotic front as well as the pros and cons of a constituent assembly.

-Supa
Invest here for jobs, ANC urged

THE ANC will hopefully liquidate its foreign assets and deploy the funds - potentially R655-million - for job-creating investments in South Africa, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said yesterday.

The call follows the ANC's announcement at its national conference in Durban last week that it has assets amounting to R655-million abroad, comprising property in Europe, vehicles, farms and two huge estates in Tanzania.

JCCI president Mr Mike Cato also said his organisation "guardedly welcomed" the appointment of top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa to the post of ANC secretary-general.

He hoped Ramaphosa would bring to the ANC a better understanding of how business operates and the need for job creation and economic growth.

The chamber, however, regretted that the ANC had decided to remain a liberation movement. - Sapa
Hints of NP alliance with other groups

The National Party will try to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

It said in its latest publication that its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters.

Author Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a substantial number of white members."

The ANC, PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, were looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejected the multiparty conference outright, claiming it was aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to the publication, the PAC and Azapo saw the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for the Government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body which the NP would fill with black parties it had been working with.

In the author's opinion, there was the danger that organisations such as the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to take part in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which a new constitution was to be built.

"The ANC is also in favour of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. To allow for an interim government, the present Government would need to change the constitution."

"This is, however, unlikely to happen." — Sapa.
SACP is ANC’s major problem

ONE of the ANC’s major problems is its close links with the South African Communist Party, according to Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa.

The other was the lack of clarity about the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Dr Boraine said at the launch of the Idasa video entitled Democracy.

These problems would make it difficult for the ANC to achieve its goals of broadening its base and push ahead with a programme of negotiations and non-racialism.

It was in the interests of both the ANC and perhaps the SACP to have a very clear distinction between them, because the current alliance would inevitably come back to haunt them.

Voters

The voters had a right to know who they were voting for and this would not be possible if the close alliance between the ANC and the SACP continued to blur their images into one.

It was difficult to say what a communist looked like these days but this argument was difficult to sell to people who had seen the suppression that had been under communist regimes and how communism had collapsed.

Boraine added that President de Klerk had done the right thing by unbanning the ANC and the SACP.

There was no doubt that Umkhonto we Sizwe would play a significant role in a future defence and police force.

He was, however, concerned about MK’s present role.
ANC members gagged on communist connections

TOS WENTZEL
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE identities of communists in the
ANC’s national executive are being
kept secret. Some have already de-
clared their affiliations but others have
now been gagged.

Those who have not yet declared
directorship of the SACP has taken
this stance.

The ANC leadership in turn has in-
structed all members of its NEC not
to answer any queries from the media
about their political affiliations be-

day. The SACP decision was confirmed
by Mr Essop Pahad, media spokes-
man of the party.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-
general of the ANC, referred to “red
hanging” in the media. He has said for
the first time that he was not and
never had been a member of the
SACP.

The government has criticised the
ANC’s communist connections. There
have also been misgivings in some
ANC circles.

In other ANC circles the question is
being dismissed as “irrelevant” at this
day.

They maintain that the diversity of
ideological views is so great within
the communist camp, that it cannot
be said to operate as a bloc with a
common political purpose, other than,
perhaps, to use the relationship with
the ANC to secure a position of influ-
ence in a constituent assembly, an in-
terim government or a future govern-
ment where its chief function would
be to represent workers’ interests.

There are at least 14 communists
in the ANC’s 50-member NEC, five of
them in the top 10 positions. Accord-
ing to some reports at least half of
the members of the NEC are commu-
nists and the proportion might be

greater.

The known communists are Mr Joe
Slovo, general-secretary of the SACP,
Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of ANC’s
guerrilla army Umkhonto we Sizwe,
Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Ronnie Kas-
rilis, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Raymond
Mhlaba, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Ray-
mond Suttner, Mr Ebrahim Ismail
Ebrahim, Mr Aziz Pahad, Ms Cheryl
Caroli, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Reginald
September and Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Among the NEC members who
were approached this week some
were prepared to say they were not
members but others declined to an-
swer the question, saying they would
at a later stage.

One of those who declined to say
was Miss Gill Marcus who is also one
of the movement’s media spokes-
man. She said the question would be an-
swered “at some point in time”.

Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Trevor
Manuel of the Western Cape region
said they were not members as did
Mr Arnold Stofile of the Border re-

They were speaking before the
leadership’s ban on such comments.

Mr Pahad said the approach of the
SACP was that the people elected to
the NEC last week were chosen in
“the most democratic election any po-
nitical party had ever had”.

(Turn to page 2, col 8)
ANC faces accommodation problem

By CHRIS BATEMAN

Young ANC supporters are leaving South Africa in "droves" for military training and a chance at a better education — so much so that the organisation is having difficulty accommodating them all.

This was said yesterday by Mr Trevor Manuel, newly-elected member of the ANC's national executive and Western Cape media spokesman.

He claimed that more youths were in transit camps (such as Botswana) now than during the political turbulence of 1988 and 1989.

The situation was being exacerbated by the large number of key ANC members returning to the country, he added.

While the ANC had agreed with the government (in terms of the D F Malan Accord of February 12 this year) that there would be no internal military training of ANC cadres, no such agreement applied to external training.

"I suppose in any society people want to be soldiers — in the past it may have been the thing to do — now you have people beginning to exercise a choice for themselves in a future South Africa," he said.

The changed motivation was to "get in now" for a future South African defence force while improved external education such as that available at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania remained a strong motivator.

Mr Manuel said he could not quantify how many more youths were leaving the country for military training but "one has a general sense of it".

At its national conference recently the ANC resolved to maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution.
ANC wants international mass action

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has decided to extend its "mass action" campaign into the international arena in a bid to put pressure on the government to halt "apartheid-sponsored violence".

The decision to broaden the scope of its "mass activities" comes despite the confidential report by outgoing ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo which criticised the movement for its "poor quality of mass work".

Referring to mass action activities within the country, Mr Nzo noted in his report to the ANC's conference last week: "Clearly we have not utilised our full potential to mobilise millions of our people into effective action."

The ANC conference's formal resolution on violence released yesterday commits the organisation to a programme of "national and international mass action" to highlight its demands.

The resolution says that "many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed especially in the recent period by apartheid-sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, sakaris ("turned" ANC members), bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces."

"The violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of councils, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain right-wing elements," it says.

Sapa reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday held talks with Maritzburg ANC officials and Mqophomeni officials in an attempt to resolve intra-ANC fighting there.

Describing the talks as "successful but not conclusive", Mr Hani said a number of steps had been taken to defuse the situation, including the suspension of ANC branch treasurer Mr Boy Ndelela.

Mr Hani claimed there was a sad lack of mature leadership in many townships and he intended to look into increasing the number of training workshops with a view to producing better leaders.

Hundreds of toyi-toying Mqophomeni residents attended an impromptu rally following the meeting and Mr Hani appealed for calm in the township.

His visit followed fighting between ANC-aligned youths known as the "umqoqo" and the "umgovu", which has resulted in disruption of schools and transport in the area.
PAC to hold talks in Egypt

Political Correspondent
A THREE-PERSON PAC delegation will leave for Cairo tomorrow to hold wide-ranging talks with the Egyptian government.

The group will comprise PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu, information secretary Mr. Barney Desai, and legal affairs secretary Mr. William Seriti.
Buthelezi also said he was concerned at a resolution at the ANC conference for the organisation’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to continue recruiting and not reveal secret arms caches.

In turn Buthelezi was closely questioned about recent press reports of automatic weapons being supplied to Inkatha members and of a machine gun attack on ANC members returning from the conference last Sunday.

He denied knowledge of both incidents, saying if either were true he would condemn them. “We are totally committed to peace and against the supplying of arms to anybody,” he added.

Hurd earlier met Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and canvassed his opinions on the progress of talks towards a negotiated settlement; the causes and dimensions of violence; the strategies and contributions of the main political players; and what the British government could do to contribute to the process.

“I told him I was still optimistic we could resolve our problems through political negotiations, that we had no other option. The government tried apartheid and that didn’t work, the ANC tried the armed struggle and that didn’t work, so I said we therefore had a common bond to see that negotiations worked.”

Dhlomo said he told Hurd that Britain should assist and reward progress; censure a lack of progress; and always appear to be even-handed and bear all sides.
CULTURAL DESK

STALIN WHO?

Harry Gwala, the man who says apartheid was worse than anything Stalin did, has been elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee. Not only that: in order of votes received, only seven candidates were more popular.

Gwala is known as a Stalinist; if this is inaccurate, he appears to have done little to contradict it. Of course he could have been misquoted when he spoke of the relative benefits of "Uncle Joe" Stalin, but this hardly matters: politics is about perception, not reality and we must assume that the ANC delegates who voted for him either approved of his statement, or thought it unimportant, or were ignorant of it.

Mainly ignorant, one suspects. Most ANC members are probably unaware that, by the early Thirties, the richest agricultural areas of the Soviet Union were in the grip of a massive famine which killed 5,5m people.

The main cause was Stalin's collectivisation drive, which almost destroyed agriculture. Whole villages were left literally to starve after being sacked by the State to fuel Stalin's great industrialisation drive. Malcolm Muggeridge, writing in the Manchester Guardian in 1933, noted: "The famine is an organised one. Some of the food that has been taken away from them - and the peasants know this quite well - is being exported to foreign countries."

Not only did the State forbid relief for the starving, but it refused to acknowledge that there was a shortage of food.

Stalin's brutality was not confined to agriculture. The Church had been under siege ever since the Bolsheviks took over in 1917. But the persecution reached new heights during Stalin's "Great Purge" of 1937, when hundreds of priests and bishops were arrested and shot.

By 1938, there were 8m people in Stalin's slave camps and the death rate was estimated at 20% per year. The rural population provided many of the victims. Muggeridge remembered a village scene: "I saw myself a group of 20 peasants being marched off under escort. This is so common a sight that it no longer even arouses curiosity." Starving orphans were ignored by the State.

In the camps, says one historian, "it sometimes happened that a prisoner might meet his former accuser or interrogator who had since fallen into the net himself."

Stalin was desperately insecure about his position. The Communist Party itself was regularly purged of potential opponents (they were simply murdered) and even the Red Army did not escape. By 1938 only two of the five Soviet marshalls and two of the 16 generals had not been arrested; of the unlucky 14 generals, many were charged with spying for Japan or Germany and executed. It became Stalin's practice to rotate senior officers frequently, to prevent them from getting to know any troop formation well enough to consider building up a power base. Even so, about a third of the entire officer corps was eliminated.

Who was left? Only the purging mechanism itself, the dreaded NKVD or Commissariat of Internal Affairs (in short, the security police) and that could not be allowed to get too powerful. So Stalin turned on the NKVD: its commander, Yezhov, also died.

"Class enemy" and "enemy of the people" were the terms most frequently used to justify arrests and executions - used, as Stalin's successor Khrushchev later remarked, against "everyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent."

Like the French Revolution before it, the Russian Revolution had begun to feed on itself. Two of the men shot after a rigged trial in 1936 were Zinoviev and Kamenev, who had been Bolshevik leaders in 1917. Even Stalinists were themselves consumed by Stalinism - like Postyshev, who was shot for daring to question the need for so many executions. Honest intellectuals inside and outside the Party were wiped out.

And after all this, it was not surprising that the Communist Party achieved unity. And there is no doubt that Stalin's forced industrialisation worked: if it had not, he would not have been able to absorb and halt the attack by Hitler's massed divisions in 1941. But then Stalin had been waging war on his own people for 15 years to achieve that strength and probably killed almost half as many Russians as Hitler did - millions, at any rate.

I wonder if Harry Gwala knows these things. To deny them would be the equivalent of pretending that Hitler did not actually kill any Jews. But I have never suffered a forced removal on a winter's night or been dispossessed of land that is legally mine, nor have I had my fingerprints examined to see if I am "coloured." So I am in a weak position to argue with the proposition that apartheid was worse than anything Stalin dreamed up.

Apartheid has always been indefensible. It is such a gross and perverted ideology that it has been compared (with justification) to Nazism and it apparently makes even Stalin look good. Those who suffered most under it clearly believed that anything else would be an improvement.

I suppose there's nothing we can do about that belief, except to recommend that the builders of our new society should strive to emulate the success stories of history rather than the brutal failures. Whether this can be communicated to people who know no history (or, if they do, find it inconvenient) is another matter.

David Williams
When Nelson Mandela gave his first speech after leaving prison last year, it was black mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa (38) who was at his side, holding the microphone. So it shouldn't come as much of a surprise to see Ramaphosa so close to the action once again — though he kept his head down for some months after Mandela's release, to the extent that some people thought that he had fallen from favour, or that his political ambitions had faded.

His election as secretary general of the ANC is undoubtedly a boost for the trade unionists who did so much to crush apartheid by their demands for better pay, benefits and working conditions for blacks in the Eighties. As a veteran of the student protest movement, in detention for a total of 17 months in the mid-Seventies, Ramaphosa's election is also a boost for the young internal leaders who saw themselves being marginalised by the Old Guard of exiles and Robben Islanders.

But anyone who expected the burly, bearded Ramaphosa — an attorney and NUM head since its inception in 1982 — to strike off in a new direction must have been disappointed by his TV appearance on Sunday night. He toed the old party line with vigour, speaking in favour of a mixed economy, sanctions, redistribution of wealth, the liberation struggle, affirmative action.

Though he refuses to say if he's a communist, few doubt his Marxist allegiance.

The son of a policeman, Ramaphosa grew up in Soweto and matriculated at a boarding school in the northern Transvaal. It was at the University of the North in the early Seventies that he met Steve Biko, who helped to influence his early activism in the Black People's Convention.

After completing his articles and obtaining his BProc from Unisa in 1981, Ramaphosa worked as a legal adviser to the Council of Unions of SA.

When the NUM was formed he was made secretary general. It was here that he honed his much-respected skills as a negotiator by winning important battles with formidable mine bosses.

Though the union grew dramatically over the years, membership has fallen recently to about 250,000 — from a high of 340,000 in 1986 — due to recent lay-offs and those that followed the disastrous 1987 strike that saw nine miners die.

Before his emergence at the top of the ANC pile, Ramaphosa had been working with the Soweto People's Delegation and been instrumental in the ground-breaking Greater Soweto Accord in September. He's proved over and over that he's willing to bargain long and hard.

Ramaphosa, who stood for re-election unopposed in April, says the NUM leadership will meet to discuss his position. Because of the amount of work demanded by the ANC, he may get an honorary position at NUM or act as a consultant.

It's difficult, however, to imagine him giving up his union base altogether.
SANCTIONS  FM 12/7/91

THE HORSE HAS BOLTED

Expectations of all sanctions being lifted in the near future are probably unrealistic. There is little doubt that the sports boycott is in its final throes, with agreement on the issue between British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday. The cultural boycott is going the same way. Trade and financial sanctions look set to last a little longer.

While Cosatu is moving towards a position that favours the removal of sanctions being tied to developmental policies and the protection of worker rights the ANC still says it wants sanctions until a new government is in power.

The emergent Cosatu position is likely to find wide acceptability in international circles and would help the ailing SA economy. The ANC will have to do some hard lobbying to convince international allies to maintain sanctions — though Cosatu is unlikely to adopt a sanctions policy that undercuts the ANC line.

Tripartite meet

The ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party will meet, probably later this month, to adopt a unified approach on sanctions.

The meeting will probably take place after Cosatu has decided on its position at its July 24 national conference.

Indicators from Cosatu’s three largest unions — the National Union of Mineworkers, whose general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, is now ANC secretary general, the National Union of Metalworkers and the Clothing and Textile Workers Union are that sanctions need to be phased out, tied to social responsibility clauses for new investors (FM June 21).

The ANC clauses for the lifting of sanctions are tougher. The ANC’s three-point plan, released after a gruelling session at its conference in Durban last week, calls for obstacles to negotiations to be lifted in terms of the Harare Declaration, as supported by the UN and the Organisation of African Unity. The US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act contains similar provisions to those of the Harare Declaration.

“The installation of an interim government, according to agreed arrangements for the transition to a democratic order” is the second ANC clause. The “agreed arrangements” proviso is aimed at preventing government from unilaterally setting up a super-Cabinet and calling it an interim government.

The ANC sees an interim government flowing from an all-party conference — possibly elected at that conference and with no single party dominant — as the neutral governors of the country while a new constitution is decided on by a constituent assembly. The government, not surprisingly, is opposed to such a route and believes the multi-party conference (as the Nats prefer to call it) should transform itself into the constitution-making body, with a super-Cabinet appointed to govern in the meantime.

However, it seems likely that the all-party conference could become the constitution-making body without too much haggling from the ANC. The main issue of contention is the form the interim government could take and resolving this issue could take months.

The third proviso the ANC wants fulfilled before sanctions can be withdrawn is the adoption of a “democratic constitution and the holding of elections for a nonracial parliament.” Ironically, this is something that could be done with or without ANC involvement.

The transformation of political parties in SA over the past year now means that even if elections were held tomorrow, all parties (with the exception of possibly the Pan Africanist Congress and probably the Conservative Party) would advocate non-racial democratic government elected by universal adult franchise.

Hurd indicated that the British government is still not happy with the ANC’s three-point approach. He said the ANC and Britain agreed on the huge need for investment in a post-apartheid SA — but differences remain about the pace at which foreign investment should flow into the country.

Mandela says the ANC is flexible about sanctions, noting that otherwise “we will be left holding a shell and nothing else.”
was the most hotly debated issue and the most inconclusive.

The ANC has demanded that business must use affirmative action to reverse racial and gender inequalities at work. However, it became clear last week that the ANC has little idea of how such a programme should be implemented. The mechanism of quota systems received a firm thumbs down though, the principle of affirmative action is maintained.

At last year’s launch of the ANC Women’s League, women demanded a 30% quota in ANC leadership ranks, from branch to national level. But after three-and-a-half hours of heated debate, affirmative action was on the ropes. The Women’s League, not wanting to discriminate against the principle or further division, finally withdrew the demand.

Barbara Masekela, a member of the new ANC National Executive Committee and a Women’s League member, said: “What was being tested was to what extent we (the ANC) accept and support affirmative action. If we threw out affirmative action it would have implications not only for women, but for blacks in this country.”

Ruth Mompati, a long-standing ANC NEC member, pointed out that the ANC first elected Lilian Ngoyi to its NEC in 1947, ahead of world political trends. Mompati said the issue was on women to liberate themselves first. “What concerns us is that here and elsewhere, it is the women who are doing the hard work and the men who are pushed forward.”

Women delegates who opposed the quota system said they believed such a system would ultimately marginalise women. It would ensure that they lost respect because it would be assumed that women were elected not because of ability but to fulfil a quota. The effect would be to push back the time when women might be elected to some of the top five positions in the ANC.

This thinking is in line with a trend in the trade union movement, where a strong school of thought believes that separate women’s structures trivialise women’s issues. A female delegate noted: “Women’s issues are men’s issues, too; separation of the issues enhances discrimination.”

A major topic that came up again and again in workshops at the ANC conference was the ANC’s failure to attract coloured, white and Indian members. These three race groups provide a small proportion of the ANC’s 700,000 members — but the ANC rightly regards them as critical to an election victory as well as political and economic stability.

Alfred Nzo, the ANC’s outgoing secretary general, blamed the lack of success in recruiting these constituencies to a number of factors: “The ANC is still perceived as an African organisation. It is sometimes alienated from those communities. There has been a failure to use churches, sports organisations and professional associations in organisations building.”

Nzo said there was also a misconception in the ANC that nonracialism was “a given and not an ideal to be striven for.” He said the ANC also tended to rely on campaigns that drew only activists; and violence had also interfered with recruitment.

Nzo noted that “some people see the alliance with the SA Communist Party as a problem.” However, Pallo Jordan, the ANC’s director of information, said there was “no suggestion that the ANC should review, re-examine or in any way reassess its relationship with the SACP. This has to be contextualised in terms of the pathological anti-communism and Cold War mentality still prevalent in SA.”

Jordan’s view was borne out by conference voting, which ensured that Cyril Ramaphosa, with strong communist backing, was elected ANC secretary-general — while noncommunist Jacob Zuma scraped in as deputy secretary-general.

The SACP’s Operation Vula cadres also featured strongly in voting with Siphiwe Nyanda, Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils being voted on to the NEC.

Indeed, the NEC is interesting for the high component of ANC activists whom the State has either attacked in the past year, or who are highly antagonistic to the State. They include recently released Umkhonto we Sizwe bomber Marion Sparg; Ismael Ebrahim Ismael, a top MK cadre also recently released from prison; and Jeremy Cronin, a prominent communist and a prolific writer of anti-State and anti-capitalist tracts.

Gill Marcus and Saki Macozoma, spokesmen for the ANC, were elected, it appears, only because many delegates from outlying rural areas knew their names better than those of many ANC leaders — an indication of the failure of most of the ANC leadership to travel to see their members.

There is little doubt that the ANC will not distance itself from its SACP allies in the foreseeable future. How can it, with such a large number of its elected either signed up communists or with strong socialist leanings?

What is more likely is that both the ANC and SACP, in line with events abroad, will have to re-examine their commitment to socialism. Last week’s conference indicated that the ANC is becoming more pragmatic, with an eye on future elections. What the ANC could make inroads into attracting nonAfricans is in its approach to what new NEC member Albie Sachs describes as “the battleground of the future” — local government, schools, health and amenities. Ramaphosa already has valuable experience in this field, with his involvement in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber.

While talking peace, the ANC will nonetheless be keeping itself militarily strong. Its township defence units will be given greater attention to help form part of the basis of future security services. A major Umkhonto we Sizwe conference — the first above ground in this country — will take place this month or early August, possibly in Venda.

Items to be discussed will include the high priority MK is giving to the training of its members as pilots and military technicians; the restructuring of Armscor; and the integration of the SADF and SAP with MK.
Not quite born again

Now the ANC must clarify its economic policies

The ANC comes away galvanised from its milestone conference in Durban last week. It seems to have gained a new sense of maturity, confidence and purpose. This was apparent from the upbeat closing address of its new president, Nelson Mandela.

This speech, in both delivery (at dawn last Sunday) and substance, ranks among the most statesmanlike and forthright he has made since his release 17 months ago. Mandela is firmly in the saddle.

The organisation now has in place a tough, mostly astute and duly elected national executive committee (NEC), perhaps symbolised by union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (see People) in the secretary-general’s seat. It welds together the movement’s different strands, including, as it always has, a large number of communists — though some may be "non-practising.”

Perhaps the most important conference outcome is that the leadership is now in clear possession of that all-important “mandate” from its formerly restive rank and file, to press on with negotiations. It is this feature that President F W de Klerk and his chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, have emphasised and welcomed.

Negotiation, the ANC leadership knows, is the key issue. Never mind (for the moment) the details, or the revolutionary language clouding it and various secondary issues such as sanctions, prisoner releases, violence, mass action or the “demand” that an elected constituent assembly draw up the post-apartheid constitution.

Thus, the 26-point resolution on negotiation, for example, states that it is another “terrain of struggle” aimed at achieving the strategic objective of transferring “power to the people” and that it should be linked to continuing mass action and international pressure “because gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiating table.” However, the subtext says that the possibility of transition by peaceful means exists; that the NEC is “invested with discretionary powers to continue talks about talks” within the policies of the ANC; and that this should happen quickly.

In his closing remarks, Mandela conceded some of the criticisms levelled against the leadership over its handling of negotiations with government so far. “The leadership must listen to the membership, because we are here to serve the membership and our people. But you must also listen to us. You have given us a mandate to lead this organisation and we are going to do just that,” he said, implying that the leadership could not be expected to submit to a referendum at every turn.

“IT is in that spirit that we will listen to your criticisms and your suggestions and if you do that there is no doubt that the road to Union Buildings and Tshwane will become all the shorter,” he said.

The conference revealed the amount of work still to be done to consolidate the ANC’s policies. To that end, Mandela spoke of the resolve to “build the organisation into a strong and well-oiled task force.” The NEC is mandated to take an “inclusive approach” in its programme of action to strengthen the organisation.

“Door-to-door campaigns to bring the policies of the ANC alive to the people, strengthening the tripartite alliance (with Cosatu and the SA Communist Party) and sensitivities to the fears expressed by minority groups,” are among the matters to be addressed, said Mandela.

Also reflected were organisational shifts and the ANC’s “transformation from a banned illegal formation to a mass-based and democratic organisation.” But transforming itself into a political party is evidently not deemed to be important or strategically wise at this stage.

Instead, it will pursue the establishment of “a front of patriotic forces as soon as possible” to forge maximum unity during the negotiation process of those committed to a non-racial, non-sectarian democracy. “All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their independence and sovereignty,” says the resolution. That remains to be seen.

Even though the report of outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo identified the ANC’s link with the SAPC as one of the perceived problem areas in the organisation’s recruitment drive, a parting of the ways is not on the cards. On the contrary, the popularity of communists at the conference was all too clear, with visiting Cuban and Soviet observers receiving overwhelming applause from the floor — even though Moscow has twice called off a proposed tour of the USSR by Mandela.

Indeed, in assessing the organisation, which is big on consultation and reportback, the views and attitudes of its militant youth and unreconstructed Marxists must be borne in mind. As a Nigerian observer pointed out to the FM, the ANC’s extraterritorial friends had no idea of this factor in relation to the sanctions question, for instance. They had hoped the conference would “move along with the international tide” in favour of ending sanctions, instead of equivocating.

Clearly, however, the message hit home, but too late (see Current Affairs). Thus, Mandela came out in support of the line Thabo Mbeki tried to argue when he was shot down at last December’s ANC consultative conference. “Unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination,” the new president explained, “we will be left holding an empty shell.” But he missed an opportunity to gather some kudos over what looks like a fait accompli by stating that the sports embargo, as a pertinent example, could be lifted in view of the formal ending of apartheid laws.

Mandela denied the allegation that the leadership was paying more attention to negotiation and neglecting mass action. At no time in its history has the ANC engaged in so many forms of mass action as in the past two years, he reminded delegates. “So much so that our labour organisations have had to warn us that we must not just resort to mass action every time we get angry, that the question must be carefully examined because of the downturn in the economy and the high level of unemployment.”

Surveying the record since its unbanning, Mandela was remarkably frank on the issue of minorities. “I think it is proper here to be absolutely brutal about our weaknesses in this regard,” he said, no doubt aware of the perception that the deracialised National Party could attract many coloureds, Indians and liberal whites — if not anti-communist blacks as well.

“There has been no effective communication between the ANC and the minority groups of this country. Many of us have made the mistake of thinking that the mere...
declaration of our policy in the Freedom Charter, because it is the most progressive policy ever published by any political organisation in this country, meant that the masses would come rushing to join the ANC. This is not the position.

"Some of our structures have been set up as to exclude the minority groups. This has been a serious weakness, because it indicates that the overwhelming majority of Africans in this country are not taking into account the minority groups in this country.

"It is true that our policies are nonracial, but let us be realistic about it. There are different ethnic groups in this country and ethnicity, especially because of the policies of the government, is still a dangerous threat to us. We have to redouble our efforts to make sure we have the confidence of all the different sections of the people." What was not acknowledged, however, is that many, not only among minorities, may have deeper reservations about aspects of the ANC's policy, particularly its economic policy, which the conference probably failed to spell out. Some invited international guests seemed rather impatient with being told that the matter was still being debated and still had to be finalised. Yet the general impression of greater pragmatism flowing out of the conference remains a sign of hope on this front.

On the central issue of negotiations, differences of perception obviously still exist between government and the ANC. "Delegates have determined that we are not yet in a state of transition," said Mandela. "There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the opponents about the nature of the necessary changes that have to occur and the character of future society and the NP government. We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime's claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition."

He added: "The ANC is an equal partner and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted by the regime. It would be incorrect for the NP to continue to govern the country on its own. "An interim government would have to be formed in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable," Mandela stated.

Other things being equal, there seems little reason why constitutional negotiations should not begin in earnest in a matter of months. Not much now separates government and the ANC on constitutional issues and their differences over mechanisms to effect the transition appear more concerned with detail and nuance than principle or substance.

For example, the ANC resolution on negotiations speaks of the importance of certain steps, in terms of the Harare Declaration, which must be taken after all obstacles to talks are removed.

It envisages the convening of an all-party congress, installation of an interim government; election of a democratic constituent assembly; and the adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a representative parliament. This, it adds, should be achieved within a definite time frame, to ensure that the negotiation process is not drawn out. Indications, however, are that De Klerk has drawn the line here and will not agree to such an assembly. More likely, a new constitution will emerge organically out of the multiparty negotiation process. If that is indeed the more likely route, it implies that the ANC in time, have to drop its insistence on an elected constituent assembly. Some foreign observers suggest, therefore, that the ANC might be painting itself in to a corner by making this a hard and fast issue — as De Klerk, similarly, may be doing by his commitment to having a white referendum on the final product.

And, as one conference guest from another multi-ethnic country suggests, the ANC should not allow itself to get bogged down over the question of violence, but should rather go "full-steam ahead" with negotiations towards the big prize. There is something to be said for De Klerk's observation that, once the supporters see their leaders engaged in round-table discussions, violence will abate.

The ANC still has some way to go in formulating clear policies in line with being a full-fledged political party that can go to the electorate and contest free and fair elections. Last week it took a significant step toward this and away from being an exiled liberation movement — though it is time it abandoned the rhetorical positions of the Sixties.

Though surveys suggest that the ANC currently commands a majority of support among urban blacks, it needs to do two things to act as a genuinely mass-based party with support across the spectrum: It must:

- Define its economic theorising into concrete policies that will not scare off foreign investment and leave the remaining wealth to be carved up in some kind of ill-fated exercise in redistribution. It must, therefore, move towards a commitment to the principle of the right to ownership of private property and accept that government has its reasons for pressing for the inclusion of this principle in a new constitution; and
- Consider carefully whether it and the SAPC, whose policies are far clearer than the ANC's and have demonstrably failed elsewhere in the world, can continue to have overlapping memberships without raising the question of whether it harbours a hidden agenda.

The ANC has reached the stage where further stalling on negotiation will work against its interests in terms of international credibility and funding; and where its continuing cuddly relationship with the likes of Ronnie Kasrils will compound that embarrassment. And Mandela has a personal albatross that will require all his leadership abilities to shed — the separation of the identity of the ANC from the judicial fate of his wife, Winnie.

Perhaps for the first time since his release, Mandela can begin to play the role fate gave to him over the years — that of a wise statesman. If he again fails to live up to expectations, events will overtake him. It is, therefore, fortunate that younger, and certainly as able, men have been voted into position to ensure the succession that will one day be necessary.
The ANC has had a successful national conference (see page 22), essentially clearing the way for a resumption of "talks about talks" in a forum which could lead to the "transitional arrangements" Pretoria speaks of, though the ANC's wish is for an "interim government."

It should be recalled that the ANC broke off negotiations on the grounds that Pretoria was not doing enough to bring violence to an end. However, co-operation in various committees has continued and the ANC — or at least Nelson Mandela — appears to be aware that the next phase must begin or it will lose international credibility, along with funding. Sanctions are ending and the pretence that the ANC can somehow dictate how and when they should be eliminated is a face-saving pretence.

On the face of it, government is in a strong position to simply wait for the ANC to return to the table — and perhaps even calculate that if it waits too long, the congress will lose electoral support in the democratic poll which will dramatically crown the efforts to destroy apartheid. But this would be to assume too much; though the central apartheid laws (barring the Constitution itself) have been repealed, reform needs to be a continuous process.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in education. The paradox of empty "white" schools and overflowing "black" ones is explicable only in terms of conservative whites in the provincial bureaucracies making hay before the sun goes down.

They have the latitude to do so because of the division of education into a multitude of own affairs and ethnic departments; and so long as they are allowed to get away with it, educational policy smacks of a discriminatory clinging to privilege compounded by spite.

Social services — the matter of different pensions for different races is the most glaring example — also need attention. The question of compulsory military service for whites only will have to be resolved one way or another.

Nor would it be wise for government to leave land claims — where there are pertinent arguments for restoration — in limbo. To do so would be to place an emotional time bomb under the validity of a new constitution and it would be better to create a special court or equivalent structure to assess such claims on their merits now.

A large number of similar items need reformist attention. F W de Klerk's administration need only proceed to give them that attention to hold the moral high ground it has attained. If the issues are neglected, the ANC can be counted on to point this out and exploit it.

It may be questioned whether threats of mass action will have much real effect — and no one would look more foolish than the ANC if it calls for such actions and they fail to materialise. But government's interests will best be served if in the coming weeks it moves unequivocally towards ensuring that reform really does take place within the bureaucratic labyrinth.
Mayor flouts law to raise cash for ANC

NEW YORK — Mayor David Dinkins's office is raising money for the ANC — described as his "favourite political organisation" — in violation of New York State and City laws, a newspaper reported yesterday.

The New York City Commission for the United Nations, which is part of the office of the mayor, sent out letters imploring people to "please join us at an emergency breakfast meeting to plan for New York City's long-term assistance to the ANC and its presence in New York City".

The letter, published in the New York Post, said deputy mayor William Lynch would be a special guest at the breakfast on Tuesday, aimed at helping the cash-strapped ANC pay its bills.

The letter recalled Nelson Mandela's visit to New York and said the organisers of the breakfast hoped to raise $15 000 (about R43 000) to prevent the ANC's telephones from being cut off later this month.

It also said the organisers wanted to map out a strategy to raise an additional R360 000 (about R870 000) a year, and pleaded for donations to be sent directly to the ANC.

Prosecutors said the city is barred from using its resources for anything other than municipal business, and that the practice outlined by the ANC fundraisers is against municipal and state law.

The mayor's UN office is mandated solely to act as a liaison for the mayor in his dealings with UN members and diplomats living in the city.

The deputy mayor denied the event was in violation of city rules, but if that were so he said he would "frown on it".

But, he explained, the ANC had made an appeal for funds and several people had stepped forward to help.

No comment was available from the ANC.
MELBOURNE — Australia's two leading newspapers today strongly criticised the policy of the Government and the attitude of Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, to South Africa.

The Australian newspaper accused Senator Evans of "holding up moves to return South Africa to the world economy and, finally, to the community of nations".

It claimed he appeared determined that the timetable Australia would follow would be set by the ANC. "The Government should re-examine its devotion to the ANC line," the newspaper said. "The ANC has strong links with the South African Communist Party and has yet to be proved the representative of that country's black people."

It said Australia's "dithering on sanctions is denying our economy the benefits of renewed trade".

The Sydney Morning Herald demanded that Australia and the Commonwealth "should not piddle on with a plan of phased reductions" which "would contribute little or nothing to the bargaining strength of the black South Africans".

Such policy would merely "polarise opinion in Australia".

Anger without hatred

If you are talking to Don Mattera and you are white, you had better know it: he fires from the hip.

There’s not even the glimmer of a chance he will use platitudes or euphemisms for the sake of your feelings.

In fact, to borrow from the title of a book by Trevor Huddleston, one of his early heroes, there is naught for your comfort.

Very little anyway.

We are meeting to discuss his new collection of short stories just out this month and published by Justified Press under the title, "The Storyteller".

Chased

And none of the foregoing is really very surprising. It was, after all, tough out there in post-war South Africa with the machinery of apartheid grinding into gear, dehumanising people on the grounds of the colour of their skin.

He comes straight out with it.

"Don’t think of it ... apartheid, discrimination and all that goes with it, will just disappear overnight. That’s simply impossible," says the man who as a boy remembers being chased from the Durban surf by a pukka British member of the BSA Police.

"But I have no hatred," says this writer and poet, now employed as chief training officer by the Weekly Mail. "It’s been, I am sure, yes. How can it be otherwise?"

It is all part of what makes him a writer.

"If a land is blighted with pestilence and you expunge the word from the medical books, that doesn’t mean it has disappeared. It is a legacy that will take a long time to remove.

"On the other hand," he admits, "hope is not just a word. I believe in it, it’s the very essence of my existence."

Mattera (56) grew up in turbulent, chaotic times. The world of the 40s and 50s took care of his formative years.

They were the years which saw Sophiatown become a melting pot of people of all colours — a place that had to be obliterated at all costs, according to the National Party credo of the time. He watched as it was finally bulldozed.

It was a time of oppression. Treason trials, bannings, the lopping off.

Don is descended from an Italian grandfather and Xhosa grandmother on his father’s side.

His 72-year-old Tswana mother, Dinkie, whom he visits regularly, still lives in Soweto.

The supreme irony of Mattera’s early life was the way two personalities, like Jekyll and Hyde, existed side by side. A streetwise tough who drew heavily on the movies for role models of the likes of Bogart, Cagney and Raft, he at the same time was devouring books — works as disparate as those of Schreiner, Lessing, Gallico, Philip Gibbs, Richard Llewellyn — as fast as he could find them.

He was stabbed, he was shot. The gangsters turned the focus of their violence on the police because they represented authority. The time hadn’t yet come but was just around the corner, when Mattera and others like him would find a new channel for the violence. It became a way of expressing political feelings and frustrations.

The police now were perceived not just as custodians of authority but the bulwarks, the propellers of an unyielding racist regime.

It was, says Mattera, the turning point in his life.

When he heard Father Huddleston talk, he suddenly stepped into the breach between Sophiatown youths boasting for a fight and the police, “It was like an excitement gnawing in my belly”.

Years of privation lay ahead. A time in which he would suffer nine years of bannings. The Star, while keeping him on its payroll, fought his case.

He is not a communist, he says, but a socialist, in the best sense of the word, believing among other things in an omnipotent — not Christian — God.

He is not a member of the ANC but of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Biko

The latest collection of stories, reflecting some of the turbulence of the life Mattera has experienced, was partly written in Sweden where, in 1986, he went to accept the Steve Biko prize and the Kurt Tucholsky World PEN Association prize.

Poetry, including his own volume, “Azanian Love Song”, several plays and “Memory is the Weapon”, a book of memoirs and vignettes, form the kernel of a solid body of work that he is constantly adding to.

There will be a new collection of short stories, a book for young readers in the folk tale tradition to be titled “The Magic Pobles” — and more poetry, certainly another play. “Writing is so important,” he says.
Minorities need assurance that they won’t suffer

Virtually all that remains of Mahatma Gandhi’s multiracial community on the lush Natal coast is his bust. This monument to the champion of peaceful resistance to racism sits in a clinic on the site of the Phoenix settlement.

His house, his printing works and the iron press that dispatched Gandhi’s philosophy in “The Indian Opinion” after 1906 stand shattered. The 100 acres of pasture has become a slum.

The destruction of the settlement came not with Gandhi’s return to India nor the imposition of apartheid, but just six years ago. It fell victim to a battle for land between black ANC supporters and Zulus backing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Indian residents were driven off and the shrine to Gandhi wrecked in the ensuing conflict. ANC supporters won, and turned it into a squatter camp.

The fate of the settlement epitomises the differences between South Africans of black and Indian origin, and the ANC’s difficulties in winning support from minority races.

The fate of the Phoenix community is seen among a number of Indians as a foretaste of life under majority rule. Among them is a former member of the Indian chamber of Parliament, Pat Poovalingam.

“Comparisons have been drawn here between the Indians and the Jews of Europe in the 1930s. Indians are poor enough to be despised and rich enough to stick out like a sore thumb,” he said.

There are more than a million Indians in South Africa, descended from labourers shipped in to work on the British sugar plantations. Some 80 percent live around Durban. Their vote, along with coloureds’, will be crucial in multiracial elections.

They, too, have suffered the indignity of forced removals, segregated living areas and job reservation for whites. Yet invariably they have fared better than blacks.

According to recent opinion polls, when multiracial elections are held, a majority in both communities plan to vote for the National Party.

Nelson Mandela acknowledged the problem in his opening speech to the ANC conference a week ago.

The ANC’s problem is trying to convince minorities they will not suffer under black rule. From CHRIS McGREAL in Durban.

“The ANC should not be afraid to confront the very real issue that the national minorities — Indians, coloureds and whites — might have fears about the future,” he said.

Fatima Meer, a prominent member of Durban’s Indian community, sees those fears as two-fold: racial and economic.

“The ANC is seen as an African party representing African interests.

“The National Party now says it is no longer a racist party, and you’re looking at a situation where minorities may feel their best chances lie in hanging on to the majority.

“When you start speaking about redistribution of resources, material fears, people may say the ANC makes a lot of sense but it needs to be moderated before they will vote for it,” Ms Meer said.

The outgoing ANC general-secretary, Alfred Nzo, in a secret speech to the conference, warned that it was among a number of obstacles to winning support from Indians and coloureds. Others included the factional violence, which claimed 10,000 lives, and ties to the Communist Party.

From the black perspective, Indians are often among the exploited, although they, too, are among the exploited. Only 20 percent of Indians are directly involved in business, but it is that portion which is frequently the primary point of contact with blacks.

They are among the more privileged elements of the Indian community. It is that position, squeezed between blacks and whites, that most often leads to resentment.

In 1949 it contributed to anti-Indian riots in Durban that left several hundred people dead. Passions have been, however, but the ANC has yet to come up with firm ideas on how to persuade Indians and coloureds that they are not going to suffer under black rule. — The Independent News Service.
High-level talks on fate of ANC funds

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are holding top-level discussions to thrash out whether the ANC will bring its foreign funds into SA via the financial or commercial rand. Reserve Bank foreign exchange control GM John Postmus said yesterday.

Postmus said: "We are aware of the ANC's foreign assets and discussions are proceeding at a high level. I cannot comment on the nature of these discussions as some of the issues range beyond the ambit of the Reserve Bank.

"From an exchange control point of view, the ANC is free to bring its foreign funds into the country. Whether it will be through the commercial or financial rand will crystallise out of these discussions."

The ANC has about R27m in cash overseas and R594m in property, of which it will donate R320m worth to the Tanzanian government. If the green light is given for the finrand option, the cash sum will probably increase to more than R29m.

The organisation could opt to liquidate some of its property holdings to help alleviate its present cash flow problems. The ANC said last week it had slipped into overdraft because of increased activity.

A monetary official said the issues under discussion included whether the ANC's overseas wing should be regarded as a foreign or SA entity. If the foreign wing is deemed to be an extension of the SA entity, it would be prohibited from bringing money into the country via the finrand.

Government would also have to decide whether legislation regulating foreign financing for political organisations applies.

There has been speculation that the ANC is under pressure to bring its foreign funds to SA as soon as possible, as residents are prevented by law from keeping "unproductive" foreign assets. If this law applied, it would have to liquidate its property holdings whether it wanted to or not.

The monetary official said these issues would be clarified in the discussions.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the ANC also has houses in London, Brussels, Bonn, Oslo, Toronto, Lusaka, Harare and Bulawayo.

Of its Tanzanian properties, the ANC intends keeping its Dar es Salaam buildings, which it values at R255m.

In Lusaka, site of its former headquarters, the ANC owns a R525 000 two-storied industrial and residential structure, a R8,14m mechanical workshop and other properties valued at R2,7m.
ANC members told to stay mum on SACP

The ANC has instructed all members of its committees to refuse to answer questions on their political affiliations outside the ANC.

Reacting to recent speculation on the SA Communist Party's representation on the National Executive Committee, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said he had noted with concern the chorus of "Red-baiting" comments since the conclusion of the national conference.

But while Mr Ramaphosa condemned queries regarding political affiliations, he said he was not, nor had been, a member of the SACP.

Speculation about some leading members of the ANC was unfounded and based on the "threadbare" evidence provided by the International Freedom Foundation, he said. — Sapa.
Anger over 'ANC failure to condemn camp atrocities'

African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation to formally denounce during its conference in Durban alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee said: "The ANC 46th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like Quatro and other places, was treated as if it never happened."

"The way the conference behaved through its delegates left us — victims of such actions by the ANC — with a deep sense of anger and despair," the committee added.

"The only conclusion that we now have reached is that this organisation, together with its followers right through the country, have less regard for life, justice and fundamental human rights in general."

"We did not expect the conference to sentence those whom we accuse of brutalities to capital punishment. What we expected was that the general membership should denounce and dissociate itself from these crimes. Those responsible should not have been allowed to hold any position in the NEC."

It said that as a result of this, it was doubtful that all the evils done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers. It added that its previous position — the belief that the crimes were the deeds of only some of the leadership — no longer applied.

"The policy of the ANC should, from now on, be well understood that as long as one is killed by that organisation because they happened to have been in disagreement with it, then there are no qualms about it at all."

The committee further said it never believed that the ANC, like a leopard, would never change its spots, but the Durban conference had demonstrated that the contrary was the truth — that the ANC would never change from what it was.

"This is a sad episode that is to be characterised by more violence if such an organisation can ascend to power in this country."

The committee called for support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps "so that the truth can be known to our people and the international community." — Sapa.
End of era when weaknesses were strengths

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

HEN Albie Sachs made his way to the front of the hall after being declared number 23 in the African National Congress' national executive committee elections, he waved the stump of his right arm — the rest of it was blown off by a car bomb in Maputo in 1987 — in an amandla salute that brought the house down.

It was not just theatrical proof that whites too had sacrificed in the struggle against apartheid.

It stood for more. Sachs himself — he once compared his amputation to the forced removal of District Six — would be alive to the symbolism. He seemed to represent the entire journey of the ANC up to the happy exuberance of last Saturday night's elections of a movement on the verge of power.

Like Sachs, the ANC had overcome being banned, bombed and vilified, its members jailed, murdered, silenced, taking the worst the government could throw at them yet still managing to pick itself up, dust itself off and start all over again.

Critics who have waged off the ANC have pointed to its lack of successes, for instance as a guerrilla army, or re-membered cynically that it is the oldest liberation movement in the world. Yet in a curious way the ANC's weaknesses have always been its strengths.

Look at the members on the NEC: most of them are people who were found out, who were tortured, who were jailed, whose significant contributions were the length of time the government victimised them.

They are symbols of the moral identity that binds the ANC together.

Forget the torture at Quatro camp, Stalinism, incompetence, corruption, the switchboard at head office. Remember for a second who brought this dying system into life. And when ANC members violated their own moral universe, remember who the dirty corrup—

Few jobs for the unionists in ANC leadership

By DREW FORREST

The choice of mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa as African National Congress secretary-general has obscured the surprising poor trade union showing in ANC leadership elections.

Despite confident predictions of a big influx of union blood into the national executive committee, there were only six unionists among 126 nominations: Ramaphosa, Congress of South African Trade Unions president Elijah Barayi, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, National Union of Metalworkers' general secretary Moses Mayekiso, and two other NUMS officials, Alex Erwin and Willis Mchunu.

Of these, only Ramaphosa and Mufamadi were elected.

"It was a celebrity sweepstake," one commented. "How many people outside NUMS know Erwin? Even Ramaphosa may be better known for his role in the National Reception Committee and Soweto civil affairs.

"Few good unionists make good politicians; union skills are administrative and organisational."

Sources point out many successful internal leaders, such as Patrick Lekota, made their name in the early years of the United Democratic Front, The Mass Democratic Movement, operating under the Emergency, was less successful in developing a viable national leadership.

They add that unlike the SACP, which campaigned intensively for its candidates, there was no union lobby.

The ANC has much to thank them for: the non-racial character of the ANC and the coherence and rigour of many of its positions have, one suspects, much to do with the input of the SACP. The alliance with the SACP strengthens the movement.

But, already judging from reports in the Citizen, which estimated that 37 out of 55 bodies elected to the NEC were communists, and the government's swift reaction on this issue, the National Party sees the SACP as the electoral Achilles heel of the ANC.

None less than Allan Boesak has pointed out that there is a large conservative Christian population in South Africa which has been fed four decades of anti-communism.

By remaining a movement as almost a statement of principle the ANC perhaps hopes to retain its unity and sweep into power on a tide of popular sentiment.

But a new era is breaking in South Africa. Perhaps the time when one's weaknesses are strengths will be followed by a time when one's strengths become one's weaknesses.
Cyril tells communists to keep quiet about it

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Newly elected ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has ordered the organisation's office-holders not to disclose whether they are SA Communist Party members.

Mr Ramaphosa said in a statement last night that he had never been an SACP member.

He stressed that the members of the NEC were elected in free and fair elections. "These are women and men who enjoy the demonstrable confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of members of the ANC."

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC would not permit itself to be drawn into an inquisition and McCarthyite witch-hunt. — Sapa 12/1991.
ANC slated over atrocities

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation formally to denounce, during its conference in Durban, alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee said: “The ANC’s 48th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like the Quatro and other places, were treated as if it never happened.”

It said that as a result of this, it was doubtless all the evils that were done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers.

The committee called for more support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps, “so that the truth can be known to our people together with the international community.” — Sapa
The more things change...

URING the past five weeks, I had a wonderful stay in Saudi Arabia, only occasionally watching television or reading newspapers. Having been virtually isolated from world events, I returned home to find confirmation of that old cliché — the more things change, the more they stay the same.

Shortly before my arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, there had been "an incident" like in the good old Verwoerd-Vorster-Bothe days. The forces of law and order had arrested Bophuthatswana attempted-coup leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing.

Stark reality soon strikes home — the reality of the brutal society we have become, the society in which law and order have broken down. One hears of how friends have been beaten up and robbed. Apartheid has brutalised people and poverty has turned many into criminals, but under no circumstances can anyone excuse the violence used on innocent people.

The minister of broken-down law and order is still in his post. Our political parties have no programme, apart from threats or apologists rhetoric, on how to tackle the serious crime problem that is going to haunt any future democratically elected government.

The more things change — establishment journalists whose newspapers had promoted the Progressive Party, the United Party and their successors since the Fifties have resuscitated a debate black journalists thought they’d buried in the Eighties — that of journalists being members of political organisations.

The renewed debate merely emphasised what progressive journalists always said about establishment double standards: it’s fine for white editors to proclaim their neutrality, then blandly support a particular political party without ever consulting their staffers; black — and in recent years progressive white — journalists must be seen to be strictly neutral.

Glancing at white-run newspapers and SABC-TV, one faces a bigger reality: we in the media have merely adapted the level of our mediocrity to changing circumstances.

The focus was on the historic conference of the African National Congress in Durban. Pardon the pun, but the establishment media were still introducing red herrings. There was Clarence Keyter of the SABC, trying to pin the ANC’s Pallo Jordan on the boring “militants-moderates” issue within the ANC. Are we in the media really so intellectually bankrupt? Are there no more pressing issues that cry out for debate and solutions? Really, every organisation has its hawks and doves. As Jordan pointed out, a dynamic organisation whose members do not have differences won’t progress.

Looking for commies in every ANC chair is rather like looking for verligtes and verkrampte white ants in the National Party. The votoless will by and large look at the track records of candidates they know, as was proved by the election of Cyril Ramaphosa and other young internal activists to the ANC’s national executive last week.

While the media are right to question the Stalinist views of ANC veterans Harry Gwala, Keyter and his SABC colleagues might as well tell us for which pale of white supremacist ideology they voted in previous apartheid elections.

When they next interview FW de Klerk, will they ask him to spell out whom the National Party supported or opposed in World War II?

Will they ask American and other Western leaders to explain how that brutal commie Stalin came to be revered against Hitler in the same war, how Churchill, Roosevelt and company sliced up Germany and gave a large chunk to the same Stalin?

Reality is that the ANC, as much as the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, Azapo, National Party and others, have had to adapt their policies and approaches to changing circumstances, and that is a very healthy sign.

That is why, to me, it is of no great significance at this stage whether communists, or even hardline capitalists, are elected to the ANC national executive. What is important is whether they will carry out the mandate of the grassroots.

The encouraging aspect of the ANC conference was its self-criticism, and the movement’s admission that its policies were pushed from top to bottom — if they ever reached bottom. Self-criticism, in fact, has been a hallmark of congresses of all our resistance movements since the Seventies.

If the ANC can act consistently on such criticism, instead of looking for scapegoats for its shortcomings, it will be ready to take up its biggest challenge, that of being a democratic government.

Then things will have really changed.

NEX WEEK: Steven Friedman’s Worm’s Eye
The Seven Samurai come to the townships

The ANC has resolved to move its army into the townships as a 'non-partisan' peacekeeping force. Can MK provide a solution to the increasing spiral of violence, or will it function as a political media that further fuels political feuds?

MARK GEVISER

looks at the issue

The Seven Samurai

At last week's African National Congress conference, Umkhonto we-Sizwe scored a minor coup. The MK delegates marched into the conference hall and slammed their plates down in front of their leaders, asked, "Do you expect us to eat this?" There had been greetings since the first meal on Tuesday, but when MK took a stand, the corners were fixed - and the invisible gruel was replaced with Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Proof, perhaps, of MK militancy and bolshevism - and symbolism, definitely, of more significant victories won by MK last week. MK's greatest competitor is it was left out in the cold while the ANC negotiated it into importance - and its greatest victory is the conference effectively nullified many of the contributions the ANC made in the negotiations process over the past year.

While previous agreements strongly curtailed the workings of MK, the ANC resolved last week to 'renew, maintain and develop MK until the advent of a democratic constitution' - and gave its army a job to do across the country. It conceded MK to 'act in the defence of the ANC by opening and training self-defence units and assisting in the struggle for freedom.'

To explain this decision, senior MK officials, among them Ronnie Kasrils and the Japanese classic, The Seven Samurai: "MK will work just like those Japanese warriors. We will enter into communities to protect themselves by showing them how to organise, and then bow out."

In Kasrils' pan to serious questions about MK's newly defined role as 'defence policy formulation'. What precise role will MK play in organising these self-defence units? To whom will the units be answerable? Can an army that is by definition political operate as a non-partisan peacekeeping force. And even if they can, how will a defence force organised by the ANC be able to avoid the stigma of political clout?

In a panel discussion reported in the latest New Age, ANC MK organising commission co-ordinator Andrew Malehe said he understood the frustration that had led to the call for self-defence units, but commented: "If you don't deliver, our people will judge us on this."

The initiative might, perhaps unintentionally, provoke more violence: by further militarising conflicts in the townships, by giving the security forces even more excuse to take action against ANC officials involved in units - and by further inciting the wrath of political organisations like Isibathu. Security forces also might use the existence of the self-defence units as an excuse to be even more busy in targeting the violence.

While Kasrils quoted Nicaragua and El Salvador as successful self-defence units, Malehe made the critical point that "the concept of defence committees was also employed by Freikom, which armed people with machetes. And that is the violence we were condemned for." The conference's MK Commission was adamant that MK would not be reining into townships with 'meatknocks of AK-47s.'

MK, it said, would isolate the weaponry already in the townships and train people to use them in a disciplined, responsible manner. It wouldn't necessarily train people to fight - rather, it would help with defence and information-gathering training.

The ANC initiative is a direct response to a request by the civic associations, who are facing the challenge of increasing violence. The ANC is committed to organise township self-defence units, the only remaining option of desperate communities already under siege: both the ANC and the civic associations have no choice but to organise their own self-defence units.

But both would be wise to remember the lesson of the people's court: there is no point in simply training a group of people to fight unless they can coordinate their efforts and work together. This is the key to success, the key to avoiding the mistakes of the past. Only then can we hope to bring peace to the townships, the key to a better future for all South Africans.
It’s easy to become a racist – especially if you’re black

THE mind of white South Africa is sick.

The increasing number of random attacks by whites on blacks are just an indication of this. Every week in the press are reports of innocent blacks who have fallen victim to this psychosis which apartheid and the total onslaught gospel have left as a legacy.

Like the man who was beaten to near death for urinating in public two weeks ago, the shack-dwellers of Goedgevonden, the Etafont man who is a paraplegic as result of being beaten by the police and the man who was last month mauled by a white man’s dogs, I too have on several occasions been a victim of white violence.

A month ago a friend and I came close to death in Hillbrow when three white night-clubbers pounced on us for reasons known only to them. These thugs punched me to the ground and even as I was wriggling on the pavement, whining for mercy, they delivered blows to my head and face with their dancing shoes.

This was the third such calamity to befall this poor black soul. Last year I was savaged by about seven Afrikaans-speaking white youths in Hillbrow. While meting out their punishment they repeatedly proclaimed their allegiance to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbebewing and bestowed on me the honour of being “Mandela se kind”. I only managed to escape these beasts when they tried to drag me into a pitch-dark alley and my advertisement realised they were going to cut my life short.

Two months ago I was shot in the neck by a gunman I did not even see. Although this is a bit of conjecture, I know the gunman was white because the only place from where the bullet could have come is an exclusively white block of flats.

Now this misfortune is not a personal tragedy confined only to me. I have heard similar stories from other black residents.

MONDLI MAKHANYA has three times been the victim of random attacks by white thugs. The disturbing result has been to turn a peace-loving man into a racist himself... as this angry personal account so graphically reveals.

Mondli Makhanya ... A racist in the making?

of Johannesburg’s inner city flatlands.

So angry was I after the last attack that I have almost turned racist. Racing through my mind are thoughts of how many times I have heard whites refer to blacks as savages. They arrogantly perceive us as a violent breed who indulge in orgies of factional fighting. We are seen as uncivilised “natives” to whom violence is a way of life.

“Why are you killing each other?” they ask as if requesting that we rather turn our pangs on them.

And yet have you ever heard of blacks simply beating up whites because they don’t like the fact that they are pale-skinned? Although it may not be excusable it is true that whenever blacks assault whites there is always a robbery motive behind it. Other violence unleashed by blacks on whites, though somewhat misguided, may also be the result of genuine political frustrations caused by apartheid.

True enough we do fight among ourselves... but behind the current wave of violence lies an evil white hand others prefer to call a “third force”.

The actions of African National Congress bombers Robert McBride and Andrew Zondo — though not to be condemned — are excusable given their being black in a country that resents their blackness. But what political frustration led Barend Strydom to mow down seven black civilians, or propelled Eugene Marais and his Orde Boerevolks comrades to open fire on a bus in Durban, killing seven black passengers. Their rage is in power but they still found it necessary to inflict harm on those their tribe oppresses. Now that is what I call inhuman savagery.

I can never bring myself to simply beat up a person I do not even know. What further infuriates me is the fact that after all the oppression we have suffered at the hands of a white government, we have complied when they requested reconciliation.

The very people to whom we have given our wholehearted forgiveness do not seem to have any intention of giving up their barbaric behaviour. Instinct tells me we should forget about reconciliation with the white tribe and make them pay. Sometimes, I find myself wondering why we should not beat up whites too.

A friend who, like me, subscribes to the philosophy of non-racialism has jokingly advised me to adopt the black consciousness or Pan Africanism ideologies. I am seriously considering his advice because it is clear these whites don’t like us at all — no matter how conciliatory we are. So why should we like them?
ANC-SAP probe Welverdiend police

THE police investigation into the activities of the unrest unit at Welverdiend police station swung into action in Carletonville's Khutsong township this week.

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and the local ANC branch helped to locate witnesses. While representatives of the IBIIR were generally positive about progress, they said there were signs of interference by policemen outside the investigation team.

"We are happy with the way the police investigating team is going about its work. But there are indications that the investigation may be being undermined by other sections of the South African Police," an IBIIR spokesman said.

A member of IBIIR's board of management said their field workers were apparently under surveillance in the first week.

Major D J C Stear, who heads the investigation team, acknowledged: "There was a small disturbance. But it has been sorted out to the satisfaction of all parties." He confirmed a co-operative working relationship had been established.

The investigation of Welverdiend police station is a result of persistent allegations linking them to deaths in Khutsong and in custody. Witnesses have implicated police in as many as 17 deaths since early 1990. In five cases potential witnesses to alleged police atrocities have met violent deaths.

The IBIIR spokesman said that the board and the ANC also regarded it "as our responsibility to safeguard witnesses".
Trust plans to honour Biko, Hector Pietersen

A FOUNTAIN to commemorate the death in 1976 of Hector Pietersen ... busts of Alan Paton, Gerald Sekoto, Sol Plaatje and Steve Biko ... the embellishment of Shaka's grave ... the upgrading of the Boer War monument ...

These are among the ideas being considered by the Felix Trust, probably the first of its kind in the country, which seeks to give concrete form to the spirit of reconciliation and nation-building in South Africa.

According to Glenn Babb, South Africa's new ambassador to Italy and the initiator of the Felix Trust, the trust's objectives include promoting innovative ways of building traditional homes and honouring cultural leaders with whom all South Africans can identify.

"The trust aims to give respect to those national sites which, and people who, represent a unifying force in South Africa. We also intend to arrange for, manage and maintain the embellishment, improvement and refurbishing of national sites with a view to bringing together the various peoples in the South Africa in common respect for historic and recognised symbols," Mr Babb said.

The Felix Trust, he said, appealed to South Africans to come up with imaginative ways of achieving their goal of helping nation-building.

"The trust relies on its members to initiate such projects and all citizens of South Africa are invited to join in this venture," he said.

The trust was named after Felix Houphouet-Boigny, president of the Ivory Coast, who has accepted in principle and become first patron, because of his sterling work in promoting reconciliation in Africa.

Members of the trust include Aggrey Klaasie, editor of the Sowetan newspaper and concever of the nation-building concept, Wendy Ackerman, wife of supermarket magnate, Raymond Ackerman; film and television producer Bill Faure, Peter Redbrough and Thijs Nel.

CONCRETE FORM: A bust of Steve Biko could be made if a new trust has its way.
Jannie likes cricket, rugby and the ANC

MEET Jannie Momberg Jun — a chip off the old block when it comes to enthusiasm for sport and politics, but perhaps a few steps ahead in his thinking on our role in a new South Africa. Jannie Jun, in fact, belongs to a new breed of young Afrikaners who have found a political home in the African National Congress, reports FRANS ESTERHUYS.

ONE realises things have changed beyond recognition when a man born, bred and seasoned in the mould of the old-style apartheid-dominated National Party can say openly he is proud of his son, an ANC activist.

So it is with Jannie Momberg, Democratic Party MP for Simon’s Town and former staunch Nationalist, and his son, Jannie Momberg junior, a Western Cape delegate to last week’s landmark ANC conference in Durban.

Jannie junior, a third-year political science student at the University of Stellenbosch, was one of three delegates from the Stellenbosch branch of the ANC. Jannie sen, attended as one of five Democratic Party observers.

For father and son it was more than a political event. The conference also became the occasion to celebrate Jannie junior’s 21st birthday (on July 4) — and they did it in style at a small party with friends and political colleagues of both generations present.

Broke away after 30 years

Such a get-together at an ANC conference was certainly a far cry from the days when Mr Momberg senior was deeply embroiled in National Party politics. At that time the ANC was banned and its members were branded as “terrorists”.

Mr Momberg, who also made his mark as a sports administrator and wine farmer, broke away from the NP in February 1987 after 30 years in the party — a move which he subsequently described as the most traumatic decision of his life. He took the decision when he came to realise the Botha Government’s reform programme was grinding to a halt.

Last week was also far removed from the days when Mr Momberg senior attended all-white NP congresses. For the young Mr Momberg, the only white delegate from Stellenbosch, the Durban conference was hectic — with discussions continuing until after midnight at times and until 5 am.

In an interview in Stellenbosch this week, Jannie Momberg junior told of his work for the ANC and of his decision to join the movement. But, like his father, he has another major interest — sport — which provides a healthy balance to political involvement.

During his high school days at Grey College, Bloemfontein, Jannie junior played both Free State Craven Week rugby and OPS Nuffield cricket. He was vice-captain of the Free State rugby and cricket sides.

Last year he played for Western Province in under-20 rugby.

Born in Stellenbosch, he began his early school career at Elkestad Primary School and subsequently attended the Paul Roos Gymnasium. He matriculated at Grey College, Bloemfontein, in 1986.

Jannie is one of four brothers who grew up in a home where politics is discussed freely — in fact, it is a home with a remarkable democratic culture. Despite differences of opinion, the family members have long discussions, especially on Sundays when three of the sons, all studying at Stellenbosch University, get together with their parents.

The eldest son, Nielz, is a member of the Democratic Party and another son, Steyn, is also a member of the ANC. The youngest, Altus, is still at school at Grey College, Bloemfontein.

Jannie says that before he joined the ANC in September he did not belong to any political party, but took an interest in politics.

Interview with Tambo

He chose the ANC as the political home for him. He liked its ideas and policies, especially its stand for a non-racial, non-sexist democracy, and its policy for a “mixed” economy. He believes South Africa’s huge gap between “haves” and “have-nots” can never be bridged by pure capitalism.

He first became aware of the ANC when, in the mid-1980s, he read Cape Times editor Tony Heard’s report on an interview with ANC president Oliver Tambo. Jannie, 15-years-old at the time, pasted a cutting of the interview on his wall.

He became a member of the Stellenbosch branch of the ANC when it was formed last year.

“I have found an incredible amount of goodwill in the ANC. There are people who are the salt of the earth. They are people who practise their principles of non-racialism in real life,” Jannie says.

Mr Momberg senior clearly takes pride in the fact that his sons are independently-minded.

He said: “If my children have been prepared for the new South Africa, then I think I have done my job.”
The prince can’t breach this rift

What is the significance of the fact that the senior prince of the Zulu Royal family, Prince Israel Mcewazini ka Solomon, has now been elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC?

Could it be that the ANC will now be reconciled with the Zulu Royal family and the Zulu King? These are questions I have been asked by numerous local and foreign journalists since the announcement of the results of the ANC NEC elections early on Sunday morning.

There is no doubt that it was a political scoop for the ANC to elect such a senior member of the Zulu Royal family into its NEC.

Those who know Prince Israel’s family background will remember that not only is he the son of King Solomon (the grandfather of the reigning monarch) but he actually acted as regent on the death of King Cyprian (the father of the reigning monarch) until such time that the present king, who was still a minor and was at school, was ready to succeed his father.

Incidentally, some newspapers have commented that the senior prince was a member of Inkatha until 1989 when he resigned. This is not correct.

As far as I can recall, the senior prince never joined Inkatha and was certainly never active in Inkatha affairs although he did occasionally attend Inkatha conferences.

There is a peculiar relationship between Inkatha and most members of the Zulu Royal family. Most of them tend to shy away from actively supporting Inkatha although there are a few notable exceptions like Prince Gideon, who is KwaZulu’s Deputy Minister of Welfare and Pensions, and a few others.

Prince Israel was a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly representing the king and therefore appointed by him. He resigned from this position and claimed there was a misunderstanding between himself and the king.

This background is important if I have to answer the second question whether the senior prince will facilitate reconciliation between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family, and the king. The answer is an unequivocal “no”.

If anything, the prince’s membership of the ANC will widen the rift between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family. At worst, it could even engender a serious split within the Royal family.

Firstly, because of a misunderstanding between the king and the senior prince, the latter is persona non grata in the king’s household.

Secondly, the senior prince’s relations with Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government have also been soured by the prince’s constant political sniping at Chief Buthelezi and the Government.

The king is presently very close to Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government. In terms of the KwaZulu constitution, the king is a constitutional monarch and any political contact with him must be through the KwaZulu Cabinet headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Besides, KwaZulu Government protocol decrees that Chief Buthelezi, and not the senior prince, is the senior traditional adviser to the king. Therefore, as things stand, the senior prince has no access to the king, Chief Buthelezi or the Government.
ANC to 'look after its aged'

PAT DEVEREAUX

AGED members of the ANC, including 14 former national executive members are to be “taken care of”, according to ANC liaison officer, Carl Niehaus.

After dedicating his life to the organisation, ANC stalwart Govan Mbeki (81) pulled out as a nominee to the ANC’s new executive, citing his age as a reason. This raised the question of what is to happen to retired ANC members.

Thirteen other NEC members — including the SACP chairman Dan Thorne (74), Sactu’s Steve Dlamini, also in his seventies, former head of political mobilisation and manpower development Mzwai Piliso (68), and deputy director ANC, international affairs, Stanley Mabisa (57) — were axed at last week’s congress.

Nelson Mandela had mentioned the plight of certain ANC members at the congress “and our intention is to take care of these people,” said Mr Niehaus yesterday. The ANC was currently setting up a Veterans’ Association, he added.

Big sweat over ANC foreign funds

THE ANC’s foreign asset situation is developing into a “political nightmare” as the Government and the ANC hold talks on how it will bring foreign funds back into the country.

According to the Reserve Bank’s foreign exchange control, Assistant General Manager Mr P J Gouster, the ANC and the Government are currently in discussions on whether the ANC will bring its foreign funds into South Africa in commercial or financial terms.

“Either way, it is a ‘lose situation’ and the Government is dealing with a political nightmare,” said one senior Reserve Bank source, who did not want to be named.

Because of current talks, it is still too premature to think of using funds to help alleviate unemployment or start projects to relieve some of the poverty in this country, said ANC department of information spokesman, Carl Niehaus.

“The ANC plans to inject some of its foreign assets back into South Africa, but it has no plans to scale down those assets which are still beneficial to the liberation struggle,” said Mr Niehaus.

“We still have thousands of people in exile,” he added.

Meanwhile, the ANC is being pressured to bring its foreign funds back to the country as soon as possible, because according to exchange control regulations of 1986, South African residents are not allowed to keep “unproductive” foreign assets.

If this law was applied, it would mean the ANC would have to liquidate its foreign property holdings whether it wanted to or not.

The ANC is reported to have about R41 million in cash overseas and R600 million in property. This was revealed by the organisation’s treasurer general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, at the ANC’s recent congress.

Drastic

“To escape some political flak, the Government could regard the ANC theoretically as an immigrant organisation so that it could return its assets in financial terms, which would be more profitable for the organisation,” said the Reserve Bank informant.

But South African legislation regulating foreign financing for political organisations could also drastically affect the organisation’s assets.

The ANC currently expects a minimum of R20 million at current exchange rates in donor allocations for the next two years from the Scandinavian countries. Australia has committed just under Rf7 million for the next three years and there is an application for an additional sum of less than R6 million.

At present the ANC may have sizeable foreign assets, but not much can be converted into hard cash, said ANC economic sources.

In Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, where the ANC has its largest holdings, foreign exchange restrictions and economic problems make it almost impossible for the ANC to transfer proceeds from sales of property unless it negotiates this with donors and host governments.

But the organisation plans to phase out external spending within five years.

The ANC’s Tanzanian projects are being wound down and its farms and assets in that country, valued at R575 million, are to be donated to the Tanzanians. But it intends keeping its Dar es Salaam buildings, valued at R255 million.

In Lusaka, site of the organisation’s former headquarters, the ANC owns a R528 000 two-storied industrial and residential structure, a R514 million mechanical workshop and other properties valued at R2.7 million.
Who steers the ANC?

TWICE, secretary-general of the African National Congress Cyril Ramaphosa refused to deny or confirm that he is a communist.

On Thursday he unexpectedly denied he was a member of the South African Communist Party. And added: no member of the ANC will in future be allowed to say whether he or she is a member of the SACP.

Because, says Ramaphosa, he wishes to avoid a witch-hunt as had happened in the USA after the World War 2 when people were branded by Senator Joseph McCarthy simply because they were thought to be communists or were actually communists.

That the newly elected secretary-general should respond in this manner does, of course, reopen the whole question of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP.

Nelson Mandela, newly elected president of the African National Congress, has no doubt what that relationship is: it is a firm alliance committed to the ending of apartheid.

Which, historically speaking, is true.

But times have changed and the ANC, despite its present attitude, will have to rethink the alliance as there is no doubt that it is the presence of such a strong SACP contingent in the ANC leadership which is one of the reasons why the ANC is unable to find any substantial support among whites, coloureds, Indians and to a lesser extent, rural blacks.

And also, the National Party is committed to the ending of apartheid as is every other political party in the country, except the Conservatives.

But, yes, in the dark days when first the Communist Party was banned and almost a decade later the ANC, they did form an alliance fighting to end apartheid.

And it was always clearly understood, and publicly pronounced, that the first step of the revolution would be a national one and would be led by the ANC.

Once power had been taken, the second wave would begin, led by the communists and take us to a communist SA.

Yet, the response to questions about the SACP presence is so heated that one is left with the impression that it is a growing problem within the ranks of the ANC.

Mr. Mandela had told critics of the alliance to "grow up the pathological alienation of the period of the cold war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment that all express in favour of a multi-party democracy."

But the questions will not just go away because they generate heat.

The alliance is indeed a strange one.

So the old National Executive Committee of the ANC the communists clearly dominated. They were strongly in the majority, some say that all but three of the 24 members were also SACP members.

And in the present NEC of 20, it is said that again the SACP has a majority. But is that really so?

Therein lies the rub: nobody really knows.

The ANC says that it has an alliance with the SACP but they are two separate organisations.

Yet communists sit on the ANC leadership but non-communists cannot sit on the SACP leadership.

The ANC says it takes its own decisions. But how can it if the majority of its leaders are also communists who will not vote differently when they have an ANC hat on then when they have an SACP hat on.

Which must mean — and it would be hugely surprising if it is not so — that the SACP, through its members on the ANC's NEC can swing decisions the way it wants.

When the question is asked who are members of the SACP, it is not because one wants to begin to a witch-hunt, or denies the SACP the right to exist, or is against multi-party democracy. It is a logical question: who decides for the ANC?

If you were to support the ANC is it, in fact, the ANC you are supporting?

You cannot know.

To stop ANC members from stating where their allegiances lie, Ramaphosa has just done, will be the exact effect he is trying to avoid. It might very well lead to a witch-hunt because South Africans want to know, and have a right to know, who is in control of the biggest political party.

There is a clear dichotomy: Mandela is on record as saying the ANC is not socialist. But the SACP is, because however much you twist and turn away from what happened in eastern Europe and the USSR, it is impossible to be communist and not a socialist.

The ANC is still resisting economic policy and it clearly is not.

Cyril Ramaphosa (above), the new ANC secretary-general has urged NEC members not to disclose any communist connections they may have. Below, the huge banner behind Nelson Mandela with Joe Slovo (right) have some significance — or do their Mandela's connections with Big Business in the shape of former Anglo chief Gavin Rolly (below) point to the route the ANC would rather follow?

Key question on the SACP role won't go away.
the ANC machine?

Cyril Ramaphosa (above), the new ANC secretary general, has urged NEC members not to discuss any communist connections they may have. But does the huge banner behind Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo (right) have any significance — or do Mr Mandela’s connections with Big Business in the shape of former Anglo chief Gavin Ratley (below) point to the route the ANC would rather follow?

Key question of the SACP role won’t go away

HARALD PAKENDOFF, Author of this article.

As saying the ANC is not socialist. But the SACP is, because whenever you twist and turn away from what happened in Eastern Europe and the USSR, it is impossible to be communist and not a socialist. The ANC is still refining its economic policy and it clearly is not socialist. Do the communists in the ANC go along with this while they wear their ANC hat and change their views when they are among fellow-communists? Nobody knows.

Or are the communists just going along with the ANC views for the time being until such time as the ANC takes political power — and will they only then begin to assert their majority view in the ANC leadership to steer the country towards their views? Who knows.

And South Africans have a right to know and will undoubtedly insist on knowing.

Communism is this century’s failure. Fascism has to be beaten in war. Communism is dying because of its own inner failures. Economically, communist countries are disasters.

A N D, communism is strongly opposed to religion, despite recent attempts to say that this is not so anymore.

So, come the first real general election in South Africa, will those voting for the ANC be voting for the repressive, anti-religious, economic failures the SACP stands for — or will they in fact be voting for the ANC?

Mr Ramaphosa says we are not entitled to know and Mr Mandela says we must outgrow our pathological anti-communism. That is not good enough. Red-baiting could have been seen as a smokescreen behind which people hide who really wanted to maintain apartheid.

But times have changed. The pillars of apartheid have already gone and the political overlay of apartheid is about to be negotiated away by the ANC — or is it the SACP?

Who knows.

The question will not go away until it is answered. And the ANC will give attention to the question because it is a negative for it when it comes to its membership drives. It is a painful dilemma if you stick as closely to the SACP as you do now, it might very well cost you enough votes to keep you from power.

Or worse, might allow a National Party-led alliance slip past you.

On the other hand, how many workers are communists? Certainly, many union leaders are SACP members. Would that cost you votes if you drop the SACP or do workers not support the SACP despite the position of their leaders?

Who knows.

Does the ANC know which of its members are also members of the SACP? It is a question it, too, needs to find an answer to. How else can it know who runs its own organisation?

And if it does know, it ought to tell South Africa who does.
ARE you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?"

All these years on, those 14 words have lost none of their capacity to chill: you can hear them booming through a microphone, stentorian and accusing. You can picture the fanaticaily transported face of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the fearful, baffled expression of his victim as he tries to explain that his answer doesn't mean what his accuser says it means.

Lives, countless lives, were ruined by McCarthyism, and a nation's psyche was warped. Charlie Chaplin was an "enemy of the state", as were dozens of talented authors, actors and musicians until their spirits were broken.

It was a national madness harking back to the days of Salem, and the United States is still recovering from the trauma. Are we in danger of repeating the same, terrible process in South Africa?

I think not.

But first let us deal with the conviction among ANC and SACP leaders that we are indeed sliding into McCarthyism. "Red Spotting" has run riot in the past year, they charge, and it is not only the far right wing that has taken to the sport — red-baiters include the Government, liberals, businesspeople, and even some clerics.

The Tongaat "Red Plot" fiasco was only the most prominent among innumerable instances of commie-bashing. New ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa let loose on the subject this week: allegations were based on "threadbare evidence", he said, sourced to "a pathologically anti-communist group ... in the worst tradition of the Cold War era". The ANC would not be drawn into a "McCarthyite witchhunt" and, moreover, "the speculations were inspired by an anti-democratic spirit".

Mr Ramaphosa has a point of course, and only the most naive of observers would fail to recognise that it serves the purpose of the Government to keep stoking the fires of division among the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu. But is he right in instructing, as he did this week, all members of the ANC to refuse to answer questions about their political affiliations outside the organisation?

My answer is no. There are many good reasons for seeking to bring an end to the destructive red-hunting, but this is not the way to go about it. There is a critical difference between the McCarthyite period and South Africa's transition to democracy.

When the dread question was put in the House un-American Activities Committee hearings, the answer could criminalise the respondent. Since 1990, the South African Communist Party has taken its rightful place among legal political groups in this country, and to answer "Yes, I am a member" is in this sense no different from confirming one's allegiance to the DP.

By clinging to secrecy or equivocating unconvincingly as Ramaphosa himself did when asked the question himself initially — one plays into the hands of one's opponents, and extends the life of the reds-under-beds campaign.

Public political figures (not ordinary, private individuals) owe it to the voters of the future to tell them where their organisational allegiances lie. This is the stuff of democratic politics.

Mr Ramaphosa is quite right when he suggests that the "Are you-or-aren't-you" question is rarely put in the spirit of neutral inquiry — it is usually as loaded as questions come, and the answer can be exploited — but that does not alter the principle at all.

All parties must take the rough with the smooth, and the decades during which the SACP and others were special cases due to National Party tyranny are on this level over. I hope that he will review his edict and get on to more important things. And I would express the same hope about other cloak-and-dagger-groupings, like the Broederbond.

The latest brouhaha raises another important political issue: just how useful is it to cling to the "SACP/non-SACP" distinction as a categoric analytical tool for understanding the nuanced balances of political power as we go into negotiations?

Within the SACP there are committed, old-style communists; there are those who call themselves "democratic socialists"; there are those who maintain party membership out of loyalty to the 1950s but are to all intents and purposes "non-practising" communists.

The SACP should come out in the open without embarrassment, and the red-baiters should realise that there are more helpful lines of investigation and inquiry to pursue. Perhaps then we will be able to get down to the real business at hand. And by the way, I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. Or any other party for that matter.
Township activists hunt for assassins

By CHRIS BATEMAN

WESTERN CAPE township activists yesterday conducted house-to-house searches for the killers of community leader Mr Michael Mapongwana — prompting fears of weekend conflict in Khayelitsha and New Crossroads.

The searches, by supporters of Mr Mapongwana's Western Cape Civic Association, have lent new urgency to the police investigation into the killing.

Detectives fear that they could find their suspects in Salt River Mortuary by Monday morning.

Yesterday, reliable township sources said the focus of civic anger appeared to be the Western Cape Black Taxi Drivers' Association (Webta), which was perceived as being responsible for the assassination in Philippi on Monday.

The wife of a Webta driver, who declined to be named, said she was moving herself and her children out of their New Crossroads home into a "safe house" after a local civic meeting earlier in the week resolved to "purge" the suburb of Webta elements.

Her husband had been in hiding with other drivers since the assassination.

"It doesn't matter that they had nothing to do with it, they are Webta," she added.

Reliable Khayelitsha sources reported door-to-door searches for assassination suspects by civic supporters there yesterday.

Mr Mapongwana, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, claimed before his death that Webta drivers had made at least one unsuccessful attempt on his life.

He was shot at point-blank range by three laughing balaclava-clad gunmen in Philippi. The killers, who forced his car off the road, sped off in a grey Chevrolet Constantia, also murdered Mr Mapongwana's driver, a Mr Roro.

Police are offering a R5 000 reward for any information which leads to arrests. They emphasised that information would be treated in total confidence.

No arrests had been made by late yesterday.

Mr Mapongwana was a leading member of the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee, which instituted a boycott of Webta which had pulled out of a peace agreement with the rival Lagunya Taxi Association.
Will this man be sports minister?

Were the African National Congress to come to power today, Steve Tshwete, 51, would doubtlessly be a front-runner for the position of Minister of Sport.

It is a measure of the crucial role the man has played in guiding South African sport out of the despair of international isolation that he was the only politician present when South Africa's return to Test cricket was announced here this week.

Mr Tshwete's involvement in sport goes back as long as his political career, starting when he joined the ANC as a schoolboy in 1956. By 1962 he had become the secretary of the ANC's underground command for the Border region.

His activities in the ANC culminated in his arrest in 1963 and imprisonment with his colleagues on Robben Island the following year at the age of 24.

But even during the 15 years he spent in prison, his interest in sport, especially rugby, did not wane.

When it comes to talking publicly about their personal ambitions, South African political leaders, especially those in the anti-apartheid movement, tend to be reticent. Steve Tshwete is no exception. Weekend Argus correspondent MIKE SILUMA interviewed him in London.

"By putting us on Robben Island the government wanted to totally break our spirits. We were subjected to a regime of hard work, denied proper clothing to protect us from the elements and generally physically abused by the warders."

"Our meals consisted of porridge for breakfast and boiled millet for lunch and dinner. It was 10 years before fruit was included in our diet."

"We soon realised that we had to fight back to stay sane, protesting through hunger strikes and letters smuggled out of prison. Because of my interest in sport, the other prisoners elected me the president of what we called the Robben Island Rugby Board."

"I also helped organise the prisoners' Amateur Athletics Association. This made me unpopular with the warders, who called me a 'voorboek'. The result was that I was frequently put in solitary confinement as a form of punishment," says Mr Tshwete.

In spite of the hardships of prison, Mr Tshwete continued his studies for a BA degree with Unisa.

On completing his sentence in 1979 he was issued with a two-year banning order confining him to the King William's Town area. By 1984 he had fully resumed his anti-apartheid and sporting activities, becoming president of the United Democratic Front in East London. He was also elected secretary of the Border Rugby Union.

His tenure in both positions was, however, short-lived because he left South Africa the following year in fear of his life. In exile in Zambia he became a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Does he think it unusual for someone so deeply involved in politics to be equally committed to sporting matters?

"No. I believe that it is important for the ANC to be involved in efforts to unite South African sport along anti-racist lines because this will encourage movement away from racist sport."

"The fact that sports people play together as individuals rather than members of racial groups is bound to have the impact of ending apartheid in society, which is what the ANC wants."

"The continuing successes in uniting sport is proving wrong those who oppose the return of non-racial sport to international competition, arguing that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal country. Those who are arguing like this are not being practical in their failure to do anything practical to end apartheid," explains Mr Tshwete.

In spite of the hardships he suffered as a result of his opposition to apartheid, he says he is not bitter. "I harbour no bitterness towards anyone because I always knew that as an opponent of apartheid, I was representing a higher morality. I understood why the authorities did the things they did to us, and I always knew that my case would be vindicated."

The possibility that he might one day become Minister of Sport in a country he once declared a person non grata is not something he likes to discuss. With one sentence, the pipe-smoking Mr Tshwete short-circuits discussion on the subject. "I have no such aspirations," he declares.

When not attending one of his string of meetings, the father of two spends his spare time listening to Handel or Beethoven, or reading T S Eliot or Tolstoy.

His biggest regret is that, with his schedule of endless travels inside and outside South Africa, he is finding less and less time to pursue his other favourite activity, jogging.
Boesak could join ANC on Monday

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DR ALLAN Boesak is set to join the ANC within the next few days, possibly on Monday, according to sources.

This will formally mark his return to mainstream politics.

He is widely believed to be in line for a top job within the ANC, possibly one of a few posts for co-opted members.

Dr Boesak, acknowledged within and outside the ANC as a significant leader with wide appeal at home and abroad, was nominated to the movement's NEC at last week's annual conference in Durban.

He was attending the conference as a guest and observer. Although he could technically have sought ANC membership there and stood for one of the 50 elected NEC posts, he declined.

He told journalists at the conference that he was anxious to avoid causing the ANC embarrassment over an issue on which the movement's constitution did not give clear guidelines.

He indicated, however, that he would join the movement on his return to Cape Town and that he would be prepared to serve in any position.
ANC manages to stave off OAU meeting on lifting of sanctions

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and PATRICIA CHENEY

The ANC has succeeded in delaying an Organisation of African Unity meeting to review sanctions against South Africa.

The meeting was scheduled to take place in Abuja, Nigeria, tomorrow under the chairmanship of Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida. It has been postponed to next month.

President Babangida, the current OAU chairman, is keen to reward the South African government for the changes it has introduced by lifting some sanctions.

ANC International Affairs spokesman Yusuf Saloojee said the ANC would argue next month that sanctions should be maintained until all political prisoners, including the 190 in Bophuthatswana, are released and mechanisms to end violence are in place.

It would take the same message to leaders in Denmark, Germany and Holland early next month, he added.

The conservative Danish government supports the lifting of sanctions. It is also preventing the lifting of the remaining European Community sanctions, as all EC decisions have to be unanimous.

However, South African officials believe Japanese sanctions will go within a month.

Two Japanese trade delegations, the Keidanren and the Society of Modernisation, have visited South Africa recently. Officials said they were confident Japanese businessmen would be more willing to invest in South Africa than their American counterparts.

The OAU initially turned down the ANC's request to delay the meeting, saying it had come too late. It later acquiesced.

Premature

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said a meeting now would be premature.

Mr Saloojee said once the issues of prisoners and violence had been resolved, the ANC would call for the "phased maintenance" of sanctions.

This provides for the lifting of:

- Iron and steel sanctions when an interim government is installed;
- The oil and arms embargo once a democratic constitution is in place.

Meanwhile, an American union official has said that despite the lifting of US sanctions, the passage of goods from South Africa to American consumers will not necessarily be a smooth one.

Mr Kenneth Zinn of the United Mine Workers Union said: "Unionists will continue to show solidarity with black workers in South Africa."

He said American longshoremen could hold up SA goods at the docks.

In 1988, longshoremen in Mobile, Alabama, refused to unload SA coal and unionists in Oakland, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana, kept SA goods on ships for days.
How Mbeki swayed

ANC went in to bat for SA cricketers by lobbying hostile states

By EDYTH BULBRING

DETAILS of the ANC's efforts to lobby hostile foreign governments to ensure South Africa's return to world cricket emerged yesterday.

The key to SA's readmission this week was a letter sent by ANC international head Thabo Mbeki to the foreign ministers of all International Cricket Council member countries.

Thabo Mbeki

The ANC was also urged by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to follow up the letters by actively lobbying governments which exerted influence over their sporting bodies.

Mr Hurd is understood to have been referring to the West Indies, India and Pakistan.

Copies of the correspondence between the ANC and governments of ICC full-member countries were obtained by the Sunday Times yesterday.

Mr Mbeki urged the foreign ministers to use their influence to encourage the admission of the United Cricket Board of SA (UCBSA) into the ICC.

He said in the letter that the ANC was lending full support to the UCBSA's application for ICC membership.

The ANC was satisfied that the necessary progress had been made towards the establishment of a non-racial controlling body for South African cricket.

The UCBSA had also satisfied conditions aimed at ensuring that disadvantaged South Africans gained access to adequate sport facilities, the letter said.

Readmittance to world cricket would play a crucial role in encouraging the complete desegregation of sport in general, Mr Mbeki said in the letter. "This in turn would have an important impact on the processes in which we are engaged directed at moving the millions of South African people, including the youth, towards a non-racial and democratic order and a peaceful and stable society," Mr Mbeki wrote.

Mr Hurd said in his reply that he was impressed by the efforts of ANC sports head Steve Tshwete to foster racial integration in sport and to facilitate the unification of sports bodies in South Africa.

"I warmly welcome the creation of the United Cricket Board of SA and endorse your wish to see UCBSA admitted to the ICC in July. We will do all in our power to ensure that UCBSA's application is successful," Mr Hurd wrote.

He cautioned that the British government did not, however, direct sport in Britain.

"It is the advocacy of the UCBSA itself and the support which the ANC has given them which is likely to weigh most with British cricketers and, indeed, with other ICC members," Mr Hurd said.

Other ICC member governments, however, tended to exercise a more direct influence over their sports organisations than the British government, Mr Hurd said.

Backing

"I hope you will follow up your letters with other contacts to ensure that these governments are in no doubt as to the ANC's support for UCBSA's application," he wrote.

Approached for comment yesterday, Mr Tshwete said the first question he was asked by every representative of the ICC in his visits to London was whether the ANC supported the UCBSA's application.

"The bottom line from the ICC members was that without ANC backing the application by the UCBSA could not be approved," Mr Tshwete said.
Celebrity mansions in Soweto are snapped up

MEN OF PROPERTY: THE ANG'S PORTFOLIO

Buy, not rent, was the rule.
ANC prince sparks fears of royal rift

THE election of a senior Zulu royal prince to the ANC's national executive committee this week could tear the royal family apart.

This warning came from former Inkatha Freedom Party second-in-command Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who said Prince Mswayizani Zulu was persona non grata with the king's household and, as such, would not be able to mediate to normalise relations between the ANC and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Prince Zulu's election announcement at last weekend's conference drew loud applause.

Dr Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for A Multi-party Democracy, said the rift between those in the royal family who supported the king and those who backed Prince Zulu could widen as a result of the prince's election.
AF TER a week of glad tidings, there is much to celebrate. The tide of change is flooding now, and South Africa rides a wave of international goodwill. The world, especially the Western democratic world, wants us to succeed.

For the ANC, the question is not whether President De Klerk's policies are reversible but whether the ANC itself can adapt to the consequences of those policies. Steve Tshwete, showing both generosity and good sense, has emerged as the midwife of South Africa's return to world sport; Nelson Mandela, carping ineffectually about sanctions, has landed in the backwash.

Not that the ANC is immune to change. All the evidence from last weekend's conference in Durban suggests that it has shifted from the policies that destroyed Eastern Europe to the policies that destroyed Peru. That's progress for a party whose leadership is predominantly communist.

The fact that the ANC is essentially a communist liberation front from which, in the second year of the year of the national elections, it is beginning to move to the socialist and even the democratic left is the starting point of the story. Cyril Ramaphosa, who denies that he himself is a member of the Communist Party, has now ordered the ANC's communist members to go back underground, and to refuse to identify themselves.

Actually, it matters less these days. The real communist strength lay in revolutionary theory, which has been rendered obsolete. Intelligent observers are beginning to draw a distinction between the 365-style communists like Joe Slovo and the "non-practising" communists like (former?) central committee member Thabo Mbeki.

The older generation still twits about controlling the means of production, but Mr Ramaphosa is convinced that the benefits of the Keynesian projects, like subsidised electricity for all homes, to create mobile, self-generated electricity, and to generate consumerism. More electricians, more coal, and more competitiveness with the country's currency. As Peru, Zambia and Algeria discovered, the policy of the ANC to the fact, disclosed this week, that the organization passed assets abroad, to the value of $600 million, as much as the country's 35th-largest country, though I can't suppress my amusement when Joe Slovo, living in a R230 000 house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, calls other people "fat cats".

One is loath to attribute the gradual change in the ANC to the fact, disclosed this week, that the organization passed assets abroad, to the value of $600 million, as much as the country's 35th-largest country, though I can't suppress my amusement when Joe Slovo, living in a R230 000 house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, calls other people "fat cats".

There, in four words, is a definition of the most pressing task facing the nation. Nobody who meets leading black spokesmen, in or out of the ANC, can fail to be alarmed by the sense of grievance and distrust which they feel, and which expresses itself as hostility to private property.

I'm not sure why even sophisticated black people seem to think the survival of basic rights is more important to whites than to themselves; they seem not yet to have absorbed the idea that they, not white, will soon be running the country, and they, not whites, will be responsible for the success or failure of the system. They are still at the emotional point of wanting to settle scores.

What the white Establishment - the government, business, academics, churches, sports administrators - can do in the meantime is to change the circumstances that fill blacks with such rage, and the way to do that is to ride the tide of change - the faster the better.

T HE international community is lusting to help. The sports world, despite the hiccups, wants us in, not out; sensible people everywhere perceive that nothing is quite as likely to bind South Africans together as the sight of a multi-racial Springbok team at Barcelona.

On the sanctions front, the pace was set by the European Community and the British. It was stepped up by President Bush, and now a host of American dependencies, from Israel to Japan, is
Showdown week for Winnie Mandela

But Mandela's defence will argue that the first time the court heard, of such a campaign, was during judgment and that there was no evidence that Mandela knew of such a plan or had any desire to become involved in it.

• The judge found that once Falati and former Mandela Umkhonto member were arrested, Mandela did not know they were in the plotting room. He learned of this information second-hand.

DAWN BARKHUIZE reports on a new phase in the Winnie Mandela saga

ed Football Club, coach Jerry Richardson had kidnapped the youths, they said, out of desperation to have them without Mandela's sanction. If they were capable of doing this, they were capable of hatching the kidnapping plot on their own, her defence will argue.

Mandela's defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, devoted much time to proving these allegations.

The judge, however, ruled that the matter was a side issue.

• Judge Stegmann concluded that by January 1, 1989, at the very latest, Mandela was aware that "the four captives in her back rooms" had been the victims of serious assaults. On her return from Brandfort she could not have failed to notice the sjambok marks on any one of the victims.

Mandela's defence will argue that this was not put to her during the hearing and that there was no conclusive evidence that the occupants of her house would have informed her of the assault.

Mandela's attorneys have requested permission to appeal directly to the Appellate Division instead of going first to the Transvaal Provincial Division.

This, it is understood, is because of the complex nature of the case.

Should the judge deny Mandela the right of appeal, she has the option of appealing directly to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.
Ramaphosa still leads miners

By THEMBA KHUMALO and JOHANNES NGCOBO

NEWLY elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa still heads the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and will do so until the end of the year, according to NUM president James Mokatsi.

He said Marcel Golding would continue acting as Ramaphosa’s deputy until the union’s central executive committee (CEC) nominated the “right man to step into Ramaphosa’s boots” in March.

The NUM’s national executive reserved the right to veto its CEC’s nominee. Although the NUM had allowed Ramaphosa to stand for his new position at the ANC’s conference last week, the union’s constitution did not allow Ramaphosa to leave his powerful position immediately.

Ramaphosa, a seasoned unionist and shrewd tactician in labour matters, was elected to the ANC position when he beat his predecessor, Alfred Nzo, and the ANC’s chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma.

Less than a week after his landslide victory in Durban, Ramaphosa headed the NUM delegation in negotiations with the Chamber of Commerce for better salaries and working conditions for miners.

Mokatsi said Ramaphosa would also continue to be a member of the working committee – drawn from unions, employers and the government – whose task it is to reconstruct the waning mining industry.

Mokatsi denied speculation that either NUM education secretary Kgalema Montlane or national organiser Gwenje Mantashe would succeed Ramaphosa.

Only the CEC could appoint nominees, Mokatsi said.

Ramaphosa’s election to the ANC post comes at a time when black miners have to grapple with retrenchments as the mining industry takes a nosedive.
ONE of the strongest weapons wielded by black liberation movements against the South African regime has been rendered ineffective.

US President George Bush's lifting of trade and economic sanctions against South Africa this week and the probability that other countries will follow suit, had been on the cards for some time.

Sanctions and mass mobilisation have been our most effective weapons to bring about change. Nobody can deny their effectiveness. Without them apartheid legislation would still be on the statute books.

The lifting of sanctions is not a victory for the Nationalist government as President FW de Klerk would like to claim.

When sanctions began to bite, De Klerk's government had to shift from its ox-wagon mentality because the country was on the brink of economic ruin.

South Africans in general were becoming fed up with isolation.

Our sportsmen were tired of competing among themselves and wanted international recognition. White business could no longer expand and the standard of living of even wealthy white citizens took a knock.

However, sanctions were part of a short-term strategy to make the world aware that it was immoral to sustain apartheid by pumping money into South Africa.

That objective has been achieved and the government cannot go back to apartheid.

Our liberation movements have missed the opportunity of keeping control of the sanctions weapon to its ultimate end. They were in the driver's seat, but they became complacent and lost control.

By late last year it was evident many countries were gearing to open up trade links with South Africa.

At the Organisation of African Unity conference last month, OAU secretary general Salim Salim warned that more than half of the OAU's 51 member states were already covertly trading with South Africa.

One would have expected the ANC to address this issue at their national conference last week. But instead they placed more emphasis on the armed struggle.

One would have thought the ANC has realised that the armed struggle has been rendered ineffective.

Neighbouring states, with the exception of Zimbabwe, see our liberation movements as a threat to their peaceful coexistence with South Africa.

Some have even been in cahoots with the South African government against the ANC and the PAC.

And the Nkomati Accord signed with Mozambique effectively barred the ANC from using that country as a launching pad.

Armed struggle suffered a further setback when South Africa agreed to pull out of Angola and Namibia and ANC and Cuban forces withdrew from Angola.

Mass mobilisation is now the only effective weapon left in the hands of the liberation movements because it is the masses who will determine South Africa's final destiny.

This is one weapon black liberation movements must not abuse. If we are to see the transfer of power to the people, we must unite.

De Klerk is moving quickly in bringing together a solid National Party alliance and it is rumoured that the National Party is looking at recruiting members from the Zionist Church and other moderate churches that do not subscribe to the SACC.

One cannot rule out the possibility of an alliance between the Inkatha Freedom Party, community councillors and other minor groups.

We need a Patriotic Front involving all black liberation movements if we still hope to steal the show from De Klerk.
Chances of negotiation brighter now

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

President de Klerk has moved to improve the atmosphere for negotiations by denouncing two of his controversial ministers against the background of the Inkatha-gate controversy. He is expected to follow this up with announcement of secret projects later this week.

Playing his cards close to his chest as usual, Mr de Klerk’s has surprised his followers with the Cabinet reshuffle.

How the new Cabinet looks page 12

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok, while remaining in the Cabinet, have been given fairly minor portfolios.

Some of their Nationalist colleagues saw this as merely a face-saving move by the president to avoid any controversy surrounding the following of ANC mandates that they be fired.

The minister who is the likely to be sacked is the minister of justice, Mr Gerhard Viljoen, who is expected to return to the ANC when he had the time to do so.

Malan is a known as an abrasive politician who often appears to be used by the government to attack the ANC. A former head of the Defence Force, he was a protege of former president PW Botha who appointed him to the Cabinet.

Mr Vlok is known as a mild-mannered man, a fact that some of his colleagues maintained that he was dedicated to improving the image of the police, which has been tarnished by allegations of corruption.

Many “dirty tricks” allegations against the police remain unproven.

Mr de Klerk is clearly sensitive about the effect that allegations and disclosures about secret projects and the involvement of security forces in violence can have on the negotiation process.

He has therefore moved to contain the damage at this stage, at the same time as the negotiations.

ANC cautious, PAC says it’s disgraceful

Political Staff

THRICE has been mixed reaction across the political spectrum. Some angering from caution and approval to outright indignation that ministers Adrian Vlok and General Magnus Malan were kept in the Cabinet.

ANC deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu said: “It’s not easy to say what we will do one way or the other. To remove them (the ministers) is something, but the situation in rather complex and requires to be examined.”

The ANC’s national working committee met in Johannesburg last night and the full national executive committee met today.

Mr Manne Jacobs, Western Cape head of the ANC Youth League, said the VL had not demanded the ministers’ removal but their removal.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said it was disgraceful that although ministers guilty of ruthless practices were no longer in their former positions, they were still in the Cabinet.

On the far right there was also dissatisfaction.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Mr Fred Hamburger said President de Klerk had given in to the demands of his own party.

With his Cabinet reshuffle Mr de Klerk has given in to demands from his own ranks that more promising, young politicians such as Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Pici Maral and Mr Leon Wessels must be given a chance.

The one embarrassment to Mr de Klerk at this stage in the resignation of the “own aires” Minister of Education, Mr De Beer, because he had only 47 majority in his Free State mandate in the last general election and the CP is now bound to win the seat.

On the other hand Mr Cloete was becoming an embarrassment to the government because he had been unable to keep up with moves towards open schools.

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok were called suddenly to Pretoria today for a Cabinet meeting on President de Klerk’s official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what Mr de Klerk planned to tell them. The ministers had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Friday, planning his much-anticipated news conference tonight or rules Inkatha towards.

They had no idea what they would be key elements of today’s strategy.

There was no sign of demolition. Mr Vlok, under the most fire for the police’s role in funding two illegal liberation cells and the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWAC), had no signal from the bush conference of Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and cabinet secretaries held last Thursday and Tuesday that he was about to be shifted.

To his aide, it was Mr Vlok going about business as usual — with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aide told him to be “serious but confident”, and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to accusations in the Press that he had lied when he had said on television a few days previously that every cent spent on Inkatha was justified.

General Malan and Mr Vlok apparently met Mr de Klerk separately after the telephone call on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Brynwhiston mansion. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Lichtenburg to hear their fates that afternoon.

Two veteran survivors

Both outgoing security ministers, who had been close to the president and government, were expected to return to their portfolios.

The ministers must hold their portfolios as a mark of support to the president.

Their successors, Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Horace Kruzinger were left in their posts — but at least they were not “tainted with the dirty tricks of the past.”

Democratic Party MP for Umkhepa Mr Roobs Jordaan, another key player in the drama, said that Mr de Klerk had made “an excellent move” and had shown his loyalty to “people with good service.”

Labour party leader and chairman of the Ministers’ Council, Mr Enoch Soek, the leader of the opposition, described the reshuffle as a positive reaction.

The axing showed President de Klerk accepted that the court had no faith in the two ministers, the national director of lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Corbin, said.

Reacting from Greece, where he is to testify before the UN High Commission on Human Rights today, Mr Corbin said the move suggested President de Klerk took the latest developments in the country seriously.

FW faces the nation today

Political Staff and Sapa

President de Klerk faces the nation this evening at Inkatha funding scandal.

In a Press conference to televised live from the government in Pretoria at 6pm it will explain his stance on the allegations which have rocked the government.

Yesterday the State Security Council gave him a briefing on the security situation.

It is understood that there was a meeting attended by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Lichtenberg, on the Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and Dr Nel Barnard, head of National Intelligence Service.

The SIA was said to have prepared report for the SSC on how to public and the international community were reacting the exposure and on capacities speed of options open to the government.

In addition, the SSC thought to have seen depots reports on funding which may become future bargaining chips given the NUZ to further “graze” lead to the media.

FW faces the nation today

Political Staff and Sapa
THE reception of the 48th national conference of the ANC seems to be a classic case of the gulf that often separates black and white perceptions and reality generally in South Africa.

Many political commentators (most of whom are white) wanted the ANC to focus on a particular set of issues, prime among them being the severing of links with the SAPC, the role of free enterprise in a future South Africa under ANC dominance, and the question of sanctions and the cultural boycott.

Most white fears are significantly shaped by such observations, judging by the responses in letters pages of the print media, the calls to talkshows, and the questions that are constantly raised at political meetings frequented by whites.

Most blacks appeared to want the ANC to have the opportunity to put its house in order and after three decades of exile and legitimise its claim to represent their interests and grievances.

Their anticipation of delivery from apartheid’s hardships would be further enabled in the process of achieving a better society where social, economic, and political justice prevails.

In the event, the ANC had its own rightful agenda and attempted to address such an agenda.

The ANC did not emerge with the earth-shattering outcues that were expected in certain quarters, including within certain ANC circles. Deputy president Nelson Mandela’s opening paper was largely addressed to the delegates to shape ensuing conference discussion. President Mandela’s rally speech was in similar measure addressed to his actual and prospective membership.

They retained their top leadership with the exception of the assasination of Cyril Ramaphosa to the secretary-generalship. All of this was predictable.

Even the rousing applause given to the representative from the Soviet Union was predictable.

What many commentators did not foresee was the degree of participatory democracy that was evident and the ANC’s willingness to acknowledge previous mistakes, like its lack of accountability to its membership, and its commitment to the secret ballot in electing its entire National Executive, even when that procedure was so time-consuming.

This augurs well for a new democracy culture in South Africa.

If the main criticisms of political commentators since last Sunday evening were the role of the SAPC and the fact the conference was closed for the largest part, then the disparity in perception and reality between black and white in South Africa emerges starkly.

While many white political commentators bemoaned the closed nature of the ANC conference, they were unable to recognise the ANC’s attempt to transform itself, primarily to meet internal criticism.

How many conferences have we seen in South Africa with such an impressively represented and where the secret ballot was utilised in such fashion?

The election results probably showed the former ANC leadership where delegates’ true sentiments lay, warning them that the key internal leaders could not be marginalised.

The ANC has failed and continues to convince white mainstream South Africa that it is acceptable. Until fairly recently the main attack on the ANC was nationalisation. That issue seems to have given way to red-baiting.

South Africa is not known for its tolerance, whether racial or political. Commentators need to desist from fueling communalism in the “new kaffirs.” Perhaps they overestimate the influence of their over most blacks.

Similarly, the ANC needs to recognise that it has taken black support for granted. Its true test lies ahead.

South African blacks are deeply religious, caring very little about even the promise of communism. But they have experienced social degradation, economic exclusion and political alienation.

When the very commentators, who just 18 months ago were denouncing apartheid, now take up cudgels on their behalf, they become suspicious.

Are such commentators looking to boost the SAPC?

They tried to recall that for most descendants “my enemy’s enemy is my friend.” The SAPC never had the publicity it’s now getting!

Underground

Unhkoento we Sizwe (MK) is still strong on the NEC and many members have operated underground.

Elected members include Nelson Mandela (president), Walter Sisulu (deputy president); former NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary general); ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma (deputy secretary general); Thomas Thabo (treasurer general) and Oliver Tambo (national chairman).

Among the elected members there are: MK chief of staff and SAPC leader Chris Hani; ANC foreign affairs department head Thabo Mbeki; SAPC general secretary Joe Slovo; department of information head Pallo Jordan and MK leader Joe Modise.

Among those who were included: former UDF publicity secretary Patrick “Terror” Leota, 43; ANC Border region chairman Arnold Stoffel, 47; ANC Department of Political Education head Richard Suttner, 45; Western Cape regional executive committee member Trevor Manuel, 35; Comsat assistant general secretary Sidney Mufamadi, 32; and the national chairman of the Provisional National Youth Committee of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, 35.

Elected women include: former head of the ANC’s internal underground, Ruth Mompati; deputy president of the ANC Women’s League, Albertina Sisulu; the SAPC’s Cheryl Carolus; Social Welfare Department head Winifred Lekota; Women’s League president Gertrude Shoppe; National Working Committee member Barbara Masokela; senior spokeswomen Gill Marcus; Border region information officer Merle Spong and Catholic activist Sister Bernard Noub.

Despite the defeat of the Women’s League proposal for a 30 percent quota of women on the NEC in a heated debate, the ANC delegates did support the resolution on affirmative action for women.

It has stated it will “support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of new women is heard in the organisation and that women are treated equally at all levels”.

In defining the objectives of the Women’s League, the constitution says these will be “to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people’s struggle and in national life”.

Although the constitution says it is the right of all ANC members to offer constructive criticism of officials, policies and activities of the ANC, it also has a clause restraining its members from producing or distributing literature purporting to be the viewpoint of a faction or tendency within the ANC. — AIA
ANC President Nelson Mandela now faces the wide gulf between white and black perceptions of the conference. While most white commentators only focused on the role of the SACP within the ANC, black commentators saw a genuine effort by the ANC to transform itself to meet internal criticism.
We will not beg, says PAC leader

The Pan Africanist Congress would not negotiate indemnity for its members in jail or exiles. PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunye told a rally at Sibasa at the weekend:

"Enoch Zulu (PAC military commander freed recently by the Government) never signed papers for his release and the same will be for our exiles.

"All this should be unconditional.

"We shall not beg for anything that is ours", Mr Madzunye said.

He said the PAC would comply with a 1989 United Nations agreement dealing with exiles and prisoners.

US President George Bush's lifting of sanctions had not come as a surprise, but reflected US meddling in South African politics, Mr Madzunye added.
Bomb destroys ‘ANC school’

An explosion extensively damaged Pretoria’s Hillview High School — earmarked for use by ANC exiles’ children later this month — in the early hours of yesterday morning.

No one was hurt in the huge blast, which caused damage estimated at R800,000 and all but demolished the school’s main building, leaving glass and rubble strewn over a 50 m radius.

Police say they believe the bomb was placed near a first-floor classroom.

Lieutenant Jan Crouse, police liaison officer for the northern Transvaal, said about 25 kg of an as yet unknown explosive was used.

“We are still waiting for results of the tests. Explosives experts went in but were hampered because the building is unsafe.”

Lieutenant Crouse said police had no suspects as yet and no witnesses have come forward. The bombing was being investigated as a case of terrorism.

The explosion occurred just one day before the newly renovated building was due to be handed over to the Government for the use of about 700 children of ANC exiles who are expected to be flown to South Africa from Tanzania later this month.

An act of provocation"... Robert van Tonder.

The ANC yesterday said it believed a lunatic right-wing fringe group was responsible for the blast.

An ANC spokesman for the PWV region, Ronnie Maoma, said the act was designed to destabilise the plan to take over the school. The group responsible was trying to turn the clock back to the darkest days of apartheid, he added.

"The problem of the right-wing is the problem of the Government, which has, through its propaganda, produced this type of people.”

The blast follows threats by right-wingers, who pledged that the school would be a target for Boer resistance.

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Jan Groenewald, chief secretary of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging, said last week that the decision to make the school available to the ANC was an "act of deliberate encroachment and occupation of historical Boer territory".

He called on the Government to revoke the decision "in the interests of stability, peace and order", adding that "the ANC school is an object of revulsion for the Boer nation and will be a target of Boer resistance".

In his reaction last night, Boerist Party leader Robert van Tonder said the Government had committed an act of "extreme provocation" by selecting a school "in the heart of the Boere State and Paul Kruger's Boer capital".

"These peoples have no right to... permanence in the Boere State and the Government can be grateful that the school was not totally flattened because the mistrust and resentment produced by their deliberate provocation is not easy to describe.”

Nightwatchmen at the scene said although they had heard a whistling sound immediately before the blast, they had seen nothing.

Large sections of the school are still usable, but it is unclear whether the ANC will still use the school to house the children.
Mandela gets Bop hunger strikers to quit

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The hunger strike by 26 Bophuthatswana political prisoners was called off early yesterday after dramatic interventions by President de Klerk, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Informed sources added that the prisoners will now probably be released under the formula worked out last year by the Government and the ANC for the release of South African prisoners.

The sources said the prisoners called off their strike at 1am yesterday after Mr Mandela had startled them awake when he strode into their wards at Odi hospital in Garankuwa, Bophuthatswana.

This was the culmination of 15 hours of efforts by Mr Mandela to get permission to enter Bophuthatswana territory to address them. It started at 8am on Saturday when Mr Mandela telephoned Mr Botha from George to ask for help.

That set off a hectic chain reaction of diplomatic activity at the highest levels, including telephone calls between Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and finally Mr Botha with Mr Mangope.

Mr Mangope at first resisted the idea of a visit by Mr Mandela to the strikers, suspecting that he would exploit the occasion politically.

But the ANC leader dug in his heels, encamping at Wonderboom Airport in Pretoria for several hours with his deputy, Walter Sisulu, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels was sent to the airport as emissary to the ANC leaders, while Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha battled to bring around Mr Mangope.

After an acrimonious telephone conversation between Mr Mandela and Mr Mangope, Mr Botha finally persuaded Mr Mangope that the ANC president's intention was only to persuade the prisoners to call off their strike.

Witnesses said that Mr Mandela had not tried directly to persuade the prisoners to call off their strike. But he told them that they were about to do irreversible damage to their health which would render them useless to the ANC.

A spokesman for the hunger strikers told Mr Mandela that because he had made the effort to visit them at 1am, they would end their protest fast.

South African Government sources said the determined intervention by the ANC and Government leaders had defused a potentially-disastrous international incident.

One top source said the successful resolution of the strike was "the first practical manifestation of how a critical situation can be overcome by mutual trust and understanding without outside intervention".

Asked for comment, Mr Botha confirmed the basic facts and said Saturday had been a "really busy day".

He expressed his gratitude to Mr Mandela, Mr Mangope and Mr de Klerk for their intervention, which had been "in the best interests of South and southern Africa".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed last night that the hunger strike had been called off but said she could not confirm that the release of the prisoners was imminent.

"All we have is an undertaking that the release of the prisoners will be looked into."

Mr Marcus said the ANC did not regard the ending of the hunger strike as a success. They had been urged to end the strike only to avoid loss of life. The issue would only be resolved when the prisoners were released.
MORE than half of Alexandra's adult population is unemployed, according to a recent survey.

The survey by the Education for Employment Campaign (EEC) also found that the township's population had risen by about 30% during the past year to 320,000. EEC director Dave Jackson said only one-fifth of Alexandra's children of school-going age were at school.

The remaining 76,000 children were turning to crime.

"Many unemployed people, including children, when asked how they survived, replied 'We have to steal — how else do you expect us to live?" Jackson said.

The EEC seeks to train township residents in practical matters and is funded by the Independent Development Trust, local industries and foreign interests, including the European Community (EC).

Jackson said that 96% of Alexandra's population pinned their hopes for the future on the education of their children.

But certificates of education were virtually useless if the holder could not speak English well, he said.

"There are people out there with BSc degrees who are not able to communicate properly in a factory and therefore cannot find jobs," he said.

The EEC programme aims to upgrade school facilities, provide training, counselling services and employment facilities for the unemployed and management training for community leaders.

The latter was vital to help defuse tension between rival township political groups, Jackson said.

The programme is being set up initially in Alexandra.

The EEC hopes to provide the service in other townships as well.

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**Soweto ‘gives most support to govt’**

GOVERNMENT has a higher level of support in Soweto than any other political formation according to a survey of township residents' political attitudes.

The report, by the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, found that Soweto residents were "very moderate" and gave government a higher level of support than they did the church, trade unions, the ANC, employers and Azapo.

The survey, of 965 township residents across SA, showed 80% of respondents were satisfied with the leadership of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, but in Soweto De Klerk got 20% more support than the ANC.

The ANC would, however, get the votes of 60% of all township residents nationally in a general election.

Civic associations, street committees, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu enjoyed lower levels of identification in Soweto than in other townships.

On the East Rand, virtually all political formations had a lower endorsement than elsewhere, except for Inkatha.

Inkatha had "overwhelming support" among hostel dwellers, who gave positive ratings to both the state and employers.

Most striking about hostel dwellers, the researchers said, was that they rated all other agencies and movements, including the church, relatively poorly.

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**Farmworkers victims under law, report**

THE exclusion of farmworkers from industrial and labour legislation made the law a weapon in the hands of the bosses, according to a report published by the United Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

University of Witwatersrand researcher Lauren Segal, the author of the report, said the relationship between farmers and labourers operated along the lines of a medieval master-serf relationship rather than according to contractual principles.

"Without written obligations to bind him, the farmer is free to dismiss his worker for whatever reason he wishes and to decide on his own terms," she said.

"SA's 1,3-million farmworkers are not legally protected and conditions on some farming operations have revealed that there is no bottom line to how bad such conditions may be under the law," she said.

She said farmworkers were excluded from the Labour Relations Act, the Wages Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Factories Act, and had no right to public holidays, sick pay or leave.

There was no legal limit to working hours or any statute compelling farmers to pay overtime and as there was no minimum age for farmworkers, child labour was endemic, she said.

Legislation which could be used against farmworkers included the Illegal Squatters Act, the Trespass Act and the General Law Amendment Act, she said.
ANC persuades 25 to end hunger strike

TWENTY-FIVE Bophuthatswana hunger strikers have called off their fast after top level ANC intervention at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Said Macozoma said yesterday ANC president Nelson Mandela, fearing for the weakened prisoners' lives, persuaded them to suspend their strike so that “other strategies” could be pursued in the campaign for their release.

This followed a midnight visit to the prisoners on Saturday by Mandela, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Macozoma said the ANC held the SA government responsible for the fate of the hunger strikers and would continue to pressure government and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to release them.

The hunger strikers, who are all serving sentences after being convicted of high treason for their role in the abortive 1963 attempted coup, insist they are political prisoners and should be released.

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday the prisoners were reported to be in “very bad health.”
THE BETRAYAL by Gillian Slovo
(Michael Joseph, R59,99)

IN 1985, at a time of violent and tense political conflict, with South
Africa being ruled under a state of emergency, the security forces un-
covered a guerrilla hideout and arms cache.

In the shootout that followed one of
the ANC’s most highly regarded
guerrilla leaders, Victor, was killed.
His colleague Thabo Mjali, also po-
tentially destined for great things in
the organisation, was captured, tried
and sentenced to life imprisonment
on Robben Island. “Who betrayed
them?” was one of the most impor-
tant questions the ANC and its intel-
ligence units tried and failed to
answer.

Four years later, towards the end
of 1989, South Africa is in the midst
of dramatic political change. Walter
Sisulu and seven others have been
released from prison. But the ANC is
still banned. It is a period when no
one — neither the fighters and their
political leaders nor the security

policemen whose job it is to safe-
guard the integrity of the state from
them — can be sure about which way
SA is headed. A series of separate,
but linked, events occur.

First, new circumstantial evi-
dence leads to suspicion that the per-
son responsible for the betrayal was
Alan Littell, a white member of the
ill-fated unit. At a base in Tanzania,
a tribunal prepares to grill him to try
and get at the truth. For the tribunal,
headed by the competent Rebecca
Molsia, time is of the essence. A cru-
cial operation (shades of Operation
Vula?) is about to be launched. The
large group of trained cadres is due
to land on the coast within days, and
Littell knows the details. If he is a
spy and has betrayed them too, the
unit could be wiped out. Should the
operation be called off before they
land?

Molsia’s uncertain attitude to Lit-
tell is guided as much by gut reaction
as by anything else. She is not im-
mune to instinctive mistrust of
whites, despite her organisation’s
non-racial character and despite her
awareness of this failing.

Meanwhile Littell’s lover, Sarah
Patterson, on a minor mission to SA,
has been detained by the security
police. But the commanding officer
at John Vorster Square, Col Jansen,
and his subordinate Capt Malan,
have different views on how to pro-
ceed. Jansen, convinced the country
is on the brink of major political
changes, has lost the will to fight. But
Malan is convinced he is about to
crack a major case, and Patterson is
the key.

Gillian Slovo, thanks to her con-
nections — she acknowledges assist-
ance from her father and other ANC
officials — has been able to bring
authenticity to events in ANC camps
and offices in Tanzania and Zambia,
to underground operations and pro-
cedures inside SA, and to interroga-
tion sessions at John Vorster Square.

One may have expected Slovo, giv-
en her background, to drop her liter-
ary standards and portray the secu-
ritypolice as simply as brutes —
some of them are just that, after all.
But Jansen and Malan are presented
as human beings with human failings —
policemen who use their frightening
powers only to achieve their profes-
sional goals rather than to fulfill
sadistic instincts.

All this puts The Betrayal among
the best South African political
thrillers. It creates a standard
against which future efforts will
have to be measured.

ALAN FINE

SLOVO . . . among the best
Power sharing wins poll

FEWER than one in 10 blacks believes SA should have an all-black government, a recent Gallup opinion poll by market research company Markinor found.

Of 1300 blacks sampled, only 9% said they favoured a government in which "all power was in the hands of blacks".

More than 2000 people, including 800 whites, were sampled across the country for the poll last month.

Power sharing was the most popular choice among both groups, with 85% of blacks and 58% of whites saying they favoured a government in which "power is shared equally by all population groups and no one group dominates the others".

A black government was the least popular choice among both groups in the sample - favoured by only one in 100 whites and 9% of blacks.

A white-dominated government was favoured by 41% of whites and 8% of blacks.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woesner said the results made it clear that most whites and blacks took a "realistic, middle-of-the-road view" of political developments.

Divisions within the racial groups were more marked among whites than among blacks.

Three-quarters of English-speaking whites favoured power sharing, compared to just under half the Afrikaans speakers.

Among blacks, Xhosa speakers were the most polarised, with 15% in favour of a black government. Only 6% of Zulu speakers did so.
ANC poll shows that
Reds are here to stay

By TONY HOLIDAY

Inevitably, these questions, and such answers as may be given to them, have concrete implications for the make-up of the Central Committee the party must elect in December, just as discussions at the ANC conference had consequences for the leadership it decided to elect.

Leadership consequences

Of course it may turn out that the SACP congress, in a spirit of easy comradely rest content with allowing the insurrectionists to admit their mistake and promising to try to do better next time. But the path of politics, like those of true love, seldom run quite as smoothly as that.

The fact is that the dawn of a new negotiation for a transfer of power will also be an extremely testing one for all parties involved. It will be particularly unforgiving of misreadings of political realities.

The ANC, SACP and the vast mass of vellone South Africans cannot afford such misinterpretations to be a ubiquitous feature of the new phase.

Inevitably, the restructuring of its programme and the acceptance of its negotiating role will plunge the SACP into a set of profound theoretical debates.

These have already begun but are still in the embryonic and will continue well beyond December.

These will focus on such issues as the leading role of the party, its relationship to the South African working class, black and white; the meanings of terms like "democratic socialism" and "social democracy"; communist attitudes to religious belief and the place of moral values within Marxism.

Colleagues

What is certain is that the ANC-SACP alliance is as firm as ever it was, if not firmer, and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. The fact that nearly 90% of the ANC delegates voted Joe Slovo on to the NEC is eloquent proof of that.

That the 2,524 delegates to the ANC conference have evinced this kind of support for the communists in their leadership, constitutes an unmistakable signal to President De Klerk and his constitutional advisors.

From now on they will have to debate and negotiate with communists and prepare themselves to accept them as colleagues in a future Parliament.

To do this effectively, they will need to rid themselves of the bigotry which has clouded their view of what communists really are and stand for hitherto.

If they want the negotiations to prosper, they must cease their futile plotting to prise the SACP loose from its alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

All this will not be easy for the politicians of the White Establishment. But they really have little choice in the matter. The ANC's decision is unmistakable: The Reds are here to stay.

Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape, a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.
'Shadow cabinet' of ANC to be named

Staff Reporter

The ANC's "shadow cabinet" is likely to be named tomorrow when the newly elected national executive committee (NEC) meets for the first time in Johannesburg.

The agenda for the meeting has not been announced, but ANC sources said one of the crucial topics would be the naming of the 26-strong national working committee (NWC), which will emerge as the alternative cabinet to lead the ANC through the period of transformation.

ANC sources said the NWC would come up for discussion but might not be finalised at the first meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the NWC would consist of the six top office bearers — president, deputy president, national chairman, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general — and 20 NEC members to be chosen by the NEC from its 50-strong ranks.

The full 91-member NEC consists of 50 members directly elected at the ANC's national conference in Durban earlier this month, the six top office bearers, the 23 regional chairmen and secretaries, the presidents and national secretaries of the Women's League and the Youth League, and three members which might be co-opted by the NEC.

Mr Niehaus said the 32 ex-officio NEC members — the 28 regional chairmen and secretaries and the two representatives each from the Women's League and the Youth League — would not be eligible for NWC positions.

The three co-opted members, still to be appointed, would also not be considered for the NWC.

He said the procedures for the naming of the NWC had not yet been decided.

"It still has to be decided whether the NWC will be elected by the NEC or appointed by general consensus," he said.

The ANC announced earlier that regional chairmen and secretaries, as well as Women's League and Youth League office bearers, who had been elected onto the NEC at the ANC's national conference in Durban earlier this month would have to resign their positions.

This means that seven top ANC positions have become vacant.

Regional chairmen who were elected onto the NEC at the conference in Durban were Jacob Zuma (Southern Natal), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Joel Netshitenzhe (Northern Transvaal), Ruth Mompali and Arnold Stoffler (Border).

The positions of Women's League and Youth League presidents have also become vacant following the election of Gertrude Shope and Peter Mokaba onto the NEC.

PRETORIA — The Women's Bureau of South"
South Africanism at work: Buthelezi

AN emergent new South Africanism would dictate political events, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday.

"It was this South Africanism which took the National Party by the ear in Mr PW Botha's time and which took Mr FW de Klerk by the scruff of the neck and put him at the head of the NP and said: 'Get on with the job of doing what PW Botha did not do'.

"While perhaps the NP would like to take credit for De Klerk's speech and subsequent moves, the hard facts of the matter are that it was South Africanism emerging among all the National Party support base camps that dictated what he should do."

- Sapa
CAPE TOWN — A petition signed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in 1961 will be among several pieces of South African historic and literary memorabilia to be auctioned at Sotheby’s in London on Thursday.

The auction is a bid to raise money for the education of exiled students. All 35 lots of documents and manuscripts have been donated, most of them by prominent authors, on behalf of the Canon Collins Educational Trust for Southern Africa. The fund, set up in 1991, supplies books for literacy projects in refugee settlements. The latest Sotheby’s list says the three-page petition, calling for support from Britain, was signed by Mandela as well as current executive committee members Ahmed Kathrada and John Nkadimeng.

The asking price for this lot is £700 to £800.

Most of the lots are expected to fetch thousands of rands each. Among them are:
- The draft of Shawn Slovo’s screenplay of the film A World Apart;
- Gillian Slovo’s 600-page computer print-out draft of her novel The Betrayal;
- Albie Sachs’s typescript of his book Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter;
- Nadine Gordimer’s working typescript of the novel Something Out There;
- A Graham Greene working draft, and a German document by Albert Schweitzer;
- Lewis Nkosi’s typescript of his novel Mating Birds;
- The typescript of André Brink’s 1988 novel States of Emergency; and
- The typescript of J M Coetzee’s essay Remembering Texas, about his experience of an alien culture on a Fulbright scholarship in 1988.
ANC set to pick ‘shadow Cabinet’

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC’s "shadow Cabinet" is likely to be named tomorrow when the newly elected national executive committee (NEC) meets for the first time in Johannesburg.

The agenda for the meeting has not been announced, but ANC sources said one of the crucial topics would be the naming of the 26-person national working committee (NWC), which will emerge as the alternative Cabinet to lead the ANC through the period of transformation.

ANC sources said the NWC would come up for discussion, but might not be finalised at the first meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the NWC would consist of the six top office-bearers — president, deputy president, national chairman, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general — as well as 20 NEC members to be chosen by the NEC from its 90-strong ranks.

The full 91-member NEC consists of 50 members directly elected at the ANC's national conference in Durban earlier this month, the six top office-bearers, the 28 regional chairmen and secretaries, the presidents and national secretaries of the Women's League and the Youth League, plus three members who can be co-opted by the NEC.

Appointed

Mr Niehaus said the 32 ex officio NEC members — the 28 regional chairmen and secretaries as well as the two representatives each from the Women's League and the Youth League — would not be eligible for positions on the NWC.

The three co-opted members, still to be appointed, would also not be considered for the NWC.

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The positions of Women's League and Youth League presidents have also become vacant following the election of Gertrude Shope and Peter Mokaba to the NEC.
Allan Boesak to join ANC today

Political Correspondent
FORMER United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak will formally join the ANC at 10.30am today.

The ceremony will take place at the offices of the Foundation for Peace and Justice in Belville.

Dr Boesak, a critic earlier this month at the ANC's national conference in Durban when he allowed his name to appear on the candidates list for the 50 elected positions on the ANC's national executive committee.

The unprecedented step immediately sparked controversy among several delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a senior position in an organisation he had not bothered to join.

Dr Boesak withdrew from the race at the last moment.

He has promised to raise his objections to the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party within the organisation's internal structures.

Dr Boesak has been approached to join several branches in the Western Cape, but has indicated that he will join the Lavender Hill branch.
We blasted school – rightwingers

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Two right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the Hillview High School bomb blast – but police said yesterday they had no concrete leads yet.

A woman, claiming she was a member of the “Wit Wolwe” – and a man saying he belonged to the “Wit Republikeinse Leer” (White Republican Army) have claimed to newspapers their organisations were responsible for the blast.

Neither caller revealed any identity. This is also the first mention of an organisation called “Wit Republikeinse Leer”, although there is an organisation called the “Boer Republikeinse Leer”.

Both callers expressed their outraged at the ANC’s plans to accommodate 700 exiled children from Tanzania at the school.

The woman said seven women members of the Wit Wolwe were responsible for Sunday’s blast.

Asked how they had acquired the explosives, she replied: “That remains our secret. We did it because we do not want ANC children in our city and we are prepared to blow it up again – children and all.”

The man said the action was to show the ANC that it was not wanted in the “Boer Republic”. He claimed his group had been trained by the Irish Republican Army and was the “brother of the ‘Wit Wolf’ murder squad”.

Police have decided to treat the calls “with circumspection”. “We can’t add too much value to the claims,” a police spokesman said.

ANC education and repatriation spokesman Caleb Bush said yesterday that the organisation was waiting on the Government to contact it regarding alternative arrangements.

The children’s arrival has been postponed.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, reacting to allegations that the Government was not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, said everything was being done to trace the bombers.

The police also had a high success rate in investigating rightwing terrorism and thus far had solved 90 percent of such cases, which was a higher percentage than their success rate in solving leftwing terrorism.

Captain Kotze added: “The police do not ever underestimate the rightwing’s far greater capacity to commit terrorism.”

A number of rightwing organisations, while denying involvement in the planting of the bomb, have applauded the action.

Deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Coen Vermaak, said yesterday he believed the bomb could have been the work of the “Boer Republikeinse Leer”, which recently distributed advice on how to commit sabotage and had identified specific targets by name.

This organisation, whose leadership is unknown, has circulated at least two documents among Boer independence groups over the past six months – advising people to act alone in sabotage or terrorism so they could not be identified on membership lists.

Captain Kotze said the police had taken note of the “Boer Republican Army” and would take a “very close look at the origin of this organisation to see if it actually existed”, or might just be a hoax.”
Boesak wants national role in ANC

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak made it clear when he formally joined the ANC yesterday that he wanted a national rather than merely a regional role in the movement.

"My role has always been a national role. There is no reason why that should change now," Dr Boesak told journalists.

But there had been no discussion with the ANC leadership yet on what position he might fill.

"No deals have been made or struck, there have been no promises, and no indication given that I will serve on the national executive committee.

"The only indication I have received was not from the leadership, but from the regions who nominated me for election to the NEC."

He added: "If asked, I would be willing to serve on the NEC."

He would, however, reject being cast in the role of a "coloured" leader tasked with wooing potential coloured supporters.

Dr Boesak signed his application form and received his ANC card before the cameras at a press conference at the Bellville offices of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, which he heads.

Regional president of the ANC Christmas Tinto and regional executive committee member Chris Nissen were present.

Questioned on how he saw his role within the ANC, he indicated that he hoped it would be similar to his role in the UDF, that of "mobilising people, interpreting policy and interpreting the situation."

"These are areas in which I have built up some experience over many years. It is only natural that these would be areas I would cover in the ANC."

Asked if he would seek a position in South Africa or abroad, he replied: "Wherever the ANC wants to use me."

In the short-term, Dr Boesak will "probably" join the Laven- der Hill branch of the ANC. "I go to church there, it's a nice mixed branch and it's close to my home," he said.

Earlier, Dr Boesak said: "I am very happy to be able to say I am a member of the ANC. It is something that has been a part of my life, particularly my political life for a long time now."

He had been "sympathetic with the goals, aims and ideals" of the movement in the past.

"I believe the ANC embodies in its life and work the aspirations of our people — the ideals people have fought for for many years — more than any other political organisation in this country."

Questioned on why he had waited so long before joining, Dr Boesak said he had been approached by "many people" in the community, including Christians, who had wanted to join the ANC, but were concerned about certain aspects of the movement.

"I promised I would not attempt to respond to these myself, but take them up with the leadership."

As a result of this, he had had a series of "talks and consulta-

Signing up... Dr Allan Boesak, flanked by Western Cape executive committee member Chris Nissen, displays his ANC membership card.
SACP celebrates 70th birthday

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

The relationship was unusual and had its roots in concrete conditions. There were fears of a double agenda, but the strength of the alliance was that communists in the ANC "have always subjected themselves to ANC discipline and authority, the inner-democracy of the ANC and have never worked as an organised faction", he said.

All members of the party argue their points of view without any form of mandate. If the party had any position to put to the ANC, it did so as the party "on a formal basis when the two leaderships meet in alliances collectively. The party leadership did not have a single discussion on the issues which would arise at the last ANC conference either in respect of policy or voting".

The motivation behind the refrain that the SACP should expose its membership was to use the participation of communists to beat both the ANC and the party, he said. "It is a matter of historic record that prior to our banning in 1950 there was not a single secret communist. For 40 years we were forced to work in cellars. We were selected as the key targets of slander and repression. We were attacked by the very same people for working in the shadows."

The party was grappling with a transition period which has new demands, and it was headed for its first legal conference in 40 years in December, a congress which would elect a new leadership, programme and constitution.

"And I for one am committed to the proposition that from that point onwards there will be no secret party members."

On the question of why the SACP did not fold and leave the battle to the ANC, he said: "We have no double agenda. As a party we do not hide our socialist objectives. It is our duty to spread the message of an ultimate socialist society now."

In this regard, the SACP differed from the ANC, but the differences were non-antagonistic.

It was the task of an independent party to see that working class interests were not swamped, the working class was organised in a powerful constituency, and the choices being debated for future development were made in a way that would not "prejudice the working class whom we claim to represent."

There have been claims that the alliance was costing the ANC the support of whites, Indians, coloureds and the international community.

The answer to this could be found in a recent Markinor Gallup-related poll which showed 68 percent support, plus a possible 15 percent for the ANC. Presumably those who had given the thumbs up to the ANC did so in full knowledge of the alliance, he said.

If whites, coloureds and Indians had reservations about the party's influence on the ANC, the party was proud to plead guilty of influencing the ANC in its stand for the poor and bias in favour of black working class people.

Referring to the election of communists to the ANC's national executive committee, he said it was universally accepted that the elections were the most democratic South Africa has seen.
ANC children's return delayed

THE RETURN of 400 children of ANC exiles will be delayed until an alternative is found to the Pretoria school which was bombed at the weekend, the ANC said yesterday.

Hilview High School was to be used to house and educate the children, who were due to return to South Africa from Tanzania on August 15.

"The safety of the children is our most important concern and we will do everything in our power to ensure their safety on return to their country."

Damage to the school is estimated at R800,000.
New SABS service to help customers

CUSTOMERS with complaints about items bearing the South African Bureau of Standards mark can now call the newly installed SABS customer service.

The bureau said in a statement issued on Monday that consumers could call Pretoria (012) 428-6666 during office hours if they failed to get satisfaction from retailers when goods which had the SABS quality mark were faulty.

Complaints about goods not bearing the mark but subject to legally compulsory safety, packaging or quality standards would also be handled, the bureau said.

Complaints about goods or services not falling in any of these categories should be addressed to the Consumer Council or other consumer organisations.

The SABS said goods subject to compulsory safety standards included all domestic electrical equipment. These items were tested regularly by the SABS on a random sample principle.

In addition, any manufacturer or importer of such goods could submit samples to the SABS for safety testing before offering it for sale.

- Sowetan Correspondent
Boesak signs up for ANC

FORMER World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak joined the ANC yesterday after talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela about his objection to the influence of communists in the movement.

Dr Boesak joined on the eve of a meeting that could see him co-opted to its policy-making National Executive Committee (NEC).

"What I have said to Mr Mandela is that there are many people in our community, especially our Christian community, who have concerns about the alliance of the ANC with the South African Communist Party (SACP)."

"I feel I can go back to those people now and say that all of those concerns will be addressed and are being addressed by the ANC," he said.

Regional ANC chairman Mr Christmas Tinto delivered an application form to Dr Boesak at his office in Bellville, and watched with reporters and television crews as he signed up.

"There have been no deals struck, no promises made. If they ask me to serve on the NEC, certainly I would be willing to do so," Dr Boesak said.

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said the NEC would meet in Johannesburg today to elect 20 members to a national Working Committee, which together with its top five office-bearers would form the movement's daily executive.

Mr Manuel said the NEC could co-opt Dr Boesak to its ranks, but he would not be eligible for the working committee. — Sapa-Reuter
Easing of sanctions: A blow for the ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, told African journalists during a satellite link-up last Friday that he was "surprised at the lack of joy" on the part of the so-called mass democratic movement at President George Bush's decision to lift a number of sanctions against South Africa.

He argued that the lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), in force since 1986, should be seen as a "great victory" for the representatives of the black majority in South Africa who ought to be crowing: "We've won!"

This is clearly an oversimplification of how perceptions and politics work in this country and Mr Cohen, a astute analyst that he is, must have known this.

A few days earlier, visiting British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd also skirted some of the complexities of the South African situation when he pronounced apartheid dead and argued that it was time to put aside worn out arguments about sanctions.

The reaction, understandably euphoric, among many white South Africans to moves to relax the international sports boycott has also shown up similar blind spots.

Violence

One of the problems bedevilling our still deeply divided and unequally good news, remains the source of diapet, division or even indifference among black citizens.

While the easing of sanctions represents for one constituency a just reward for the reform efforts of President F W de Klerk, for others, whose day-to-day lives have so far been left largely untouched by the repeal of apartheid laws, the big fuss about the issue must seem bewildering.

For the ANC, on the other hand, the summary or "prompt" relaxation of sanctions represents an unhappy downgrading of its influence at home and abroad and loss of a crucial weapon - particularly now that the armed struggle has been suspended - with which to apply pressure on the government.

In strategic terms, the ANC is not chanting triumphantly "We've won!" as Mr Cohen suggests they should, but rather "We're losing".

The normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the world in the areas of diplomacy, trade and sport is increasingly going ahead regardless of what the ANC says.

SA sportsmen

At the same time, the real-life conditions of violence and deprivation affecting many township dwellers shows little prospect of improving in the short term.

This places groups like the ANC in an especially vulnerable position among their supporters since there are few demonstrable and concrete benefits they can show for taking the risk of entering into negotiations with the government.

Indeed, as Idasa points out in its latest journal, "the birth of the 'new South Africa' is beginning to look like a nightmare to ordinary South Africans whose hopes for respite from horrendous violence and unprecedented political turmoil are being dashed daily by a relentless avalanche of conflict and confusion".

Much of the potential which sport has for welding our divided society into a single nation will be lost if South Africa rushes into international competition without first implementing massive sports development programmes in disadvantaged communities.

If South African sportsmen and women attending the Olympic Games in, say, 1986 remain predominantly white, there is little prospect that they will be seen as symbols of a new national unity to be cheered by all South Africans.
DP Youth accuse ANC of 'posturing'

Political Correspondent

THE row between the Democratic Party Youth and the ANC Youth League over sanctions warmed up yesterday with the former accusing their counterparts of "haughty posturing rather than rational arguments".

Earlier, the ANC Youth League had criticised the DP for drawing "rather disturbing and erroneous" conclusions about the ANC's pro-sanctions stance.

Yesterday the DP Youth's vice-chairman, Mr Colin Douglas, said it stood by criticism of the ANC's "irresponsible sanctions policy".

He said DP Youth had spoken out "because the homeless and unemployed and poor desperately need improvement in South Africa's dire economic situation".

The DP Youth had every right to question when ANC national executive members "threaten to destabilise South Africa to discourage investment"
Mandela wants helpful ‘gesture’ from De Klerk

SACP ‘will take own line which we won’t follow’

‘Flexible’ ANC ready to talk

By Stanley Uys

The scene is now set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the Government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Nelson Mandela has revealed.

In an exclusive interview with The Star — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since he became ANC president earlier this month — Mr Mandela made it clear that the organisation had decided to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiating process.

Adopting a markedly less confrontational attitude than in recent statements, Mr Mandela indicated a flexible approach — if the Government demonstrated sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence, and addressed the issues of prisoners, exiles and political trials.

He did not demand conclusive resolutions of each of these stumbling blocks, but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President de Klerk’s Government. This could be remedied by meaningful gestures from Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would:

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha feeling sidelined. “We must involve them…”
- Learn from the mistakes of countries such as Mozambique and Angola which had been “reduced to ashes” because they “did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era.”

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the Government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC’s conviction that Government actions — or refusals to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

The Government’s inability to stop the township violence, in particular, “has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President de Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game.

But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward.” President de Klerk had to ensure that he was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

Favoured

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush’s signing of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

...
The scene is now set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the Government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Nelson Mandela has revealed.

In an exclusive interview with The Star — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since he became ANC president earlier this month — Mr Mandela made it clear that the organisation had decided to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiating process.

Adopting a markedly less confrontational attitude than in recent statements, Mr Mandela indicated a flexible approach — if the Government demonstrated its sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence, and addressed the issues of prisoners, exiles and political trials.

He did not demand conclusive resolutions of each of these stumbling blocks, but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President de Klerk’s Government. This could be reversed by meaningful gestures from Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would:

- Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the “Patriotic Front” did not reach consensus. "Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations."
- Be completely distinct from the Communist Party once apartheid was removed. The SACP would "take their own line... which we will not follow."
- Tell the business community the ANC was not "dogmatically attached to nationalisation or State intervention", and had "perhaps overstressed" these issues in the past.
-avour minority representation in future governmental structures. "For example, the whites must be able to say: 'There is Gerrit Vrijenbossch - I have got representation there.'"
- Consider "very carefully how the principle of one person, one vote should be applied in the light of the (South African) situation, especially in the first few years of democratic government."

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha being sidelined. "We must involve them..."
- Learn from the mistakes of countries such as Mozambique and Angola which had been "reduced to ashes" because they "did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era."

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the Government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC’s conviction that Government actions — or refusal to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

The Government’s inability to stop the township violence, in particular, "has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President de Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game."

"But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward," President de Klerk had to ensure that what was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

Favoured

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush’s lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

The ANC favoured the lifting of sanctions once the Government had demonstrated its goodwill in overcoming obstacles and ensuring that once laws were repealed, blacks were given the opportunity to enjoy the resulting benefits.

Mr Mandela criticised US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen’s statements absolving the Government from involvement in violence. "That was disappointing because Mr de Klerk is involved in the violence — either because he has lost control over the State security services, or they are doing what he wants," he said in the interview at the ANC’s Johannesburg headquarters.

Mr Mandela added that he thought it unlikely that the all-party conference on constitutional negotiations could get off the ground this year.
In the words of...

This week, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave his number-one stewer STANLEY UYS, a columnist for The Star and anyone of this country's most respected journalists, one of the frankest and most revealing interviews since Mr Mandela's release from jail.

A

T THE ANC conference, there was an attempt to proceed urgently with negotiations. What is the problem here? It is difficult to say because of the three main obstacles we must still resolve. Firstly, the release of political prisoners. The Government has gone a long way to meet us in this regard, but there are still a large number of political prisoners. Secondly, the political trials are still going on. It has been suggested that this is not an easy matter. As far as the State is concerned, it can only release those people who are judicially convicted. Thirdly, there is the question of exiles. Both the Government and the ANC must take responsibility. It is not easy to blame the other. People have been sentenced to prison because of a situation that was created by apartheid. So the Government must deal with the situation and the ANC must take responsibility for bringing those exiles back. It is difficult to blame the other for refusing to do so.

And then there is the question of the violence. This is a very sensitive one because it cannot be openly discussed by whites because of their background. The whites are afraid of being accused of黑白 by whites because of their background. The whites are afraid of being accused of being anti-apartheid. Some of those who have been sentenced to prison because of apartheid are unjustly treated. The Government should address this issue. The ANC should do the same.

I stay in Johannesburg and I have had the opportunity to see the atmosphere of the city. It is a very tense and difficult situation. I have been to the city of Soweto where I have seen the people waiting for food. They say they have been attacked by the police. What are they doing? I am aware of the fact that the police are involved in this. This violence is interfering with free political activity in the country.

I have hoped that we would not have to wait for the removal of the obstacles. Even from the point of view of the liberation of the country, the question of the people's right to a democratic constitution is a very important issue. If the people do not have a say in the constitution, they will not have a say in the government. They will not have a say in the future of the country. A very important body, but it appears unlikely to meet this year.

Well, it's late in the year. It's unlikely to meet this year. But I am still discussing this with Mr De Klerk. And we are still on the same page. We are still on the same page.

So it (the all-party negotiating forum) is obviously going to be a very important body, but it appears unlikely to meet this year.

We are not in favour of black majority rule. We are in favour of majority rule.

party conference has three aims: to establish the principles on which the new constitution will be based; to establish the mechanism by which such a new constitution will be drafted and by whom it will be drafted; and to establish the mechanism by which the new constitution will be drafted and by whom it will be drafted.

All parties inside and outside Parliament should be included as long as they have a constituenc. We think this is important — especially from the point of view of the minorities. They should have the right to be heard. The Constitution should be the people's constitution. But what must solve the problem is the ultimate solution. Because I am going out of my way to tell our people publicly that negotiation is the only method. I am doing that, and I am encouraging those people who say: 'You are talking about peace when the Government is conducting a whole question of a peaceful solution as long as the Government is not forthcoming and ensures that we are able to carry our people with us on the question of negotiations. It is unfortunate, but that is the reality. The recent developments in the sport and cricket are largely a result of ANC efforts to bring the world into the International areas. The next phase in the lifting of sanctions will be dropping visa requirements and the cultural and academic boycotts. You have indicated that this phase depends on the resolution of outstanding questions.
s of a president

ndela makes his opinions clear to Stanley Uys.

Picture: Jacoby Rykliff

Why should we dance? Apartheid's laws have done us a great deal of harm.

have to consider very carefully the principal ones. Once again, one vote should be applied in the light of our situation, especially in the first few years of a democratic government.

It's a question also of doing something to show that the system has got an in-built mechanism which makes it impossible for one group to suppress the other.

Do you think the gap between the ANC's vision of the economy and the basic need of the community has narrowed to the point where consensus is possible on an immediate programme to revive the economy?

I wouldn't say that it has narrowed to that extent, but I would say that it is narrowing. We perhaps placed too much emphasis on the question of nationalisation. It should have been sufficient for us to say: 'We think in the light of our situation that the State should have a major role in the building of the economy of the country. We are not prepared to investigate the ideological component of any particular member of the ANC as long as he or she supports the basic need of destitute racial oppression.

If we turn into a party then we will have to decide whether we are going to be an organisation that believes in the capitalist system, whether we are going to believe in the Fabian socialism that exists today, or whether we believe in Marxist socialism... That would be dangerous at the moment because it would split us to the bottom.

So you accept that there will be a natural separation in the ANC?

Based on the newspaper clipping provided, it seems to be discussing political matters with a focus on the ANC's role in South Africa's struggle for democracy and its relationship with other political parties. The text mentions the ANC's stance on nationalisation, its approach to economic policies, and the importance of consensus among members. It also touches on the role of the ANC in relation to other political forces and the challenges it faces in achieving its goals. The clipping appears to be a commentary on political events and strategies within the ANC and its interactions with other political entities. The text seems to be written in a formal or journalistic style, typical of political commentary. It's important to note that the text is not complete, and there are phrases missing or cut off, which may affect the full understanding of the context. The document also mentions the ANC's views on nationalisation and its influence on the country's economy. The ANC's stance on the role of the state in the economy is discussed, with a focus on the balance between nationalisation and other economic models. The text also touches on the importance of consensus among members and the challenges of maintaining unity. Overall, the document appears to be a political commentary, discussing the ANC's role and strategies in achieving its political objectives.
Azapo: some SA politicals still in jail

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday dismissed as untrue the United States statement that all political prisoners in South Africa had been released.

Last week, in the wake of President George Bush's lifting of sanctions, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said the US accepted that all political prisoners in South Africa — except those in Bophuthatswana — had been released.

Azapo president Pandlelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday showed The Star a list of 15 members of Azapo and its exiled sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, whom he identified as political prisoners who had yet to be released.

Mondé 'Kakaza and Danie Nkopodi had been among prisoners moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison. They were still in jail, he said.

A total of 40 prisoners in two Bophuthatswana hospitals suspended their hunger strikes yesterday, the Human Rights Commission said.
ANC survives Bushwhack

O NE can picture the scene quite vividly. A telephone rings in the Soweto home of Nelson Mandela. The ANC president picks it up himself. It is a transatlantic call: "Nelson? Hi bud, George here. I'm shatting you. Just wanted you to be the first to know."

That, of course, is not the way in which the content of US President George Bush's momentous call to the ANC leader was reported to us, but it captures its political essence infinitely more accurately than endless explanations framed in dido-speak.

Behind the legalisms and "spin control" interventions emanating from Washington in the wake of the lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act lies a stark fact of political life: on this issue, the ANC was Bushwhacked.

Mr Mandela and his senior colleagues had for some time drawn succour from the belief that the United States, at least, would not lift sanctions until the last moment. Because of the strict legal and constitutional constraints attending American measures, it was argued, the ANC's demand for full consultation would be acceded to. In the end, as the telephone call proved, it was not the kind of "consultation" Mr Mandela had in mind.

But now that the body blow has been absorbed — in markedly gracious fashion by the ANC, it must be noted — the new nature of the relationship between the US and the ANC can begin to be assessed.

It might have seemed an immediate aftermath of President Bush's White House media conference last week (and in particular in his ex tempore answers to questions) that Washington was coming down very strongly on the side of the Pretoria Government in the run-up to substantive negotiations in South Africa. At that conference President Bush was insistent that sanctions had played only a minor role in bringing this country to the point of a negotiated settlement.

Trichardt, when pressed, he gave the lion's share of the credit for change to President de Klerk. "I think what really turned the difference is when South Africa came in with a new regime and they decided to move forward. I don't think it was strictly because they wanted to get rid of two sanctions while others remained." And: "I can only point to the real change in South Africa taking place because of Mr de Klerk himself and some of his associates who have a very different approach to equality in race and to the elimination of apartheid than his predecessors."

And again: "I can't say that sanctions had no effect, but I think we're now more realistic about the fact that you had a forward-looking man of Mr de Klerk's stature, who released Mr Mandela from jail and decided to go forward in consultation. And I can't say that Mr de Klerk did that because of economic sanctions."

In a follow-up interview, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen presented a more balanced view, crediting all anti-apartheid campaigners with having changed the psyche of the white power bloc, and stressing that a number of important US sanctions remained in place despite the demise of the CAAA. While not suggesting that these survived on the say-so of the ANC, he did intimate that Washington had not yet decided to give President de Klerk a free ride home.

For this and other reasons, it would be unwise to assume that the ANC's leverage in the sphere of international pressure — and, in particular, US pressure — has disappeared entirely.

The sanction and isolation weapon has undoubtedly been blunted. But ANC leaders will be well pleased with themselves for having modified temporarily their policies on the issue with the recent Durban agreement — which preceded the Bush announcement. At the time it may not have been of much interest to non-affiliated ANC pronouncements, but the terminological connotations there performed have enabled the ANC to swallow Bush's bitter pill without gagging.

The sequence of events is important. Last year, after the banning of the ANC, the organisation's "line" was that sanctions should in no way be tampered with until Mr Mandela explicitly concurred. This was followed by a heart-stopping few months for the organisation as many countries — especially African countries — began to wobble precipitously and gaze hungrily at the reservoir of non-white votes. At this point international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki looked beyond the Limpopo and across to the Atlantic, and saw the writing on the wall in very large letters. At the ANC's "consultative conference" in December he fashioned a strategy for the "phased removal" of sanctions to make sure that the ANC retained at least some control of the weapon it had created. He was savaged for his pains by militant delegates. Thus everything happened the same into 1991 — until Durban, when Mbeki shepherded through a policy of "phased maintenance" of sanctions (a very sophisticated invention) which addressed its original concerns, but kept the militants happy too.

Thus the ANC's position remains plausible, and there is still room for business to be done with Washington. The arms embargo remains, as do the locks on the doors of the International Monetary Fund's vaults. Had the ANC itself been stuck with its "all or nothing" dictum, the Government's significant diplomatic victory could have turned into a decisive one.

The ANC's claims of consistency and coherence in sanctions policy may not entirely stand up to rigorous scrutiny. But, then again, this is politics, and we do have a National Party that claims it has been planning the De Klerk reforms all along. It should not be of too much concern if political groups try to read history backwards in order to feel better — and to make their supporters feel better about themselves. Indeed, this is probably a necessary condition for quick progress in negotiations.

The Government, with the possible exception of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, seems to have recognised this: National Party leaders have resisted the temptation to rub the ANC's nose in the CAAA defeat.

Mr Cohen, who is an astute politician domestically as well as internationally, has led in known to US pressure groups like the Black Caucus that Washington is not giving President de Klerk carte blanche; some firepower is being retained in case Pretoria is not as cooperative as the ANC's forces have not yet occupied Washington.
ANC executives likely to continue meeting today

Political Reporter

The ANC's new national executive committee (NEC) met for the first time yesterday and was expected to continue its deliberations in Johannesburg today.

Last night ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said all indications were that the meeting would continue today. No announcement has been made at the time of going to press.

The agenda for the meeting, the first since the ANC's national conference in Durban, has not been disclosed.

Expectations were that the NEC would announce its 25-person national working committee (NWC) — its "shadow Cabinet".

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier that the appointment of the NWC might be postponed for technical reasons.

In an interview with Star political writer Stanley Uys, he said: "We have a problem and I am sure we are going to postpone the appointment of a working committee.

"The constitution says the committee must be based on departments."

"We can't ignore the existing departments, but there is a feeling there are too many and some are a duplication of departments in Lusaka which are no longer necessary.

"So we have to trim. It would be preferable for us to arrange a special meeting of the executive to appoint a working committee."
How many Reds does it take ... ?

JEREMY CRONIN, a member of the SACP's internal leadership group, reviews communist support in the country on the eve of the Party's 70th anniversary:

A SPECTRE is haunting the boardrooms of South Africa. That, at least, is the impression one gains from all the furious arithmetic done these past ten days. I have seen figures of 17, 18, 25, 37.

"37 Reds in new ANC NEC", screamed The Citizen last week. The next day "unearthed" three more, and pushed its Red head count up to 40.

The SACP, which celebrates its 70th anniversary at the end of this month, is today probably more popular among the broad oppressed masses of our country than it has ever been.

It is certainly larger now, in terms of organised membership, than ever before. And this is despite the fact that we are still painfully emerging from four decades of illegality. This growth is also happening, much to the confusion of our critics, in a world in which communism is supposed to be dead.

Formation

The formation of the Communist Party in South Africa was announced on the evening of July 29, 1921 at a public meeting of some 2,000 people in Cape Town City Hall. But it was not until the next day that conference delegates, meeting at 20 Plein Street, formally constituted the party as the South African section of the Third Communist International.

For a few initial years, the very first Marxist-Leninist party of the African continent remained rooted largely among militant white workers. They were miners, building artisans, tramwaymen and seamstresses. They came from a diversity of backgrounds. Some were from the coal mines of Britain or the gold-diggings of North America and Australia. Others had been driven out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe by pogroms and poverty.

Others were Afrikans-speakers, sons and daughters of farming families, driven into wage labour by the scourged policies of the British during the Anglo-Boer War in 1900.

But by the mid-1920s the party had begun to orient itself to the most oppressed strata of workers in our country — black workers.

It launched night schools and developed generations of outstanding African communists, among them, JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Dora Tamara, Josie Mpama and Edwin Mofutsanyana.

In the late 1920s the party changed its strategic orientation. It began to link the struggle for socialism to the more immediate struggle for a national democratic transformation. In words that have reverberated down to July 1991, the party resolved in 1928 to "pay particular attention to the embryonic organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress."

Participate

The party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in those organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity."

"Our aim should be to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialist."

Our critics cannot understand the popularity of our party. They fall back on conspiratorial explanations. They try to present a picture of Reds "high-jacking" the ANC. In fact, our alliance goes back seven decades. It would not have survived, and it would not be in the healthy shape it is today, if communists had not acted as a secret cabal inside the ANC. We have argued our perspective inside the ANC, but we have always done so with the greatest respect for its internal democracy.

Long before it was an easy thing to do, let alone a possible fast-track to governmental office, communists were slogging away loyally, shoulder to shoulder, with many non-communists building the ANC and other democratic formations.

This is not to say that all in the party's history is rosy.

There were difficult periods, particularly in the 1930s, when the SACP was given by sectarianism and Stalinist dogmatism. The party in more recent decades made the mistake of mechanically and uncritically im-

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

This in 1980 in a secret internal party discussion document the central committee noted: "The overwhelming majority of our membership is integrated into one or other structure of the ANC in a professional full-time capacity."

The work which they are engaged in is the work of the revolution and is therefore vital party work.

"But it is obviously a form of liquidation to allow a position to develop in which work in party structures and collective is completely neglected, becomes a mere hobby, and takes second place to everything else.

"There is no doubt that such an approach will not weaken the party but will dilute the effectiveness of the contribution which party members can make to the struggle as a whole."

Challenge

The challenge of balancing the imperatives of helping to build a strong, mass-based and democratic ANC, while still building an independent SACP remains.

There are those on the left and the right who argue that the SACP should either disband entirely into the ANC, or that it should break with a long tradition of overlapping membership and leadership.

The SACP has no intention whatsoever of doing either of these things.

The immediate task before all democratic South Africans is the dismantling of white minority power and privilege and the building of a united, democratic South Africa.

This is an enormous challenge, and it requires the maximum unity of democratic forces, communist and non-communist.

We believe that the ANC is the movement to spearhead this task.

It was the vision of a South Africa finally rid of a system in which (as they put it) "the means of life are concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class, which exploits the great masses of working masses"

That vision remains our guiding principle down to this day.

It is a vision which is now beginning to haunt more powerfully than ever the boardrooms of South Africa. That is good. Let them do their Red heads count.

For our part, we are not counting heads on the ANC NEC. We are counting the ongoing cost to our country of allowing a small handful of white, male capitalists to continue, in the name of the "free market", to exercise their economic stranglehold over all of us.
A conference aiming to 'ecologise politics and politicise ecology' drew over 200 delegates from a wide range of political, religious, union and other organisations. DAVE LEWIS reports:

The National Conference on Environment and Development held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend saw 231 representatives from a wide range of organisations discussing the links between environmental degradation and the political situation in Southern Africa.

The three-day conference, hosted by the Cape Town Ecology Group (CTEG) and the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), aimed at 'ecologising politics and politicising ecology'.

"The conference represents a breakthrough. For the first time groups such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) found common ground around the issue of the environment," said conference organiser Phumzile Tshabalala.

"There was also a wide range of religious groupings represented, from Hindus to Muslims, as well as many people from rural areas such as KwaZulu and Transkei."

"The need for 'greater grassroots participation in the development decisions affecting people' was the message conveyed by Yemi Katerere of the Zimbabwe Environmental Research Organisation (ZERDO), who spoke about several development projects in general and the lessons to be learned from the Zimbabwean experience.

Debate at the conference centred on issues such as the land question, with many delegates feeling that a new constitution would alleviate the inequalities that had resulted in land degradation in the homelands.

Solly Skosana of the PAC reiterated the view that an equal distribution was not only in the interest of the land but that the land itself needed protection under the law.

Speaker on behalf of the ANC, Cheryl Carolus, criticised the lack of political involvement by environmentalists in the past and made the point that her decision to get involved in politics had arisen out of a desire to empower herself and to regain control over her environment.

The issue of workers' involvement in environmental issues was taken up by Nozko Petoane of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU), who told delegates: "You can talk about environmental degradation but while you talk workers are losing their jobs because of environmental degradation."

"You cannot have a fishing industry without a fish or agriculture without soil," said Petoane, who then added that a sustainable environment would mean thousands of jobs in the future. He urged delegates to face up to the intellectualisation of workers but rather to do something practical about the problem.

A statement adopted at the end of the conference declared: "A peaceful and just society can only be sustained if it's ecological basis is sound, and this means working with the people of the country striving for a democratic government and justice in access to land and the common wealth.

"Ecologically sound practices and projects can only succeed through grassroots participation where the people concerned retain control of those things that affect their lives."

"Delegates agreed that full grassroots participation would have to involve a change in perception and values towards seeing "the interdependence of all living things"."

"The interesting thing was that political groupings were not only represented in their official capacity but also by individuals, and many groups found their members were already aware of the environmental dimension of the political situation."

Henri Laurie  PIC: SHAMEL MARIE

"The interesting thing was that political groupings were not only represented in their official capacity but also by individuals, and many groups found their members were already aware of the environmental dimension of the political situation."
ANC's 'shadow cabinet' lines up

THE newly-elected ANC National Executive Committee (NEC)) met behind closed doors in Johannesburg this week to elect its 26 member National Working Committee (NWC).

The election of the so-called "shadow cabinet" was the top priority on the agenda, ANC spokesman, Mr. Karl Niehaus, said. The NWC would consist of the ANC's six office-bearers — president, deputy president, national chairperson, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general — as well as 20 NEC members to be chosen by the NEC. The 91-member NEC consists of its office-bearers, 50 members directly elected at the recent ANC national conference in Durban, the 28 regional chairpersons and secretaries, the presidents and national secretaries of the ANC Women's League and the Youth League and three co-opted members.
Boesak signs for ANC under glare of television spotlight

AT an unusual "ceremony" this week, the African National Congress welcomed one of its newest members — Foundation for Peace and Justice director Dr Allan Boesak.

Under the glare of television spotlights and camera flashes, Boesak signed an application form brought to his offices by ANC regional executive members, Mr Christmas Tinto and Mr Chris Nissen.

Asked whether it was unusual for the ANC to take membership forms to prospective members rather than them approaching the office, Tinto replied that the organisation's national congress this month had decided that members should do door-to-door work to recruit more members.

"This afternoon, we will be going to many other doors to sign up more people," Tinto said.

Boesak said he was "glad" the movement had arrived when he could join the ANC and announce that he was a member of the movement.

"I believe the ANC embodies my life and work and the aspirations of our people," he said.

Boesak said he hoped that he would not be viewed as an "ethnic person" in the ANC whose specific role would be to win coloured support for the organisation.

"All my political life I have participated in nonracial politics and my acceptance in political life has also been nonracial," he said.

"Being a coloured is a kind of insult — I don't regard myself as a coloured person."

Boesak said he had worked in the UDF by assisting in the mobilisation of people and interpreting the policies and decisions of the UDF inside the country and abroad.

As this was the area in which he had built up expertise, it was "only natural" that this could be the area he could cover for the ANC, if the organisation wanted to use him.
Nelson Mandela Speaks
Q: Do you believe that the ANC can ever have won a clear mandate to govern South Africa? If so, what are the likely timeframes? What is the timetable for the rest of the year?

Q: What do you think the ANC government should do if there is a clear mandate to govern?

Q: In your opinion, what is the role of the ANC in the current political situation in South Africa?

Q: How do you think the ANC can maintain its popularity and support among the electorate, especially in the face of economic challenges and social dissatisfaction?

Q: What measures do you think the ANC should take to address the ongoing violence and unrest in some areas of the country?

Q: Do you believe that the ANC is capable of resolving the ongoing political crisis in South Africa?

Q: What are the main challenges facing the ANC in its efforts to stabilize the country and govern effectively?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in bringing about meaningful change in South Africa?

Q: What is your opinion on the ANC's policy on land reform?

Q: In your view, what is the most pressing issue facing South Africa today?

Q: How do you think the ANC can address the issue of poverty in the country?

Q: What is your assessment of the ANC's performance in terms of governance and leadership since it came to power?

Q: What do you think the ANC needs to do to improve its image and credibility among the public?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in the future of South Africa?

Q: What are your thoughts on the ANC's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic?

Q: Do you believe that the ANC is capable of delivering on its promises to the people of South Africa?

Q: What are the key priorities for the ANC in the coming years?

Q: How do you think the ANC can ensure sustainability and long-term development in the country?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting democratic values in South Africa?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting human rights in the country?

Q: What are your thoughts on the ANC's approach to dealing with corruption within its ranks and the government?

Q: What is your assessment of the ANC's foreign policy and its relationship with other countries?

Q: How do you think the ANC can attract and retain the support of the youth in South Africa?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting education and the development of human capital in the country?

Q: What is your assessment of the ANC's performance in terms of creating jobs and promoting economic growth?

Q: How do you think the ANC can improve its communication and engagement with the public?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting gender equality and women's rights?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in promoting sustainable development and environmental protection in South Africa?

Q: What is your assessment of the ANC's role in promoting and protecting the rights of marginalized communities?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting the rights of people with disabilities?

Q: How do you think the ANC can ensure the protection and promotion of cultural diversity in the country?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples and languages?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting the rights of migrants and refugees in South Africa?

Q: What is your assessment of the ANC's role in promoting and protecting the rights of the LGBTI community?

Q: How do you think the ANC can ensure the protection and promotion of the rights of children?

Q: What is your opinion on the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting the rights of the elderly?

Q: How do you see the role of the ANC in promoting and protecting the rights of people with disabilities?
DP Youth accuses ANC of 'haughty posturing'

MICHAEL MORRISON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party Youth has challenged the ANC's Youth League to respond to criticism of its stand on sanctions by arguing its case rationally, rather than by "haughty posturing".

Vice-chairman of the DP Youth, Mr Colin Douglas was reacting to the ANC's angry response to an early DP statement accusing the movement of being "grossly irresponsible" in advocating sanctions.

Mr Douglas said: "It is unfortunate that the ANC Youth League chooses to counter our criticism with haughty posturing rather than rational argument."

"The DP Youth speaks out against the ANC's continued support for sanctions not because we wish to be offensive, but because the homeless, the unemployed and the poor desperately need an improvement in South Africa's dire economy, and that cannot take place unless foreign investment is encouraged immediately by all political leaders."

Mr Douglas said the ANC should accept that the time of "open, multiparty debate has arrived".

"The ANC Youth League should respond to our criticism by arguing the case for sanctions rather than taking offence and questioning our credentials."
STANLEY UYS, The Argus Foreign Service

THE scene is set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Mr Nelson Mandela disclosed today.

In an exclusive interview with The Argus — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since the landmark ANC conference this month — Mr Mandela made it clear the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiation process.

He emphasised this depended on the government demonstrating its sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence and addressing the issues of prisoners, exiles, and political trials.

He did not demand conclusive resolution of these stumbling blocks but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President De Klerk’s government.

This could be redressed by meaningful gestures from Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would:

● Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the “Patriotic Front” meeting of anti-apartheid forces did not reach consensus. “Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations.”

● Be completely distinct from the Communist Party once apartheid was removed. The SAPC would “take their own line … which we will not follow.”

● Tell the business community the ANC was not “dramatically attached to nationalisation of state industry,” and had “perhaps overstressed” these issues in the past.

● Favour minority representation in future governmental structures: “For example, the whites must be able to say: There is Gerrit Viljoen — I have got representation there.”

● Consider “very carefully how the principle of one person one vote should be applied in the light of the (South African) situation, especially in the first few years of democratic government.”

● Avoid groups such as Inkhata feeling sidelined: “We must involve them.”

● Learn from the mistakes of countries like Mozambique and Angola which were “reduced to ashes” because they “did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era.”

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC’s conviction that government actions — or the refusal to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

Expressed disappointment

The government’s inability to stop the township violence in particular “has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President De Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game.”

“But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward.”

President De Klerk had to ensure that he was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush’s lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. The ANC favoured the lifting of sanctions once the government had demonstrated its goodwill in overcoming obstacles and ensuring that once laws were repealed, blacks were given the opportunity to enjoy the resulting benefits.

● Interview, page 19.
ZULU POLITICS

ROYAL SPLIT

The election of a senior Zulu royal prince to the ANC's national executive committee could tear the royal family apart, according to Oscar Dhlomo.

The former Inkatha second-in-command says that Prince Mcewanyi zeni Zulu (60) is now persona non grata with the King's household and would not, therefore, be able to mediate to normalise relations between the ANC and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The prince's support within the ranks of the ANC was manifest at its recent conference, when his election announcement drew loud applause — almost as great as that for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani, who topped the poll.

Dhlomo, who heads the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, says the rift between those in the royal family who support the king and those who back Prince Zulu could widen as a result of the prince's election to the ANC policy-making body.

Since relations between the prince and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi are also strained, Mcewanyi zeni's access to the king to bring about any reconciliation was also blocked, Dhlomo added. Buthelezi himself is a senior member of the royal family and often speaks on its behalf.

The prince has come under fire for joining the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa). The king and Buthelezi have called the organisation "a spear" in the heart of Zulu unity.

Dhlomo says: "He has little chance to move to recruit for Contralesa within KwaZulu. Remember that the chiefs are paid officials of the KwaZulu government and owe their allegiance to it and would be regarded as rebels if they moved from Inkatha to Contralesa."

But princes and princesses who are not favourably disposed to Buthelezi or Inkatha might be wooed. Buthelezi has admitted this.

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Dhlomo ... news of a split among Zulu royals

The election is the latest twist in a bitter feud within the Zulu royal family. It started soon after the prince was made Zulu Regent in 1968, after the death of his half-brother (and the present King's father), Paramount Chief Cyprian Bekuzulu.

In his three years as regent, he has managed to upset Buthelezi, rising through the ranks at the same time, by excluding him from certain functions and duties.

Prince Mcewanyi zeni resigned as the king's representative in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1989 because of his "disillusionment" with the system.

Animosity became public when the King made a veiled threat at a Shaka Day rally last year against "disident" members of the royal family and chiefs who joined Contralesa. The Zulus would "find them out and kill them," he warned.
Cyril sets the tone

He’s a pragmatist who needs to sharpen up on Marx and economics

The advent of Cyril Ramaphosa as the African National Congress’s secretary-general, and one who is ostensibly near centre on the political stage, has evoked widespread interest in the man and his ideas.

And understandably so. For, if our measure of his ambition and ability is correct, the prosperity of more than 30m people will depend critically upon them.

At 38, he is representative of those younger men who will one day lead the ANC beyond the confines of merely being a “liberation movement”. So business and investors, in particular, want to know — as precisely as possible — the degree of his socialism.

And if he is after all a pragmatist, as the evidence suggests, will he nonetheless be constrained in his actions by militant followers with dangerously high expectations and outdated collectivist dogma?

Ramaphosa has been greeted by sympathisers and detractors alike as good for the ANC in that he has already shown the leadership and negotiating skills the congress needs if it is to become the “well-oiled machine” Nelson Mandela has said he wants it to be. For it is in credible leadership, coherent policies and organisational ability that the ANC most needs to be endowed.

Now that its National Executive Committee (NEC) has been through the fire of an election, it needs someone with Ramaphosa’s solidly proven attributes to progress beyond the politics of confrontation and towards a fully fledged alternative government. Foreign funding, too, is increasingly likely to be dependent on the congress’s success in projecting an image of competence and common sense.

So the secretary-general’s post is bound to take on greater significance at this stage of the ANC’s political life; and it would be surprising if Ramaphosa were not part of its negotiating team in the coming multiparty venue that will begin the debate on a new constitution.

Ramaphosa himself describes his new job as having “manifest functions”:

- To co-ordinate the ANC’s administrative activities on a national basis — which will be a mammoth task;
- To ensure that proper records are kept; and
- To co-ordinate the activities of the NEC so that decisions that are taken are implemented and properly reported.

To these tasks the bearded former trade union leader will bring charisma, a grassroots following and tested skills honed in the tough bargaining environment of the mining houses. He is articulate, hard-working and — the quality most frequently observed — a consummate negotiator, which could mean that if he asks for one rand he shouldn’t be offered more than 20c.

He is also an avowed Marxist, though it is well worth examining exactly what this means to him. How does he reconcile his image as a working-class hero with his reputation for being a snappy dresser, the owner of a BMW — and keen on trout fishing?

“People should judge me by what I do and the work I’ve done,” he retorts. The record indeed suggests that what Ramaphosa does well is strike accord. In any case, his bourgeois tastes are irrelevant, he says, adding that he bought the Beemer when he was an article law student 12 years ago, is proud to have maintained it for so long, and in any case now drives a Toyota. As for fishing, “what are we saying about fishermen all over the world who lead some of the most desperate lives?”

So he also has a sense of humour, as well, perhaps, as the upper-crust inclinations of a future commissar.

But, essentially, understanding Ramaphosa inevitably means coming back to that word: pragmatist. “That’s my problem,” he once confessed, “that I am a pragmatist, not an idealist.” But it also belies his claim to being a Marxist.

Those who know him say we can now expect the negotiating process to be cut by 12 months. That would be refreshing.

Ramaphosa is at present winding down his activities in the NUM, though he would like to continue acting as some kind of consultant to the union because “I owe it to the miners.”

Under his leadership, the path-breaking profit and performance-linked wage agreement at Ergo was forged during a time of dire straits for the mining industry. Earlier this year he led the Soweto People’s Delegation to negotiate an electricity and rent arrangement agreement with the Transvaal Provincial Administration. And this process was taken further in talks on local government structures with the new Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber in April. He is keen on mass electrification.

Significantly, these initiatives were opposed by Moses Mayekiso, who is head of the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), and who is also general secretary of the metalworkers’ union, Numsa, and a high-profile member of the SA Communist Party.

Ramaphosa got his way — and the constituency support. This helps to explain the popularity of his election to the ANC’s governing committee.

His rivalry with Mayekiso goes back to the time Ramaphosa left his former Black Consciousness-inclined home in the union federation Cusa, where he had been legal adviser, to form the NUM under the Fosatu umbrella in 1982. The rival miners’ union in Mawu was then led by Mayekiso, and the issue of the day was that of access agreements to recruit membership.

What transpired is instructive. Ramaphosa came to believe that the existing method of surreptitiously penetrating an industry and then presenting management with a fait accompli was time-consuming and could fail. So he went directly to Anglo management on the access issue, was granted that access — and NUM membership shot from 22,000 to 50,000 in a year. Mine team leaders were targeted as key personnel to enlist in this drive.

Within 12 months he had outflanked his rivals and demonstrated that there would be room for only one black union in mining.

He was able to take the political tide and see what was going to work. In formulating policy, Ramaphosa has an acute sense of what will achieve the desired end. In that light, his publicly proclaimed allegiance to socialism needs some qualification. He has also seen first-hand the ruin it brings.

For all that, he still claims to remain a Marxist: “We don’t share the view of those who say that socialism has collapsed completely in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is rather the method of application that was wrong ...” This, of course, is a familiar refrain among romantics with a lifetime of support for the Communist Party. And it begs the question: if the Russians with all their resources and cultural attributes could not get it right, why should anyone believe the ANC will succeed here?

Reflecting this line, Ramaphosa adds: “Two countries were able to achieve optimum heights in terms of winning for the people a number of essential benefits that should be part and parcel of life. For in-
...standing the question of employment. In the then-socialist countries, unemployment was unheard of; health care was one of the best you could get; the participation of people in the running of enterprises was, at a theoretical level, quite ideal — but they did not put it into practice in the way they should have.

The point is, of course, that none of this could be sustained. If SA is to generate, let alone redistribute, wealth? Businessmen who know him confess to doubts about Ramaphosa’s practical understanding of the dynamic of a market economy.

This is what one had to say: “In some respects there is a parallel with the development of trade unions — the need we had for an organised channel of communication, some union leader to bring the members along. For that you need people of Cyril’s calibre. He is a consummate negotiator, and it’s in the ANC’s interests, if negotiations with government are to succeed, to have such a person. He understands the fundamental lesson of negotiation — that it involves compromise.

“But while we all think he’s a great guy, he doesn’t understand wealth-creation. For instance, when he was asked about the issue on TV (on Agenda) he brought up that hoary old chestnut, electrification.”

Last week — under consistent pressure from business — Ramaphosa issued a statement that categorically denied he had ever been a member of the SA Communist Party. But what of the policy of nationalisation, which the NUM supports?

Ramaphosa responds: “The decision of the NUM is that in terms of achieving the objectives that we believe are necessary for growth, there should be certain enterprises that should be identified for private ownership ... Government should be able to intervene by giving direction to the economy, by taking ownership of certain enterprises in the economy, by managing others, and so forth. And all that should be to achieve certain strategic objectives.

“If it turns out that by taking a particular enterprise you are not going to achieve those objectives, you should not do it. There’s going to have to be a process of research and study of whether the taking into State ownership of a particular enterprise is actually going to win the objectives we want. Nothing will be taken into State ownership without thorough research and analysis, including what is currently under State ownership.”

Is this not a little disingenuous? Ramaphosa knows that popular feelings willy-nilly support nationalisation. Clearly the ANC will examine this “option,” but whether it is exercised or not will depend on whether the ANC’s leadership can bring itself to admit that it has never, anywhere, succeeded. And then to explain to its followers why this is...

(Clarity on ANC economic policy, based on guidelines presented at its recent conference, can be expected “within six months,” according to Ramaphosa.)

Ramaphosa is also not completely clear — perhaps not even in his own mind — on the principle of private ownership as crucial to a successful modern economy.

“I accept it without any form of reservation,” he says, then goes on to lodge a reservation: “I also accept the fact that you need to have public ownership of certain means of production. In that respect, we locate those two objectives in a mixed economy, which the ANC has set out as the foundation of its economic policy.”

But a mixed economy has no place in anything that Marx ever advocated. Simply put, he adumbrated, using a spuriously scientific technique, a process whereby inevitably the rich would become richer and fewer, and the poor even poorer and greater in numbers. The outcome would be a revolution from which a people’s dictatorship would emerge with the State owning the means of production and in which each worker would contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Marx was no moralist. He described a historical process that he claimed was inevitable. And everywhere it has subsequently been shown to be in ruins.

There is sufficient evidence to indicate now that successful democracies are invariably based on private ownership and the allocation of resources by the market. Government’s allocation of resources too often leads to a loss of personal freedom as failure impacts upon failure. Ramaphosa disagrees.

“No, I think successful democracies should really be judged by the way that people as a whole are given the opportunity to participate from grassroots level up to the highest decision-making structures of any country ... The type of democracy we want to see engendered in this country goes way beyond that we have seen in practice in capitalist countries. It is the type of democracy in which civil society organisations are fully empowered to get to grips with issues of the day, and able to feed all they are debating into the highest structures of government.”

He is as ambivalent on the efficacy of the market. “I remain convinced that the free market is not solely able to solve the ills that beset a number of countries. It will not be able to do so in our country. You need to have a mixed economy that mixes what the market is able to do best — and also takes into account what State-run corporations are able to deliver to the people as a whole.”

That sounds agreeable but it defies close intellectual scrutiny. State corporations are able to deliver nothing to the people more efficiently than private corporations are able to.

Those who have reservations about his grasp of economics should remember that he is adept at using advisers, has shown he is more attuned to the pragmatic solution than to ideological deadlock, and has before him evidence that mounts by the day of the sterility of the collectivist dogma.

Feeding policy
As secretary-general, and therefore part of the top six of the ANC, Ramaphosa will be part of the national working committee directly involved in overall ANC policy formulation and direction. If, through his pragmatism, he has reservations about issues such as nationalisation, this should be reflected soon in official ANC policy, if that is not already the case.

Ramaphosa sees himself as much as a politician as a unionist. “Just by being an official of the ANC also means that you are a politician. And my abilities as a politician are going to be finally seen in action, rather than based on what I say ...

Last year in a special interview published on September 28, Mandela told the FM that he was not a socialist. However, as recently as 1985 (according to a report in the Mail on Sunday) the ANC president said to one of his visitors in prison, Lord Nicholas Bethell, “personally, I am a socialist.”

We are not sure whether that is Mandela’s ambivalence or a change of mind. We hope it is the latter...

And that Ramaphosa’s equivocation on Marxism can be taken in much the same light. If we are wrong, the Harold Macmillan phrase about “never having it so good” will apply to the majority of people in this country, regardless of race, right now. And they certainly won’t ever have it as good again.
LEADERSHIP

Cyril sets the tone

He’s a pragmatist who needs to sharpen up on Marx and economics

The advent of Cyril Ramaphosa as the African National Congress’s (ANC) president and, one who is ostensibly near cen- tral to the ANC’s political stage, has evoked widespread interest in the direction in which the party will be steered.

And understandably so. For, if our measure of leadership is its capacity to correct, the prosperity of more than 50 million South Africans depend critically upon them.

As a member of those younger ones who will one day lead the ANC beyond the confines of merely being a “liberation movement”. So business leaders and investo- rians, in particular, want to know — as pre- cisely as possible — the degree of his socialization.

And if he is after all a pragmatist, as the evidence suggests, we will necessarily be constrained in his actions by militant follow- ers with dangerously high expectations and outdated collective dogma.

Ramaphosa has been greeted by sympathies — but also a need for the ANC in that he has already shown the leadership and negotiation skills that the congress needs if it is to remain relevant. In his words, “The coming years are not going to be easy for the country. We must be ready to face them and we must be ready to make difficult decisions.”

So he has a sense of humor, as well, perhaps, as the upper-crust inclinations of a future president.

But, essentially, understanding Ramaphosa involves coming back to that —

Government should be able to intervene to give direction to the economy’s

work pragmatist. “That’s my problem,” he once confessed, “that I am a pragmatist, not an ideologue.” He also belies his claim to being a Marxist.

Those who know him say we can now expect to see Ramaphosa using the NMT, though he has made no bones about continuing as some kind of consultant to the union.

Under his leadership, the path-breaker has signed up thousands of profit and performance-linked wage agreements, which are now being signed up by the entire union. According to the agreements, the union will be able to continue acting as some kind of consultant to the union.

And that is essentially how the rural Ramaphosa rotated through a series of identifications, a set of political figures, and a set of political figures who could not get it right. Why should anyone believe the ANC will succeed here?

For Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC adds:

Those were the years of the rural Ramaphosa, at least in all the years that he was exercising his trade.

In the immediate years following the end of the struggle, Ramaphosa was part of the ANC’s leadership, with the rank and file of the organization.

In the late 1980s, Ramaphosa was one of the leaders of the organization, and he was part of the ANC’s leadership in the late 1980s.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

As the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) approaches its first annual conference as an official political party this weekend, members find themselves under the shadow of a new controversy.

A KwaZulu MP was this week sentenced to two years imprisonment, suspended for five years, after having been found guilty of culpable homicide for shooting a man in 1989. He was ordered to pay R10,000 to the deceased's dependants and declared unfit to possess a firearm.

In May this year, a KwaZulu deputy minister and IFP central committee member received a life sentence for murder and attempted murder.

At the same time, IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is embroiled in a tussle with universities over an unofficial biography which his lawyers claim is defamatory. The book is titled *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda*. It was written by ANC official Nobleman Nxumalo (under the nom de plume Mzala).

At one stage it was removed from library shelves at the University of Natal, but has since been returned. Nxumalo, who wrote the book while in exile in London, died earlier this year.

Eight other universities are understood to have received letters from Buthelezi's lawyers threatening legal action if the book is not removed. Apart from sparking a debate on academic freedom, the matter could well end in court.

Attorney Jenny Friedman, acting for Buthelezi, has indicated that he will probably continue trying to get the book out of university libraries, despite strong protests from academics and the decision of the University of Natal to again make the book available to staff and students.

The IFP's conference this weekend, like the ANC's earlier in the month, is expected to be a milestone event.

At last year's conference the decision was taken for Inkatha to change from being a "cultural liberation movement" to a political party. This happened at a special conference last December, when the necessary changes were made to the organisation's constitution.

A lot of attention will probably be paid to internal matters as the IFP completes the transition to a fully fledged political party, as well as to issues which came out of the ANC conference.

Buthelezi is expected to react to the ANC conference in his main address on Saturday, particularly to the decision by Umkhonto we Sizwe to continue recruiting members; the call for an interim government and constitu-

KwaZulu's Buthelezi ... to react to ANC conference

tent assembly; the IFP's relationship with the PAC; and political violence. Other issues on the agenda include sanctions, negotiations and the process towards peace.

The IFP's image has taken a bit of a battering lately. First came allegations, backed by pictures in the press, of officials being supplied with automatic weapons at an Inkatha rally.

Concern at the alleged issuing of unlicensed arms grew following a machine-gun attack on ANC members (returning from their conference earlier this month) at a station near Durban.

Then on Tuesday, KwaZulu MP Psychology Ndlovu was sentenced for culpable homicide in the Maritzburg Supreme Court for shooting Muzikawukhulelw Ngobbo in the back with a rifle in September 1989. The court heard that Ndlovu and five other men were investigating a faction fight near Wartburg and that the MP gave chase and fired shots at a group of fleeing men.

Justice John Didcott said while the court was convinced Ndlovu fired the shot which killed Ngobbo and that the shooting was not accidental, lack of evidence as to exactly what happened meant the court had to find his conduct negligent rather than intention-

at. Co-accused Mandla Ndlovu, also a Kwa-
Zulu MP, was discharged.

In May, KwaZulu Deputy Minister of the Interior, Samuel Jarrile, was sentenced to life imprisonment for killing Joseph Khumalo and attempting to murder the man's fiancée, Thokozile Shabalala, in 1987.
Would an ANC-dominated government protect workers' rights, and should unions maintain their alliances with the ANC and SA Communist Party?

These linked questions will be debated at the Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU)'s four national conference in Johannesburg on July 24-27. The conference, which will draw delegates from 14 COSATU affiliates, will focus strongly on political issues.

A central issue will be the adoption of a workers' charter, intended to herald the entrenchment of workers' rights in a future constitution. Such a charter would cover, for example, the right to strike and belong to unions.

Before the ANC national conference, at least, the ANC leadership looked set to be attacked for its lack of consultation with COSATU, a member of the tripartite alliance which includes the SACP. Union leaders have been dismayed particularly by the ANC's poor negotiating skills and failure to keep government to agreements.

The COSATU conference is likely to decide on the secondment of key negotiators to the ANC for negotiations and talks-about-talks. It is a position that the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) tried to get COSATU to accept, shortly after the ANC was unbanned last year, but the proposal was defeated. Now it is more likely to succeed with NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa in the ANC secretary-general's chair.

The NUM central committee is due to meet on Tuesday to appoint an acting general secretary to succeed Ramaphosa. Marcel Golding, NUM deputy assistant general secretary, is the likely choice but education officer Kgality Mothlanthe is a strong contender. Mothlanthe, also a rising star in the ANC as head of its PWV region, will have to decide to which post he will give priority.

The so-called two hats debate — that of key unionists holding top positions in political organisations — will probably be the most hotly debated issue of the conference. COSATU deputy general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, for example, now wears three hats: he is also on the ANC national executive committee and the SACP's central committee. Moses Mayekiso is another: ANC general secretary, general secretary of the metalworkers' union, head of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal.

There is a strong union lobby which argues against dual and triple leadership roles on the grounds that no job will be done properly and there will be uncertainty about which hat is being worn at a given time. There is also suspicion that political parties cannot always be trusted to place workers' interests first.

John Copelyn, general secretary of the Clothing & Textile Workers Union, has been the most vociferous opponent of unionists having leading roles in political parties. In the latest issue of the Labour Bulletin he describes how the SACP pressured several key unionists secretly to be part of its internal leadership grouping. These leaders were announced as part of the SACP national leadership — without COSATU being advised beforehand.

Subsequently, in the first meeting of the political committee of the tripartite alliance, COSATU office bearers ended up representing the SACP in its dealings with the unions!

Copelyn and others like him believe not only that this is undemocratic, but that it shows scant regard for the independence of the unions. Many COSATU unionists are acutely aware of the lessons of eastern Europe, where the union movement destroyed itself and neglected worker interests by not cutting its links with political parties and, therefore, the State.

Also to be debated will be the issue of socialism in the light of events in eastern Europe. At their May congress miners re-dedicated NUM to "building socialism and to achieve full political and economic emancipation for the working class." It argued that socialism failed in eastern Europe because "it became a bureaucractic dictatorship of the Party."

The Food & Allied Workers' Union (which supports the wearing of two hats) said at its congress last month that socialism had not failed, but rather eastern bloc leaders had departed from Marxist-Leninist theory.

Central to this debate is the issue of nationalisation and centralised economic planning — which not all unions support, and from which the ANC has been moving away.

Violence will be another topic. Unionists and their families have in recent times been targets of assassinations. COSATU has played a key role in monitoring violence and in peace efforts in Natal and the Reef.

Proposals to restructure the economy will provoke long and complicated discussions. Though COSATU has discussed economic planning with its affiliates, only broad ideas have emerged. Few in COSATU are satisfied that the federation has workable ideas on economic restructuring.

However, in its greatest advance of the year, COSATU will discuss with its affiliates the new role it hopes to play on the restructured National Manpower Commission, which is expected to begin work in October. The commission will, for the first time, include black trade unionists. This means unions will influence the drafting of labour law long before blacks have the vote.
Top PAC delegates talk to Ciskei leaders

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

A high-level Pan Africanist Congress delegation yesterday held talks with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s Ciskei military government, according to a press statement.

The statement, issued by PAC Border region publicity-secretary Zemikaya Gxabe, said the meeting was scheduled to discuss political, social and economic problems.

The meeting, Mr Gxabe said, followed the PAC’s numerous attempts in the past to hold talks with the Ciskei Council of State on various issues of local and national importance.

The PAC delegation included national executive council members Mahlubi Mbandazayo, Mpolose Mangangwana and Victor Zamaia.

Also in the delegation were Border regional executive committee members Mvuyo Mhangwana, Walter Tshikila and Mr Gxabe.

Relations between the PAC and the Ciskei government were strained in mid-June after homeland soldiers hauled PAC publicity-secretary Barney Desai out of a radio studio where he was giving an interview.

Brigadier Gqozo later apologised for the incident.
Europe is no longer as uncritical about the Government’s opponents, writes Shaun Johnson

The ANC’s halo is slipping

THERE was a time, and it wasn’t that long ago either, when the only European newspapers to attack the ANC outright — and by implication with the Pretoria Government — were those of the far right, the Patriots of the Continent. The cause of black South Africans was seen to be so patently just that criticism of its organisational conduct was regarded as beyond the pale — unjustifiably sympathetic at best, crypto-racist at worst.

This position has shifted incrementally and perceptibly since the ascension to power of President de Klerk. Now, however, here are indications that, in some important cases at least, the pendulum has swung all the way round. At the recent conference of the ANC in Durban, concern was expressed about ground being lost in the international sphere: it should be especially worrying to the ANC, therefore, that even the success of that conference has not succeeded in stemming the ebb of European sympathy.

The latest European organ of influence to come out in the open with its concerns about the ANC is the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ). The FAZ is not just another European newspaper; it is arguably the most prestigious newspaper in what is arguably the most powerful state in Europe. Although regarded as “conservative” in European terms, it has no means has a record of anti-ANC policy, and its “anti-apartheid” credentials are unimpeachable.

For these reasons the decision by the FAZ to publish, on its front page, a searching opinion piece about the ANC by its chief political editor is deserving of attention. Even if the ANC chooses to dismiss such criticism as wrong-headed or uninformed, it should be borne in mind that Germany’s most powerful financiers read the FAZ — and, to some extent, form through it their opinions of the “new South Africa” as a potential repository for investment.

This is an abridged — and translated — version of Klaus Na- 

tor’s argument in the article, “Not yet able to rule”:

“The ANC is preparing itself to assume governmental responsibility in South Africa in the foreseeable future. However, it is mature enough to do so?... Nelson Mandela... is a shrewd politician. Hopefully, he will remain head of this important organisation for a long time. However, he is not almighty... he has to accommodate many different views. There is a gap of almost two generations between him... and the ANC youth... In order to preserve the young generation’s loyalty, Mandela must often appear more radical than he actually is. This complicates the preparation towards negotiations on a future constitution and might, even after their conclusion, hinder efforts to construct the new constitution.

“Even before Durban there were complaints among the ANC that the leadership was frequently acting without previous consultation with the ANC grassroots. This will now be corrected. However, at this level, unreasonable demands are frequently made... it still dreams of an immediate, unconditional accession to power of the black majority. If Mandela in future dares only negotiate in accordance with the wishes of the advocates of such unrealistic ideals, the conference on a new constitution is not likely to come to a conclusion that is acceptable to all South Africans...”

Another handicap is the continuing alliance with the South African Communist Party. No one could prevent him from dissolving the ANC as a liberation movement and transforming it into an ordinary political party in which there would be no more room for the communists. Mandela, however, remains from doing so, because he does not want to appear ungrateful...”

“However, one day, he will have to do so... The strong influence of the communists does not only irritate most white South Africans, but many blacks as well — not least because the South African communists seemingly haven’t learnt anything from the collapse of socialism in Europe...”

“Distrust has also been aroused in some by the aggressive rhetoric of the ANC. The military wing has suspended and stopped its military actions, although it is clear that negotiations will start soon and the introduced reforms are irreversible...”

“It (also) the uncertainty about the future policy of the ANC that deters many South Africans... Therefore, in question are the statistics revealed recently by a research institute: that the ANC would expect to gain more than 60 percent of the votes in an election. On election day, a good many may decide differently. Since its readmission in South Africa, the ANC could not canvass nearly as many members as it had expected. Its organisational faults are obvious. Some time will pass before the elections take place. Despite having an outstanding leader like Mandela, the prestige of the ANC may decline further...”

“In any event, the ANC does not at present seem to have the capability to rule.”

The ANC no doubt believes it can convincingly rebut all or most of these deductions. But that does not detract from the fact that it has failed to prevent them being reached in the first place. ©
Police siding with ANC in Natal township — Inkutha

DURBAN — Members of the Inkatha Freedom Party at Malukazi, near Isipingo, have laid charges of assault and intimidation against the police, alleging that members of the SAP have sided with the ANC in the township.

In a statement, the head of the Inkatha Institute's project on violence, Kim Hodgeson, said about 60 IFP members assembled in the township on Tuesday to lay charges against the SAP at the mobile police station.

He said a meeting was arranged for Tuesday between IFP members and a policeman implicated in almost all the statements.

"Just prior to the meeting, the SAP raided IFP homes in the presence of ANC members," he charged.

Mr Hodgeson alleged they also assaulted the IFP vice-chairman in the area.

He said one woman who fled from the “SAP/ANC” when they raided her home also arrived at the police station on Tuesday.

"Her clothes were torn and she had obviously been assaulted. But not only that, an ANC member who has been implicated in murdering an IFP member was also at the station.

"The suspect hot-wired a car and drove off. Police gave chase but he escaped."

Mr Hodgeson said it was shocking that the police had not arrested the murder suspect.

He alleged that the SAP had not arrested the murder suspect.

He claimed that Tuesday’s incidents were merely a continuation of what seemed to be “a saga of SAP/ANC collusion to crush the IFP in the area.”

SAP spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi confirmed that the police had opened dockets of assault and intimidation. — Sapa.
Malan hits at Mandela claims

ANC president Nelson Mandela's claims about the security forces are outrageous and his generalisations about whites terrible, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Responding to Mandela's comments during an interview with The Star, Malan called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about SA's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

Malan was speaking at an NP meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand.

References to individual transgressions by soldiers or policemen "due to the stress caused by the nature of their work" did not constitute proof of security force complicity in township violence, Malan said.

Mandela's sweeping statements placed a question mark on his ability to foresee the consequences if the security forces were not there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

He said Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations" because of his claim that white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others - from the domestics upwards to the office level." Mandela's comments were, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways in a new order.

"The question begging is, who is going to hijack whom, with so many SACP members in the ANC executive."

The tone of Mandela's interview was confrontational and did not reflect a spirit of conciliation, Malan said.

Malan's speech also included a warning that he did not regard Mandela's claims as simple rhetoric aimed at keeping an electorate satisfied.

"These allegations, and the ANC's insistence on developing MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) as a private army - unacceptable in any country - have far-reaching implications for security," Malan said. - Sapa.
ANC bending, bowing to oppressor

One presumes that the ANC's fervent desire to get into negotiations is based on the premise that power is with De Klerk and his Government. Of course this is indisputable: the police with their barely concealed murderous inclinations, the army with its blood dripping from their hands, are on De Klerk's side. So it is only realistic of the ANC to go cap in hand, bending and bowing to the oppressor.

But what is often overlooked — and which is much more important — is the Government's original usurping of power, of the country itself.

The Black Consciousness Movement maintains that the present Government is only in power, and manages to stay there, by a brutal system of subjection and decimation of black people. It is only through naked might and genocidal racism backed with guns that we are kept from power.

It becomes clear that negotiations themselves presuppose an acknowledgement of the other person's superiority in all aspects.

So we begin to wonder: just what did the ANC gain through its mythical armed struggle? The electricity pylons, the Wimpy bars and unused toilets that fell to pieces under the forceful impact of Soviet-made explosives, weren't they intended to bring the enemy to its knees?

We're attacks on Wimpy bars and unused toilets using Soviet-made explosives intended to bring the enemy to its knees?

Why then the sorry spectacle of respectable old men and their zealous minions prostrating themselves in front of the oppressor, seeing dubious solutions and half-baked reconciliation when the real problem is so conveniently overlooked?

The media itself is largely to blame for portraying our struggle as one between the weak-hearted Charterists and a Government that has used every fascist manoeuvre in the DIY manual of genocide, to keep black people scraping and scrugging in garbage bins, and more than that, to keep us fratricidal by tempting the weaker of us with superficial offers, thus marginalising the rest of us.

The BCM recognises the importance of land, and it is for this that we declare for all the world, for our brothers and sisters within the ANC, and for the adversary in Pretoria, that the premise of our struggle is the complete and impartial reclamation of every square metre of Azania. When this happens, any solution of our political problems will be on a level foundation and not at the most piece-meal, and at the least, insignificant.

It took the white man guns and his innate racist arrogance to flatten our perspective into one of unrelenting shackles and constant bloodletting. God for-
NP lauds Nelson —
Magnus cries foul

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

National Party sources have
hailed ANC president Nelson
Mandela's latest statements
on negotiations, calling them
"remarkable" and "good
news for the process".

In an exclusive interview pub-
lished by The Star yesterday, Mr
Mandela indicated that the ANC
was prepared to be flexible and
conciliatory on key issues if
President de Klerk moved quick-
ly to restore ANC trust in his
Government.

However, Sapa reports that
last night Defence Minister Gen-
eral Magnus Malan said Mr
Mandela's claims about the
security forces and his generalisa-
tions about white people were
outrageous.

The NP sources told The Star
they were encouraged by the
conciliatory tone adopted by Mr
Mandela. "It substantially coun-
ters the somewhat confusing sig-
nals (we got) from the recent
ANC conference. This is far
more in tune with the times, and
with the initial phase of Mr Man-
dela's leadership after his re-
lease."

The MPs expressed "irrita-
tion" with the ANC leader's in-
 sistence that Mr de Klerk had
not done enough to halt town-
ship violence — or was being
"undermined" by reactionaries
in Government — but said this
should not detract from the
"overall, positive" impact of his
latest remarks.

"It looks to us as if he has
decided, as he suggested at the
end of the ANC conference, that
as leader he must lead."

Indiscriminate

"This provides great impetus
—we've said all along that Mr
Mandela's role within the ANC
is absolutely crucial to the fu-
ture," said one MP.

Asked whether Mr de Klerk
was likely to respond with a po-
itive gesture now that Mr Man-
dela had "put the ball in his
court", a Nat MP replied: "On
the multiparty congress, the lo-
cality of the ball hasn't changed.
Mr de Klerk put it in the court of
the ANC some time ago. The
ANC has just acknowledged
that the game can go on. They've
stopped sitting on the ball."

General Malan, speaking at a
National Party meeting at Bron-
twood on the East Rand, called
on the ANC leader to substanc-
tiate "indiscriminate allegations"
about South Africa's security
forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accu-
sation, which strikes at the in-
tegrity and very nature of our
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guilty of "terrible generalisa-
tions", because the ANC presi-
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cans regarded the lives of their
black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the over-
whelming majority of whites,
who maintain good relations
with others — from the domes-
tics upwards to the office
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Mr Mandela's comment was,
in fact, an attempt to cause ten-
sion between black and white
people, General Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mr Man-
dela's claim that the ANC and
the SACP would go their sepa-
rerate ways once the apartheid
State was removed.
Ties with ANC, SACP on Cosatu agenda

South Africa's largest trade union federation, Cosatu, will hold its fourth national congress next weekend, it was announced yesterday.

Major political issues will be discussed at the congress, to be held at Nasrec south of Johannesburg. More than 2,500 delegates are expected to attend.

Also up for discussion are the labour federation's role in negotiations and a review of the tripartite alliance with the ANC and the SACP.

In a statement issued yesterday, Cosatu said organisations invited to attend the congress included the ANC, SACP, PAC, SA Council of Churches and SA Catholic Bishops Conference.

Cosatu said its programme would include sessions that would be open to the press and diplomats.
NP and ANC

The Battle Lines

Drawn Between

"Emphasis on the need to enhance the capability of the ANG, particularly in the area of nuclear weapons, was evident at the ANG's annual conference in recent months. The conference, which was attended by representatives from all units of the ANG, focused on strategies for improving the effectiveness of nuclear weapons. The ANG's leadership emphasized the importance of nuclear weapons in maintaining strategic balance and enhancing national security. The conference also highlighted the need for increased funding and support for nuclear weapons research and development. The ANG's strategic approach was seen as a response to the growing threat from potential nuclear adversaries."
ANC 'cabinet'

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC yesterday emerged from a two-day national executive committee meeting with a new 26-member national working committee, described in some quarters as a “shadow cabinet”.

Land for all.

It was agreed the most challenging task facing the organisation was to provide coherent leadership to the South African liberation movement.

Violence

In addition to building the ANC as a powerful liberation movement, rooted among the majority of South Africans, there was a need to project the movement’s unbroken record of principle, struggle to enthuse democratic values among the people of our country, and to realise a vision of a single, united South African nation.

The meeting endorsed the decisions of the ANC recent national conference on setting up community defence structures and the need to ensure the success of the church-business peace initiative.

It also undertook to mobilise the broadest possible support for the national campaign to end the violence.

“How I vote was cast

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<td>2.</td>
<td>Chris Hani</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Pule Jordan</td>
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<td>Patrick “Terror”</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Molefe Tlokota</td>
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<td>Steve Tshwete</td>
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<td>Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Joe Slovo</td>
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<td>Sidney Musamading</td>
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<td>13.</td>
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<td>Joe Nhlanga</td>
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<td>Mohamed Siddi Qamboo</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Trevor Manuel</td>
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<td>Barbara Masekela</td>
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<td>Zola Skweyiya</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Sapa Mbeki</td>
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<td>John Nkadameng</td>
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In the case of the last two positions, there had to be a second vote to break a tie among three nominees. The third nominee, Mac Maharaj, received 35 votes and automatically fell out.
The resurrection of Allan B as the Reverend enters the ANC fold

R

EDS in the ANC's bed no longer infuse Allan Boesak's political dreams with nightmares.

Soothed by assurances that the African National Congress acknowledged its alliance with the South African Communist Party was a problem, especially for Christian supporters, and would be addressed. Boesak this week took out his pen and did what everyone had long been waiting for him to do — signed up.

Holding a crisp new membership card, he pledged to try to build the organisation "not as someone who merely has sympathy with the movement, but as a member".

Not as an ordinary member, however. "My role has always been a national one and there's no reason why I should change," the former United Democratic Front patron said.

The circumstances of his signing re-enforced this. Usually, would-be members go to the ANC; this time, the ANC came to Boesak.

In attendance were regional ANC executive member, the Reverend Chris Nissen and Western Cape ANC president, Christo Marais.

If asked, he would serve on the ANC's national executive committee, Boesak said. But he stressed that "no deals were struck" during the "series of talks and consultations" he'd had with the regional and national leadership.

Nor did he see himself as the ANC's "coloured attraction", to be set to woo an ethnic vote. "All my political life I have regarded myself as participating in non-racial politics ... the question of being coloured is the kind of insult I do not even consider."

Now that he's in the fold, Boesak will pursue his ideological objections regarding the ANC's alliance with the SACP from within. "There are many, especially in the Christian community, who have raised concerns about this," he said. "It is the kind of issue one should raise from inside. I am now a member and will raise them."

Boesak will want to be able to reassure Christian constituents just as he himself has been reassured. He wants to return to the ministry he was forced to abandon when his extra-marital affair became known and combine a clerical with a political career.

Former colleagues within the Dutch Reformed Mission Church are under-
The African National Congress conference may be more and less important than it seems. More, because it may have inched us closer to a settlement. Less, because it left many questions about the movement's strategy and style unanswered.

The conference produced only one detailed strategic decision (on sanctions) and no firm policy positions — these are to be debated at another meeting. This wasn't surprising, since the meeting wasn't really about detailed policies and strategies. Because it was the first ANC conference within the country for 30 years, its purpose was to establish the ANC's identity as an open movement, rather than an idea shrouded in the mist of martyrdom.

It was more about the ANC's attitude to itself than to its negotiation partners or the rest of the country.

But, despite that, the conference may have placed the country more firmly on the road to a negotiated settlement. The ANC leadership now has a mandate to negotiate a settlement. So its chief concern may be not whether to negotiate but how to get the best deal out of the talks. Political conflict may now be more about the outcome of negotiation, less about the process itself. The ANC leadership is now also elected. This will give it more confidence to strike deals which may make a settlement easier.

Perhaps the most important event at the conference was that, for the first time, the leadership persuaded members to accept a compromise — on sanctions — in open debate. The knowledge that they can argue for compromise and win may make ANC leaders more willing to take members with them, rather than accepting compromise in private and denying it in public. After the conference, Mandela seemed to confirm this, warning supporters that more compromises lay ahead.

There were also signs that ANC leaders are aware of weaknesses which endangered the movement and negotiations. They acknowledged that people will not join it simply because of its history and that its strategies may have been the reason why it has failed to make major gains in the past 18 months.

Not so long ago most setbacks were blamed on the state; the shift may signal an ANC attempt to become a more effective negotiator. One sign was Mandela's warning that "mass action" — a "holy cow" — was a tactic, not an end in itself. This suggests that the ANC now takes negotiation seriously enough to seek strategies which will win gains in talks. This will make a settlement more likely.

None of this means the ANC will become the "moderate" negotiating partner the government and most of the press want. If it takes negotiation more seriously, it will become tougher. Talks may be punctuated by breakdowns and "mass action".

But these will be means to an end — a settlement favourable to the ANC. And a settlement is more likely when negotiating parties know what they want and are tough about getting it. Compromises negotiated with a more effective, stronger, ANC will be far more likely to win support from its activists.

But if this is what some in the ANC would like it to become, it is too soon to say their wish will be granted. We don't know what compromises ANC activists might accept. The leaders have a mandate to negotiate, but what must they settle for if they don't get what they want? The only compromise the meeting endorsed was a strategy, not a demand, so neither we nor the leaders know how far they can go.

Nor did anything emerge from the meeting to suggest what it would take to break stalemates over local government or education.

Executive elections showed that symbolism was a strong force in the ANC: the criteria for success was who the candidate symbolised — exile, prison, more than the constituency he or she represented.

This could mean the executive has enough symbolic appeal to win support for tough bargains. But the aura could wear off when compromises begin.

At bottom, the ANC remains a liberation movement. There is no reason why a movement should content itself with competing for votes when most people don't have them. But liberation movements unite people around symbols, not policies. They fudge choices because to make them could split the movement. A movement held together by symbols may find it hard to make the strategic choices negotiation will demand and to take its supporters with it.

It will take more than a conference to change all that. The conference may have made talks inevitable. But it may not have made them, the ANC — or the hope that negotiation will lessen conflict — any more predictable than they were before it.
ANC cadres key targets of assassins

By BEATHUR BAKER

THE African National Congress is under fire from all sides; the target of violence allegedly linked to Inkatha, the right wing and the police. According to the organisation, at least 20 activists have been killed in the past six months.

Hillview High School in Pretoria, intended for use by 700 children of exiled Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, was destroyed in a bomb blast on Sunday — shortly before its opening.

Previously a white school, it was forced to close because of a lack of pupils.

Right-wing extremists who openly declared they would resist the move to house blacks in the school have been blamed by the ANC for the explosion. All have denied responsibility.

This is but the latest in a trail of planned assaults on ANC members.

Various methods of killing form identifiable patterns. Sophisticated explosive devices have been used.

Victims are gunned down by strategically placed marksmen or lured into an ambush. These bear the hallmarks of the officially disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Attacks in which a gunwielding group opens random fire are characteristic of killings near and around hostels. Another method is that of the balaclava-clad gunmen who fire from close range and move off, leaving intended victims and people accompanying them riddled with bullets.

In attacks at the homes of “comrades”, not only cadres are attacked — their families have also being targeted by killers.

Ernest Sota, Vanderbijlpark ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions office bearer, who lives in the area of the kwamadala hostel near Vanderbijlpark, was attending the ANC’s Durban conference when assassins gunned down his wife and two children.

In the same manner 18 people were gunned down in Natal in one night while going home — six of them from the same family, all of them ANC supporters. ANC members live in fear of who will be next. Investigations into these mysterious murders remain “ongoing”.

Meanwhile, the ANC has demanded that the government disband its death squads.
From council of war to congress on the future

A healthier partnership with the African National Congress — that's the big issue facing Cosatu at its national congress next week.

DREW FORREST REPORTS

In stark contrast to their last encounter — in the darkest hours of the Emergency — the Congress of South African Trade Unions' national congress delegates will meet next week at the first truly international congress of its kind.

"We're now into the beginnings of political transition, the movement is confronting all sorts of challenges and problems," comments Cosatu press officer Neil Coleman.

While the 1989 congress was a council of war of the entire embattled democratic movement — the United Democratic Front and other organisations were almost participating delegates — next week's gathering will focus much more narrowly on labor's role at a time of political and economic transformation.

Central to the congress agenda will be Cosatu's place in the horse-trading over a new constitutional order. Conscious that the militant strong federation is the most organised component of the left, delegates will be looking at ways of boosting the worker voice and extending popular control over the negotiating process.

Of deep concern is the African National Congress' perceived high-handedness and "top-down" style, and labor's partnership with the ANC will come under intense scrutiny.

But unions are equally aware that political alliances are vital to the worker cause: steps towards a more rigorous partnership with the ANC, rather than disengagement, is a certain outcome of the congress.

Delegates can draw hope from the recent ANC conference, where the need for consultation within the alliance was a persistent theme.

The election of mine unionist Cyril Ramaphosa as ANC secretary general also promises stronger ties of communication.

Coleman stresses that the congress will have to look at every phase of the constitutional process and Cosatu's connection with it. Will the "broad patriotic front" be one of political tendencys or should it include labor as an independent actor? How should Cosatu be represented at an all-party conference? Should unions push for a place at the negotiating table, or perhaps second negotiators to the ANC team?

"This ties with the debate about whether the ANC is a liberation movement or a party," Coleman said. "In the struggle for national liberation and democracy, all popular organisations must be dynamically involved — not just by association."

More than on any other issue, union beefs about the ANC have centred on its handling of violence. There is deep scepticism about current peace moves, and the congress is likely to push for a broader strategy, including mass action to pressure the state.

Most Cosatu unionists see their interests being best served by a strong ANC, and this has implications for the "two hats" question — dual union-political leadership.

Alarmed by the potential erosion of union autonomy, Cosatu's chemical and textile affiliates are likely to push for a ban on multiple hats. But the majority view will almost certainly be that during transition, and as long as union work does not suffer, labour leaders should feed their experience into Cosatu's alliances.

The congress is certain, however, to endorse the demand that a future constitution guarantee trade union independence, along with other constitutional demands adopted at Cosatu's recent campaigns conference. These include strike and organising rights and accountable government.

Linked to political change is sanctions policy: some affiliates have bitterly resisted any shift on this, at least until a constituent assembly sits, but the ANC's move to a phased lifting of sanctions must have altered perceptions.

The congress is likely to call for a broad conference of anti-apartheid organisations to rethink the issue — and sources indicate that such a pow-wow is likely within weeks. Demand a conference on an investment code for the post-sanctions era.

But political change forms only part of the background to the congress: just as critical to its agenda will be what Coleman describes as "the massive economic crisis which faces working people".

Retrenchments and unemployment, coupled with the intensifying pressures of a sympathetic government taking the reins, have forced the unions to broaden their focus from narrow workplace issues to the economy as a whole.

The congress will adopt an economic policy which lays heavy emphasis on a state and union role in economic restructuring to create employment and meet social needs. This will underpin Cosatu's short-term job creation and security demands in upcoming talks with employer body Sacca and the government.

Heavy emphasis will be placed on literacy and training, which the federation has come to see as crucial both to workplace empowerment and economic growth. For the first time, delegates will be asked to endorse a set of training principles, which look to nationally integrated schemes open to all workers and an employer duty to train.

The restructuring debate will not be without controversy: some unionists hold that economic reconstruction cannot take place under capitalism, or that union palliatives should not serve to buttress the existing regime.

The vexed issue of a "social contract" on the economy with employers and the state, and its connection with the federation's long-term socialist goals, is likely to generate much heat.

Cosatu's determination to shape South Africa's economic and political future lends a special urgency to its organisational goals. The need for worker unity, and to deepen and extend organisation, will be central congress concerns.

Up for debate is the question of launching Cosatu's own farmworkers' affiliate, and whether public sector affiliates should merge into one super-union. Embracing a million workers, now unorganised, the public sector is seen as a vital organising objective if the independence of the labour movement is to be safeguarded.

Discussion will also focus on the needs and interests of professional groups such as teachers and nurses, which Cosatu is increasingly targeting, and white workers.

Significantly, both the National Council of Trade Unions, Cosatu's smaller rival, and the Pan Africanist Congress will be addressing delegates. How to reconcile unity with Nactu will be an important congress theme.

Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and the SACP will be a key focus of the congress general secretary Jay Naidoo (left) told a press briefing this week.

Photograph: DREW FORREST

See PAGE 15
Was Albie Sachs evasive?

From PAGE 25

could use our isolation productively — to encourage a diverse and thriving local art scene.

While Sachs once again evaded the issue of the boycott in his “Bill of Rights”, what he proposed was precisely a system whereby we could begin to create the circumstances that would make a cultural boycott entirely unnecessary and unjustifiable.

Ronge glosses over Sachs’ major point: that apartheid has marginalised black people and their culture, and that, just because we have entered a media-fashioned “new South Africa” doesn’t mean that black culture has yet been put on centre-stage, where it belongs.

Sachs’ central critique is that the allocation of resources in this “new South Africa” perpetuates the inequities of apartheid. “What does it mean that millions of rand are spent on fantasy palaces to delight wealthy audiences with large homes to go back to while there is no money to upgrade the shack s in which millions of our companions live?”

Ronge takes issue with Sachs’ conflation of the apphes of art and the oranges of living conditions, but Sachs insists on looking at them together: just as shacks have been bulldozed, he says, so too have the shack-dwellers’ culture. Just as black South Africans have been marginalised politically and geographically, living in suburban backyards or in peripheral towns, so too have they been marginalised culturally.

What Sachs therefore proposes is a Bill of Rights that, rather than simply stopping at a guarantee of artistic freedom for all, calls for creative affirmative action that will move black cultural expression from the margins of our culture to its centre.

Ronge is right in chatising Sachs for not coming up with concrete solutions for effecting this (subsidies, pay equity, access guarantees). Sachs does “evade the question of subsidy and sponsorship which is what keeps opera, ballet and theatre alive in this country”.

And it is perhaps this, more than anything, that sits uneasily with Ronge, who is clearly worried about the implications of affirmative action subsidies, which he sees as “a Verwoerdian-style cultural quota”.

In Sachs’ South Africa, Ronge writes, “for every Sleeping Beauty there must be one wedding dance. For every Rigoletto there must be a concert by rural drummers. Can you imagine the niggardly bureaucracy that will leap, hydra-headed, from such a system?”

Strangely, Ronge — an unabashed advocate of the classical “Eurocentric” artforms — rejects Sachs’ solution, one which would not only guarantee the immortality of Rigoletto and Sleeping Beauties on the African continent, but that is modelled on systems already in operation in Europe and North America.

In a multi-ethnic land like the USA one does have one “wedding dance” (as Ronge so disparagingly abbreviates the entirety of black South African culture) for each Sleeping Beauty — there, state arts foundations and councils are required by law to allocate resources equally, even if this does require more bureaucracy.

Ronge is worried that redressing cultural imbalances will further impoverish South African art by reducing “standards”. But as South Africa’s sportsmen have discovered about sport, a coherent commitment to non-racialism (which is what Sachs was trying to evince from South Africa’s arts community at Grahamstown) can only enrich our culture — not least by readmitting us into the international cultural market.

Certainly, if Sachs is going to continue to be the ANC’s cultural troubleshooter, he needs to deal with the issue of the boycott and he needs to translate his ideas into policy. But his ideas are a vital and creative addition to an ANC that seems to show little interest in fostering the arts, and that, while talking about democratising everything else, seems to have forgotten about culture.
Azayo rejects ANC compromise

ANC president Nelson Mandela was yesterday told by the Azanian Youth Organisation to stop pleasing whites at the expense of the liberation of black people.

Azayo deputy president Mr George Ngwenya said the organisation was concerned at reports that the ANC was prepared to compromise a political settlement with the Government.

In a statement to Sowetan, Ngwenya said the ANC talks about further compromises which indicates their desperation over getting into power regardless of the compromised nature of that power.

"There is a difference between fighting for power and fighting for liberation."

"We wish to warn Mandela that as black people, we have sacrificed our lives for liberation."

"We have rejected the tricameral system and the homeland system because those things were meant to derail our liberation."

"We will continue to reject anything which will further derail our liberation."

"Our commitment to liberation should not be undermined by any individual or any organisation."

Ngwenya said any settlement solution, which would not be preceded by the following conditions, was likely to be a sellout solution.

The conditions were:
1. Unity of the components of the liberation movement into a patriotic front.
2. Resignation of the present Government so as to make sure that it does not become a referee and a player at the same time.
3. The involvement of credible mediators in the form of the United Nations, OAU, Non-Aligned Movement, governments or states.
4. The establishment of a constituent assembly.

US wants air links

SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE

NEW YORK - Three of the biggest US carriers are reportedly to be "interested" in restoring the J/K-Jan Smuts direct flights that Pan-American Airways once shared with
Azasm conference on

THE Azanian Students' Movement's national conference, scheduled for this weekend, has been postponed to August 30.

Spokesman Mr. Joe Seaga said the conference was expected to end on September 1. No reasons were given for the postponement. - Sapa.
Slovo election to ANC body ‘a major irritant’

Political Staff

THE election of South African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo to the ANC’s national working committee has drawn criticism today in an otherwise cautious reaction to the profile of the 20-member group that will run the movement’s day-to-day affairs.

But ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki’s position at the top of the poll has been welcomed.

The Western Cape is represented on the committee by communist Ms Cheryl Carolus and regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel. Both are becoming increasingly prominent in the national affairs of the ANC.

National Party sources cautioned against “reading too much” into the list of names, indicating that they believed the committee more or less reflected the profile of the national executive committee, chosen at the ANC’s national conference two weeks ago.

A source remarked: “It is not as if a great deal of significance can be attached to the choice of the NWC.”

But the presence of Mr Slovo, particularly, and other communists such as Mr Ronnie Kasrils was described as “a major irritant”.

“What the election does show is that it is going to be very difficult to dislodge the communists from positions of power,” the source said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said there were “no surprises” in the list.

“In as much as the voting results run closely parallel with those of the NEC in Durban, one cannot expect any particular surprises.”

He added: “One remains anxious as always over the substantial communist presence in the leadership of the ANC.”

Twenty NEC members were elected to the “national working committee” NWC. They join the six top office bearers, led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, in forming the ANC’s key policy-making body.

The voting for the NWC, which was held by secret ballot, went as follows: 1 Thabo Mbeki (66 votes), 2 Chris Hani (56), 3 Pallo Jordan (54), 4 Patrick Lekota (63), 5 Popo Molefe (62), 6 Steve Tshwete (61), 7 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (56), 8 Joe Slovo (53), 9 Joe Modise (52), 10 Cheryl Carolus (52), 11 Joel Netshitenzhe (52), 12 Sydney Mufamadi (51), 13 Ronnie Kasrils (48), 14 Joe Nhlanhla (48), 15 Mohammad Valli Moosa (47), 16 Treyor Manuel (46), 17 Barbara Masekela (46), 18 Alfred Nzo (45), 19 John Ndlovu (45), 20 Zola Skweyiya (30).

In the case of the last two positions, there had to be a second vote to break a tie among three nominees. The third nominee, Mr Mac Maharaj, lost the vote.

Surprise losers include Natal hardliner Mr Harry Gwala, who finished eighth in the NEC elections at the recent Durban conference, Mr Ahmed Kathrada who polled sixth, and the Reverend Arnold Stoffel who came 10th. Others who performed well in Durban but did not make the NWC last night include Mr Raymond Nhlapo, Ms Ruth Moon, Mrs Albertha Sibusiwe, Mr Raymond Suthu and Mr Aziz Pahad.

Those who won places on the NWC, in spite of relatively low polls in Durban, include trade unionist Mr Sydney Mafumadi, former UDF leader Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, cultural department head Ms Barbara Masekela and constitutional expert Mr Zola Skweyiya.
ANC President Nelson Mandela says the ANC is well aware of the need to address economic questions in a manner that does not pit the need to address social disparities against ensuring economic growth.

“If we define economic growth narrowly, as increasing GDP output, this approach will not in itself be useful unless it is located within a national development strategy.”

Mr Mandela told businessmen who attended the Finance Week’s Breakfast Club yesterday that an economic strategy should address both socio-economic development and poverty.

“Together with you, we recognise that growth is crucial. We believe there must be a reworked industrial, mining and agricultural strategy that should aim in the first instance at meeting basic needs and creating jobs.”

Mr Mandela was careful to avoid references to nationalisation, but he said that the focus on redistribution “might not be a sufficient condition for generating growth, but is certainly a necessary condition for growth”.

With regard to the mining industry a plan needed to be developed for optimal extraction of gold in the national interest, in full consultation with the leading producers and trade unions, he said.

“In conjunction with this, a new system of taxation, leasing and financing will need to be developed with measures of public ownership where appropriate.”

Unemployment

Mr Mandela expressed concern at the recent wave of retrenchments and he said unemployment and job creation needed to be considered simultaneously and in the context of a new growth strategy that encourages investment, “which is currently locked into speculative activity.

“We suggest a strategy which focuses in the first instance on basic goods, such as housing and linked not only to providing shelter but also to reviving the economy.”

Apart from housing, other questions which should be addressed immediately were education, land reform and provision of basic welfare for the very poor.

In reference to the current tight monetary policy Mr Mandela said there was a need for macro-economic stabilisation.

“Such matters as reducing inflation are crucial if the economy is to grow and attract investment in the future, but this will best be achieved through planting South Africa on a new growth path and not by merely tinkering with monetary policy in a period of recession.”

Mr Mandela also appealed to the business community to support the ANC’s call for a binding set of agreements aimed at ending the violence in the townships.

“For there to be any real progress in the economic domain we all know that there has to be political stability — the violence must end.”

“I urge you to join us in demanding that the government use the powers at its disposal to bring the reign of terror to an end.”
THE African National Congress's working committee or "shadow Cabinet" yesterday formally took over the leadership of the ANC amid renewed reports of attempts by security forces to destabilise the organisation.

The emergence of the 26-member working committee brought to an end the process which began on July 2 when the ANC held its annual conference — the first inside the country since 1959 — to elect a new executive and to assess its policies.

The working committee consists of the men elected to the six top executive positions at the ANC conference, plus another 20 members elected by a full 91-strong executive.

Several points of continuity emerge when the 50 members who were elected directly to the conference are compared to the 20 members chosen by their co-executive members to serve on the working committee.

The first is the immense popularity of the two men who supposedly represent opposing poles within the ANC: Chris Hani, chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, an avowed communist and a reputed militant, and Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs chief who has been categorised as a pragmatist.

**UDF figures among leaders**

**Patrick Laurence**

At the conference Mr Hani topped the poll with 1 663 votes against 1 824 for Mr Mbeki. In the election of the working committee Mr Mbeki turned the tables, winning 66 votes against 65 for Mr Hani.

Another common point is the strong showing of SA Communist Party members in both elections. In the conference election, known or suspected communists won about half of the 50 places on the executive. They won the same proportion of seats in the later poll for the 20 members of the national working committee.

**Preferred**

SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo did not fare as well in the election of the 20 working committee members. He was eighth on that list, against his third position in the election of 50 executive members.

Another common point is the preference given to younger ANC figures who served in leadership positions of the United Democratic Front against the administration of President PW Botha.

But they were preferred even more strongly in the poll for the working committee.

Six former UDF leaders won positions on the working committee, with Patrick Lekota and Popo Molefi holding their own in popularity against big names like Mbeki and Hani.

Broadly, the working committee represents a balanced blending of the different strands in the ANC: exiled leaders, Robben Island prisoners and UDF leaders.

It has the ability, energy and experience to implement the strategy hammered out at the ANC's conference: using negotiations as a "terrain of the struggle" and where necessary, backing demands with civil disobedience and mass action.

The Machiavellian view of President de Klerk as a tough and cunning opponent who has to be forced centimetre by centimetre to loosen his grip on power will almost certainly be reinforced by yesterday's allegations against the security forces.

The police were reported to have financed the rival Inkatha Freedom Party — with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok admitting last night that it had — and the SADF was alleged to have orchestrated train massacres (which they denied) in order to expose the ANC as weak and unable to check violence.
Weep for our collective death wish

Sometimes I despair about us South Africans. We have an unerring ability to find a cloud in every silver lining. Consider what has happened in the space of the past couple of weeks.

It is now only a matter of time until we re-enter the world of international cricket and rugby. Other sports will follow. We will certainly participate in the Olympics again, probably soon.

We can start saving up to attend major international sporting and cultural events at Ellis Park.

There has been a handbrake-turn in relations with the United States. Trade delegations have come sniffing from every corner of the world: Russian, Japanese, Polish and other equally cosmopolitan chequebooks are being waved at us.

Pretoria has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Admission to the United Nations is a serious prospect.

And Nelson Mandela, in his first interview as president of the ANC, has spoken passionately of real—not rhetorical —compromise and conciliation among all the peoples of this land, and of the time being ripe for giving the stalled negotiations process a long-awaited jump-start.

There is a headlong rush towards our reacceptance as another normal bunch of people in the world community. Black South Africans will no longer have to endorse all those funereal — and practical — torture of having no political rights or human dignity in their own country. Our passports will no longer have to be secreted, like dirty magazines, when we pass through foreign airports.

White South Africans will no longer have to pass themselves off as New Zealanders when asked the dread question of origin by London cab drivers.

There remains a long way to go, of course. And, sure, there are fears and uncertainties and ugly, bloody incidents. But there are things for everybody to look forward to: when last could we all say that, together? We inhabit an entirely different world from that mean, hopeless fortress of the Rubicon era.

But are we cheerful and energetic about the fact that because, largely, of the emergence of two remarkable national leaders, we have been transformed as a country from certain basket-case to potential breadbasket? Quite the opposite.

For me, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, personified our death wish this week. I read his response to Mandela’s buoyant statements on the prospects for peace with a heavy heart.

Here is a senior Government figure, by no means free of controversy himself, destroying the potentially electrifying effect of a remarkably open-ended — and open-armed — intervention from a rival political party which has concentrated on confrontation for several months.

Did the General look carefully at the import of what Mandela had to say about compromises, guarantees, softenings, reassurances? Did he put the parts which challenged the Government to give a gesture of sincerity into the context of the whole? Did he recognise that now, in the aftermath of the ANC conference, the golden moment had arrived for a quantum leap forward in the negotiations process?

No, no, and no again. The General says he’s had enough from Mr Mandela. The ANC leader is “slandering whites ... trying to cause tension between blacks and whites”. Worse, he declares, Mandela has insulted the overwhelming majority of whites who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level". That last statement casts serious doubt on the decade in which the General thinks he’s living.

If there was a bucket handy, I would cry into it. This country needs one thing and one thing only at the moment: a start to real negotiations. Once they are underway, and their momentum is sufficient to carry them forward under their own steam, then — Lord knows — there will be ample opportunity for ruthless politicking.

General Malan will have no trouble in finding platforms from which to berate the ANC for its allegations about security force collusion in township violence. But to spurn, in such cavalier fashion, a clear effort to breathe optimism back into the bigger process? It defies comprehension.

Other National Party sources have, as this newspaper has reported, adopted a much more far-sighted approach. Is it too much to expect from President de Klerk — who has demonstrated statesmanship before — to slap down his warmongering Minister?
WILL the real ANC please stand up? I make this plea at the risk of being accused of conducting a McCarthyite witch-hunt against the SA Communist Party and members.

Far from it. I do not want to ban or imprison them, nor do I want to execute or excommunicate them. I just want to know who they are so I can go to great pains not to vote for them in a future election.

This I state as someone who has long argued in public for the unbanning of the SACP. The logic is simple. As a banned organisation, the SACP could do no wrong. Nor could any of its policies bear any scrutiny. Unbanned, however, it would either flourish or, in the cold light of day, wither and die on the vine.

My hostility towards communism, by the way, is purely practical. It does not work. It has never worked. Nor has anyone yet convinced me it will work in a future South Africa.

Communism has brought more misery to more people more effectively than apartheid ever dreamed of. Think of the 20 million or so who perished in Stalin's camps. Add to them the tens of millions who rejoiced as the Iron Curtain lifted. Apartheid claims its victims, and can number them in the millions too, but on the scale of human misery it comes nowhere close to communism. As they say in the classics, that is my democratic opinion and I'm entitled to it. And that is why I would like to know exactly who is and who is not a communist in the upper echelons of the ANC.

You, of course, may be a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, but you don't know the answer either — which will prevent you, comrade, from exercising your democratic rights.

Mind you, one definite area of similarity between communism and apartheid is the bureaucratic sophistication they both breed. We have, for years, laboured under National Party governments telling us what to think and when to think it.

Now, with chilling irony, we hear the newly-elected general secretary of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, ordering his colleagues not to answer media questions on whether or not they belong to the SACP.

As I read those words, I hear the icy gales of political censorship and thought-crime blowing in across the tundra and the veld. Carried on the howling wind, the ghostly laughter of Trotsky and Beria, the NKVD and the KGB, Jimmy Kruger and PW Botha, the Security Police and the state of emergency.

If I was a member of the ANC's NEC, and any kind genuine democrat, I'd tell Mr Ramaphosa precisely what he could do with his instruction. Imagine a general secretary of Britain's TUC or the President of America's AFL-CIO telling senior colleagues what they may or may not say about their political views to reporters. The thought is grotesque.

And another thing. If I were a communist or a member of any other banned party and had done 30 years in exile or on Robben Island for my beliefs, I would wear my allegiance openly and proudly.

In this case, literally, a red badge of courage.

Nor do I derive any comfort from Allan Boesak's assertion that, as a pre-condition to joining the ANC this week, he voiced his community's similar concerns about communism to Nelson Mandela. Boesak said Mr Mandela had told him the ANC was willing to take up these matters and address them.

Forgive my howl of laughter, Dr Boesak, but how do you believe this is going to be addressed?

Do you believe we need this kind of political secrecy?

Local sources say upwards of half the NEC belongs to the Communist Party. Is Mr Mandela going to wake up one morning and fire them? Or are they just going to hand in their ANC-membership cards?

I really do think we should be told.

• Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio 702's Newstalk.
When I had already given up on radio I finally heard the light

I have invested in a shortwave radio and now listen to the BBC World Service regularly. The reasons for this lie in a comment made to me by the head of audience research of the BBC Africa Service. He said that it was interesting to note that South African blacks knew far less about the rest of Africa than their counterparts in East and West Africa.

There is an intense interest in current affairs, and indeed, in world affairs in Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania where the BBC has a very high penetration rate, around 70 percent. In South Africa it is only about 6 percent. This is mainly due to the fact that most listeners in South Africa (both white and black) own FM or medium-wave radios rather than shortwave radios. One has to be fairly dedicated to tune in to the medium wave signal from Lesotho, but possibly listenership will begin to grow sometimes in the future.

Be that as it may (to quote my uncle Oswald) the fact is that radio has assumed a new importance in my media world. After the years of gentility, expatriate colonial British material on the English service and endless recipes for bobotie, hunting stories and gun talk on the Afrikaans service I gave up radio as a lost cause.

But both the BBC and Radio 702 have restored my faith in radio (although in slightly different ways). BBC news has the ability to deal in depth with a news story in a way that eliminates that sense of special pleading, of a hidden agenda that characterises SABC news and actuality (both radio and television).

I know that the BBC has been accused of bias, but there remains an integrity that SABC news will never have.

Radio 702 has taught us that airing issues and taking about them at length is good radio. A discussion recently between Peter Mokaba, the president of the ANC Youth League, and Paul Fourie of Jeugkrug was genuinely illuminating.

The discussion on the bombing of the Hillview School in Pretoria was similarly scary and reassuring, ranging from the outrageous (Willem in Boksburg who wishes the school had been filled with children) to the sensible (Craig in Parktown who thought the children should be integrated into several schools).

The question of whether extremist comments like those of Willem should be heard brought to mind the remarks of the American Supreme Court judge Justice Brandeis in 1920:

"Those that wish for independence believe that freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people ... it is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

Bearing this in mind let us cast our minds back to the "Agenda" programme two weeks ago. Just after the ANC conference. It followed the familiar format, the ANC on trial having to defend not only its policies but also the personal beliefs of its executive members.

John Bishop asking Chris Hani questions like "Are you a Christian." Imagine a SABC staffer asking Adriaan Vlok or Magnus Malan about their religious or sexual preferences!

The familiar Red-baiting questions by Bishop made it quite clear that "Agenda" and the news have been given two issues to plug: exploit the incipient communist paranoia of viewers however you can, and push the Inkatha Freedom Party as much as possible.

Question: Why doesn't SABC-TV news run to Bennie Alexander of the PAC, instead of Gatsha Buthelezi of the IFP, every time they need a comment on sanctions or township violence? And why did the news devote so much time to Buthelezi gabbling on about "South Africanism" so incomprehensibly on Monday evening?

The same evening they even wheeled Cliff Saunders out of Moscow to go on about the West being suspicious of Gorbachev because he won't commit himself to a market economy. And then, in a dizzying non sequitur, he linked this event to bad African countries that espoused communism to their detriment. Once again the SACP was fingered. Funny that the SABC should be so scared of a party they believe is on its way out.
Mandela appeals for SA business support

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the business community to support the ANC by donating it funds.

Speaking at a Finance Week breakfast club meeting, Mr Mandela said the ANC had been successful in getting donations from Africa, Asia and Europe and had encountered fund-raising problems only in South Africa.

He said the lack of business support was causing the ANC constituency to question whether white business was behind the peace process.

The ANC had always understood that unless it got the co-operation and support of businessmen, it was useless to think in terms of rebuilding the economy. — Sapa
Mandela asks for business funding

SHAWN JOHNSON

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has appealed directly to South African businessmen "to help the ANC with funds" in order to ensure a negotiated political settlement.

Addressing a Finance Week breakfast meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC president said: "We have noticed that it is only when we go abroad that we have the support of governments and business people. You will have seen on countless occasions our success in collecting funds in Africa and Asia.

"In Europe we have received a very positive response from the point of view of governments being involved in projects.

"It is only in South Africa where we have encountered enormous problems, which are leading our own constituency to say: 'Are you sure that the white businessmen of this country are behind the peace process?'

"If they are behind the peace process, we should not learn this purely from Pretoria — we should be able to point at the concrete responses on their part which give us the capacity to carry on with this initiative which we have successfully undertaken... and which has led to the talks between us and the government."

The ANC leader said "very few liberation movements have taken the line that we have."

He said the African National Congress was putting "tremendous pressure" on Pretoria "for a speedy solution to our problems", and challenged the local business community to "no longer regard the ANC as just a pure political organisation."

Mr Mandela said he was making this appeal to businessmen "because we do want to carry our own constituency, and if they are not, ready to accept businessmen as a key element in striving for a peaceful solution it is going to be difficult for us to make progress."
What economic policy?

Just what are the economic policies - now or in the future - of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress? The redistribution of the country’s resources and land as part of a fundamental restructuring of the country’s economy form the cornerstone of both and both highlight the need for this type of strategy. "Marshall Plan" type involvement by the state. MAGGIE RONALEY, Deputy Business Editor, reports on the two economic manifestos.

"The conventional market of western Europe, if it has to exist, has to find its place within the dynamics of initially heavy state involvement."

However, it stresses it would not prevent this market from existing and the size of the place for market forces would increase as the country moved to "normal conditions".

The PAC sees the manufacturing sector and initially the building and construction industry as being the engine power for development.

The agencies for the manufacturing sector would be the state, multi-organisations formed through joint efforts of the state, private sector, and business corporations formed by the individual, collectives and workers’ corporations, multi-organisations formed without the participation of the state and individual firms from the private sector.

Where an economic venture or sub-industry is considered critical due to its linkages with the rest of the economy and/or export potential, such as the motor industry, and where demands for technology skills and finance are beyond the capabilities of most individual firms, "national multi-organisations" with or without participation would be encouraged.

A PAC government would play a major role in the financial sector including insurance and pension funds. However, this role would not come as a result of destroying existing agencies.

It also envisages a revised tax structure and system which would act as a mechanism for the redistribution of resources from the haves to the have-nots and increase public revenue to enable the state to provide social, economic and physical infrastructures supporting economic development and meeting basic needs.

Central economic planning activities would not seek to cripple the private sector through punitive actions, damage economic growth or eliminate entrepreneurial initiatives.

However, the state would give "preferential treatment" to African (black) entrepreneurs with regard to purchasing policies and in the supply of goods and services. Assistance would be given to existing and potential African entrepreneurs and an Entrepreneurial Promotion and Development Fund would be established.

The private sector would be expected to provide venture and development capital to African entrepreneurs through a variety of agencies and to fund entrepreneurial promotion and development institutes.

Through legislative avenues and/or "possessions of powers, of moral persuasion", financial institutions would be pressurised to redesign asset portfolios to include loans to state and African entrepreneurs.

Policyholder funds in mutual associations would be used to encourage redistribution of wealth through the state’s appointment of senior managers or directors and worker representation in policy decision-making by influencing and directing the policies of companies in which they have controlling shares.

Like the ANC, the PAC stresses the need for better use of land not only for housing and industrial purposes but also for creating employment in the agricultural sector.

The PAC advocates land redistribution to smaller African producers and massive investment in land reclamation and reversal of land degradation. The size of remaining commercial farms should be determined by the extent of landlessness experienced by African people for residential and productive activities and by the economics of producing different produce.

Like the ANC, the PAC sees the engine power for economic development lying in the manufacturing sector and initially the building and construction industry.

Regarding foreign investment, the PAC says it strongly opposes foreign control and ownership of strategic sections of the economy but would encourage selective foreign investment for strategic purposes including investment oriented to technology transfer and joint ventures with currently disadvantaged Africans.

Measures to attract and retain foreign investors would be taken with a PAC government honouring and guaranteeing agreements.
SIMILARITIES between the economic policies of the PAC and ANC far outweigh their differences.

The PAC document is slightly more nationalistic but it is to the ANC's credit that its document is clear and concise, inviting debate from both its membership and the wider public and, as intended, designed to draw widespread reactions to promote employment but make beneficiaries productive. They would have to stimulate growth. Resisting both an unregulated free market system and a "commandist" central planning system on the other, the fundamental framework of the ANC's economic philosophy is a market-based economy on the principles of "democracy, participation and development".

In its 41-page discussion document, the PAC emphasises redistribution of wealth and resources, focusing on property rights. The ANC says it will redistribute land from the rich to those who suffered dispossession by removing a variety of forms of land tenure would be encouraged. It said it would put in place new regulations to permit collective ownership of land by workers who pay for its use.

The ANC argues that land use should be encouraged to promote the naturalisation of private landowners. This approach, it says, is more than just a redistribution of wealth. It is a case of the ANC moving to a more equitable and efficient system of ownership.

The ANC says it will redistribute land from the rich to those who suffered dispossession by removing a variety of forms of land tenure. The ANC also said it would put in place new regulations to permit collective ownership of land by workers who pay for its use. The PAC says it will redistribute land from the rich to those who suffered dispossession by removing a variety of forms of land tenure. The PAC also said it would put in place new regulations to permit collective ownership of land by workers who pay for its use.
THE alliance between the SA Communist Party and the African National Congress was more solid than it had ever been, the secretary-general of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, said last night.

Delivering the keynote address to a conference at the University of the Western Cape marking the 70th anniversary of the SACP, he added: “But, an alliance is not like a Catholic marriage, and the way in which it will operate in future conditions is a matter which will only be fruitfully addressed when those conditions emerge.”

Mr Slovo said he wished to reiterate the SACP’s “complete confidence that ultimately South Africa will arrive at a socialist system ... existing socialism failed because it was separated from democracy”.

“We believe democratic socialism is the only rational future for humankind. And we will continue to propagate it and to work for conditions in which it can be realised in a future South Africa.”

Turning to the controversial issue of “secret” SACP members, he said it was a “matter for historical record that prior to our banning in 1950 there was not a single secret communist. For 40 years we were forced to work in the cellars.”

The party was leading up to its first legal congress in 40 years in December, and “I, for one, am committed to the proposition that from that point onwards there will be no secret party members”.

But, Mr Slovo added: “Those who have socialist commitments but who, whether for personal or political reasons, cannot fit into this new phase, should have our respect even though they may not be our members.”

If and when elections came in South Africa, the SACP would “certainly participate ... whether we do so as part of an existing alliance, or a broader patriotic front, or a coalition, or on a completely independent platform, depends on many variables, including the specifics of a future electoral system”.

Mr Slovo said it should be remembered that the alliance between the SACP and the ANC was based “not merely on immediate political consensus, but has its roots in the inter-class nature of the current struggle”.

It was the task of the independent SACP to ensure that in this inter-class lineup of forces, working-class interests were not swamped and that the working class was organised as a powerful constituency.”

— Sapa

Joe Slovo

ALLIANCE ...
Buthelezi hits at 'offensive' story

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S response came soon afterwards. He denied just about everything. He denied knowledge of payments through the police to Inkatha for rallies. He denied ever having accepted money to undermine the ANC. He described the Weekly Mail article as "offensive" and he accused the ANC of having accepted government money to attend the Groote Schuur peace conference and having taken money from Russia, Cuba and the Middle East.

He particularly denied Brigadier Steyn's claim that he had been grateful for money received for a rally.

Lastly, came the ANC response, delivered by Mr Mandela on his departure overseas. The revelations, he said, confirmed ANC charges that the government had been funding anti-ANC activities and it bore direct responsibility for "the murder, sometimes of entire African families, in both the PWV and Natal".

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC on a collision course. If President De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no point in the ANC having further discussions with the government.
By SEKOULA SELLO

The ANC elected its 26-man national working committee or "Shadow Cabinet" this week, showing that former exiles are still a dominant factor in the movement.

It was full of surprises. Favourite candidates like Gertrude Shope, who recently trounced Winnie Mandela in the contest for leadership of the Women's League, did not make it.

Only two women, Cheryl Carolus and Barbara Masekela, were elected to the NWC, which is responsible for the ANC’s day-to-day activities.

The election of only two women is likely to raise complaints.

Women complained bitterly about under-representation in the National Executive Committee during the recent ANC conference in Durban. Their proposal that 30 percent of NEC members should be women was defeated.

Another surprise outcome of the elections was the good showing by former United Democratic Front members Popo Molefe and Patrick "Terror" Lekota. They were among the top five popularly elected members.

Former secretary-general Alfred Nzo was another surprise winner. During the run-up to the Durban conference, Nzo was strongly criticised for "weak leadership" and was considered lucky to have won a place in the NEC.

The erstwhile external leadership once more showed that, contrary to popular speculation, they are still a power to reckon with in the movement. They won 14 of the 20 positions contested.

With the election of the NWC out of the way, national focus is now on the allocation of portfolios to the NWC.

This will indicate which candidates are likely to become ministers in the event of the ANC becoming a new government.

The results of the elections with the number of votes in brackets were: Thabo Mbeki (66); Chris Hani (65); Pallo Jordan (64); Patrick Lekota (63); Manto Tshwete (62); Steve Tshwete (61); Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (56); Joe Slovo (53); Joe Modise (52); Cheryl Carolus (52); Joel Netshitenzhe (52); Sydney Mufamadi (51); Ronnie Kasrils (48); Joel Nhlanhla (48); Mohammed Valli Moosa (47); Trevor Manuel (46); Barbara Masekela (46); Alfred Nzo (45); John Nkadineng (49) and Zola Skweyiya (30).
Chances of negotiation brighter now

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

President de Klerk has moved to improve the atmosphere for negotiation by denouncing two of his controversial ministers against the background of the indication from Pretoria that the negotiations were to begin. He is expected to follow this up with announcements on secret projects late this afternoon.

Playing his cards close to his chest, as usual, Mr de Klerk has surprised his partners with the Cabinet reshuffle.

**How the new Cabinet looks — page 17.**

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Viljoen, while remaining in the Cabinet, have been given fairly minor portfolios.

Some of their Nationalist colleagues now see their demotion as merely a face-saving move by the government to undo some of the humiliation it has suffered too much following ANC demands that they resign.

The two were suddenly called to the president's official residence on Sunday to be told that their services were no longer required.

General Malan is succeeded by Mr Salvadoro e de Brito, who has been given the Defence Portfolio.

Mr Viljoen is succeeded by General Hendrik van den Bergh, who has been given the Law and Order Portfolio.

Many “dirty tricks” allegations against the police remain unsubstantiated.

Mr de Klerk is clearly sensitive to the effect that allegations and disclosures about secret projects and the involvement of security forces in violence can have on the negotiation process.

He has therefore moved to contain the situation at this stage and to ease the way to negotiations.

An especially bad impression was created by the fact that General Malan telephoned to Jakhia and the trade union leaders without checking with the president.

It is also seen as a good move among Nationalists that Dr Steyn, a former member of the Afrikaner Broodraad, has left the Cabinet.

In what is also seen as a good move among Nationalists, the government has taken Dr Steyn's resignation and has made him head of communications of the ANC in preparation for negotiations.

Dr van der Merwe is seen as an able politician who has had much to do with discussions on questions of power moves to start negotiations.

With his Cabinet reshuffle Mr de Klerk has given in to demands of his own rank that more prominent politicians such as Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Piet Marx and Mr Leon Wessels be given a chance.

The one embarrassment to Mr de Klerk at this stage is the resignation of the “executive of the affairs” Minister of Education, Mr Piet Clasie, because he had only a 47 majority in the State Constituent in the last general election and the CP is now bound to win the seat.

On the other hand Mr Clasie was becoming an embarrassment to the government because he appeared to be unable to keep up with moves towards open schools.

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen were called suddenly to Libertas, President de Klerk’s official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had been loking over the past Mr de Klerk had said he was to tell them The minister had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Monday after his much-waited news conference on the Inkhata matter.

They had no idea they would be key elements in negotiations which have received government.

There was no sign of demotion Mr Viljoen, who has been a key figure in the police’s role in finding two of the most wanted Inkatha leaders and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwwa), had no signal from the conference on the state of negotiations, deputy ministers and provincial administrators.

Mr de Klerk had said they were to be shifted to another department.

The two were to take over over the telephone calls on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Beyaneng Conference in the red corner but in the Senate.

It is not known how many others involved in the avalanche of late to hear their fate that afternoon.

**Two veteran survivors**

A fourth of the members of the parliamentary security ministry, who had become a significant factor in campaign calls for the re-election of Mr de Klerk, separately after the telephone call on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Beyaneng Conference in the red corner but in the Senate.

It is not known how many others involved in the avalanche of late to hear their fate that afternoon.

Mr Joop van den Berg, a former member of the Afrikaner Broodraad, has been appointed to the Cabinet as the new Minister of Justice.

General Malan and Mr Viljoen had returned to the Cabinet in the Senate.

The previous minister, Mr de Klerk, had said to the Senate.

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MK conference in SA next month

By THEMBALI KHUMALO

ANC military wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe will hold its first legal conference in South Africa next month, ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus said this week.

Niehaus said the conference was originally scheduled to take place in Transkei in May. However, senior officers decided on postponement to allow the ANC national conference to take place first.

Niehaus, who served a jail term for being an internal MK recruit, said next month's conference would be dominated by the ANC's Durban conference resolutions on its armed wing.

The plight of returned members who were experiencing personal and social problems would also be addressed.

Among its conference resolutions the ANC decided to strengthen MK and to cater for the needs of its combatants. It also resolved to take responsibility for cadres prosecuted over the execution of their duties in defence of their people.

Delegates also resolved to maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Source close to MK predict that heads are going to roll at next month's conference because of complaints by returned combatants that the ANC has not met most of its promises to them since their return.

Those who returned from Angola claimed they were promised jobs and houses.

Many soldiers still outside the country are said to be reluctant to return to the same political situation which they turned their backs on more than 20 years ago.

The ANC, however, has reported financial difficulties in supporting members to their satisfaction. Because of high transport costs it has also instructed its Frontline States structures to bury members who die in exile at their places of death.

MK commander Joe Modise told City Press last month that his cadres were undergoing conventional training to prepare them to take over a new army under a future government. He said hundreds of youths were still leaving the country to join MK.
Azapo out of Patriotic Front?

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE participation of Azapo in the much publicised patriotic front embracing all major anti-apartheid liberation movements is in the balance.

This comes amid rumours that the front, which was to be launched in Cape Town between August 23 and 25, may be postponed to September.

PAC and Azapo sources alleged the ANC was "dragging its feet in accepting Azapo as an equal partner".

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe says his organisation is committed to the front but unhappy it has not yet been included in the ANC and PAC organising committee.

Nefolovhodwe warned against the front going ahead with some liberation movements being accorded junior status.
MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

The real goal is long-term unity

The united front conference of black liberation movements in Cape Town next month is sure to put the South African government and certain international powers on edge. They will be hoping the conference is a flop as a united black liberation movement will spell doom for white supremacy in any form.

The desire to keep black liberation movement's fragmented has been openly expressed by many white politicians and is part of the secret agenda of a number of Western countries.

What is so special about this united front? Why form one at all when the ANC enjoys centre stage in South African politics with plenty of support even among whites?

Further, what is the motivation of the PAC and Azapo, which have their own constituencies. Are they trying to climb on the ANC's back?

The Inkatha Freedom Party, under Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, might also have claimed a place at the conference, until this week when its colusion with the National Party Government was exposed.

The IFP has now disqualified itself from the united front, and Buthelezi must make his stand clear to the masses. He must either go it alone as a political party or openly form an alliance with the NP.

Our people have been confused for too long by Buthelezi. He refused to send a representative to the Conference for a Democratic Future held at Wits recently to work out a strategy for a united front. His reason was that he was not invited. In fact no organisation was officially invited to the conference.

The united front will most likely include the ANC, PAC and Azapo. Apart from their track record of fighting apartheid rule, these organisations have more in common than differences. They believe in one person one vote, support the concept of a united front and all want a constituent assembly.

However, they differ on the question of an all-party congress. The ANC says it will go ahead with its plans for such a congress while the PAC and Azapo are against it.

The conference next month has also raised problems for Azapo. It refuses to attend along with homeland leaders who were elected on "ethnic grounds", and has slammed the idea of an interim government as an "interim solution".

In its search for a permanent government, Azapo wants President FW de Klerk's government to resign. It says the military and police should also be confined to bases while the transition is monitored by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

The three organisations may also differ on the restoration and distribution of land and wealth. The ANC is likely to take a more conciliatory approach while Azapo and the PAC push a hard line.

Despite these differences, the three organisations are united in their need to topple the present government before they go their separate ways.

The dangers of this short-term strategy surfaced in Zimbabwe when liberation movements triumphed against the Smith Government.

After losing elections to Robert Mugabe's Zanu party, the Zapu party of Joshua Nkomo resorted again to guerrilla warfare and nearly destroyed the newly liberated country.

We can only hope discussion at the conference gives equal attention to long-term goals and short-term strategies.
the negotiations, because the new South Africa that will emerge will not be better off without their contribution.

How do you see De Klerk as a leader? Can he be trusted?

I think he is a strong leader. As to whether he can be trusted or not really depends on what he is delivering and whether he lives up to the agreements or not.

Unfortunately for him, many people are beginning to doubt whether his government can actually be trusted to deliver the goods. He should be worried about that.

His strengths and weaknesses as a leader?

It's difficult to say. You can only judge a leader in a collective sense, rather than in an individual sense. That is also how I view Nelson Mandela. I see him as part of a collective leadership. If one views De Klerk in this collective sense you fall back on to the description I gave earlier about the weaknesses of the NP and the strengths of the ANC.

Will there be a role for De Klerk in politics after apartheid if the ANC becomes the majority parliamentary group?

I don't see why not. If you look at what happened in Namibia and Zimbabwe, there has been a role for people in the opposition. It is rumoured that you wrote the speech that Mandela made on the Parade in Cape Town the day he was released?

No, that was a collective effort.

It was also rumoured that there was some tension between you and Mandela after his release?

No, there was never any tension between me and Mr Mandela.

Some people say your refusal to discuss the role of the SACP in the ANC is an effort to suppress discussion about the failings of communism?

We have never ever tried to suppress discussion on the failings of communism. In fact we encourage discussion on the failings of eastern European governments because there are many lessons in the reasons why these governments failed.

In that respect we have nothing to hide. Joe Slovo's and other papers on why these governments have failed, have been discussed extensively in both the ANC and the SACP.

What we resent though, is that right now there is a public inquisition and a McCarthy-type witchhunt against communists. That is not the issue. There was an attempt to get [a] (congress) delegates that they were wrong to choose Joe Slovo to be the chair of the NEC because he is a communist. That they should have chosen a non-communist.

That undermines democracy - and it is being done by people who proclaim from rooftops that they are democrats.

What is that we resent and is why we told people not to answer questions on their affiliations.

The SACP will throw open their books at their conference in December (their first in the country in 40 years) and until then the media should not put us on trial because we have an alliance with them.

Can the ANC's main political objective of getting rid of apartheid only be achieved if it remains a liberation movement - and not a political party?

Our view is that it can only be achieved if we remain a liberation movement. A political party becomes a political party to contest elections. We cannot be a political party because apartheid is not gone yet. We still have to pursue strategies of liberation.

Do you have role models in politics?

Yes, people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo.

What are your tastes in music, books and sport?

I enjoy jazz (especially John Coltrane and Kenny Burrell), read biographies of various world leaders and play a little tennis.
THE FINAL DRIVE ... ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa reckons pressure should be kept up until the government removes all obstacles.

Is there a central dynamic at work in the negotiating process?

It's difficult to single out one. One dynamic could be the expectations of your people, what they regard as negotiable and not negotiable – and of course the element of compromising. On some issues you have to compromise. Then there are some issues where there can be no compromise. And, of course, negotiations are about accommodating each others positions.

Do you think the AWB and CP should also take part in these negotiations?

Yes, they also represent a viewpoint that needs to be put forward at the negotiating table. I think it would be unfortunate if the AWB and the CP do not take part in
LEADERS of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and leading business and trade union organisations will meet in Cape Town next month for a “patriotic conference” flowing from the ANC and PAC’s Harare summit in April.

Negotiations, sanctions and violence are expected to be among the issues discussed at the meeting on August 22 to 25.

It was decided in Harare to convene a conference of “organisations of the oppressed” to formulate a joint strategy to continue the struggle against apartheid.

Azapo was the first to be canvassed and will now be a major participant. Inkatha is not expected to attend after its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a TV interview last week that the conference would lead to polarisation. Government, he said, would be on the one side and black organisations on the other.

Organisations expected to attend include the SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions, the SA Council of Churches, National Olympic Council of SA, SA Council on Sport, Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafoc).

The conference will be the first major meeting of black organisations looking at the negotiations issue. The PAC, Azapo and ANC have sniped at each other since May last year when the latter had its first meeting with government. The PAC and Azapo have both rejected government invitations to negotiations.

Similarly, they have behind-the-scenes differences on sanctions, and this conference may see them take a common position.

Full details on the conference will be released this week, once the size of delegations and their voting rights have been decided on.

Concern over medicine thefts

PRETORIA — The Medical Association of SA (Masa) is concerned that recent reports on medicine thefts in the pharmaceutical industry have given the impression that “trading doctors” bought and sold medicines for profit.

Masa’s federal council chairman Bernard Mandell said at the weekend that Masa was not aware of any specific cases.

It could not condone so-called trading doctors.

Mandell said exceptionally high standards were maintained by dispensing doctors.

They were not primarily profit-motivated and did not “trade” in medicines, but provided a convenient and cost-effective one-stop service to patients.

Masa’s ethical committee monitored dispensing doctors’ activities, he added.
NP to move into townships

By Shareen Singh

Blacks have started joining the National Party in increasing numbers since about April this year, the NP says, and plans are under way to open offices in a few black townships.

NP spokesman for the greater Pretoria region Joggie Boers said the NP would soon open offices in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve because membership in these areas had been increasing rapidly.

However, he could not say how many blacks had joined in his region because “the party does not register people on a racial basis and would not like to differentiate between black and white”.

The Hillbrow branch of the NP, which has a “multiracial” executive committee, says it has a significant number of black members.

Ronnie Ontong, a Pentecostal church minister, said he joined the NP in May this year because he believed in President de Klerk and the NP’s policies.

He was also full of praise for Nelson Mandela and said he would have joined the ANC if it did not have communist alliances.

David Mathipa, an estate agent, said he had been a blackNP member in his youth but had joined the NP because he supported capitalism.

The secretary of the NP’s Johannesburg region, Juli Coetzee, said many “disillusioned ANC members” were joining the NP, particularly in Hillbrow.

Responding to NP claims, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said “naturally they are free to recruit and open branches anywhere and we don’t see it as a threat”.

“Our membership as we stated at the congress was 700,000, most of which we managed to recruit in difficult circumstances in a short time since our unbanning,” Mr Macozoma, of Hillbrow, accused the NP of “engaging in propaganda” to try to increase its membership.

“I am a Hillbrow resident and I don’t believe our members are joining the NP. If anything, the ANC branch in Hillbrow is very strong and is growing daily.

“We are actively taking up issues affecting residents in Hillbrow and believe in the ANC,” said Mr Macozoma.

The NP was attracting conservative people who “are their political offspring and their natural allies”.

Mr Macozoma said the ANC would like some guarantee from the NP that its recruitment drive would not be accompanied by repression and restriction of free political activity.

He said ANC members in some areas had been harassed by police, who had torn up their ANC membership cards.
ANC President Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk are to move in to an exclusive Sandton home together.

Chairman of industrial group SA Bias, Christopher Seabrooke, said at the weekend that he had bought for R2 000 Mandela's 1981 petition to the British people, and that he planned to keep it with his signed copy of De Klerk's February 2 speech last year, in which he announced drastic reform measures including the unbanning of the ANC.

Seabrooke, a self-confessed "Africana fan," bought the petition last week in London at a Sotheby's auction which raised more than R40 000 for exiled SA students.

Among other manuscripts sold at the auction was a typescript by Nadine Gordimer, which fetched R2 850, and an unfinished story by Graham Greene.

Seabrooke professed to admiration for both leaders, "as long as they get their acts together."

The petition, signed by Mandela on behalf of the 1956 treason trialists, was addressed to the "People of Great Britain." from "all the Freedom-loving People of SA."

Two other potential buyers bid for the petition amid rumours that the ANC would try to recover a piece of its own history.

Earlier this month the ANC, entering the auction room for the first time in its history, tried to buy the disused Grootvlei colliery from Anglo American — but was outbid by a locally based development company.

An ANC spokesman said on Friday he had no knowledge of the Sotheby's auction or of an ANC bid.
Patrick Laurence assesses whether the SA Communist Party can turn the tide of history.

Eyeing the corridors of power

Unlike nearly all its ideological brethren, the South African Communist Party is not in disarray but knocking at Pretoria’s gates and peering down its corridors of power.

Deeply ensconced in the African National Congress, South Africa’s premier “liberation movement”, the SAPC has a chance of defining the current tide of history and gaining a share of power in a post-apartheid South Africa. It is a prospect which its general-secretary, Joe Slovo, describes as daunting but exciting.

The SAPC’s expectation and hope of power is reflected in the title of its programme, “Path to Power”, adopted at its congress in Havana in 1989. But its attainment of power cannot be assumed.

Its immediate prospects look good, however. Its position within the ANC, South Africa’s prospective future government, is stronger rather than weaker after the ANC’s recent annual conference. The election of communists to the ANC executive in a palpably free and fair election strengthen the SAPC by silencing critics who had previously insinuated that communists had surreptitiously wormed their way into pivotal positions without the approval of the ANC rank and file.

The exact strength of the SAPC in the upper echelons of the ANC is a matter of intense but imprecise debate. While still proud to label itself communist and to display the hammer and sickle, the SAPC has not yet fully identified all its leaders.

Of the 50 successful candidates — chosen after the top six offices were filled — about half are conservatively estimated to be communists. At least 11 communists sit on the ANC’s recently announced 26-member working committee or shadow cabinet.

The strength of the SAPC within the ANC has aroused curiosity in the press, apprehension in sections of the wider community and embarrassment in the ANC. The ANC’s unease is reflected in a statement issued by its newly elected general-secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa.

In it he expresses grave concern about the “chorus of red-baiting comments” in the South African press and chides the press for speculation on how many of the 50 directly elected ANC executive members are communists.

The SAPC’s close relationship with the ANC seems to ensure that it will be carried to power by the ANC.

But, if President de Klerk succeeds in fulfilling what is rapidly emerging as his preferred game plan, the SAPC will not realise its dream of power. Mr de Klerk’s strategy is to construct an anti-ANC alliance, known loosely as the Christian Democratic Alliance, with which to challenge and defeat the ANC in South Africa’s first non-racial election.

A defeated ANC will certainly look for scapegoats in the event of defeat at the polls. The SAPC will undoubtedly be a prime target.

Even now the ANC-SACP alliance is not without its strains. The report of the outgoing secretary-general identified the link with the SAPC as one of the factors impeding the ANC campaign to win recruits in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities.

Allan Boesak, former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has expressed concern over the role of communists in the ANC, naming it as a reason for delaying his decision to join the ANC. If, the issue of communism in the ANC, is now being addressed, Dr Boesak observes enigmatically.

In a recent interview, published in The New Statesman, newly-elected ANC president Nelson Mandela implicitly acknowledges that there are tensions between the different ideological tendencies in the ANC.

Talking of capitalism, Fabian socialism and Marxist socialism as tendencies in the ANC, he says: “We (will) have to indicate what we believe in. That would be dangerous at the moment because it would split us from top to bottom.”

In a brief look into the post-apartheid future, Mr Mandela envisages a parting with the SAPC: “They (the communists) will take their own line — which we will not follow. We won’t follow socialism. We have our own programme.”

Earlier Mr Mandela argues that the ANC has its own agenda, to which the SAPC subscribes, almost, he comes close to suggesting, as a condition of its membership of the alliance.

Mr Mandela’s remarks call into question the thesis that the SAPC can and will ride to power on the ANC’s back. They resonate, too, with a still insidious but definite feeling in the ANC that it must assert its own identity and not allow itself to be smothered ideologically by the SAPC.

An SAPC member who occupies a key position in the ANC offers another perspective on the same process. Speaking on condition of anonymity, he says philosophically: “When a liberation movement smells power, it begins to purge itself of communists. Some communists even begin to purge themselves.”

He mentions three members of the ANC executive, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC’s urban secretary for international affairs, Jacob Zuma, its intelligence chief and newly elected deputy to Mr Ramaphosa, and Aziz Fahad. All three have, he says, begun to distance themselves from the SAPC, in spite of being members of its central committee.

These are developments that make it foolhardy to assume that the SAPC will assume power through its alliance with, and penetration of, the ANC. Against that,

However, it is equally facile to conclude that the SAPC will not taste power in the next few years.

The SAPC has faced attempts by nationalists of various hues to expunge communism from the ANC or to isolate communists by drawing African nationalists out of the ANC.

In the 1980s and 1990s Africa’s firsts tried to drive communists out and then, when they were forced to withdraw themselves, to do themselves up as the authentic custodians of the ANC’s nationalist heritage.

In the 1970s, when eight nationalists, led by Tennyson Makiwane, were expelled after attacking the role of communists in the ANC.

The SAPC has travelled a long and arduous path since its formation in the early 1920s, surviving hostility from black exclusivists and from white supremacists.

Steel over the years from its clashes with “fascists”, black and white, it will not timidly decamp and retreat from the gates of power.
PAC's cure for violence

THE formation of a "patriotic front" of political organisations in August could lead to an end to the spiral of violence that has engulfed South African townships, according to PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

In a speech delivered at a meeting of the African Society in Egypt, Makwetu said the PAC would not abandon the armed struggle until the majority had been given the vote.

He said the lifting of economic sanctions would not lead to an immediate flow of investment into the country because of violence. - Sapa.
The Argus Foreign Service

MADRID. — Mr Nelson Mandela said here that it was doubtful that South Africa would attend the Barcelona Olympics, that sanctions should not be lifted and he further denounced Pretoria’s support of Inkatha.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie are being given red-carpet treatment usually accorded to heads of state during their first official visit to Spain.

Foreign Minister Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said yesterday that Spain was the only European country that contributed financially to the ANC office in Madrid.

Mr Mandela’s photograph was on the front page of all Spanish newspapers after his arrival on Saturday and many had interviews with the ANC president.

Mr Mandela said he was seeking political support and financial aid for the ANC.

“The action of the European Community (lifting sanctions) is premature because they were introduced for a specific purpose — the elimination of all forms of racial oppression and giving the vote to all South Africans,” he said.

“Neither of these two objectives has been met. “It is true that certain discriminatory laws considered pillars of apartheid have been abolished, but their disappearance does not mean that we have finished with apartheid.

“Discrimination continues in funds for education, housing and for health and social services. Also, in our system of government, the principle of one man, one vote has not been introduced.”

He warned that because of this South Africa would not be at the Olympic Games to be held next year in the Mediterranean seaport of Barcelona.

“We are totally in favour of South Africa participating in the Olympic Games if South Africa meets the conditions imposed by the IOC. These are the elimination of all the laws which interfere with free sport in our country. We want them to eliminate racial segregation in the bodies that control sports activities,” he said.

“If this is not done by 1992 they will not see us in Barcelona.”

Inkatha had been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

“What is happening in South Africa is not violence with blacks against blacks but a prepared strategy between this black organisation and the government. That’s why they are paying them.

“We said there was an unholy alliance between the government and Inkatha 15 years ago. It is violence orchestrated by the security services.”

Yesterday Mr Mandela met separately — Spanish communist leader Mr Julio Anguita and Mr Nicolas Redondo and Mr Antonio Gutierrez, leaders of Spain’s two main trade unions.

“We believe we must keep the sanctions and therefore we are opposed to the government’s proposal to lift them,” said Mr Anguita. “Until there is one man, one vote that is the principle of democracy and human rights.”

The same note was struck by the union leaders, who threatened to take industrial action against companies which traded with South Africa.

“They are putting their economic interests before democracy and civil rights,” said Mr Gutierrez.
People's interests must be first, civic groups are told

THE need for civic associations to be politically non-sectarian in their dealings dominated the opening session of the Northern Transvaal Civic Association general council in Seshego on Saturday, writes MATHATHA TSEDU.

The tone was set by NTCA president, Mr Kamela Sekonya, in his opening address in which he called on affiliate associations to strive to serve all people without regard to political affiliations.

Sekonya said the NTCA and the civic movement, in general aimed at developing "maximum civic unity in action". This would enable them to fight for affordable housing, free education, recreational facilities and community empowerment through political power.

He said the civic movement had to develop a code of conduct and discipline and ensure that the people's interests were served at all times and that accusations that the NTCA was inclined to the ANC were false.

"We serve all our people," he said.

"Perhaps it is a measure of the unpopularity of the NTCA that the liberation movements have not deemed it fit to be with us here today despite invitations and confirmations," Sekonya said.
ANC warns of talks crisis

The Government must open for public scrutiny all its secret funds, much of which have been used to achieve its own political ends, if it wants to save the negotiation process.

This is the message from the ANC following allegations that the Government had channelled over R5 million of taxpayers' money to Inkatha.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha admitted he had authorised R250,000 from a secret fund to Inkatha for two "anti-sanctions rallies".

However, evidence obtained from top-secret police documents published by the Weekly Mail last week showed that the money was in fact channelled to Inkatha "to show everyone that (Inkatha's Chief) Buthelezi has a strong base."

Buthelezi has emphatically denied knowledge of receiving funds from the South African Police to block the growth of the ANC in Natal.

But an SAP memo from Brigadier J.A. Stoyan, a deputy regional chief of the security police in Natal, to the commanding officer of the security police in Pomeroy, published by the Weekly Mail said: "Chief Minister Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him."

Violence

"He could not say thank you enough and said that he had not expected it."

The Inkatha rally which the Government funded triggered off the worst spate of violence in Natal since trouble erupted in the province during the mid-80's. Democratic Party MP M.P. Kobus Jansen, from Natal, said yesterday he had information that R5 million in State funds had been channelled to Inkatha's tractor unions, the United Workers

Woman cop is gunned down after chase

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

The Government has admitted channelling money to Inkatha for "anti-sanctions rallies".

The ANC has called for an end to secret funds and said the Government must come clean.

What is your opinion of this latest scandal? What effect will it have on the negotiation process?

Telephone DJ Tim Motlame and share your opinion with the nation on the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback show between 5 and 6am today.

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Cosatu to review ANC link

COSATU's alliance with the SACP and the ANC will come under heavy focus during the union federation's fourth national conference in Johannesburg this week.

Mr Neil Coleman, publicity officer of Cosatu, said an important decision regarding the matter will "have to be adopted by congress."

"It has become apparent that our alliance with the ANC and the SACP has to be evaluated considering the present political climate in the country," Coleman said.

Mr Neil Coleman, publicity officer of Cosatu, said an important decision regarding the matter will "have to be adopted by congress."

"It has become apparent that our alliance with the ANC and the SACP has to be evaluated considering the present political climate in the country," Coleman said.

"The most immediate question facing us is the removal of the obstacles being created by those wishing to interrupt the transition to a democratic South Africa," Coleman added.

Peace

"Following the events of the ANC national conference, the Cosatu congress will give a very clear indication of what the working people of our country are saying," Coleman said.

Delegates will also discuss an overall strategy for peace, the question of self-defence, and "a campaign to bring the security forces under control."

On sanctions, the congress is expected to fully back a call by its allies for the convening of a conference "of all democratic forces to develop a common stand" in the wake of the lifting of economic measures by the United States and other countries.

Coleman said Cosatu's paid-up membership had soared to 1 258 853. At the same time, however, it acknowledged it faced an uphill battle in bringing all workers under one umbrella.

"Cosatu and its affiliates have been engaged in discussions on how to rescue our economy from the crisis into which employers and the State have plunged us," he said.

Thus the question of economic restructuring is high up on the agenda of Congress.

"In the short term Cosatu is engaging in discussions with the State and employers on various economic issues in order to lay the basis for an economic reconstruction programme, and to defend workers from the economic onslaught they are experiencing," he said.

Other issues to be discussed are:

* Health policy: Congress will discuss a campaign for a national health service that provides affordable and accessible basic health care for all.

* Industrial health, safety and the environment: Hundreds of workers are killed and thousands are injured in industrial accidents each year. Many others suffer from occupational diseases.

* Public transport: Public transport is in crisis because of privatisation, deregulation, removal of subsidies, taxi wars, accidents, and long travelling distances.

* Pensions and provident funds: Congress will discuss the need for State pensions to be equalised and set an amount which provides for a decent standard of living.

* Construction and housing: Congress will address the call for the reorganisation of the transport system, and the campaign for efficient, affordable and safe public transport.

* Hostels and housing: The housing crisis in our country is one of the most serious problems facing workers and families.

Congress will have to consider various aspects of the housing situation, including the provision of land, financing, a unified national housing policy, and company housing schemes.

Congress will also have to determine an approach to transformation of hostels, taking into account the need to unify workers, the right of all people to decent accommodation, and the views of hostel dwellers and the communities in which they live.

Congress will also discuss the demand for industrial pension schemes to be centralised and placed under workers' control, and for funds of these schemes to be invested in ways which benefit the working people.
BEFORE February 1990
Cosatu, to a large extent, spoke for the entire democratic movement. It was seen as the voice of the ANC in a situation where the ANC could not openly speak. Now the nature of the federation's political role must be reconsidered.

The key difference in the post-apartheid period is that Cosatu no longer has to attempt to speak for those political organisations. The ANC, SACP, PAC and others can now openly speak for themselves.

Cosatu's direct role is not on the political terrain of Parliament, elections and lawmaking, although its policies will continue to have major effects on these. For the federation this will probably mean a shift in emphasis from "Politics" to "politics", with its political role in the 1990s one of process and direction.

While it is Cosatu's right and duty to call for a constituent assembly as the most democratic means of drafting a new constitution, its role is not to stand for election to that assembly. In the interim, however, Cosatu is still likely to play a direct political role, partly because of its mobilising ability and partly because the foundations are laid for the country's social and political system for decades to come.

A key element of Cosatu's political activities will undoubtedly be to ensure that the voice of organised labour is heard when the policies of a post-apartheid SA are drafted. Cosatu will undoubtedly continue to draft policies on issues such as housing, medical care, social security, and training.

It is also considering economic policy in some detail, particularly the relationship between the state and the private sector, between market and non-market forces, and the role of the union movement in restructuring the economy.

It will no longer be sufficient for the trade unions to be a force of opposition and resistance. They will have to be a force for reconstruction and change.

A major task facing the federation is the active reshaping of the country's industrial relations system. The present system acknowledges the union movement's contributions. A new system must accept unions as necessary social institutions.

This demands that employers and unions accept a new set of "rules". In this context, the current cultural violence, which has become a hallmark of industrial relations since the 1986 state of emergency, and the establishment of basic rights and powers in the workplace.

In presenting its perspectives on post-apartheid SA, the union movement needs to be aware of the dangers of sectionalism. As the voice of organised labour, unions have an inherent tendency to be sectional. Already unions face allegations of representing only a labour aristocracy - privileged workers employed by the larger corporations, or urban, rather than rural, workers.

Two aspects of sectionalism require particular vigilance: disputes involving members of the public and the tendency to represent the views of relatively better-off workers.

In the health sector strikes of 1990 a potential conflict of interest emerged between workers and the broader public. Health workers were striking for the right to join unions and earn a decent wage. On the other hand members of the public were concerned about their health and the virtual collapse of medical services for the duration of the strike.

In situations like this the union movement will have to spend more time and energy justifying its actions to the public. This implies greater responsibility, openness, improved publicity, and a conscious attempt to win public support during industrial action. This principally affects unions in the service sector, where workers deal directly with the public, although it may also be relevant during protracted disputes in the manufacturing sector.

S A's economy already contains a dangerous dualism, with large, technologically sophisticated enterprises competing alongside small-town and informal sector production. It is easier for those enterprises to mobilise and represent workers employed by major corporations.

However, unless Cosatu can show that it is interested as much in employment creation as in a living wage, as much in public health care as in medical aid schemes for its members, its influence will decline.

The movement is used to being labelled a disruptive force and blamed for inflation, unemployment and a diversity of other ills. The unions can expect to be accused of disruption even in the post-apartheid era.

The charges will be packaged differently. There will be less talk of "communism" and more of "subverting national reconstruction". The unions will have to take these allegations seriously, especially since they will come from a popularly elected government. Cosatu is attempting to face this challenge by developing a comprehensive programme for union involvement in social and economic reconstruction.

Combating dogmatism and intolerance within its own ranks is another difficult task facing Cosatu. In part this has arisen because of the situation where Cosatu was seen, and saw itself, as a flag-bearer of the banned ANC. Most unions attempted to adhere to a clearly defined line, maintaining political clarity and coherence during a period of harsh state attack.

But when there were no clear majorities to determine that line the results were deeply divisive. Unions acting as hearses, a single political position are unsustainable in the current period. They are essentially mass organisations which accept all workers as members, regardless of political affiliation.

All key political organisations now accept, at least in theory, the need for political pluralism in a post-apartheid SA. This involves the right of a variety of political parties to exist, contest elections, and compete for support within all major social institutions - including the trade union movement.

When this becomes a reality it will be hard to justify linking the union movement too closely with one political line - as happened not only in the Soviet Union but with many of the social democratic parties of Western Europe.

Two options can accommodate this situation. The first envisions separate federations linked to different political parties or movements. These could co-operate on industrial issues as required. In practice the situation would not be vastly different to continuing with Cosatu, Nactu, and Uswasa, allied to the ANC, PAC, and Inkatha respectively.

The other option is to have one federation for all workers, and one union in each sector. This would require a high level of tolerance for differences within an industrial line, and a commitment to rank-and-file members, with majority and minority factions competing for support within the federation as a whole.

Cosatu's slogan of "One Country, One Federation" impels it towards the second option, although this has implications for the existing alliance between Cosatu, the ANC and SACP. How the process unfolds will depend on the policies of a post-apartheid government and on the union movement's decisions about its political role in the new society.

In its brief five years, Cosatu has shown itself capable of reaching great heights. How it resolves the challenges outlined here will have long-term implications for the future of the union movement and the country as a whole.

This is an edited extract from Striking Back - A History of Cosatu. The paperback was published by Raven Press to coincide with Cosatu's fourth biennial congress. Baskin is a former general secretary of the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union.
All in SA must come clean about horrors of the past

SIMON BARBER in Washington

The alternative is to let the truth seep out drop by drop. The disclosures of police funding for Inkatha may be followed by tomorrow's center page headline news that a respected clergyman in the anti-apartheid movement participated in Kangaroo courts that sentenced men and women to death.

Piecemeal revelations by a Press whose new-found freedom may be only temporary are not enough. At best, the public will grow inured and cynical, conditioned by the daily drumbeat of sensation that what has been happening for so long is standard procedure and that there is little they can do about it. Dispersed in little bits, often out of context, the truth is also subject to politicalisation and readily packaged as hate-inducing propaganda for one undemocratic faction or another.

The ANC has every right to express outrage at the latest disclosures and to accuse the government of lying through its teeth. It is entirely justified in wondering whether the government is sincere about negotiation. But it has no right to demand that its own structures be overlooked in the process. Realism requires that all come clean.

The movement is clearly over-confident that it has been able to capture the "moral high ground". From its new vantage it believes it will be able to exercise more leverage over the government in negotiations while discrediting a principal disrupter and his followers. Tactically speaking, it is probably correct in this analysis.

The exposure of the state's mendacity and double dealing and the discrediting of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (though why did Inkatha need the money for rallies if it is, as is constantly alleged, it has always been in Pretoria's pay?) are hugely embarrassing to many who have risked much to stand up for the ANC and what they believe to be the best interests of a future SA democracy.

President George Bush has been made to look a fool for having determined that the conditions of the Comprehensive Agreement on Apartheid (CAA) had been met. If half the stories now appearing are true, the government's "good faith" in agreeing to negotiate must be seen as highly questionable. The contention that it need not explain the plight of the political process to the people, that its process is unsustainable, is not realistic. Glasnost is not compatible with dirty tricks, let alone with lethal ones.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's admission that his department had a "slush fund" to buy executive chambers is imbibe Bush's assertion that the dismantling of formal apartheid thus far has led to less with sanctions than with the government's enlightenment. There is nothing enlightened about turning an apparently sincere opponent of sanctions into the political equivalent of a streetwalker.

From this and more the ANC can only benefit in its pursuit of power. The kindliness that the Bush administration and Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, recently showed Buthelezi is now meaningless. Washington was at last beginning to understand that there were more than two sides to the SA equation and to grant official recognition to a third. Now we will be lucky if the majority of congressmen listen to more than one.

The more Americans see of the crude, subterranean gangsterism that operates within the SA government, the more they will simplisticly heed the blandishments of the "victim" ANC, ignoring the grim potential that lurks in its ranks as well. Those who have had the guts to worry about the SACP alliance, the thuggery of the comrades or the unholiness of some of the ANC's own income, will scurry away. Who can complain about township defence units under present circumstances?

For as the president and Inkatha should benefit equally from the Washington Congress set aside last year to "promote democracy", forget it. If last week's agreement between House African sub-committee chairperson Mervyn Dymsa and his Republican counterpart Dan Burton has not already been tossed down the memory hole, it soon will be.

Liberty flows from sound economics. Running the SA economy into the ground for the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into the ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be... an empty shell.

Burnt on the repeal of sanctions, Bush will unlikely feel much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support an SA credit application. The administration's commitment to the Green Amendment, which obliges the US to veto such an application unless it meets certain conditions, was until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctions lobby to help them get over the demise of the CAA. Today, it is much more binding.

The overspill of IMF loans to Pretoria, the Congress, Inkatha and with Congress not only the presidium but also the international financial community as well. SA's economic recovery will have to wait until the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands — demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own practical reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than hitherto.

The prospects for the 40 million minus SA's economy will not improve, further fuelling the violence.
PRESSURE mounted yesterday on the Government to come clean on the untold secret funding scandal - and calls were made on President PW de Klerk to reconvene Parliament for an emergency session, to immediately appoint a judicial inquiry into secret State funding, and to sack two senior Cabinet Ministers.

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), which held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to consider the repercussions of the scandal, again called for the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The ANC said disclosures of secret State funding of the IFP had "put the entire peace process in jeopardy."

In a hard-hitting statement, the ANC said they were "alarmed" by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi shrugged off his responsibilities by concealing receipts of Government funds channelled through the security police to a movement he leads."

The NWC said the exposure underscores the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harris Commission of Inquiry.

Crisis

In another development, the Pan Africanist Congress - which has tried to play a mediatory role between the IFP and the ANC - broke off talks with the IFP scheduled for next month.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said on De Klerk to convene a special session of Parliament to discuss the crisis following the Government's admission that it had paid R250,000 for two IFP letters and R12,5 million to its rival, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

Dr Beer said a public debate was needed on the scandal, which had eroded a crisis of credibility for the National Party and had placed the negotiation process at risk.

The emphasis of the scandal shifted to De Klerk, with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht noting that De Klerk had "misled" Parliament in April when saying the Government was not giving direct or indirect financial support to any political organisation.

The two leading Government-supporting Afrikaner daily newspapers, Die Burger in Cape Town and Beeld in Johannesburg, hinted broadly that Cabinet members should be sacked.
'It proves Govt can’t be trusted'

By Bernadette House
Political Reporter

The Inkhata secret-funding scandal had proved that the Government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret State funding of the Inkhata Freedom Party undermined the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

And, also in response to the scandal, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday cancelled talks with the IFP on the formation of a patriotic front.

The ANC "challenged President de Klerk and his Cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be hoodwinked with a second version of the Harris Commission or some other cover-up."

It said Mr de Klerk should comply with the six demands to prove his commitment to clearing his administration and keeping the peace process on track. These demands include:

- Dissolve Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who "bear direct ministerial responsibilities for the crimes that have been committed in the past extent of Government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities."
- Publicly dismantle all the special counter-insurgency forces of the SADF and the SAP, "including those composed of foreign mercenaries."
- Open up to public scrutiny the secret fund, in the region of $30 million, that had been budgeted by the Government.
- Give guarantees that all civil servants and other State employees who came forward to tell the truth about these covert operations would be immune from prosecution and receive protection.
- Charge and put on trial all police officers and SADF personnel who had been implicated by past commissions of inquiry. "The ANC and the people of South Africa shall measure the seriousness with which the Government regards the present impasse by its response to these demands."
- The ANC's full national executive committee would meet before the month-end to discuss this response and the repercussions of the funding scandal on negotiations.
- The ANC also said it wanted to alert the international community to the danger of destabilising agents, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Motlanthe said.

He said the scandal and Inkhata's rejection of a constituent assembly and formation of a patriotic front "left the PAC with no option but to withdraw from the intended meeting with Inkhata on the patriotic front". It was scheduled for August 16.

The PAC condemned the use of public funds for the furtherance of party-political programmes and said it would "reconsider the value" of the church-sponsored peace conference, in which the Government would take part.
Govt urged to resign over funding scandal

WITWATERSRAND ANC, PAC and Azapo spokesmen called yesterday for the government's resignation following disclosures of covert funding of Inkatha.

The call was made in a joint statement which said the exposure of state funding had dispelled the myth of the "third force". "It is clear that the so-called third force is the activities of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order and Constitutional Affairs. The state as a whole is heavily implicated in this issue rather than some few isolated individuals." The organizations said they were preparing for a day of mass action, details of which would be announced next Monday.

The spokesmen seemed to leave the door open for some form of reconciliation with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "We call on all our people at this critical moment to close ranks and rally under the banner of freedom. We extend our call to those located within enemy structures to break with their past." They urged government to make a clean breast of its covert funding activities. Those at Inkatha leadership level who had been "duped into these activities must stand up and denounce the government and individuals directly involved must come out with the information." PAC "consultations" planned with Inkatha for August 16 had been cancelled.

Payments 'were authorised'

AUDITOR-General Peter Worsley said yesterday government's payments of R250,000 to Inkatha were properly authorised by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and there was nothing irregular about them.

He said the Foreign Affairs Department controlled two secret accounts - the Foreign Affairs Special Account and the Information Service of SA Special Account.

Worsley said two payments of R100,000 and R150,000 were made out of the Information Service of SA Special Account.

The payments were not made out of the Foreign Affairs Special Account as reported by some sections of the media, he said.

Worsley said he had audited the payments and both had been correctly signed by Botha in accordance with the the Auditor-General's Act.

There was, no requirement that President F W de Klerk or Finance Minister Barend du Plessis authorise the payments.

The only issue on which authorisation by De Klerk, Du Plessis and himself was required was in determining what details he could report on secret accounts.

This had nothing to do with authorising payments.

Worsley stressed that his function and comment in this matter was of a purely technical nature.

Judgment of whether the payments should be made did not concern him. This was a political issue that had to be decided by politicians, Worsley said.
CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show were divided yesterday over whether labour unions should affiliate to or have alliances with political parties.

At issue was the link between the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Some callers told Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise that political issues in the labour arena were dividing the workers while others said worker issues could not be divorced from politics.

One caller said that during the banning of black political organisations and the detention of leaders, unions played a vital role as the voice of the liberation movements.

**Vote**

This view was supported by Mxolisi of Protea who said the Government had politicised labour through the introduction of legislation such as the Labour Relations Act.

Black people did not have the vote to influence what should be on the Statute Book.

Cosatu and Nactu had their own principles and there was nothing wrong in forming alliances with political organisations.

This view was supported by Royal from Soweto.

**Resign**

Veli from Katlehong, however, said he disapproved of such alliances and union leaders who belonged to political parties should resign from unions which were formed to address “bread and butter struggles”.

Buti from Tsakane also said the divisions among workers on the shopfloor over which organisations to affiliate to led to intolerance and other undemocratic practices.
Azapo, ANC and PAC join forces

THREE liberation organisations are to announce a specific programme of action on Monday, following disclosures that the South African Police channelled funds to Inkatha.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress said they had begun consulting with their various mass formations and democratic structures.

"The climax of this process will be marked by an announcement of a specific programme of action that will be announced on Monday July 29."

According to the statement, the exposure of "state-funded covert anti-liberation operations designed to destabilise the liberation movement, has dispelled the myth of the existence of the third force".

The three organisations said third force actions were "the activities of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Law and Order and that of Constitutional Affairs".

State President FW de Klerk (centre) and Foreign Minister Pik Botha (right) had discussions with Chief Lucas Mangope in Pretoria last night. De Klerk declined to discuss the "funds for Inkatha" issue.
Border ANC to contest Ciskei laws

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the ANC will challenge Ciskei's National Security Act in Bishop's Supreme Court in November.

The ANC will argue that the security legislation is illegal on the grounds that it contradicts the homeland's constitution decree, passed earlier this year.

A lawyer representing the ANC said this week papers had been served on the Ciskei government and that the matter had been set down to be heard over three days from November 12.

The Supreme Court will be asked to decide whether the Ciskei Constitution Decree of 1986 — which guarantees Ciskei citizens certain fundamental rights — is contradicted by amended portions of the National Security Act of 1962.

The sections provide for detention without trial for indefinite periods for interrogation, and restrict gatherings.

— Sapa.
Reveal secret funding, urges ANC

The ANC has demanded that the Government's secret projects budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R1.5 billion over the past five years be made public.

In a statement in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said it was formulating a programme of action "that will express the outrage at the ongoing State-sponsored violence and manipulation of the political process by the incumbent Government and its security forces".

The organisation did not say what form the programme of action, to be formulated with "democratic forces throughout the country", would take.

The decision was taken during a two-day meeting of the ANC’s national working committee on Tuesday and yesterday, called to discuss the "Inkathagate" scandal flowing from the Government's admission that it had secretly provided Inkatha and other organisations with taxpayers' money.

"While we regard the secret funding of Inkatha and Uwusa as totally unacceptable, it is but a small part of the R1.5 billion that has been spent over the past five years on secret projects. We demand a full public account of how all this secret funding has been allocated and that the current budget allocation of R380 million be frozen," the ANC said.

The manipulation of Inkatha had to be seen in the wider framework of "a considered destabilisation policy by successive apartheid governments, including that of President de Klerk".

The ANC said the confession of Inkatha official Zakhele Khumalo that he had accepted Government funding without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's knowledge did not diminish the responsibility of the Inkatha leadership and IFP president.

Reacting to reports that a witch-hunt had been launched for the person who leaked proof of Government funding of Inkatha to a newspaper, the ANC said it was disturbed that the authorities regarded the disclosure as the problem, instead of the document's contents.

On allegations that the SA Defence Force orchestrated much of the recent township violence, the ANC said it was becoming increasingly clear that the SANDF "and foreign mercenaries in its employ" were directly involved in ongoing violence. — Sapa.
WASHINGTON — An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned that US funds should not be used to meddle in the organisations’ power struggle.

Zille Shandler Associates, in a private report prepared for USAID in May, cautioned that “it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were to be used to build the support base of any party in the contest for political power”.

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the $10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to “encourage negotiations” in SA.

USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds, with an upper limit of R12.9m for the ANC and R11.9m for the IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party’s needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts, it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability.

The ANC, in particular, was “limited by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation’s capacity to engage in the negotiation process” while the IFP had gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7.6m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9.25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches, which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive “in kind” contributions worth $4.5m and $3.7m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law, agreement must be reached by September 31, or the funds will cease to be available.
Cosatu congress to make vital choices

VERA VON LIERE

Cosatu's relationship with the ANC and SAP will be scrutinised by more than 2 500 delegates to the federation's fourth national congress which starts at the Nasrec showgrounds near Johannesburg today.

The conference will be attended by delegates from 14 affiliated unions.

The ANC, SA Communist Party, PAC, SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference have been invited, as have guests from trade unions and labour federations around the world.

A key issue on the agenda will be the adoption of a workers' charter, to ensure that a future constitution will entrench workers' rights and guarantee trade union independence.

Such a charter would include the right to strike, organise, belong to a union and the right to a democratic government.

Congress delegates would consider whether Cosatu should play a direct role in the negotiation process. Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo told a news briefing last week.

Cosatu's tripartite alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party will also come under scrutiny. Naidoo said discussions would be aimed at strengthening the alliance.

Delegates will discuss how the issue of overlapping union and political leadership in the alliance can be regulated to ensure that it does not compromise the federation's independence.

Sugar sector outlook ‘strong in long term’

DURBAN — The long-term sugar market could be viewed optimistically, outgoing chairman of the SA Sugar Association, Glyn Taylor, said at the annual meeting yesterday.

Making a forecast for the short term he said a modest improvement was expected in domestic market sales following last year's exceptionally high growth. The sales estimate figure was 1,329-million tons of which 88% would be white sugar.

The proceeds would be boosted by the recent price rise but the increase had to be measured against sharply escalating production costs due to high inflation.

The export market had seen prices slumping from $357 a ton just over a year ago to $200 a ton for deliveries in December this year.

World production had surpassed consumption two years in a row while some countries had cut purchases due to recession and foreign exchange shortages. Export proceeds for farmers would not be “very remunerative”.

But the premium on the export market for white sugar “has been remarkably strong at over $100 a ton and a good premium seems set to continue”.

This appeared to present an opportunity for SA, which was examining the feasibility of further increasing refining and conditioning capacity. A back-end plant attached to a sugar mill would require investment of about R75m.

The past 40 years had seen a steady 2% growth in world consumption which by the year 2000 would reach 131-million tons — a rise of 21-million tons. That annual rise was equal to SA's total annual output.

Taylor said most production would be consumed where it was grown but a “significant quantity will be left for the world market”.

“At the current depressed price levels nobody is going to invest capital for additional world market sugars and this should have the price trending upwards in the medium to longer term.”

“I remain optimistic that the 1990s will be altogether better years for SA sugar and sugar cane producers than the 1980s,” Taylor said.

Sanctions

Discussing the reasons for the differential between the domestic price of sugar and the world price Taylor said the world price represented a “dumped price”.

SA sold all its sugar into this market and it had no preferential arrangements — SA enjoyed a US quota which represented a price premium on the 19 000 to 20 000 tons sold there, but this fell away under sanctions. Dropping of US embargoes could revive that market.

On escalating food prices Taylor said the industry sugar price was now, in real terms, lower than it was five years ago — the aggregate rise in sugar prices was below the rise in the food and consumer prices indices.

He said that keeping these price rises down was made very difficult by steeply rising costs of all agricultural and factory inputs.

Taiwan’s development plans hold promise for SA

CAPE TOWN — The Taiwanese government’s plans to spend about $2bn on capital projects to develop Taiwan’s economic infrastructure during the next six years has huge potential for SA construction and engineering companies.

SA trade councillor in Taipei Stephan Pretorius yesterday told the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce SA companies had successfully tendered for large capital projects in the past.

There were orders, for example, for trains, rails, asphalt plants and locomotives as Taiwan upgraded its transport system.

Pretorius said the fast-growing Taiwanese economy had outgrown its infrastructure.

The country was not self-sufficient in terms of expertise and skilled labour, and would have to look abroad for assistance.

Taiwanese figures show that trade between Taiwan and SA amounts to about $2bn annually. SA exports concentrated on coal, steel and iron ore. Steel exports total about $100m, and 25% to 30% of Taiwan’s coal requirements come from SA.

Pretorius said Taiwanese exports to SA tended to be consumer products. Government and industry were working together to export more value-added goods, such as supermarket products.

SA fruit juices and beer had been very successful. Ceres exported 55% of its fruit juice production to Taiwan, while 380 000 cases of Castle beer had been sold there this year.

Pretorius said it was possible that Castle, now fifth in the beer ranks, could take the top slot next year. SA biscuits were also sold.

He said he had received many inquiries from SA motor manufacturers about export of components to Taiwan, which had restricted Japanese imports because of that country’s large trade surplus with Taiwan.
Back to step one as trust takes knock

Before July, South African leaders were told that major negotiations would get under way once the ANC’s conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we appear to be back to square one. Star political analysts Shula Johnson and Stanley Jeyes try to pick their way through the rubble.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rethink their predictions. The ANC’s conference must be reactivated, and the PAC and others must emerge. The ANC must conclude its “trust” conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitments to a negotiated settlement intact. 

The ANC must begin to address the issue of its relationship with Inkatha. If Inkatha is to be part of the process, the ANC must begin to address the issue of its relationship with Inkatha. If Inkatha is to be part of the process, the ANC must begin to address the issue of its relationship with Inkatha.
You can count on us, says veteran Dutch activist

President of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement Connie Braam was in Cape Town this week for the South African Communist Party's 70th anniversary. She spoke to

REHANA ROSSOUW:

"We wanted Amsterdam — the city from which Jan van Riebeeck left to conquer South Africa — to be a platform for South Africans to meet,"

Braam said.

"The mayor of Amsterdam, who supported us so much that he was prepared to let us use his office for meetings, said he wanted South Africans to feel safe in his city."

Braam said Dutch people supported the struggle of the ANC completely as they had also been "colonised" during World War II.

"We equated racism in South Africa with fascism, which is still alive although people fought bitter battles against it in Europe," she said.

"The attitudes among Dutch people is that this should never be allowed to happen again."

As a member of the Dutch Communist Party she joined it in the 1970s as a "logical step" in her political development. Braam became part of the socialist international solidarity movement which brought even more meaning to her work against apartheid.

White socialists were on standby to support liberation movements in other countries, they were adamant that their work had to be guided by the organisation's own assessments of their situation in the assistance they needed.

"We have managed to incorporate our solidarity work into the official policy of our government," Braam said.

"By forcing apartheid to its own government's agenda, we have put an end to the targeting of activists by security services in our country."

"Campaigns for political and material support for the ANC have stimulated discussion about democracy in our own country."

"The question of the armed struggle has led to fierce debate in Holland. Why was it okay to use arms to fight fascism, but not to fight apartheid? It is because black people are using arms in South Africa."

"Our AAM was so strong that our government could no longer ignore it."

"Nowhere else in Europe has there been so much support for a struggle over such a long period."

"This included covert support — people like Klaas de Jonge were inspired internationalists who were prepared to fight side by side, in the field."

Since February 2 last year, the Dutch AAM has continued its support work for the ANC and Braam believes there will be more work to be done after democratic elections in South Africa.

During her visit here she will be examining which areas they could assist with during the transition period.

Recent political developments, instead of narrowing the scope of work of the AAM, has created new opportunities for assistance, Braam believes. In recent months, the AAM has had to employ another person to cope with the new workload.

"We also have a better idea of how government the problems are which have to be overcome."

"But while the problems are enormous, our victory is also incredible. We all won that victory together — people in Holland working with people in South Africa."

"Together we brought the monster apartheid to its knees."

"South Africans can count on the people of Holland to continue their fight, even after they have won the vote."

"South Africans have won the hearts of people internationally, and we will not let you down."

"We have been anti-South Africa in the past, now we are going to become pro-South Africa."
Inkatha victims to 'sue' Vlok

THE African National Congress is investigating possible legal claims against the government following state funding of an Inkatha rally in March last year.

And the Inkatha Freedom Party, still reeling from the revelations that it and its labour wing Uwusa had been the beneficiaries of a government "slush" fund, may now says being cut off by foreign governments.

Senior ANC official and NEC member Mr. Harry Gwala said this week the Inkatha rally was immediately followed by a week of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area, now known as the "Maritzburg war".

During the "war" a large number of people, most of them allegedly supporters of Inkatha, attacked the city's townships.

Homes were set alight, at least 50 people were killed and thousands fled the area.

"Since the government funded the rally, they must pay compensation to the many thousands who suffered," Gwala said.

A spokesperson for the The Legal Resource Centre (LRC) in Durban said that the complainants' case had a base despite the elapse of time.

"There is flexibility in that the revelation that the government was responsible only surfaced now," said Peter Roch, an LRC attorney.

The slush fund scandal is likely to affect financial support to Inkatha from foreign governments.

The US administration, for instance, is expected come under pressure not to allocate a $1.5 million grant to Inkatha. The grant is part of a $10 million allocation, of which $4 million is earmarked for the ANC, to promote democracy in South Africa.

Political wrangling in the US Congress has stalled the allocation of the grant.
Leading black organisations will focus their attention on negotiations, sanctions and township violence at a high-level conference in Cape Town on August 23-25. Thami Mazwai, business editor of the Sowetan, who is currently on secondment to Business Day, looks at some of the issues involved, and why the ANC may get support to continue with talks with government.

PAC and Azapo. It also enjoys the support of more organisations. The PAC enjoys considerable community support because of its radicalism and its land-oriented approach to the liberation struggle. It is also respected for its consistency.

Azapo has fought hard for the recognition it now enjoys. It has emerged largely from the 1976 generation and in some areas has a bigger following than the PAC and ANC. Azapo and the PAC enjoy an influence over the ANC which would appear to outweigh their numerical strength. This was borne out by the Harare conference in which apparently PAC sentinets on several issues won the day.

Despite its relative strength, the ANC is unlikely to ignore other organisation's objections to negotiations. Instead it sees this conference as an opportunity to win support for talks from as wide a range of organisations as possible. It knows this will increase its clout with its membership. More importantly, it will need credible allies should government prove an uncompromising opponent. The PAC and Azapo will be forced to be more pragmatic because of their failure to wage an effective armed struggle, their alternatives to negotiations.

In addition, the PAC and Azapo know that while support for negotiations has flagged somewhat after the ANC's frustrations with government, blacks as a whole want talks which appear to promise normality for their conflict-ravaged communities.

Perhaps the determining factor is that the Cape Town indaba comes after desperate appeals for unity in the black community, even if it is at the cost of some organisations. Any organisation that takes an uncompromising and unrealistic stand, without viable options, is likely to pay for this in terms of lost membership.

While Azapo and the PAC appear unlikely to enter negotiations, they are flexible. Pruning their rhetoric, all that they have actually said is that talks with government are premature at this stage as De Klerk currently holds all the aces.

Hence their demand for a democratically elected government is a de facto acceptance of De Klerk's legitimacy while they insist his government is illegitimate.

Also, they argue, De Klerk would dominate an interim government as the army, police and civil service would remain loyal to him rather than the interim structure.

For the rest of the conference agenda, the three groups agree inter-organisational violence must be reduced and the sanctions campaign continue.

Pressures will, however, be brought to bear on the ANC over its vacillating policy on sports and cultural boycotts. While the ANC conference called for the maintenance of all sanctions, officials have gone on record to help dismantle the sports and cultural boycotts.

There is no doubt that the pragmatic conference is going to change the face of politics in the country.

Its most important result is likely to be a strengthening of the ANC's position on negotiations, thus giving the process a vital boost.
Azanyu slams funding

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Azanian Youth Unity yesterday slammed what has come to be known as "Inkathagate".

Azanyu said the scandal underscored the futility of negotiations.

"In view of the Government-Inkatha scandal, Azanyu reiterates its position that negotiations and demands for a constituent assembly are counter-revolutionary and a waste of time.

"Needless to say, the virtual silence of the 'liberation movements' on an issue of this magnitude raises extreme suspicion."

"The liberation movements need not only condemn the action but must also be seen to be serious by pulling out of the circus called negotiations."
ANC, PAC and Azapo consult on consumer boycott

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

A PLAN of action, including the possible boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV area, was being discussed among the ANC, Azapo and the PAC, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa told Soweto that although his organisation's intention was to have the consumer boycott effected from today, this was not possible as consultations were still being carried out with the PAC, Azapo and "various mass formations and democratic structures".

"The climax of this process (of consultation) will be marked by an announcement of a specific programme of action on Monday," he said.

The ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions called for the boycott of white-owned businesses in pamphlets distributed during the past weekend.

They also called for an end to retrenchments and electricity cuts, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Meanwhile, Azapo's Central Transvaal region has distanced itself from the call.

Miss Malebo Rammopo, regional publicity director, said Azapo was not consulted when the decision was taken and therefore did not endorse it.

"We believe that there has not been maximum consultation with all components of the liberation struggle and that this is a very important prerequisite to any mass action by the community.

"If people are going to be called upon to make decisions involving sacrifices, they must be consulted so that they become part and parcel of decisions taken," Rammopo said.

Azapo's Thabong branch yesterday criticised the ANC/SACP/Cosatu call for a consumer boycott in Welkom, saying such action was a useful weapon for black emancipation, but should be preceded by consultation.

"The Thabong branch of Azapo feels the call for a consumer boycott by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance undermines the existence of other organisations such as Azapo, Nactu, PAC, Ministers Fraternal, the Thabong Business Association, Aptoesa, Sapda and the civic association."

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the branch said it had resolved that a joint meeting of all components of the liberation movement should be held to discuss and agree on local demands. - Sapa.
Protest march for Pretoria

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu tripartite alliance is to stage a protest march in central Pretoria on August 7 to protest against the controversial Government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said Cosatu.

The Government at the weekend acknowledged the Inkatha scandal, saying the slush fund was part of a sanction-busting campaign and was not aimed at boosting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's organisation, which is largely regarded as the main political rival of the ANC.

Cosatu's Northern Transvaal general secretary, Mr Donsie Khumalo, told a Pretoria news conference on Tuesday the alliance would also impose a stayaway in the Pretoria region on August 19 to protest against the banning of its trade union affiliates in Bophuthatswana.

The stayaway was also intended to back the union federation's demands for the release of political prisoners on hunger strike in Chief Lucas Mangope's homeland.

Khumalo earlier told a Cosatu meeting in Pretoria the federation would hand over a memorandum on August 7 to the Pretoria Central Police Station to protest against the funding of Inkatha and its trade union arm, the United Workers Union of South Africa.

Memorandum

A second memorandum would be presented to American embassy officials in Pretoria protesting against the lifting of some economic sanctions against South Africa.

Khumalo said a third memorandum would be presented to the South African Defence Force in Pretoria to protest against the alleged massacres of workers commuting on trains in Reef townships - Supa.
Coming out of cellar: SACP blinded by the light

The South African Communist Party, to mark its 70th anniversary, last weekend held a conference to reflect on its past and prepare for its future. After its eighth congress to be held in December, the SACP could find its path diverging from that of the ANC. REHANA ROSSOW reports:

A YEAR and a half after its unbanning, the South African Communist Party is still grappling with the task of becoming a legal organisation.

And amid concern among members that an organisation was needed to promote working class interests, there are signs that the Party will be seeking a separate role, independent of the alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

After 40 years of having been forced to work in the cellar, as SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo puts it, the Party faces a key congress in December which will determine its identity in a transitional and future South Africa. While the SACP has increased its popularity since its unbanning, the task lying ahead is to translate that into active mass support.

However, it has done little to campaign around working class issues and demands outside of the alliance.

These issues were debated at a conference titled "Socialism in South Africa — History and Prospects" organised jointly by the SACP and the University of the Western Cape's Historical and Cultural Centre.

Assessment

Slovo assessed the problems facing the SACP in his keynote address: "Some of our negative practices were imposed upon us by the framework in which we were forced to operate."

"For example, during the 40 years of illegality we could not engage in complete inner-party democracy."

"I stress this point because it is precisely during such periods when avoidable practices imposed by the situation are entrenched and become habits; they tend to continue unless the greatest vigilance is exercised when the situation changes."

However, Slovo said he was committed to the proposition that after the December congress there would be no secret Party members.

There is also no certainty on whether the Party would be open to all those who supported its programme and constitution or whether it would continue to recruit selectively — in other words, whether it would be a vanguard or a mass party.

During its underground years, aspirant Party members had to serve a period of probation and attend study courses before they were accepted into the ranks. Emphasis was also placed on Party discipline.

Mass recruitment implies that the SACP would move away from being an "exclusive" organisation.

The Party has yet to decide where it will recruit its members — and whether they will be drawn into industrial or residential units.

Slovo said the Party's claim to lead the workers had to be earned and re-earned through democratic and open political contest.

The continued independence of the Party and the trade union movement was vital to ensure that working class aspirations did not end up at the "bottom of the pile" in a post-apartheid South Africa, Slovo said.

"Another problem we are grappling with is to define more precisely the role of the Party as an independent force in the light of the broad consensus which exists within the liberation alliance on the character of a post-apartheid South Africa and the strategy and tactics to get there," Slovo said.

"We are also embarked upon an internal discussion on the relationship between the post-apartheid economy and our ultimate vision of a socialist South Africa.

"What I am attempting to emphasise is the open-minded way in which our Party is ready to examine its policies in the light of the emerging new realities."

The Party's first legal congress in 40 years will elect a new leadership and adopt a new programme and constitution.

Agreement

The Party has to address the question of why — if there is broad agreement between the ANC and SACP on the shape of a post-apartheid South Africa and on how to get there — the SACP does not close and leave the struggle to the ANC.

Slovo said the answer was clear. The SACP's duty was to spread the message of an ultimate socialist society and in that respect it differed from the ANC, although the differences were not antagonistic.

"It is the task of an independent Party to ensure that in this inter-class lineup of forces, working class interests are not swamped, that the working class is organised as a powerful constituency and that the choices which are being debated for future development will be made in a way that will not prejudice the working class whom we claim to represent."

When elections were held, the Party would participate, but it needed to discuss whether it would act as a separate entity at negotiations and possibly at a constituent assembly.

Although, through the alliance, the Party supported and assisted the ANC's programme, it was already acting as a separate entity at the peace talks convened jointly by the church and the government.

The SACP will have to draft its own policies on the economy, health, education, women, housing, local government, defence and justice.

Party members at the conference indicated that they were disturbed that their organisation had already been involved in "compromises" made by the ANC and they feared this could be seen as compromising the interests of the working class.

They felt the SACP should not be seen to be "putting all its eggs into the ANC basket" and there was a need for an independent voice on issues affecting the working class in South Africa.

While Party members would participate in ANC campaigns, they could also campaign separately to develop its own identity and build the organisation.

Campaigning with other organisations limited the extent to which working people could identify the Party as the protector of their interests.

Challenge

The challenge facing the Party was to balance its independent campaigning with work done in the alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

The next six months could see an independent SACP campaign on the theme of hunger which would highlight the problems faced by the working class. This would culminate in a hunger march in December.

The Party should also campaign separately for elections, and should be able to lead and initiate campaigns which include the alliance partners.

Other problems experienced in the alliance included the fact that SACP members who were also members of the ANC were subject to the discipline of two organisations and Party leaders and key activists were also full-time office bearers of the ANC and Cosatu.

"The alliance is unbreakable but the Party is in the process of developing its own identity," Slovo said.
ANC, PAC and Azapo consult on consumer boycott

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

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In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the branch said it had resolved that a joint meeting of all components of the liberation movement should be held to discuss and agree on local demands. - Sapa.
Letting the light in... the Johannesburg Institute of Social Services roamed the world to find capital necessary to transform this Fordsburg building into a centre for multiracial welfare services. Says director Cassim Saloojee: "The success of a new democratic South Africa will be determined by self-help projects which get off the ground."

The nation's women take peace by the hand

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Many people think that, with the promises of reform in the political, legal and security fields, many liberation organisations will disband with their work apparently completed.

South Africa's new-found sense of hope is, however, not sufficient for a group of about 1 200 women countrywide, who intend to continue their fight for equal opportunities and justice for all. The group is Women for Peace — black, white, coloured and Indian women who have been working against apartheid and for peaceful change for 15 years.

When Soweto erupted in 1976, Bridget Oppenheimer, wife of the former Anglo American chairman, and prominent Afrikaans academic Dr Cecile Cilliers, made a call to all women in South Africa to make contact across the colour line and to foster good relations between races.

About 5 000 women responded.

People were desperate — there was almost no form of communication between races, ex co-chairman Liz Mundell says. (Women for Peace always has two chairmen — one black, one white.)

These days, Women for Peace is active in the field of improvement and education. Back then, Liz says, when a white person couldn't get into a township without a permit, the women's chief challenge was simply to make contact with one another.

Branches were established in Sandton and Soweto, Alexandra and Benoni, Daveyton and Welkom.

"The first years were spent building trust between races — only then could we become an anti-apartheid movement."

With the practical hurdles overcome, Women for Peace set about campaigning for equality between races, providing education facilities for the underprivileged and making representations to authorities on racial issues.

Through the "bad" years from 1985 to the beginning of 1990, the organisation was very much involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, while at the same time actively building women's skills.

One of the most successful projects of Women for Peace has been the "Wonderbox" — the cheap and cordless slow cooker that was the brainchild of Bridget Oppenheimer.

The Women for Peace Centre in Alexandra is another success story. For many years, women of all races have got together there to share skills and to teach the unemployed how to sew and type so that they can earn some money from home.

The Centre is continually expanding, says Liz, and now includes facilities for socially and physically handicapped children.

Women for Peace has made a contribution in the education field too: Matriculants who attended "Saturday schools" in Benoni last year had a greater degree of success than their DET-trained compatriots.

Compared to the "early days", Women for Peace is now involved in totally different activities, but it remains an important forum for women to come together, says Liz.
Zimbabwe fails to cut deficit

HARARE — Zimbabwe has not yet been able to reduce its budget deficit, estimated at more than Z$1bn, and figures contained in the estimates of expenditure tabled in parliament yesterday indicate increased public spending, the domestic news agency reported.

Senior Finance Minister Bernard Chiwenga outlined a programme last year to reduce the deficit to 5% of gross domestic product (GDP) by 1995, a development which is central to Zimbabwe’s economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP), Ziana reports.

Among the steps proposed to achieve this were a reduction of the civil service by 25%, and scrapping of subsidies to parastatals and on some commodities.

However, this year’s estimates reflect an increase in the vote for the public service, as well as subsidies to parastatals, with some of them being allocated almost three times that of 1990-91.

In addition, the controversial Ministry of Political Affairs, which houses one senior minister, two ministers of state and four deputy ministers, although showing a reduction of almost Z$16m, has an increased salary, wages and allowances bill of more than Z$33m, compared with Z$21.5m last year.

The president’s salary has been frozen at Z$125,000 a year.

The nearly Z$15m cut in the Political Ministry’s vote is largely accounted for by the drastic reduction of the allocation for national service, which plummeted from Z$25m last year to Z$1.5m, Ziana said.

The public service, which has an 180,000-strong workforce, has been allocated an additional Z$8m.

Subsidies

The perennially loss-making national flag carrier Air Zimbabwe had its subsidy increased from Z$6m to Z$26.7m this year, while the allocation of public funds to struggling Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (Zisco) has risen to Z$13.5m from Z$10m last year.

National Railways of Zimbabwe, one of the few parastatals that have managed to reduce losses, this year received a subsidy of Z$14.8m, compared with Z$225.5m last year. Agricultural subsidies remain almost constant at Z$270m.

The hosting of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting represents a Z$41.8m bill. — Sapa.

SA firms show goods in Zambia

LUSAKA — Thirty SA companies will take part in the Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show, which kicks off in Lusaka on August 1.

The record SA presence confirms that Zambia is in fact trading with SA.

Ministry of Commerce and Industry officials said yesterday that the 30 firms had been given permission to exhibit their products at Zambia’s largest agricultural and commercial show.

Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show Society chairman Andrew Hamaamba has appealed to the Zambian business community to take advantage of the presence of SA businessmen who will be exhibiting.

“This is your chance to make hay while the sun is shining,” Hamaamba said.

Many Zambian shops are flooded with SA products.

SA products ranging from machinery to household goods will be on display at the show next week.

Asked last week why Zambia could not normalise trade relations with Pretoria — especially in the light of the availability of SA products in Zambia — Commerce and Industry Minister Crispin Sibeta said the situation was not yet ripe for us to do so. When the opportunity arises, we shall make a formal announcement about trade links with SA.” — ANO.

CAPE TOWN — The volume of residential property sales to foreign buyers has dropped considerably because of violence and political uncertainty, says Seefl Residential Properties MD Samuel Seefl.

Seefl does not expect the lifting of sanctions to have much effect on the local property market in the short term. Traditional foreign investors — people from the UK and Europe who had previous involvement with SA — have continued purchasing with a view to acquiring holiday homes or places to retire to.

Seefl’s London-based international property manager, Adele Beare, says the easing of the UK property market could release new buyers for SA’s market.

“One of the factors that would result in greater movement from potential immigrants from the UK is the lowering of interest rates by 2% in the past two months. This has led to a greater number of sales than in any similar period in the last two years, so buyers waiting to sell in the UK before coming to SA will be able to move that much more freely.”

Seefl says that in the medium to longer term new investors will be brought to SA as companies return to do business here.

SA’s property market remains undervalued compared with the rest of the world. Should SA overcome its problems and move toward political settlement, “we can expect a great resurgence” of foreign investors, he says.

On the domestic front, Seefl says Transvaal buyers have shown much interest in Cape Town property, and that sales in white areas have increased noticeably since the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

Azafo will attend talks on patriotic front

THE Azanian Peoples’ Organisation (Azafo) yesterday cleared the way for a patriotic front when it disavowed speculation that it would not attend talks with the ANC and PAC in Cape Town next month.

Azafo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa told a news briefing in Johannesburg: “There has been speculation that Azafo is pulling out of the patriotic front. There can be nothing further from the truth.”

But Mabasa acknowledged there were problems surrounding the concept of a front, “and we hope to find solutions”.

Asked to identify the problems, he said agreement on a front was reached outside SA’s borders by the ANC, PAC and the OAU — which recognised only these two organisations. — Sapa.

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RESULTS OF GENERAL MEETING

This document contains: News Article, Business Report, Political Analysis
INKATHA RALLIES

EVEN CURIOUSER

Speeches at the two Inkatha rallies funded by the police, supposedly to promote an anti-sanctions message, referred only once to sanctions. The Law & Order Ministry refuses to reveal documents itemising expenditure on the rallies.

This follows Sunday night's SABC TV's Agenda when Minister Adrian Vlok said the SAP had ensured that "senior Inkatha officials accounted for every cent" of taxpayers' money.

But Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze refused an FM request to see the documents or names of senior Inkatha personnel who had submitted the receipts. Kotze said the documents were protected under the Official Secrets Act. Lawyers stated that police documents are not covered by the Act. Kotze still refuses access.

Only five weeks ago Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose Foreign Affairs Special Account channelled money to Inkatha, said that giving financial support to a chosen political side in SA increases the climate of violence. His comments came after his Australian counterpart, Gareth Evans, donated R4m to the ANC and other organisations.

"I warned him that this kind of action increases the climate of violence," Botha told a press conference. "It is not going to Inkatha. It is not going to the Pan Africanist Congress or any other party. This creates a feeling of being pushed aside. It creates emotions that create violence."

Scrutiny of the 12-page speech delivered by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on November 19 1989 — evidently the first rally funded by the SAP — shows not a single reference to sanctions, nor any related activity. Instead the king spoke at length about the need for Zulu unity and criticised Prince Mshayizeni Zulu (who was elected on to the ANC's National Executive Committee this month) and Chief Maphumulo (assassinated near Maritzburg earlier this year).

Greed and racism

The king also delivered an attack against the "white politics of greed and racism," the ANC and "Indian activists (who) use Indian money to subvert the morals of black children and turn them into young, killing demons."

At the second Inkatha rally, on March 25 1990, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi referred only once to sanctions in his eight-page speech.

At the end of page four he asks: "Do you not send me to the outside world and to the SA negotiating table to reject sanctions, which rob you of your jobs because your factories are closed down or have to cut back on outputs?"

Most of the speech is an attack against the ANC, its policies and certain individuals. Buthelezi devoted a page to Patrick "Terror" Lekota (former ANC southern Natal regional chairman and now an NEC member) for "talking about my political annihilation" in a Washington newspaper.

During the height of the "war" in the Maritzburg area, Vlok and Buthelezi flew over the area in a helicopter. The role of the police and Inkatha was criticised by the Democratic Party then and again this week.

The revelations of the past week may throw a new light on other incidents. On April 28 this year 28 people died in a massacre in the Meadowlands township, under full view of a strong police and media contingent. The ANC had warned government three days before that Inkatha was planning an attack on residents after a funeral. Police made no attempt to stop the attack.

Meanwhile, the ANC has denied government and media reports that the movement has also received funding from government. Spokesman Carl Niehaus says this is an attempt to divert attention from the real issues: "Government has never given us money for rallies or similar activities. They invited the ANC down for the Groote Schuur conference and paid for us as their guests; this is normal procedure and was entirely open."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus says the ANC "wants an independent judicial inquiry into government's R380m secret account."

After an emergency meeting on Monday, the ANC's "cabinet," the National Working Committee, insisted on the resignations of Vlok and Defence Minister, Magnus Malan. The ANC also demanded guarantees to "all public-spirited civil servants and other State employees who come forward to tell the truth about covert operations, that they will be immune from prosecution and receive protection," and added that "all police officers and SADF personnel identified by past commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence be put on trial."

The committee criticises the "hasty lifting of sanctions" and says that "those who accepted the bona fides of the De Klerk government as an agency for political change should seriously reconsider their position."

It adds: "The conduct of government demonstrates that the covert operations, State murder squads, secret funds to corrupt and buy support, and other dirty tricks that became infamous in the days of (PM John) Vorster and (President P W) Botha remain features of government's arsenal to this day."

The ANC will convene its NEC on Wednesday to discuss the row and government's response.
Few Reds in ANC’s bed. And more may tumble out

How many prominent African National Congress members are active in the South African Communist Party? Fewer than you think.

Weekly Mail Reporter

Cyril Ramaphosa, an SACP favourite

Harry Gwala lost to Walter Sisulu

SAFC member Ronie Klasina with The Star last week in which ANC president Nelson Mandela said he had "no doubt" that most of the public concern about the presence of communists in the ANC leadership was genuine. He added that the alliance would continue until apartheid was overthrown.

"After that they will take their own line which we will not follow. We won't follow socialism. We've got our own programme."

Part of the concern has been the negative effect of the SACP presence on the movement's ability to attract funds. In the past the SACP's tight restraints of upward mobility, but also suggested that it was no guarantee. The newly elected SACP member who stood for one of the top six positions was Harry Gwala, who was trounced by Walter Sisulu in his bid for the vice- presidency. But prominent communists took five of the top 10 places in the general election.

Known SACP members chosen for 20 elected places on the 26-member working committee are: Chris Hani, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Joe Slovo, Cheryl Carolus, Joel Netshitenzhe, Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie Kasrils and John Nkadimeng. Two others who came close were Mac Maharaj (who was pipped by non-communist Zola Skwyeleya) and Raymond Suttner.

Cyril Ramaphosa, who is reported to have been a probationary SACP member in 1989, said last week: "I am not at present, nor have I been in the past, a member of the SACP." He was, however, strongly backed by the SACP leadership in his successful bid for the position of ANC general secretary (where he defeated former SACP members Zuma and Nzo).

Among the SACP members who were not elected to the NEC (most of whom were pushed by the party faithful) were Congress of South African Trade Unions leader Jack Verwoerd, ANC National Interim Leadership Group member Moses Mayekiso, Operation Vula members Janet Love and Ivan Pillay, ANC Southern Natal vice-chairman and SACP National Interim Leadership Group general secretary Jeff Radebe, Natal ANC and SACP executive member Baza Ntsimande and Umkhonto weSizwe commander and Western Cape SACP leader Tony Yengeni.

And at least three leading SACP members who were on the previous ANC NEC did not restand - presumably because they did not expect to keep their positions. These included SACP chairman Dan Tloko, Politburo member Zibulo Sigwanzi and former Central Committee member and ANC political and military committee head Joe Jele (who is still a vice-chairman and a member of the party's national executive committee).

ANC and SACP members said the perception that the "only Indians, coloureds and whites who can stand to play are communists" was not correct. They mentioned that Dalhia Omar, Marion Sparg and Kader Asmal were ANC leaders, while Albie Sachs and Aziz Pasha had dropped out of SACP activities, and Mohammad Valli Moosa was no longer active.
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation does not rule out a negotiated settlement in South Africa, but would only confront the Government as part of a “united” liberation movement after the launch of a “patriotic front”.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo’s Mr Lyvon Mabasa said rumours surrounding its withdrawal from a “patriotic front” were not true.

Azapo had been the earliest campaigners for a “united front of the oppressed” and the first calls for a “patriotic front” were made during the days of Mr Steve Biko, Mabasa said.

While Azapo’s decision to negotiate was contingent on the “patriotic front”, the front was more important than entering into talks with the Government on the constitutional future of the country.

Exploited masses

“Our very existence and the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole is based on uniting the oppressed and exploited masses to fight for total and meaningful liberation,” Mabasa said.

He stressed that Azapo had not entered into any talks with the Government yet and that about 30 of its members were still in jail, including two who were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor and another imprisoned in Bophuthatswana.

In a separate announcement, Mabasa said Azapo would hold its second national council on August 3 and 4 at Secunda in KwaZulu.

The national council would concentrate on recent developments inside the country and plan its national black consciousness week which will run from September 6 to 12.

About the “Inkatha” scandal, Mabasa said Azapo had been accused but had never had any faith in the Government.
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ANC starts peace drive

THE ANC yesterday launched a campaign to appeal to security force members to stand up for peace.

In a message to police and defence force members, the ANC said security force personnel should expose the "real terrorists" who perpetuate the violence.

It accused certain elements in the Government of breaking "their own laws and rules".

"It is time the truth is told. It is time responsible South Africans joined hands to promote peace and reconciliation," the message said.

It also accused Cabinet Ministers of doing different things in private to what they said in public.

"They train and deploy mercenaries to butcher people in coldblood. They supply weapons to these groups and create a situation of anarchy and instability in the country. They fund a party whose members are responsible for raids and murders against communities in the PWV and Natal.

Security forces

"This is not law and order. Even the basic principles of police and army professional work do not allow this."

Policemen and soldiers were also urged to join security force members who had already exposed the "perpetrators of violence".

The message called on the security forces to act impartially, respect people's right to free political activity, take action against illegal arms dealers and to "refuse to be used against the people".

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government on Wednesday repaid the R250 000 given to it by the South African Government to cover the cost of staging two political rallies. - Sapa.
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In terms of upward mobility, but also stated that it was no guarantee.

The only SACP member who stood out of the top six positions was Chris Hani, whose only SACP member was sentenced to five of the top 10 places in the general election.

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Cyril Ramaphosa, who is reported to have been a prominent SACP member in 1989 and last week "I am not at present, nor have I been in the past, a member of the SACP." He was, however, strongly backed by the SACP leadership in his successful bid for the position of ANC general secretary (where he defeated former SACP member Zuma and Mufamadi), the close relationship between the two organisations, as Western Cape ANC leader Chris Hani and Allan Boesak have done.

Two former members of the SACP's Central Committee - Jacob Zuma and Aziz Pahad - have publicly stated that they are not party members, while the ANC's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, has made no attempt to clarify his own position.

Each of them did better than most ANC members, but none were in the top 10.

The next step in moving away from the SACP is to redefine the ANC's political and military alliances. This involved the ANC political and military committee head Joe Fehlre (who fell out of favour with the party leadership) and the ANC and SACP's political and military committee head Joe Fehlre (who fell out of favour with the ANC leadership).

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THE ANC was a movement composed of different groups on the left, from liberals to conservatives. Stanley Nkosi said on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday.

He said the SACP, however, was enjoying wide support, "particularly from the poor and oppressed" in the country.

Nkosi, convener of the interim leadership group of the SACP, was a guest on the show.

Speaking on the future role of the SA Communist Party, he said there was no reason why the ANC should be questioned on its alliance with the SACP.

Responding to questions by host DJ Tim Modise, Nkosi said it was not true that the communists were dominating the decision-making structures within the ANC.

Decisions within the ANC's leadership were taken by its membership.

Nkosi said the foremost challenge facing the country was economic, but this had to be done through democratisation.

This would be followed by addressing the glaring inequalities in income and participation in the economy between the different groups.

The wealth of the country and control of the economy was also locked within the white minority.

He denied that communism was discredited by events in Eastern Europe and the USSR, explaining that problems there were created when the countries sought to implement socialism without democracy.
Azapo’s cell of support

THE Azanian People’s Organisation is often dismissed as irrelevant and seen in certain circles as an appendage of the greater liberation movement.

It is seen as the hind leg of one of a team of horses that is drawing the country into the future.

In May this year research concluded by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies, at the University of the Witwatersrand, indicated that overwhelming support existed for the ANC and the National Party under President F W de Klerk.

Similarly, the research suggests that even the church and trade unions rated higher than Azapo in terms of political allegiance.

SOWETAN REPORTER

Support in a (hypothetical) free election showed the ANC was the overwhelming favourite.

However, tucked away under the morass of statistics was a figure for Soweto - arguably the most politicised urban area in the country - which indicated that more people “felt close to” Azapo than both to the PAC and Inkatha.

In the same section of the survey 64 percent of Sowetans “felt close to” the De Klerk government, 57 percent “felt close” to the church, 51 percent “felt close to” the various trade unions, 49 percent “felt close to” the ANC, 41 percent felt this way about their employers and 38 percent said they “felt close to” Azapo.

Effectively Soweto is split among three political organisations, De Klerk’s government, the ANC and Azapo.

In summing up this section of the research, Schlemmer says in his report: “In the study an attempt was made to assess the support for political groupings in a more active and perhaps more meaningful sense.

“This involved attempting to probe beyond symbolic popularity and to assess the degree of political trust and the extent to which residents feel that parties or organisations support their interests.”

The question that was asked in this regard was: “You feel close to some organisation because you know who the leaders are, you know what the organisations do and you feel that the organisations help people like you.”

“You might not feel close to organisations if you do not know the organisations, and do not feel the organisation tries to help people like you.”

“Do you feel close to, just close to, or not close to the following organisations?”

Azapo scored high in Soweto only and received 25 percent support in all metropolitan areas. The church scored 70 percent, the ANC 65 percent, De Klerk 62 percent, the PAC 20 percent and the IFP 12 percent.
‘Front’ vital to future of SA - Azapo

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

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The national council would concentrate on recent developments inside the country and plan its national black consciousness week which will run from September 6 to 12.

About the “Inkatha gate” scandal, Mabasa said Azapo had been vindicated - it had never had any faith in the Government.
Landmark congress for future of Paso

MORE than 800 Pan Africanist Students Organisation members are expected in Cape Town this weekend for a special congress.

The delegates, representing about 15 000 students are expected to push for a resolution that will alter Paso's current status as an autonomous affiliate of the Pan Africanist Congress into its "loyal and committed component".

Despite criticism that black pupils are too politicised, Paso is prepared to take a resolution which would clearly identify it with a political party.

"Student organisations are more than just that," explained Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela.

"They are student political organisations who all subscribe to a particular ideology. "Our aim is to rally all African students under an African nationalist banner. If we pass a resolution that we be part and parcel of the PAC it will mean we will get our directives and orders directly from the national executive leadership.

Target

"This will strengthen our relationship and give us access to theirknowledge and resources." "Our target is not to compete with other organisations in the numbers game," Nqandela said.

"We are after a sober-minded membership . . ."

Struggle

Education could be not be divorced from the political struggle. It was the duty of parents and community leaders to fight for better education and political power.

"Parents should embark on stayaways, sit-ins and marches while their children remain in class.

"In this way they will withhold their labour power and force employers pressure the Government for change."

Nqandela said delegates would decide on a programme aimed at "making parents take the education seriously".

The delegates will be addressed by PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moeneke, Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana and PAC Youth Affairs secretary, Mr Themba Godi.
... and for the ANC to run with the ball

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Inkatha scandal has given fresh impetus to African National Congress calls for an interim government and the movement is intent on building an alliance of all anti-apartheid forces around the call.

The scandal has passed the political initiative back to the ANC which is already running hard with the ball towards the National Party's goal line.

"We are now going to dictate terms on the national political scene," said ANC National Working Committee (NWC) member Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

However, far from slowing the negotiations, ANC officials want to push to get an all-party congress, the linchpin in the negotiations, moving as soon as possible.

The newly elected NWC, at its first meeting this week, issued a list of six demands, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence; and the opening to public scrutiny of the government's R380-million slush fund.

If President FW de Klerk does not go far towards meeting these when he makes his statement on the crisis on Tuesday next week, there will be strong moves at an emergency meeting of the full National Executive Committee next week to break off all contact with the government.

"The situation has become very urgent," says Lekota. "We in the ANC don't think we can continue seriously to discuss these things with the government. A formula must now be established that ensures the confidence of all. We are going to push for an interim government now.

"There can be no continuation of the process of negotiation without the establishment of an interim government.

"The demand that there should be an interim government was predicated on precisely the fact that we were concerned that unless there was an interim government, the National Party would use its monopoly on power as a leverage to influence the political process in the country.

"They have been doing precisely that by funding Inkatha, turning it into a colossus on the political scene. They made it impossible for anyone to proceed without Inkatha. These revelations have in fact punctured that whole situation."

Lekota points out that at the same time as the government was funding Inkatha and its supporters, there were other homeland leaders who took a positive attitude towards the ANC, for which they were penalised by being denied monies from Pretoria.

"Transeel's a case in point. While the government was squeezing those ones who don't agree with its policy, it was in fact channelising huge sums of money in the direction of those that supported it."

He said there was also the suspicion that the government was involved in supporting killer squads such as the Three Million Gang in Kroonstad with both arms and money.

"The question is, how much money was fed into those instances?"

Lekota says it is the ANC's view that the all-party congress should get moving as soon as possible.

"Nationally, all democratically minded organisations should move towards a common alliance, at least around the principal demand that there should be an interim government and make the demand a non-negotiable principle now."

Other ANC sources said the hope was that this alliance would include liberal groups such as the Democratic Party and the homeland parties, with which the movement has been in contact.

Though these parties do not support a constituent assembly — the demand around which a patriotic front conference has been called — the uniting of forces around the demand for an interim government is likely to be much broader and will take a higher priority at this point.

The ANC has, meanwhile, offered an amnesty to people who participated in township and other atrocities if the government is willing to make a call on them all to come forward and come clean.
MANGOPE TO BLAME FOR DELAYED NEGOTIATIONS, SAYS PIK

PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is holding up the removal of obstacles to negotiations between the government and the African National Congress by refusing to release political prisoners in his jails.

This emerged from the briefing Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave to ambassadors in Pretoria on Wednesday.

According to the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum, there are 166 political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, 138 of them former members of the national guard who participated in the 1988 attempted coup in the homeland.

The remaining 28 are ANC activists and residents of the Brakhuage community who have been resisting incorporation into the territory.

Mangope held a meeting with FW de Klerk on Tuesday evening after the president returned from the two-day bos-heraad (bush conference) with his cabinet to discuss the Inkatha funding crisis.

Botha told the ambassadors that Mangope was "not disposed to be helpful" on the matter.

He said he had phoned ANC president Nelson Mandela in Spain to ask for his assistance in securing the release of the prisoners. However, Mandela had replied that Mangope was the problem of the South African government.
Come to the great one-man show: Inkatha’s conference

This month the ANC and IFP held national conferences. And nothing could have been more different.

By CHRISTIE PETTRESSON

GREAT roars of applause went up as the Conservative Party’s Tom Langley took the stand at the Inkatha Freedom Party’s annual conference in Ulundi this week, its first as a non-racial political party.

But when Langley said he brought greetings for the ‘‘the Zulu nation’’ from ‘‘the Afrikaner nation’’ and wished them luck, it all changed.

Influential delegates of the IFP’s newly-established Sandton branch left their seats — prominently placed up front and highly visible next to diplomats and guests — and made their mark.

‘‘No, no, we are not Zulus,’’ they shouted with raised fists in the air and Mangosuthu Buthelezi badges on their chests. ‘‘I couldn’t let that racist get away with that,’’ one explained.

The relationship with whites was one of the main points when IFP leader Buthelezi outlined the history of the former Zulu cultural liberation movement.

‘‘We won’t join any Patriotic Front and gang up against whites. We could have done so 10 years ago, but today it’s outdated,’’ he said.

It was a message that went down well across the spectrum — from the white delegates in the section up front to the black delegates, 3,000 of them, who filled the rest of the tent.

What may make the Patriotic Front notion difficult for Ulundi to digest is probably the enthusiasm with which the African National Congress is calling for it. Also unpopular are ANC concepts like an interim transitional government or a constituent assembly to improve a new constitution.

“You want no constituent assembly where there can be adventurism in politics,’’ Buthelezi said.

Inkatha over the years has regularly rejected ANC policies, charging they would lead either to apartheid or to socialism. But on the conference surface, the two organisations had a lot in common.

As at the ANC conference in early July, there were a large number of marshals in beige khaki and berets — although they lacked the delegates’ discipline when parading during the lunch break.

Security was also much looser than at the ANC conference. The Inkatha leaders didn’t find it necessary to body-search visitors for lethal weapons or demand press accreditation cards.

Buthelezi’s power base ranges from the kwaZulu homeland and its tribal structures to business circles inside and outside South Africa. The way to address these highly different camps simultaneously is to wave a variety of political symbols adapted to different locations.

At Inkatha’s 16th annual meeting it was not the warrior but the peace broker who talked, surrounded by slogans like ‘‘Victory through peace, action and negotiations’’.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s power base ranges from the kwaZulu homeland to business circles in the cities

Photograph: KEVIN CARIER

It has been a one-man show. Buthelezi reminded the IFP conference of his — not Inkatha’s — resistance against apartheid, fight for the release of Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress’s Zeph Mothopeng, of Buthelezi’s status as the father of negotiations in this country, his refusal to negotiate with the government as long as prisoners were not freed.

In fact, while the ANC was ruining the country with its guerrilla and sanctions warfare, he said he was the only one who looked after the women, children, the elderly and the poor.

Now the ANC is back and, admits Buthelezi, the ball game has changed and Inkatha has to follow suit: ‘‘You have said that I must negotiate for a new constitution and then we can vote and ... have a new South Africa. You have said it as simply as that.’’

He echoed one of Mandela’s concerns at the ANC conference when he made an address concerning women. They have, he said, achieved a lot: ‘‘We in kwaZulu long ago emancipated our women. They are there with us in the Central Committee and they are there with us in the Central Committee Executive. We have more women in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly than we have in parliament in Cape Town. We repealed the Zulu Code which kept our women as minors years ago.’’

The ANC women didn’t buy the sweet talk and demonstrated against their men — but the Inkatha Women’s League was busy serving refreshments to guests in the conference tent.

While the ANC, at its national conference only some 30km from Ulundi, made a point in showing how democratic they were, with indendently supervised secret ballots and the whole liturgy of consultation, the IFP AGM did not feel any need to score any points.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked the delegates and IFP members in the conference tent to stand up if they were opposed to Buthelezi’s leadership. Everyone remained seated.

At the ANC conference a fortnight earlier Patrick ‘‘Terror’’ Lekotho publicly challenged Mandela’s authoritarian rule — but there was no such noise sounded at the IFP gathering, where any criticism would have damaged the sensitive balance that starts and ends with Buthelezi. The opposition was nil. Opposing camps within the IFP do not exist. Communication is one way.

Inkatha’s organisational problems, if there were any, didn’t show up. No press releases were published or leaked through the general secretary’s report, as was the case at the ANC conference.

The ANC admitted problems with recruiting whites, coloured and Indians, and aired the problems in establishing a non-racial membership.

Inkatha, instead, made a point of showing off its white membership at the conference. Indeed, they were all invited to lunch with Buthelezi and the media.

This reversed affirmative action has limited scope. While the ANC problem among whites is that the organisation largely attracts left-wingers, with few exceptions, the Inkatha seem to attract right-wingers.

Sandton branch delegate Bruce Anderson was once Abel Mazureza’s assistant in Zimbabwe. He was also a National Front candidate for parliament in Britain.

Another member and AGM delegate was Benoni councillor Les Lancaster. ‘‘I have business to protect and I have joined Inkatha because I have found that they serve interests best,’’ he said. ‘‘Things are changing quickly and the National Party has lost control.’’

While the ANC conference gave a moral boost to its members and amalgamated the movement’s different strands, the IFP AGM was an uphill struggle, due to allegations that it bought some of its placards and banners with Security Branch money.

But some of the new members were not disturbed by the allegations. As Anderson put it: ‘‘I would take money from the devil to fight the ANC, and that is the truth.’’

Buthelezi’s job is seen as saving South Africa’s traditionalists, black and white, from the evil of the ANC/SCAP, or at least making the ANC’s road to power substantially longer.

‘‘He’s a fantastic leader, isn’t he?’’ said a female delegate. She expressed strong feelings against the ‘‘biased’’ media reports that ignore those 153 Inkatha leaders that, according to the chief in his opening address, have been slaughtered by the other side. But she did not mind the 6,000 people on both sides that have lost their lives in the carnage that has raged since the mid-1980s.”
There's no longer time to watch 'Dallas' — AWB

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will launch an all-out membership drive on October 10 at a parade where the organisation will exhibit its paratroopers, motorcycle brigade and cavalry, according to AWB commandant-general, Sefrius de Wet.

Addressing about 1,500 people in the Pretoria City Hall this week, the former police colonel told the meeting that South Africa was on the verge of civil war. He said whites who were watching "Dallas" on TV rather than attending the meeting were "hensoppers".

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche exhorted the audience to "make a date" with him for revolution the day the Government handed over power to the African National Congress.

Discussing the Inkatha secret funding debate, TerreBlanche said the Government was a fraud and should resign.

He said President FW de Klerk would within the next few weeks accede to the formation of an interim government consisting of the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha and homeland leaders.

De Wet said the AWB would follow a Volksleer (army) at the October 10 exhibition.

Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was warmly welcomed by the audience, said the ANC had not bothered to constitute itself as a political party because it knew the Government would abdicate power to it.

Rudolph pleaded for rightwing unity, saying AWB stood for "Aimal Weer Bynsleis".

He said the NP, ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party were enemies of the white man.

"Affirmative action" meant the slaughtering of the white man, he warned. - Sapa.
Picking up the pieces after ‘Inkathagate’

FOCUS

Before July, South Africans would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkhatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Sowetan political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

Before July, South Africans would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkhatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Sowetan political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

PROGRESS towards “real” negotiations - it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the “talks about talks” phase - came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding “obstacles” to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was volatile, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could only be expected once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be rattled democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party, in fact if not in name.

In the event the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horsetrading which would shape our future.

Scandal

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and the ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government’s opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiation process relies on the political survival of Mandela, so an unsullied De Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy tithe in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference.

For the moment, the Government’s is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to clean it itself after “Inkathagate”.

Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining “obstacles to negotiations” have been cleared.

Elections

Then the planning talks for the MPC must be reactivated - the ANC has been refusing to participate since March.

Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the MPC can begin, and lead eventually to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its “patriotic front” conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by “Inkathagate” - the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively.)

Then the ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. Then it must reanimate MPC planning talks without losing face and finally it must see through - as an observer - its ally the SA Communist Party’s first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the MPC.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this, and is without question the country’s top political priority.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift - that is to say, harden or soften - their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC National Working Committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview only days before “Inkathagate” broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set the Government: thinking in some detail.

It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC (“the last facet of talks about talks - it could happen before the end of the year”) and its potential as a forum for bringing about an eventual constitution-making body.

Logistics

“If the patriotic front takes place in August,” he said, “then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the MPC together. If that is so, then one can expect whatever two or three months thereafter to arrange the necessary practicalities.”

He believed, then, that there was “a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party) as a departure point for deciding attendance at the MPC.

Further, he had this to say...
Talks lie in the rubble

From previous page about the Government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government to supervise the transition period: "We will probably have to find compromises," he said, "but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government.

'I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other.'

The idea of an interim government is not on as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing constitution. We can't do that - it will create a vacuum.'

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week. The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

Disasters

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC - only days ago Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year - and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to 'demote' Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive. But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm - and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not when and how they will unfold.
ANC and Inkatha to back new code

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, the ANC and Inkatha are on the verge of agreeing to a code of conduct for security forces, as a mechanism to end township violence.

The code, which sources said was in the final stages of drafting, was hammered out in a series of meetings between representatives of the three groups, businessmen and church leaders.

The preparatory committee which emerged from the initial church and business-sponsored peace initiative met earlier this week.

It heard reports on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces, socio-economic development and implementation of monitoring mechanisms.

The next preparatory committee meeting will be held on August 14.
Interim govt demand from ANC

KINGSTON, Jamaica. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday demanded the formation of an interim government of national unity in South Africa, following the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Mandela did not say who should compose the interim government.

"We demand the creation of an interim government of national unity that enjoys the confidence of all South African people," he told the Jamaican parliament.

The main task of the new government, Mr Mandela said, would be to do away with apartheid completely.

Saying that apartheid could not oversee its own demise, he added: "The transitional government should preside over negotiations, and the transition should culminate in the election of a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage to write a new constitution."

He said disclosures had supported the ANC's long-standing claim that the government supported political violence.

Mr Mandela described Inkatha as the "organisation that has been most active in politically motivated violence". Much of the black-on-black violence in South Africa in recent months had pitted Inkatha backers against ANC supporters. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI
Azapo ‘will attend talks’

JOHANNESBURG: The Azanian Peoples’ Organisation (Azapo) yesterday cleared the way for a Patriotic Front (PF) meeting dismissed as untrue speculation that they would not attend common talks with the ANC and PAC in Cape Town next month.

Speaking at a press briefing here, Azapo project co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said: “There has been speculation that Azapo is pulling out of the Patriotic Front. There can be nothing further from the truth.” He said that when the PAC and ANC returned to South Africa after talks in Harare, they put forward the idea of the PF to Azapo, “and we agreed to participate”. — Sapa
ANC, PAC share Cosatu platform

JOHANNESBURG. — Political unity and frank admissions about its own weaknesses marked the first day of the fourth national congress of the 1,3-million member Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday.

More than 2,400 delegates from Cosatu's 14 industry-related affiliates gathered at the National Exhibition Centre south of Johannesburg to hear ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo and the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Mukwethu, exhort the union federation to intensify the struggle for a constituent assembly.

It was the first time that top-ranking office-bearers of the traditionally rival organisations shared a common platform at a Cosatu congress.

In an open admission of serious weaknesses, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said these had to be addressed if Cosatu was to play a leading role in building a society free from racism and exploitation.

The federation had to move beyond sloganeering and rhetoric.

Cosatu president Mr Eliezer Berayi said in his opening address that workers had to be vigilant and guard against a "false liberation" which retained the white monopoly over the country's wealth.

Yesterday's debate in closed session focused on social, organisational and educational matters. Political and constitutional matters are on today's agenda.

Mr Tambo said the collective challenge of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance was clear: "We must compel the Pretoria regime to remove all obstacles to a negotiated settlement. We must persuade it to abandon apartheid completely." — Sapa
ANC: Police in attack

Staff Reporter

THE ANC and the police yesterday clashed over the petrol-bombing of a house in Khayelitsha this week.

The ANC said the house of one of its senior members, Mr Richard Makeleni, was petrol-bomb ed early on Tuesday morning. The incident had not been reported to police because the ANC believed the police were behind the attack, according to ANC spokesman Mr Vuyani Ngcuka. He also blamed the police for being behind much of the violence in Peninsula townships.

‘Come forward’

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz rejected the allegations. He said the ANC would have to provide proof of police collusion if they wanted to make such claims.

“They must come forward with all the necessary witnesses and then we'll have the allegations investigated,” Major Calitz said.

Mr Makeleni was not at home at the time of the attack. He is out of town and expected back in Cape Town only this weekend.

Mr Ngcuka said the ANC believed that some policemen were colluding with the Western Cape Black Taxi Association and town councillors in carrying out attacks against ANC members.

When the Cape Times visited the gutted remains of Mr Makeleni's house in Site B, several residents said they saw four policemen in a blue van and a group of balaclava-clad men in a white combi in the area shortly before the attack.

The residents showed a variety of spent cartridges, including one from an R1 rifle, and several live rounds which they claimed were found at the scene of the attack. They said they also found an unexploded petrol bomb at the front of the gutted house.

They said that shots were fired at the house during the petrol-bomb attack.

Two of Mr Makeleni's brothers who were sleeping in the house when the attack occurred escaped.

Another Khayelitsha resident, Mr Sipho Makatsi, said his house, which is a few metres away, was set alight shortly before Mr Makeleni's house burst into flames.

Other people, who claim to have witnessed the event, said that the attackers were using a police van and two Ford cars. They also claim that a white man, who was there during the attack, returned to the scene yesterday.

They said he was accompanied by other men in a Weesta taxi.
Castro praises Mandela for ‘indefatigable fight against apartheid’

HAVANA — ANC leader Nelson Mandela began a three-day tour of Cuba yesterday with praise from President Fidel Castro for his ‘athletic figure’.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie accompanied Dr Castro as he inaugurated an athletes’ village for the Pan-American Games next month.

At the inauguration, Dr Castro praised what he said had been Mr Mandela’s indefatigable fight against apartheid. He complimented him for maintaining an “athletic figure” despite his 73 years.

“We have in Nelson Mandela a magnificent example to follow,” he told the crowd, which included the 633 athletes who make up Cuba’s team for the Games and were first to occupy the village.

Mr Mandela arrived in Cuba yesterday for a three-day visit. Dr Castro said one of the first things he had asked was whether Cuba’s three-time Olympic champion Teofilo Stevenson was still boxing. (Mr Mandela was a boxer in his youth).

The Cuban leader then invited Stevenson, who now coaches and was in the audience, to come up and meet Mr Mandela. During his stay in Cuba, Mr Mandela was expected to thank Dr Castro and Cuba’s communist government for their unwavering support for the ANC.

Mr Mandela is going ahead with his Caribbean and Latin-American tour while back in South Africa, the political scene is being rocked by continuing revelations that the Government gave secret funds to the Inkatha Freedom Party. — Sapa-Reuter.
HAVANA. — Mrs Winnie Mandela said yesterday the warm welcome she and her husband had received in Cuba made them feel the communist-ruled island was their second home.

"This warm welcome has confirmed what we have already known, that Cuba is our second home," Mrs Mandela told Havana historian Mr Eusebio Leal as he gave the Mandelas and their delegation a tour of the old city.

"In a way, we just feel we have always belonged here," she added.

Very tight security surrounded the sightseeing tour.

Mr Mandela and his wife toured the city museum where Mr Leal described Cuba's history, focusing especially on the tens of thousands of black slaves from Africa who were transported to the island by its former Spanish colonial rulers.

— Sapa-Reuters
ANC in demo against IFP funding

ANC supporters yesterday demonstrated in the city centre against the government's funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The demonstrators, who gathered at security police headquarters in Loop Street, called for the resignation of the "whole" National Party government.

Mr Richard Martin of the Western Cape ANC Youth League said the funding of organisations "hired to destabilise" the ANC and its allies, jeopardised the whole negotiation process.

"We cannot help but ask the ANC leadership to call off the negotiations with the National Party until such time as an interim government is elected to prepare for the constituent assembly," said Mr Martin.

Mr Martin said that the demonstration was the beginning of a campaign, "No Right to Rule", which the ANC and other organisations would implement nationally tomorrow.

The Western Cape Black Pensioners Association yesterday demanded that the government give to black pensioners the R250 000 Inkatha has repaid the government.

FOR THE RECORD... A policeman snaps away with his camera during the ANC picket yesterday.

It's utterly untrue - we did not give them money.

Uh, yes - it's true - we did give them money...

But it was not political!
The hunt for SAPC members in the ANC is spurious when one considers that members of the Broederbond have infiltrated every aspect of the Nationalist Party, argues RONNIE MA- MOEPA of the ANC's PWV Media Department. He says the hunt should be called off as SAPC members are here to stay.

OLIVER TAMBO

The country can no longer afford this kind of dishonesty. Intellectuals who continue with this type of manipulation that our society knows through bitter experience. Unfortunately, this is the type of history our critics have chosen to ignore. Yet our people have never experienced such treatment from SAPC quarters.

The public is demanding the right to know who in the National Party is a member of the Broederbond. This is our democratic right to know!
The hunt for SAPC members in the ANC is spurious when one considers that members of the Broederbond have infiltrated every aspect of the Nationalist Party, argues Ronnie Maqaropa of the ANC's PWV Media Department. He says the hunt should be called off as SAPC members are here to stay.

Oliver Tambo

Walter Sisulu

Nelson Mandela

The country can no longer afford this kind of dishonesty. If we continue to manipulate our constituencies, we will lose the support of the masses. The ANC is a nationalist movement, not a democratic one.

Yet our people have never experienced such treatment from SAPC quarters. The public is demanding the right to know who is the nationalist Party, if it is the Broederbond. It is our duty to defend our democratic right to know! In 1962 it gave its unconditional support to the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter. In pursuit of this, the party has placed all its human and material resources at the disposal of the ANC.

It is well documented that some of the best cadres of the ANC and fighters who have disagreed courage, bravery and creativity were communists. They did seek material gain or glory to distinguish, but fought because of their commitment to the struggle and ideals of the ANC and their desire to bring apartheid to an end. At the AN Constitutional Conference the SAPC was an observer and therefore did not vote. Those elected were voted in by secret ballot. The result was that the nationalist Party, if it is the Broederbond, should be called off as SAPC members are here to stay.

There is no question that the election of the ANC and its leaders was under any communist influence. What was at stake was democracy and it had to be defended at all costs. The state should, for instance, keep the opinion of the alliance to embark on a stayaway because workers have been repressed. Similarly the ANC should be entitled to pursue the alliance on any matter just as the SAPC has the right to do. For one reason or another, the ANC has been tactful. It has been the only partner of the alliance amenable to communal influence, but there has never been a suggestion that the SAPC is under the nationalist influence of the ANC.

We suppose this item rests on an ignorance of the operations of the alliance. We plead not guilty to such charges. The alliance rests on the basis of integrity and the alliance's administration belongs to the SAPC. It is one such organization.

The SAPC programme - "The Path to Power" - was adopted in 1980 at an underground congress held outside the country before its unbanning in February last year. This programme was written in the context of the Alliance's aims and objectives.

It is in this context that we feel that the alliance is the only partner of the alliance amenable to communal influence. What was at stake was democracy and it had to be defended at all costs. The state should, for instance, keep the opinion of the alliance to embark on a stayaway because workers have been repressed. Similarly the ANC should be entitled to pursue the alliance on any matter just as the SAPC has the right to do. For one reason or another, the ANC has been tactful. It has been the only partner of the alliance amenable to communal influence, but there has never been a suggestion that the SAPC is under the nationalist influence of the ANC.

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We suppose this item rests on an ignorance of the operations of the alliance. We plead not guilty to such charges. The alliance rests on the basis of integrity and the alliance's administration belongs to the SAPC. It is one such organization.
Johannesburg. — The Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) congress held at the weekend has reaffirmed the union federation’s alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party.

It also called for a summit of anti-apartheid organisations to map out a programme to force the government to resign in favour of an interim government.

The conference was marked by a strong display of political unity, a reassertion of trade union independence and frank admissions of organisational weaknesses.

It adopted resolutions on issues ranging from negotiations and the peace process to economic restructuring and AIDS.

Efforts will also be made to form a single union federation incorporating Nactu and other trade unions.

Meeting at Nasrec near Johannesburg, the 2,460 delegates committed Cosatu to the tripartite alliance with the SACP and ANC and gave all but paid, full-time Cosatu office-bearers the go-ahead to take leadership positions in political organisations.

“We have no problem with people occupying two leadership positions, if they do, they stay with their Cosatu mandate,” said Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Metalworkers leader Mr John Gomomo beat Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini in the election for president of the federation. Mr Dlamini was then re-elected vice-president. Both are members of the SACP internal leadership group.

Following the congress’s decision to bar full-time workers from multiple leadership posts, Cosatu deputy general-secretary Mr Sydney Mufumadi stood down because of his recent election to the ANC’s national working committee.

Mr Jay Naidoo was re-elected general-secretary, while Mr Mufumadi was succeeded by Transport and General Workers’ Union president Mr Sam Shilowa.

Delegates resolved that Cosatu had to play a leading role in the peace process.

In other resolutions, delegates also came out in favour of:

- A multi-party peace conference convened by a non-partisan body
- A programme of economic restructuring leading to an interim high wage/low cost economy and eventual socialism
- Campaigns for an end to retrenchments and against the implementation of VAT.
ANC looking for unrest releases

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is re-examining the cases of several hundred unrest prisoners to see whether they qualified for release as political prisoners, ANC legal affairs official Mr Penuell Maduna said yesterday.

Mr. Maduna said the ANC still regarded the prisoner issue as one of the obstacles to negotiations but did not want negotiations to be further delayed by unrest cases that were found on closer scrutiny to be non-political.

He said the ANC was consulting church and community groups to find out whether certain specific crimes — among them several necklacings — could qualify as political because of the circumstances in which they were committed.

At the other end of the spectrum, lawyers appearing for 15 right-wing political prisoners, including mass murderer Barend Strydom, are guardedly hopeful about their release after a meeting with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.
CASTRO AND MANDELA... Cuban President Fidel Castro and Mr Nelson Mandela salute the crowd at the weekend during the celebration of the 'Day of Revolution' in Matanzas, east of Havana. Cubans were celebrating the 38th anniversary of the revolution.

Mandela in Venezuela

CARACAS, Venezuela. - ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived here at the weekend with his wife Winnie and a 10-member delegation for a two-day visit. Mr Mandela and his entourage were met by President Carlos Andres Perez. Yesterday Mr Mandela travelled to Valencia, an industrial city 160km west of the capital, where he received an honorary doctoral degree.
PAC ‘won’t push out whites’

COFIMVABA, Transkei. — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday his organisation had no plans to “push whites into the sea”, but would fight for the “repossesson of the land”.

Mr Makwetu was addressing hundreds of PAC supporters during a rally to welcome a freed commander of the organisation’s military wing, Mr Enoch Zulu.

Mr Zulu was freed last month from Pollsmoor Prison, where he served less than five years of his 32-year sentence. He was convicted of terrorism in 1986.

Mr Makwetu told the rally that at the forthcoming ‘patriotic front’ conference, the PAC would urge participants that black people should fight for their land.
ANC 'to keep its ally'

The alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) would not be broken until liberation had been achieved in South Africa, ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar said at the weekend.

Speaking in the city at a meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the SACP, Mr Omar said the need for the alliance was greater than ever.

He also criticised the government for the secret funding of Inkatha and other political organisations, and called for the establishment of an interim government. — Sapa (CT 29/11/91)
PAC and Azapo reject consumer boycott

A row has broken out between the PAC and Azapo and the ANC/Co-satu/SACP alliance over a consumer boycott due to begin today.

Azapo and the PAC said yesterday they would not support the boycott because they had not been consulted before leaflets were distributed in the PWV region yesterday calling for the boycott to begin today.

At the meeting it had been agreed that no press statements or leaflets would be issued until all parties had reached an agreement.

Mr Duma claimed the ANC alliance had reneged on that agreement.
Govt denies giving in to interim rule

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Senior Government sources last night dismissed suggestions that the Inkatha fund scandal had forced the Government to give in to ANC demands for an interim government.

"Practically speaking, an interim government means abolishing the present Government and replacing it with a new one, and that's not acceptable," one said.

The sources said that even the idea of outside groups being given a joint say in the control of the security forces was still "very sensitive" and had probably not been discussed.

Representatives of the Government, ANC and Inkatha, meeting under the auspices of the joint church/business initiative, had come close to agreement last week on a code of conduct for security forces.

But this was not the same as overall responsibility for the security forces. The participants in the joint church/business initiative were also discussing the possibility of independent monitoring of peace agreements.

However, this would also not necessarily entail joint

control of security forces.

The sources stressed that the possibility of joint control of the security forces could only be discussed at the multiparty conference which the Government hopes will take place as soon as possible.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu said yesterday the secret funding scandal had seriously endangered the negotiation process.

After an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of the secret funding, the three organisations said:

"The latest revelations underline the fact that the present Government cannot supervise the process of transition."

We call on all South Africans of whatever political persuasion to unite behind the call for an interim government of national unity."

At the emergency meeting, the SACP and Cosatu also backed the earlier demands by the ANC for President de Klerk to prove his sincerity, in negotiations by taking decisive action on the funding scandal.

The Democratic Party has hardened its position by calling for a government of unity.

More reports — Page 2

Committee to negotiations questioned

VALENCIA (Venezuela) — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned the Government's commitment to talks with the ANC.

Referring to the Government's funding of Inkatha, he said a packed auditorium that he was not sure he could trust the administration of President de Klerk.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate crime and apartheid," he said.

He accused the Government of fueling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the Government for the current wave of violence but added that South Africans "have the capacity, we have the patience, we have the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime."

In Cuba at the weekend, he reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government. "What we have been saying all along, that the Government cannot be a player and referee at the same time, has been fully corroborated." — Sapa-Reuter.
"We'll share control" Government 'yes' to ANC demand for transitional arrangement

The Government will agree to the ANC demand for a transitional or interim arrangement during constitutional negotiations, but will stop short of "co-opting" people.

A senior Government source yesterday confirmed this following renewed calls for a "transitional arrangement" in the wake of the "Inkathagate" scandal.

Crisis
It was revealed that secret State funds had been channelled to the IsiXhosa Freedom Party through the security police. The crisis has also renewed calls for the resignation or dismissal of at least Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adrian Vlok, who said last week during a television debate that he was considering his position.

The possibility of Vlok handing in his resignation during today's security council - a Cabinet committee - meeting has been strengthened by additional information from "Inkathagate" scandal. It was revealed by the Press a little over a week ago that Vlok had not been entirely honest about the use of State funds.

Commenting on the issue of a transitional arrangement during constitutional negotiations, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr. Roelf Meyer yesterday ruled out the possibility of the present constitution being dumped.

Government could, however, create some form of joint decision-making mechanism in the executive of the country, he said, and referred to a statement which State President F.W. de Klerk made in Parliament earlier this year.

"Negotiating partners outside of the Government would have a say inside Parliament, but what would be unacceptable would be a form of co-option," Meyer said.

Meyer stressed that the ideal platform to create a transitional arrangement would be an all-party conference or a multi-party conference and this should be held as soon as possible.
Powersharing gets the nod

possible. What has emerged over recent months is that relative consensus on the agenda for an multi-party conference has been reached during preliminary discussions between the Government and ANC officials.

Three issues were raised as priorities for a multi-party conference to make decisions on: What is the exact forum for real negotiations would be; the principles on which a new constitution would be based; what kind of transitional arrangement would be established.

However, before an multi-party conference or all-party conference can start or be planned, the ANC, Azapo and the PAC must enter into a patriotic front late next month. There they will, under a single banner, plan a strategy to confront the Government. No decision is expected to be made on the multi-party conference before then.

While the Inkatha funding crisis has been

seen as a setback for the actual process of negotiations, it is also being regarded as a grand opportunity for the Government to “open up” its closets to public scrutiny and allow hard-core talks to begin.

A key element of this “opening up” would be to provide the public with a full account of where and how public money has been secretly spent over the past few years.

Response

De Klerk will tomorrow announce the Government’s official response to the Inkatha funding scandal which has sunk the State President’s personal credibility around the world and at home.

The Government has said it is serious about the present crisis, especially because it provided evidence for the allegation that the police was collaborating with the IFP in the violence in black communities.
Azapo hits out at ANC

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called upon the ANC and the KwaNdebele government to stop "harassing" its members and workers affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions. A resolution passed at Azapo's Northern Transvaal regional council, held at Botlokwa near Pimansburg on Saturday, stated that members and workers affiliated to Nactu were being assaulted and forced out of jobs by crowds of ANC and Intando ye Sizwe members, who accused them of being members of Umhlokozo.

Homeless

In perhaps the actions in which two families in Valsfontein were left homeless after their houses were burnt down, Azapo called on the ANC leadership and Mr James Mahlangu, KwaNdebele chief minister, and the leader of the Intando ye Sirwe party, to halt the activities before further blood was shed.

Speaking to Sowetan after the council, regional publicity director Mr Khangale Makhand said a delegation of regional and national leaders of the organisation would visit the area this week to assess the situation.

Neither the ANC nor the KwaNdebele authorities could be reached for comment yesterday...
LEBOWA Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike has formed an organisation known as the United Peoples Front, whose aims and objectives are almost similar to those of the Azapoa Peoples Organisation.

The UPF has been distributing membership cards to elderly people at pension payout points, according to pensioners spoken to.

The pensioners say they were told the cards should be produced at pension payouts, while those without the cards run the risk of losing their pensions.

The UPF says it aims "to conscientise, politicise and mobilise the people towards a non-ethnic United States of Africa".

Azapoa documents say it aims "to conscientise, politicise and mobilise black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for their legitimate rights".

Word for word

Other aims and objectives, save for where Azapoa speaks of Azania, are the same word for word.

Responding to enquiries yesterday, UPF chairman Mr Makwazaniya Morahone, Lefora's Minister of Justice, said the organisation was formed in March but had not yet been launched.

He said membership was "swelling", with signed up members numbering between 40,000 and 50,000.

He said the UPF had "good relationships" with the liberation movements.

Morahone laughed when asked about the similarity of goals with those of Azapoa. "The similarity proves similar political feelings," he said.

Azapoa secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng said it was interesting that Ramodike, who has a very close working relationship with the ANC, had chosen Azapoa's aims and objectives.

Resign

"If it reflects a shift in perspective, a growth in political understanding of the political problem in this country and the need on his part to join Azapoa, he should be informed that the proper thing is to first resign from the State machinery and then apply for membership," Nkadimeng said.

The UPF has been a subject of whispers since Ramodike summoned school principals to the Chuene Resort two months ago and told them to join. One principal said Ramodike had told them the UPF had the blessing of the ANC leadership.

However, ANC regional media spokesman in the region, Mr Stan Motumi, yesterday distanced the ANC from the UPF, saying no one in the region was aware of a such approval.
Coalition is the only solution - political expert

THE only possible solution to the "Inkathagate" scandal is the immediate formation of a coalition government involving all interested parties including the Government and all liberation movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

This is the view of political scientist and expert on white politics, Professor Willem Kleynhans.

In an interview with Sowetan yesterday, Kleynhans said disclosures of Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party had ruined the Government's effort of bringing about a new South Africa.

"The Government is responsible for this mess. And the negative effects are 100 percent more than what the Information Scandal did to South Africa some years back. The damage is irreparable," he said.

Conference

The time-table which President FW de Klerk had for a multiparty conference to pave the way for the drawing up of a new constitution had been upset and relations between the Government/Inkatha and the ANC had been "bedeviled" by the recent disclosures, said Kleynhans.

He added: "The only possible solution to this mess is for the leaders of all interested groups, including the Government, ANC, PAC, SACP, DP and Inkatha to come together and form a caretaker government. The CP will not agree to this coalition government.

"All these organisations must now have a say in the running of the country. They must share the responsibility and help uproot all covert operations and freeze the use of secret funds.

"This might help resolve the crisis."

Kleynhans said the Government was 100 percent to blame for secretly funding the IFP and blamed the authorities for ruling chances of the formation of black political parties which could be instrumental to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic society in South Africa.

The political scientist said he expected the Government to play down the scandal and say, among other things, that the secret funding was to facilitate negotiations.

Asked if Cabinet Ministers, Mr Adriam Vlok or General Magnus Malan, would resign as a result of the secret funding and allegations of security force involvement in attacks on black civilians, Kleynhans said the Government had a history of undemocratic principles.

"In societies where democracy was a norm, those responsible would quit. But I know. This Government will not do the honourable thing to sack Ministers responsible for the mess. The Cabinet is going to remain intact."

Iceberg

Kleynhans warned that the recent disclosures could be a tip of the iceberg and said more scandals could follow.

The drawing up of a new constitution, said Kleynhans, was now totally out of the question.

"There is not a slightest chance that the new constitution will be ready by 1994 when elections will be held."

The present constitution would still be in place despite de Klerk's promise recently that blacks would be included in the next election of a new government, said Kleynhans.

"I am despondent and more of a prophet of doom than never before. We are on the threshold of a bloody confrontation. I am pessimistic. I fear for the worst," the Afrikaner professor added.

Kleynhans accused the Government of having delivered "a mortal blow" to the IFP's efforts to start a political party - a vital instrument towards the formation of a stable government.

"This is a vehicle needed whereby blacks would have a say in the decision-making processes in this country. All efforts by the IFP have been ruined by the Government.

"The US and British governments will realise they were naïve to believe de Klerk when he told them recently that he had an answer to South Africa's problems.

"I wonder what they are saying now," said Kleynhans.
VALENCIA (Venezuela) - ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned the Government's commitment to talks with the ANC.

Referring to the Government's funding of Inkatha, he told a packed auditorium that he was not sure he could trust the administration of President de Klerk.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime... apartheid."

He accused the Government of fuelling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the Government for the current wave of violence but added that South Africans "have the capacity, we have the patience, we have the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime."

In Cuba at the weekend, he reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government. "What we have been saying all along, that the Government cannot be a player and referee at the same time has been fully corroborated."

— Sapa-Reuter.
ANC economics head Max Sisulu has defended nationalisation as a platform of ANC economic policy and said the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe had “no value” when applied to SA.

In an interview published in the July 5 edition of the French financial daily La Tribune de l'Expansion, Sisulu said: “(Nationalisation) would mainly concern public services like roads, water, electricity and hospitals. We would look at the rest on a case-by-case basis.”

Sisulu’s remarks go against recent pronouncements by ANC leaders indicating a move away from nationalisation as a viable alternative to capitalism.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a July 18 interview with The Star that the ANC was not dogmatically attached to nationalisation or state intervention and that it had “perhaps overstressed” these issues in the past.

Sisulu said the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe had “no value” when applied to SA.

“The fact is that decades of apartheid have brought SA blacks nothing but poverty and injustice. We don’t have to take any lessons from anyone.”

Springboard

Asked how the ANC would finance its economic programme, Sisulu spoke of an initial allocation of budgetary resources in order to unblock funds rapidly.

He singled out areas like “apartheid administered” education and defence as examples where this would be possible.

The SA economy was in “full decline”, he said, with GDP falling at about 2% a year in the last few years. Unemployment was running at 49% while 7 million blacks were without shelter.

The ANC believed that the solution to the problems of poverty and inequality lay in a redistribution of resources, revenues and power, and the restructuring of the economy.

Sisulu dismissed the notion that the informal sector could serve as a springboard for economic development, calling it a “survival economy” which contributed little to GDP.

Asked whether the SA financial markets should be restructured, Sisulu answered: “Absolutely. A reform of the financial markets is necessary so that investment goes into economic development, not speculation as is the case now.”

Similarly, foreign investments - which had done nothing more than reinforce apartheid — should be regulated, he said.

While foreign investment was important, it was “insufficient” to relaunch the economy.
ANC youths deny murder of Azapo man

SUSAN RUSSEL

TWO ANC members who allegedly took part in killing an Azapo opponent at a Bekkersdal shebeen last year pleaded not guilty to murder in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. Jacob Seoka, 27, and Alfred Soxokashe, 21, are accused of murdering Mbuyiselo Norman Montshiwa on March 17 last year.

According to the indictment, Montshiwa was murdered at a time of political unrest when the ANC was calling for a school stayaway which was not supported by Azapo.

It is alleged Seoka and Soxokashe were part of a group which went looking for Montshiwa with the intention of killing him. Soxokashe, Leoka and another member of their group allegedly attacked Montshiwa with pangas, a knife and an iron bar when they found him.

Nine days later Montshiwa died in hospital from his injuries.

The trial continues before Mr Justice du Plessis and two assessors.

AWB official found guilty

A MEMBER of the AWB, and two other men, were sentenced in the Bloemfontein Regional Court yesterday to fines of R2,000 or 12 months' imprisonment each for assault. AWB Free State leader Dirk Ackerman of Brandfort; Kobie Ackerman of Senekal; and Jan van Niekerk, also of Brandfort, assaulted Volksblad photographer Marius de Waal last February. — Sapa.
ANC and allies call for protest boycott

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) have called for an immediate boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV region in response to the government's slush fund scandal.

The boycott, which came into effect yesterday, is aimed at all white-owned businesses in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, the East Rand and the far East Rand.

The alliance of the three organisations said the boycott would be monitored "without enforcement and policing", and reviewed periodically.

The statement said the call for the boycott was sparked by the recent disclosure of "clandestine funding of IFP and Uwusa by the security police".

An unofficial PAC spokesman said representatives of his organisation had met ANC PWV branch officials yesterday morning to discuss "the need to engage in a certain programme" in response to the Inkatha funding disclosures. But as yet the PAC had not backed the boycott call.

A number of shoppers canvassed yesterday said they were not aware of the boycott.

The alliance is demanding the resignation of government, the immediate establishment of a transitional authority and an elected constituent assembly, the release of all political prisoners, the return of exiles, and an end to electricity cuts and worker retrenchments.
Boycott of white business called

By Kaizer Nyatumbu
Political Staff

The PWV region of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday called for a consumer boycott of "all white shops in general and big business in particular" as a protest against the Government's secret funding for Inkatha and the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA).

In a statement the alliance of the three organisations announced a consumer boycott to be reviewed "after a week, and periodically thereafter".

The boycott, which will affect business in the PWV region, took effect yesterday.

The statement said the ANC and its allies would "closely monitor developments without enforcement and policing".

The alliance said the exposure of clandestine Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party and UWUSA had "brought the Government's credibility to an all-time low" and sharply highlighted the need for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

Pretoria could no longer be trusted to manage the transition to democracy, it said.

Meanwhile, a consultative meeting between the ANC, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and the governments of Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele yesterday supported the alliance's calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The meeting also called for the immediate sacking of Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan; the establishment of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate Government involvement in violence as well as "the secret funding of political activity"; the "visible and public" dismantling of the SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency forces; and the freezing of Government secret slush funds, which had to be opened to public scrutiny.

Some of the demands made included:

• All members of the security forces and other State employees who wished "to come clean on these covert operations" must be guaranteed immunity from prosecution.

• All security force personnel implicated in violence by past commissions of inquiry must be prosecuted.

• The Government must pay reparations to victims of "State-sponsored violence".
Homeland leaders line up for patriotic front

LEADERS of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the ANC, PAC and Azapo in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KwaNkwa and KwaNdebele agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were "no obstacles" to the formation of a patriotic front between the ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after yesterday's meeting that many obstacles to forming the front had been overcome.

A statement after the meeting condemned government for "destabilising homeland governments that they consider to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

Ramaphosa said yesterday's "emergency" meeting was called mainly to discuss the "Inkathagate" disclosures.

The ANC delegation, headed by national chairman Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Walter Sisulu. The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government".

He said discussions were continuing between a PAC-ANC committee and representatives from other independent states, including Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

He said there was a possibility that the Labour Party would also agree to attend next month's conference.
Average life of 800 years... but will this diseased baobab tree in the northern Transvaal last that long? The bark has turned almost completely black.

Police raided us PAC
By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Police raided houses of Pan Africanist Congress members in Kagiso on Friday, the organisation has alleged.
It said homes raided included that of PAC national executive council member Mike Matsobane.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday that Mr Matsobane's home was raided by about 20 armed police at about 2 am on Friday. He added that Mr Matsobane's home had been attacked twice last year with hand grenades, "but so far nobody has been arrested".

About 10 other houses of PAC members in Kagiso were allegedly raided on Friday. Telephone lines to other PAC members had been cut, Mr Alexander said. He urged police to stop harassing PAC leaders.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said he knew nothing about the raids.
Harried SA communists turn 70

by Eric Louw, later Foreign Minister, on "The Communist Danger"

He records with barely concealed horror: "At meetings of the Communist Party, white, black and brown persons sit together. At socials they drink tea together and at dances, the black native whips with his arms around the waste of a white girl, and what follows?"

It became clear the central charge against communism was that it undermined traditional race attitudes.

In a speech to parliament in 1948, Dr Nico Diederichs said the "doctrine of liberalism that stands for equal rights for all civilised human beings is almost the same as the ideal of communism".

Having defined the threat in South African, racial terms, it was just a matter of time before the new NP government reached for the Statute Book to get the source of the threat by the then Suppression of Communist Bill was brought before parliament in 1949.

Historian Eric Walker records that it was "rushed through in a mere 30 hours by ruthless use of the guillotine and became law on the last day of the session".

In fact, there was at this time an official communist MP, Mr Sam Kahn. Elected in the 1948 poll by blacks in the Cape as their representative.

The NP's Drakenstein Act, however, altered the scene dramatically. Just days before it became law, the Communist Party dissolved itself by resolution. This was dramatically announced in parliament by Sam Kahn.

On June 22, 1956, the secretary of the Johannesburg branch announced: "All the party offices have been closed — Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth — the equipment sold, debts paid, and we are going out with a clean slate."

But this was a classic case of the end of the beginning, rather than the beginning of the end.

Minister of Justice Mr C R Swart provided for himself, and his successors, the authority to compile of list of "named" former members and supporters of the Communist Party, through which certain restrictions could be imposed. Within a year the list was 600 names long.

Named people were forced to resign from certain organisations and were banned from attending certain gatherings.

In May 1951, Sam Kahn and Fred Carnes, a communist Provincial Councillor, were told they had been found by a select committee to be communists as their membership of parliament and the provincial council was terminated.

Also in May 1951, the well-known socialist newspaper The Guardian was banned. A week later, the same staff brought out a new paper called Partition. Over the next 12 years, the newspaper was repeatedly banned, but re-emerged every time — first as People's World, then Advance, then New Age and finally, until 1963, as Spark.

Kahn's removal from parliament was not the end of the communist presence there.

In the 1962 election, Brian Bunting, son of founder Sidney Bunting, polled 4 123 black votes to take Kahn's seat as the black people's representative for the Western Cape.

A year later, he was also "named" and ejected.

A year after that, in 1964, the seat was up for grabs again.

In stepped Rachel Alexandrovich — Latvian born trade unionist Ray Alexander, now back in Cape Town after 28 years in exile.

She emerged as a surprise candidate for the 1954 election, beating candidates from the Liberal Party and the South African Christian Coalition. A legal technicality prevented the government from stopping her standing as a candidate.

She was duly elected on April 27, but within 20 minutes of the announcement, was twice refused entry to parliament by special branches.

In her first attempt she got as far as the steps of parliament before being grabbed by the arms and led outside the gates. The next time she did not get beyond the gates.

That evening, the Speaker announced she was not "competent" to be in the chamber, that the seat was again vacant.

Ray Alexander had been a member of parliament for four hours and 15 minutes. Possibly a record, and certainly a potent symbol of Nationalist hegemony.

The dark years of South African communism loomed.

The party submerged, emerging, for the most part, a murky underground operation.

In 1964 — a year after the present leader Mr Joe Slovo went into exile — the then leader of the underground Communist Party Johannesburg advocate Mr Bram Fischer QC was convicted under the Suppression of Communist Act and sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in jail.

Observers believed this severely weakened the party, but it remained a strong force in the steady intensifying resistance to apartheid.

In the 1980s, Mr Slovo was credited with the operational strategy of the ANC's armed campaign and was labelled "public enemy number one" by the authorities.

Today, the SACP is very much alive and, contrary to the trend elsewhere in the world, is probably more popular than ever. It has even been credited with a successful and influential position in both the ANC and the trade union movement and is members among the most skilled and disciplined in the broad extra-parliamentary movement.

What is clear is that it is still recovering from the harassment it has endured for more than half a century.

One of the chief consequences of this chronic of suppression is the SACP's obsession with secrecy.

Another, undoubtedly, is a politically enolvable capacity for survival.
Mandela turns a blind eye to Cuban repression

SIMON BARBER in Washington

If the Mandelas were not struck by the sullen emptiness of the streets as they were shown around old Havana behind a phalanx of plainclothes security men, they may at least have noticed an imposing fortress across the harbour mouth. It is called La Cabana. One can only hope their enthusiasm was based on ignorance of what went on there in the years after Castro seized power in 1959.

Armando Valladares knows. La Cabana is where he was taken in January 1961. He was 23 years old and would spend almost as many years behind its walls in a variety of concentration camps.

Valladares had a job in the Ministry of Communications in the early days of the revolution. This was a period, as the SAP's Jeremy Cronin reminds us in the May issue of Work in Progress, when Castro was portraying his July 26 movement as a "patriotic front embracing the diversity of forces with an agenda that was "neither communist nor capitalist".

Castro soon peeled off his democratic mask. Valladares' best friend in the ministry was fired for making anti-Mississippi statements. His own offence came shortlately as Castro's propaganda machine was preparing the country for the final shift to Stalinism. Political purges swept over the island, declaring: "If Fidel el es a communist, then put me on the list. He's got the right idea." Valladares was asked by his superiors to sign a card bearing this slogan. He refused. Several weeks later, he woke up with the muzzle of a submachinegun pressed to his temple.

For Valladares, a young idealist and poet who had welcomed the overthrow of the Batista regime, this was the start of an ordeal which, with respect, makes Mandela's task somewhat mild by comparison and which ended only when France's socialist president Francois Mitterrand prevailed on Castro to release him in 1992. One might venture a guess that his book, Beyond All Hope, in which he describes what he saw and suffered in the Cuban gulag, was not on the Mandelas' nightlife as they prepared for their latest journey.

Had it been, and were we truly honourable men, Mandela might perhaps have gazed upon La Cabana and recoiled. He might have heard the screams, the ragged riflefire and the dry cracks of the coup de grace that echoed across the harbour every evening in the early Sixties as the revolution ate at thousands upon thousands of its own in the fortress most.

Or he might have conjured up Clodomiro Miranda, former commander of Castro's army, his destroyed legs sitting with morgs, being dragged to the place of execution and crying, with all the breath left in him, "Down with communism!" before being ripped apart by bullets.

For Valladares such scenes were only the beginning. He was tried, but like Mandela had no benefit of counsel. The sole evidence brought against him was that he had "many connections with priests" and had been to a Catholic school. For this, he was convicted as "an enemy of the revolution" who had "committed crimes of public destruction and sabotage."

The rest of the book is not for the squeamish. Valladares describes how friends and fellow prisoners were reduced to Auschwitz-like ghosts, forcibly submerged in pools of human and animal faeces, smashed to death in forced-labour fields and quarries. Women were beaten and degraded, men mutilated by having their genitals shot away, their fingers hacked off with a machete - all in the name of political re-education.

But there was worse even than that. By the early Seventies, Valladares and others who refused to crack found themselves subjected to forms of psychological and psychological experimentation matched only by the likes of Josef Mengele.

Assisted by doctors and psychologists from the East bloc, Castro's jailers tried to develop a systematic method of forcing recalcitrants to recant. At a camp called Boniato, a series of tiny 'black out' cells were built. In these prisoners would be held for months at a time, forced to lie fasting in their own filth while their diet was carefully manipulated to test the effects on the human will of long periods of fasting. At intervals, victims would be hauled out for medical examinations.

This is no fantasy. It has been corroborated by scores of other survivors, who are forming the very same groups - Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, for example - to which the ANC itself looks to verify its own claims against Pretoria. Furthermore, the placidity goes on.

Human rights activists inside Cuba, newly released prisoners and the families of those still held - all of whom speak out at considerable risk to themselves - continue to report midnight arrests, torture, beatings and extra-judicial killings. The society Mandela so richly praises is one whose constitution specifically denies all legally recognised civil liberties to anyone deemed hostile to the "decision of the Cuban people to build socialism."

Last year, the wife of an imprisoned activist said she had been told by her local committee for the defence of the revolution (entities analogous to the ANC's township defence units) that she would be sent to a psychiatric ward and her child committed to an orphanage unless her husband stopped complaining.

Jose Antonio Sanchez got more than a warning. Arrested for selling magazines, he was killed in police custody and his body taken to a hospital where a pathologist pronounced he had hanged himself. A second physician brought in by the family found that he had in fact died as the result of multiple blows skilfully delivered to avoid marking the corpse. Sounds familiar, doesn't it?

Of the survivors and of the friends and families of the dead, Mandela had this to say last week: "Who are they to call for the observance of human rights by Cuba? They kept quiet for 42 years when human rights were being attacked in SA ... Who are they to teach us about human rights?"

Politics may be an expedient business but morality is not. Morality may be compromised in the interests of victory but it is present, whether it is in the apartheid state, an ANC camp, a township kareero court or in the totalitarian hell that is Cuba. But the Mandelas and the ANC would rather turn a blind eye, even on those who have suffered everything they have and more besides.

President F W de Klerk, however much his credibility may have been stained by Inthathathe, has at least made some effort to recognise the wickedness of his government's past. The ANC, on the other hand, defends itself with a conscience. Its leaders accept medals from Castro and money and human rights awards from Libya's Muamar Gaddafii. Its rank and file cheer the coup when Iraq's Saddam Hussein, an unrepentant butcher of his own population.

If that is the moral compass the movement sails by, who can trust it when it talks of democracy and social justice and the preservation of individual rights? Castro offered just the same pitch when he took power.
Govt should first quit - callers

THE National Party Government cannot form an interim government alone but "progressive" liberation movements should meet the Government after it has resigned to decide on the issue.

Callers to the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show discussed the issue with DJ Tim Modise yesterday.

Thami Mcewana of Soweto said an interim government should not consist of either the government or the liberation movements of a particular country.

"A neutral and impartial party will be nominated to manage the country's affairs while a new constitution is being discussed."

"The Government must resign and as a political party sit down with liberation movements to decide on the new constitution," he said.

Shandu from Tembisa supported him. He said the all-party conference proposed by the Government would give the "homeland puppets" a say in the issue.

He, however, said organisations like the PAC and Azapo who are not keen on the interim government should give the ANC's call a chance.

Christopher of Soweto said liberation movements should together with the Government form an interim government and should be voted in by the whole population.

Joe from Tembisa suggested the OAU and United Nations should oversee the transition which would be discussed by the PAC, ANC and Azapo while excluding Inkatha.

Peter from Kagiso said he did not understand why the ANC had to push for an interim government while other liberation movements were having reservations about it.

He suggested they all get together in a consultative conference to reach consensus and work on the finer details of the issue.
Johannesburg.—Leaders of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KwaZulu agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were "no obstacles" to the formation of a patriotic front between the ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said an "emergency" meeting was called yesterday, mainly to discuss the Inkatha scandal disclosures.

A statement after the meeting condemned the government for "destabilising homeland governments that they consider to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

The ANC delegation, headed by chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government."
Mandela thanks Mexico

MEXICO CITY. — Mr. Nelson Mandela thanked Mexico for its support of the ANC and the fight against apartheid yesterday when he arrived in Mexico City for a three-day visit.

He praised Mexico, which has no diplomatic nor economic relations with South Africa, for its "consistent support".

Mr. Mandela will meet President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Foreign Minister Mr. Fernando Solana and the head of the National Human Rights Commission during his stay.

Throughout his Latin American tour, Mr. Mandela has been urging governments not to drop sanctions against South Africa. The dismantling of apartheid laws, he has said, is not the same thing as dismantling apartheid.

Mr. Mandela will end his tour in Brazil. — Sapa-AP
THE roles and functions of many anti-apartheid organisations have had to be redefined in the wake of political changes in SA. These organisations — including Cosatu and the Kagiso Trust — are transforming themselves from mass protest groups into more development-oriented structures. Their debate has centred largely on the extent to which they can constitute themselves as groups independent of party political affiliation in a less politicised, development orientated civil society.

To what extent can this goal be achieved? It will be extremely difficult. Firstly, in an overpoliticised society such as ours a depoliticised civil society is out of the question. This was recently illustrated on a TV programme on depoliticising the provision of services to townships.

When civic leader Moses Mawekiso described Eskom and RSCs as possible neutral suppliers of services to Soweto he opened himself to criticism from engineering consultant Gordon Sibiya for being naive about the political foundations of these institutions. The call for a depoliticised civil society should be tempered by the reality of SA’s history as a country based on the most obnoxious of political principles.

The advantages of an apolitical civil society would ideally lie in the ability to dispassionately and equally represent all the various interests of society in the advancement of a common national interest. However, in a society characterised by gross inequalities, ideological detachment is hard to come by.

Secondly, there are loyalties and commitments that have taken years to cultivate. Despite apparent shifts in the relationship between civic associations and overtly political groupings, ideological sympathies will not simply disappear. Leaders are likely to operate consciously or unconsciously according to their ideological predispositions.

Hence the equivocation by civic leaders when the question of neutrality is broached: “At each turn when a major political organisation takes a position that is closest to the hearts of the people, then the civic association should not apologise for proclaiming its support for that party…” It is difficult to say, at this point in time, what the role of the civic would be in a post-apartheid SA because we have projected in the Freedom Charter what sort of SA we want.” (Popo Molefe, ANC NEC member and former UDF leader).

This shows Molefe’s implicit ideological bias. Can one speak of a political civil society as if blacks in particular were a monolithic political entity? Is this not tantamount to dragging venerable development projects into the minefield that makes up black political life today?

The opportunity costs of pursuing an elusive apolitical civil society will be in the time lost in promoting a culture of tolerance instead. A tolerant society is a more workable proposition. This will require viable attempts by political figures to nurture a spirit of solidarity in the community. This is probably a well-worn call, but the fortunes of communities depends on it being heeded.

And the euphoria surrounding civil society also has to be tempered by a realism about what non-governmental or community-based organisations can and cannot achieve in the development field. The advantage of these organisations lies in their proximity to local issues. Local public organisations create the institutional capacity for planning and implementing small-scale activities that make up development.

If development is to become part of the daily routine, then it must consist of ideas, tools and activities that fit into the lives of individuals, families and community groups. Through local public organisations people define needs, organise activities and mobilise resources. This introduces the possibilities for decentralised bottom-up democratic, pluralistic planning.

Although political sophistication and maturity will be indispensable when dealing with the hidden agendas of government officials, civic leaders should not allow politics to overshadow the technical issues that have to be addressed in tackling development problems such as land and housing. While it may be naïve to see an apolitical civil society as achievable, it would be equally naïve for civics to make resolution of development problems the exclusive preserve of “comrades” who do not possess the necessary know-how.

Emerging civic leaders should therefore be mature enough to strike the balance between the political and technical aspects of development. The limited professional expertise in the black community should be pooled without expecting these professionals to jump on the bandwagons of political parties.

Xolela Mangcu is an urban development specialist with the Development Bank of SA. The views expressed are his own.
IFP praise, but PAC and Azapo remain unconvinced

By Jacqueline Myburgh, Paula Fray and Sapa

The Inkatha Freedom Party last night praised the State President for his candour in regard to covert State funding, while the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peoples’ Organisation (Azapo) said it was convinced the Government was still plotting against its “enemies”.

The ANC’s National Working Committee met yesterday to discuss the issue, and will release a statement today.

IFP central committee member Musa Myeni reiterated his party’s alarm that some Ministers had clandestinely given money to one of the top officials in the party, but urged all South Africans to put the events of the past two weeks behind them.

He hoped the ANC would also realise the importance of getting negotiations under way. “They also have a lot of worms and skeletons, but if we were to take them out now, we would never move forward.”

The PAC said it continued to view the Government as completely tainted by corruption. “We do not accept that the SAP and SADF are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country.”

It called into question Mr de Klerk’s aim to appoint an advisory committee, drawn from the private sector, to assist him with analyses of secret projects.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said Mr de Klerk had not distanced himself from the actions of the police and the security forces.

“The fact that Mr de Klerk mentioned the question of review of legislation in respect to the control of secret projects does in fact prove that secret funds were up to this stage not being controlled properly.”

He said Azapo did not doubt the Government was still “planning” against what it called “enemies” — including Azapo.
ANC, IFP join in bid to raise cash

THE ANC and the Inkhatha Freedom Party (IFP) will join government in an initiative that could see large-scale European investment in South Africa in the future.

Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen will at a one-day conference in Frankfurt, Germany, on October 8, declare "the New South Africa Open for Business."

Reform

The conference is arranged by the London-based Business International (BI) in collaboration with Standard Bank of South Africa.

Business International publicised the conference in the powerful British magazine The Economist, and the organisation's Ms Tracy Clarkson yesterday confirmed that it was being held in an attempt to find answers to some of the pertinent questions in the South African political scenario. The conference is also on the progressive repeal of European Community and other country's sanctions against Pretoria. Senior South African business people will also attend the conference, Clarkson said.

However, before investors can come to South Africa, BI believes that "companies will need to answer to some very difficult questions."

Sibongile Sitole who will represent Orlando West Extension during the Hair Line Miss Soweto 91 pageant at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Friday. Sibongile will be among 30 other finalists contesting the prestigious title. Music during the contest will be provided by Dr Vic and the Rasta Rebels.