BLACK POLITICS —
1992
AUG. — SEPT.
Leaders get a bumpy rural landing

By Quentin Wilson

"VIVA!" cried the Scottish pilot, Tom, as the small plane returned to DP Malan Airport after the ANC's whirlwind week-end tour of the Northern Cape.

The trip was not without its drama and Tom's exclamation was uttered more out of relief than political allegiance.

In Britstown the ANC were running behind in their tight schedule and the flight to Prieska was a race against the fading light.

"Another two minutes and my name would have gone down in history as the pilot who wiped out the local ANC leadership," Tom said after landing on an omit, makeshift runway somewhere in the Karoo.

The ANC delegation was too busy sipping beers and relaxing on the plane after a hard day's slog to worry about their possible doom.

"The ANC owes me one for this!" Tom declared when the plane finally came to a halt.

"The ANC will buy you a beer," chimed Mr Norman Michaels, Dr Allan Boesak's publicity secretary.

It was one pre-election promise that the ANC did keep, and later at the hotel Tom got his beer — but only one courtesy of the ANC.

The earlier hitch was when Tom landed on an SADF runway in Britstown.

Although the landing was smooth, the SADF had locked a security gate which made it impossible for the delegation to meet their reception outside the airfield.

So Tom took off again and found another runway nearby — which was not in the same tip-top condition as the military one and made for a more bumpy landing.

"The tyres on this plane ... are they solid or can they get a puncture?" Michaels asked nervously.

"Oh no, they do sometimes get punctures, but they're not your normal retreads," Tom reassured.

For the rest though, it was politics and more politics.

The ANC touring party, which consisted of Boesak, lawyer Mr Essa Moosa and MP Mr Jan van Eck plus several bodyguards, aides and an accountant, were fired up by the rural reception they met. From departure at 7:30am on Saturday to our return at 7pm on Sunday, it was politics throughout.

When we reached a town the plane would land, everybody would drive around the townships hooting madly to announce their arrival and then Boesak, and if time permitted, Van Eck, would speak at a rally. Then it was back to the plane again.

At Carnavon though, the delegation visited a squatter camp, held a workshop on empowerment, addressed a rally, led a march, visited two employment projects, posed for photographs, had breakfast, visited the municipality's grounds and then boarded the plane for Britstown — all in a morning's work.

The only time available to relax was on the plane and on Saturday night when the party checked in at a Prieska hotel.
Prayers and Sunday best for the ANC

What are the ANC's chances of securing large-scale support in the Cape's vast rural areas? Last weekend ANC leaders found out on an airborne tour of the Northern Cape.

QUENTIN WILSON went along:

Boszak returned to Cape Town.

But Boszak was more interested in explaining that "the ANC stands for peace and freedom" while President FW de Klerk is "a liar who should not be trusted".

His speeches hardly touched on the ANC's pro-democracy programme, but focused more on the injustices of apartheid in this neglected part of the country where it is evident blacks live in a feudal time warp.

As a first step to purging the prevalent "baasskap" mentality in this region, Boszak urged audiences not to call their employers "baas and madam" because "those days are over".

Moosa said they did not focus on mass action because, "we don't like to come from the urban areas and prescribe to people in the rural areas the form of their campaigns. That is up to them to decide."

Asked about the trip, Boszak said: "I have always maintained that the ANC has more support in the rural areas than we get credit for, but I never realised it was so high."

"It really makes nonsense of so-called support for the NP in these areas," Boszak said.

Van Eck summed it all up when he sat down in the plane after the Prieska rally, and said to Boszak: "Ja boet, that was the opium of politics."
ANC threatens press boycott

By Muleki Gantsho

THE ANC may call for a boycott of some newspapers if they do not stop their "unjust attack" against the organisation and its allies, ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said.

Addressing a rally after the human chain demonstration at the weekend, Yengeni told about 4,000 people the media was taking "the side of the oppressors instead of the oppressed".

"I am not saying that the media should do us special favours, but it must be fair and should report facts as they are, otherwise we will have no option but to call for a boycott of some newspapers.

"Just recently we have experienced unprecedented attacks on us by some newspapers and we are not going to tolerate it," Yengeni said.

CHAIN REACTION FLASHBACK: Cape Town joined hands on Saturday when supporters of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance formed a human chain in the city streets
ANC can’t deliver on threats

Flawed

These structures had since been neglected and former UDF leaders sidelined.

He said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was structurally flawed, and the Government and its allies in Codesa had “influence out of proportion to their numerical following”. This explained their insistence that Codesa, rather than an elected body, write the country’s new constitution.

Nyati said South Africa appeared headed for a less-than-satisfactory settlement in 1994, which the main political players and their followers would endorse. Such a settlement would hold for about four years before public opinion turned against it.

“At that point, the moral authority of leaders like ANC president Nelson Mandela — assuming he is still alive — and others associated with the 1984 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge,” he said.

Despite its frequent threats of “rolling mass action”, the ANC does not have “the organisational infrastructure to deliver on the threat,” according to political analyst Eugene Nyati.

In a paper delivered at the National Association of Democratic Lawyers’ annual general meeting in Maritzburg yesterday, Nyati said the ANC lacked the necessary infrastructure to embark on sustained mass action, “and the Government must know this”.

He said the ANC, whose structures had fallen into decay since its unbanning more than two years ago, was “both vulnerable and exposed” and remained unable “to sustain the sort of mass action needed to break Government intransigence”.

Nyati, who is director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for African Studies, said ANC-aligned structures in the country were better organised under the United Democratic Front (UDF) before the ANC’s unbanning in February 1990.
Democracy the only hope – Hani

There can be no upswing in the South African economy before there is a democratic government, SACP secretary general Chris Hani said in East London this week.

Hani said blacks were no longer prepared to accept "empty declarations about commitment to democracy".

Mass action, boycotts and strikes would continue as long as there was an unrepresentative government in place, Hani said.
By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

DESPITE repeated calls by militant youths to “let Winnie speak”, organisers of a recent march ignored the calls, appearing to snub the estranged wife of the ANC president.

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance march was held last week in central Johannesburg, and ended with the presentation of a memorandum at John Vorster Square.

In spite of the apparent snub, the ever-defiant Winnie exchanged smiles and greeted the ANC leadership present at the march.

The march was led by, among others, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina and the organisation’s deputy secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

Winnie’s impromptu appearance at the march raised the spirits and emotions of thousands of youths who went wild with her sudden appearance, chanting “Down with De Klerk!”

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who was present at the march, said he did not know why Winnie was not given the microphone when supporters called on her to speak.

He added that the march was not called by the national office and referred City Press to the PWV office.

PWV spokesman Barbara Hogan said Winnie was not given a chance to speak because she was not listed as a speaker for the day.

She added that the organisers were not even aware she was coming to the march.

She dismissed rumours of so-called “strained relations” between Winnie and the ANC following her suspension from the ANC Women’s League. She said this had nothing to do with her not being given a chance to speak.

Winnie arrived shortly after the march started and left shortly thereafter, said Hogan.

Attempts to get comment from Winnie were unfruitful.

On Thursday, Winnie led a march in Duduza as part of the mass-action campaign.
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met senior black journalists and editors last week. Investigations Editor Mathatha Tsefu, who attended the briefing, and Political Reporter Thembba Molefe assess Mandela’s views:

The township mood that needs to be addressed is mirrored in the posters held aloft at a memorial service for the Boipatong massacre victims which ANC leader Nelson Mandela attended in Evaton a day after the same youths drove off State President FW de Klerk.

The president of the African National Congress has appealed to black journalists to explain to black people what his organisation is striving to achieve with its programmes.

Mr Nelson Mandela said the liberation movement had made significant progress and gains in the struggle, but the liberal white media has distorted this to the advantage of the regime.

He spoke to senior black journalists and editors on Friday at a special briefing, the first of its kind with local black journalists. It was held in view of accusations that the ANC was more accessible to white and foreign journalists.

Mandela conceded the accusation and said the ANC and black journalists were to blame, the latter for being “less assertive”.

The briefing also came after a gulf in understanding between the national leadership and black grassroots members.

Some of the journalists viewed the briefing as an attempt to reach these followers, who depend mainly on black newspapers for information.

It was seen as no coincidence that the briefing came after ANC youths in Evaton screamed at Mandela for guns to kill the enemy after the Boipatong massacre, although he is on record as saying the chapter on armed struggle is closed.

Mandela said that while the ANC and PAC had brought about the recent United Nations Security Council debate, liberal white journalists and the State broadcasting machinery gave the impression that the regime got its way.

“De Klerk actually wrote letters to at least five heads of state in Africa asking them to block the debate, but it went on and we got what we wanted, which was a special representative who will go back and report.”

“Whereafter we expect another meeting of the security council and the appointment of a monitoring mission which will be sent here,” Mandela said.

In a wide-ranging discussion, he said that despite the moratorium on meetings with the regime, ANC officials met with Government representatives to discuss the release of political prisoners.

Mandela emphasised that the mass action campaign was not merely to get the stalled CODESA talks back on track but to dislodge the Government and effect a transfer of power to the majority.

“We pulled out of CODESA for specific reasons, which include the fact that the regime wanted to get a minority veto that would ensure that the National Party, and not even the white minority, would continue to cling to power even if they lost an election.”

And unless the 14 demands that we submitted to the regime are met in full, there is no way that the ANC will return to the table,” Mandela said.

Mandela said he regretted that other “sections of the liberation movement” had been unable to join the action.

AZAPO and PAC have said the ANC should not take decisions in isolation and expect them to fall in line, but the organisation has resisted.

Mandela instead has blamed the two movements for refusing to join the ANC campaign but conceded that the division played into the hands of the common enemy who exploit the disparity to foment violence in black areas and blame it on inter-organisational rivalry.

On calls for the restructuring of the stalled CODESA and a possibility of the United Nations chairing the sessions, which could pave the way for the entry of AZAPO and PAC, Mandela said he did not support the idea.

He even differed with Cosatu secretary general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who said CODESA was doomed from the start because it was elitist.

Mandela said CODESA was an appropriate platform. “We do not need new chairmen and new venues as the two judges are doing a fine job,” he said.

But Mandela said he was against the occupation of factories, as proposed by Cosatu, and would prefer Government buildings to be occupied on Wednesday because of possible damage to property by curious people.

Mandela said the violence was continuing because the regime did not want to stop it. “I went to De Klerk at CODESA 2 and asked him why his police force did not stop Inkatha people from carrying weapons and beating people right there at CODESA and he said to me:

“‘Mr Mandela, when you join me you will understand that I do not have the power that you think I have.’ It was for this reason that Cyril Ramaphosa said De Klerk has conceded that he has no authority over the police.

“But I do not know what makes him think I am going to join him and in what,” Mandela said.

Mandela defended the ANC’s collusion with bantustan leaders and said the organisation had derived benefits from the association. “There are obvious problems on the ground, but these do not detract from the fact that the move itself is tactically correct,” he said.
ANC units out of control - Hani

ANC members of self-defence units are running amok in the townships.

FRICAN National Congress militants were running riot in black townships and committing atrocities among their own communities, a top ANC official said in a newspaper yesterday.

ANC leader and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said in the interview that ANC "self-defence unit" members were out of control and "had no conception of democratic tolerance".

ANC self-defence units have been cropping up in townships since the onset of severe political violence.

Their ostensible purpose is to protect township residents from attacks by mystery assailants, often linked to the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Hani is reported as saying that the SDUs are involved in bloody battles among themselves for political turf, that they are unaccountable to the communities they are supposed to represent, and that ANC members in Soweto, Johannesburg, and in the troubled townships of the Vaal Triangle had "necklaced" political opponents.

Police liaison officer for the Vaal, Captain Piet van Deventer, reported that 18 alleged members of a self-defence unit in the Sharpeville township in the strife-torn Vaal Triangle were arrested on Friday morning.

The 18, who were being held in terms of unrest regulations, were arrested after two houses were searched and police discovered two army uniforms.
Unity can resolve the crisis

The article by R.W. Johnson in The Star of July 27 is a well-constructed distortion of the purpose and content of the ANC-led Campaign for Peace and Democracy. He meticulously constructs straw dolls and then sets about demolishing them.

His arguments revolve around three assertions:

- "Radicals" in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu see the campaign as a build-up to insurrection.
- These "planners" of the campaign have either misread or marginalised the rest of the ANC leadership.
- As the campaign unfolds, these "radicals" are getting cold feet.

South African society has been subjected to such equivocation in recent Government utterances, lest alone in the PW Botha era.

For a "visiting professor" from Oxford who has never hidden his disdain for the anti-apartheid struggle, Johnson can be forgiven his views on the efforts to resolve the national crisis. But seen against the backdrop of his recent tirade against the Weekly Mail and New Nation in the same column, his consistency would leave the likes of Jimmy Kruger cold. And there are not a few of them in the apartheid establishment.

South Africans view the current crisis with little humour. The Botswana tragedy and the subsequent ANC decision to break off negotiations are the bursting of a festering sore.

Most people wish to do something to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. This is because violence affects the lives of ordinary people as much as it impacts on investor confidence and worker productivity. A prolonged transition is as unacceptable to victims of apartheid as it is a red signal of uncertainty to investors. Add to this reports about continued killings in detention, a high crime rate and corruption in Government circles — and you will understand why decent South Africans want speedy movement to the "new South Africa".

The innovative attempts by sectors of civil society — Cosatu, Saccola and the SACC — to adopt a Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy is one flicker of the all-in desire to find workable solutions to the crisis.

It may not be possible yet for these forces to find one another on the actions needed to realise common principles. But this should not detract from the agreement on a constitution-making body that is unfettered save for broad constitutional principles, measures to address the violence and proposed socio-economic programmes.

The NP continues to procrastinate and fudge the issues of violence. In constitutional negotiations it still seeks minority vetoes. It wants to impose federalism from boardrooms of the unelected body that Codesa is. And it prefers a long transition in which it will essentially be in control.

This behaviour fuels the perception that the NP is still bent on underhand methods and "dirty tricks" to weaken its opponents.

In nothing is done to clear this legacy, the frustrations among victims of apartheid will boil over, whether the ANC undertakes mass action or not. If South Africans who want peace and democracy do not act, perpetrators of violence will perceive this as a licence to continue their campaign.

It would be tragic for anyone to recoil from these principles simply because the NP does not approve.

The ANC and its allies have adopted methods they deem most effective in the situation: peaceful mass action and mobilisation of international solidarity with the democratic process.

Their campaign is not premised on some hidden agenda: "a sort of demonstrator's version of permanent revolution" (as Johnson refers to rolling mass action), intervention or the Leipzig option.

The NP believes United Action by South Africans and the international community is capable of compelling the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There has indeed been debate among the ANC and its allies about the purpose and character of the campaign. We would not embark on a campaign of this magnitude without a clear conception about its destination. Such robust debate is critical in the formulation of balanced policy. The disservice Johnson does to readers is to raise individual views — distorted by his sources — to the level of policy. Yet when policy is so articulated by people he seeks to demonise as "radicals", he elects to interpret it as a sign of "cold feet".

The Week of Action starting today is one high watermark in the campaign. No one has contributed to it the status of be-all and end-all in the process. If the demands are not met, more decisive actions will be undertaken.

What is not "unprecedented" in the campaign is that actions around community and other grievances will continue, whether or not there is Codesa or even an ANC government. If this is "a demonstrator's version of Trotsky's permanent revolution", then Trotsky's adherents run into billions, including pickets against abortion in the US, French farmers and British doctors.

The UN Security Council resolution that Johnson refers to as a push on the ANC to resume negotiations in fact calls for Government action to end the violence and recalls the UN declaration which urged for negotiations "in a
Hani to investigate ANC defence units

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. – ANC leader Nelson Mandela has asked Communist Party chief Chris Hani and ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale to investigate self defence units in the Vaal.

Some of the SDUs had got "out of hand" because they were under attack and there were no visible signs of the ANC defending them, Mr Mandela said last night in an interview on SABC-TV.

Mr Mandela said "drastic disciplinary" action could be taken against the SDUs.

He added that the security forces were also intimidating people. The decision to send 5 000 security force members into 16 Reef townships had led to the perception that they would intimidate those wanting to take part in mass action.

Slovo denies units are out of control

PORT ELIZABETH. – Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo has denied that self-defence units in the Transvaal were "running wild".

He was asked to respond to a newspaper report quoting the party's general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, that the ANC's self-defence units (SDUs) were out of control.

At a Press conference here before the start of the SACP's 71st anniversary celebrations, Mr Slovo said the SDUs did not belong to the ANC only.

He said they were the responsibility of the entire ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance.

"Speaking off the cuff", Mr Slovo said he did not think the words "running wild" could be those of Mr Hani.
ANC President Nelson Mandela contacted about 30 top businessmen late last week, hinting at an early return to the negotiating table provided that individual dismissals did not occur during the stayaway.

A senior source in the business community said Mandela had also informed them of the ANC's desire for the early establishment of an interim government of national unity — an issue to which UN envoy Cyrus Vance is understood to have devoted a great deal of attention.

Mandela also assured business that the ANC was taking its economic concerns more seriously.

An ANC source said Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were no dismissals today and tomorrow, events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions.

An ANC statement said on Friday that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather they would adopt a "no work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy".

However, the source said, this was not a correct interpretation of what Mandela had been told. Business's position was far more nuanced than that.

In talks with Mandela, many of the business leaders had insisted on reserving their right to take disciplinary action. This was not because they expected large-scale dismissals — they generally had no intention of dismissing workers. However, the source said, if business

waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways as often as they liked without fear of penalty. This could not be countenanced.

"Everyone knows it will be a long hard march to democracy, and there will be many disputes and therefore occasions when people may want to use their 'right' to stay away. For business to accept this would put us on the road to perdition," he said.

It was possible that, even if there were no or few dismissals, other forms of disciplinary action could be applied extensively. This was particularly the case where special arrangements had not been negotiated between management and workers.

In many establishments, special arrangements had been made which involved taking leave, adjusted and/or short shifts, extra weekend work to compensate for time lost and, in industries where this was necessary, the performance of emergency work during the stayaway.

The source said Mandela had intimated in his talks with business leaders that a breakthrough in negotiations was imminent so long as business reacted calmly to the stayaway.

In earnestly requesting an undertaking from business that there would be no dismissals, Mandela had used the prospect of an early return to negotiations as a carrot. Mandela had also implicitly expressed the view that business should be more flexible given his and the ANC's softer line on matters such as nationalisation and...
Cosatu brews a lethal cocktail

Influriated by the lack of progress at Codesa, Cosatu has designed an explosive package of action to break the labour and political deadlock.

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) this week announced an explosion of mass action plans including city centre occupations, sit-ins at government buildings, factory occupations and a boycott of PAYE tax, leading to a general strike on August 3.

This lethal cocktail is a vote of no confidence in the quiet cognizance of percentages and transitional executive councils that characterised Codesa.

Cosatu is demanding a "simplified and less protracted Codesa" mandated only to "establish the mechanism to get us to free and fair elections", said Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

Until this is guaranteed, the federation will not give its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, the thumbs-up to resume negotiations.

The federation outlined its plans after a "living wage" conference on Monday which was given the status of a central executive committee meeting, the second-highest decision making body in Cosatu, in order to pass decisions immediately.

Cosatu's plans are a vindication for those in the federation who pushed hard for non-participation in Codesa. Instead, the labour movement has now taken control of the process and will make the other alliance partners toe its line.

For one, they are demanding greater grassroots participation in negotiations.

Already, the SACP is planning consultations around the country canvassing what the rank-and-file are saying and thinking about Codesa. And Cosatu is holding meetings in every local, regional and national office drumming up support for its mass action and "Exitgate" campaign.

Cosatu will also reassess its participation in the National Peace Accord at the end of July, saying "it is difficult to sit with people like Thamba Khoza and Colonel Gouws who were implicated in the violence".

The federation is planning a range of local and regional action to tilt the balance of power in favour of the alliance. These include: consumer boycotts, the occupation of government buildings and campaigns for the reincorporation of the homelands. After the groundwork has been laid, the federation will spearhead a programme of factory shutdowns and occupations (with the cooperation of employers), marches, stayaways and city centre occupations.

Cosatu also assessed and integrated the various economic demands of its affiliates in a "systematic and co-ordinated way" at the conference, spokesman Neil Coleman told The Weekly Mail.

These demands have brought thousands of workers on to the streets prior to the federation's plans. "There are key issues facing our people like unemployment, hunger and poverty wages," Coleman said, adding that "we can only involve the optimum number of workers if we take up their interests".

Naidoo also charged that Finance Minister Derek Keys, "is fitting into De Klerk's programme of restructuring" — alluding to the announcement of commercialisation of forestry and the airports by Keys this week.

While the federation had been encouraged by earlier meetings with Keys, he had since become "high-handed", said Naidoo. He had "refused point blank" to remove Value Added Tax on basic foodstuffs and would not consider lowering food prices.

The conference also affirmed its support for striking hospital and broadcast workers and threatened to "target" the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the South African Broadcasting Corporation by next week if they did not take concrete steps to iron out the strikes.

Naidoo said that business had three options with regard to the mass action plans: "Stand in our way by instituting disciplinary measure, stand out of the way with a 'no work, no pay' policy or join us."

"When they voted in the referendum it was a vote for democracy, not for De Klerk," said Naidoo, encouraging business to support the federation's Campaign for Democracy.

From August, the labour movement will force either co-operation or confrontation with big business. It will demand that employers put all taxes into a "fund for a democratic South Africa" which will be spent only when a new government is in power.

Cosatu also said it had lost faith in an international presence consisting only of "friendly visits" by international agencies and endless fact-finding missions. Instead, they want international peace-keepers with more muscle which will give them powers of arrest and prosecution and the power to suspend security force operations.
Businessmen offered strike deal

Mandela in bid to head off dismissals

ANC President Nelson Mandela contacted about 30 top businessmen late last week, hinting at an early return to the negotiating table provided that mass dismissals did not occur during the stayaway.

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Dismissals

more recently, his slapping down of the bond boycott proposed by the SA National Civic Organisation.

His reference to the interim government could represent a change of policy encouraged by Vance. The ANC has, until now, held the position that it cannot participate in a first phase interim government until negotiations over the second phase and the constitution-making body are complete. It fears, otherwise, being locked into a structure with, possibly, no way out.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that about 250

Port Elizabeth businessmen held three hours of talks with SACP leaders on Saturday night.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani described the talks as "frank, positive", while party chairman Joe Slovo said the "civilised" discussions augured well for the future.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign dominated the discussions. Slovo conceded the economy would suffer "some immediate damage" as a result of the campaign. However, he said people had to take a long-term view of the situation.
NEWS FEATURE SADF link to IFP

SADF and cops ignored info on IFP’s arms

Sowetan 31/8/92

HIDEOUT REVEALED Showed them

where weapons were hidden in Alexandra:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

Police and army units in Alexandra have been given information about an alleged Inkatha Freedom Party arms hideout but have failed to search the house for nearly a week.

And Sowetan can reveal that both the police and the army have not kept records of the revelation and could both yesterday not even confirm the disclosures.

A former resident of the almost deserted “beirut” area in Alexandra, Mr Michael Ngwenny (23), told Sowetan that an SADF contingent of three army trucks took him to the area on Tuesday to point out the house.

“When I did so they passed and said they would go back on their own and did not go in to search,” he said.

But army spokesmen yesterday said there was no record of such an occurrence. The allegation comes amid a concerted police campaign to get people with illegal weapons to hand them in in an attempt to curb the escalating use of firearms.

Ngwenny, formerly of KwaMashu, Durban, said he had been staying in Beirut since June and left last Friday after he was accused of being an ANC informer.

“The group of Inkatha members came to the house where I was staying and said I should tell the truth about my activities.

They started beating me and said they would kill me when a police patrol vehicle came around and they run away.

“The police took me in the vehicle and I told them what I knew about the guns.

When I was staying there there were meetings where we were told to form squads and kill all people who were not Zulus in Beirut. I know where they kept their guns.

“These men have AK-47 rifles, shotguns and self-made guns which they keep in the house on Third Avenue. The house is locked.

“The owner of the house ran away when the hostel people and other IFP people were killing at random. Even now people are still killed. Before they kill you they rob you of everything you have.

Ngwenny said the police dropped him off in Second Avenue and left. “They never went to search the house I told them about,” Ngwenny said.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andrew Pickel said police could not find any trace of the incident.

He said police were sometimes led into traps and attacked when following up such tips but said further investigation would be made of the allegations.

SADF spokesman Major I. Jordan said there were no records of such a case but said another tip off on Tuesday had been followed up in Alexandra and ammunition was found in a house.

He said the SADF treated every tip off about arms and ammunition seriously and said the matter was being handled at a high level to determine why it had not been followed up if it had been reported to the SADF troops on patrol in Alex.

IFP leader in the West Rand, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, dismissed Ngwenny’s statement as “nonsense” and said people got carried away and fabricated stories to please the media.

He said the IFP did not have a policy to kill non-Zulus in Alexandra or anywhere else and said there were no houses used by the organization to hide arms.
ANC elated with stayaway success

90 percent of workers participate in mass action

By Staff Reporters

More parts of the country yesterday experienced complete mass action with major centres reporting stayaways ranging between 95 and 100 percent.

An ANC/SACP/Cosatu violence monitoring report yesterday said 10 people were killed throughout with six deaths occurring in the Western Transvaal. A 90 percent nationwide stayaway and 10 percent schools boycott were recorded.

Reports from other sources put the number of deaths early last night at 21 nationwide.

Major centres from which the majority of people stayed away were the PWV region, Eastern Cape, Cape Peninsula and the Northern Transvaal.

In a statement the alliance said the first day of mass action indicated a "resounding yes for democracy and peace".

It said it called on the Pan Africanist Congress, Nactu and Azapo to join the mass campaign "even at this late stage".

In areas surrounding towns like Durban and Bloemfontein the stayaway rate was about 50 percent.

An elated ANC spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, said the strike had reached unprecedented levels "with little or no violence at all".

"The stayaway is a huge success and is clearly even bigger than the stayaway of November 4-5 last year during the anti-VAT strike. This is an indication of the strong commitment of our people to the creation of democracy in South Africa," said Niehaus.

There were few incidents of intimidation. The only obvious feature of the stayaway was the lack of transport, the heavy barricades, burning tyres and illegal roadblocks at township entrances.

Transport services that were hardest hit by the boycott were Spoornet, Putco and taxi services which reported a 100 percent boycott in most parts of the country.

Almost all taxi services in the entire PWV area did not operate. Vehicles attempting to enter or leave Reef townships were faced with heavy barricades.

A virtual 100 percent stayaway was reported by Spoornet which operates trains throughout the area.

Figures supplied by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation reported a drastic drop in occupancy.

"The latest figures we have for today is that Johannesburg recorded a five percent occupancy rate, Pretoria saw two percent, 15 percent in Durban covering Northern Natal, Port Elizabeth recorded five percent, East London two percent and Cape Town a 40 percent occupancy," said an SARCC official.

Putco industrial relations executive Mr Brian Treweek also confirmed a drastic reduction in passenger rates since yesterday morning.

Johannesburg transport director Mr Stan Verrier said his department only had a 20 percent stayaway.

In Johannesburg, where street cleaners staged a 90 percent stayaway, refuse started piling up from early morning.

Ninety-five percent of black workers stayed away from work in the Pretoria area, according to chairman of the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce Mr Alec de Beer.

Spoornet's liaison officer, Mr Donovan van Blerk, said the occupation on the Metro train service in the Pretoria region of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Soshangwe, Mabopane and Garankuwa was five percent.
ANC marching to Pretoria

PRETORIA — Pretoria's city council yesterday granted the ANC alliance permission to march from the city centre down Church Street to the Union Buildings. ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said:

"Tens of thousands" of people would take part in the march tomorrow, the focus of the third day of the mass action campaign, he said.

The city council said negotiations on the march took place in the spirit of the Goldstone commission's recommendations that applicants, police and local authorities co-operate in drawing up orderly plans for public protests. The application, brought by the Action Council's PWV branch, said between 50 000 and 70 000 people were expected.

The march, intended to compel government to comply with 14 ANC demands on government, was to begin at 10am and end at about 3pm. ANC president Nelson Mandela, who would lead the march, would address demonstrators at the Union Buildings.

Sapa reports that the ANC said Spoornet had offered to transport protesters to Pretoria free of charge. However, Spoornet could not be reached for comment.

'Strikes more effective than marches'

CAPE TOWN — Urban black people felt strikes and consumer boycotts were more effective than marches and rallies, an opinion poll has found.

However, it showed that men were significantly more in favour of these actions than black women.

It also established that a month ago more than a third of those surveyed were unable to say what "mass action" meant.

The poll, conducted by Research Survey's Omnicheck among 500 black women and 500 black men at the end of June and beginning of July in the major metropolitan areas, found that 78% of men thought consumer boycotts and strikes were effective or very effective, but only 56% of women thought consumer boycotts and 55% felt strikes were effective or very effective.

While 64% of men thought marches were also effective, and 53% believed rallies were effective or very effective, 55% of women felt marches, and 48% thought rallies, were effective or very effective.

It found 11% of the men felt consumer boycotts, and 10% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective, 19% of women thought consumer boycotts, and 21% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective.

On the other hand, 25% of men and women thought rallies and 15% of men and 20% of women believed marches to be ineffective or very ineffective.

Among those who replied to a question about what mass action entailed, 32% thought it entailed protest marches, 26% strikes, 22% peaceful demonstrations, 20% consumer boycotts and 18% rallies, Research Surveys said.
Mandela helped to appoint the world as referee

Mandela, the ANC's foreign affairs director, Thabo Mbeki, who knows the vagaries of the UN system intimately, is commonly supposed to have argued against it on the grounds that the council, a different creature entirely from the willy-nilly General Assembly, could not be relied upon to do the ANC's bidding.

Win or lose, it would have been a pity if Mandela had taken Mbeki's advice. It may even be as well that he torpedoed the NBO's objections in calling a halt to negotiations. Yes, a lot of trust has been squandered in the ensuing rhetoric and street theatre. Further lives have been lost. The ruckus has done nothing for the economy, yet, for all that, a new and potentially decisive force has been created: the international community, no longer given by its own ideological disputes, has officially entered the game to fortify the liberal democratic centre while there is still time for it to be saved.

It does not matter if Mandela appealed to the UN specifically to help create that fact. More power to him, if it turns out that counts is that the outside world is now engaged as never before, consensually and with a common purpose, to achieve a particular outcome rather than placing any specific party in power.

Precisely what form that engagement will take in the months ahead remains to be elaborated. The Security Council knows about the peacekeeping operation, but is new to peacemaking. It has few roadmaps, only a lot of cautionary tales like the one currently being played out in Yugoslavia, a nightmare much on the council's mind when it deliberated on SA. Things may become a little clearer after Vlade Divac presents his report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The experience of the UN team monitoring this week's mass action will also be key.

The UN will not be the only actor, of course. The EC, OAU, the Commonwealth and the Islamic Conference Organisation will all be represented on the stage, as will a number of states in their unilateral capacities and a large array of NGOs and private individuals. Such multiplicity raises the question that there will be rivalries and attempts by SA factions to play members of the foreign cast off against each other.

Such ploys are unlikely to get far. The major players are reading the same script—a script which emphasises the centrality of negotiation, the rule of law, market-based economics and a devolved, consensus-based constitutional framework that allows the majority to govern but not to oppress.

At the end of last month's Security Council debate, Ziarroebwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyaro observed that the role of the UN and other outsiders should be to act as referees. Although Zimbabwe had hitherto been carrying much of the ANC's water, the suggestion did not seem to sit well with Mbeki and his partisans. Too bad. The word referee sums up much of what the council and others will be doing.

A major function of the foreign intervention Mandela has unleashed is to ensure that SA's parties play by the rules, both those they have agreed among themselves—the national peace accord, for example—and those the referee deems necessary for the completion of the game. Into the latter category fall the basic principles just mentioned and the fairly specific additional institutional structures, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen laid down for the government, ANC and Inkatha in his recent testimony to the House Africa Subcommittee.

Strictly speaking, the international community has little power to enforce these rules beyond publicly criticising offenders. The government cannot be made to render its security forces accountable if it does not wish. By the same token, there is no direct sanction that can be placed on the ANC if it violates its own injuction against seeking to overthrow the government by force. It can, in effect, insist on believing its members should be permitted to carry their weapons and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will not come in person to the table.

It must be assumed, however, that the majority of players want the game to proceed to a satisfactory conclusion and recognise that an attempt to hoed the referee may all too easily result in a self-sanctioning descent into bloody chaos. In a sense, and whether or not one is charitably inclined to think through the implications, the players have already struck a bargain with the referee to abide by the rules he brings with him in return for his being on the field.
Koevoet troop implicated in raids

At the insistence of the ANC, police investigate assault in South Eastern Transvaal.

THE police have launched a “high level” investigation into the African National Congress’ claims of Koevoet police actions in the South Eastern Transvaal, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

The investigation will be headed by Brigadier Floris Mostert, he said.

The probe followed allegations on Sunday at an ANC rally at the South Eastern Transvaal settlement of Driefontein that members of the reputedly disbanded Koevoet police unit had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday.

Sunday’s rally was addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in commemoration of ANC activist Mr Saul Mkhize, who was shot by police in 1984. – Sapa.
Man charged for refusing call-up
KATHRYN STRACHAN

Conscientious objector Martin Douglas was charged in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court in March with refusing to attend a 30-day military camp.

The case - the first since the Defence Amendment Act was passed in June - was remanded for trial to September 2.

Douglas, who completed his national service in December 1981, was called up for the 30-day camp beginning November last year.

It is the first "refusal to serve" case since charges were withdrawn against Alan Storey and Walley Rontsh in June last year.

End Conscription Campaign (ECC) spokesman David Bruce said the turnout rate at military camps was on average less than 30%, and added the SANDF had chosen to prosecute Douglas in an attempt "merely to keep up appearances."

He said the ECC had indicated earlier this year it would not prosecute conscripts who failed to report for their one-year period of military service, but this did not include those who failed to report for camps.

Bruce said the ECC found it incomprehensible the state was again prosecuting white conscripts.

The ECC's application to the Transvaal Supreme Court for a judicial finding on the legality of the call-up would be heard on September 22, Bruce said.

ANC journal warns that tough battle lies ahead

Patrick Bulger

A TOUGH battle between "democracy and modified apartheid" for a constitutional-making body would be waged in the near future, the ANC journal Mayibuye predicts in its August issue.

Mass action would ensure that the election took place soon. "ANC structures should see to it that the Campaign for Peace and Democracy strengthens the democratic movement as a whole and helps to prepare it for a decisive election victory against the defenders of the past," Mayibuye says.

The campaign was not a programme for insurrection, but had at its centre the quest for peace and a speedy, negotiated transition to democracy.

Negotiations would resume when government took practical actions to address the problem of violence. Government had to accept a democratically elected, one-chamber constituent assembly and agree to set up interim structures to ensure free and fair elections.

It had to end violence by disbanding covert and special forces and charging the murderers; taking practical measures to fence in and guard hostels as well as starting to phase them out; banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public; and accepting an international commission of inquiry and monitoring.

"The ANC will constantly weigh the total situation depending on the regime's practical actions on violence and its response to other issues," Mayibuye quotes ANC constitutional negotiator Mohammed Vaili Moosa as saying.

"The demands should not be seen as preconditions to be mechanically ticked off one by one."

"What is needed are measures that will make negotiations worth the effort. Otherwise the murderers will continue with their evil projects. And the parties will be bogged down in haggling about agendas and issues which are in fact the basis of democratic practice," Vaili Moosa says.

Mayibuye says the present stalemate is a result of the attempt by the NP leadership and security force generals to weaken opponents of apartheid, prolong the transition and carve for themselves a central place in the future.

It says government will attempt to use control of radio and television and its network in the print media "to paint the campaign in the most abominable colours. The hope is that the 'Big Lie' of the past decades will denigrate those who stand for democracy and frighten off potential supporters."
Stand-off in Pretoria

Soweto 5/8/92

Mandela leads historic march on Union Buildings:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela leads an historic and massive march on the Union Buildings today.

Thousands are expected to take part in the march and some of Pretoria's streets will be closed to traffic.

Yesterday the country was nearly plunged into bloodshed when an attempt was made to murder Mr Harry Gwala, chairman of the Midlands region of the ANC. The day was also marked by increased militancy and violence when five people in Alexandra and 18 in Natal were killed, bringing strike-related violence in the two days close to 40.

The final figure will be known today.

Over 2 500 ANC members marched on Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto in solidarity with fired workers.

See story page 2
Govt flexible on interim rule

Key players prepare to resume talks

TALKS to haul constitutional negotiations back on track could take place within two weeks, with government no longer committed to a negotiated interim constitution or to Codesa as a forum.

However, according to a senior government source, it is unlikely that legislation to implement an interim government would be ready for the October parliamentary session. It would be ready by the beginning of next year.

In discussions with businessmen late last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated the likelihood of an early return to negotiations and his desire for the speedy establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In separate talks with DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin and Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, Mandela said he believed once the stayaways and mass action had run their course, talks would resume after a "cooling off period" of about 10 days.

The upbeat prognosis was given further impetus by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who left SA last night after talks with government, Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was confident that negotiations would resume soon. This was, however, on condition that government took certain clearly defined steps relating to violence. Government was prepared to fulfil these conditions.

A senior government source confirmed government was not committed to first negotiating an interim constitution, but — to speed up the process — would happily negotiate amendments to the tricameral constitution for the interim period.

According to government and diplomatic sources, there would first be a period of bilateral talks between the ANC and government on the resumption of negotiations and the forum for such negotiations. It is understood these discussions would attempt to address the constitutional issues — including regionalism — which led to the impasse at Codesa II. There is apparently room for manoeuvre on both sides.

The bilateral talks would result in expanded multilateral negotiations, possibly including newly formed right-wing groups.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport said last night government did not want to be prescriptive about the forum for negotiations.

At a media conference last night Cohen said: "In the configuration of the negotiating forum I have the impression that the very large, complex system of Codesa was quite appropriate for the many issues that have taken them nine-tenths of the way. But for the last, very difficult one-tenth, a more efficient and less unwieldy mechanism is being sought."

He said he did not think negotiations should be held hostage by the issue of violence but there was a real danger that violence could become part of the fabric of SA society. He was also very concerned about the economic situation.
ANC leader 'happy to heal wounds'

Mandela, FW
raise hopes
about talks

PRETORIA -- At the end of a 70,000-strong ANC march to the Union Buildings yesterday, both President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela fuelled expectations of a speedy return to negotiations.

De Klerk, speaking on the steps of the Union Buildings after the crowd had dispersed, confirmed that "certain discussions" had taken place in the past five days between government and the ANC on specific issues. "We need to broaden discussions to other issues," De Klerk said.

Mandela, speaking to reporters after his address to the crowd, said he did not want to say in public whether government and the ANC had been talking but said certain issues were best dealt with in private.

Mandela struck a conciliatory note in his speech. He went out of his way not to score political points from the success of the mass action programme. He said he was happy to heal the wounds that had been opened by the conflict between government and the ANC in recent weeks.

The march was peaceful and characterized by a carnival atmosphere, complete with drum majorettes and a band. It ended at the gardens of the Union Buildings.

Inside, De Klerk waschairing a Cabinet meeting. Outside, Mandela spoke under an ANC flag.

Later, De Klerk invited the ANC to a two-day "‘session in the bush’ to resolve remaining differences. He said legislation on issues relevant to negotiations and agreed to by all players, would be introduced during the October parliamentary session.

Mandela said government would have to meet the ANC’s demands before negotiations could resume. He listed these as an acceptance of a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and steps to end the violence.

He said the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance was not trying to score political points, and the government should not do so either. "We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take SA along the road to peace and democracy. If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process."

"It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy.

"It is time for the government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC and the democratic forces."

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations,” Mandela said.

De Klerk said he had noted that Mandela had said in this speech that the day of mass action had struck a blow for democracy. "We need not to strike blows, we need to strike bargains," he said.

He was glad to see that Mandela had

TALKS

.recommended the ANC to negotiations. "I look forward to the day when Mr Mandela will once again see me in my office, as he has done often. He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings," he said.

"Let us go, even to the bush, for two full days and have a fundamental discussion." Asked whether negotiations would resume, De Klerk said: "I am confident that negotiations will be resumed. I am prepared to sit down tomorrow."

The ANC’s allegations that government needed to be pressed into accepting full democracy were valid, he said.

Comments on the alliance’s marches yesterday, he said government appreciated the ANC’s efforts to ensure that the mass action campaign was conducted peacefully.

On the role of the international community in resolving violence, De Klerk said that the question could not be solved from overseas.

Government had agreed a long time ago that there had to be a transitional government of national unity. "There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us."

The legislation planned for the October session of Parliament would be "basic legislation", aimed at assisting progress in the negotiations process. The legislation would not be unilaterally decided on, said De Klerk. Government was not working on a "go it alone" strategy, he stressed.
An ambivalent gauge of support

EARLIER this month, my colleagues and I played soccer in Ennerdale against a local team. After the game, I stayed to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing residents at the local town hall.

A man who had played for the team we had just beaten offered to take me to the hall. "I wonder how attendance is going to be," he said. "You know, people in coloured townships don't care much for politics." For the record, he, too, was so-called 'coloured'.

Ennerdale, about 35 km south of Johannesburg, turned up to give the ANC leader a warm welcome. Local ANC organisers, who had worked tirelessly to publicise the event in advance, had seen to that.

This is coloured territory, a community which, like many others throughout the country, has been targeted by both the ANC and the National Party for an aggressive recruitment drive in time for the first all-in elections to be held in the near future.

Although a numerically small group compared to blacks, coloureds and Indians will play an important role in determining the ANC's support in the election.

Also among the audience were many black faces, and it was disclosed that former ANC arts and culture department head Barbara Masekela, who now works in Mr Mandela's office, lives in the area.

Ennerdale, then, was the perfect place to assess the community's response to the ANC alliance's stayaway this week. The question was whether residents would voluntarily heed the stayaway call.

When I arrived there on Tuesday, the township was quiet and deserted. There were no children or loiterers on the streets, neither were there barricades. Had the people gone to work?

No, they had not. It was cold and thousands of Ennerdale residents who had not gone to work were simply indoors. Those to whom I spoke at filling stations, shopping complexes and on the streets said people had not gone to work not so much out of conviction, but because of lack of transport.

No buses were available on both days and the few minibus taxis which operated on Monday morning did not fetch people from Johannesburg in the afternoon.

Taxi drivers, one man said, were largely supportive of the stayaway, but there were no drivers on the street to verify this themselves.

Attendance at most schools was normal, and where a higher degree of absenteeism was reported, principals ascribed it to the weather and lack of transport. The schools visited said all teachers had reported to work.

The headmaster of Ennerdale Primary Number 8, A Abader, said attendance was down to 20 percent and blamed lack of transport.

"Had it not been for intimidation and the unavailability of transport, most people here would have gone to work. Those who have cars have all gone to work," said Mr Abader, himself an Ennerdale resident.

The lasting impression is, therefore, ambivalent. Most Ennerdale residents certainly stayed away this week — but this does not mean the ANC can claim their support as a result. If anyone's influence in the township was proved in the past few days, it was that of the local bus and taxi drivers. D
No time for minutes

TODAY will pass unheralded in the book of political anniversaries and commemorations, eclipsed by a week of mass action, stayaways and intensifying friction between political opponents.

On August 6 1990, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela led their delegations in a marathon 15-hour negotiation at the Presidencia in Pretoria, finally emerging for a press conference at 1 am on the Tuesday.

With Mr de Klerk were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitution Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobi Coetzee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Flanking Mr Mandela was Secretary-General Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, MP suprema Joe Modise and SAPC secretary-general Joe Slovo.

There was much buoyancy. It reflected in the Pretoria Minute: "We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

However, national euphoria at the signing of the agreement and the initial Groote Schuur Minute three months earlier proved premature and the hope of millions of South Africans for a quick transition to democracy proved breathlessly naive.

The dizzying momentum of Mr de Klerk's sensational six months of politics when he unbanned the ANC in February 1990, freed Mr Mandela afterwards and opened talks with the ANC soon after that, started to bog down at the news conference after the Pretoria Minute's signing.

In what was to be just the beginning of a series of public attacks by the ANC leader on Mr de Klerk, they immediately differed on what they had formally agreed concerning the role of the police.

It was the first of many scraps between the Government and ANC over interpretations of the imperfect Pretoria Minute, which was inexact in crucial areas, leaving room for interpretation and differences.

In the Pretoria Minute, the Government and the ANC set a target date of April 30 last year for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnities.

But the problem of political prisoners drags on today, in spite of about 1,300 releases and two years of meetings. The ANC is annoyed and embarrassed because it has not secured the liberty of all people it sees as political prisoners.

The Government is suspicious because it believes it has released all people jailed for political of fences and the haggling continues.

Another dispute: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement," the Pretoria Minute said, and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

It was agreed that a working group would be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision, to report by September 15.

Two years later the Government and the ANC are still arguing about armed action, with the Government insisting there can be no movement towards a new constitution no contracts — until all aspects of the armed struggle are dealt with and it is entirely abandoned.

Both sides committed themselves in the minute to a peaceful solution and to expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of South African politics "in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved."

As it was, the deal was struck against the background of the SACP's Operation Vula, an insurrection contingency plan. Police said they had 2,600 pages of information from an ANC/SACP computer about the deployment of ANC/SACP cadres around the country and the infiltration of apartheid.

The Government insisted this was a devious plot to overthrow it, being enacted even as the ANC prepared to sit down to talk of peace and settlement. But ANC and SACP leaders described Operation Vula as a mere insurance policy if negotiations broke down.

Today there is virtually no trust between the ANC and the Government as indicated by some accounts, not even taking telephone calls from the Government.

The minute envisaged "mechanisms of communication" at local, regional and national levels to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time to avoid conflict.

Today, apart from the tottering local regional dispute resolution committees set up in terms of the National Peace Accord, there is no evidence of grievance committees.

The Government did commit itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal, which was duly done. It promised also to review security legislation. This was done.

Senior Government figures today admit to a feeling of pessimism. "I have been pessimistic for the past few months," one top source said. "Many like him are fed up with the ANC and SACP."

There is some frustration because the Government knows it cannot act unilaterally, yet does not have a rabbit-in-a-hat plan to get negotiations going again.

There is suspicion in the Government that Mr Mandela and the ANC want total power and are not prepared to compromise. "If we give in to the ANC demands there will be a white backlash," the source said.

For its part, the ANC has said it would talk to the Government again only if Mr de Klerk accepted an interim government, an elected constitutional assembly, terminated "hit squads", disbanded all special forces, prosecuted
Optimism grows after statements by FW and Mandela

Talks ‘within 10 days’

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Optimism is growing that stalled negotiations will soon resume, after a conciliatory speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela delivered from the steps of the Union Buildings yesterday, at the climax of the ANC alliance’s mass action campaign.

And at an impromptu press conference after the weekly Cabinet meeting nearby, President de Klerk cautiously welcomed Mr Mandela’s speech.

Mr de Klerk indicated that behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and ANC — already started on specific issues — would soon include the disagreements about a transitional government and violence.

Some negotiators believe formal negotiations could resume within 10 days.

Addressing the peaceful crowd at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC call for the Government to respond to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume. But he told journalists afterwards the ANC would be “flexible” in assessing the Government’s response, and recommitted the ANC to negotiations.

Asked if his speech was aimed at “healing wounds”, Mr Mandela said he would be pleased if that was the way it was received.

Mr de Klerk told journalists later that while the ANC rally was taking place, the Cabinet had been considering refinements — aimed at the resumption of negotiations — to the fresh negotiations initiative discussed at its recent “bosberaad.”

Saying his door “is always open to Mr Mandela” he disclosed that the Government would present “constructive” legislation to the October session of Parliament “aimed at assisting the negotiation process”.

Mr Mandela hailed the two-day national strike as “one of the greatest events in our history” and said the way the rest of the campaign went would depend on the Government’s response. The ANC had not come to score points or gloat about the success of the stayaway, but to take South Africa along the road to democracy.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo took a tougher line, saying the mass action was the “first step” in possible intensified pressure.

Right-wing parties reacted angrily to the Pretoria march and rolling mass action campaign.

The Government’s failure to declare a general state of emergency to deal with mass action and its consequences, including those on the economy, could not be excused, the Conservative Party MP Daan Nolte said.

The situation in which the country found itself was “almost hopeless”.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said the mass action constituted “sedition”.

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ince Monday this week television viewers worldwide have seen massive numbers of people marching behind ANC, Cosatu and SACP banners for "peace and democracy" in South African towns and cities.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria and behind him were thousands of supporters.

"Our people have voted on their feet and have given a resounding 'yes' to peace and democracy," said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Monday, the first day of the organisation's week of action.

Arguably, this could mean: If (the past three days until yesterday) have not proved that the ANC has the support of "the masses", all it needs is to realise its purpose - to turn those marching numbers into actual votes for a new government.

That, precisely, is what the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance says it aims to achieve: the end to white minority rule and free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

However, the axiom about South Africa's mainstream (black) liberation politics is its divisiveness.

This has been underscored many times by criticism, rather often bitter attack, on each other's approach to "the struggle".

The PAC and Azapo are considered part of the broader liberation movement alongside the ANC and claim to have constituencies.

While this is so, the ANC always come under constant fire from its two sisters for initiating certain actions.

Notably, it got hammered for participating in Codesa, which Azapo and the PAC said would simply not deliver liberation.

Then on June 17 the Boipatong massacre hit world headlines; the ANC angrily withdrew from the negotiating process and gave the Government 14 demands and resolved to mobilise mass action for majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo went on record as saying the ANC's withdrawal vindicated their positions. They ran short of publicly saying - although the Government did - the ANC needed an excuse to break off talks.

However, the ANC did not march out of Codesa and indulge itself in rhetoric only: it mobilised its members and confronted the Government from another front.

Mr Carl Niehaus, a spokesman of the ANC, put it this way: "More people, in spite of the harsh economic climate, have responded to our campaign than those who voted 'yes' in the whites only referendum."

The Government said the ANC was indulging in emotional politics and charged that only 80,000 people participated in the marches.

In the background, the PAC and Azapo said mass action was intended to revive Codesa and refused to join the ANC's campaign.

However, instead of drawing support behind them, more than 80 percent workers rallied behind the ANC on Monday and Tuesday.

By the end of Tuesday, the ANC alliance said four million workers had observed the strike call, thus a victory for peace and democracy.

The question here, however, is whether the ANC is the premier liberation organisation it claims to be. At present, they do hold the upper hand in black politics.

Early in July Mandela told Sowetan that the PAC and Azapo had made no contribution to major achievements secured by the ANC, such as the release of prisoners and ensuring the Government conceded to the demand for a constituent assembly.

This was Mandela's rare public attack of the two organisations. "Tell me just one action that has been started by the PAC and Azapo in the past two years," he said.

Whether the two organisations directly answered this question in their responses remains anybody's judgment.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Ndikumaga concluded that no one organisation could claim victory over campaigns of the broad liberation struggle.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai called on the ANC to re-commit itself to the Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Ramaphosa put it this way on Monday: "Even at this late stage we call to the PAC, Azapo and Nactu to join the majority of the people and participate in this national campaign for peace and democracy."

Is it, therefore, a classic case of the egg and the chicken? Who joins whom as the mass action rolls?
MASS ACTION

Marchers anticipate the day Mandela will occupy the Union Buildings

PEOPLE POWER: Thousands of people continued their journey from work yesterday to take part in the march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Thousands march with Mandela

By Monk Nkopo, Kenosi Modisane and Sowetan Correspondent

W e have come here to install Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress as the new government of South Africa.

There were sentiments expressed by young and old who thronged the streets of Pretoria yesterday afternoon, hours before ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa introduced Mandela as the next president of South Africa at a rally outside the Union Buildings.

"I feel happy that my dreams of being addressed by my own leader have come true at the Union Buildings are today fulfilled," promised Mr Lutego Mosiane of Mabopane.

Mokhotle had travelled on a bus full of "comrades" from the Pretoria township to the march.

Mrs Madikizela-Mandela (54), who also arrived with a host of comrades from Randfontein, Harrismith, said: "This should be a clear message to the Government that we no longer regard them as our rulers."

"Jail, mourning route ahead. Julius has had his day. You people are getting spoilt. You like to say 't着眼'," remarked a policeman as a crowd pushed a human chain formed by police.

Twelve-year-old Kaykie Makhubela, who managed to break through the tight security jointy mounted by SAP and ANC members to stand next to the stage, said: "We are coming back here for a bigger celebration when Mandela gets in there (pointing towards the Union Buildings)."

At least two members of the United Nations monitoring group marched alongside the demonstrators to the Union Buildings.

Earlier, UN monitor Ms Rehman Aclady said she thought the march was proceeding "very well" and though she had heard of "tiny" incidents, the monitoring team had yet to see anything happen.

A helicopter and two fixed-wing aircraft circled above the throng of people who started arriving at early as 3am. By noon, the crowd had grown to more than 40,000.

More than 1,000 police and SANDF troops were deployed along the route to the Union Buildings.
PEOPLE'S LIVES The fight moved out of the boardrooms of Codesa to the streets of our country

ANC alliance now has the best of two worlds

Joe Thloloe's perspective

The collapse of Codesa 2 seemed to vindicate the organisations like the PAC and Azapo that had been opposed to Codesa in the first place.

But ironically it did not collapse as a result of their campaign to discredit it, but because of the withdrawal of the ANC and the SAP.

If they had been waiting to collect ANC members who were disillusioned because their leadership had not anticipated the failure of Codesa, they were disappointed.

ANC strategists did not allow this to happen. They immediately took the fight out of the boardrooms of Codesa.

We have a difficult time ahead of us, even if negotiations resume soon.
Indian and coloureds hearts on their sleeves

A surprise of the stayaway was the strength of Indian and coloured support. But the National Party is not giving up, reports PAUL STOBER

Despite the unexpected avalanche of support in the coloured and Indian communities for this week's general strike, the National Party is not giving up hopes of winning the favour of those potential voters.

The African National Congress has hailed the coloured and Indian support as a victory. "It gives the lie to the much-touted assertion that these communities support the NP and the policies of President FW de Klerk," said ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa.

Support for the strike in coloured and Indian residential areas ranged from 80 percent on the Witwatersrand to 50 percent in the Western Cape, according to figures compiled by the ANC, independent monitoring agencies and academic sources.

The NP's chief director of information, Piet Coetzee, countered that Ramaphosa's statement merely illustrated the ANC's concern about the progress being made in black communities by the NP. He insisted that the number of people who had stayed away from work could not be taken as a barometer of support for the ANC in these communities.

"On the second day of the strike, I attended a very successful launch of an NP branch in a coloured township in the western Transvaal. About 100 people were present," he said.

At the heart of the ANC and NP's claims and counter-claims lies the perception that the coloured and Indian communities are essentially moderate and have yet to align themselves decisively with either of the major political players. Both communities offer sizable blocs of votes and they will be especially influential in elections for regional and local government.

Chairman of the Mitchell's Plain branch of the ANC, Achmat Semaar, explained why the huge coloured township — where De Klerk received a mixed reception at an NP mass meeting earlier this year — had experienced an unprecedented level of support for the general strike: "People are tired — tired of abject poverty, the lack of housing and high rates. They say that all De Klerk does is make promises. (Minister of Health) Rina Venter has talked about R400-million in poverty relief, but as far as we know none of it has reached Mitchell's Plain."

Semaar said the willingness of local businessmen — who are usually regarded as conservative — to close shop during hours negotiated with the ANC was an indication of the depth of popular support for the strike.

But he added that the number of people who stayed away from work was not necessarily an accurate reflection of the level of support for the ANC — a view echoed by executive member of the ANC's Eldorado Park branch, Eugene Robson.

"People are willing to support a passive action, and a stayaway is passive. We also have mass unemployment in our area."

Both men pointed out, however, that the success of the strike illustrated the ANC had a much broader base of support in their areas than their signed-up membership suggested. They admitted the NP had members in their townships, but described their presence as "invisible".

Robson dismissed intimidation as a reason for the show of support: "There are 13 000 licenced firearms in Eldorado Park. I would think very carefully before using intimidation."

The heavy police presence in the township had further ruled out any chance of intimidation taking place, he added.

Spot searches ... Members of the SADF search Alexandra residents for weapons. Photo: GUY ADAMS
Inkatha gets ready to spar with Govt, ANC

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Thembu Khoza said yesterday his organisation was "taking the gloves off" in response to the ANC's mass action campaign.

The ANC action had left more than 40 people dead on Monday and Tuesday this week, he claimed, and the country should be in mourning. But the media had hailed the mass action campaign as peaceful.

"The ANC claims its campaign was supported by 4 million people. Only 300,000 attended their meetings, which must mean 3.7 million stayed at home because of intimidation."

Mr Khoza, a Transvaal executive member of the IFP, said IFP supporters would be mobilised "to force the Government to stop giving in to the ANC all the time."

In an interview with The Star, he said: "The ANC pulled out of Codesa before the Boipatong massacre when it was defeated 11-8 in voting on constitutional issues. It then used Boipatong to justify its action."

"It was criticised cautiously when it should have been banned instead." But he said the ANC had to be forced back to the negotiating table because the country needed negotiation and compromise to achieve peace.

Mr Khoza said the IFP campaign, involving self-defence committees, open-air rallies, marches and indoor meetings, would be peaceful.

"The committees will be taught which buttons to press in an emergency, but they will not be trained to kill people."

"The ANC wolf must be exposed for what it is. Until that happens it will continue eating sheep at will. Those sheep are our supporters and innocent, politically unaligned communities being harassed by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the so-called self-defence units..."

He said it was nonsense to talk of banning traditional Zulu weapons when most of the deaths in the country were caused by the AK-47 rifle "carried by the ANC."

Mr Khoza said he was at the end of his tether over the preferential treatment the ANC was getting from the Government, the media and the international community.

The media should shoulder blame for some of the violence because it was "caused by the pen," he claimed.

The media often spoke generally of Zulu-speaking men being involved in attacks. This bred hatred and caused explosive situations.

Mr Khoza said "the people" were asking what the IFP was doing to protect lives and property in the face of violence during the mass action campaign.

"We are taking the gloves off. We are going to protect them, but all our actions will be peaceful."
Newspaper boycott may be lifted today

THERE was a “great chance” the ANC eastern Cape region’s boycott of local papers would be lifted when the ANC and its allies met today, region chairman Richman Mtshweni said yesterday.

The region has been boycotting the Times Media Limited-owned Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post in spite of statements by the ANC head office that it is not in favour of organised newspaper boycotts.

Mtshweni said the ANC was prepared to lift its boycott of the Post, but was concerned about the EP Herald’s attitude.

He said the ANC met EP Herald representatives last Friday, but their response had been negative. The response concentrated on specific demands and did not address the preamble to the region’s objections to the newspapers’ stance.

EP Newspapers editor-in-chief Derek Smith said yesterday it was true the two newspapers had been critical of certain aspects of ANC policy.

“If such criticism is seen as hostile and subtle, I would like to give the assurance that this is not the intention,” he said.

ANC allies seek new strategy

ANC-aligned patriotic front groupings which attended Codesa would meet soon to formulate a joint strategy before the resumption of negotiations, front sources said yesterday.

The “Codesa PF” — in contrast to the patriotic front which includes the PAC which has so far chosen to stay out of negotiations — consists of the ANC and the eight parties and homeland governments which generally support its stance at Codesa.

It is understood that the patriotic front convening committee will meet on Monday and the full front a week later to discuss, among other things, a negotiating strategy to attempt to secure the ANC’s demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

One front source said: “The way might be clear to start talking again. The ANC can say it has made its point with mass action and it can now go back and talk.”

The source said a resumption of negotiations depended largely on when mechanisms to monitor and prevent violence had been put in place. The release of UN envoy Cyrus Vance’s report in the next few days would indicate the extent to which the UN would become involved.

The source said UN monitors accompanying police and army, UN access to SAP communications networks, public access to the UN and its close co-operation with the national peace accord would constitute a sufficient movement by government on the violence issue for negotiations to resume.

Sapa reports from Windhoek that PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the organisation believed that with the UN as convenor, the possibility of forming a new, more representative forum than Codesa now existed.
Govt, ANC struck deal on Umkhonto

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had concluded a deal on the status of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe which effectively excluded it from the provisions of the national peace accord, according to a senior ANC official.

The agreement on close co-operation on the supply, activities and existence of Umkhonto was disclosed in documents submitted to the national peace committee by ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mufumadi. The agreement is an elaboration of the DF Malan Accord dealing with the armed struggle.

The national peace committee is examining Umkhonto's existence at the request of Inkatha, which has demanded that it be disbanded by next month. Inkatha, which argues that Umkhonto is a "private army" and therefore subject to the peace accord, has asked the committee to refer Umkhonto's continued existence to arbitration.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulled out of a summit meeting with peace accord signatories President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela partly because Umkhonto continued to exist a year after the peace accord was signed. The peace committee meets again today to consider the matter.

Mufumadi's submission was made in February this year when Inkatha was refusing to sign a code of conduct for the security forces because Umkhonto continued to exist. It provided details of an ANC-government agreement on Umkhonto and its weapons which had previously been rejected as speculation by both parties.

Mufumadi said Umkhonto was keeping to the letter and spirit of the peace accord "notwithstanding the fact that its continued existence and operations are regulated by bilateral agreements and hence fall outside the accord".

He said in his document: "The existence of Umkhonto and the extent of its continued operations are matters covered by existing bilateral agreements between the ANC and government. The matters covered by these agreements and negotiations fall outside the scope of the peace accord as expressly provided for in the opening chapter of the accord which states: This Accord will not be construed so as to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories."

"Although the existence, function and operations of Umkhonto continue to be regulated by the bilateral accords, these will also be the proper subject of discussions at Codesa."

According to Mufumadi, a working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle two years ago, had agreed, among other things, "a process of informing the government of the extent and nature of arms under its control. Such arms and ordinances will be placed under the joint control of any transitional authority and Umkhonto upon the formation of an interim government. Umkhonto will be disbanded upon the completion of the process of transition to a democratic constitution."

Mufumadi submitted that Inkatha was aware of the agreement when it was involved with peace accord negotiations.

"The existence of Umkhonto and the exclusion of matters covered by the (agreement) were explicitly dealt with during the negotiations of the accord. The
If this week's mass action was Nelson Mandela's "referendum" he has clearly won a handsome mandate. He has proved that with the help of Congress of South African Trade Unions, he can call out the country's workers and close down the cities with targeted disruptive "occupation". If anyone doubted that the African National Congress could wield significant clout, those doubts should now be settled.

But the comparison between the President FW de Klerk's March poll and Mandela's August showdown does not end when the sun sets on referendum day.

After his March victory, many analysts wondered exactly what de Klerk's referendum had proved about his constituency. White voters were asked a very widely phrased and imprecise question. A broad cross-section of white opinion drew a "yes-X" even though they would not support de Klerk and the National Party in an election. In other words the "yes vote" total masked the complexity of voter feeling.

While he obviously commands majority white backing, the extent of support for de Klerk's party, policy — and even person — could not be established from merely counting the crosses.

Mandela faces a similar problem in assessing what the mass action results say about his constituency. Granted the stayaway was bigger than any such action in the past. But here too the question heard in the townships was imprecise: if you want peace and democracy, stay home. That call would bring together many people including some who might not vote for the ANC in an election.

Similarly the intimidation factor cannot be ignored. Even if the ANC membership behaved in an exemplary fashion, as it clearly did in many areas, the history of kangaroo-court punishment inflicted on "sell-outs" is fresh in everyone's memory. The Monday message of burning tyres on some township roads made the intended impact. In addition, many people had no choice. Without transport, they simply had to stay home, regardless of their political position.

Even more important for the country however is what immediate use Mandela intends to make of this referendum result. When de Klerk won his March victory, it seemed he had been given a powerful enough mandate to meet his two most serious challenges: getting on with negotiations for a just new political dispensation, and taming both the rightwing and the security establishment.

He did neither. Instead he behaved as though he had won an election rather than a referendum, and regarded his success as an endorsement of NP policies. He immediately took a harder line on negotiations, apparently reading the poll as carte blanche to squeeze the ANC on behalf of whites and to ensure political longevity for NP bureaucrats.

And he continued to back the security forces almost without question instead of mounting a serious cleaning-out operation reaching high into the command structure.

To a large extent the future of negotiations, and therefore the likelihood of relatively peaceful transition in South Africa, depends on whether Mandela follows de Klerk's disappointing lead.

Just as de Klerk was influenced by factions within his cabinet in deciding how to interpret the referendum results, so too Mandela will have the views of the multi-faceted alliance to consider in deciding his next step.

Will he take the mandate of the people as power enough to enable tough action against members of his organisation who terrorise their neighbours simply for not toeing the party line? Will he interpret this August acclaim as a signal to take a hard line rather than a conciliatory attitude? Like de Klerk, will he try to turn the screws on his opponents, and make demands the other parties simply cannot accept? Or does the conciliatory tone many heard in his Pretoria speech indicate he will show the statesmanship so many had vainly hoped for from de Klerk?
The day women marched

enforcing the carrying of dompasses:

"As a woman I felt it was an inconvenience for us to carry passes. At that time I was just a housewife but felt for my other sisters who were in employment and were expected to carry those passes," Mahlatji said.

United and committed

When the Dube branch of the then Women's Federation organised women for the march, Mahlatji who was a member, decided to take part.

"It was the first time I had ever been involved in a march and I've never been in a bigger march with people as united and as committed to their cause as those women," said Mahlatji.

"We left Park Station in Johannesburg on the 8am train to Pretoria. The mood was tense as we joined hundreds of other women from all over the country, all clad in our green and black uniforms.

"We gathered in a park before marching on the Union Buildings," she recalled.

The 20,000-strong crowd waited outside as their leaders, among them Helen Joseph and the late Lillian Ngoyi, went to the office of the then Home Affairs Minister, Mr JG Strydom, to present a memorandum demanding that women be exempt from pass laws.

"Perhaps the most memorable moment was when the crowd was told by the leaders that Strydom, who was supposed to meet the women and receive the memo personally, was not there," Mahlatji said.

"Spontaneously we started singing and shouting 'Nyasezeni na? (Are you afraid of us) and Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodwe! (When you touch a woman, you have struck a rock) - have since played a significant role in the women's struggle in South Africa.

"The police never interfered with us as had been expected. They just let us go on with our business. They maintained a peaceful presence. But then we did nothing to provoke them either," she said.

Once the memo had been presented to Strydom's secretary, the women returned home. But it was not before they had their "picnic" in the park.

Singing and dancing

"The atmosphere was so unbelievable, with all those women from all over the country singing and dancing," Mahlatji said.

But things took another turn in 1977 when she left the country to join her exiled husband in Lusaka. He had left in 1964.

While in exile she held various community jobs. In Cairo she translated Radio Cairo programmes from English to Zulu. In Lusaka she was head of the Regional Women's Committee.

This committee offered counselling to South African women exiles and organised skills workshops for them. Now long past her retirement age, she continues to do almost the same job.
ANC told to carry ‘traditional weapons’

By CARMEL RICKARD

IF Inkatha members continue carrying “traditional weapons”, should African National Congress members do the same? ANC southern Natal general secretary Shu Ndebele says they have no choice.

“It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise.”

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban’s Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless.

The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people “cannot come to marches armed in any way”, and Inkatha says ANC members were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele’s call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying “traditional weapons” as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last month when a group of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march.

The ANC was planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop the “trial”. Police intervened and prevented a fight, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before they reached their destination.

After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons. They were first seen in great numbers this week at a march of more than 10,000 people in Inanda outside Durban. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins.

Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC’s mass action in central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said “traditional weapons” would become a part of ANC marches.

They would be carried at all gatherings in the future as long as the police allowed Inkatha to carry such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bearing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to stop them from being carried by Inkatha.

“The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we,” he said.

Legal Resources’ Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring the carrying of such weapons in public. However, the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable.

Varney added: “Weapons’ bearing in the current climate is nothing more than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it.”

Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. “It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable.”

The IFP’s Ed Tillett also criticised the ANC move: “Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday’s march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters.”

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators simply moved elsewhere.
The ANC and its allies hoped this week's mass action would do for them what the referendum in March did for President F.W. de Klerk: consolidate wavering support and give direction to the negotiation process. Leaders of the alliance believe it did. They say the millions who stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday voted with their feet — or was it their pay packets? — to support the alliance's various demands.

After the first day, the strike was declared a "phenomenal success" based on an alliance assessment of a 90% stayaway. Estimates by employers varied considerably in different regions. Sacsob says it ranged from only 15% in the western Cape to 90% in the PWV.

There is little doubt that it was effective but many thousands of workers would probably not have stayed at home had they been given a free choice.

ANC watcher Tom Lodge, of Wits University, says the success of the stayaway is not a clear indication of ANC support. The PAC and its affiliated trade union grouping, Nactu — neither of them exactly friends of government and big business — alleged widespread intimidation of members by ANC and Cosatu supporters.

The Inkatha Freedom Party claimed there was extensive intimidation and its supporters were attacked by alliance followers.

Evidence of intimidation was widespread and included thestoning of vehicles. Roads and rail lines were blocked in some areas and there were attacks on people and property, especially in Natal where the death toll in inter-party clashes was by far the highest.

Rogue ANC "self-defence units" (SDUs) — condemned by SACP chief Chris Hani in a Sunday Times interview he later attempted to soften — clearly had a busy two days. The level of violence and disregard for rules that had apparently been agreed on for protest marches, such as the carrying of dangerous weapons and adequate notice to the police and local authorities, were often ignored.

Hani ... danger signs flashing

In some cases the police also apparently flouted the recent guidelines from the Goldstone Commission on the handling of demonstrations. In one, a protester at Grabouw was shot dead because, according to a police spokesman, he was allegedly about to throw a brick at a policeman.

The situation in Ciskei was reported to be the most serious. Military ruler Oupa Gqaza threatened to use force to stop a planned march from King William's Town to Bisho. He asked for assistance from the SADF. This apparently caused deep furrows on the brows at Foreign Affairs.

UN monitors — one was barred from entering Ciskei — had a busy time criss-crossing the country to keep tabs on trouble spots. It is hoped their assessment will contribute to restoring the negotiation process rather than give fresh ammunition to rival factions.

The widespread violence flew in the face of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's plea for calm and discipline; it must surely have negated whatever political gain the alliance hoped to squeeze from the stayaway.

Political tension in areas that were relatively calm has been heightened by renewed confrontation. The eastern and western Cape are good examples. The ANC may find that instead of consolidating its support, mass action has made large sections of black communities radical to a point where continued "street struggle" will be preferred to negotiating a political transition. The situation is exacerbated by elements in the alliance leadership who favour a "Leipzig Option" (insurrection) over negotiations.

Hani's Sunday Times interview is probably the clearest indication so far from within the alliance that there is serious concern about the rise of the almost uncontrollable radical youth gangs in the townships. It could be that Hani, arguably the alliance's most astute politician, realises that tough action will soon have to be taken against the rebel units by the ANC, the security forces or both.

If not, the SDUs could become warlords in some areas and threaten not only the negotiation process but even the ANC by barring it from townships and undermining the confidence of supporters who expect the ANC to protect them against tyranny.

With violence showing every sign of growing rather than abating in the days ahead, the ANC faces a serious dilemma. It is possible that hawks in the alliance have decided to fight back, after the failure of mass action, until the strike to meet expectations (Current Affairs July 31). If so, they could attempt to keep tension high through increasingly provocative actions. As the ANC went to press, the ANC's Western Cape leaders were planning a mass march into Cape Town along the N2 highway, the main route to the airport.

One of the ANC demands for returning to the talks table is an end to violence or at least steps to end it. When government took steps last week by flooding Vaal Triangle towns with security forces to "stabilise the situation," however, the ANC accused it of intimidating residents on the eve of the strike.

It appears that only co-operation between the ANC and the security forces will bring violence under control and possibly end it.

TRANSPORT

Lots of money

Barely days before the SA Rail Commuter Corp (RCC) was due to occupy a new office block outside Johannesburg on April 1, Transport Minister Piet Nelgenoed tried to put a stop to the move. He acted on the advice of the Office for Privatisation. But a five-year lease, which could cost the RCC (and commuters and taxpayers) R3m more than the rent at the previous offices, had already been signed.

Chairman of the Policy Unit for Public Enterprise and Privatisation, Piet van Huyssteen, has confirmed to the Fm that he was asked by Nelgenoed "to investigate certain aspects (of the RCC) and advise the Minister." Van Huyssteen would not comment on his findings; he said he had handed them over to Nelgenoed. But it is understood that Van Huyssteen investigated the RCC's financial programme, its personnel situation and its contract with Transnet.

The proposal to the RCC board that the corporation should not renew its rental contract in the Wesbank House building in Braamfontein and that it should move to a
ANC: a sacrifice to save our country

By Rehana Rossouw and Quentin Wilson

WESTERN Cape ANC officials have expressed satisfaction with the response to the mass action activities in the region this week.

The organisation claims this has been one of the biggest stayaways in the Western Cape.

Monitors reported the stayaway in African townships was close to 100 percent and about 60 percent in coloured areas.

"We see this as confirmation that the people of Cape Town, along with the rest of the country, have recognised the urgency of the demands of the Pro Democracy Campaign," regional spokesperson Mr Mziwonde Jacobs said.

Some of Monday's events:

- In Hermanus about 2 000 people attended a rally and march led by Mr Mziwonde Jacobs.
- About 20 000 people attended a rally following a march and cavalcade through Guguletu and Nyanga led by Mr Tony Yengeni.
- In Kraaifontein 2 000 people joined a march led by Dr Allan Boesak and ANC regional executive member Mr Ibrahim Rasool.
- In Dora Tamana squatter camp in Khayelitsha, about 3 000 residents were addressed by SACP secretary, Mr Lizo Nkonki.
- A Bellville rally addressed by Mr Dullah Omar and Mr John Nkeli of the SA National Civic Organisation drew 300 people.
- At Mandela Park, Hout Bay, 500 people attempted a march on the Forestry station, but an official turned a power hose on the crowd.
- At Montagu Gardens and Marconi Beam squatter settlement, there was a march of about 1 000 people.
- In Grabouw a man was shot dead when police dispersed 300 people attempting an illegal march.
- In Oudtshoorn about 2 000 people attended a rally addressed by ANC executive member Mr Cameron Dugmore.
- About 3 000 people gathered in George for a rally and march.
- In Paarl a cavalcade, march and sit-in took place at the council office. About 3 000 participated.
- In Mbekweni about 5 000 people marched to the council offices.
- In Wellington, about 200 people attended a rally addressed by ANC executive member, Mr Neville van der Rheede. Afterwards they marched to the municipal offices.
- About 150 people from the ANC Langa branch marched to parliament. Police arrested 34 people on their way back to the Cape Town station.

Some events on Tuesday:

- 2 000 people marched to the police station in Port Nolloth to hand over a petition.

Some events on Wednesday:

- In Worcester 1 000 people participated in a "human chain" in the town centre.
- Police dispersed 500 people in Oudtshoorn when they tried to occupy National Party offices. The group then occupied the Bridgton municipal offices.
- 1 000 people gathered at Bellville police station on Wednesday after marching from the University of the Western Cape.
Women gather to remember

THE ANC Women's League on Friday called on "all women of conscience" to mark South African Women's Day at inter-faith gatherings today.

"Let us come together. Let us use the occasion to raise our voices against the ritual killings and rapes that are rampant in some parts of SA," the statement said.

On August 9 1956 20,000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to present a memorandum to the then Home Affairs Minister JG Strijdom in protest against the introduction of the hated passes for women.

Major rallies and marches will be held in central Durban and Soweto and other parts of the country today."
ANC calls the cops

ANC officials in Durban yesterday called for police protection of the ANC offices following attacks by political foes demanding a public inquiry into allegations of assaults and killings at ANC camps in other countries.

Police spokesman Captain Khephie Buthuma said immediate arrangements were made to protect the ANC offices. The ANC was unavailable for comment.
SHAKE, OLD FRIEND

Picture: TIM ZIELENSCH Report: KURT SWART

A crush of journalists, intrigued by the ANC president shaking hands with a police general, milled around the two men before Mr Mandela was hustled into a luxury limousine by jubilant ANC secretar-y-general Cyril Ramaphosa and other ANC officials and driven off.

"My name is Lieutenant-General Johan Swart and I'm in charge of the Internal Stability Unit," the general told the press. "I was stationed in Soweto in 1990 and 1991 and Mr Mandela and I established a good relationship there. We worked together in Soweto. He would call me at my office or at home and we often defused conflict situations together."

Asked if the handshake was a gesture of reconciliation, General Swart replied: "I was called by him to come over because he recognised me and he wanted to say hello."

General Swart added that he was "very satisfied with the march" and the behaviour of the crowd, although "a few windows had been broken".

Asked whether he approved of mass action, the general said he was a policeman not a politician. "But I have always liked Mr Mandela," he said.
Hani: Police are infiltrating ANC units

Communist Party boss CHRIS HANI replies to report last week that ANC units are ‘running wild’

Communist Party boss HANI replies to report last week that ANC units are ‘running wild’

The Wadham Report, the Trust Fund massacre, the Glucksman espionage revolution, and, above all, the daily experience of millions of South Africans all underpin one thing: The regime's security forces have become deeply corrupted by what they were set up to defend — apartheid.

We think of death in detention, for instance. We think of prominent political martyrs of Steve Biko and Ahmed Timol. Glucksman's revelations remind us that it is not just political detainees who are targeted. Ferraero has replaced investigation in the most routine police procedures.

"Out of control," says Giesmonc; "Totally incompetent," says Waddington. These are themselves sufficient grounds for encouraging ordinary citizens to unite together in SDUs to protect themselves, their families and their property.

But, as Joe Slovo said when the SAP released the recent Cyren Vancinga, for those of us who have been up against the SAP over many decades, the picture of total incompetence doesn't quite ring true. We have often found the SAP to be ruthlessly effective, absolutely painstaking in tracking down MR operatives. Where have all these skills gone? There is certainly massive incompetence when it comes to finding train killers. But the skills have not disappeared. They are being used to wage a sophisticated, low-intensity war against the townships. This low-intensity war manifests itself in two key ways:

- Random terror, like Bulappa, like the train massacre;
- Targeted assassination of second- and third-layer ANC alliance leadership. Not a week goes by without a key grassroots leader being assassinated.

Both the general destabilisation and the surgical eliminations have a single objective: to destabilise and knock out the connections between the ANC leadership and its mass base.

A number of surveys have shown how the scale, and the remarkable co-ordination both in time and place of what otherwise looks like random violence, points to something much more sinister. Within days of the ANC suspending armed struggle in August 1990, communities in the PWV were hit with an unprecedented wave of violence. A new scale of violence?

It is against this background that both the ANC and SAP took the decision in late 1990 to encourage and facilitate the formation of community-based SDUs. The right to do so was later enshrined in the National Peace Accord.

Since then our experience with SDUs has generally been favourable. In many parts of the country the very existence of democratic organisations has depended on the capacity of township dwellers to defend themselves.

Unfortunately, this positive record is not universal. There have been serious cases of indiscriminate. Criminal elements and/or the police have infiltrated some SDUs and turned them against communities. Individuals have used SDUs to advance their own interests.

I have no intention of behaving like Herras Kriel and his predecessors. I don't believe anything until you are found out when forced to deny; when the denial wears thin, promote "urgent attention" (sending the police will investigate the police). And I'd be happy that everyone will forget.

Two weeks before Mike Robertson wrote an exceedingly distorted version of an interview I had granted him. I had noted (in an Umse-

[Continued on next page]
We're ready to take out ANC torturers, says squad of revenge exiles

By S'BU MNGADI

A newly launched body known as the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has drawn up a programme to assassinate leading ANC members.

In shock disclosures to City Press this week, it was revealed that the group, consisting mostly of former ANC detainees who broke away from the movement, intend working hand-in-hand with the Askaris.

The chilling scheme is designed as a vendetta against high-ranking ANC leaders and cadres implicated in atrocities in ANC detention camps outside the country.

The REC's assassination threat comes barely a week after an attempt was made on the life of the ageing Harry Gwala, ANC's Natal Midlands chief. Gwala managed to escape injury after his car was shot at during the mass action march in Edendale on Tuesday.

Two weeks ago there was another assassination attempt on SACP general-secretary Chris Hani. The former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) chief-of-staff has been implicated in numerous torture claims in ANC detention camps.

In an interview with City Press at the Lindelani squatter camp, chairman of the newly formed group Pat Hlongwane said his organisation together with Askaris (turned former guerillas of both MK and the Azanian Liberation Army) were on the verge of declaring war on the ANC.

Hlongwane, 33, revealed that about 200 Askaris and REC members had undergone "re-training" in Israel. They have all regrouped around the greater Durban area.

"The bulk of our members arrived back in Durban yesterday, fully re-trained in guerrilla warfare and intelligence to afford us security to face the full might of the ANC," he said.

Hlongwane refused to say where in Durban the trained soldiers were based, citing security reasons.

Following the formation of the organisation last year, the Askaris asked him to recommend strong REC members to join them in re-training in Israel, Hlongwane claimed.

Some of their trained members formed part of the REC march through the streets of Durban yesterday to welcome the trained returnees.

About 600 people, mostly Inkatha-supporting squatters from Lindelani, marched to the ANC offices yesterday. Former ANC detainees present appeared to be armed.

Speaking to City Press, Hlongwane alleged he was tortured and severely beaten up by members of the ANC security department during his eight years in detention in Africa.

Yesterday's march marked the beginning of the campaign which could culminate in the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres who committed atrocities against detainees in exile, he warned.

Phase two, the former ANC guerilla said, would entail a commission of inquiry into atrocities in ANC detention camps appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation.

"If the commission fails to bring the
ANC leaders and cadres to justice, we
will immediately proceed with our as-
sassination campaign.

"We are not going to shoot ANC
members at random. Our targets will be
ANC leaders and cadres who took part
in our detention, torture and assault," he vowed.

Hlongwane said he did not think the
assassination campaign was far off as he
expected the commission, presided over
by advocate RS Douglas SC, of Dur-
ban, to sit at the end of this month.

Joel Neshitendze, a member of the
ANC's national executive committee,
said Hlongwane's wortalk spoke for it-
self.

The ANC was interested to see how
the SAP and the government would
respond to an obvious threat of assassi-
nation reflected in Hlongwane's allega-
tion, Neshitendze said.

The REC has offices in Lindelani,
headquarters of Inkatha strongman
Thomas Mandla Shabalala, whom the
REC describes as "sympathetic".

Hlongwane presented to City Press a
former ANC guerrilla who alleged the
14 Durban ANC members killed in a
road accident in Tanzania while on
their way to the airport to fly back
home in February had spent time under
ANC detention - and the REC there-
fore suspected the accident had been
stage-managed.

The ANC this week dismissed this
accusation as "wholly inaccurate".

Themba Kondile, 24, of Zwide in
Port Elizabeth, said he was kept in
detention in Uganda and Tanzania
from early 1990 to February 20 this
year.

The ex-ANC guerrilla and other ex-
ilies arrived back in SA on February 20.
THE Natives are restless – and it seems there's no way of stopping them now.

Decades of being deprived of a vote has finally forced them to vote with their feet.

Indeed, the stomping of the toy-toy echoed down the corridors of white power at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in Cape Town's House of Parliament and through TV speakers throughout the world.

The United Nations monitoring group had never seen a thing like this before.

Most whites, grown used to carefully mediated images of mass action in their own media, were stunned into disbelief.

Even ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who addressed the crowd outside the Union Buildings this week – and who has observed the resistance of his people through the key-hole of Robben Island most of his adult life – was taken aback by the enthusiasm of the crowd.

The message was clear: The natives are restless and they're marching on. This message has not only reached FW de Klerk and his Cabinet, but the rest of the country, especially those who all these years have lived the lie that there can be peace and security in SA while blacks are denied the vote.

The message to the ANC and its allies was also loud and clear: The natives on the ground are getting impatient with the snails pace at Codesa. They want an interim government that will work out a new constitution soon.

Words, words, words are fast becoming meaningless. Action, the natives want action. On more than one occasion I heard the word “intimidation” being bandied around by government as a result of the success of mass action.

These words sound like the stuck record of the SABC's olden-day Current Affairs programme. It's a word central to the Nat's propaganda baggage. Yet, if mass action had failed, Natspeak would have turned around and said: “You see, we told you so.”

It remains ridiculous for the Nats to still say: “The ANC has intimidated people from going to work. They forced millions to join them on a march.”

You have to be blind or blinkered not to get the message being drummed out by those marching masses.

And in the same vein: Did the government and its allies not intimidate thousands of whites to vote “Yes” in the referendum?

Many employers will privately agree and, of course, the CP has ample evidence to prove this.

What about those organisations like the IFP, PAC and Azapo who distanced themselves from last week's mass action?

The IFP, predictably even in these changing times, still sings the master's tune.

Listening to their man Themba Khoza outlining the catch-all “intimidation” of IFP members, one could not help but wonder whether he monitored the mass action himself – or whether he simply expressing the views of his leaders.

This week's mass action also proved to the PAC and Azapo, once and for all, that they do not command the same following as the ANC. After this, one would expect them to revive the patriotic front and work with the ANC instead of against them.

We are about to reach the final destination in our fight for liberation and, as history has shown, this is the time for a concerted, united effort.

It helps little that we have Mandela representing the ANC, Makwetla the PAC, Nefolovhodwe Azapo, De Klerk the National Party and white South Africans, and Buthelezi the IFP.

We need one leader for all the people of this country.

Until this happens, the natives will continue to march – and that does not augur well for our beautiful, tragic country.

It is too terrible to contemplate South Africa repeating the mistakes made by Fretilo and Renamo in Mozambique and Dos Santos's MPLA and Savimbi's Unita in Angola.
LAST weekend South Africans were given an overdose of newspaper advertisements related to the week of mass action.

This particular manner of sharing a viewpoint and selling ideas is catching on in our society. It was a method much used during the whites-only referendum, and has now emerged again at the time of what some have called the "black referendum".

Among advertisements placed by the government, the ANC and the SAP was one from the NP that made use of our society's current Olympic Games fever.

The advertisement invited all to "Get back into the spirit of the Olympic Games, the spirit of peaceful competition". It declared: "The National Party welcomes political competition in SA - it makes everybody perform at their best. But in the Olympic spirit of peaceful competition, we ask all South Africans and their political leaders to compete in peace."

The analogy is an interesting one and I thank the NP. However, I would contend that the government is not holding up its end of the bargain, and needs to be challenged to move toward making a true analogy possible.

For example, to speak of "the spirit of peaceful competition" assumes that the competition in SA is a fair one, giving everyone equal chance to "perform at their best". But how can this be when one of the contenders, the NP government, wishes not only to race but act as referee? That certainly is not within the spirit or the practice of the Olympic Games.

Perhaps we need to remind this government that speaks so highly of the spirit of the Games that in Barcelona, international referees are being used to ensure as well as monitor that spirit. Perhaps we need also to remind them that when anyone violates the rules at the Olympics, he or she is disqualified.

And perhaps we need to remind them that investigations into violations are not performed by the team concerned but by competent international experts. It all helps to get the picture and the analogy straight.

If we look to Barcelona, the makeup of the SA team is an indication of inequality in resources and assets in SA. It is not a reflection of the total population of the country, but of the privileged minority. To use another game analogy, the dice are loaded against the black majority every time.

Many of those in the "competition" in SA who support mass action take serious exception to a government that uses its tax money to suggest, in another of last weekend's advertisements, that a national strike "is so unnecessary". Taxpayers' money should not be used to advance a government's sectarian viewpoint. It is made worse when the said government repre-
A lesson for SA says Sisulu

SOUTH Africa was fortunate to be the last to be liberated in the continent because it has a chance to learn from other country's mistakes. (11/9)

This was said by ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu at the 36th anniversary of a women's march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Sisulu was addressing about 200 people at Kopano Centre in Alexandra yesterday. He said the only misfortune about South Africa attaining liberation after all other nations was the prolonged suffering that people had to endure.
I had discussion with FW on Friday, says Mandela

SADA (Giskei) — ANC president Nelson Mandela disclosed at the weekend that he and President FW de Klerk held talks on Friday night.

Addressing thousands of people who braved icy weather to hear him speak at Sada, in Giskei, Mr Mandela said the telephone conversation included a discussion of certain allegations against SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani.

 Shortly before leaving East London for Transkei in a helicopter with Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday, Mr Mandela said he had discussed “a particular issue which was resolved satisfactorily, but it had nothing to do with negotiations”. He would disclose no more.

Casper Venter, a spokesman for Mr de Klerk, would not comment on the conversation. He said that if Mr Mandela had claimed he had spoken to Mr de Klerk — “and I’m not implying he didn’t” — he should be able to reveal what was said.

At Saturday’s rally, Mr Mandela said both the ANC and Government had made important contributions to creating a climate for free political activity.

He said that although the ANC had pulled out of negotiations with the Government, he hoped the problem would be resolved “sooner or later”.

“The South African Government must address the ANC’s demands so that discussions can resume, as the country’s future depends on negotiations between the two parties succeeding,” he said.

The ANC wanted whites to remain in South Africa and help build a democratic country, therefore they had to be reassured by peaceful behaviour during demonstrations.

Mr Mandela also addressed a meeting in King William’s Town on Saturday.

Mr Mandela will address a public meeting at the University of Transkei tomorrow evening and return to Johannesburg on Wednesday. — Sapa.
'Hit list' halts peace talks

PEACE talks in South Africa, scheduled to take place later this week, have been called off amid controversy over claims that the ANC has "sentenced to death" 12 Inkatha leaders and ordered its armed wing to execute them.

The National Peace Committee announced that signatories to the National Peace Accord had asked for a postponement to allow for further consultations.

The Natal Midlands branch of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party claimed in a statement at the weekend that ANC supporters had been given instructions to report any sightings of the 12 "wanted" men — allegedly sentenced to death at a kangaroo court last month — to its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could be killed.

The ANC leader in the Midlands, Harry Gwala, has a militant reputation, having been repeatedly quoted on the need to fight violence with violence. Inkatha had no choice but to boycott the proceedings of dispute resolution committees — set up regionally in terms of the peace accord — while this "farcical" situation persisted, said a spokesman, Kim Hodgson.
A MID-growing optimism that negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress will resume soon, hopes for peace suffered a setback with the news that two teenage choir girls had died after an apparently random shooting in Alexandra last Wednesday night.

The killings raised the death toll since the eve of the ANC's week-long "mass action" campaign above 40. One 13-year-old girl died immediately and a second girl died in hospital. Ten other members of the Emanuel and Alexandra choirs were injured in the attack. Surviving choir members said from their hospital beds that a group of men "coming from nowhere" had fired shots from close range.

It was the second unprovoked shooting in Alexandra in a week, six people having been gunned down earlier. The response of Alexandra residents has been to blame the Inkatha Freedom Party members of Madala men's hostel, the source of continual violence during the past 18 months. More than 10,000 people marched on the Alexandra government offices to call — not for the first time — for the hostel inmates to be thrown out.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Cape Town that the number of deaths during the ANC's mass action campaign had been much lower than feared. But he said that those who had died were "not just statistics". "Even the death of one human being diminishes us all," he added.

Echoing, as he increasingly has in recent weeks, ANC positions, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peacekeeping force and law enforcement agency."

It is movement in this direction that the ANC is demanding from the Government prior to resuming negotiations. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, spelled out once again that the ANC's demands fell into three categories: measures to curb political violence, clear moves towards an interim government, and an elected constituent assembly.

It appears that although the Government is eager not to be seen to be bowing to ANC demands, to a significant extent it will quietly do so.

Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held talks with both the Government and the ANC. Before returning home Mr Cohen said he was confident talks would resume soon. He said he understood the Government to be prepared to take clearly defined steps relating to the violence.

Senior Government sources, meanwhile, have been leaking to the press suggestions that they plan to speed up the process towards an interim government. Bilateral talks with the ANC, they said, were on the cards. President F W de Klerk himself reinforced the sense that some positive movement was afoot when he told reporters that he expected a resumption of talks "soon".

Most significant of all, two Democratic Party MPs said after a meeting with Mr Mandela that he had told them he expected talks to resume after a "cooling-off period" of about 10 days.

The success of the ANC's mass action campaign has strengthened the possibility of a return to the negotiating table. An important, if unstated, objective of the campaign was to narrow the gap that had opened up between the ANC leadership and their grassroots supporters during the six months of negotiations with the Government. — The Independent News Service.
Women's rallies wind up ANC's week of protests

The ANC wound up its week of anti-Government protest with a series of women's rallies across South Africa yesterday.

While the ANC's showcase march on Wednesday to the Cabinet offices at the Union Buildings in Pretoria drew about 70,000 people, yesterday's marches, marking the 36th anniversary of an ANC-led march by about 20,000 women to the same spot, drew a few thousand each.

Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela, told reporters at a rally in Sebokeng that migrant workers' hostels had become "death factories".

Mrs Mandela lamented that women had been directly affected by the now-defunct apartheid laws blocking black migration within South Africa, the target of a 1956 march.

Hostels had been built to house men working on the mines while their families had to stay behind in rural areas.

"Our menfolk who live under those conditions are the victims of apartheid. They have lived there as cattle."

"As a result they are used as cannon fodder by Gaisha and the Government," she said.

Mrs Mandela also bemoaned the lot of women who saw family life "disintegrating".

South African women should not wait to be liberated, ANC executive member Barbara Masekela said at a picnic in central Johannesburg yesterday to commemorate Women's Day.

In Joubert Park — renamed Mandela Park by activists — Ms Masekela said black women suffered triple oppression — as blacks, workers and women.

A statement by the Workers' Organisation of SA, the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand, the Women's Forum, Outrage and Imbuleko called on women to fight high food prices, VAT on food and medicines, lack of housing and transport, and inadequate child care, education, and health.

— Staff Reporter, Sapa.
Debilitating, dangerous stalemate

There is, in short, a debilitating and dangerous stalemate which can only be resolved at the negotiating table.

Fortunately, however, there are clear signs that the ANC and Government will soon resume negotiations and that a major move forward to a democratic South Africa may be imminent with the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, has adopted a conciliatory tone in the wake of the strike. While clearly pleased with the huge number of workers who stayed away — at least four million on two successive days by the ANC's reckoning — he has cautioned his followers not to gloat.

Mr Mandela, now more than ever a proud leader rather than a humble supplicant, says: "We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy." The ANC, to use his idiom, wants peace on its feet, not on its knees.

He exudes pride not arrogance. "I would like to heal wounds," he tells journalists.

Mr de Klerk has responded positively by stressing the urgent need for the resumption of negotiations. "I am prepared to sit down tomorrow," he says.

On the question of an interim government of national unity, he notes that his administration agreed in principle to that a "long time ago", adding: "There is no fundamental difference in opinion between us. We must negotiate to get it."

The second major step identified by Mr Mandela on the road forward is the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr de Klerk, responding to that, replies that his administration has no objection to a "properly-elect ed parliament" acting as a constitution-making body.

Having been driven apart by the Boipatong massacre of June 17 and the recriminations which it precipitated, the ANC and the De Klerk administration are again converging on the negotiating table.

With a little coaxing from the UN, which has sent observers to South Africa to monitor the general strike, they will soon be formally engaged in talks.

Two interrelated factors reinforce the urgent need for a negotiated settlement: the declining economy and the danger of succumbing to incremental anarchy.

South Africa simply cannot afford a prolonged war of attrition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration. The toll is too heavy, in economic as well as human terms.

With corporate bankruptcies on the increase and a negative growth rate predicted for the third year in succession, the strike has contributed to South Africa's economic woes: R250 million in lost earnings, a significant drop in retail trade and in production and, of course, an international image of instability and strife.

The shooting of two journalists during the strike has re-emphasised the danger of incipient anarchy: the two, Philip van Niekerk and Paul Taylor, were shot in daylight in Sebokeng by bandits acting in brazen defiance of retribution from Mr de Klerk's security forces and Mr Mandela's "comrades" (who have been instructed to help journalists).

"Self-defence units have sometimes been hijacked by criminal elements and used as a tool to organise all sorts of racketeers and to organise a lot of criminal elements in the regions". The ANC has decided to disarm its armed wing, MK, and the Ngqanele, a senior member of the ANC, has been arrested for "army activities".

In another move, the ANC has established a "security" committee to "monitor" events on the ground.

As for the ANC, a téa party attended by the ANC's top leaders focused on "security" issues. The party was attended by Dr Gwede Mantashe, the ANC's head of security, and Andrew Mlangeni, the party's lawyer. The gathering, which also included a number of ANC leaders, was held in a rural area near Durban.
ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN

THABO MBeki

ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN

ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN
Talks are set to resume

THE Government and the ANC appeared to be poised to revive negotiations, it was reported at the weekend.  

Speaking at Sada in Ciskei on Saturday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed he had phoned President FW de Klerk on Friday night but did not disclose details of the conversation.  

He said South Africa’s fate depended on negotiations between the ANC and the Government and that both parties had contributed to a climate of peace. “Both among the blacks, as well as among whites, there are people who really desire peace and economic stability,” he said.

Transkei govt warned

TRANSKEI could face food and fuel cut-offs within days if the Transkei government did not step in to restore law and order in the country, SABC radio news reported at the weekend.

In an apparent backlash against the continuing intimidation and lawlessness accompanying the ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign, the Umtata Chamber of Commerce met on Friday night in crisis talks with more than 200 of its members. Following the meeting, a memorandum of demands was sent to the government on Saturday. Unless the demands are met by next Wednesday, business action, including the closure of businesses and the boycotting of taxes to the government, would be considered.
THE Pan Africanist Congress meets the Government tomorrow in Pretoria to prepare for talks on drawing up a new constitution and international monitoring of negotiations.

The PAC said yesterday the meeting would be a follow-up on talks it held with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai told Sowetan a future bilateral summit with the Government was envisaged and would be held at a "neutral venue in a neighbouring country under a neutral chairman".

Not a departure
He said the decision was not a departure from the PAC's stance of "no talks with the regime" but in line with their demand to engage the De Klerk administration in discussing a constituent assembly which should draw a new constitution.

The PAC delegation will be led by first deputy president Mr Dikgang Mosenke and will in-clude secretary general Mr Benny Alexander and Desai.

The meeting comes amid heightened international activity and involvement in South Africa, which included two delegations of the United nations in the past two weeks.

"It will be recalled that the PAC has consistently said Codesa would not deliver a genuine constituent assembly as the only legitimate path for the transformation of the minority racist regime into a truly democratic order.

"We will discuss the creation of an alternative forum for bilateral talks focused on the modalities for the calling of a constituent assembly and a transitional authority to oversee that elections are fair and free.

"Talks will also involve international monitoring of the negotiations and intervention in the unacceptable level of violence, said Desai.

The PAC said it predicted that Codesa would die and be discredited and called for the unity of liberation organisations.
Hopes that talks will resume

GOVERNMENT and ANC sources confirmed at the weekend that negotiations could resume in a restructured forum within weeks, long before October 12 when Parliament resumes for a short session. Sowetan 10/8/92

A series of meetings between the Government and the ANC has already taken place - at least two of which can be confirmed, and which dealt exclusively with the issue of political prisoners.

It is also understood that the PAC was planning a meeting with the Government within days, where the organisation is expected to insist on a restructured forum before starting negotiations.

Other meetings, and a telephone discussion between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk, have reportedly taken place in attempts to resuscitate the collapsed negotiation process.
The PAC is poised to join the constitutional talks by meeting a government delegation in Johannesburg tonight to discuss a new negotiating forum.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation had reason to believe government would meet its demand for an elected constituent assembly — the only item the PAC wanted on the agenda for the new forum.

However, a government source said an elected constitution-making assembly had been agreed to by President F W de Klerk and the government's assent to this continuing to be a steady process.

Moseneke told PAC members last night confirmed the meeting with the PAC and said Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers would be in the delegation.

He said government wanted the issue of violence and attacks against security force members on tonight's agenda.

The PAC last held talks with government in Abuja, Nigeria, in April. That meeting followed the PAC's suspension of participation in negotiations at last November's preparatory meeting for Codena.

A diplomatic source, welcoming the PAC's willingness to rejoin talks, said it appeared that international involvement through the UN, and especially special envoy Cyrus Vance, had applied sufficient pressure on all the parties to get back to the negotiating table.

Moseneke said tonight's meeting would concentrate on a new negotiating forum.

He said the PAC would demand an alternative forum to discuss the modalities pertaining to setting up a transitional authority to oversee the elections to the constituent assembly.

The PAC wanted to secure the continued involvement of the international community in the resolution of violence, as well as in mediation in the negotiating process. It wanted to arrange "a top level summit between the PAC and the regime in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman," said Moseneke.

He said a new negotiating forum would not be "packed with lackeys of the regime". A new structure had to be purged of government's defects.

Codena was terminally ill, Moseneke said. "Our approach will be that the only legitimate body for creating a constitution will be an elected body, a constituent assembly," he said.

In a separate development yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said only a meeting between himself, De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela would help to get negotiations back on track and address the violence.

Addressing Parliament's board of directors, Buthelezi also said Inkatha would not return to Codena "as things stand now", says a Sapa report.

He accused the ANC of wanting total power, wanting to destroy relations between itself and Inkatha as well as other parties opposed to its ideologies.

This strategy, he said, would lead to the ANC and government engaging in bilateral negotiations to the exclusion of other political groupings.

He criticized De Klerk for practicing appeasement politics towards the ANC in order to please the international community, "whatever the cost to us in SA may be".
UN call for inquiry gets wide backing

The National Party and other major political players have backed the United Nations' call for a probe by the Goldstone Commission into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the ANC and PAC's military wings.

But it emerged yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct would be controversial.

Concern has been expressed that a pre-emptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for the killing of high-profile activists such as the Cradock UDF leader, Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and Democratic Party want full disclosure of the detail of any crimes by members of the security forces who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Judge Goldstone said in a weekend statement that unless the SA Police and SA Defence Force were fully investigated "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust of the South African public".

Yesterday National Party security spokesman Hennie Smit said the NP supported in principle Mr Boutros-Ghali's call for a probe.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC national working committee would study the proposals before reacting.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said yesterday that the PAC would react fully once it had read Mr Boutros-Ghali's report.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Justice Goldstone's call for a probe.

He said that a finding by a person of high authority would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Walter Fathe said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the KwaZulu Police, the KwaZulu government would not refuse to cooperate.

In another statement yesterday, Judge Goldstone explained his weekend statement that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to come forward and disclose any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved.

Mr Justice Goldstone offered his assistance in working out the amnesty details.

The ANC and the Government have already held discussions on the issue of political prisoners, where the idea of a general amnesty has been raised.
Drop the ‘zero sum’ culture

IT WAS never going to be easy to democratise South Africa. To suppose that the entrenched institutions and culture of a pervasive system for racial domination could be pushed aside in a quick and easy negotiation forum was always naive.

Negotiations began in 1990 basically because the two major actors, the NP and ANC, had mutually come to recognise that South Africa was in deadlock and that perpetuating the deadlock would exact horrendous costs.

The NP government was in no danger of being toppled, but its rule was ineffective and — above all — unjust. The ANC enjoyed the high moral ground internationally and massive support on the ground, but at no stage did it look like winning the conflict. It required two leaders of the supremacy of Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk to recognise these realities and begin the tortuous process of negotiating an alternative.

The logjam exists precisely because the original deadlock still exists. What we have seen since February 1990 are plays and plays between two antagonists with roughly equal resources, one loath to leave power and the other anxious to take power.

The hopes generated by Codesa last December and the encouraging progress made by some working groups until the denouncement of May were, it is now apparent, based on a false optimism. The ringing terms of the Codesa Declaration of Intent concealed wide differences in the institutional expression of a democratic political system.

The agreement that covered crucially important attributes, such as a multiparty system, an independent judiciary and a justifiable Bill of Rights was a significant achievement. But Working Group 2 failed ultimately because of profoundly different views of what democracy means and entails in institutional terms.

Mr de Klerk has never wavered in his commitment to “power sharing” — and the arguments alleging his intractability are misplaced to the extent that he has never claimed to believe in anything else. Mr Mandela has eloquently proclaimed the ANC’s commitment to “majority rule”, which he is careful to distinguish from “black majority rule”, which he opposes. He wants, he says, “an ordinary democracy”.

Both visions as expressed in their proposals are flawed: the NP’s because its plan for a constitutionally required coalition and its early scheme (now abandoned?) for a complex senate giving bizarrely inflated representation to losing parties had no hope of successful operation — and the ANC’s because the kind of majoritarian democracy it proposes has nowhere succeeded in securing democracy in a deeply divided society.

The number of cases where democracy has survived in such circumstances is depressingly small: where it has survived the crucial instrument has been the broad-based coalition — not constitutionally required, but deriving ultimately from the wisdom of rival leaders whose rivalry was not so great as to preclude statesmanlike forbearance.

Breaking the logjam depends on reaching an agreement to square this circle: finding a via media between these rival conceptions of a democratic order. Is this a purely chimerical quest? I believe not.

In a highly significant speech at the University of Zululand Nelson Mandela was quoted as saying the ANC wanted to ensure unity so that everyone would be able to enjoy power in a new government — including the National Party. Mr Mandela said. He explained that when the ANC came into power it intended “to bring other parties into government” so that it will be representative of all South Africans.

Herein lies the embryo of a pact, a device widely used in other transforming political systems. It is not a constitutional mechanism, but, obviously, if it is to inspire mutual trust it will have to be buttressed by credible guarantees.

The parameters of a pact must be clearly understood: if it is used by a minority party continually to thwart the wishes of the majority party it will collapse, if the majority persists in steam-rolling the interests of minority parties it will likewise collapse.

“England does not love coalitions,” observed Disraeli. Neither, it seems, do politicians raised in British-derived systems. We suffer from a “zero sum” political culture that is wholly inimical to the delicate politics required in a politically fraught society.

We will make no progress on a constitutional front if the violence is not brought under control. In the short term it is imperative that the sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission are implemented. In the medium term we need to ensure that the Government of National Unity, in the long term it is imperative that the quality of government is not diminished.
Room for compromise says Viljoen

There is certainly room for compromise by the ANC and government, and the chances of reaching an acceptable solution are very good, says State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Formerly the “brain” behind government policy and negotiation strategy, Viljoen is now primarily responsible for evaluating policy, the generation of new ideas, and advising President P W de Klerk on negotiations.

In an interview with the RSA Policy Review, conducted before the two-day stayaway, Viljoen covers a broad field including:

- The suspension of negotiations by the ANC;
- His perceived shift in the ANC’s opinion about Codesa agreements; and
- The chances of reaching an acceptable solution.

Viljoen said the reality that politics was about power clearly emerged from Codesa II. The deadlock was a “beneficial shock” because it made all negotiators more realistic, and led to greater “resourcefulness and willingness to think creatively”.

During and after the deadlock an impression was created by ANC spokesmen that the negotiations process was back to square one. However, later bilateral negotiations had given government the clear impression that points of consensus reached by the working groups would remain valid.

He said the ANC had fundamentally changed its viewpoint from agreeing that a constitution writing assembly would be bound by Codesa-negotiated basic constitutional principles, to saying Codesa decisions would not be binding.

He had no doubt that SA would see a Codesa III.
The PAC is to meet the Government tonight to discuss the possible entry of the organisation into negotiations for a new constitution.

Top PAC leaders and Cabinet ministers will hold a "preparatory" meeting at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to try to arrange a "top-level summit" at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, the PAC said yesterday.

The Government made it clear last night that apart from constitutional issues, it would also discuss violence and attacks on policemen — for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has acknowledged responsibility.

The PAC team will consist of information secretary Barney Desai, foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim, national organiser M Nondlovumini, legal secretary Willy Seriti and local government secretary M Litheko.

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday said the PAC had been encouraged to enter discussions with the Government by recent concessions to the PAC's negotiating position.

The PAC gave four items on tonight's agenda:

- Ensuring the Government agreed to convene a constituent assembly.
- Demanding an alternative forum (other than Codesa) to negotiate a "transitional authority" to oversee elections for a constituent assembly.
- Securing continued involvement of the international community in resolving violence and mediating the negotiating process.
- Arranging a top-level summit between the PAC and the Government at a "neutral venue under a neutral chairman".
PAC, Govt to meet for talks today

Decision to talk before gains made by UN can be eroded:

By Ismail Lagardier
Political Correspondent

FOUR issues will feature prominently when the PAC meets with the Government today. They are:

- To ensure that the Government agrees to the election of a sovereign constituent assembly;
- The setting up of a transitional authority to oversee the elections to a constituent assembly;
- To secure "the continued involvement" of the international community in the resolution of violence and mediation in the negotiation process; and
- To arrange a top level summit with the Government at a neutral venue and under a neutral, impartial mediator.

The two parties meet for the second time since Abuja, Nigeria, earlier this year.
Talks mark milestone on rocky road

Yesterday, for the first time, the Government and the PAC met officially inside the country. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA traces the path to the meeting.

WHEN a six-man Pan Africanist Congress delegation and senior Government ministers sat down to talk at the Airport Sun hotel last night, a milestone was reached on a long and rocky path towards negotiations. The meeting effectively eased the PAC's entry into the negotiations process.

For although rumours have abounded that Pretoria and the Africanist organisation were holding secret talks — denied by the PAC leadership — yesterday's was the first official meeting between the two inside the country.

Not much of practical import can be expected from the talks, but it allowed the PAC to make a quiet entry into negotiations, largely on its own terms. More importantly, it established a precedent: from now on, the insistence that talks be held "at a neutral venue" does not necessarily mean outside the country.

In spite of its rhetoric, the PAC has knocked on the negotiations door before. Not only was it a co-convener of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban last year — which called for an immediate meeting with the Government — but it also took part in the multi-party preparatory meeting which led to Codesa 1 on December 20-21.

The PF conference, observers pointed out then, offered the PAC a strategic way of jumping on to the negotiations bandwagon without losing face.

Announcing its decision to pull out of talks, the PAC cited its reasons as the forum's rejection of some of the organisation's important proposals and alleged collusion between the Government and the ANC.

What the PAC leadership did not concede, however, was that it was facing considerable opposition and dissent within its ranks. The leadership had to consolidate support on the ground.

If it is taking time for some rank-and-file PAC members to accept the inevitability of negotiations, this reality had long dawned on the PAC leadership. Hence the resolution adopted at the organisation's second national congress in December 1990, declining the Government's invitation to talks while tactically leaving open the possibility of contact.

Wisely, the PAC set itself four goals for yesterday's meeting, all of which are now attainable. These are: ensuring that the Government agrees to a sovereign constituent assembly; the restructuring of the flawed Codesa as a negotiating forum; the continued involvement of the international community "in the resolution of violence and mediation in negotiations"; and to arrange a top-level summit with the Government "in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations.
Apla policy 'to attack white farms'

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON.—An Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) spokesman in Tanzania said yesterday it was possible attacks on farms in the Eastern Cape were carried out by Apla members as these were in line with the organisation's armed struggle policy.

Eastern Cape police implicated Apla, the PAC's armed wing, in attacks on Monday during which two farmhouses were shot at, petrol bombs thrown, and a barn destroyed by fire.

An Apla spokesman, Mr. Johnny Nqozinja, said from Dar-es-Salaam he had not yet received a report on the attacks, but it was possible "the attacks were carried out in accordance with Apla policy."

"We shall continue to launch the armed struggle against the minority white regime as long as a negotiated settlement has not been reached," he said.
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If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations.
THE Codesa patriotic front — the ANC and the eight organisations supporting its positions at Codesa — meets next week to prepare a common strategy ahead of an expected resumption of negotiations.

Front spokesman Ismail Ibrahim Ismail said yesterday the summit would “discuss the whole process of negotiations”.

The front consists of the ANC, the SACP, the Labour Party, Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Inyandza, Transkei, Venda, Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

Ismail said a return to negotiations depended on government’s response to the ANC’s demands on violence, a constituent assembly and an interim government.

“To get negotiations back on track there may be some room for flexibility. If we are sure that the government is making genuine attempts to put an end to violence and to control the security forces; if the government is moving in that direction and if progress is made, we will go back to negotiations,” he said.

He said that while there was a feeling among front members that Codesa needed to be reconstructed to make for more efficient decision-making, front members such as the Transkei government should be present at negotiations.

He said his personal view was that while smaller parties should be represented at future negotiations, they should not be able to veto decisions and “should not use their positions to stifle any agreement”. The new form of negotiations would be discussed at next week’s meeting and an elected constituent assembly would remain central to the front’s demands.

“What is not negotiable is the question of an elected constituent assembly. The government must accept that it will follow democratic procedure by arriving at a constitution by a two-thirds majority,” he said. Other non-negotiables included interim government-control of the security forces, implementation of Codesa’s agreements on the SABC and the levelling of the playing field in terms of preparations for an election.

On relations with the PAC, which formed a Patriotic front with the ANC and other organisations about a year ago, Ismail said the OAU had been informed that the PAC’s route back into the front would have to be through the Codesa front.
Cries of betrayal from five CP rebels

On Monday Teurnicht said that the CP would accept a smaller white homeland and would negotiate this with its neighbours. He ruled out talks with the ANC and its partners. The rebel five—Free State leader Cehill Pienaar, Moisam Mentz (Ermelo), Rosier de Villé (Standerton), Andries Beyers (Potchefstroom) and DeJager—wanted an Afrikaner homeland (not whites only) to be negotiated with all parties.

Govt and PAC set date for next meeting

GOVERNMENT and the PAC would meet again in Pretoria on August 18 in preparation for the PAC’s inclusion in forthcoming constitutional talks, the two parties said last night.

After a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, which ended at midnight, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government and the PAC had “agreed that a democratic process must be followed in SA”.

Meyer said the two parties, meeting for the first time since April, had found that there was “more common ground than disagreement”.

He said the meetings were aimed at involving the PAC fully in the negotiations process, and added that a meeting was being planned at presidential level.

He said the issue of attacks on policemen had been raised, and that it would be discussed at the next meeting.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the PAC had emphasised that only an elected constitutional assembly could bring about a nonracial SA.

Meyer said last night’s meeting was one of several bilateral contacts taking place between government and various parties.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said earlier that government had approached Azapo two weeks ago through a third party, requesting similar talks. Azapo would not agree to meet government until it had been asked in writing and “until government is clear about what it expects from such a meeting”, Moodley said.

Disputes conference

WILSON ZWANE

A CONFERENCE on alternative dispute resolution will be held next month at Wits University.

It will be hosted by the Law Students Society, Investec Bank and Medibank.

Speakers will include Independent Mediation Services SA chairman Charles Nupen and SA Association of Mediators chairmain Charles Cohen.

The Law Students’ council said yesterday the conference was aimed at providing “an influential forum from which to assess this new and dynamic field”.

“Unaffordably high costs, long delays and the emotional anguish that accompany courtroom litigation are just some of the reasons for welcoming and investigating alternative methods of settling disputes,” the council said.
PAC, Govt meeting gets under way

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The historic meeting between the PAC and the Government got under way at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport last night.

The meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government in South Africa — is a sequel to one held by the PAC leadership with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

It is widely expected the meeting will pave the way for the PAC's entry to negotiations.

A top PAC aide speculated that "practically nothing" concrete was achieved at last night's initial meeting on South African soil.

The PAC aide, who told The Star the PAC delegation was dominated by "lefties" and had only two moderates — publicity and information secretary Barney Desai and legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — said there were two separate agendas at the meeting.

The PAC, he said, would insist on having a high-level summit between the Government and itself to be held in Harare and chaired by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up the country's new constitution.

The Government, on the other hand, would use the meeting to talk about its concerns about attacks on police launched by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apia).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apia's activities, routinely referring questions to Apia's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The PAC delegation — led by Mr Desai — included political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, local government affairs secretary Molefe Dilileko, national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and international affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer led the Government delegation.

• Talks mark milestone on rocky road — Page 13
Mandela to meet FW and Buthelezi

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi within four weeks.

The meeting will take place as part of a summit of the National Peace Committee (NPC) of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting is regarded as the first step towards breaking the present deadlock in negotiations.

Speaking at the start of a plenary session of the NPC in Sandton north of Johannesburg yesterday, NPC chairman

Mr John Hall said: “We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks.”

Hall said the purpose of the proposed summit was to review the National Peace Accord and to see “how effective it has been and how we may in fact make that Peace Accord more effective.”

At present the only obstacle to such a meeting taking place was a complaint by the IFP over a remark allegedly made by the ANC president.

The NPC’s executive met before yesterday’s plenary session.
NEWS Boipatong tapes erased • Govt, PAC in high-level talks

PAC meets the Government

Both sides cautious as ‘exploratory’ talks start

The Pan Africanist Congress met a high-powered Government delegation for exploratory talks at a Johannesburg hotel late last night. The meeting started shortly after 9pm and was expected to stretch into the early hours of this morning. Both delegations made heavily-guarded statements at the start of the meeting.

The PAC secretary for information, Mr Barney Desai, did not want to speculate on the outcome but said it would take at least an hour for the two groups to settle and get to know each other.

Desai said: “We have come here primarily to get a commitment from the regime for a democratically elected constituent assembly and set up a high-level summit between the PAC and the Government.”

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, was similarly cautious and said the talks “were of an exploratory nature.”

Mr Willie Seriti, Mr Gora Ebrahim Desai, Mr Maxwell Nkabinde, Mr Jackie Seleke and Mr Molefe Ditheko represented the PAC.

The government was represented by Meyer, Mr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Sam deBeer, Mr Tertius Delport, Mr Fanie van der Merwe and Mr Mauritz Spaarwater.

Mr Willie Seriti of the PAC shakes hands with Mr Tertius Delport chief negotiator of the National Party at last night’s exploratory talks.

Pic: LEN KUMALO
DIVISIONS ARE surfacing within formerly loyal ANC structures.

In his response to the ANC’s memorandum in June listing 14 demands before negotiations could resume, State President FW de Klerk made a point he and some members of his Government have made frequently.

The ANC, he said, was allowing itself to be dictated to by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela, De Klerk let slip that the Government was obtaining secret information from the top echelons of the ANC and said “hardline communists” were largely responsible for the organisation’s withdrawal from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in the wake of the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

De Klerk said the decision to suspend negotiations had been taken despite opposition within the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC).

This point, made many times in the past in the Government’s attempts to drive a wedge between the ANC and its allies—especially the SACP—got lost in the political wrangling and point-scoring which ensued and the Press accorded it no special attention.

Personal view

But were De Klerk’s allegations as far-fetched as they sounded then? Subsequent developments suggest otherwise.

To start with, the ANC’s Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) took the unprecedented step of issuing a statement to the Press saying no ANC member— including NEC and National Working Committee heavyweight — was authorised to comment on behalf of the organisation on De Klerk’s letter. Unless official comment came from the DIP itself, anything else was to be taken as a personal view from whoever would have made it.

This raised one important question: If there had been consensus on the decision to suspend negotiations and withdraw from Codesa, why the injunction against otherwise respected members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leadership commenting publicly on De Klerk’s response?

Show of unity

Was the public show of unity, perhaps, nothing more than a facade?

Considering the DIP’s handling of the matter, observers can be forgiven for concluding that cracks were beginning to emerge in ANC ranks and that the alliance, at whose head sits the ANC, was beginning to operate more like a three-headed snake.

Even if one were to make allowance for the

Recent events suggest that cracks are emerging in ANC ranks. The ANC-led alliance is now operating like a three-headed snake, according to Kaizer Nyatsumba.

FW de Klerk … getting secret information from top ANC officials?

fact that the ANC leadership, like that of any organisation, will sometimes differ on matters of strategy and policy - a healthy development, indeed - recent events support the observation that all is not well in the alliance and structures formally subordinate and loyal to it.

These differences became somewhat magnified for all to see in the build-up to last week’s two-day stayaway.

Perhaps the most salient example of the tail beginning to furiously wag the dog is provided by the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) which recently publicly differed with the ANC on the contentious issue of the proposed boycott of bond repayments.

Considerable stature

Sanco, whose president Moses Mayekiso is a luminary figure in both the ANC and the SACP, as well as a trade unionist of considerable stature - he is general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) - has called for a boycott of bond repayments. The idea, as explained by Mayekiso, is to get banks to put pressure on the Government “to accede to democratic demands and stop violence”.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg after his return from Barcelona, Mandela publicly took issue with the proposed bond repayment boycott, saying it was ill-advised and would lead to financial institutions refusing to extend home loans to blacks.

Civic organisations, Mandela said, were not in a position to call for a bond boycott without the ANC.

To which Mayekiso swiftly responded: “The

Mass action

What later followed, about which the ANC could do little, was that some schools went without any effective learning at all last week, as both Saso and the South African Democratic Teachers Union branches in some parts of the country extended their “holiday” during the week of mass action.

Lastly, in a briefing with black journalists and editors two weeks ago, Mandela differed with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo saying he was opposed to the occupation of factories as then proposed by the Cosatu leader.

Mandela said he would prefer the occupation of government buildings instead.

And so while the ANC presents the picture of a monolithic alliance pulling harmoniously in one direction, it is becoming increasingly obvious that various components of the organisation - including student and civic organisations and, at times even the ANC Youth League - are beginning to assert their independence.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that while allegations of divisions within the ANC and its allies might be greatly exaggerated by the Government in its propaganda warfare, they are not entirely without foundation.

As the political tug-of-war intensifies, more cracks in the ANC-alliance are likely to surface with more and more formerly aligned structures asserting their independence on some issues - and even seeking to influence ANC policy.
PAC still aiming for real McCoy

REAL negotiations between the PAC and the Government would have to take place at a neutral venue, an executive member of the organisation said last night.

Mr Mark Shinners, a guest on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, said the constituent assembly was entitled with the future of the country.

"Our meeting with Government is a preparatory one. We are discussing the agenda and the modalities. We need to arrive at a neutral venue for a real meeting. "But we are aiming towards the implementation of a constituent assembly. The leadership must engage the regime to draw up a new constitution," he said.

"It's a bit unfair for the Government to think they can be referee and player at the same time. How can we trust them to be judges. I agree with Mr Shinners that we need a neutral chairman."

JRF, Soweto.

"I think it's a good idea for the PAC to return to the Patriotic front."

Solly Mapatlane, Johannesburg.

"The PAC's executive and national committees are making preparations to meet with the other organisations and revive the Patriotic Front."

Mark Shinners.

"The ANC and the PAC's principles are almost the same, although they differ here and there. For his reason, I was concerned when the PAC rejected the ANC's call for mass action."

George Mzimbi, Moutse.

"Our rejection of the mass action was a matter of principle. Part of the reasons for mass action was to revive Codesa. Since we have never supported Codesa, we could not support an action to mend it."

Mark Shinners.

"There should not be animosity among parties in the negotiations, those joining and the ones still to join in. Secondly, we cannot separate politics from the word of God. Zaccharias acknowledged he had robbed people of their money and made a promise to pay the people double of what he took. The Government must also repay the people double fold."

Kenneth Jacobs, Cape Town.
PAC now set to negotiate

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress is set to join negotiations following the success of Tuesday night's exploratory talks with the Government. A follow-up meeting between the two parties is scheduled for Pretoria next week.

Tuesday's talks at the Airport Sun hotel, which lasted for three hours, were described by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as fruitful and constructive.

Addressing a press briefing at the end of the meeting, at midnight, Mr Meyer—who led the Government delegation—said considerable progress had been made at the talks, which he hoped would lead to the PAC's involvement in negotiations.

Asked to comment on Mr Meyer's statement, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said his organisation had never been opposed to negotiations, but had wanted them conducted within a democratic forum which would write the country's constitution.

Such a forum, he said, was an elected constituent assembly which would bring about "a nonracial South Africa for which we all strive". However, the PAC stood firm in demanding that negotiations be chaired by a neutral convenor.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC also raised the question of a "transitional authority", which was inextricably linked to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Ebrahim—who agreed it was important to build trust—said the meeting was exploratory in nature, and was meant to allow the two parties to put their positions and concerns to each other.

Because of time constraints, the Government and the PAC had not tried to resolve their differences, and some of the issues which remained to be discussed would be tackled at the follow-up meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Mr Meyer told the press briefing that common ground was found on most of the issues discussed.

The two men said the issue of violence had been discussed, and Mr Meyer said his delegation had expressed its concern about attacks on policemen allegedly carried out by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

It was now waiting for the PAC's response.

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC, which was concerned about the violence and was committed to ending "the senseless carnage", considered it "extremely important" for it to put across its views on violence and to help end it.

Police reject claim of IFP attack

Police in Heidelberg yesterday denounced a "deliberate lie" a claim by the ANC PWV region that several people had been attacked by Inkatha Freedom Party marchers in Ratanda township.

The ANC said several people were reportedly attacked in the township after yesterday morning's IFP march to the local police station.

Fifteen minibuses carrying about 200 armed IFP supporters were seen arriving at the local hostel after the march, soon after which the occupants randomly attacked residents, said the ANC.

Colonel FJ le Grange of the Heidelberg police said police had monitored the march for the entire morning and there were no reports of any incidents.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation stood by the statement:— Staff Reporter.
Focus moves to world stage

SA set for tense week of conflict

SA faces a week of bitter political and social conflict with relations between government and the ANC and its union allies at their lowest since the start of negotiations last year.

The antagonism between the camps will be played out on the world stage at two international forums.

The ANC and PAC will again blame government for the unrest at a London meeting tomorrow, sponsored by the UN special committee on apartheid arranged by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. On Wednesday the ANC, government and other CODESA participants will put their views on the violence and the constitutional impasse to a special meeting of the UN Security Council.

At home, government fears political tensions will be raised by a Cosatu march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

On the front line, the TPA has refused to bow to threats by the National Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) to occupy offices and barricade hospitals if dismissed workers are not reinstated.

Sapa reports that Nehawu general secretary Philip Dexter threatened on Saturday that the union would occupy Transvaal and Free State provincial buildings to demand the reinstatement of 7,000 strikers.

Dexter said the administrations' managers would be chased out of their buildings if the union's demands were not met.

In another development reflecting hardening union attitudes, Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association president Kgabisi Mosunkuti at the weekend threatened that Telkom workers would disrupt telecommunications in white areas.

Mosunkuti said the struggle would be brought to white areas unless government conducted a full investigation into the death in a car accident last week of senior ANC PWV official Floyd Mashele.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba was reported yesterday as saying mass action was intended to take townshipships back to the era of "ungovernability" which characterised the mid-1980s.

He said the league would march on the homes of policemen "who killed our people during riots. We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street committees and people's courts."

Another ANC Youth League official was reported to have said comrades in Soshong in the Vaal Triangle had defence units which provided residents with arms.

Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said police would deal "severely" with people who attacked them.

Employers and trade union leaders will meet next Monday to finalise proposals aimed at resolving the impasse in constitutional negotiations. Representatives from the employer body Sacola and Cosatu agreed on Tuesday to a draft set of proposals on joint action to achieve democracy.

On Friday, Cosatu's central executive committee reportedly decided on a seven-day national strike starting on August 3.

WILSON ZWANE
and RAY HARTLEY

Comment: Page 6
ANC probe completed

A COMMISSION of inquiry appointed by the ANC to probe allegations of atrocities in its former camps in Tanzania and Uganda has finished hearing evidence.

The commission will present its report and recommendations to ANC president Nelson Mandela within the next few weeks.

Durban-based advocate R S Douglas, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to probe the camps, said yesterday he would begin hearing evidence in Johannesburg later this month.
Hard-line ANC tail beginning to wag the dog

In his response to the ANC’s memorandum in June listing 14 demands before negotiations could resume, President de Klerk made a point he and some members of his Government have made frequently. The ANC, he said, was allowing itself to be dictated to by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk let slip that the Government was obtaining secret information from the top echelons of the ANC, and said “hardline communists” were largely responsible for the organisation’s withdrawal from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in the wake of the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Mr de Klerk said the decision to suspend negotiations had been taken despite opposition within the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

This point, made many times in the past in the Government’s attempt to drive a wedge between the ANC and its allies — especially the SACP — got lost in the political wrangling and point-scoring which ensued, and the press accredited it no special attention.

But were Mr de Klerk’s allegations as far-fetched as they sounded then? Subsequent developments suggest otherwise.

To start with, the ANC’s Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) took the unprecedented step of issuing a statement to the press saying no ANC member — including NEC and National Working Committee heavyweights — was authorised to comment on behalf of the organisation on Mr de Klerk’s letter. Unless official comment came from the DIP itself, anything else was to be taken as a personal view from whoever would have made it.

If there had been consensus on the decision to suspend negotiations and withdraw from Codesa, why the injunction against otherwise respected members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leadership commenting publicly on Mr de Klerk’s response? Was the public show of unity, perhaps, nothing more than a facade?

Considering the DIP’s handling of the matter, observers can be forgiven for concluding that cracks were beginning to emerge in ANC ranks and that the alliance was beginning to operate more like a three-headed snake.

Even if one were to make allowances for the fact that the ANC leadership, like that of any other organisation, will sometimes differ on matters of strategy and policy — a healthy development, indeed — recent events support the observation that all is not well in the alliance and structures formally subordinate and loyal to it.

These differences became somewhat magnified for all to see in the build-up to last week’s two-day stayaway.

Perhaps the most salient example of the tail beginning to wag the dog was provided by the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), which recently publicly differed with the ANC on a proposed boycott of bond repayments.

Sanco, whose president Moses Mayekiso is a luminary figure in both the ANC and the SACP, as well as a trade unionist of considerable stature, called for a boycott. The idea, he explained, was to get banks to put pressure on the Government “to accede to democratic demands and stop violence”.

At a press conference in Johannesburg after his return from Barcelona, Mr Mandela took issue with the proposed bond repayment boycott, saying it was ill-advised and would lead to financial institutions refusing to extend home loans to blacks. Civic organisations, Mr Mandela said, were not in a position to call for a bond boycott without the ANC.

To which Mr Mayekiso swiftly responded, “The civics don’t take orders from anybody. The policy of the civics is independent and accountable to its membership.”

(Interestingly, as a Johannesburg daily recently revealed, Mr Mayekiso’s rent for his Hillbrow flat has been paid for him by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions since his release from prison in 1988.)

Also in the week before the stayaway, the South African Students’ Congress (Sasco) publicly differed with the ANC’s education desk on students’ role in mass action, claiming it had the right to determine its own programme.

While the ANC wanted students to be exempt from the stayaway, Sasco called for a shut-down of all tertiary institutions on Monday and Tuesday, saying students were “primarily members of society before they are students”.

The ANC later backed down, and said after “extensive consultations” with students’ and teachers’ organisations it accepted their decision to participate in the stayaway.

Lastly, in a briefing with black journalists and editors two weeks ago, Mr Mandela differed with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, saying he was opposed to the occupation of factories as then proposed by the Cosatu leader.

Mr Mandela said he would prefer the occupation of Government buildings instead.

So while the ANC presents the picture of a monolithic alliance pulling harmoniously in one direction, it is becoming increasingly obvious that various organisations, organisations and movements within the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance are struggling to assert their independence.

As the frantic tug-of-war continues, more and more cracks in the ANC’s public unity will become evident, and the ANC’s alliances will be greatly weakened.

To prevent this, it is up to the Government, in its propaganda work, to clearly and unequivocally state its position on issues, and even seek to influence ANC policy.
ANC opposes 'troika' concept

The ANC has condemned alleged attempts to portray the planned September gathering of leaders under the National Peace Accord as a meeting of a Government-ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party "troika".

It stressed in a statement yesterday that its president, Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet merely as signatories of the peace accord — among many other signatories.

Reports suggesting the three leaders were to meet "exclusively" were "mischiefful and unhelpful" and were calculated to revive "the discredited concept of a troika form of leadership in the affairs of South Africa".

"The ANC has repeatedly expressed its opposition to the concept of a troika, and will not be inveigled into any situation that seeks to legitimate it," said the statement.

The organisation's statement follows press reports yesterday that the three leaders would meet "face to face within the next four weeks" at a National Peace Committee (NPC) summit to review the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed in September last year.

NPC chairman John Hall confirmed the summit was expected to be held soon.

The ANC said the NPC had agreed to convene a meeting of all the signatories of the NPA in which parties would "hopefully revitalise the accord", and that the decision had been taken despite attempts by the Government and the IFP "to reduce the NPA to a meeting of the troika of leaders".
ANC nod to camps inquiry

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The ANC has given the Goldstone Commission and the South African Council of Churches permission to investigate its camps outside South Africa.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela disclosed this on Tuesday night while speaking in Umtata.

He said the ANC had undertaken to approach the governments of countries where ANC camps are based so that the commission could investigate them.

He welcomed a call by Mr Justice Goldstone for a thorough probe of the South African Police, SA Defence Force and liberation movements' military wings.

The National Party and Democratic Party have already welcomed the call for a probe.

In an apparent attempt to reassure the businessmen who filled the hall, Mr Mandela promised that the establishment of an interim government would end mass action.
Youths hold crucial meeting

An historic youth conference, which will attempt to find solutions to problems faced by young people, is to be held in Kempton Park this month.

The conference is convened by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. It will be held between August 29 and August 30 at the World Trade Centre.

Organisations expected to take part include the ANC Youth League, National Party Youth Action, Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, Democratic Party Youth, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Youth and the Azanian Youth Unity.
A lack of options gets the PAC talking

PATRICK BULGER

The PAC has been edging towards negotiations with government for some years, and the Codessa breakdown offers the movement a chance to enter negotiations without alienating its supporters, a new research paper says.

The Centre for Policy Studies paper by researcher Johannes Rantete was released as top-level government and PAC delegations met on Tuesday to pave the way for the PAC's entry into talks expected to resume soon. The meeting was the first official high-level contact between government and the PAC inside SA since the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1992.

Rantete's paper, Liberation and Negotiation: The PAC in the SA Transition, examines the PAC's shift towards negotiations. This shift has taken place in the context of a radicalised movement demanding an indigenous socialism as pragmatic elements of its leadership became fearful of political marginalisation. "The PAC appears to have been positioning itself to enter negotiations in late 1991, but was almost certainly prevented from doing so by its constituency. It appears that its leadership is still interested in this option. The key is whether it is not likely to face the same opposition from within its own ranks."

"Ironically, the Codessa breakdown presents the PAC with the possibility of re-entering the talks on a basis which might be approved by its constituency. The breakdown might end not with other 'liberation' movements accepting the PAC's alternative to Codessa-type negotiation, but with the PAC agreeing, with reservation, to accept the version which it has repeatedly rejected."

In August 1989 the PAC rejected the pro-negotiations Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC and OAU. But a March 1990 PAC consultative conference decided negotiations could take place if government committed itself to majority rule and land redistribution. It endorsed a constituent assembly which the ANC to demand a constituent assembly and interim government. However, at the December 1991 Codessa preparatory meeting, the PAC suspended its involvement and until recently has been sharply critical of Codessa and balking in the gainung power.

A growing realisation within the PAC leadership that opportunities for negotiation were being wasted, grew into support for negotiations with conditions attached. In particular, the PAC attempted to portray negotiations as a version of old-style decolonisation of the sort that had taken place in other African states.

A PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, he notes, in February 1988 said the PAC intended intensifying the armed struggle in SA and that there were no grounds for negotiations.

In August 1989 the PAC rejected the pro-negotiations Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC and OAU. But a March 1990 PAC consultative conference decided negotiations could take place if government committed itself to majority rule and land redistribution. It endorsed a constituent assembly which it saw for the first time as a step towards gaining power.

While its reading of political developments may prove the validity of its approach, the PAC is unable to match this political acumen with political strength. Nor does it have the strength to derail negotiations.

"Its lack of options as it remains outside the process may explain why its leaders still appear to be positioning the movement to enter the negotiation process," Rantete says.

"The PAC may face an insoluble dilemma: whether it joins negotiations or stays out. Despite the fact that it represents an important strand in 'liberation' thinking, its influence on the negotiation process and the system which emerges from it will be limited.

"This may be partly explained by the PAC's organisational limitations. But the real explanation may lie in the fact that its vision of the transition to a new order as a decolonisation process is simply not achievable in SA, by negotiation or by any other means."
PEOPLE'S LIVES  Joy at formation of the Patriotic/United Front was premature

Freedom groups must speak with one voice

To millions of many and to the chagrin of others, the PAC this week tentatively entered into talks with the Government.

PAC leaders have been on television and radio and in the newspapers this week explaining why they are now talking and what they want from the talks.

They are saying exactly the same things that the ANC and its allies are now saying.

They argue that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is dead and a new negotiating forum needs to be created.

Rubbing its hands

They see a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person one-vote and unfettered by prior agreements as the only body that should draw up a new constitution for the country.

All this is language we have been hearing from the ANC since the collapse of Codesa 2.

As the language of the ANC hardened, the PAC was rubbing its hands with glee. In rather muted tones, it was saying: "We told you so. We told you that Codesa was incapable of delivering democracy."

ANC leaders, on the other hand, were saying: "Correct, you did warn against Codesa. But what alternative was there? What have you been doing while we worked for democracy and peace in Codesa?"

It was the traditional slanging match between the ANC and the PAC.

Sadly, some of its remembered Durban last October - is it really less than a year ago?

The disenfranchised in this country were thrilled when the Patriotic/United Front was created.

For once the liberation movements spoke with one voice. They were going to enter negotiations with a common set of demands.

Important issues

Our joy was premature.

The language used in the statements after the Durban meeting should have warned us that the delegates had glossed over important issues.

Take the very name of the front. Some delegates insisted that it was a patriotic front; others said it was a more united front because some among them could not be described as patriots because they had been collaborating with the oppressors against the liberation movements.

It was all handled politically: nobody should be offended. After all, there were members of the tripartite Parliament present as well as homeland leaders.

So both names were used: it was the Patriotic/United Front.

We had phrases like interim government/transitional arrangements... if you have the time you can go back to the documents released then.

We felt warm inside after that "historical" meeting. We did not have this time and the sense to question our leaders closely. They had work to do, confronting PV de Klerk's Government and turning this country into a democracy.

All that was clear at the time was that they were going to ask De Klerk for an election for a Constituent Assembly.

You all know the sad twist to this tale: even before they confronted the National Party, the front had collapsed.

The PAC was crying foul, alleging that the ANC had been talking to the Government behind its back. The ANC denied it. The PAC walked out of the meeting to prepare for the talks with the Government, declaring that Codesa was incapable of transforming this country into a democracy.

Truth is that we were not able or we did not want to talk frankly between ourselves.

The same disease ate into the deliberations between the ANC and the Government at Codesa. Agreements were reached. Progress was always reported. But the agreements meant different things to each party. Clear definitions were avoided.

Today Mandela shouts from below De Klerk's window at the Union Buildings. The PAC's Gora Ibrahim meets the National Party's Roelf Meyer at hotels in Johannesburg. And the disenfranchised remain confused.

Only one thing will clear our vision: the liberation movements must talk between themselves and speak with one voice before they confront De Klerk.

I've been told that the Patriotic Front within Codesa is meeting next week in KwaNdebele.

Perhaps first on their agenda should be a return to the Patriotic Front that brought such a warm feeling among all of us last October?

An indicator

How they handle talks between liberation movements will be an indicator of how they will handle future talks with De Klerk.

Frank and open? Solving problems rather than glossing over them? Or point scoring with no regard for the feelings of the masses who are hungry and cold?

The events of the last few months have shown that De Klerk is not going to give in to demands simply because they are placed on his desk. He is not going to give in to the demand for a Constituent Assembly simply because he is now engaged in bilateral talks with the PAC.

Our liberation movements need to work together to turn this country into a true democracy.
"Interim government now?" has been one of the slogans of the ANC and its allies. It is possible to sympathise with their impatience, if not with their methods and motives. We need an interim government, transitional authority — call it what you will — as long as it involves joint responsibility — soon.

The country is on hold. Government has itself acknowledged — by entering negotiations — that it is not legitimate, in the sense of representing all the people. There is also a disturbing lack of ministerial talent to support President F W de Klerk. The administration as a whole is increasingly infected with lame-duck disease.

Even in areas where funds have already been allocated there is paralysis. Money for housing and education is not being spent, pending a political settlement. Investors, both local and foreign, are waiting to see what happens. Businessmen feel unconfident, jumpy and unable to plan.

Both the Nats and the ANC say they want fast progress towards a settlement. So why has the first step — an interim government — proved so elusive? It is because the Nats want to avoid giving up power before there have been negotiations about the vital issues; and the ANC does not want to compromise by getting joint responsibility on terms which are too favourable to the Nats.

Both parties have a constituency to placate. This is why the problem is not one of trust between the various leaders — though trust obviously helps.

There are understandable fears. Whites may have accepted the inevitability of majority rule when they voted "yes" in the March referendum — but they are irritated by the apparent political immaturity that is revealed in mass action and toyi-toyi politics.

Sensing this conservatism, the Nats hang on. This is probably not a calculated thing; perhaps they instinctively hope that time will somehow mellow the radicals in the ANC and strengthen the moderates; that the humiliation of communist economics will continue; that revolutionary ideology will steadily be replaced by an appreciation of hard economic realities.

The ANC, in its turn, is also reluctant to move into the transitional stage, despite its rhetoric. For once it shares power, the ANC can no longer be an opponent; it will have at least a partial say in government — which brings with it a share of responsibility. It will fail to solve many of the problems which have defeated the Nats — and it will begin its baptism of failing to meet expectations. Clearly it wants the best possible terms and conditions.

A transitional authority could take many forms. It could be elected or appointed (though the experience of countries like Portugal suggests that democracy installed from above by a leadership pact has more chance of succeeding). An interim authority could be used to oversee the mechanics of transition while another body wrote a new constitution, or could write the constitution itself as well as govern. The ANC, the Nats and other major parties might have equal representation; or they might not. It could be timed to last for a few months; or a few years.

Procedings at Codesa showed that agreement between the Nats and the ANC can be reached on these issues.

So what’s the delay? The big problem — the one on which the Nats are reluctant to risk a majority vote, once they have given up sole power — is the extent to which power should be devolved. As a document from the SA Institute of Race Relations puts it: "This is the critical practical question bubbling beneath the surface of the memoranda flowing between the ANC and government."

The Nats and Inkatha favour greater power for regions. The ANC is suspicious of this; it expects to win majority support as a whole and does not see why it should be deprived of all the keys to the kingdom.

Communist leader Chris Hani has complained that a federal system would be used to retain white supremacy. His reasoning is not clear. As Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has pointed out, whites would be in a definite minority in every federal region, whether the map were drawn according to ANC or Nat proposals. In the engine room of the economy — the PWV area — blacks would certainly be a majority.

It seems clear that the issue of federalism needs to be addressed on its own, bluntly and honestly, without the paraphernalia and hot air of another Codesa, where a score of delegations and committees produce detracting sophistry. A binding compromise on federalism is perhaps both a necessary and a sufficient condition for the establishment of an interim government.

Such a conference on federalism might profitably address issues that till now have been swept under the carpet. For instance, it is wise not to be mechanistic about possible regional divisions. Research by the Development Bank of SA and Race Relations reveals wide disparities between the eight convenient geographic regions. Consideration of these differences might produce a more sensible approach on all sides.

The western Cape, for instance, has the highest average life expectancy, best health services, highest literacy rate (82%) and smallest proportion of Africans (17%). Contrast this with the northern Transvaal, which has the fastest population growth, most children under 15 (31%), highest proportion of people with no education (21%) and largest proportion of Africans (97%). Natal and KwaZulu have the greatest number of Africans (63%) and export the largest number of migrant workers (482,000).

These regions are obviously not equal; in many respects they are not even similar. There is a clear case for considerable devolution of power to regional and local level, so that policies can be devised to suit particular circumstances. The greater the centralisation, the more chance there is for disaffection. But it must also be borne in mind that the regions are interdependent economically and share infrastructure and resources.

If the ANC and the Nats were to sit down and discuss federal variations in detail, they might discover a surprising amount of common ground. If they do not, the issue will remain to haunt and undermine any accommodation they may reach.

The other necessary condition for an interim government, it seems, is the reduction of violence to a level that the ANC and its allies can tolerate. Political violence remains the biggest stumbling block.

Here, too, it is clear that the major parties will have to come to some kind of agreement about security, well in advance of constitutional progress. Apart from anything else, it
will be impossible to create a culture of political tolerance if violence continues — and without tolerance it is impossible to hold meaningful elections. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert touched on this problem in his Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture at the SA Institute of International Affairs in May:

"The most primitive bedrock of societal stability," said Slabbert, "relates to the maintenance of law and order, and to the instruments responsible for it — the police and the military. I cannot think of any recent attempt at democratic transition in any society where the civilian security process has not been critical to the success of the process." More specifically, this view is echoed in the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre: "No institution is more crucial to the future success of the peace process, and thus the future of SA itself, than the SA Police."

Slabbert concluded: "In the same way as we are negotiating democratic transition on a constitutional level, we urgently need to negotiate a civil-security arrangement on the problem of stability. Such stability can then be reinforced and reflected in a new democratic constitution."

To arrive at such a security arrangement would not require another cumbersome session of Codesa. Structures such as the National Peace Accord are already in place; they need to be used to better effect. UN monitors can continue, by their presence alone, to encourage and reinforce the process. The Goldstone Commission can be beefed up with additional distinguished jurists.

And the police are not beyond rehabilitation. The Waddington report, while severely critical of the SAP in some respects, made it clear that there was no evidence of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre; that investigations by the police of complaints against themselves were proceeding with competence and integrity; and that "many of the SAP officers, especially those in junior commissioned and noncommissioned ranks, impressed as dedicated, hard-working and committed individuals." Undermining is a problem; so is confusion when SAP and SA Defence Force units operate in the same area. But the potential for remedial action is great.

Many policemen apparently still think that community relations is a soft task for specially appointed officers, rather than the first duty of every member of the force. Too many of them still see the ANC and its allies as "the enemy." But many policemen have been assassinated.

The cycle of distrust and accusation must be broken but there are already signs of progress. The police have responded positively to the Waddington report, which concluded that the SAP has a problem with its systems rather than its personnel. And ANC president Nelson Mandela has now spoken against attacks on policemen, whereas not long ago he was accusing De Klerk of "killing our people." Mandela was even photographed last week shaking hands with the police general who commands the Internal Stability Unit. The ANC has also acknowledged the spectre of anarchy created by the

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Here comes Codesa 3

While the political atmosphere this week improved, ANC spokesmen are cautious about prospects for the resumption of direct constitutional negotiations.

But this may simply be the result of having had the bubble of their earlier optimism so rudely pricked at Codesa 2.

The NP's information director Piet Coetzee describes the prospects for fresh negotiations as "pretty good — if not on a full, Codesa-style basis in the immediate future, (then) on the bilateral level and on the question of violence, using the structures of the Peace Accord."

Informed government sources say negotiations could resume "within weeks."

Continuing the theme of the brighter outlook in general, Coetzee points to the preparatory talks due to be held between government and the PAC as the FM went to press and to "movement in the rightwag."

This is a reference to differences which again surfaced in the CP last weekend.

ANC demands have now been boiled down to three, as described by Mandela:

1. An interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward;
2. The creation of an interim government of national unity must have been linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a Constitution which embodies democracy. This means that there must be a commitment to a government, democratically elected constituent assembly; and
3. It is critical that practical steps are taken by government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people in the townships.

Mandela added: "These three categories of demands constitute the 14 we have made to government. Unless they are met satisfactorily by government, negotiations cannot be resumed."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli explains that government has not done anything about fencing off hostels, one of the demands made by the ANC following the Boipatong massacre. Nor have they banned the carrying of traditional weapons — the recent proscribing of such weapons in unrest areas did not go far enough. And though there have been meetings between government and ANC representatives... he ques-

1. Judge Richard Goldstone's call on all parties to back the UN recommendation for an investigation into the SA Police, SADF, Ubungo we Sive, the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the KwaZulu Police.

2. Leaders of the latter two forces appeared to reject the notion, while the ANC attached conditions related to full disclosure of security force activities before any general amnesty could be countenanced. Government said such a probe could help to reduce suspicion and restore trust in the forces.
'No more meetings with Govt'

By Esther Vaugh, Political Reporter

After an abortive secret meeting between top-level ANC and Government delegations on Sunday, the ANC has refused any further meetings.

But the organisation has kept open the lines of communication with the Government, saying that any "practical implementation" of its demands could be addressed through the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said the Sunday meeting — arranged by the Government — was fruitless since there had been no visible movement by the Government.

The ANC national working committee yesterday endorsed a recommendation by the national executive committee (NEC) that any further request for meetings with the Government be refused.

Cyril Ramaphosa ... spoke to Government on Sunday.

Unhappiness exists in some ANC circles about the meeting, saying it was a transgression of an NEC decision in June that negotiations could resume only after the NEC had reviewed the situation.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma last night said the meeting was not viewed as a transgression of the NEC decision because the ANC negotiators had not entered into discussions with the Government.

The ANC denied that the talks, arranged by the Government, signalled the resumption of negotiations.

"Prior to this encounter the ANC had been given the impression that the Government was willing to respond positively in writing to the fourteen demands contained in our memorandum of June 23 1992. In the upshot it emerged that there has been no visible movement on these issues on the Government's part.

"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

The meeting took place on Sunday between ANC negotiators Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mheli, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla and a Government team that included Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Vilers, as well as senior officials.
ANC slams door shut on govt overtures

THE ANC last night suspended all talks with government "on any issue", including the release of prisoners, because of government's "evident bad faith".

The decision by the ANC's national working committee extinguishes the hopes of government and the international community that talks would resume soon.

Earlier yesterday, government announced its acceptance of the UN report, which includes several concessions to key ANC demands - sufficient, government believed, to set negotiations back on track. But its concessions fell short of the ANC's expectations.

An ANC statement disclosed that a weekend meeting between the two parties was at government's initiative. While the ANC had believed government was prepared to respond positively in writing to the 14 ANC demands, it had emerged this was not the case.

The ANC had decided to accept the recommendation of its negotiations commission to "refuse any further requests for meetings with the government".

Government announced it had approved a plan for a general amnesty for political and other common law offences committed by the security forces, state officials and private armed groups.

At a news conference yesterday, government announced it had accepted "in principle" UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's recommendations for the release of prisoners and investigations into its security forces.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said a blanket amnesty was the only way to fulfil the UN's recommendation to "wipe the slate clean and bury the past".

Coetsee said the amnesty plan was a result of bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC, where broad agreement was reached on the main principles and elements.

However, the ANC criticized government's amnesty plan for holding political prisoners "hostage, as a lever to extract concessions from the ANC". It insisted on the unconditional release of political prisoners.

It reiterated that, contrary to the impression government was trying to give, it did not support a general amnesty. The question of amnesty was the province of a governing government.

The ANC also said the amnesty would be premature before universal franchise, and it would mean security force members implicated in violence would not be prosecuted. This the ANC rejected.

It also disputed Judge Richard Goldstone's statement that amnesty was required to facilitate investigations. In the normal course of their work, the courts could grant immunity to witnesses.

Coetsee said government had reservations about investigating the security forces. He indicated that because the SAP and SAP were not private armies, they should be dealt with differently from Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apia and other forces.

Coetsee said 400 ANC political prisoners would fall under this amnesty, as would those awaiting trial and others still in custody because of the existing definition of indiscipline.

He said the plan would have to have a cut-off date.

In terms of the other UN recommendations, Botha said:

1. The call for a total ban on the public display of weapons had to be discussed with Goldstone because "delicate aspects were involved".
2. Government fully agreed that the hostage issue was urgent and had to be handled through the peace commission.
3. Government agreed with a code of conduct for mass demonstrations.
4. Government supported the recommendation that it should provide the money and staff for the peace structures.
Key SABC, PAC meeting today

The outcome of today’s meeting between the SABC management and the PAC would determine whether the campaign to force companies to withdraw advertisements from the corporation would go on, the PAC said yesterday.

But the Durban-based Mwasa Support Committee, headed by former National Soccer League (NSL) GM Roger Sishi, has started writing to companies calling on them to withdraw advertisements from the SABC.

The PAC last week announced the launch of a campaign against the SABC, in solidarity with the Mwasa strikers, warning companies to withdraw advertisements or face mass action.

The ANC/Cosatu alliance also announced plans to embark on such action “probably next month.”

PAC national campaigns committee chairman Ninu Wiziyana said the campaign had been postponed pending the outcome of today’s meeting. The PAC had a list of targeted companies, but that would be released after the meeting.

The Mwasa Support Committee, which comprises 20 Natal-based political, civic, labour, cultural and journalists’ organisations, says in its letter the cancellation of advertising contracts with the SABC would force management to resolve the dispute.

“On the sake of peace within the black community, you are asked to consider the possibility of terminating an advertising contract with the SABC,” reads one letter to Lion Match in Durban.
Senior ANC officer will bear the blame

A senior African National Congress office-bearer is expected to be named as the chief culprit in the abuse of detainees in exile.

By ANTON HARBER

THE ANC’s inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile will expose shocking abuses and put the burden of blame on a senior office-bearer currently working in the organisation’s headquarters.

Mzwai Piliso, head of human resources for the African National Congress, was chief of security and a national executive committee member when the abuses occurred and has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

Piliso said yesterday: “I have no guilty conscience ... I carried out instructions as best I could under the circumstances of the time.”

However, though the commission of inquiry has been criticised for lack of independence, its report is expected to put pressure on the ANC to take disciplinary action against Piliso.

Piliso was relieved of his post as chief of security and his entire department was closed down at the ANC’s 1985 conference in Kabwe, Zambia, after the allegations of abuse of prisoners began to emerge. But no further action was taken against him and he is presently responsible for administering ANC training programmes, and bursary and other study schemes.

The report is expected to clear Piliso’s successor, current head of security Joe Nhlanhla, and military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for the abuses. The evidence that emerged backed their claims that they had “cleaned up” the way the camps were run after taking over from Piliso.

The inquiry was effectively an internal one: it was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and two of the three commissioners are ANC members. It was also hamstrung by the refusal of members of the Returned Exiles Committee, now aligned to Inkatha, to give evidence.

However, there are indications that the commissioners concerned about their credibility, are determined to make the report hard-hitting. It is understood that they were horrified at some of the testimony they heard from 17 former ANC detainees, including evidence about detention without any form of trial for up to five years and gross physical abuse of prisoners.

The commissioners — Gilbert Marcus, Louis Skweyiya and B Mabandla — finished their hearings this week and are currently writing their report. It will go to Mandela and then be released, since part of the terms of reference of the inquiry is that it should be made public.

They are expected to recommend that action be taken against the culprits and that the organisation consider some form of compensation for the victims. They are also expected to suggest that their report not be the end of the matter and that there should be further inquiries.

Interviewed yesterday, Piliso said the inquiry was only important to those who did not understand the situation the ANC was in at the time of the abuses. “We were in a certain state at the time. We were a movement in struggle and had to confront certain problems. It (the ANC) had to have an attitude towards those things. We are in a different period now,” he said.

“Over 500 of our cadres were poisoned in the camps and it was very fortunate that no one died as was intended. Five South African Air Force aeroplanes bombed the place and destroyed every building. This was the situation we were in.”

“The commission is important for those who do not understand this setting. For the rest of us, it is of no importance,” he said.

Asked his view on a recent admission by Hani that there had been abuses in the camps, Piliso said: “I don’t care what he says ... If you are convinced in yourself that you carried out instructions as best you can, that is all that matters.”

Asked if he feared disciplinary action, he replied: “If you had a certain responsibility given to you by the movement, if you believe you did everything possible to do that successfully, what happens afterwards does not really matter. I am convinced I did as best as I could under the conditions that pertained at the time.”

About whether he regretted what he had done in the camps, he said: “I have no guilty conscience.” Asked if it was true that he had personally taken part in physical abuse, he said: “I don’t think there is a single one of them (detainees) who can say that I did.”

The ANC’s response to the report will play a critical role in deciding whether the organisation is able to put to rest the controversy over the treatment of detainees, which has plagued the organisation since its unbanning. Already the inquiry has drawn flak from other political organisations and the rightwing International Freedom Foundation has set up its own inquiry under Durban advocate RC Douglas. This inquiry, however, is likely to be seen as no less partial than the ANC one.

Douglas has disputed criticism of his inquiry, saying that the fact that the IFF has instructed him will have no effect on his findings: “The fact that they have initiated it means nothing to me. I will do my job as a professional.”

“I am a pretty independent soul. I have done work for the ANC in Natal and made findings favourable to them and unfavorable to Inkatha.”

The ANC’s inquiry, Douglas said, was fundamentally flawed: “They have breached the fundamental rule that you cannot judge yourself.”

Some ANC members, however, believe their own inquiry could present an opportunity to deal with the problem in the way that their counterparts in Namibia never did.

Just this week, Afrika Watch of New York released a report stating that Namibia still had not healed the wounds of war because of the reluctance of both Swapo and South Africa to come clean on the abuses of the past.

The ANC is in a comparatively fortunate position in that, unlike Swapo, its most senior leaders — such as Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa — were not in exile at the time and therefore cannot be implicated in any way. They therefore have an interest in putting to rest a problem that is not of their making.
NEW CONTROVERSY OVER TORTURE IN ANC CAMP

RETURNED exiles committee leader Patrick Hlongwane is a bitter man on a personal vendetta. Bent on making the African National Congress pay for the harsh treatment he received in its detention camps, Hlongwane this week appeared on television threatening to assassinate high-ranking officials and cadres in retaliation for atrocities committed in the camps.

He is also furious about the “false allegations” of his being a police spy.

But the ANC has a documented confession which paints a very different picture.

In an interview with The Weekly Mail this week Hlongwane said the “confession”, which claims to reveal the true extent of his police connections, was given while he was “under pressure” because he feared for his life — “I wanted to satisfy them.” He gave his interrogators “information I knew they would believe”.

“They think they are intelligent but they are in fact a pit.”

He has challenged the ANC to make its intelligence report available to a commission or neutral body made up of, among others, Amnesty International, the South African Council of Churches, the United Nations, International Freedom Foundation and the Organisation for African Unity.

He was also “willing to point out the graves of those murdered by the ANC in exile, which has already been admitted to by the ANC through (Umkhonto weSizwe) chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda”.

Then — he believes — all the allegations ever made about him will backfire in the ANC’s face.

“It has backfired already,” he said, referring to the admission by Nyanda and South African Communist Party general secretary and former Umkhonto weSizwe commander, Chris Hani, of camp atrocities.

Hlongwane said he had “offered his life” to organisations such as the Port Elizabeth Black Congress (Pebco) in 1979, eventually becoming an organiser. However, the ANC document reports that Pebco was just one of the organisations he infiltrated in the eastern Cape.

He is guilt-ridden, believing that his mother died in a 1985 petrol bomb attack by comrades “because of my political involvement. She was never involved in politics”, he said.

He lays the blame squarely on the ANC, saying: “I don’t care if I was to die at the hands of the ANC, because their hands are full of my mother’s blood.”

Fueled by the police massacre, the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has set up offices in Lindelani outside Durban at the residence of Inkatha leader Thomas Shabalala who has been “sympathetic” to their plight.

Born in Port Elizabeth where it is alleged most of his work as an operative took place, Hlongwane said he was not willing to reveal his background because he feared that part of his life would be distorted by the media.

“Besides, I do not see why I should go back as my mother was killed following instructions by the ANC.” He sarcastically added: “If you want to know more, go to the ANC.”

The little he would reveal was that he joined the South African Students Movement while studying in Port Elizabeth and is “a product of black consciousness”.

Talking about his time in ANC camps — of which he says he still bears the political scars — Hlongwane said he was made to take off his clothes and stand in a cell for the whole night in water up to his waist.

“The next day, my left hand was put in boiling tar and I was burnt with hot tea. There were times when I was punished with no water or food for three days.

“Shots were fired next to me and I was then forced to sign the confession.”

Hlongwane said he was later transferred to Novastaslaa, the central prison in Luanda, Angola where he was kept for three weeks on death row.

When transferred to an ANC safe house, he said he witnessed police spy Olivia Forsyth being “treated as a slave.”

“We couldn’t communicate but I am prepared to testify that she was beaten up day and night. She was ill treated like me. I read about her after she escaped,” he said.

Hlongwane said he was again transferred to Quatro in the northern part of Angola where he was “deprived of his right to get food, movement and to voice my feelings.

“We used to eat half-cooked beans from Cuba, rotten miele-meal from the Soviet Union and were forced to eat monkeys, snakes and dogs.”

Hlongwane has sent letters to the Goldstone Commission and the state president, calling for a meeting to explain why he made his assassination threat.

“Over 200 parents who are looking for their children have come to me since last year December,” he said.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF), a rightwing Washington-based pressure group, has claimed that more than 500 people were still being held in these camps and that detainees had been tortured or executed. In July, the organisation instructed advocate RS Douglas to conduct an inquiry into alleged torture, murder and other human rights violations in these camps.

Douglas, who has consulted various organisations such as Amnesty International and Red Cross International, said he would be hearing evidence from the end of August.

“Maybe the truth will come out and justice will be done.”

Hlongwane said if that failed to bring ANC cadres “to justice”, REC’s men would start their own assassination campaign as threatened. He announced last weekend that 200 former exiles had undergone training in Israel and had infiltrated ANC ranks around Durban.

His threats have been linked to recent assassination attempts of fiery ANC Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, who escaped death after gunmen fired on his car in Edendale near Maritzburg last Tuesday. His deputy, Reggie Hadebe, was wounded in another gun attack on a funeral in which an ANC official was killed nearly two weeks ago.
NEWS Minister tells cops to be impartial  •  New moves on negotiations welcomed

‘Adapt or else’ - Kriel

By Monk Nkomo

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday warned policemen that they would be dismissed if they failed to adapt to the realities of the new South Africa.

Speaking at a medal parade at the police college in Pretoria West, Kriel told policemen to act professionally in their duties in order to regain the confidence of the communities they served.

The South African Police, he added, were under tremendous pressure from various sectors, including their communities, which wanted better crime prevention methods.

“We will only be able to handle this pressure if we work harder, more professionally, treat everybody equally, be better trained and reach out to the communities we serve,” he said.

“Our aim is to be impartial and adapt to the new South Africa. Any member of the police force who fails to adhere to these conditions will be dismissed or suspended,” Kriel said.

Kriel said police were going to play a key role in the peace process in the country. A young police constable fainted while on parade.

Azapo hails UN plan

THE Azanian People’s Organisation would consider participating in democracy talks under a neutral convener as recommended by the United Nations.

But it still insisted on a two-sided arrangement at a neutral venue, publicity secretary Mr Siriti Moodley said yesterday.

Addressing a news briefing in Durban, Moodley said Azapo remained committed to its stance on talks with the Government and noted that the African National Congress had moved closer to its position on international involvement in negotiations.

The ANC was also “talking more strongly” of a Constituent Assembly and had admitted that Codesa had failed.

“If (Transkei leader, General Bantu) Holomisa resigns from the Transkei to sit with the liberation movements, Azapo will welcome this,” - Sapa.
ANC’s torture chief named

Camps probe that Mandela ordered uncovers widespread abuses ... and pins blame on a key official

THE African National Congress’ inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile has uncovered evidence of shocking abuses, for which it blames a senior headquarters official.

Ex-security chief Mzwai Piliso, a former national executive committee member, has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

The inquiry was appointed late last year by ANC president Nelson Mandela, following widely published allegations of torture in the exile camps.

The report, to be submitted to Mandela next week, is expected to clear military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for abuses. The evidence that emerged indicated they had “cleaned up” the camps after taking over from Piliso.
Looking for the new SA?
Don't bother with the maps

Apartheid lives on in South Africa's maps. Even if you want to locate some of the country's largest residential areas, you'll have to consult other sources.

By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

SOUTH AFRICA's political landscape may be changing, but trying to make sense of it will remain a chore.

The Free State's biggest black township, Botshabelo, has a population of 180,000, but you won't find it on tourist maps.

The nearest major city, Bloemfontein, is a standard feature, with a population of 210,000. But although the largest percentage of this figure comprises people who live in Bloemfontein's neighboring townships, these are rarely featured on most maps.

In contrast, tiny towns like Bethal (742 people), Edentor (836) and Trompsburg (430) have always been featured. Middleburg, a Transvaal town with approximately 30,000 people, is justifiably included on every map. But its neighboring black township, Mnthathu, with about 75,000 people, can be found only on street guides or specialist maps. The tourists won't know that it exists.

The maps of the "lost" South Africa are filled with hidden corners. For example, one small town in the Free State, Soweto, black areas were not deemed worthy of being acknowledged on tourist maps, let alone in school textbooks.

Does this mean that, while visitors search for the "real" South Africa, the reality of the city's political landscape remains hidden from view? No, but it means that, if you want to make sense of it, you'll have to consult other sources.

Charted fiction... According to this tourist map, the Free State's biggest township, Botshabelo, doesn't exist at the point of view of delivery services.

On tourist-oriented maps, says Ford, only major centers like Soweto or Mabopane (in the eastern Cape) are shown. "In the future, a high percentage of the black population is going to be concentrated in those areas that are up to cater for them," he adds.

The Automobile Association, which asks what black areas are included in its maps, is just as perplexed. When asked if they are ready to include them in their maps, the AA says no. "We don't believe the black areas are ready for inclusion," says Ford.

The AA gets copyright authority from the Government Printer to base their maps on information from official maps. It then superimposes its own specifications. The determining factor in the depiction of cities and towns, says Ford, is population density.

"Where there is a mass of population, that is reflected by means of a built-up area outline. Where there is a very small mass of population, we've even removed names of an offensive nature."

On large-scale maps, such as the AA's southern Transvaal map (1:100,000), Matthew's statements hold true. The map even shows townships like Boksburg and Benoni.

Maps of lesser scale avoid townships altogether. The eastern Transvaal map (1:500,000) shows even the smallest railway siding in white, but the black areas are left out.

Middleburg, Mthathu township is among the most glaring omissions.

Matthew explains that such townships fall within the municipal boundaries of the nearby town. He does not believe such omissions are a problem. "These black areas prefer to give them directions in the form of landmarks and streets, rather than to maps."

But the fact that all black townships will be discriminated: "Don't want to be seen specifically to be drawing attention to black townships, and saying 'don't go there or here.'"

What is the problem with this approach? The black areas are not complete in themselves, the map reader gets a feeling of orientation, not a sense of exclusion.

"We have seen new black townships formed and we have included them in our maps."

The AA hopes to work with the government to include black areas in their maps. Matthew says, "We are working with the government to include black areas in our maps."

But the process is slow, and Matthew hopes that the inclusion of black areas in tourist maps will be a reality soon.

Matthew concludes that, while the process is slow, there is progress being made. He believes that, with continued effort, black areas will be included in tourist maps in the near future.
ANC in new drive to block foreign loans

THE ANC early this month circulated to dozens of major financial institutions in Europe and the Far East an appeal that they keep in place financial sanctions on SA and, in particular, refuse to participate in the $150m-$200m bond issue planned by Eskom for next month.

ANC NEC member and chief representative in London, Mendi Msimang, said yesterday he believed the letter, dated August 4, contributed to persuading Eskom to shelve the plan.

His initiative was accompanied by representations to Eskom in Johannesburg and London by the ANC and the End Loans to SA (Elisa) organisation, and an Elisa demonstration outside Eskom's London office last Friday.

But an Eskom spokesman denied yesterday that the decision, announced this week, to postpone the bond issue was influenced by these factors.

Msimang, who wrote the letter, said it had been sent to all major financial institutions in Germany, the UK, Switzerland, Austria, Ireland, Belgium, France, Italy and South Korea.

It said new loans to SA before the establishment of an interim government "make neither political nor commercial sense". It added that ANC president Nelson Mandela had indicated in February that "the repayment of foreign debts incurred by the present regime in the normal course of administration before financial sanctions were imposed . . . may have to be renegotiated to ensure a democratic government is not unduly burdened by such debts".

Elaborating yesterday, Msimang said the ANC accepted that a future government had to take over the debts of previous governments and was bound to repay loans. However, an ANC government would attempt to renegotiate those loans to enable it to concentrate its limited resources on the alleviation of poverty.

In the letter, Msimang argued that the negotiating process was attributable to "a climate of (NP) complacency to which international banks have contributed by their premature actions" of violating financial sanctions.

He added that a comprehensive foreign loan strategy had to be devised by an interim government. If groups like Eskom went to the market unilaterally, this would be a fragmented effort.

An Eskom spokesman said the decision to postpone the bond issue preceded the ANC and Elisa initiatives. The decision had not come about "through persuasion by any group, including the ANC, Eskom's business divisions and actions are well considered in terms of present and future circumstances."

Eskom was "in communication with the ANC international affairs department" about recent ANC and Elisa statements.

"Eskom's integrity as an apolitical utility serving all South Africans is beyond question," he said.

ANC international affairs spokesman Aziz Pahad said Msimang's initiative was in line with ANC policy.
THE negotiations at Codesa broke down primarily over a matter of trust. Trust over a commitment to democracy. Trust over the process to constitution-making. And, above all, trust over the issue of violence.

The UN secretary-general’s recommendation, endorsed by Mr Justice Goldstone, that there should be a full-scale investigation into the activities of the SADF, SAP, the KwaZulu police, the ANC’s MK and PAC’s Apa opens up a new opportunity of restoring trust in the vital area of violence and security.

Perhaps we expected too much, too easily, too quickly from Codesa. Perhaps we should have delved deeper into the implications of the dramatic clash between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at Codesa 1. Perhaps we should have assessed Codesa both against the magnitude of the task in which we South Africans are engaged and the unique circumstances surrounding our negotiation process.

The circumstances in which the negotiation process commenced were unique. At the time the process was opened up, in February 1990, South Africa was a deeply divided nation caught up in a low-intensity civil war.

If the normal historical pattern of events had followed, the conflict would have grown stronger until one side had won. However, something that one had predicted happened: an ethnic Afrikaner, leader of an embattled minority, sitting in Tuynhuys, decided to negotiate before he had lost.

A black South African, leader of an oppressed majority, sitting in prison, decided to negotiate before he had won.

These two acts of political daring created a unique opportunity for South Africans to negotiate a new future but also placed severe strain on the attitudes and behaviour patterns that had been developing in their constituencies.

The danger of a gap developing between the leaders, now committed to negotiation, and their support base, conditioned for conflict, was real.

Mr de Klerk sensed this danger when he lost the Potchefstroom by-election and promptly called a referendum in an attempt to consolidate his support base and strengthen his position at the negotiation table.

Mr Mandela sensed this at the time of Codesa 2 when he called for mass action in an attempt to consolidate his support base and strengthen his hand at the negotiation table.

Where do we go from here? How do we get the formal negotiations back on track?

I say formal because it is important to realise that while the negotiations at Codesa are at a standstill, the overall process of negotiation is far from dead.

The written demands and responses shuffling back and forth between the ANC and the Government are an important form of negotiation.

The meetings between Sacci, representing the employers, and Cosatu, representing labour, to discuss the matters arising out of the constitutional impasse represented a significant broadening of the process of negotiation.

Indeed, despite their apparent fractiousness, all the leaders remain committed to negotiation. All the political organisations continue to subscribe to Codesa’s Declaration of Intent.

We do not have to start negotiating from scratch. But we do have to start by restoring trust, trust between the ANC and the Government and more particularly between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This demands conciliation in three key areas: the issue of violence, the concept of democracy and the essential features of the constitution-making process.

- Violence:
The Government, by its deeds in addition to its words, will have to persuade the voiceless citizens of our country that its seriousness, determined and effective in bringing an end to violence.

Clearly, the Government is not solely responsible for bringing an end to violence, but equally clearly, as the government of the day, it has the prime responsibility for maintaining law and order and bringing peace to our people.

If Mr de Klerk’s Government is not capable of discharging this critical governmental responsibility it can only, consideration will have to be given, inter alia, to setting up a multiparty transitional executive council for security matters, along the lines agreed to in Working Group 3, even before there is a fully fledged interim government of national unity.

- The concept of democracy:
All South Africans will have to face up to the reality that the full democratisation of government at all levels will mean that, within the framework of the new constitution, political power at present exercised by a minority will be transferred to the people of South Africa as a whole.

The Government will have to accept that, subject to constitutional checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, democracy involves majority decision-making processes.

The ANC for its part will have to dispel the concern that democracy could degenerate to the tyranny of the masses.

- Constitution-making process:
Both the Government and the ANC say they want the new constitution to be drawn up by an elected body which is bound by the general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa. Both say they want a multi-party interim or transitional government of national unity.

Yet, it was the differences over the inter-relationship of these two
The Harry Gwala theme

ANC militant, Harry Gwala — and those of his ilk — will bear critical co-responsibility if a culture of political tolerance is to take hold in this country. Though the image of the man, based on his flights of violent rhetoric, may suggest otherwise, Gwala denies that he is a "devil with horns" bent on wresting power through violence.

On the contrary, the ANC’s controversial Natal Midlands chairman and member of the ANC’s national executive committee, is adamant that he’s misunderstood and a man of peace. "Liberation is still possible with minimal bloodshed," says Gwala, who recently turned 72.

This picture of himself is clearly at odds with his popular image. The London Independent, for example, says: "At first inspection Gwala is a most unsavoury character. He is a self-confessed killer, a man whom people in his own organisation fear to cross and a hardline Marxist who applauded the Soviet coup attempt last year."

Gwala is frequently portrayed as a bloodthirsty firebrand who "sends his boys" to attack Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) warlords. He maintains that these allegations are untrue. He does have personal bodyguards since there have been two attempts on his life. "And I’m only a warlord if that is a person who organises people to defend themselves against attack. I do not, in the ordinary sense, advocate attacking others. I believe in peaceful coexistence."

(Soon after this interview, there appears to have been another attempt on Gwala’s life, when, on the second day of last week’s stayaway, gunmen in a speeding minibus fired on an ANC gathering at Edendale where he had just addressed a group of demonstrators. The windshield of Gwala’s car was smashed but he was uninjured.)

Gwala says people seem to think that the IFP should be allowed to act with impunity without the ANC defending itself. "I admit that our people in retaliation attack those who have killed their next of kin and destroyed their homes. They use the old law of Moses — an eye for an eye."

Does he believe in an eye for an eye? "I don’t know, but it is a person’s natural reaction, when attacked, to respond by hurting the enemy."

He also distances himself from the ANC’s inflammatory “mock trials” of its opponents, though the ANC offices in Maritzburg are festooned with “wanted” posters for people "guilty" of apartheid crimes. They include President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"We’ve never had a mock trial here. What we did was indict David Ntombela and other warlords and demanded that the Attorney-General charge them."

The simpler route of laying charges with the police would have been a waste of time, but those places are now very peaceful."

However, Gwala’s gloved-fist approach has been less successful than he would have people believe. Gunfire again echoed through his region (often called SA’s "Lebanon") recently, with an armed attack on an IFP rally at Estcourt and another on an ANC/Umkhonto we Sizwe funeral procession. Two Gwala lieutenants were wounded — one of them fatally — during the second attack. The Human Rights Commission points out that 35 people died in political strife in Natal Midlands in June.

Gwala, of course, also sees peaceful pressure as a tool for change. "Liberation is not the sole prerogative of the ANC. The Church and the Black Sash have done a great deal in terms of peaceful pressure. Mass action is another avenue which is meant to be non-violent."

Even whites can participate in mass action. Gwala adds — without irony or malice — when they visit the ballot boxes every five years. That sort of pressure from within, together with international coercion, could still prevent a bloodbath, he believes.

Gwala admits to the sort of bitterness which breeds extremism. He says he has good cause. He grew up in a school of hard knocks and blames apartheid directly and indirectly for the deaths of his wife, daughter and some of his closest friends. He also blames it for the wanton destruction of homes and people and for his two paralysed arms. Yet bitterness about these and other things "does not cloud my political judgment... Some of my closest friends were and are white," he asserts. "Incidentally, those who taught me politics were white. Precisely because of that, I relate to people rather than colour."

Gwala quite clearly doesn’t fit into any conventional warlord mould. The frail former Robben Islander, who confesses to a love of classical music and poetry, is courteous to a fault when he entertains in his modest but immaculately kept township home near Maritzburg.

Nor is he a stereotype Marxist — a doctrine he has adhered to for nearly 50 years. To him, Marxism remains unarrested by the demise of the Soviet system and he’s not modified his beliefs one iota. But he says those beliefs include being a democrat who would accept defeat at the polls in free and fair elections.

"Those who associate Marxism with violent revolution don’t understand the concept. Marx understood revolution to mean change from one social system to another. Ending apartheid and giving everyone the vote is a revolution. Bloodshed need not necessarily be part of the equation."

However, contesting those elections with, for example, the IFP, doesn’t really sit well with him. "They’ll collapse quicker than Muzarewa’s government in Zimbabwe without their State funding, so competing with them won’t be an issue," he maintains.

Another area where Gwala is seen as a bit different is with his comrades on the ANC’s national executive committee. However, he says he knows of "no big differences between myself and other members of the executive. Our differences simply relate to how liberation should be achieved, so they are differences of method not principle. And what organisation doesn’t have those?"

Areas where Gwala has gone out on a limb have included being against talks with the IFP in Natal after the ANC was unbanned and also being against the ANC negotiating with government until it had sought a mandate from the people. Though his view never prevailed in either case, he suggests that subsequent events, including the spreading of ANC/IFP hostility and the collapse of Colesa, have proved him right.

Clearly Gwala is an enigma, particularly to whites. He is a man of considerable intellect, but as he puts it: "When people meet me they expect me to breathe fire. When I don’t, they think I’m acting."

It is not enough for leaders like Gwala to pay lip-service to peace and democracy. They are the people who can make it happen if they really want to.
PAC army to meet police

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Police and Prison Officials' Union will hold talks on the killing of policemen, Popcrus general secretary Peter Nkuna said yesterday.

The meeting will take place in Zimbabwe or Tanzania early in September.

Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, regularly claims responsibility for attacks on policemen in South African townships.
Mandela holds out hand to de Klerk

THE African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela has urged a “tidal wave” of action to secure political reform, but says he would resume negotiations with the government as soon as President F. W. de Klerk agreed to demands for democracy.

The president made conciliatory noises of his own later. Mr de Klerk said his administration had been talking to the ANC and he was ready to expend the talks into fully fledged negotiations.

“Let us speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings. There is a open door. He needn’t kick doors down,” said Mr de Klerk, referring to the colonnaded seat of white power swamped by a black tide of protest.

Later the UN Secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, recommended that about 30 UN observers be stationed in South Africa to mark the occasion with the National peace secretariat, set under an all-party peace accord last September.

As Mr Mandela spoke at the end of one of the biggest marches in South Africa’s history, thousands of exuberant but disciplined ANC supporters occupied the amphitheatre below the Union Buildings, the government headquarters in Pretoria, hoisted the ANC flag and chanted for the installation of Mr Mandela as president.

But their “occupation” of the terraced grounds below the Union Buildings — a traditional site of white power — had been pre-arranged and the general atmosphere was friendly, raising hopes that the stalled negotiations would be resumed.

Referring to the ANC flag fluttering over the podium where Mr Mandela was seated, the ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said: “I wish to thank the day when here [Mr Mandela] will be the one in the office that F. W. de Klerk occupies illegitimately.”

Mr Mandela had a message for President de Klerk: the people wanted peace but they wanted it on the feet, not their knees. The general tone of his speech was, however, conciliatory. Later he said: “I would like to heal wounds.”

In his speech Mr Mandela said the two-day general strike was “one of the greatest events in our history”. But he then added: “We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy.”

If the de Klerk administration responded in the “same spirit”, then the way would be opened for the first “urgent and critical step” forward after the impasse since the Bophelong massacre in mid-June: the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In his response, Mr de Klerk said: “The government agreed a long time ago in principle that there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must negotiate how to get it.”

He confirmed that parliament would meet again in October to give legislative substance to some of the decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.
The dearth of women in positions of political power in this country was discussed at the anniversary of National Women's Day. Rehana Rossouw reports:

OMEN who can represent the aspirations of their sisters in a future parliament should be identified today so that women's demands are not sidelined in a new South Africa.

This was one of the messages delivered at a commemoration of National Women's Day at the Baxter Theatre on Sunday.

Hundreds of singing, cheering women gathered to mark the 36th anniversary of the women's march to the Union Buildings to protest against the extension of pass laws.

Speakers included Ms Baleka Kgosiwile, secretary general of the ANC Women's League; Ms Thenjiwe Mntintsha, of the league's Eastern Cape branch; Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC national executive committee; and Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape secretary.

"The image most people have of women is an image of mothers," said SAPC member Ms Zo Kota, who represents the party on Coles's Gender Advisory Committee.

Kota said in countries like Pakistan and Britain, where women were appointed to the highest political offices, it was questionable whether they used their positions to improve the lot of women.

"In this country (Minister of Health) Rina Venter is in the cabinet but our conditions have not changed," Kota said.

"Can we see where Rina Venter with Victoria Mxenge and Ray Alexander?

"We are building a new South Africa. Let us identify women who are going to represent the aspirations of women in parliament.

"Let us identify women who understand that the imbalances in our country have to be addressed.""}

SOUTH LIVING 11

women

Rallying cry to future female parliamentarians:

Your sisters need YOU!

SENDING A MESSAGE: Ms Thenjiwe Mntintsha speaks her mind as Prof Kader Asmal looks on.

soon. Are you going to elect politicians who are going to suppress you?"

Kota urged women to vote in "big numbers" to determine what sort of government they wanted.

But women also had to continue their struggle for equality because "votes without economic power are meaningless".

The ANC Women's League (ANCWIL) called on all women to get involved in ending the violence in the country.

In its Women's Day statement the ANCWIL said women should use the occasion to raise their voice against ritual killings and rapes which were rampant in some parts of South Africa.

"Women are killed and widowed, children are brutally killed and orphaned. The Boipatong massacre is one of many incidents where women and children were senselessly assaulted in their sleep," the statement read.

"Women want a society in which we will all feel free to move about without being molested."

The ANCWIL said there had been much progress in the past year in drawing up a Charter of Women's Rights.

The launch of the Women's National Coalition in April had been a stride forward in co-ordinating the charter campaign through a democratically elected forum.
The government allowed mass action to go ahead, so the ANC should return to the negotiating table as soon as possible, Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, right, told Rehana Rossouw.

Rehana Rossouw: What is your response to the ANC's week of mass action? Some people described it as a black referendum and said the response showed that blacks overwhelmingly supported the ANC's demands.

Roelf Meyer: From the government's perspective the mass action was not necessary because the door was always open for negotiations and there was no need for additional pressure to bring about negotiations.

Do you expect the ANC to take a tougher bargaining position now, or do you think its leaders will be more able to return to negotiations and make compromises, if need be?

The mass action campaign was probably meant to build a support base (for the ANC) more than anything else. For that reason we had not opposed the idea. I don't think mass action will make it easier to force us to make compromises at the negotiating table.

So you don't think you are going to be facing tougher ANC bargainers when negotiations resume? If I read Mr Mandela's speech correctly (at the Union Buildings), he was not trying to gain points for negotiations. It would be totally wrong and detrimental for negotiations if that had been the approach of the ANC. I don't expect them to take that approach.

Two weeks ago the government partially met the ANC's demand for a ban on carrying dangerous weapons. Why did this take so long, and are there any other concrete plans as regards, for example, hostels, which would clear the obstacle of violence and make way for negotiations?

There are some practical difficulties in this regard. I know from past experience some of the difficulties that occurred with the hostel situation. In certain ways the ANC could be of help to resolve them — where we need community involvement and approval. If we act in any way against a hostile situation to improve the situation it could have negative effects and not solve anything. I would advocate that in this regard they come back to the negotiating table.

As far as the constitutional demands are concerned, the ANC is emphasising the constituent assembly as a departure point. We are saying there should be a transitional constitution to provide for a constitutional making body. I believe we are not that far apart from each other. The ANC's demands around the constitution making body are the key stumbling block in getting us back to the table.

Transkei's military ruler, General Butu Holomisa, himself a securacrat, believes that security-minded elements in the cabinet and state apparatus are calling the tune in government policy now. In his view, people like yourself and the state president are being either sidelined or won over by hardliners. Your comment? This is absolute nonsense. The president is calling the tune and the ministers in each portfolio. No minister would allow himself to be dictated to by outsiders. I certainly will not be dictated to by outsiders.

So who influences government thinking most? Is it the Boerderbend, military intelligence, or the NIS? Is there a longterm strategy with a set of coherent goals?

We have a cabinet government; the state president is absolutely rigid about this. The final decisions on matters of government are taken jointly by politicians. This happens every day. I can confirm it absolutely. Yes, there are advisors but the decisions are only taken by politicians.

Today, as far as government policy and decisions are concerned, there are no outside influences. I will not go along with a decision I can't live with.

The government refused to concede a 70 percent majority principle for constitution-making at Codesa 2, and then agreed to this after negotiations had already broken down. Why the change? Was there a deliberate move to stall negotiations?

This is an incorrect perception. In working group two, before things broke down, there was a proposal from the National Party of 70 percent. But then the ANC came with something new, at the very last moment, about a referendum. If I look back at things I feel the ANC was forcing a deadlock.

So the government had no ulterior motive — you had no reason to stall the talks?

We are able to keep pace with the negotiations. We were, in fact, prepared to move faster so that we could pass legislation before the end of the parliamentary session. It's a pity. I think the true picture is that the ANC alliance decided not to continue. It's not the government that is at fault.

An interesting factor is that although Cosatu was not a member of Codesa — it was decided Codesa would be made up of political parties and structures — they suddenly appeared one day and said they had instructions to come and participate and that they were doing that under the banner of the ANC and SACP. That raises questions of who is influencing the ANC.

Are there changes you would suggest for the structure and openness of the negotiation process, changes that might help to avert deadlock, public confusion and ignorance?

The openness of Codesa is a complaint on our side as well, we have the same problem with our constituency as the ANC has. We have to look seriously at how to involve the public in what we are doing.

We have to open negotiations — not physically in the negotiating rooms — but get the results to people quicker. There can be no negotiations through public demonstrations and pressure. I don't believe that when we sit and negotiate the public eye can be there all the time. We wouldn't be able to reach compromises and we'd deadlock again.

I believe the ANC has a problem with taking their constituency along. The problem is that our constituency as well doesn't like compromises.

The major problem with our constituency at the moment is the mass action. It went down badly in their minds. That's why we didn't interfere with the mass action. We allowed it to go ahead.
FW, Mandela on 'hotline'

PRESIDENT de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela spoke on the telephone yesterday in an effort to revive talks after hardliners in the ANC alliance pulled the plug on tentative efforts this week to break the negotiations deadlock.

After a secret top-level meeting last Sunday — which, according to the Government, was to be followed up by another meeting on Thursday or yesterday — the ANC’s national working committee abruptly terminated dialogue with the Government on Thursday.

Senior government sources said the NWC decision came "like a bolt from the blue" and blamed "internal strife" in the ANC. Some government sources said they believed a meeting could still take place at some level soon — but others feared the NWC decision could have introduced another long delay.

The NWC statement was a reaction to the disclosure of the meeting on Sunday between an ANC delegation under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, and a government team under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprise Minister Dawie de Villiers.

**Differences**

It is understood that at this meeting lengthy discussions were held about points of difference between the two sides and ways to resume formal negotiations.

Meyer said in a statement last night he believed that the ANC negotiators had been "rapped over the knuckles" by hardliners. This failed with independent information that the Sunday meeting took place without the knowledge of certain key ANC alliance players who were furious when they found out.

The ANC and the Government have offered diametrically opposed interpretations of this meeting. The NWC said the Gov...
ANC president Nelson Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel, widow of the late Mozambican president Samora Machel, will be among the guests at a two-day colloquium at the University of the Western Cape.

The event is to mark the 10th anniversary of the death of Ruth First, a prominent ANC member and the wife of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. She was killed by a letter bomb in her office in Maputo on August 17 1982.

Mr Mandela will deliver the keynote address tomorrow night at a special ceremony where an award will be presented to a senior journalist for “reportage characterised by exceptional initiative and courage in the spirit of Ruth First’s work.”

Mrs Machel, a former Mozambican minister of education, will present a paper at the colloquium tomorrow morning.

Other speakers at the two-day seminar, which deals with “The possibilities of radical transformation in Southern Africa after negotiations”, include the ANC’s Albie Sachs, Thozamile Botha and Frene Ginwala, and the SACP’s Jeremy Cronin.

Some of the issues to be discussed include education, local government, health, the media, trade unions and the role of women.

The colloquium will be opened by UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel.
ANC and the government locked in mighty battle

GLOVES ARE OFF

By SEKOLA SELLU and THEMBA KHUMALO

THE fragile and often stormy two-year political honeymoon between the government and the ANC seems to be over. (III)

Events of the past week indicate that the rupture could be permanent.

As relations between the two main players in the negotiations reached another low, the ANC leadership is reported to be in an angry mood and threatening to launch more punitive mass-action campaigns.

The ANC's international affairs director Thabo Mbeki has been dispatched to the United Nations headquarters in New York to brief UN special envoy Cyria Vance on the latest developments and also lobby for international support.

According to ANC sources, Vance was "shocked and appalled" to learn that the government was now linking the release of remaining political prisoners to a general amnesty.

The government also accused "ANC hard-liners" of being responsible for the current political impasse precipitated by the ANC decision this week to call off future bilateral talks.

The National Working Committee of the ANC suspended talks with the government after a top-level meeting on Sunday, where Pretoria put forward proposals linking the release of about 400 political prisoners with a general amnesty.

The ANC said it attended the meeting expecting to discuss the 14 demands it made to the government before it would resume negotiations.

The government, on the other hand, insists that Sunday's agenda was opened-ended.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said according to their information, the ANC's four negotiators who held talks with government last Sunday were given "more than a ray of hope" by directors within the organisation.

The ANC delegation at the meeting was made up of Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his assistant Jacob Zuma, and Joe Nhlanhla, a member of the National Executive Committee. The government was represented by Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers as well as senior officials.

In the wake of the latest deadlock an ANC official told a press briefing the mood was "quite volatile" among delegates who felt cheated by the government's latest stance. He said the tripartite alliance was now consulting extensively with potential allies outside the alliance with a view to deliver the final blow to Pretoria with more mass action.

The Azanian People's Organisation has indicated it would consider being part of such action.

Another source said the ANC was particularly uneasy with a general amnesty because it would set free prisoners like Capt Baitia Mitchell, sentenced to death in Maritzburg for the 1988 killing of 11 villagers at Trust Farm in New Hanover, Natal.

Watch out Africa, here we come!

By PULE MORHINE in Harare

CONFIDENCE is high in the South African soccer camp as the final countdown begins for their historic 1994 African Nations Cup qualifying match against Zimbabwe in Harare today.

The match, which starts at 3 pm, will be screened live on SABC TV.

Yesterday, SA coach Stanley Tshabalala declined to predict a victory but expressed cautious optimism that his team would win.

"We are not taking anything for granted, but we have nothing to fear and we believe we are good enough to win. Our preparations have gone well," said SA captain Mark Tseye.

For many Zimbabweans, SA are favourites to win the first of what will be six qualifying matches against Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mauritius, which could take them to the finals in Tunisia in March 1994.

But a South African victory is anything but a foregone conclusion, and many believe they will be hard-pressed to earn a draw.

Injuries and administrative bungling have combined to force coach Stanley Spencer Tshabalala to make a number of changes to his side.
Is the PAC preparing for talks?

Logjam may be broken

BY SEKOLA SELLO

The PAC this week held ground-breaking talks with the government leading to speculation that the movement has abandoned its hardline position on negotiations and is now ready for talks.

Since the PAC walked out of the Codesa preparatory talks in November 1991, the movement has been insisting that it will with government outside SA, under the chairmanship of a neutral person to discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly leading to the transfer of power.

Following this week’s preparatory talks between the government and the PAC with more substantive discussions expected soon, does this signal a shift on the PAC’s previous hardline stance on negotiations?

According to a paper by Johannes Rantete, a researcher with the Centre for Policy Studies, the movement has been making shifts in its position for some time now.

The paper, written before the organisation announced its meeting with Pretoria, highlights the dilemma faced by the PAC leadership on whether to enter negotiations or not.

Armed struggle

Rantete argues that much as the PAC spokesmen talk about “intensified armed struggle”, the organisation lacks the capacity and the human and material resources to wage such a struggle.

Staying outside the negotiations gives the organisation time to concentrate on building structures on the ground and recruiting members. It is also not compromised by entering into controversial agreements on issues like detention without trial during the transition period.

In reality Codesa has become a two-bloc forum. On the one side is the government and those aligned with it like Inkatha. On the other is the ANC and allies the SACP, TIC/NTC and the homelands which have jettisoned Pretoria.

Although the PAC can assert that the government in particular has moved considerably in meeting some of its crucial demands, there is no doubt that the organisation is bound to enter negotiations at one point or another.

Rantete correctly points out that when the organisation withdraws from the pre-Codesa preparatory talks, it stated that it had not left the process permanently and would consult its constituency on the issue.

The PAC is now in a position to enter negotiations with government without losing face. Earlier predictions that by boycotting the negotiations they risked being marginalised have not materialised.

To some extent, the PAC’s argument that Codesa would fail has been vindicated. Almost all the parties at the negotiations are now agreed that a new forum is needed to break the political logjam.

That the PAC is already preparing itself for future elections is not in doubt. Recently, a high powered delegation led by national organiser Maxwell Nemedizivanani and secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke undertook a trip to China to study party building.

Barring some dramatic developments, it looks like the PAC will soon announce its entry into negotiations, even if this is not at Codesa.
The two-year-old honeymoon between the ANC and the NP government is over. The sweet talk and many friendly telephone chats between leaders of the two organisations in the middle of the night have been abruptly put on hold by ANC hardliners.

The diplomacy, mature political debates and friendly smiles were getting used to on national TV now seem to be a thing of the past.

We will no longer hear words like: “FW de Klerk is a man of honesty and integrity who has changed the history of SA.”

Also, it seems we will no longer hear Nelson Mandela being feted as a dignified true statesman, or upheld as a man who surprised the world by showing no bitterness to those who jailed him for 27 years.

What went wrong?

Is this the same marriage that produced the historic Grootte Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and gave birth to Codesa?

This marriage opened doors for De Klerk to enter
countries where no other white SA leader had ever ventured. It changed the perceptions of many whites about the ANC and blacks in general.

It destroyed the CP in the “Yes” or “No” referendum which has now also resulted in the CP split.

It allowed blacks to take to the streets in their thousands, venting their anger at being unable to vote in the country of their birth.

But like many marriages, this one was bound not to last forever. Was it built on solid ground, or was it simply a coming-together for the sake of convenience? Whatever the case, it was good while it lasted. Sad to say though, it’s over now.

Let’s examine briefly what went wrong.

Firstly, the ANC should have realised that liberation has never been handed over on a silver plate. The government would never have given in to all the demands.

The deadlock at Codesa Two was an indication of how far De Klerk’s government was willing to go.

Most important, the ANC seemed to have misread the signals coming from the government about its willingness to immediately usher in democracy.

The ANC sped to the negotiations table, leaving their grassroots support baffled and confused about negotiations.

Suspending Codesa and calling for mass action was a face-saver to redress this mistake.

However, hardliners within the ANC are still not satisfied. They want all talks, including private conversations between Mandela and De Klerk, put on hold until there are visible signs of a future democracy.

Also, the possibility of the PAC and Azapo getting into negotiations has forced the ANC to change its tune when dealing with the government. In the eyes of its followers it has to be seen to be uncompromising and in control of the situation.

The PAC and Azapo want nothing short of a transfer of power. They may be a small group compared to the ANC, but they cannot be dismissed lightly.

This divorce between the ANC and the government is seen by many black people as a blessing in disguise. The government, it is maintained, will now be faced by a formidable team - even if the three liberation movements do not form a patriotic or united front.

Also, the government cannot bank on the CP alliance - earmarked to join Codesa after the split - whose sole purpose will be to fight for a white homeland.

The IFP and other homeland leaders have lost confidence in the NP and they too are likely to go in different directions.

The marriage with the ANC is something De Klerk should have tried to save.

Divorce spells doom for the NP and strengthens the move towards liberation by black people.
**SACC probe into ANC under way**

**Patricia Bulger**

AN SA Council of Churches (SACC) team which plans to visit ANC camps to test claims of maltreatment and disappearances also wants to inspect government installations used in covert war against the ANC.

SACC Justice and Social Ministries director John Lamola said the SACC had been given the go-ahead two months ago to begin interviewing people who claim family members had gone missing in ANC camps in Africa. The ANC had camps in Angola and still has a presence in Uganda and Tanzania.

Lamola said the SACC was planning to visit the ANC's camps once a full list of missing people had been drawn up. He said the SACC team had been in contact with a number of ANC dissidents who had returned from exile complaining of maltreatment.

"Our intention is to go with a list of names. The visit will involve international church figures," Lamola said.

He said the visit to the camps, permission for which was granted by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, would probe alleged human rights violations committed by the ANC in exile.

"We have stood against human rights violations of the apartheid regime. We should not overlook what has happened outside the regime," he said.

Lamola said the SACC wanted to visit government installations used during the undercover war against the ANC. In particular, he mentioned the Vlakplaas police camp, which re- garded by police, which re- garded police, which received much of its support from anti-apartheid forces.

Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions in its camps had not completed its report and would sit for another day, a source close to the commission said.

The source denied that the commission had named ANC administrative official Mzwai Piliso as being primarily responsible for abuses in the camps.

The source said the commission's terms of reference included an investigation into conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about loss of property.

The source said a report would be submitted to Mandela and that there would be no comment on the issue until he had studied and made public its findings. The ANC said it had committed itself to publicising the findings when it set up the commission.

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**Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC**

MSINGA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in a bid to end the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga and neighbouring districts in Natal, Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika consisting of him, Mandela and President F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC... All I have said is that unless Dr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish.

"I say today to Mandela yet again, act against the violence with me. I say to him, have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence.

He also slammed the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa.

"The going is going to get tough because of political tensions created by the ANC's refusal to go back to the negotiation process."

Meanwhile, eight people were wounded in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, when attackers armed with AK-47 and R-1 rifles fired on the police but missed their target, wounding bystanders instead.

The wounded were treated at a clinic in the township. On Saturday, two bodies were found, police said in their daily unrest report. One had been shot and another hacked and stabbed to death.

On Saturday night a commuter was shot dead and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by unidentified gunmen on a train in Soweto between Phomolong and Dube stations.

No arrests were made.

Two bodies with back wounds have also been found at Ivory Park, Midrand, where a taxi was claimed four lives last week.
ANC alliance ‘is hoping to topple govt’

THE ANC and its allies may be preparing for a new round of mass action to force government to comply with their demands.

An apparent hardening of the ANC’s attitude towards a return to negotiations and little sign that government was preparing to meet demands for an end to violence, an interim government and a constituent assembly, will influence ANC decisions on mass action.

Senior ANC officials believe that government is “on the ropes” and that two more bouts of mass action similar to that which culminated in the general strike of August 3-4 may be more than government can withstand.

President F W de Klerk telephoned ANC president Nelson Mandela at the weekend, only days after the ANC’s national working committee ruled that, while talks remain suspended, the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would be the only channel through which government could communicate decisions that could lead to talks resuming.

According to ANC sources, government officials at different levels of seniority have been trying to initiate discussions with the ANC in the past few days.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday dismissed speculation of an early return to talks. She said this was just disinformation spread by government.

Marcus said there was still a fourth phase of mass action to come and that it would be the subject of discussions among ANC structures and its allies in Cosatu and the SA Communist Party. In this phase of mass action — dubbed “Exitgate” by alliance figures when mass action was announced in June — the government is forced from power.

“As part of the process of bringing about democratic change, there could be other phases,” she said. Referring to the weekend conversation between Mandela and De Klerk, Marcus said De Klerk was trying to say the government’s door was open for negotiations. However, the ANC wanted agreements relating to its 14 demands before it started talking again.

Hopes for an early return to talks have also received a setback from the UN’s intention to maintain a relatively low profile in SA. There had been hopes earlier that international involvement could provide the ANC with a victory stemming from mass action to back its decision to return to talks.

Last week, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki flew to New York for a meeting with UN envoy Cyrus Vance to try to persuade him that SA needed more than the 30 monitors he had recommended. The matter will be discussed in the UN Security Council today.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend hardliners in the ANC had gained the upper hand in decisions on a return to talks. Meyer said the ANC team that met government last week to discuss political prisoners had been “ratted over the knuckles” by hardliners.
Impasse not over yet - ANC

No talks unless 14 demands are met immediately.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The political impasse since the collapse of CODESA two months ago is not over yet, the ANC has said.

Unless the Government moves substantially on the ANC's 14 demands of June 23, and releases all political prisoners forthwith, there will be no meetings between the two, the movement said.

It also understood that the United Nations special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, has piled on the pressure for the Government to move on the release of political prisoners.

The ANC yesterday confirmed that a single channel - between Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer - has been established for the Government to respond to the 14 demands only.

Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC yesterday insisted: "This channel was not opened for any negotiations, only for Government to respond to the 14 demands."

The ANC and Vance have expressed their "horror" after Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee has apparently backed off from an undertaking to release the remaining political prisoners, and his coupling of the release with a general amnesty.

This "sudden" call for a general amnesty, the ANC believes, was inspired by "the almost daily revelations of State complicity in violence and about the role of State officials in serious human rights' violations and abuse of power which resulted in crime and in some instances murder."

Meanwhile, the UN Security Council will today discuss the report of its secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, which calls for, among other things, the release of all political prisoners. The report has the backing of most of the major seats in the UN Security Council.
Mass action is being called the ANC president's 'referendum', writes R W Johnson

The claim is now being widely advanced that the recent mass action, and in particular the two-day stayaway, constituted Nelson Mandela's 'referendum', in which he won a handsome "mandate" from his black constituency analogous to that which De Klerk's win from his white constituency in March.

This claim is in some ways hard to understand. It is still far from clear that mass action was ever Mr Mandela's idea: more convincingly parity-waged suits could surely be laid at the doors of Jay Naidoo, Peter Mokaba or Ronnie Kasrils. Of the ANC leaders, Mr Mandela always seemed the most aware of the economic damage mass action would do.

Then again, he was actually out of the country for most of the crucial build-up to mass action that led, in terms of the referendum analogy, he was away during the campaign - in Iran, then Tehran, the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, France, even on Olympic holidays in Barcelona. And from Paris, in the mistaken belief that the Securics-Coasa accord was in the bag, he even announced that the stayaway would last for a single day, sounding mightily relieved that the strike was off.

To interpret the ensuing two-day strike as a vindication of his views would seem to require considerable mental gymnastics.

There is also the worrying combination that mass action was a democratic exercise. Yet the truth is that it was a classic example of commandism. From early on in the year, Mr Naidoo and the ANC leadership threatened a general strike in August, branding it as a must for the ANC to win its battle against apartheid.

But this threat was not enough to secure a complete victory. Instead, the ANC managed to win a general strike of 50,000 in Cape Town, perhaps 200,000 in a march of 15,000 in Port Elizabeth. Nowhere else did crowd size approach five figures.

Perhaps more significant were the absorptions. Nafco, Sasta and other representatives of black commerce were notably moribund about mass action, and no significant businessmen felt able to give his pattle support.

The most important Indian newspaper, The Leader, was openly critical and there was no masking the lack of enthusiasm for mass action throughout the Indian and coloured communities. Many of the usual ANC-aligned groups such as Cosabola, the NIC and TIC, Currawong and so on, were very quiet. If one attended the rally one would be struck by the absence of the "white liberal" wing of the ANC and the prominence of an SAPC hard core. And, of course, outside the special case of the Transkei, mass action was an exclusively urban phenomenon, indeed, very largely a metropolitan one.

What all this suggests is that the ANC was mobilising - actions not unimpressively - in deeply adverse conditions which had the effect of squeezing all the more marginal elements of its coalition. The remaining core appears to have been composed of several elements: a powerful rural base in the Xosa heartland of the Transkei; a mix of small-town support around Port Elizabeth and Maritzburg; and the heritage of the impressive organisational impact of Govan Mbeki and Harry Gwala respectively, and less defined co-optations of metropolitan support in which trade union militants and student activists are probably the key elements. What is really striking is the central importance the ANC placed on realising its "mandate" from this core group, among whom the insurrectionary spirit of 1984-85 still burns strongly, even if this could be achieved only at the expense of alienating critical support elsewhere.

In this phase of its struggle, this may have been a necessary move for the ANC, but it was, nonetheless, a dangerous game in a pres-ecentric period. For the mass action core group is too narrow and too strongly centred around the SAPC to be an election-winning coalition; the tactics necessary to rally the activists could well lose the country at large. As the ANC moves back towards negotiations and ultimately towards the hustings it would do well to realise that it needs to reassure not just whites, Indians and coloureds but, quite crucially, the black church, business and professional groups on whom the country's future de- pends, and whose voice has been all but blotted out in the tumult of the last two months.

Mandela's stayaway 'mandate'

STAN 18/8/12
Government meets PAC again today

PRINQORIA — The restructuring of the negotiations forum will be one of the main items on the agenda in the second meeting between the PAC and government today.

Amid speculation that Codesta's committee and sub-committee system could be "streamlined", PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday the convening of a constituent assembly and an alternative negotiations forum would top the agenda.

Moseneke expected the discussions to be more focused than last week's meeting, which he described as a "getting to know each other" meeting.

Today's meeting would deal concretely with areas in which agreement could be achieved and those where it could not.

The PAC would also be seeking clarity on the form of a transitional authority to oversee elections for a constituent assembly and a top-level summit at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, Moseneke said.

Government had placed the issue of violence on the agenda while the PAC would be raising the issue of a general amnesty, an area in which the government and the ANC have serious disagreement.

The PAC was seeking a general amnesty which would include an amnesty for crimes in which members of the PAC's armed wing Apia may have been involved after the indemnity cut-off date in October 1999.

The nature of the crimes and the cut-off date were still under discussion, he said.

But he added that the existing cut-off date, which he pointed out referred to indemnity rather than amnesty, was "ridiculous".

WHO sticks to its health warnings

LONDON — The World Health Organisation (WHO) stood by its advice to cut out fatty foods, puddings, cream and butter yesterday despite claims that there was no evidence its advice would lower the risk of heart disease.

WHO health protection policy director Dr Jean Rochon denied WHO's nutrition guidelines were fanatical. The guidelines included being cautious with alcohol.

The organisation was criticised...
PAC Government in follow-up talks

Preparation for full-blown summit: Sunday 18/6/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government hold follow-up talks today and similar meetings with black consciousness groups are in the pipeline.

The meeting to be held in Pretoria is a continuation of last Tuesday's talks between the two parties at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to prepare for a full-blown summit.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs and delegation chairman Mr Goma Ebrahim said yesterday the agenda would still include a constituent assembly, transitional authority and a neutral venue and chairman.

A future meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and State President Mr FW de Klerk would be an item on the agenda and not the main issue as suggested in earlier reports, Ebrahim said.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian People's Organisation might also engage the Government in bilateral discussions on transitional mechanisms and a constituent assembly.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, yesterday, BCMA spokesman Mr Vuyisa Qunta said a "facilitator" who was neither linked to the BCAM/Azapo nor the Government would inform the two parties on his recommendations soon.

Qunta said his movement could only engage the Government in real negotiations outside South Africa and under a neutral chairman.

Meanwhile, the ANC and PAC have denied that they were planning to discuss strategy with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.
NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt and ANC slated

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have been criticised for their respective handling of land and rural development issues.

Association for Rural Advancement co-ordinator Richard Clacey, said in his annual report yesterday government's decision to arbitrarily dispose of 3-million hectares of state land to the homelands pointed to an attempt to use the transition process to restructure land dispensation in a way that would pre-empt attempts by future governments to institute more far-reaching reforms.

Of the ANC Clacey said the land issue had yet to receive serious attention from a movement positioning itself as a major alternative to apartheid rule. He questioned whether the concerns of rural people were high on the ANC's agenda.
PAC to hold talks with Govt again

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The PAC will take another tentative step towards negotiations tonight when it again holds talks with the Government in Pretoria.

Tonight's meeting, to be held at the Burgersparks Hotel, is a follow-up to one held by the two parties at the Airport Sun hotel last Tuesday - which lasted for three hours and was described by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as "fruitful and constructive".

PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti yesterday confirmed that the meeting would go ahead.

Mr Seriti said his organisation would be represented by the same six-man delegation which attended last week's meeting, led by foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star there were two main issues on the agenda of tonight's meeting: violence and alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

- PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille and national executive council member K Makaipili led a PAC delegation in a meeting with the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Brian Jenkins, in Cape Town yesterday.

Mrs de Lille said her delegation had briefed Sir Brian on the PAC's position on negotiations, and told him "the PAC's participation will bring some content to negotiations which will lead to some gains for the dispossessed African people".

Mrs de Lille said the mayor expressed his concern about future economic development in the country.
ANC spells out its rejection of amnesty

By Kaizer Nyatumbi
Political Reporter

The ANC yesterday reiterated its opposition to a general amnesty, saying its "sudden promotion" by the Government related to "accumulating evidence of senior ministerial and security force involvement in assassinations and violence".

Listing five "serious misconceptions about the nature, content and implications of granting a general amnesty to cover all forms of past wrongdoing" in the country, the ANC said the De Klerk government did not have the competence to grant amnesty.

The ANC said crimes against humanity, perpetrated in various forms of apartheid, were "the most serious crimes in international law", and the way a general amnesty was now being presented equated the acts of those who opposed apartheid with those who acted "to maintain this vile system".

"Indemnity must be granted to those who are prepared to come forward with information that will provide an understanding of the past and help put an end to the ongoing mayhem. "But as long as governments allow or encourage their forces to act with contempt for human rights, as long as the agents of repression believe they can kidnap, torture and murder without fear of discovery or punishment, the cycle of violence will never be broken," said the ANC.

The ANC also said:
- The question of political prisoners — who had either served sentences or sought individual indemnity from future prosecution — could not be muddied with the amnesty issue. The Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes of 1990 laid down procedures for dealing with politically motivated activities.
- A general amnesty would grant full indemnity "for hit squads, operatives of the State Security Council, perpetrators of torture, killings and assassinations for undisclosed acts and for unidentified persons".
- An integral part of a general amnesty was not only knowledge of past deeds, but also acknowledgement of the past.
- Absolving the military or police of capital crimes, torture or ill-treatment would place its members above the law, and "cripple the principle of equality before the law which underlies a future democracy".
- The stability of a democracy was not built on granting concessions to the military on issues pertaining to "its violent intrusions into civilian life", and exonerations would perpetuate fear and intimidation.
- It could not be assumed that amnesty, "an act of generosity", would bring an end to a tradition of covert activity.

The ANC said the people of South Africa had suffered as victims of apartheid. If a general amnesty simply swept all the misdeeds under the carpet, the clamour for justice would increase "from all those who have been harmed".

PAC man suspended

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke had been suspended as editorial director of SA's leading black publishing house, Skota-
ville, for political activities, Sero-
cke alleged yesterday. (UA)

Skotaville chairman Zelenko Mthembu denied the suspension had anything to do with Seroke's PAC involvement. PAC deputy secretary-general Thobile Gola said Seroke would devote all his time to the PAC.
PAC official suspended

BLACK publishing house Skotaville Publishers has suspended its editorial director for belonging to a political organisation.

Mr Jati Seroke, an Africanist Congress secretary for political affairs, yesterday said the matter was being handled by his lawyer. A letter informing him of the suspension on June 18 said the action was taken against him for insubordination and for belonging to a political organisation.

Mr Kahla Mbembo, chairman of Skotaville's board of directors, said Seroke was suspended for internal reasons which he was not free to comment on.
PAC talks progress

BROAD ACCORD PAC, Government make headway in talks on armed struggle, other issues:

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government last night made "substantive progress" in the second round of talks including headway on the thorny issue of the PAC's armed struggle.

In a joint statement after a three-hour meeting in Pretoria, they announced that agreement had been reached on a future constitution-making body which the PAC referred to as a constituent assembly.

Follow-up talks were also proposed which could finalise a meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu.

See story page 2
Pat Hlongwane is a spy - ANC

AFRICAN National Congress legal adviser Mr Matthew Phosa last night reiterated his organisation’s allegations that the Returned Exile Committee chairman, Mr Patrick Hlongwane, had been a police spy.

Phosa was speaking on the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show hosted by DJ Tim Modise.

"It's a pity that Hlongwane is not with us here (in the Johannesburg studio). He might have recognised my face," Phosa said.

He said he met Hlongwane in Kampala where he had allegedly confessed to the killing of "many activists" while a police spy in South Africa.

Speaking from an SARC studio in Durban, Hlongwane, denied the allegations.

He said the organisation tortured him and forced him to confess that he had been a police spy.

"I left the country because I wanted to talk with the ANC about their communist Freedom Charter, and not to be put in a concentration camp where people were treated like slaves, " Hlongwane said.

He compared the ANC's prison camps in Quatro, Angola, to Hitler's concentration camps.

Phosa said Hlongwane had not left the country to join the ANC because he hated the organisation.

"We should not waste our time with people like Hlongwane especially at the time when our country is in the process of reconciliation."

Mpho Mazibuko, Sebokeng.

"I can only answer questions related to Quatro (ANC prison in Angola) and not whether I poisoned people in Lusaka,"

Hlongwane.

"We should avoid having uncultured people like Hlongwane on the air," Brian Lareng, Dobsonville, Soweto.

"Pat must tell our people why so many people were nearly killed because of poisoning in Lusaka. He nearly killed them."

Phosa.

"I hate to answer stupid questions from stupid people. Here I'm dealing with a monster (ANC). The ANC has burnt my home and has necklace my mother."

Hlongwane.

"We are going to defend our members and the community against the ANC's communist disinformation."

Hlongwane.

next Talkback topic

THE South African soccer team, after credible performances against Cameroon, was brought down to earth with a bump when it was thumped 4-1 by a vastly superior Zimbabwean national squad on Sunday.

What measures must be taken to bring the country's squad up to international standards? What do you think is wrong with South African soccer?

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063
PAC, Govt in breakthrough

The government and the PAC made "substantive progress" in their second round of talks last night, according to a joint statement after a three-hour long meeting.

The two parties reached an agreement on a future constitution-making body and on the matter of neutral venue, which is no longer a thorny issue:

In addition, the PAC said it would rethink its support for the process once the process towards a democracy had clearly started.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer, who led the Government delegation, said the government had emphasised the need for a peaceful transition, the cessation of violence and the end of the armed struggle.

"The PAC indicated that once we have clearly embarked on a peaceful process towards and elected constitution-making body, they would change their position on the armed struggle."

The PAC's Mr. Gora Ebrahim, said his organisation had "listened carefully" to the Government's viewpoint on violence, and agreed that there was no room for violence once a democratic system was in place in South Africa.

Ebrahim said while the PAC still believed negotiations should be held at a neutral venue under a neutral chairmanship, this was an issue which should be discussed.
ANC tunes strategy

Although bilateral ANC-Government talks are not taking place, the ANC continues preparing its negotiating strategy.

Patriotic Front members at Codelsa yesterday held a summit on negotiations in KwaNdebele, and the ANC and its regions meet tomorrow in a two-day negotiations consultative forum in Johannesburg.

When talks were broken off on June 23, the ANC said it would convene a summit “to unite and mobilise our people against continued white minority rule and for democracy”.

After ANC and Government negotiators met 10 days ago, the ANC national executive committee last week reiterated the organisation’s position that no constitutional discussions with the Government would take place until the Government had met the ANC’s demands. — Political Reporter.
PAC and Govt again discuss negotiations

By Kalize Nytsumba
Political Reporter

The PAC and the Government held talks in Pretoria last night in an effort to facilitate the PAC's entry into negotiations.

Last night's meeting, held at the Burgerspark Hotel, is a follow-up to a meeting held at the Airport Sun Hotel last Tuesday. Last week's meeting was described as fruitful by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The question of violence, alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly were on the agenda of last night's meeting.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star that most of the items on the meeting's agenda were the Government's — the PAC's having been addressed at last week's meeting.

During a press briefing at the end of last week's meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government on South African soil — Mr Meyer said his delegation had raised its concern about Apla attacks on policemen and was waiting for the PAC's response.

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities and has referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam.

The PAC source said: "We will just listen to their views and put ours across. We might then tell them we will put their views to the Apla leadership."

The delegations were led by Mr Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim. A press conference was expected to be held after the meeting.
Time to tell our stories

ALLE contributors to the Breaking The Logjam series seem to agree that we have not yet reached a stage where it would be accurate to say we have finally failed to reach a peaceful negotiated constitutional settlement.

But the least that can be done at the moment is to question the manner in which we have gone about trying to reach this settlement.

In other words, we need to ask if the negotiating forum we created was the best vehicle that could have been devised to transport us to a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa. We need to ask if enough preparatory work was done by way of building mutual understanding and removing unnecessary stereotypes among the negotiating parties.

We also need to wonder if the right questions have been posed at the negotiating forum and if the various parties in this forum have been afforded time to "tell their stories" and honestly enunciate their fears and concerns about the future democracy we are trying to build.

It is my view that none of these preliminary steps to negotiation were taken to a satisfactory degree. The result of this omission is now showing in the way all parties are trying to harness the future constitution to enunciate hidden fears and concerns that were not stated beforehand.

If we accept that a constitution is the embodiment of a nation's fears, concerns, suspicions, aspirations and hopes then we must first address these earnestly before we begin the task of drafting a new democratic constitution. I fear that if this is not done parties will continue to talk past each other for months without any visible progress. In fact, under such circumstances, the more parties try to talk the more the misunderstanding among them deepens.

As most contributors have rightly stated, the cause of the present stalemate is not so much the type of constitution we need or the majorities we need to ratify it. On the contrary, the stalemate is caused by lack of consensus on how we reconcile majority rule with minority concerns and thereby ensure that minority parties buy in to the envisaged constitutional settlement in such a way that they can be relied on to uphold and defend it.

The other level of the stalemate has to do with uncertainty on the part of possible losers in a future election, that the possible winners can be relied on to guarantee an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles in post-apartheid South Africa and that, if this commitment is undermined, something tangible and effective can be done to save the citizenry from the tyranny of the majority.

It is in attempting to grapple with this constitutional dilemma that some of the parties tend to propose the tyranny of the minority (or what the ANC calls a loser-takes-all formula). The obvious challenge here is that a mutually acceptable compromise needs to be found by the negotiating parties.

In seeking honest answers to these questions, we face a real problem. In negotiations these questions are normally posed and honestly answered with the assistance of a third party who enjoys a certain measure of mutual trust.

For instance, the NP is unlikely to say in public that it fears minority rule because it believes this will most probably translate into black majority rule and a possibility of reprisals and reverse discrimination and hostile domination.

The ANC is unlikely to say in public that it is prepared to compromise as much as possible provided the compromise does not turn the new government into a completely lame duck incapable of adopting policies to redress past socio-economic disparities and thereby address the expectations of the voteless majority.

Similarly, the IFP is unlikely to say in public that it fears the possible consequences of an ANC-dominated government given the state of animosity that exists between the two organisations and which is likely to endure right into post-apartheid South Africa.

It is difficult to foresee any way forward which does not accept the need for the negotiating parties to enlist the services of independent facilitators and mediators.

It is these people and not the negotiating parties themselves who are capable of exercising empathy to the fears, concerns, hopes and aspirations of the various parties.

Cyrus Vance could well be the answer but he would need to spend far more time in this country, develop a far deeper understanding of the socio-political dynamics at play here and adopt a far more hands-on approach to this task than is possible in terms of his present UN mandate.

The negotiating parties would do well to declare a moratorium of at least a month on further constitutional kite-flying and instead use this period to hold confidential bilateral talks about their fears, concerns, suspicions and aspirations.

The two days of private and open-hearted talks suggested by...
PAC slammed

A Faction within the Pan Africanist Students Organisation has criticised the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress for its involvement in talks with the Government.

The group, which describes itself as the Wits Region of the students' organisation, said its weekend congress had resolved that the "imperialist-sponsored negotiations" would not address the aspirations of African students, who wanted the present education system replaced with "a socialist one under a socialist government". "We therefore distance ourselves from all these sell-out manoeuvres on the part of the 'leadership'," the movement said.
ANC regions to hold crucial talks

By Thembu Molefe

ALL regions of the African National Congress are to hold a two-day consultative conference, beginning today, to review constitutional negotiations.

However, the organisation is likely to stick to its stance of not talking to the Government unless its 14 demands had been met.

The organisation pulled out of Codesa following the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

On Tuesday the ANC met its partners in the Patriotic Front, including homeland leaders and the Labour Party, at KwaNdebele to assess the negotiations process.

"The PWV region believes it is not yet time to resume negotiations because all the 14 demands presented to the Government have not been met," said regional spokesman Mr Ronie Mmaneopa.

He said it was likely all regions would adopt a militant stance and pressure the national leadership to maintain its current position.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said no other meetings were being planned with the Government following agreements reached on Tuesday on a future constitution-making body or constituent assembly.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim said follow-up talks would be between himself and Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.
Azapo agrees to 'talks-about-talks'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), following the PAC's lead, has taken the first steps towards joining the negotiation process — under defined conditions.

It said yesterday that an "international facilitator" would meet the government today in talks-about-talks.

Although some of its initial demands may be impossible to meet, such as the call for a neutral venue outside the country, it is the first time that the black consciousness organisation has indicated a willingness to enter direct negotiations with the government.

Its conditions are similar to those first laid down by the PAC.

The PAC said after a meeting with the government on Tuesday that there were grounds for a peaceful transition to a new political dispensation and their talks were "constructive and positive".

An agreement had been reached that a new constitution should be drafted by an elected constitution-making body, the PAC's foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said.

Mr Meyer said progress had been made towards involving the PAC in the negotiation process.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said yesterday that an international facilitator would set out to the government his organisation's conditions for a meeting between the two parties.

Azapo's conditions for it to enter negotiations with the government are that the meeting take place at a neutral venue with an independent chairman; the agenda must be fixed; the government must give clear indications of its preparedness to relinquish power by suspending parliament and reincorporating bantustans; bantustan leaders and all members of parliament, no matter which party they represent, should come as part of the government delegation; and the meetings must be open to the media.
ANC: no nationalised land

BLOEMFONTEIN — It was not ANC policy to nationalise land, but there would have to be redistribution, ANC agricultural spokesman Derek Hanekom told the annual congress of the Free State Agricultural Union in Bloemfontein yesterday.

"The challenge faced by the ANC was the unequal access to land. The greatest source of income in rural areas had been remittances from migrant labourers, but as more people lost their jobs those on the land became more dependent on subsistence farming."

Mr Hanekom said the ANC proposed a land claims court to deal with people who had been forcibly removed.

He said the ANC land reform programme was not a socialist system.

He suggested a land tax on those not using land productively. — Sapa.
A WORLD Council of Churches leader and head of the Anglican church in Africa is to act as negotiators broker between the Black Consciousness Movement and the Government.

Sowetan can today reveal that Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of Botswana will chair the first meeting of the Government and joint Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The meeting to explore full fledged negotiations between major liberation movements on one side of the table, and the Government on the other, will be held outside the country and indications are that it could be within a month.

Azapo is to announce today details of the behind-the-scenes activities to bring the “alternative negotiating forum” about.

The talks will be a sequel to a process started by the Government in February this year when an official of the Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Maritz Sperawater, made overtures to Azapo.

Several meetings were held between Azapo officials and the Ministry during which agreement was reached about a neutral convener and an external venue.

It is understood Makhudu was approached by the BCMA, and after he accepted, the ministry officials indicated that they too accepted his credentials.

Makhudu is a member of the WCC presidium, president of the All Africa Church Conference and head of the Anglican Central African Province.

It is strongly believed Zimbabwe will be the likely host.

This development follows agreement between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday on a future constitution-making body or constituent assembly.
Black Consciousness is as relevant today as it ever was, argues Dr Gomolemo Mokae of Azapo. Especially now, when white liberals have wormed and clawed their way into high-powered positions in the black liberation struggle. BC founding father Steve Biko would be horrified, he says.

BC needed to check white role

EUREKA! Now I know: Black Consciousness is as relevant as ever!

After all these years we heard this confirmed by none other than SACP-ANC heavyweight Joe Slovo.

Slovo made this fascinating disclosure during a recent 702 radio talkshow hosted by John Robbie.

Slovo said attacks on whites by blacks were an "expected" consequence of massive and prolonged white racist oppression.

However, Slovo reassured Robbie that the "apocalyptic" view which saw blacks attacking their white oppressors en masse had not happened.

Why? Slovo said: "This is indicative of the ANC's grip on the masses." He also put it down to the ANC's policy of "non-racialism".

Obviously, it's a grip tight enough to prevent blacks attacking whites, but so loose as to fail to prevent them destroying each other.

Much has been written about blacks' so-called unlimited capacity to forgive, which commentators often mistake for botho/ubantu - humanism.

But how does one explain why this black "civility" towards whites is so quickly replaced by murderous intent when directed among blacks?

We put it down to a dearth of BC.

Faced with our horrendous contribution to inhumanity - the "necklace" - it's no wonder that in 1991 the outgoing president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, called for a "return" to BC.

He said: "I can vouch for positive nationalism and Black Consciousness because I have seen it work. I have seen individuals and whole communities undergoing a metamorphosis because they have subscribed to, and practised BC."

"It is difficult for people who have been thus changed to be manipulated by others . . . People must be taught to think for themselves and not be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria."

Recently, during his visit to SA, Kenyan intellectual Prof Ali Mazrui lambasted white ANC liberals for preventing their black "companions" from "doing their own thing".

White ANC thinker Albie Sachs was sincere enough to own up to the inordinate predominance of white intellectualism in the ANC.

At about the same time as Slovo made his Freudian slip, a former BC exponent who has developed a fondness for white liberals, Trefomo Snoo, tried to disparage BC in the Sunday Star.

Of course, as he exploited his status as a former Sasbo president, Snoo conveniently avoided mention of the fact that he had actually been the first, before Curtis Nkondo, to be kicked from presidency of a BC formation for his then-developing partiality to white tutelage.

But even as he tried to argue that BC was an effete force, he revealed that white liberals had clawed their way to positions of clout within the ANC.

Note well how virtually all the white former MK members - Carl Niehaus, Marion Sparg, Barbara Hogan, Grosskopf, - hold important positions within the movement as spokespersons, intellectual supports etc.

Where are the majority black cadres? How many are unemployed, destitute and in political oblivion?

Is this not - as Biko warned - "giving a black body a white head"?

"Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout "Bass" willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home," wrote Steve.
timing only. This is a major shift for the
Africanists. But it is less a case of deep
political acumen on the part of the PAC than
recognition that it has no other option but to
talk.

The PAC was due to meet government for
a second round of preparatory talks this
week, following their successful meeting last
Tuesday, at which it raised the question of an
alternative forum to Codesa for future con-
stitutional talks. Any change to the Codesa
format, which many have thought likely any-
way, will doubtless be claimed as a victory by
the PAC. The important thing, however, is if
this makes PAC entry into the process easier
among its suspicious and militant followers.

Significantly, these bilateral talks are tak-
ing place inside the country. The PAC has
always insisted on a neutral outside venue
presided over by a neutral international
chairman. That is why it claimed as a victory
its meeting with President F W de Klerk in
Nigeria last April. Such points of political
purity are important to the organisation.

While the PAC seemed to be preparing to
enter constitutional negotiations late last
year, it appeared that its membership effec-
tively scotched the move. But its leaders
claim they pulled out of the multi-party pre-
Codesa talks at the time because the ANC
had reneged on an agreement in terms of
which the two organisations would act as a
front essentially to pursue the PAC view of
negotiations.

What has made the PAC change its ap-
proach? In a paper by Johannes Rantete of
the Centre for Policy Studies, it was suggested
that the PAC's lack of options if it remains
outside the process may provide the answer.

The PAC, says Rantete, lacks the capacity
to achieve its "decolonisation" model of
change, in terms of which "the regime" is
forced to capitulate and simply transfer
power to the liberation forces. Its lack of
organisational muscle may prevent it from
winning substantial support by remaining
outside negotiations and capitalising on dis-
affection with the process.

Nor does it have the capacity to derail any
negotiations. "There clearly is disenchant-
ment with the process, but little sign of
growing PAC support," says Rantete. It was
revealing of PAC support that its stance
against the recent ANC strike had scarcely
any impact on the stayaway.

Even if the PAC does win enough support
from its constituency for joining constitut-
ional talks, it is unlikely to gain much. "A
settlement reached if the PAC is party to
talks may not be very different to one
reached if it continues to shun them," says
Rantete.

This seems to be its dilemma. Even though
the PAC represents an important strand in
"liberation" thinking, its influence in the
negotiations and the system that emerges
from it will remain limited. The central ex-
planation for this lies in the fact that its
vision of the transition as a decolonisation
process "is simply unachievable in SA, by
negotiation or by any other means."
ANC 'cannot delay progress'

Govt plans to press ahead with reforms

GOVERNMENT would go ahead with legislation to reform the constitution in October — regardless of whether the ANC had returned to talks, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

At a news conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, he said government could not continue to "sit on its hands".

A conference would be held early in September where government would meet other political parties with similar policies to discuss such issues as federalism.

He said government's reasonableness should not be mistaken for weakness; it would not bow to pressure and mass action but would continue governing until there was a negotiated interim constitution.

Government was anxious to take steps to realise this aim and had no intention of allowing the ANC to delay progress.

"We dare not permit the negative and confrontational strategy of the radicals and communists in the ANC to disrupt progress to a full democracy," De Klerk said.

The ANC reacted angrily to his announcement, saying there was no future in negotiations that excluded the ANC. It warned those parties planning to meet government in a negotiating conference that their efforts would be fruitless.

De Klerk said the conference would decide on legislation to "further level the playing fields" and other constitutional issues. But he stopped short of saying this would include enabling legislation for an interim government.

He said he had met the DP and Inkatha yesterday and they had had constructive discussions about the way forward. He would be meeting the DP again and he was in regular contact with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"In response to questions De Klerk said this was not a threat to the ANC. "We cannot wait forever. The past three months of stagnation and mass action, which were heralded by the ANC's calculated obstruction of Codesa II, have been to great disadvantage to our country and all its people."

He said he wanted to see all the important role players back at the negotiating table. In the hope that talks would resume soon, government would work constructively in the weeks ahead to draw in the ANC.

He made it clear that government was not going to respond in detail to each of the ANC's 14 demands. If negotiations were not back on track by September, the conference would go ahead so that progress could be made in the interim.

De Klerk said damage had been done to the economy and especially to the poor, with many losing their jobs as a result of the ANC pulling out of negotiations.

Foreign investors had been frightened off, schools disrupted, attitudes had hardened and millions of moderate South Africans were losing patience and becoming increasingly radical in reaction to the ANC's threats and excesses.

He said government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress possible.

"We also want to be satisfied that the ANC may be trusted to fulfil and honour agreements," he said.

It was in this framework that government and the NP would make every effort to resolve the deadlocks in the coming weeks, but it insisted on tolerance, reasonableness and fairness.
The Umata Congress of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania unanimously adopted a resolution on negotiations.

The resolution said the PAC "is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination through the mechanism of genuine negotiations".

It added that such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate. Congress further decided that such negotiations must take place under a neutral convener and a neutral venue.

The PAC from the outset has been demanding the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly as the only democratic forum which can draw up the new, nonracial democratic constitution.

These basic principles were put by the PAC before the patriotic United Front Conference and received overwhelming support.

The PAC, as custodian of these fundamental principles, began to take concrete steps to implement them. Consequently, the first formal meeting between the PAC and the regime was held in Abuja, Nigeria, under a neutral convener.

Two issues were discussed that meeting: the principle of neutrality and the democratisation of the negotiating forum.

Exploratory talks

In Abuja it was agreed that further exploratory talks should be held bilaterally on these and other issues. The Abuja meeting was followed by the bilateral preparatory talks at the Southern Sun Hotel in Johannesburg. At that meeting, the PAC placed the following items on the agenda:

- Constituent Assembly
- New negotiating forum
- Transitional authority
- Preparation for a leadership meeting

This agenda was agreed to by the regime. However, the regime proposed two additional agenda items - violence and attacks on security forces. The PAC agreed to discuss these items.

After seven hours of discussions at the Johannesburg venue and at the Burgerspark Hotel in Pretoria, agreements were reached on the following principles:

1. The new constitution must be drawn up by an elected constitution-making body. The PAC refers to this as the Constituent Assembly.
2. A more representative negotiating forum must be established to negotiate the modalities and principles for the establishment of the elected constitution-making body, namely, the Constituent Assembly.
3. The process for establishment of the elected constitution-making body should begin soon with voter registration for a non-racial common voters' roll.
4. A meeting at the highest leadership level is desirable as soon as the issues of neutral venue and neutral convener are settled.

The issues of violence and attacks on security forces were extensively discussed. On violence, the PAC said it was not involved in the senseless carnage ravaging the country but that the PAC made a significant contribution towards ending the violence. The use of the "necklace" was strongly condemned by the PAC and all component structures.

The various investigation teams, both internal and international, in their respective reports did not implicate the PAC in the present violence. Our cry has been and still is "Peace among the Africans". The late President of the PAC, comrade Zephania Mothopane, offered to mediate between the ANC. The PAC has an implacable track record of taking initiatives to end the senseless carnage.

In the candid opinion of the PAC, the regime must take the following steps to end the violence:

1. Expel all foreign mercenaries from the country under international supervision.
2. Disband all security formations.
3. Speed up elections to the Constituent Assembly.
4.Prosecute those in the SADF and SAP responsible for crimes.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania maintains that position that violence in the country is linked to the fact that we have an undemocratic system and only the establishment of a genuine democracy would end violence. The core problem, therefore, is to speedily draw up the new, non-racial democratic constitution. All else will follow.

In the meantime, the PAC will continue its efforts to reconvene the Patriotic United Front Conference as soon as possible. It is important that the oppressed and dispossessed majority speak with one voice. In unity lies our strength.
Raising the dead from their brass coffins

Jim Joel on at Wits

Six of South Africa's brightest young musicians, all either final year or post-graduate students of the Wits School of Music, will compete for the JCI Jim Joel Scholarship in the Great Hall over the first few evenings in September.

They are: tenor Adam Kirkaldy (fourth year BMus), bassoonist Derek Penfold (postgraduate performer's diploma), pianist Nicola Harris (final year Licentiate), trumpeter Louis-Jeanne Lorenzo (post-graduate), Ovain Shiffrin and Natalie Lookin (both final year Licentiate and BMus).

The schedule of performances is, on Wednesday, September 2, from 8pm: Elvis and Shliffrin, both accompanied by pianist Wits postgraduate Waldo Mabuza.

Thursday, September 3, 8pm: Kirkaldy, with pianists Jacques Van Meerbeeck, Lorenzo, with pianist Malcolm Nye.

Friday, September 4, 8pm: Harris, Pennell, with pianist Jill Richards.

Saturday, September 5, 8pm: Finalists' recital and announcement of the winner.

Attendance is free but the Saturday recital a moderate admission fee will be charged.

As a matter of fact...

It was erroneously reported in last week's Weekend Mail that Samia Mohofonj had received the Mother Jones Award for his series of photographs showing the truth at work on the New York City subway restoration project. Mohofonj, in fact, has won the prize for his work in progress: Discovering Mirrors, an examination of the relationship between the public and private images ordinary South Africa people hold of themselves. He will use the cash part of the Mother Jones Award to complete this series.

SASCO peace

featuring:

JONAS Gwangwa
Back Waters Blues Band

at the bozzoli hall, wits on fridday the 21st of august

at 7.30 pm.

adm: R10 for students, R15 for non Students.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION (SASCO)
February 1990, he was in effect offering the ANC co-partnership in running SA — power sharing, in short. To the ANC, this has never been on. Its view of a normal democracy means and always has meant majority rule and the right of a majority party at the polls to make mistakes. It rejects any rigged power sharing system.

It has become increasingly clear to government, says Schrire, that its constitutional game plan is not going to succeed. Hence the concessions have virtually all come from government’s side, as an analysis of its shifting bottom line would show.

However, government is not yet convinced that the only guarantee for whites does not lie in a constitution which enshrines their position in a coalition government, instead of being based on what it achieves at the polls. This is at the root of the ANC’s tougher approach and preconditions for resuming negotiations: that the majority party should form the government and of its own volition to bring in minority parties if it wishes.

Once this fundamental issue is resolved, says Schrire, all other obstacles, including the ANC’s 14 demands, will easily be resolved. As they stand, the demands obviously cannot be met point by point. Things are far more complex than pretending that the violence, for instance, can be turned on and off at will. The ANC, of course, knows this — hence its insistence that talks can start again only once government has given a “satisfactory response” to those demands.

It is not necessarily a question of each of the 14 points being met as such — rather, that there be “meaningful, visible movement — for example, on the issue of the release of political prisoners.” Other matters raised by the ANC in this regard concern the carrying of weapons in public and the fencing of hostels.

So there is flexibility for both sides in satisfying the so-called 14 demands, which really boil down to three: steps to curb the violence, an interim government, and commitment to a sovereign elected constituent assembly. One needs to distinguish when a group is rhetorically playing to its gallery and what it is actually looking for.

Following last week’s conciliatory post-strike speeches by Mandela, it did indeed seem that negotiations would resume within weeks. Government certainly expected them to. What seems to have scuttled this optimism, it now transpires, was, as the ANC sees it, government’s pussyfooting over the question of the release of political prisoners.

According to the ANC, undertakings and definitions in this regard were reached long ago in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minis. Moreover, government had also given such an undertaking to UN special representative Cyrus Vance, says the ANC, now accusing Pretoria of bad faith. Clearly fed up with the seemingly endless talks over this issue, Mandela this week returned to charging that De Klerk was involved in the violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC has reiterated its rejection of a general amnesty which would include the security forces, unless and until those involved come forward to declare their deeds in the interests of understanding the past and preparing for a democratic future.

While he is not blindly optimistic about the prospects for negotiations, says Schrire, viewed in the light of SA’s past the negotiations have so far progressed reasonably and as well as could have been expected.

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**Motor Industry Wages: Waiting on Toyota**

Nervous vehicle manufacturers hope Toyota will fall into line this weekend when employers and unions try to hammer out a final agreement on wages and job security. If not, they fear further conflict if negotiations drag on into a fifth month. The dispute has already resulted in a week-long industry strike.

Agreement is nearly two months overdue. Discussions, which began in April, were due to provide a new package to take effect from July 1. But differences, particularly on union demands for an extension of the year-old moratorium on lay-offs, delayed matters.

With the exception of Toyota, there now appears to be virtual consensus between employers and the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) on the form of the new agreement.

Toyota, which did not attend national bargaining forum meetings during the recent two-month strike at its Durban plant, has agreed to honour minimum-wage agreements reached in its absence. As part of the written agreement ending the Toyota strike, the company bound itself to abide by the forum’s wage conditions. But the agreement with Numsa also decreed that job security should be a matter for the company and union to decide.

In other words, at the same time as it was seeking an industry-wide agreement, Numsa
Durban — The Azanian People's Organisation has appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator" to open discussions with the Government.

Speaking in Durban yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Archbishop Makhudu would meet the Government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled".

Mr Moodley said that provided Azapo's preconditions were met, direct discussions between Azapo and the Government would begin by September 12 and be completed within six months.

A subject for negotiation would be a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Mr Moodley said the negotiations would be open and public, and Azapo would insist on liberation movements joining the negotiating forum. — Sapa.
Students back PAC-Govt thaw

By Kaizer Nyatsanu
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Students’ Organisation (Paso) has come out in support of the Pan Africanist Congress’s involvement in negotiations with the Government — and bitterly denounced a faction within its ranks which this week criticised the PAC leadership.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Paso’s PWV regional leadership said it stood firmly behind the PAC’s attempts “to reach a speedy resolution on the issue of one person, one vote”, saying that that represented “the only democratic format to empower the African people and resolve the land question”.

The organisation launched a scathing attack on a group which this week denounced the PAC leadership for its involvement in talks with the Government, saying “imperialist-sponsored negotiations” would not address the aspirations of African students.

The group, which described itself as the Wits region of Paso, distanced itself from “these sel-lout manoeuvres on the part of the leadership” and called upon Paso members not to attend the organisation’s August 28-30 national congress in Durban.

At the press conference, Paso PWV regional secretary for tertiary institutions Thapelo Dikotla said there was no Wits region of the organisation and denounced the group as “an extension of the notorious liberation movement-bashing agencies of the regime”.

“As far as we are concerned, there exists only a PWV region of Paso, which fully supports the national leadership of Paso led by our revolutionary party, the PAC, under (the) disciplined and able leadership of president Clarence Makwetu,” Paso said.

Paso, which called on its members to attend the Durban congress, said it would not in future ensure the safety of SABC journalists when attacked by its members if the corporation continued to give “coverage to State-sponsored hooligans”.
Legislation for transition in pipeline

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has already prepared legislation for the short session of Parliament in October to take the transition process forward.

And the ANC and Government's top negotiators are to meet again today to try to get negotiations back on track.

President de Klerk said at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that he would be calling a summit next month of the Codesa parties that favoured the idea of strong regional government or federalism.

He also said the Government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress in transitional arrangements and had no intention of allowing "elements in the ANC to delay progress."

It emerged yesterday that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were to meet today.

ANC and Government negotiators met secretly two weeks ago, but the ANC said afterwards that the meeting had been fruitless. However, the ANC kept open the line of communication between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

Mr de Klerk stressed yesterday that the Government did not intend going it alone without the ANC. But it did intend going ahead with "certain preparatory steps like levelling the playing field and preparing what in any case would have to be done."

Legislation had been prepared or was being prepared.

The September summit of federalists was not intended to form a front against the ANC or to launch a go-it-alone option. The idea would merely be to discuss the mechanics of federalism and where regional or federal borders should be.

He said that during the past three months, substantial damage had been done to the economy. Foreign investors had been frightened off, violence had increased and millions of moderates were losing patience.
De Klerk moves to consolidate power base

PRETORIA: President FW de Klerk yesterday moved to consolidate his support base by calling a meeting of all parties to CODESA which subscribe to "basically the same fundamental constitutional principles".

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday he announced that these parties are scheduled to meet in early September.

The move can only be interpreted as a veiled threat to the African National Congress that while it delays getting back to negotiations the government is consolidating its own power bloc.

However, de Klerk denied that the initiative was part of a "go it alone" strategy excluding the ANC or an attempt to form a moderate front.

He said the government "could not afford to be held hostage in the meantime" or "wait forever" and it was time to start debating the logistics of a regional solution — such as the demarcation of borders — with those who shared the same views.

The president announced that he had held talks earlier in the day with the Democratic Party and with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in this regard.

While reaffirming the government's commitment to negotiations that would have the support of the "overwhelming majority of the people", de Klerk slammed the ANC for "the calculated obstruction of CODESA I" and the negative repercussions of mass action.

Questioned on the ANC's 14 demands, de Klerk gave no indication of further concessions in the pipeline, but stressed that further communication with the ANC would not take place via the media.

"The ANC — particularly the radical and communist elements in its ranks — has to bear the brunt for this regressive and the damage it is causing the majority of our country's people, including those people on behalf of whom the ANC is purporting to act," he said in a statement.

De Klerk said the quest for a negotiated settlement should not be mistaken for weakness on the part of the government. "We have the responsibility to continue governing the country under the present constitution. We shall do so until it has been replaced in a constitutional manner by a new, negotiated transitional constitution."

On the rugby test controversy, de Klerk said he did not want to become involved in the internal affairs of the sports bodies involved. Speaking generally, he said the National Party believed politics should be kept out of sport. He accused the ANC of trying to hijack sport, which was contributing to "the spontaneous counter-reaction of sports enthusiasts who hold other political views."

De Klerk urged "mutual tolerance" over the national flag and anthem controversy, which he said had the "potential to ignite a powder-keg". While he and other South Africans saw the existing flag and anthem as symbols of patriotism, he conceded that "other sections of the population view them differently" and acknowledged the need for "new, unifying symbols in a new dispensation."

Answering a question on tomorrow's Test match between the Wallabies and South Africans, he said the government supported procedures like "a miscreant's silence" for the victims of violence.

On the government's proposal for a general amnesty, de Klerk said it had been misconstrued as something that would happen all at once. Instead, a "phased approach" could be adopted, with agreements over the release of remaining political prisoners high on the agenda. The Pretoria Minute agreement had only covered certain categories. Other issues like unofficial military forces and unacknowledged military deaths had to be brought to the fore, he said.

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Early date set for negotiations

Anglican archbishop invited to help with talks between the two parties:

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

TALKS between the Azanian People's Organisation and the Government would begin as early as September 12, the organisation said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said in Durban direct discussions would only begin when certain pre-conditions had been met.

Moodley said Azapo had appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator".

He said Makhudu would meet the Government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled".

The talks would centre on the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Moodley said negotiations were not a substitute for the armed struggle.

He said the negotiations would be open to the public. Azapo, he said, would also insist on liberation movements joining the negotiating forum.

Makhudu is a member of the presidium of the World Council of Churches and president of the All-Africa Church Conference.

He was invited to broker the talks by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

This development is a sequel to a series of behind-the-scenes political activities initiated by officials of the Ministry of Constitutional Development in February.

It also coincides with historic meetings over the past two weeks between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government. The Government and the PAC on Tuesday agreed on future constitution-making.

Meanwhile, Azapo's Natal regional organiser, Mr Patrick Mkhize, condemned the media "for its partiality".

He said while the harassment of journalists could not be ignored, there were various factors that contributed to it.

These included "the bias of some journalists, who are partisan and the manner in which some journalists behave".

He said the only way to end the harassment was for journalists to be impartial.
New role for two former Africa leaders

TWO former African leaders could be approached to arbitrate in a dispute between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC.

As a result of the dispute, the IFP has indicated it would not attend a meeting on September 14 of political groups which signed the National Peace Accord.

The dispute arose after the IFP objected to statements by ANC leader Nelson Mandela in his speech last month to the UN Security Council.

NPC chairman John Hall yesterday said it was a "sensitive issue at this stage". It is understood the ANC has agreed to the arbitrators. — Political Staff.
Meeting raises hopes for resumed talks

HOPEs that the negotiation deadlock could soon be broken rose yesterday after ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Communication Minister Roelf Meyer met to try to get talks back on track.

Although no statement was issued, government sources said they believed the meeting had gone "quite well".

The meeting came a day after President F W de Klerk announced at a media briefing in Pretoria that the Government intended to press ahead with legislation to prepare for transition.

He said the Government was anxious to take steps towards a transitional constitution as soon as possible and had "no intention of allowing elements in the ANC to delay progress".

The ANC said the intention of the one-on-one talks was to remove obstacles to resumption of formal negotiations. They would focus on steps to address the issues raised in earlier memoranda exchanged between the Government and the ANC.

PETE R FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

De Klerk said the Government had already prepared some legislation — and was busy preparing more — to table at the short session of Parliament starting on October 12. He stressed that he was not proposing a "go-it-alone" option. The legislation would be aimed at "leveling the playing field and doing what in any case would have to be done".

He also announced that he would be calling a summit next month of all the parties at Codesa which favoured the idea of strong regional government or federalism.

While De Klerk insisted that the idea of the summit was not to form a front against the ANC or to become a substitute negotiating forum, observers believe the tactic is intended to step up pressure on the ANC to resume negotiations.

The federalist summit would consist largely of those parties at Codesa who formed an informal bloc opposing the ANC and its allies.

Yesterday the five breakaway MPs of the Conservative Party under Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers said they would attend the summit.

The Democratic Party was withholding a deci-
RUTH FIRST: ‘A beacon to all who love liberty’

By Rehana Rossouw

RUTH FIRST loved good food, Italian shoes and could speak the language of a person she disliked more efficiently than a foe.

But it was not these qualities that people focused on at a gala event at the University of the Western Cape on Monday night. More than 3 000 people came to hear about a respected activist, journalist and academic.

The 10th anniversary of First’s assassination was commemorated with an academic colloquium at UWC and a ceremony for the Ruth First Commemorative Award for Journalism which attracted leading leftist intellectuals from the African continent.

Guests included ANC national executive members Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr P. Jordaan, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Oliver Tambo, Ruth First Memorial Trust chairperson Mr Ronald Segal, Mozambican activist and academic Ms Greca Machel, Nobel laureate Nadine Gordimer and First’s family, South African Communist Party chairperson Mr Joe Slovo, Ms Gillian Slovo and Mrs Robyn Slovo.

Talking about her ability to speak her mind, Segal said: "Ruth made such an impact on my life that it is now inseparable from what I am today.

"Hardly a week has passed since she was murdered that I have not felt a sense of loss.

"Speakers lauded First, relating personal stories and praising her contribution to political struggles.

"Ten years ago today, while I was in Pollsmoor prison, I felt terribly alone and shattered when I received the news that Ruth First had been assassinated," said Mandela.

Most clearly I could see Ruth engaged in intense debate while we were at Wits University together. She uncompromisingly spoke out for the liberation of her people. Her speeches were passionate, her concern for causes, her desire to see freedom, her courage and principle.

"First went to prison for her beliefs. She was murdered because of her acute political acumen combined with her resolute refusal to abandon her principles.

"Her life, and her death, remains a beacon to all who love liberty.

"Mandela said First’s assassination was not only a personal tragedy of immense proportions, but was part of a pattern of the systematic elimination of leading opponents of apartheid.

Jordan said the life and work of First would continue to inspire journalists, revolutionaries and democrats of the African subcontinent for many years.

"For decades her investigative journalism made the men in Pretoria tremble," Jordan said.

Sunday Star journalist Mr Jacques Pauw explained how he had "stumbled onto" a story in a police box in 1984 when he met CCB operative Captain Dirk Contzen.

"Contzen confessed that he had killed seven people, including Ruth First," Pauw said.

"I went to my newspaper’s library the next day to find out who she was, her name meant nothing to me then," Pauw said.

He related how some of the mainstream newspapers treated the death of First. Two papers claimed she had been responsible for the death of her husband, a claim a London judge later described as the most vicious form of libel he had ever seen.

"Some of the media in this country created a culture in which atrocities like Ruth First’s murder could happen," Pauw said.

A journalist who will continue to be inspired by First is 38-year-old New Nation reporter, Mr Enoch Sibeko, who became the first recipient of the R10 000 Ruth First Commemorative Award for Journalism.

Sibeko, who wrote stories revealing an alleged SADF plot to assassinate Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa and a SADF signal authorising the "permanent removal from society" of activist Matlala Genive and others, said he received the award on behalf of his colleagues, who were too busy to attend.

His work and that of his newspaper were dedicated to them.
In search of a future

TEN YEARS after her murder, Ruth First's ideals are recalled in the search for radical transformation in southern Africa.

SOCIAL scientists of the Left marked the 10th anniversary of Ruth First's assassination in Cape Town this week. Appropriately enough, they saluted this zealous Marxist scholar by debating the odds for socialist transformation after apartheid. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

RUTH First, exiled activist and socialist scholar, was assassinated 10 years ago in Mozambique. But she was more "alive" in South Africa this week than at any time since she left home 29 years ago.

Former colleagues, friends and family threaded personal anecdotes through scholarly analysis of her work and contribution at the Ruth First memorial colloquium at the University of the Western Cape.

They also highlighted the relevance of her research to a question of compelling importance to the Left as constitutional change hovers on the horizon: what are the prospects for radically transforming southern Africa after negotiations?

With the Soviet Union having faded, the socialist societies of Eastern Europe in tatters and the prospect of a sequestration of power by the South African working class utterly remote, debate centred critically on the notion of an acceptable socialist middle path of "radical reform", falling short of revolution but which went beyond the mere tinkering of "reformism".

Historian, political scientist and anti-apartheid activist, Ruth First, is remembered for her radical contributions to the anti-apartheid movement and her work on the National Manpower Commission and the anti-VAT campaign, which paved the way for the institution of a tripartite (unions, capital and government) national economic forum.

"No doubt big business would not cast these settlements in the same revolutionary light. Nor would ultra-Left critics of the notion of radical reform - who point constantly to the dangers of co-option - see mass resistance simply being defused by partially accommodating settlements.

"Recognising this danger, Henry Chesapeau - trade unionist-turned-academic - argued that there was nevertheless no evidence of a dilution of the radical demands of South African trade unions or of an erosion of their mass base as they entered into pacts with capital and Government.

Webster identified a perhaps greater danger of "tripartism" in the labour movement - a danger of creating unionised workers as an elite among the oppressed classes, separating them from the jobless, the rural poor and a large slice of the corps of women workers.

CRONIN, at the same time, argued that mass struggle should not be geared solely to the central political process, to democratise negotiations. "Mass struggle is not simply the invention of political organisations or activists. To survive from one day to another, they must win short term victories, often within the capitalist framework."

Organisations on the Left are uneasy that constitutional negotiations might culminate in a pact between political elites which would allow no place for the masses.

at Eduardo Mondlane University and never at a loss for a pungent phrase, came condemnation of "ideological Marxism" backing back to "the sacred texts that were not written for 1992."

If civil society had become a fashion in the northern hemisphere, it was for the good reason that people had become fed up with the ineffectiveness of political parties and had to find another way to pursue their interests.

He paid tribute to the richness of organisational life in South Africa - particularly to the formations of the disbanded United Democratic Front "and even the South African Chamber of Business" Collectively this meant "that you have ways and means of intervening in the State - whatever the State".

Well and good, particularly as far as the distribution of public goods was concerned. But as to the primary Marxist question of who controls production in society?

The colloquium didn't exact...
With the Soviet Union having fallen, the socialist societies of Eastern Europe in tatters and the prospect of a seizure of power by the South African working class nearly remote, debate centred critically on the notion of an acceptable socialist middle path of "radical reform", falling short of revolution but which went beyond the mere tinkering of "reforms". Italian political scientist Anna Maria Gentili pointed out that earlier collapses of African post-colonial governments had provoked, rather than do-

Ruth First examined why African governments were so susceptible to military coups and why initial commitment to social change quickly gave way to top-down rule.

First's intellect. The major theme running through the whole of Ruth's work was an attempt to analyze how the masses participated, and when and why they were dispossessed of the "political kingdom" when (it was conquered).

In her 1976 study, "The Barrel of a Gun", First examined why African governments were so susceptible to military coups or why, in cases like Ghana and Tanzania, initial commitment to social change quickly gave way to top-down rule.

She argued that the creeds of African socialism and negritude obscured differences between the elites and the general population. "Once independence had been achieved, the elite addressed itself single-mindedly to its interests," she wrote.

"They had become heirs to a State that they had, with few exceptions, little inclination to change. They had, on the contrary, not so much the system as its in-
cumbents. With independence, they were the incumbents."

Long before the First colla-

RONIN, at the same time, argued that mass struggle should not be geared solely to the central political processes, nor campaign exclusively against repression. "Mass struggle is not simply the invention of political organisations or acti-
vists. To survive from one day to the next in a township, on the factory floor, in a village in the devastated countryside, requires struggle."

And here, with consideration of the role of civic associations, youth and women's groupings, unions and the like, the relatively benign cat was loosed among the pigeons.

The SAP's Blade Nzimande challenged the idea that these associations were typically described as "organs of civil society" and said that it was "illogical to have mass organisations that build State power and are at the same time autonomous."

Nzimande's argument found little support. The more prevalent was the view that associations in civil society, representing widely diverse social strata, could be means to challenge the State (where neces-
sary) and for pursuing class interests. Speakers on land reform, women's issues and affirmative action referred repeatedly to the class fault-
lines which ran through all such arenas of change.

The theoretical difference on "civil society" has a real and present reflection in organisational life, of course, in a sharp debate on the tactics of those in the rela-
tive role of ANC branches and civic associations in relation to "substantial" issues of townships.

From former Mozambican security chief Sergio Vieira, now holding the post First held, United Democratic Front (UDF) and even the African National Congress (ANC). Collectively this month "that you have ways and means of intervening in the State — whatever the State".

Well and good, particularly as far as the distribution of power was concerned. But as to the prime Marxist question of who controls produc-
tion in society.

The whole thing didn't exactly ignore the question. There were critical appraisals of the economic failure of Tanzania, the significance of national bar-
gaining rights for trade unions in relation to industrial planning and training, and London economy. Laurence Laborde's de-

A LITTLE flaw of socialist economies worldwide had given rise to the perception that the econom-
ic rationale for socialism was defective, "I hope we can do better," shared one of the "non-theological" Marxists, "but I have no illusion that we can ever solve the problem of economic efficiency."

The delayed South African tribute to Ruth First's life reflected socialist intellectuals' work on the subject of the country's strong on moral conviction despite their "non-theological" Marxism. Equally strong was the view that it was not possible to "sacrifice" the new society of the status quo, feeling their way, through patches of precisely researched history, to new theo-
dies of the economy; and still groping at vague shapes of a socialist economic theory.
Parliament is funding an ANC office

ANC SPACE: ANC MP Jan van Eck in the parliament-funded office set to be used by the ANC for anti-parliamentary work

By Quentin Wilson

DID YOU know an ANC office in Claremont is funded by parliament?

Not only does the “White House” pay rent, phone bills, water and electricity — parliament also foots the bill for a secretary plus 38 flights a year for an ANC member.

Why? Because ANC member Mr Jan van Eck gets parliamentary funds to run a constituency office for political organising.

The former DP MP for Claremont switched to the ANC in April this year but kept his parliamentary seat, enabling him to channel his MP perks to the ANC’s benefit.

The ANC Claremont branch will move into Van Eck’s office next week and will use parliament facilities for anti-parliamentary work.

“South 22/8- 26/8/92.

“We find the situation rather funny, but for once the people can control some of the money the government has,” Van Eck says.

While many other MP’s have SA flags, which are dished out to them every year, on their desks, Van Eck has an ANC flag on his desk and a UDF poster on the wall.

Van Eck says the government has launched “a vendetta” against him. On June 3, Van Eck was expelled from parliament because he said Mr PW Botha, the previous state president, knew about the assassination of four Cradock activists in 1985.

He refused to retract — meaning his allowance was cut by a third.

“It makes the government angry that we use my parliamentary allowance for ANC activity,” he said.
Aids game teaches via fun

**By EVE VOSSLO**

A YOUNG Cape Town doctor has developed a board game to teach people—especially teenagers—about Aids.

"Aids—the Game" will be in the shops next month, said its inventor, Dr Marius Pienaar, this week.

"At about a year ago I came into conflict with a pharmacy's wife who said she did not want her husband to take his medication in hospital in case he came into contact with an Aids patient," Dr Pienaar said.

"I made up a card game that even educated people do not read pamphlets or other information on Aids and that there was still widespread ignorance about it," he added.

**Alive**

Dr Pienaar took a year to develope his game.

It involves each player being asked questions about life, health, and the Aids epidemic. The questions are divided into three categories, with the point values being: 1, 2, and 3. The players can score points by answering the questions correctly.

Players are also issued with money at the start of the game, which they can spend on options or on Aids-related items. The game is a set of 100 cards, each one of which represents a different situation that might arise in treatment of Aids patients.

"The cards are a lot of fun," said the doctor. "The most conservative and ill-informed patients are involved and openly discuss sex and AIDS.

The "people" each player tries to keep alive go through various stages of the disease—illness, transmitted, anti-retroviral, and Aids—and die. On their way around the board, the players must decide which actions to take—such as taking medication, visiting doctors, or spending money on treatment. The aim is to keep the "people" alive as long as possible.

**Burst**

They also have options like restricting movement, choosing to abstain from sex, taking medications, or using condoms. For each action, the player earns points based on the success of the action.

"The game teaches people that you cannot get Aids from sexual contact with Aids sufferers and that there are a lot of other information on Aids, and that there was still widespread ignorance about it," Dr Pienaar said.

**Unite against Aids, says mayor**

**By GLENDA NEVILLE**

The Cape Town common council has given its full backing in the fight against AIDS, said the mayor of Cape Town, Mr John van der Velde.

Mr van der Velde was speaking at the launch of the Resource Directory for HIV and AIDS, published by the National Board of the Aids Foundation.

The directory offers both information and forms, as well as contact details of Aids groups throughout the country. It is available for R75 at the Resource Directory for HIV and AIDS, which is also available on the internet.

All agree that the motivation of groups to join forces is a main contributor to the success of the campaign.

Also, the mayor said that the Aids epidemic continues to increase, and that the government is committed to providing more assistance.

"Many people still think of Aids as a homosexual disease and it is not until the day when they have to deal with it that they will see the problem," Dr van der Velde said.

"We need to educate people about the disease and its different forms, so that they can understand the need to take precautions," he added.

The mayor also spoke of the need for better education and awareness about Aids, and of the importance of continued support for those affected by the disease.
VERWOERDS JOIN ANC

"We hope that our work within the ANC will, in some small way, make up for the hurt caused to so many people by Dr Verwoerd, the Verwoerd name and the policy of apartheid which he personified."

MELANIE VERWOERD

TWO members of the Verwoerd family have joined the ANC. They are grandson Wilhelms, 30, and his wife, Melanie, 32, who is an executive member of the ANC's Stellenbosch branch. Wilhelm's father, Professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, is Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's eldest son.

A geologist at the University of Stellenbosch, Wilhelm is a member of the National Party. Professor Verwoerd refused to comment on his son and daughter-in-law's decision to join the ANC. Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's widow, Betsie, 82, lives at Orania, the Afrikaans "homeland" near Kimberley. She could not be reached for comment.

Wilhelm Verwoerd, whose grandfather outlawed the ANC in 1956 when he was prime minister, said he had only recently joined the ANC and did not want to discuss his membership of the organisation "at this stage".

Apartheid

But his wife, Melanie, an executive member of the ANC's Stellenbosch branch, said: "I know our membership might be hurtful to the Verwoerd family, but I hope we can talk about this and learn to accept one another's points of view." "We hope that our work within the ANC will, in some small way, make up for the hurt caused to so many people by Dr Verwoerd, the Verwoerd name and the policy of apartheid which he personified," she said.

"We decided to join the ANC because it is the only organisation in which we believe we can be comfortable and ready work for change.

"We don't think that everything the ANC does is right. There are elements of its policy with which we disagree.

"Orania founder Profes- sor Carol Boshoff, who is married to Mr Ann Boshoff - one of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's daughters - said Wilhelm and Melanie's decision to join the ANC was their own personal decision.

"Wilhelm and Melanie, who both have BA degrees in theology, were married in Stellenbosch in 1987. A former Rhodes scholar, Wilhelm is studying for a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

"They have one child, Willem, 1, and Melanie, who is studying for her master's degree in philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, is expecting a second child in December. Melanie, who matriculated at Bloemhof Girls' High School in Stellenbosch, said she grew up in a nuclear home.

"Her father, Dr Philip Feenie, is a senior lecturer in applied mathematics at the university and her mother, Lenie, is in the computer science department of the Department of Posts and Telecommunications.

"She said her parents supported the National Party.

"They said they respected our decision to join the ANC, but would not do so themselves.

Exiles

Wilhelm was two years old when Dr Verwoerd became prime minister in 1948. He was too young to understand their point of view.

Melanie said Wilhelm, who knows a few words of the language, met some blacks in high school and during his gap year, when she joined her husband at Oxford.

"The differences in their political opinions to those of the Verwoerd family were no more closely treated than on the day of the referendum earlier this year.

"We and Wilhelm arrived at the polling station support- ing "yes" vote stickers while her parents-in-law campaigned for a "no" vote.

"Later that day she attended an ANC rally at the Kayamandi township outside Stellenbosch and was elected a member of the Stellenbosch ANC executive.

"I think Wilhelm's family believe that our political point of view stems from naivety and that when we grow up we will come to our senses.

"They do not often discuss politics, but we feel the pressure which comes from being members of the Verwoerd family."

"She and her husband were at Oxford when ANC president Nelson Mandela was released.

"They could have remained in England but decided to come home to work for political change.

"We met Mr Mandela when he visited the university last year and we knew we had made the right decision.

"He asked us about Mrs Betsie Verwoerd and asked us to give her his regards. What impressed me most about him was his lack of bitterness," she said.

"Previously active in the right to improve conditions of work and pay for domestic, Melanie has now campaigned for better housing, and anti-apartheid policies in the Kayamandi township.

"The biggest lesson I have learned is that the more you get to know black people, the more you realize just how little there is to fear.

"If I can work to break down racial prejudice - especially in a conserva- tive town like Stellenbosch and especially with a name like mine - I believe I will have contributed in some small way to get rid of at least some of the wrong which has for so long been perpetuated on the majority of our people," she said.
New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

NEWS ANALYSIS: By NORMAN WEST

There are signs that the main black liberation bodies may soon gather around a "square" negotiation table to face establishment-orientated parties with a more focused approach at a new forum, which would replace the problem-plagued Codesa.

The irony is that the much-demonised — and self-marginalised — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could emerge as the facilitating force in such a new alignment, as evidence grows of a more pragmatic approach by the movement to a negotiated settlement in South Africa — and hopefully an end to the debilitating violence.

The PAC's secretary for publicity and information, Mr. Barney Desai, who was part of its delegation in bilateral talks with the government this week, said the issue of an alternative forum and venue for further talks still remained "unresolved".

Mr. Desai said Codesa was "a cumbersome body of motley participants" — some self-appointed and others "elected" on ethnic tickets — "many of dubious credibility".

Even the government now appears to agree that Codesa must be replaced by a more streamlined body. So the PAC vows to continue boycotting Codesa because it feels it is a discredited forum "that cannot deliver true freedom".

Deputy president of the PAC, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, says that, ideally, if an alternative forum to Codesa is created, the PAC would prefer to have all liberation movements — including the ANC and Azapo — speaking with one voice to expedite the democratisation of the country.

But the PAC is sticking to its demand that "real negotiations must take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman". As non-negotiable as that might seem, in the inexact science of politics, "non-negotiables" are often replaced by "win-win" compromises.

By repeating that the PAC would want the ANC and Azapo to jointly press for democratic elections leading to a Constituent Assembly, Mr. Moseneke was clearly holding out the olive branch to his brothers-in-the-struggle.

The ANC will have nothing to lose if it reacts to the PAC with a reciprocal gesture, resulting, once more, in a true Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Catalyst

What has spurred the PAC to become part of the talks about talks at this point, Mr. Moseneke says, is that many of its previous demands have become part of the present political currency. One of these is that a sizeable group of international UN monitors are on their way to South Africa and the UN is set to play a key role in monitoring moves towards a peaceful transition.

And the prospect of Mr. De Klerk calling a "summit" next month of like-minded parties who all favour a federal solution for South Africa — including the Inkatha Freedom Party — seems to present the right catalyst for the Patriotic Front to regroup.

This may mean that instead of a round table at which numerous groups would sit, there seems to be a growing possibility of a future square table with only two sides.

This would certainly go a long way to help expedite solutions on points of disagreement on modalities leading to what both sides say they want — free and fair elections leading to a constitution-making body representing all the people of the country.

While the PAC and the ANC call it an elected Constituent Assembly, Mr. De Klerk and his summit partners may, for reasons of political expediency, call it something else — but, semantics aside, it seems everyone could now be heading in the same direction.

All agree that the motivation of groups on either side of the table must be to legitimise the structures that rule the country with a colour-blind vision and a racial unconsciousness, instead of black or white divisions.

According to Mr. Moseneke, the reason the PAC is perceived to have changed from hardline non-negotiable demands to full participation in "preparatory talks" is because the government has changed its stance. He claims it has agreed to a basic PAC demand — to reject "convoluted concepts" of caretaker interim executive structures as proposed at Codesa — for the reality of one-person, one-vote elections for a Constituential Assembly.

The "modalities" of such a body, they agreed, would have to be negotiated in a "more representative forum".
THE government and the ANC have discussed proposals aimed at ending the negotiations impasse without either side losing face.

The proposals were explored at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in Johannesburg on Friday.

They will now go to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for further consideration.

A source close to the meeting said yesterday that Friday's discussions centred on "face-saving" mechanisms that would result in the talks resuming without a winner-loser situation being created.

The proposals are aimed at finding the middle ground between:

- The ANC's insistence that the government meets 14 specific demands which relate to stopping violence, the establishment of an interim government and a sovereign constituent assembly before it resumes negotiations;
- The government's belief that to do so would amount to capitulating to the ANC.

The source said mechanisms to address violence had been discussed at the meeting. They included revamping the National Peace Accord structures, an increased role for the international community and the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution.

**Election**

The UN resolution calls for the widening of the investigatory powers of the Goldstone commission and deployment of UN monitors to assist National Peace Accord structures.

By putting these structures in place, the government would be in a position to say it was serious about addressing concerns about violence. But it would not be seen as capitulating to the ANC's specific demands.

Another matter that was extensively explored at Friday's meeting was the ANC's call for the election of a sovereign constituent assembly.

The government is concerned that such a body would be able to override agreements on general constitutional principles reached at Codesa.

The source described the meeting as exploratory and promising. Further communication between the two parties is expected soon.

Meanwhile, a senior Cabinet minister has squashed speculation that the September conference of political parties announced by President FW de Klerk this week was an attempt to sideline the ANC from negotiations or consolidate a pro-government front.

He said the meeting was a follow-up to a similar conference held on July 2 with the Codesa parties that held similar views on basic constitutional principles such as federalism.

**Agreed**

President De Klerk also announced this week that if formal negotiations had not resumed by then, the government would introduce legislation aimed at "levelling the playing field" when Parliament sat in October.

The cabinet minister said that even if it was forced to adopt this course of action, the government would not implement the legislation until it had been agreed to.

He added that legislation that would be introduced in the short October session would relate to interim measures leading up to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.
Nelson Mandela to visit townships

ANC president Nelson Mandela is scheduled to visit Maritzburg and the Natal-Midlands region from Friday August 28.

ANC midlands regional deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said Mandela's visit is expected to last three days during which he is to tour strife-torn townships.

He is to address rallies at Richmond and Imbali and hopes to visit the spot at Howick where he was arrested in 1962.

He also will address a fundraising dinner in Maritzburg on August 29.
PAC plays peace-broker role

THE Southern OFS region of the PAC wants to talk to the ANC about the destruction of property and intimidation during a provincial administration strike last month at Boshabelo, near Bloemfontein.

When: 23/8/92

PAC regional chairman Mofhli Likotsi said on Friday that strikers and non-strikers had clashed during the action which was apparently part of the ANC's rolling mass action.

About 24 houses were burned in attacks on non-strikers and two people had died — apparently at the hands of ANC members.

Likotsi said it was time for the organisations to stop intimidation and destruction of property.
ANC slams bid by govt, bantustans to go it alone

The position of the Venda and Lebowa governments is not yet clear.

De Klerk said he was still wanted to see all important players back at multi-party negotiations. Adding the September meeting would be held only so some interim progress could be made.

He warned that the government would not yield to mass action and blamed radicals and communists within the ANC for the deadlock in negotiations.

De Klerk rejected claims the government was linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty to “safeguard its hide and that of the security forces”. He said the disclosure of crimes and a general amnesty would have to be discussed at negotiations.

Regarding the row that erupted over raising the flag and singing Die Stem at last Saturday’s rugby test against the All Blacks at Ellis Park, and the minute of silence required at yesterday’s test match at Newlands, De Klerk said the NP had stated that it supported all procedures whereby people could reflect on the terrible scourge of violence.

However, he accused the ANC of “hijacking” sport and said this had led to tension. He warned that the row about the anthem and the flag could “ignite a powderkog”.

He called for calm and tolerance, but acknowledged there was a need for new unifying national symbols.
State President FW de Klerk indicated yesterday he would be sharing power with ANC leader Nelson Mandela within two years, according to an interview aired in Australia.

De Klerk told Australia’s Special Broadcasting Service that full democracy would be in place in two years’ time.

“I’m sure that we will sit together in a government of unity,” De Klerk said of himself and Mandela.

“We cannot again hold an election to the exclusion of black South Africans,” he added.

De Klerk said his announcement that talks on a democratic SA were to continue without the ANC was not an attempt to exclude that group.

He said a united SA may have a new anthem and a new flag.

De Klerk said the South African economy was “inherently sound and ready for a takeoff”. – Saps-AFP
THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC involvement in the massacre at Mpuzhini, outside Folweni, south of Durban.

IFP Unlazi branch head Reuben Mfeka said on Friday the IFP would ask the Goldstone Commission "to probe into the alleged abuses of members of the ANC's self-defence units".

Mfeka called on the ANC to account for S'bu Mkhize, labelled by police as the country's most wanted man, being buried with ANC honours.

The IFP also called on the ANC to explain why its members who allegedly took part in Tuesday's attack were wearing security force uniforms.

Mfeka alleged that "ANC members are attempting to implicate and discredit security force members and in doing so are creating a climate of ungovernability".

ANC media officer Dumisani Makhaye called on the police to "produce evidence" of security force uniforms being found on ANC members.

He said Mkhize was a respected member of the ANC and not a criminal. His only crime was that he refused to "do the bidding" of the IFP.  - Sapa
Winnie puts the ANC in a tizz (again)

By CHARLENE SMITH

WINNIE MANDELA has defied her suspension from the ANC's Women's League by changing the locks on her office doors to prevent entry, and by addressing up to four meetings a day.

The suspension in May came after she apparently recruited squatters and members of the PWV regional executive of the league to stage a sit-in at the ANC offices to protest against her removal as head of the ANC's welfare department.

In terms of her suspension, she may not act in any way as a representative of the Women's League, or do any political work or address meetings.

But Mrs Mandela has entered possibly the busiest phase of her career, often working six-day weeks and addressing up to four meetings a day.

Serious

The ANC National Executive Committee, which is scheduled to begin disciplinary hearings against her and 15 Women's League regional executives within the next two weeks, has been in a state of confusion over her disregard for its orders.

Her removal as head of the welfare department came after serious irregularities were discovered in the department's books, including an attempt to defraud the department of R400 000.

The ANC has referred all requests for comment to the Women's League, which has refused to make any statement.
New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

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The "modalities" of such a a body, they agreed, would have to be negotiated in a "more representative forum".
Winnie to stage a comeback?

JOHANNESBURG. — A drive for the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela appears to be under way.

Officials of the ANC Women’s League PWV region met yesterday to discuss Mrs Mandela’s suspension, but were non-committal when asked at a press conference if they were seeking her reinstatement as president of the region and head of the social welfare department.

“We are in the process of addressing the whole issue with the (national) leadership,” said Mrs Beauty Selela, political affairs officer for the league’s Boipatong branch.

“We are supportive of Mrs Mandela and the work she has done for the ANC,” said league executive member Mrs Marjory Nkomo.

Participants at the meeting yesterday sang songs eulogising Mrs Mandela, who was suspended in May from her position as leader of the league’s PWV region following a sit-in she allegedly staged in a bid to regain her social welfare post.

These developments followed shortly after Mr Nelson Mandela announced formally that he was separating from his wife, barely two years after the ANC leader was freed from life imprisonment.

At the press conference, the Women’s League branded as destructive and defamatory a Sunday newspaper report that Mrs Mandela had removed the lock of her office doors and had conducted meetings in direct contravention of her suspension.

“We are strongly opposed to the article,” said Mrs Selela, as other members demanded the source of the article.

She also released a letter by British parliamentarian Ms Diane Abbott, apparently faxed to the organisation yesterday, declaring British women’s backing for Mrs Mandela.

“Women from all over the UK will be meeting at the House of Commons in the autumn to formally launch a support group in your name,” the letter, addressed to Mrs Mandela, apparently said.

The ANC national executive committee is scheduled to begin disciplinary hearings against Mrs Mandela and 15 other women in the next two weeks over the demonstration at the ANC head office.

She resigned her social welfare post amid allegations of serious irregularities in the department’s books, including an attempt to defraud the department of R400,000. — Sapa
Govt paves way for wider talks

CONSTITUTIONAL talks involving a broader range of players than Codesa will resume soon if a series of meetings between government and key political players bears fruit in the coming weeks.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday government was planning to meet the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the CP and its breakaway group Afrikaner Volksunie in the near future to discuss resuming stalled talks.

He confirmed he and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday discussed compromises around ANC preconditions. The talks had included a possible revamping of the national peace accord and demands for a sovereign constituent assembly.

Meyer said follow-up talks could take place once the ANC’s national working committee and the Cabinet had discussed the issues. He would not be drawn on dates.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the national working committee would discuss the bilateral meeting on Wednesday.

Meyer, hinting that bilateral talks could tackle issues deadlocked at Codesa, said:

“We want talks to resume as soon as possible. It would be wrong to get them (the ANC) back without a strong possibility of resolving the problems.”

Meyer said he would meet PAC official Gerr Erasmus today. Government and the PAC were in disagreement about the process and not the substance of future negot-

The ANC continued to encourage all political parties to participate in talks, Marcus said in her response to the CP decision.

“If the CP finds Inkatha is the organisation it can most closely align with, that is their right,” she said.

She said the ANC had taken no decision to attend the Inkatha conference because it did not have enough details on what would be discussed, and was relying on media reports for information on the meeting.

A recent Markinor survey found 70% of CP supporters favoured taking part in Codesa while 18% were opposed to talks and 12% undecided.

Marcus said it was ironic that the PAC and Azapo, who were vocal critics of the ANC’s decision to negotiate, were talking to government now that the ANC had called off negotiations.

Marcus said the PAC was now reaching an agreement with the government on the need for an elected constituent assembly — something the ANC and government had long been in agreement on.
We will ‘fight’ them in the streets

By PORTIA MAURICE

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress-led alliance are gearing up to launch a new offensive for peace and democracy in South African streets next week.

After failed talks with the Saccoa-led business community, a fiery ANC leadership this week adopted a militant stance on mass action, including on the “battle-ready” mass of “rise up in their millions” and force government to negotiate in good faith.

“The trains have already left the station and only the government can stop them by meeting our demands. The ball is now squarely in their court,” Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday at which the alliance unveiled new plans for its Peace and Democracy Now campaign:

• Monday and Tuesday: a complete withdrawal of labour with rallies, marches and pickets at local level.
• Wednesday: countrywide occupation of cities and towns. “They will occupy those towns and they will march through those towns,” ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa warned.
• Thursday and Friday: Sectoral actions by workers and others, to be determined at local level.
• Saturday: regional assessment meetings and report-backs.
• Sunday: celebrations of National Women’s Day as well as prayer services for peace and democracy.

The movement and its allies are demanding that government:
• Accept its proposals for an interim government and a one-chamber Constituent Assembly.
• Take steps to end the violence by banning dangerous weapons, phasing out hostels, charging those responsible and confining to barracks special forces of the police and army.
• End unilateral restructuring, retrenchments and Value-Added Tax on foodstuffs.

“The heart of the problem lies in the regime’s unwillingness to live with democracy and its inability to address the gravity of the situation,” Ramaphosa said.

“Our march to democracy is unstoppable,” he said, calling on business, the white community and security forces to “take a stand on the side of the oppressed”.

South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani warned the campaign would “build up to a crescendo”, and would be called off only once the government had agreed to negotiate “in good faith” and to “give in to the demands of the people”.

More than 1 000 people have been arrested so far in marches, demonstrations and occupations organised by the ANC, Cosatu/ SACP alliance. Government buildings, supermarkets and key installations such as parliament have been targeted. Mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg are planned for tomorrow.

Naidoo said, however, that a planned march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria was “still under discussion”. Responding to reports that President FW de Klerk would be unseated and replaced by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Ramaphosa grinned and said Mandela “would be installed as head of state only after democratic elections by our people”.

Naidoo said plans for nationwide tax defiance — an attempt to press employers to divert money paid in PAYE tax to a “fund for a future South Africa” — were still underway, and Cosatu hoped to convene a conference in August to discuss practical steps to this end.

The alliance pledged to keep all protests peaceful and disciplined but its activities would not be deterred by violence from “the state or its surrogates”.

“With our right to peaceful demonstration goes our inherent right to determine its nature and its aims,” Ramaphosa said.

“Wherever violence has raised its head it has been provoked and initiated from the government’s side,” he said, adding an appeal to protesters not to respond to provocation.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said during the week the success of the organisation’s action did not lie in the number of people participating, but in their ability to gain access to buildings targeted for occupation.

He said the PWV Regional Action Council had planned the action to involve fewer people so that access to the targeted buildings would be easier.
PAC and Govt to seal agreements

Preparation for full-blown negotiations by top leaders of two parties:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government meet again today to cement agreements reached since they began having talks two weeks ago.

PAC secretary of foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and his delegation meet the Government team led by its chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer.

Discussion will be about full-blown negotiations by the top leadership of the two parties.

Ebrahim yesterday confirmed that a neutral venue and a non-partisan chairman, agreement on which has been reached, would be discussed today.

Agreement reached last Tuesday included the holding of elections for a constitution making body which the PAC calls a constituent assembly, and a transitional authority.

On Friday the African National Congress and the Government met behind closed doors to find ways to remove obstacles which prevent the return to negotiations.

The talks between ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer are believed to have incorporated the ANC’s 14 demands which include the ending of violence.

This meeting also followed the United Nations’ Resolution 772 of August 17 which calls for the appointment of permanent peace monitors to strengthen National Peace Accord structures and which recommends that the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence be independent of Government influence.

The Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) last week announced its appointment of an independent facilitator, Anglican Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of Botswana to broker talks between the Black Consciousness Movement and the Government.

next Talkback topic

The Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show today throws open the lines for readers and listeners to discuss any topic.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063
Understanding change in SA

Author says liberation movements tend to ignore importance of psychology:

Title: The power of revolution
Author: Haroon Aziz
Publisher: Raisa Books
Reviewer: Mokgadi Pela

In his foreword, South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani describes this book as an eye-opener that contributes towards an understanding of theories of social revolution in this country. The book draws the attention of readers to the contradictions in South African society some of which are between labour and capital, blacks and whites, Afrikaner capital and liberal labour, democracy and fascism and semi-feudalism and capitalism.

Aziz also stresses the importance of psychology in cultural liberation. He says political movements tend to ignore this “most important” aspect.
Signs of hope for stalled negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Constitutional negotiations are gradually starting to gather momentum across a broad front with several hopeful signs emerging over the last few days that the current deadlock is easing.

The most encouraging signal so far was sent out by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend when he said that he thought the Government and ANC had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock in the negotiations process".

He and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would meet again tonight to try to build on the progress made at a meeting on Friday.

Face-saving

The Conservative Party, for the first time, showed signs of readiness to enter mainstream negotiations at the weekend, while the discussions between the Government and the PAC aimed at bringing the PAC into negotiations, continued last night.

Meyer told a weekend NP conference that possible compromise proposals had been made at his Friday meeting with Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC insisted that the Government should respond to its 14 demands, but the Government would not accede to them. Instead, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for approval.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa yesterday told The Star that Friday's discussions focused on the 14 demands but that the talks were still "incomplete".

He noted that the Government had acceded to some of the ANC's demands. It would be untrue to argue that the Government refused to address the ANC's demands as it had already agreed to international violence monitoring:

Mr Moosa said the ANC required a "satisfactory" response to its key demands, and there was no point in renegotiating negotiations "unless we are certain that the negotiations will be fruitful". Until the discussion had been completed, it would be premature to say a solution had been found to the deadlock.

Meanwhile, Mr Meyer met PAC secretary of foreign affairs Cora Elshabir last night to continue "technical" discussions about the possibility of the PAC entering negotiations.

Mr Meyer said afterwards it was an "exploratory" meeting to discuss stumbling blocks -- including the PAC demand for a neutral venue -- to the first meeting at (senior) leadership level. It was agreed that the two parties would meet again at an unspecified date.

Earlier Mr Elshabir told The Star the talks would focus on a meeting between senior Government and PAC leaders at a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship. The Government had accepted such a meeting in principle as it had met the PAC on April 10 in Arusha under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

Finalised

In addition to agreeing on the need for an elected constitution-making body, Mr Elshabir said the two sides had agreed at a meeting last week that voter registration for a common voters' role should start as soon as possible. The decision would be finalised at the meeting to be held outside the country.

At a special congress in Kimberley, the CP said it was seriously considering going to the Government conference on federalism -- scheduled for September 7.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht indicated the CP might be prepared to join Codesa-like negotiations. It is clear that the CP has been driven to this position for fear of being outmanoeuvred by the five breakaway CP MPs.
Mass action was a necessary tactic

W ith the much publicized mass action over, some accommoda-
tion is necessary. Since the refer-
endum, nothing has captured local
and international interest like mass
action.

The stakes were clearly high. It was a major gamble by the uapf
affiliated
ANC. The Government had
negotiated accor-
dantly the entire programme
with.

The threat of mass action
became a reality, the State and busi-
ness unleashed a propaganda war.

One newspaper, however, until
the “movement” of mass action was
conceived, South Africa was a tran-
squil country.

Suddenly, possible violence and
retribution were sources of con-
cern to the State and business. The
hysteria was understandable. Its
implications would follow from
either the success or failure of mass
action.

Mass action as a tactic

Was mass action necessary, as the
Alliance believed, or could it be
resolved “peacefully” through nego-
tiations, as the Government main-
tained? They both used mass action
as a tactic, a strategy and a right are,
part.

Firstly, mass action was a neces-
sary short-term tactic. Ironically, if
nothing was going to save the talks
at all, it was mass action. A rage
had been created in which the ANC
could not return to the talks without
a major political statement.

The collapse of codec 2 under-
lined the Government’s cynicism to-
wards negotiations. In general, and
a contempt for the ANC, in particular.

The Repeal massacre eroded faith
into the wounds. To return to talks
unconditionally would have earned
the ANC derision from its supporters,
at the outset, and rejection, at worst.

Inevitable outcome

Mass action was an inevitable out-
come of the Government’s unbe-
queanted violence.

Secondly, mass action is a tactic. It
has always been one of the ANC’s
four “tools of socialism” of which
had virtually collapsed since
February 1989. The armed struggle is
no longer a serious option.

Global economic sanctions have
all but failed, and the ANC’s interna-
tional isolation is now something
of the past.

Thus, clearly, mass action is the
only remaining weapon at the dis-
posal of the oppressed. If this weapon
fails, the Government negotiators
to negotiate will be embarrassed sub-
stantially. Parties negotiate for as long
as they are pressured to do so.

What determines the negotiation
process is not mass action. On the
continental, talks collapsed because
the ANC did not set an internationally
credible pressure on the Government
for too long.

For example, last year, the ANC
withdrew from talks and issued an
ultimatum to the Government. This
decision was quickly rescinded, be-
fore it had any effect.

Simply misleading

To contrast mass action with “peace-
ful” strategies, as the Nationalists do,
is simply misleading. Unlike the
armed struggle, mass action is a peace-
ful strategy. Naturally, it can become
violent and has done so in some cases.
Yet, the obligation is not to abolish
mass action. Rather, all involved must
ensure that it remains peaceful.

Thirdly, in any decent society, peaceful mass action in a right taken
for granted. During a recent Demo-
strative Party Convention in New
York, various interest groups and lobby
organizations to the streets to draw the
delegates’ attention to their cause.

There are certain parallels
between the referendum and
mass action. In both cases,
the leadership had lost some
credibility.

There are certain parallels
between the referendum and
mass action. In both cases,
the leadership had lost some
credibility.

Street demonstrations are a normal
right in the Western world. Overall,
mass action is one simply about sur-
prising the Government in negotiate.
It is a measure ordinary people may
cry upon against any government of
peace, local or post-apartheid role.
Against this general background, it
is necessary to evaluate the current
protest, its impact, implications and
potential. A number of commen-
tators have dubbed the events as a
black referendum. This is an over-
statement.

There are certain parallels between
the referendum and mass action. In
both cases, the leadership had lost
some credibility. It could no longer
assume the support of its consti-
tuency.

The referendum and mass action
we designed to demonstrate sup-
port and power. Furthermore, the
failure of both tactics would have
plagued the country into an even
greater crisis than one which existed
already.

Yet there are important differ-
ences. The referendum, a specific
demand, a specific question. The mandate
to President FW de Klerk was clear,
precise and immediate.

It is not clear what kind of ANC
mandate should be read from mass
action. Mass action was over a range
of sometimes contradictory issues.
To summarize Codexa, to topple the
old order and to secure a Deutches
massacre, to name a few. For this reason,
it is difficult to assess the success or failure of mass action.

Rigorous mass action with a refer-
endum is inappropriate for another
reason. It reinforces stereotypes that
black vote on their feet. A demo-
strative vote takes place by secret bal-
elot, not in streets. Mass action
should not become a substitute for
democratic elections and mandates.

One thing is certain. The ANC has
demonstrated an ability to mobilize
its constituency with relatively short
notice. It survived Student protesta
and deployed a high degree of disci-
pline and organization. The country’s
wide coordination of mass action was
impressive.

Swell of power

The mass action could help the
ANC recover some lost ground. By
frightening off foreign investment
after all formal sanctions have col-
lapsed, mass action could keep
disinvestment going indefinitely.

However, mass action will not
result in the swell of power. The
structure of Codexa places definite
limits on what may be achieved. Ne-
gotiation often results in a power shar-
ing.

For the ANC, the outcome
must have been fruitful. The success
of mass action, or the perception of
such success by the ANC’s sup-
porters, was crucial of Mandela’s
return to Coetzee and the maximum of
respect and dignity. Furthermore, the
ANC regained the moral high-
ground from the ANC and 69. Both
had urged their supporters to
ignore the boycott call.

Tomorrow: Maphai looks at the
Government’s attitude towards
mass action and the collapse of
Codexa.

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Mandela give it to us!

By Vincent Mapbai,
Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, 
University of the Western Cape

mass action 
the ANC could not

Mass action was a necessary tactic

There are certain parallels
between the referendum
and mass action. In both
cases, the leadership
had lost some
credibility.

ANC placard-carrying supporters demonstrate against the violence.

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Govt's no to venue

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

The government yesterday rejected a proposal by the Pan Africanist Congress that negotiations be held under a neutral chairman outside the country.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim held an "exploratory" meeting in Johannesburg last night to discuss the PAC's proposal that negotiations be held at a neutral venue.

The discussions also specifically dealt with a possible meeting of the two parties' top leadership.

At the end of the hour-long meeting, Meyer said: "We do not think a neutral venue is necessary."

"The Government wants to resolve stumbling blocks which would ensure the PAC gets involved in the negotiations process."

Ebrahim said no agreement was reached on a neutral venue, which was the PAC's main demand for future negotiations.

He did not elaborate on the course the organisation would take.

He also did not say whether this and a possible meeting at top leadership level - ostensibly between President FW de Klerk and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetla - were the stumbling blocks.

Meyer said the two would meet again but no date and venue had been set.

The Government and PAC began their "exploratory" discussions three weeks ago and have reached agreement on the holding of elections for what the Government calls a constitution-making body.

The PAC calls it a constituent assembly.
Probe deaths - LHR

LAWYERS for Human Rights has called for independent investigations into deaths in police custody and charged that authorities were not serious about preventing the tragedy.

The LHR's reaction followed the deaths in police custody of two men who died within 12 hours of their arrests in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend, bringing to 82 the total of such deaths this year.

Also, 10 people have died since pathologist Dr Jonathan Gackman went public with allegations last month that police were murdering people in their custody.

Mr Kekeletso Samuel Matejwa, from nearby Aikerville, died in the Witbank police station at the weekend.

A post mortem will be held tomorrow. - Sowetan Reporter.

Mavekiso's notice

A group spokesman confirmed the letter but would not say this was Mavekiso's apartment.

Sanco has been a majorponent of the bond boycott, which is aimed at forcing the banks into pressuring the Government to accede to the 14 demands of the African National Congress alliance. - Sapa.

PAC to donate cash

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to donate R28 000 to victims of the Boipatong massacre today, says director of information and publicity Waters Tobo.

Relief and aid secretary Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko will donate the money on behalf of the organisation at a 10am ceremony in the Vaal triangle township. - Sapa.

Companies conned

SOME unsuspecting South African companies may have fallen prey to a
ANC, Govt meet tonight

Government tells youth it won't act on demands:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE ANC meets the Government again tonight to seek ways of restarting the negotiations process.

The Government delegation will be led by Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC team by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Tonight's discussions will focus on the Government's response to the ANC's 14 demands.

The resumption of talks is contingent upon an adequate response, an ANC negotiations source said yesterday.

Trying to act tough

The source said the Government was "trying to act tough" when Meyer told the National Party Transvaal youth conference at the weekend that they (Government) would not move on the 14 demands as a means of re-entering talks, but that a mechanism would have to be created to bring negotiations back on stream without anyone losing face.
Govt, PAC resume talks

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer met a PAC delegation headed by the movement's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim in Johannesburg last night.

At the meeting, the two parties agreed to hold another round of talks to deal with the PAC's demand that a meeting at leadership level between the two parties take place under a neutral convenor at a neutral venue.

Both parties will now report back to their principals. Thereafter a date for a third round of talks will be set.

Earlier, a PAC source said the organisation had planned to propose a venue outside SA for talks between the PAC and government at senior level.

Yesterday's meeting was the third contact between government and the PAC.

The PAC has set up a committee to oversee bilateral contact with government.

Last night Meyer said the talks had taken place on an exploratory basis to try to resolve stumbling blocks in the way of getting the PAC involved in negotiations.

Ebrahim said the PAC had put forward concrete proposals, but he could not disclose what they were at this stage.

Today Meyer will meet ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to discuss issues related to the negotiations process. The two men met last Friday.

The meeting is one of a series of bilateral contacts the government is engaged in with a view to reconvening constitutional negotiations.
Shielding the State’s top gun

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and the ANC are currently stalled over the question of a general amnesty, with the ANC demanding the release of some 400 political prisoners.

This the Government seems willing to concede, provided the ANC agrees that amnesty be extended to a dozen or so unnamed State functionaries who have committed unspecific offences. This the ANC refuses to concede.

On the face of it, it sounds unreasonable: surely a trade-off of 400 against 12 is not ungenerous? In fact, the ANC is entirely right about this and one must hope that the movement proves wholly intransigent on this point.

The reasons they give are powerful enough—amnesty should only be given to named people for specific offenses. These are, after all, elementary principles of justice—and justice must be seen to be done. To follow that thought through is to take a tin-opener to a whole can of worms.

For a start the State is by implication making an admission here which it has never made before: not only that serious crimes have been committed in its name, but that the State feels sufficiently responsible for those crimes to want to expiate those who committed them.

Quite clearly, we are not talking here merely about policemen who, in an excess of zeal, have beaten prisoners to death or applied electrodes to their genitals. Nor are we even talking merely about the lowly hitmen who murdered and mutilated the likes of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge.

The fact is that there are far too many such people to get into the baker’s dozen the Government is talking about. They will all be relatively junior and it will be easy for the State to disclaim all responsibility on to them.

By definition we have to be talking about a smaller number of far more senior men, men who probably never had to dirty their hands murdering anyone directly themselves. Take, for example, the revelations—denied by nobody—of the role of General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen in the Goniwe murders, or Adrian Vlok’s role in chairmanship committees that may have overseen similar work.

Nobody is suggesting—or not yet, anyway—that Messrs van der Westhuizen or Vlok have actually murdered or tortured anybody themselves: at the moment all we have is circumstantial evidence. But there is, quite clearly, a case to answer.

And if figures at that sort of level have been implicated, to pardon them must imply pardons to a lower level for many hundreds, even thousands, who actually carried out the dirty work.

But the real point is that figures at senior level could only get involved in villainy if it was understood to be State policy that they should—indeed they may well have documents to prove it. So hidden deep within the Government’s play, is at last an admission that major crimes and atrocities have been committed not by accident or by someone overstepping the mark but because it was State policy that they should be committed.

The ANC would doubtless like a full Government admission of guilt for its own political purposes, but far wider considerations are at stake.

First, and most obviously, the State had no need to resort to crime. The ANC may have contested the legitimacy of "the apartheid regime" but there was throughout, a legally constituted, sovereign and universally recognised State. South Africa has not been under the personal rule of a tin-pot Papa Doc (or even Papa Croc).

The State could and did take legal powers to detain without trial, to declare states of emergency, to ban, list, house arrest and so on. Everything it wanted to do it could do legally. There can be no excuse for State crime.

Throughout the apartheid nightmare this preservation of a legal, constitutional order was the only saving grace of the National Party. South Africans of all persuasions desperately needed to believe in the majesty and authority of a constitutional State: the worse the turmoil and division the more we had to have—and believe in—a State which applied the law without fear or favour, which would even-handedly prosecute the van der Westhuizen and the Winnie Mandelas.

The ANC may wish to argue that there is no moral equivalence between Robert McBride and murderous securocrats because the former killed and maimed innocent people as a freedom fighter: it is not a savoury argument either way.

But there is, all the same, no moral equivalence. State functionaries who committed or authorised crimes did not merely break the law but actually overthrew the rule of law itself. The upholding of the rule of law is the State’s most sacred duty, a fact which, for our sakes, must be re-impressed on the present and all future governments.

So while we must indeed "wipe the slate clean", the aim must be to restore the full authority of the law. This cannot be done by means of blanket amnesties. This could be the end of a career, the end of his great struggle, R. W. Johnson is a South African affairs correspondent. He is on leave from the Times of London. The Judge, who heads the Independent

...
PAC to donate cash

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to donate R28 000 to victims of the Boipatong massacre today, says director of information and publicity Waters Tobad. Relief and aid secretary Ms Patricia de Lille and projects secretary Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko will donate the money on behalf of the organisation at a 10am ceremony in the Vaal triangle township. - Sapa.
Winnie's suspension goes to legal expert for ruling

Political Staff

The suspension of Winnie Mandela as head of the ANC PWV Women's League has been referred to an independent legal expert for arbitration, The Star has learnt.

Mrs Mandela was suspended as leader of the league's PWV region following a sit-in she had allegedly instigated in an attempt to regain her post as national head of the ANC's welfare department — a position she had resigned earlier this year.

Doubts were cast on the legality of her suspension after it emerged that the ANC Women's League national executive apparently had not heard Mrs Mandela's account of the sit-in before suspending her.

Mrs Mandela denied weekend reports that she had changed the locks on the office of the regional Women's League.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not comment, saying an investigation was still in progress.
THE American journal, Commentary, is described as conservative, but is better understood as a conserver of traditional American liberal values rather than the radicalism that passes for US liberalism today.

A recent edition carries a series of articles which analyse the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots. The charge that the riots arose from the "neglect" of the Reagan/Bush years is rebutted by figures indicating a continuing increase in black median incomes during the '80s and a decline in the official poverty rate.

Much backing is in fact provided for the widely ridiculed statement by White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, that the failed social programmes of the '60s were to blame for the riots.

Far from a "decade of neglect", the welfare package for inner city blacks remains more generous than in the heyday of the '60s reforms, and their negative effects even more insidious.

The legacy of the permissive '60s was the pervasive tendency not to hold individuals accountable for their behaviour.

Prior to the '60s it was punishing, financially and socially, to have a baby without a husband. Welfare reforms weakened the disincentives and encouraged the dependency syndrome and neglect of the male parent's responsibilities.

Arch Puddington, former aide to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, says racism is not the whole problem, and certainly not the cause of the rocketing rate of illegitimate births and homicides among blacks, two-thirds of whom are now born to single-parent families.

He notes the negative attitudes of young blacks to the world of work and the means of economic advancement chosen by disadvantaged immigrant groups such as the Koreans, so prominently a target in the Los Angeles riots.

Black attitudes, in fact, are strongly conditioned by the repeated stress on the black community as the helpless victim of white society.

The remedy is beyond the reach of government — indeed, the efforts of government have done much to undermine the capacity to take charge of their own lives.

The lesson for South Africa is clear.

South African blacks have been discriminated against in the past, resulting in the breakdown of family life. Therefore, the structures of community need to be rebuilt so as to optimally take advantage of the opportunities opening up in South Africa.

The politicised black churches in particular must abandon their structural, quasi-marxist definition of sin in favour of personal moral responsibility and integrity.

In this respect, the Zionist churches provide a clearer lead than the liberation theologians of the South African Council of Churches.

Councillor Jack Bloom is DP councillor for Highlands North and author of the book "Black South Africa and the Disinvestment Dilemma".

Damning 'dependency syndrome'
Call for ‘one organisation, one strategy’

The ANC-led alliance has not developed an adequate strategy for struggle since February 1990. In place of a single, clear strategy there have been several inadequate and conflicting approaches.

Three conflicting outlooks have been favoured by different sectors of the ANC at different times.

In the first, the “don’t rock the boat” position, negotiations among an elite are all-important in securing the transfer of power. Any action outside the negotiating forum can only endanger the process of democratisation.

The second, “turning on the tap”, also favours elite negotiations. It allows for other action, but only as “a tap to be turned off and on according to perceived progress or otherwise at Codesa”.

The third strategy is that of a mass uprising that builds dual power, overthrows an incumbent regime and replaces it with the emergent origins of popular power.

It is the unresolved co-existence of three strategic outlooks within our national liberation movement that accounts for many of the problems we have experienced since February 1990.

In the first part of 1990 it was suggested that we were negotiating with the regime because De Klerk was a “man of integrity”. Inevitably the situation on the ground disproved this strategy.

Our cadres and supporters blamed the August suspension of the armed struggle for their sense of defensiveness and tried to counter-pose a fairly spontaneous view (particularly at the December 1990 consultative conference).

In April 1991 the ANC leadership issued an ultimatum to De Klerk to end the violence, release political prisoners and ensure the return of exiles, or face a suspension of talks about talks.

The ultimatum was well received by most movement activists. Only a few were unhappy — it “rocked the boat”. The ultimatum temporarily helped to resolve the rift between the rank and file and negotiators.

In July 1991 the national executive committee elaborated on the “strategic shift”. The violence and non-release of prisoners were subordinated to the bigger question. And so it was back to negotiations. We were going to move to an interim government as soon as possible.

Whatever its own inherent merits or otherwise, this “strategic shift” also served to paper over the division between the three strategic outlooks in our organisation.

Proponents of all three welcomed the “strategic shift” but each interpreted it in his or her own way. Proponents of strategy one were relieved that talks were “back on track”. Proponents of strategy two saw themselves going back to the negotiating table strengthened (“you see what a bit of pressure can do”).

In this case it was not so much mass pressure as psychological pressure that was deemed to have done the trick. Proponents of strategies one and two tended to be overly-optimistic about chances of rapid negotiating an interim government.

Supporters of strategy three welcomed the July 1991 shift and read insurrectionary intentions into the statement that “the regime itself is the immediate obstacle”.

Needless to say, the apparent unity of July 1991 quickly evaporated under the pressure of reality itself.

I will resist the temptation here to catalogue the ongoing impact of these conflicting ideological tendencies on our movement over the past months. The essential point is that we need real unity of strategic purpose, not an apparent unity.

Jeremy Cronin spoke at the Ruth First Memorial colloquium at the University of the Western Cape this week. This is an edited version of the paper by the SACP central committee member:

Jeremy Cronin

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

This was an individual contribution to the colloquium and does not represent the views of the SACP, ANC or any section of these formations.
Mass action a warning to Codesa participants

By Vincent Maphai
Professor of Political Science
University of the Western Cape

The Government's attitude towards negotiations and the subsequent collapse of the talks confirmed rampant allegations that Codesa was an empty shell.

Yet, when demonstrators headed the boycott call, questions were raised about the level of support enjoyed by the PAC and Azapo.

The objections raised by these organizations against mass action are serious. However, their responses were confined to statements. They were allegedly never consulted about this measure.

Furthermore, mass action was partly about reviving Codesa. It was, therefore, unfair to expect PAC or Azapo to support such a move and jobs in order to save the very institution whose death they would have prevented.

Rescue a "jilted lover"

These organizations also perceived the proposed mass action as an attempt to re-marry a "jilted lover" rather than a measure to advance the interests of the masses. They argued that the ANC elite had betrayed the Nationalists and communists and treacherously discarded their interests.

In other words, the entire black community was being asked to pursue narrow party political aims of the ANC.

High profile roles

It is not as if any, it does not follow that these organizations should have opposed mass action. The critics could have joined the action but insisted on high profile roles for themselves at all costs. In that case, they would have raised their hands, regardless of the size of their support.

Alternately, they could have united under the ANC, or to their members' democrats. The successes or failure of mass action would have had no direct reference to them.

Instead, these organizations found themselves standing, on the one side with the Government, business, Oupa Gyazo
FW de Klerk
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

NO BIRTHRIGHT
Mass support should not be regarded as the sole preserve of one party:

"If mass action is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community."

Oupa and Buthelezi. Ironically, they have always proclaimed the world that the ANC was surrounded by "suitors" inside Codesa.

The task of negotiating mass action, in this case calls for more than what was intended by the ANC. The action has reinforced the concept of account- ability. In some respects, mass action was a warning to all Codesa participants, including the ANC.

Find a compromise

Others cautioning and invoking others easily find a compromise provides their interests are guaranteed. Usually such concessions are possible if the "mass action" clauses are ignored or forgotten.

Recent mass action may have set an important precedent for future political practice. Any future government, including the ANC, must take the risk of mass action if it departs substantially from election promises.

What is the possible impact of mass action on the Government? There are several alternatives. At the very least, it will renege the pre-1990 statements.

Greater urgency

The later rather than the substance of negotiation might improve the mood of mass action. The Government is likely to negotiate with greater urgency than before, if the alternatives are recurrent mass action. For it, the ANC is likely to be less conciliatory than before to the collapse of Codesa.

Yes, State President FW de Klerk may also attempt to stretch mass action to its limits. Quite clearly, if mass action were to be undertaken frequently, it might begin to lose momentum. Such an outcome, however, would be dangerous for the ANC. A discredited ANC will not result in a stronger National Party but rather in an unworkable country. It is in de Klerk's interests to ensure that the ANC survives mass action could be curtailed by De Klerk's concessions to one of the ANC's demands as a matter of urgency. In an interim government.

The Government could use the experience of an interim government to argue that mass actions such as general strikes and appeals for sanctions are now unnecessary. The ANC can not call for an international boycott, sanctions and mass action against a government of which it is part.

Furthermore, the Government would hope that such "alternative arrangements" would reassure its own constituency that their quality of life, and their living experience, will remain substantially unchanged under a new, majority rule constitution. It will demonstrate that coalition governments are feasible.

Result of its failure

Mass action is a potent tool. Yet, like all strategies, it has its own limitations. In itself, successful mass action does not guarantee the end of National Party rule. However, the result of its failure, however, is an extended process for political. Would it, if it is used for narrow party political objectives, have the potential to divide the community.

For the interim, any party or organization should regard mass action as its birthright. Mass action may have the urgency for a broader political front which includes the PAC and Azapo. After its recent victory, the ANC might consider these organizations indispensable.
Govt and ANC in bid to restart negotiations

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were due to meet last night for at least the third time in 10 days to try to restart formal negotiations.

They were to meet for "exploratory talks" amid encouraging signs from the Government that a compromise "face-saving" solution to the current negotiations deadlock was in sight.

However, the ANC has been down-playing these hopeful signals, indicating that the two sides are still quite a long way from agreement and insisting that the Government should "satisfactorily" meet its key conditions for resuming talks.

After meeting Mr Ramaphosa on August 16 and again last Friday, Mr Meyer said at the weekend both parties had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock".

Instead of simply meeting the ANC's 14 demands, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken back to the Cabinet and the ANC national working committee for approval.

It was thought unlikely that any compromise would emerge from last night's meeting to be considered by the Cabinet at its regular weekly meeting today.

Exploratory talks between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress have not yet got around the question of whether or not negotiations between them should take place outside South Africa, as the PAC demands, or in the country, as the Government insists. The talks are expected to continue, but no date has been set for another meeting.
ANC gears up for protest

THE joint secretariat of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a plan for the last round of mass action to force government to meet its demands.

The action programme includes the disruption of Parliament when it reconvenes in October, a march on the Ciskei capital Biafo, a campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government the PAYE payments of employees who do not have the vote, and the occupation of national buildings and roads.

The joint secretariat endorsed the programme at a meeting on Sunday.

WILSON ZWANE

The programme, they still had to refer the details to their respective constituencies.

The ANC's national working committee and Cosatu's central executive committee would meet tomorrow and Friday to rubber stamp the programme, Dhlamini said.

The ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central executive committee would meet next week.

Dhlamini said the alliance's campaigns committee would meet in the first week of September to decide how to implement the programme.

September had been earmarked as a month during which protest campaigns against homelands should be intensified, Dhlamini said, adding that the focus would be on QwaQwa, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

It is understood that the alliance plans to march on Biafo on September 9.

On August 4 there was a lengthy stand-off between Ciskeian security forces and about 50,000 alliance supporters who marched from nearby King William's Town as part of mass action. Members of the national secretariat were instrumental in defusing the volatile situation.

Dhlamini said members of the alliance would march on the SA/Mozambican border to protest against the electric fence "which has killed many people".

He said the alliance planned to occupy Parliament on October 12 and to "make it difficult for MPs to enter it when it reconvenes".

Between October 12 and 19 the alliance would occupy Jan Smuts Airport, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the M1 freeway. Occupations of prisons were also planned for that period.

A campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who did not have the vote, would also be embarked upon, Dhlamini said.

GRINTEK LIMITED

No. 59/0013/06

Drinker Group Company

Preliminary results and dividend announcement for the year ended 30 June 1992

COMMENT

Group turnover increased by 15 per cent to R1 235 billion.

Earnings, at R268.8 million prior to extraordinary items, equivalent to 13.8 cents per share, are 7 per cent lower than last year. A
Thumbs down from ‘Combat’

By Joe Mdhlala

A NEWLY established organisation, Community of Black and African Theologians, said this week it would advise the PAC and Azapo not to negotiate with the Government.

Launched last weekend at Eskom College in Midrand, the organisation concluded this after a four-day session.

The theological seminar was organised by the Black Theology Project and Institute for Contextual Theology.

The clergy men criticised the South African Council of Churches, accused of misrepresenting black struggle.

The organisation also expressed unhappiness that white liberals dominated the SACC which, it said, gave the black struggle for liberation an interpretation which was inconsistent with the experiences of blacks.

The president of Combat and lecturer in Theology at the University of South Africa, Dr Takatso Mofokeng, said the

 organisation was dismayed that the PAC was already talking to the Government and that Azapo was in the process of doing so. “We will be approaching these organisations to express our concern about the talks.”

“The SACC has moved away from the black community. Their language has become white. Combat will be engaging the SACC in a critical dialogue to address these concerns,” Mofokeng said.

The organisation elected Dr Mokgethi Motshabi as executive director, Professor Lumeleng Mosala as finance director, Dr David Mosoma is publicity and information director and Ms Priscilla Everson and the Rev Tinyiko Maluleka take care of gender affairs and programmes respectively.
NEWS Injured but drives himself to hospital  ● Massacre victims families get R1 000 each

PAC help for victims

THE Pan Africanist Congress secretary for relief and aid, Mrs Patricia de Lille, has challenged political organisations, churches and international agencies to give direct assistance to victims of the Boipatong massacre.

De Lille presented a R28 000 cheque to the bereaved families at the Roman Catholic Church in Boipatong on Tuesday.

Sharpeville Six

“We have seen with the experience of the Uprising Six and Sharpeville Six that there are disputes if the money is not given direct to the victims,” she said.

She also promised that the PAC would start self-help projects for Vaal Triangle residents.

De Lille was accompanied by PAC secretary for projects, Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko, and secretary for local government, Mr Molefi Lithoko.

The PAC gave a cheque of R1 000 to each of the 28 families who lost relatives during the massacre.

Mrs Maria Letsoko (65) thanked the PAC on behalf of all the families and said the organisation’s gesture showed that black people would always stand son, a daughter and a son-in-law during the massacre.

Soweto doctor shot

Soweto medical doctor is recovering from a bullet wound sustained when he was attacked by four men in Meadowlands on Wednesday last week.

Dr Stuart Mbatasana is still at the Baragwanath Hospital after being shot in the abdomen near his home in Zone 5, Meadowlands, by thugs who wanted to rob him of his Mercedes Benz car.

The bullet went through his liver but he managed to drive to the hospital while bleeding profusely.

“I grew up in that area,” he said. “I never thought I could be attacked there. I’ve always assumed people knew me very well.”

Mbatasana said he was having difficulty breathing and speaking. He had to pause from time to time during the interview.
‘Torture, beating’
in ANC camps

By David Katz

Allegations of torture and abuse in ANC camps have been made by two former ANC members in affidavits presented to the Douglas Commission of Inquiry, set up by the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

The commission this week began gathering evidence of alleged torture and human rights atrocities in ANC camps in countries such as Angola, Uganda and Tanzania.

The commission, under advocate Robert Douglas, SC, yesterday made affidavits available to The Star in which former ANC members detained in the camps describe acts of torture at the ANC’s Quatro camp in Angola.

In his affidavit David Makhubedu (41) said “torture and beatings were a regular occurrence administered on inmates indiscriminately”.

He said he witnessed this during the nearly five years he spent in Quatro before being released on November 15, 1986.

He said Quatro was initially established for suspected infiltrators but was later used “for any people whom the leadership of the ANC and MK (ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe) regarded as dissidents”.

In another affidavit, Robert Shange said that during his stay at Quatro he saw “numerous acts of torture”. Once, boiling water had been poured on the head of a prisoner.

He said many prisoners — who lived in conditions “shocking beyond belief” — had died of malaria and other tropical diseases, and that complaints were met with more torture.

Mr Shange said he was seeking redress “against the ANC-SACP alliance for all the wrongs done” while he was in detention.

The ANC has in the past acknowledged that atrocities took place, and a commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate them finished taking oral evidence last week.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said the organisation had full confidence in its own commission, which was due to release its report soon.

She said the ANC commission had “sounder motives than the right-wing IFF” and that the ANC was eager to find solutions based on the report.

Speaking from Washington yesterday, IFF international chairman Duncan Sillars said the purpose of the commission was “to help the ANC come clean” on its past and “bolster true democrats within the ANC against hardliners aligned with the SACP”.

SOFTLY

Aside from the moves from the fringes — the PAC, Azapo and elements of the white Right — to get on board the negotiations train, there are signs that the deadlock between the key players, government and the ANC, is close to being broken. According to a government spokesman: "We're closer than we've been in the past two weeks, though it's too early to predict exactly when."

According to ANC sources, much would depend on what emerged from the second meeting, this week, between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer. This would be a continuation of their incomplete, though constructive, discussion last Friday, after which Meyer suggested they had "found the key" to resolving the deadlock.

ANC negotiators were, however, maintaining the more cautious approach they've adopted in recent months, saying it would be premature to suggest that the key had been found. "We can't yet say that the deadlock has been broken until there have been adequate, substantial moves by government to meet our demands, and that they are prepared to submit themselves to democratic principles."

The latter refers to accepting a "sovereign" elected constitution-making body to write a new constitution. Whether the steps government seemed to be contemplating would go far enough, was expected to be known after the second session on Tuesday night. It seems fair to assume that Meyer put something on the table last Friday, which Ramaphosa had to take back to his colleagues.

The ANC, incidentally, describes these one-on-one meetings as "a channel of communication" rather than negotiations. This hair-splitting is designed to accommodate the ANC's recent announcement that it was suspending all contact with government.

Of the ANC's 14 preconditions, it would seem that the key issues around which compromises could be struck are:

- The release of political prisoners. The ANC says it is more and more convinced that government is using these prisoners as "political hostages" and seeking a "trade-off" for their release with an agreement on an amnesty for security force personnel engaged in violence. The ANC is refusing to entertain this idea.
- Hostels — those hostels which have been flashpoints in the violence — have to be fenced and permanently monitored by a multi-lateral peace commission, says the ANC.
  - The suspension and investigation of security force members implicated in the violence. The ANC also wants the suspension of military intelligence chief General Joffie van der Westhuizen pending a proper investigation.
  - An end to covert security operations; and
  - Agreement on a constitution-making body.

"We all know that compromises will have to be made," says the government source, but adds that this cannot be a one-way street. If the ANC stayed in "demand mode," then there wouldn't be any negotiations, he says. "The important thing is to get everybody off the hook and create room for manoeuvre," says the source, warning against overblowing the "hopeful signs" of the past week. The government knew there was a difference of opinion in the ANC alliance and further movement would also depend on whether Ramaphosa could sell any compromises reached with Meyer to his side.

For its part, the ANC says talk of a face-saving formula for resuming talks only applies to government, which, it believes, is under domestic and international pressure to meet the ANC's "reasonable" demands.

While the ANC naturally denies that there are any real differences within the organisation, spokesmen do point out that any decision over re-entering constitutional talks can only be made once the National Executive Committee has decided whether satisfactory steps have been taken by government over its demands.

According to our government source, the ANC demand for a "sovereign" constitution-making body is new and amounts to semantics. The principle of such an "elect-
ed" body was accepted and agreed long ago by the CODESA. To government, it would seem, the issue here really concerns "deadlock-breaking procedures during the constitutional phase."

METAL INDUSTRY STRIKE

Hampered in court

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) on Tuesday succeeded in its application for an urgent interim interdict against the striking National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Seifsa sought the interdict because of what it claims are gross irregularities in the union's strike ballot procedure early last month. If true, this would render the strike illegal.

The big questions now are whether Numsa will call off its four-week-old action, which the Transvaal Supreme Court ruling has said is illegal; if not, what approach Seifsa will advise its members to take regarding dismissals; and whether Cosatu will join the fray.

A full hearing has yet to be held.

Numsa decided to go on strike after deadlock was reached in the annual metal industry wage negotiations last month when the industry's 12 unions had declared a dispute with all the Seifsa associations.

Employers voted in favour of a lockout on July 15, though none had exercised this option to induce employee acceptance of the final wage offer. This stands at 8.6% against Numsa's original demand for 20%.

At an informal meeting between Numsa (the only Seifsa union that conducted a strike ballot) and Seifsa on August 11, the union dropped its demand to 16%. Employers rejected it. Numsa's demands include a moratorium on retrenchments.

Seifsa's first application for an urgent interdict against Numsa failed on a technicality, when the Supreme Court, on August 7, determined that neither Seifsa nor member associations had the locus standi to obtain one. Such relief could only be sought by individual employers, the court said. The merits of the strike were not discussed.

Seifsa appealed and the Judge President of the Supreme Court, Justice Elloff, directed that it be urgently heard by a full bench of the Transvaal Division on August 21. The appeal was upheld last Friday and on Tuesday Seifsa won its interdict against Numsa's conduct of its strike ballot.

Among the ballotting irregularities alleged by Seifsa were: Numsa's refusal to release details of the result; allowing non-Numsa members to take part; that it did not allow...
ANC ‘welcome to summit’

THE ANC was welcome to attend the Government’s summit on regionalism and federalism in Pretoria on September 17, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday. Meyer said the summit would be “the start of a consensus-seeking process” on the question of decentralization and strong regional and local government.

This is not a conference or discussion to pressure the negotiation process or even to create the impression of a new initiative,” he said.

2 shot in Phola Park

POLICE shot and injured a man and a woman at the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park yesterday afternoon after being attacked by angry residents during a “crime prevention operation”. A policeman fired into a crowd which had pelted them with stones.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the exercise was a continuation of “Operation Alpo” which started in July and covered several black townships on the Reef. “We detained persons for a number of offences varying from possession of dagga to suspicious of murder.”

Workers’ sit-in at Seifsa

ABOUT 40 National Union of Metalworkers of SA members yesterday occupied the offices of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA in Johannesburg.

Another 500 members had also gathered outside the building. The sit-in was in support of the union’s demands for a 16 percent across-the-board increase and better job security.
SOUTHERN Life yesterday announced a major political and economic forum would be held in Johannesburg in October to discuss the poor performance of the SA economy.

Southern assistant GM Martin Sweet said the forum would include the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, DP leader Zach de Beer, and Trade and Industry director-general Stephen Naudé. Among topics to be discussed would be future economic scenarios, tax as a redistributive mechanism, and capital gains tax, Sweet said.

"Mr Mandela and others have called on big business to find ways of breaking the present economic deadlock, and our response was to back a forum where key players in the political, economic and business environment could exchange ideas," said Sweet.

Other organisations to be represented at the forum would be the PAC, Inkatha, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Sacoh, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and Cosatu.
MI did meet ANC men

 Defence minister denies meeting was to discuss 'third force':  Südpresse 28.1.92

DEFENCE Minister Géne Louw yesterday confirmed that military intelligence and ANC intelligence officials had met. But he denied the purpose of the meeting was to jointly seek out a so-called "third force."

At a Press conference in Pretoria, Louw was asked to comment on reports that Military Intelligence chief Joffel van der Westhuizen had met the ANC intelligence chief to jointly investigate the existence of a third force.

Louw said that discussions between the Government and ANC intelligence officials took place from time to time, and would take place again in the future.

These discussions were of a general nature and he could not disclose the contents of the discussions unilaterally.

Asked specifically if one of the meetings had discussed joint action against a third force, Louw said that the so-called third force may have "cropped up" in discussions, but strongly denied any suggestions of a joint operation to counter it.

"If anyone here knows of a third force, please let me know so that I can do something about it," Louw said.
ANC camps are probed


The commission is presided over by advocate Mr R S Douglas.

He said two people from exile had already testified before the commission.

Douglas said many inquiries had been received from relatives of exiles who had failed to return to South Africa. Although this was not within the ambit of the commission, he would nevertheless lend assistance where possible. - Sapa
Probe into ANC camps

Johannesburg. — An independent commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of human rights abuses at ANC detention camps in Southern Africa began hearing evidence at a hotel in Sandton on Wednesday.
ANC turns down summit invitation

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

The ANC has rejected an invitation to the Government's summit on federalism in Pretoria on September 7 and has given notice that it expects its allies not to attend either.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer announced yesterday that the summit — "on regionalism/federalism for a new South Africa" — would not be restricted to pro-federal parties at Codesa. All parties — including those who opposed federalism — and government institutions were welcome to attend.

Mr Meyer said the aim of the summit was not to put pressure on the negotiation process, create a new initiative, form an alliance or to exclude anyone.

The summit would be a follow-up of a meeting which President de Klerk held with pro-federal Codesa parties in July.

But the ANC said yesterday that the conference was being called to endorse the National Party's regional proposals.

Mr Meyer would not comment on his talks on Tuesday with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa aimed at getting negotiations back on track, saying talks were at "a very sensitive stage".
Govt, ANC keep lid on secret talks

By Jacques Pauw and Shaun Johnson

Both the Government and the ANC were tight-lipped yesterday over The Star's revelation of a recent secret meeting between their intelligence chiefs.

Defence Minister Gene Louw confirmed in Pretoria that the meeting had taken place and that the subject of the "third force" might have "cropped up" — but denied that the purpose of the meeting had been to fashion a joint strategy against such rogue elements.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus also confirmed the meeting but said the organisation would not give any details of what transpired.

The Star revealed yesterday that the controversial chief of SADF Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, attended a secret meeting in Johannesburg with top ANC intelligence officials three weeks ago.

High-ranking sources told The Star that General van der Westhuizen had said a "third force" did exist, and that a joint effort should be made to hunt it down. They also said he let it be known that there were efforts to "discredit" him.

Mr Louw said yesterday in response to questions from journalists: "Bilateral discussions of this nature will take place from time to time, have taken place before and will take place in future."

He said they were "valuable to have, to create the opportunity to express opinions and exchange views on various matters."

Pressed on whether the object of the meeting had been to facilitate a joint inquiry into the "third force," the Defence Minister said: "That is certainly not the case. It was a general discussion. I can't disclose it. It was confidential ... You can only do so if there is a bilateral agreement."

The Star revealed that the meeting was attended by ANC intelligence chiefs Joe Nhlanhla and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, as well as Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

It is understood that there is some disquiet in ANC circles about news of the face-to-face discussions with General van der Westhuizen, whose name appears on the alleged (Matthew) Geniwe "death warrant" signal dated 1988 — which called for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Geniwe and two other activists.

Mr Lekota, Mr Nhlanhla and Mr Modise were not available for comment.
PAC sees full franchise as central to curbing violence

PAC deputy president DIKGANG MOSENIKHE spoke to ANTHONY JOHNSON on how his move- ment views the changing negotiations climate and the shift of the PAC's focus from the bullet to the ballot ahead of South Africa's first democratic elections.

with the proposed transitional executive structures aimed at leveling the playing fields ahead of negotiations if you are confident that this would not result in the movement being "co-opted" into a full-blown executive structure over an indeterminate transitional period?

A: Yes, but we will have no truck with the general running and management of the state. We will have everything to do with sovereign executive commissions that can make decisions. Instead, it was the PAC which originally proposed these forms of transitional authority as opposed to interim govern- ment. We are not interested in governing without legitimacy. In any case we need the time to prepare for elections and set up structures.

Q: So the PAC's preparedness to become involved in the executive at this stage will be restricted to specifically targeted commissions entrusted with the exclusive task of getting free elections held as soon as possible?
A: Yes, and this is the case for many other altruistic and legitimate reasons. You see our economy is in dire straits. We are facing an increasing negative growth rate, there is virtually no foreign invest- ment, bankruptcies have been accelerating, there is capital flight and unemployment is rearing its head. We are in a very desperate moment and we in the PAC are saying there is no point in merely dreaming about an economy that is in dire straits. What is needed to resolve the problem is a swift process towards a political solution.

Q: Accepting that urgency, could you sketch the steps that would be necessary to allow the PAC to rejig negotiations which are necessary for just such a political solution?
A: We are at a preparatory stage in our talks with the government. This stage will be followed by a summit for which the PAC places a premium on the principle of neutrality. But there is going to be greater urgency in the next few months to move towards an alternative forum. So after the summit, our programme would be to attend the alternative forum.

Q: How do you envisage that this new forum — as opposed to the one in Durban — would be constituted and would operate?
A: In the new forum we should cut out the fat and get to the heart of the matter. We will call for greater efficiency. We will introduce greater neutrality. We will seek to assign to representatives their rightful roles, which is not to say that they should not be present but that they should not have any power of veto.

Q: Are you concerned that the PAC will be able to attract enough voters to allow you to become part of a coalition government?
A: At the least, we don't. For a moment imagine that we will throw any of the major parties in the coalition. The African population in the so-called ANC states the real race will be between us and the ANC.

In terms of our support base, we need to do more work in Natal. We are very comfortable in the northern and central Transvaal, growing abnormally in the Free State, less strong in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu and quite strong in the Western Cape.

Q: But are we concerned that the first election might come to a battle between the ANC and the govern- ment which many of your supporters might feel they could afford to "waste" a vote on the PAC and might side with the ANC to keep the Nats out?
A: One week has to assume a certain degree of experience of tactical voting at the first election. The ideal arrangement would be to have a front that could collar all those votes.

The PAC is saying that there is no point in merely dreaming about an economy that is in dire straits. What is needed to resolve the problem is a swift process towards a political solution.
Diplomatic pressure mounts for resumption of talks

ANC starts to feel heat

THE pressure on the African National Congress to return to the negotiating table stepped up this week with increasing diplomatic impatience over its stand-off, and new Government initiatives designed to send a clear message that "the reform train is carrying on without you".

The far-reaching shake-up of the South African Police, the release of former Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and the announcement of a summit of pro-federal parties on September 7 all underscored the ANC's isolation in its anti-negotiations bunker.

Diplomatic sources said that internationally the organisation was coming under increasing pressure to resume talks. Behind-the-scenes efforts to break the deadlock accelerated yesterday as Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for the third time in a week.

It is believed that Meyer may have shown Ramaphosa the Cabinet's decision on proposals discussed by the two men earlier in the week to find a way back into talks.

The negotiations stand-off - now more than two months old - could reach a critical stage in the coming week with a three-day meeting of the ANC's national executive committee starting on Monday.

It is understood that the committee will consider the Cabinet's decision.

Ramaphosa and Meyer last night refused once again to say if any progress had been made in their latest talks. Although diplomats are saying that the international community is becoming increasingly impatient with the ANC's stand-off position, ANC sources reject that they are being stubborn.

They said all they were asking for now was for the Government to respond satisfactorily to two of the ANC's 14 conditions for resuming talks - the release of remaining political prisoners and proper control of hostels to prevent attacks by hostel dwellers on township residents.

This would be enough for the ANC to resume official bilateral discussions - although not yet to return to full CODESA-type multilateral negotiations.

But Government sources said the ANC was expecting too much in demanding that the Government should publicly issue a response concerning all the ANC's demands. They hoped the ANC would accept that it had got enough from the Government to warrant its return to the talks, without the Government being forced to back down publicly.

The release of Gerhardt - long demanded by the ANC, which regarded him as one of its political prisoners - may have been intended to convey a message that the Government is prepared to respond to the ANC's demands, but only indirectly.

This would explain why President F W de Klerk stressed that he was releasing Gerhardt at the behest of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Although the Government remains insistent that it will not take any step towards constitutional reform without the ANC, it is keen that it is doing everything short of this to put pressure on the organisation.

The Government is feeling the pressure to secure agreement with the ANC on at least the first phase of an interim government, so that legislation can be passed at the short session of Parliament in October.

Without such legislation, the session could become an embarrassing farce.

To avoid this, the Government is now contemplating passing enabling legislation to set up a transitional executive structure for the first phase of an interim government - even if this is not agreed to by the ANC.

This would not be implemented before agreement is reached - averting, the Government believes, criticism that it is trying to go it alone. Observers believe the underlying message to the ANC is that the "reform train has to keep going, and will do so whether you're on board or not."
While the government and ANC continue to meet in secret to try and resolve the negotiations impasse, President FW de Klerk has announced he will press ahead with the planned second sitting of Parliament. MIKE ROBERTSON argues that this is an act of folly.

LIKE the staging of Die Stem by the Ellis Park crowd, President FW de Klerk's decision to go ahead with a second sitting of Parliament this year is an act of defiance which says more about his weakened position than it does of his visionary ability.

The obvious reason for going ahead with the sitting is to give the ANC a chance to try to negotiate a new arrangement, which will then be given a vote of no confidence if it is not acceptable to the ANC. The government has already made it clear that it will not agree to anything that is not acceptable to the ANC.

The agreement, which has been dubbed "transitional arrangements", will provide for the appointment of a number of politicians to form a transitional government. The leaders of the two parties will then have to negotiate a new constitution and the election of a body to draw up the new document. As this was the only way to end the deadlock, the president has no choice but to go ahead with the sitting.

The differences between the two parties are profound. The ANC wants a democratic system with a strong president, while the NP prefers a more centralized system with a weak president. The DP, which is in favor of a federal system with strong regional governments, has been excluded from the talks.

The proposed constitution should be adopted and the powers of regions.

These were, however, merely symptomatic of a much larger problem. The ANC and the DP were negotiating a new constitution that ensured power-sharing. The ANC, with its allies and the DP thought they were negotiating a democratic constitution. Implicit in this was the acceptance of majority rule and then, and only then, could the ANC and DP part ways, limitations on the protected status of the individual, and the protection of the individual against arbitrary action by the state and so on.

The key to the deadlock is the question of power-sharing. The DP's leader, Dr. Pieter Du Toit, has been quoted as saying, "The DP is not interested in a policy with all its fundamental flaws. The DP does not advocate power-sharing. Their policy is one that will inevitably lead to a majority domination model."

Every agreement that has been reached so far has been based on the belief that the two concepts were reconcilable. They are not. It is time for political parties to accept this and begin the negotiations over again. First, we need to abandon the question of power-sharing. Only then will the negotiators be in a position to deal seriously with the questions of democracy, power-sharing, and the protection of the individual against arbitrary action by the state.
Mandela offered ‘secret deal’ to Swedish firm

ANC president Nelson Mandela promised a Swedish firm preferential treatment under a new government to reward the Scandinavian country for continued financial support for his organisation.

This has been claimed by an ANC member, who said the promise was made during a visit by Mr. Mandela to Stockholm in May.

Swedish will give the ANC R50 million in "humanitarian aid" this year. But the organisation's deputy head of international affairs, Aziz Pahlad, has denied Mr. Mandela promised future preferential treatment to any Swedish firm to secure this.

However, a Sunday Times source said Mr. Mandela made such an assurance at a meeting with Swedish industrialists and bankers in Stockholm this year. The visit occurred against a backdrop of growing criticism in Sweden for its government's continued aid to the ANC.

Over the past 20 years, the Social Democrat Swedish government donated some R314 million to the ANC. But, following its ousting from power a year ago, and last year's cuts in South Africa, continued support for the ANC began to be questioned.

Sweden's leading businessman, Dr. Peter Wallenberg, led a call for lifting the six-year-old sanctions against South Africa.

But when they met, the source said, Mr. Mandela gave Dr. Wallenberg an undertaking that contracts between Swedish multinational Atlas Copco and the South African mining industry would receive "privileged treatment" when the industry was nationalised.

Mr. Mandela also told the Swedish businessmen that an "ANC government would not hesitate to cancel contracts with foreign companies whose governments had been less generous than Sweden to the organisation", the source said.

Dr. Wallenberg was chairman of Atlas Copco in the 70s.

He was unable to respond to questions about the meeting, but his "closest associate", leading Stockholm banker Erik Beifrage, said: "We were all somewhat astounded by the hints made by the ANC side."

"The general reaction among Swedish businessmen present was: If we finally one day get rid of Swedish political interference in our affairs, we certainly do not wish to have a South African government trying to influence normal commercial flows, even if that interference is aimed at making trade more beneficial for Swedish industry," he said.

Sacrifice

The South African firm of Atlas Copco is already a major supplier of mining and drilling equipment to South African mines.

According to company chairman Mario Pellegrino, it has no direct links with Atlas Copco in Sweden, but markets its products.

Responding to allegations that Mr. Mandela had offered preferential treatment to a Swedish firm, Mr. Pahlad said: "Business cannot be interfered with in that way."

"Naturally, I would prefer to deal with those with whom I have a special relationship - but no future government can give guarantees."

"We've always said we appreciate the sacrifice our supporters made in maintaining sanctions, and that this put them at a disadvantage, but that they would be at an advantage later."
SA could face a coup if the correct signs aren’t heeded

By SEKOLA SELLO

SERIOUS social problems, including a coup, could result if any future popularly elected government is tempted to embark on massive populist economic policies.

This is one of the dangers that may well face SA unless certain strategic decisions are taken within the next two years.

The warning was sounded by a diverse group of academics, businessmen and pressure groups including politicians from the ANC and the PAC. All participated in their individual capacities.

Called the Mont Fleur scenarios, the team projected four scenarios which could possibly face the country in the future.

The projections have important implications for all of the country’s major political organisations including the government, ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

The four possibilities which face the country are:

- A breakdown in negotiations leading to the government forming a so-called moderate alliance which includes political groupings in the black community.

  In this scenario, internal resistance to the government would increase leading to repressive countermeasures. This would in turn increase the level of violence and lead to deterioration of the economy.

  As the crisis worsens, the various parties would then be forced back to negotiations. This is a timely warning to elements within the government and other pro-government black organisations who are contemplating a go-it-alone option.

- An all-party government which is incapacitated because it contains important aspects of the previous system. In such a situation, the government would be hamstrung by indecisiveness while trying to satisfy all.

  If there is a popularly elected government which engages in massive expenditure in order to address all the economic problems in one go. This scenario is of greater relevance to the ANC which is widely regarded as a future government.

  An ANC-led government would be under tremendous pressure to address the social imbalances brought about by the legacy of apartheid as speedily as possible.

  Such a government is likely to make an impressive start in the first two years and the growth rate may be an impressive 6-10 percent.

  However, such big spending will soon catch up with it by running massive deficits. In an effort to contain the situation and adopt more sound economic policies, the government could be forced into introducing unpopular policies.

  A decline in the economy and failure to address social ills leads to more pressures. In such a situation, authoritarian measures to maintain control are introduced and the possibility of a coup cannot be ruled out.

- The final scenario is one in which a decisive political settlement is reached and the government observes constraints on large-scale economic policies.

  In this scenario, economic take-off will be slow — it could take several years — but unlike the other scenarios, this one has the potential of offering the country a better future politically, economically and socially.
Merge or die: LP asks members to choose

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party, once the all-powerful ruler in the House of Representatives, is in its death throes.

The party, reeling from a spate of defections to the National Party since the beginning of the year — the latest of them this week when the MP for Liebenberg, Mr Peter Klink, resigned to join the NP — has asked its members whether it should disband or form a new centrist party in alliance with others.

Members have been asked to make written representations by the end of September as to how they see the party’s future.

The results of this poll will be discussed at a special national executive committee meeting in Cape Town in October — and again at the LP’s national congress at the end of the year, where the future of the party is to be determined, according to a confidential strategy committee circular signed by the LP secretary-general, Mr Eddie Samuels.

Meanwhile, the party has already begun exploratory talks with the DP on a possible alliance. On Wednesday, a Labour Party delegation led by former House of Representatives minister Mr David Curry met Mr Ken Anderson, national chairman of the Democratic Party, and other top DP members to explore the possibility of their parties forming an alliance.

Mr Anderson and Mr Curry confirmed talks had taken place but would not give details.

The decision to determine the opinions of members follows increasing anger within the LP about a decision by the party’s leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and his supporters to align themselves with the ANC-SACP alliance at Coodesa.

Several of the LP’s regions believe this would compel the party to support these movements and reject a future federal system of government.

This would bring the party into conflict with its electorate’s mandate to press for a federal system of regional government, which is favoured by the NP and other parliamentary parties.

Mr Samuels’s circular, hinting strongly at the possible dissolution or formation of a centrist party, says: “the LP has the potential to initiate the creation of a broadly based middle-group party”.

The LP has five options, the circular says: it can dissolve; go it alone; join another party; form a centrist party; or form an alliance if partners whose goals were compatible with the LP’s can be found.

Fight

The party’s rank and file have demanded that their leaders choose between supporting the ANC at Coodesa and adhering to the LP’s mandate.

The problem was raised at the LP’s regional congresses in Maitland and Boland and the Southern Cape Region congress in George.

In his report, the Boland region’s chairman, Mr Clifford Nason, said party supporters were “anxious” to know the party’s stance on a constitutional assembly.

Boland voters did not favour an alliance with the ANC and SACP — nor with the NP, Mr Nason said.

It was clear from the discussions at the regional congresses that the branches favoured the LP’s forming an alliance or merging with a “middle-road/cenrist party”.

It was also clear the LP did not have funds to fight an election for a constituent assembly, Mr Nason said.

The LP’s credibility and image were so poor at grassroots level that it would not be able to attract more members from the coloured, white and black communities — and the party was in danger of remaining an overwhelmingly “ethnic” party.
ANC to decide on negotiations

Soweto 31/8/92

THE UNTOUCHABLES Cops and lawyers to work under control of Goldstone Commission:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The ANC will decide during a three-day national executive committee meeting, which starts today, whether to resume formal negotiations with the Government after having severed all talks on June 23.

The organisation's National executive committee's ultimate decision will be greatly influenced by the announcement over the weekend of the creation of a hand-picked team of policemen and lawyers who will actively investigate riots and political crimes under the jurisdiction of the Goldstone Commission.

Sources in the ANC confirmed that the team, already dubbed "The Untouchables", would feature prominently on the agenda of this week's meeting, but only in terms of how effective it would be.

The ANC said the announced strike force was "a positive move," but warned that it would carefully watch policemen to be selected.

If, however, the United Nations observers, who will monitor and report on their investigations, kept an eye on the policemen in the strike force, the ANC would give the "Untouchables" its support, one source said.

The ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Peace Secretariat and the Government welcomed the announcement at the weekend.

The strike force will report directly to the Goldstone Commission. The police officers will remain in the employ of the SAP.

The main task of the strike force will be:
- To investigate the causes and preventative measures of current or anticipated incidents of political violence and intimidations;
- To monitor security force reaction to incidents of violence; and
- To investigate any unlawful activities of armed groups within the country.
Beware of backlash, Buthelezi tells ANC

RICHMOND — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the Allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War.

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder."

“It will be a backlash of unprecedented strength. It will wipe out whatever government has seized power,” Chief Buthelezi said in a speech addressed to mourners at a funeral of a family who were killed at Richmond in Natal.

Fana Nzemande, his wife Nkonako and their four children were killed by unknown gunmen on August 23.

Chief Buthelezi said he had begged and pleaded with ANC leader Nelson Mandela to heed history, and not to blunder like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had blundered.

"I say to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance: if you seize power, you will be like Saddam Hussein, who was smashed up."

Trained

Chief Buthelezi suggested that the August 23 killings were carried out by the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and described them as a declaration of war.

"I do not know who these militarily trained men are who have killed these victims so cruelly, but we are aware that there have been members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who have been trained in Transkei to kill and who have crossed from Transkei to kill people in our region in this horrible manner."

— Sapa.
There is new hope for resumption of negotiations, writes Colin Legum

SA political field has been levelled

Once again the pessimists have been proved wrong and the optimists have been proved right. South Africa has absorbed the twin shock of the breakdown in negotiations and of the massive demonstration of support for the ANC.

After all the sturm und drang, the angry mutual denunciations by the Government and the ANC, the nasty things said of each other by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, and the high-flown rhetoric, the country once again stands poised to continue the negotiating process.

Several important lessons have been learnt by all the major parties engaged in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

First, that the ANC enjoys the major support of black South Africans and that, with its allies in the trade union movement, it has the power to paralyse the country’s economy.

Second, the ANC leadership has re-established its credibility in its own constituency which it had begun to lose.

The third lesson has been to reinforce the earlier belief that the country’s only hope for the future lies in negotiations.

The political field has now been levelled.

Thus, the position has been confirmed that the two major forces in the negotiating process are the ANC and the Government, and that neither side can afford to disregard the wishes of the other. Nor can they ignore the potentially spoiling role of Inkatha.

Mr Mandela is again confident in giving praise to Mr de Klerk, and the president has apparently forgotten his ill-considered verdict that the ANC had proved itself to be an unreliable negotiating partner.

The process of negotiations is itself sorely in need of review. One of the lessons learnt from the structural weakness of Codesa is that it is too large and clumsy a body, with its 19 participants, to achieve more rapid progress; this has caused frustrations, intensified suspicion, and worsened the climate of uncertainty felt by most South Africans.

While it is necessary to retain a forum for all the representative parties, however small, to remain involved in the negotiating process, there is a need now for a smaller executive to hammer out agreements which can then be submitted for debate by the larger body.

The second need is to create several parallel institutions charged with tackling key questions that have so far been largely voiced by Codesa. Splitting up the negotiating teams into functional groups will make it easier to avoid the deadlock that resulted in the suspension of talks.

A number of key issues have hardly been discussed in a meaningful way, or at all, by Codesa. The first is the future economic policy of the proposed interim government.

The second is to clarify the powers to be allocated to the 10 regions as already defined and, possibly, to increase their number. The Government has quietly been pushing towards a federal constitution — an idea repugnant to the ANC, but strongly supported by Chief Buthelezi and some other homelands leaders, like Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Clarifying the degree to which power should be devolved from the centre would greatly ease the central problem that led to the suspension of the talks.

There is an obvious need for speedily concluding the negotiations to move on to the next stage of establishing an interim government; this is necessary both to restore confidence in the country’s economic future and to ensure some form of joint control over the security forces.

But the idea of rushing forward to holding elections for a national assembly by November of this year — reportedly floated by the Government itself, to say the least, wildly unrealistic.

The first immediate step is to get agreement on a interim government and simultaneously to move forward on negotiations about how to curtail political violence, the future of the economy, the autonomous role of the regions, and the vetoing powers of the upper chamber.
What they don’t say

star 31/8/92

IKE many others before it, the latest debate on federalism as an option for South Africa has so far elicited different reactions from various political players.

There are those, like the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose strong pro-federalism stance is almost an obsession, and there are others like the African National Congress which are sceptical of the concept and see it as an attempt to manipulate a new — and, presumably, ANC-dominated — government and leave it politically insignificant.

What the debate has sadly lacked is both depth and a calm, rational approach from federalism’s proponents and critics alike, and this is largely attributable to the different players’ secret agendas. It is no accident that the NP, the IFP and the ANC have taken the positions they have so far adopted on the issue.

Stripped of all the niceties such as the commendable rhetoric about the need to establish “a participatory democracy” and “bring government to the people”, the NP and the IFP see federalism simply as a means to safeguard their interests and guarantee regional spheres of influence for themselves. Their hope, quite clearly, is to be able to influence national political developments from their pockets of power, KwaZulu being the obvious such region for the IFP.

But the IFP and the NP will not admit these are their motives for insisting on federalism — and no political observer can seriously expect them to do so.

The ANC’s opposition to the concept, on the other hand, stems from the organisation’s belief in a strong central government which will freely intervene in the private sector and when it believes the need exists. Similarly, the ANC will not admit this is the reason for its opposition to federalism — and nobody expects it to do so.

The debate is neither helped nor advanced by white liberal commentators who have taken to extolling the virtues of federalism and liberally drawing on “the lessons” of the former Soviet Union and conflict-ridden Yugoslavia to paint scenarios of doom and gloom if federalism were not adopted in South Africa.

What these interventions — which many in the black community see as being proliferating on the eve of a majority government — manage to achieve is to create the impression that whites would like the new government to be so weak that it cannot effectively address the historic imbalances which are a legacy of apartheid.

It further muddies the debate, thereby ensuring that federalism continues to be a controversial and emotive issue which will not be judged on its merit or lack thereof.

In a commendable move, the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Centre for Policy Studies last week arranged a three-day workshop in Cape Town on “The Politics and Economics of Federalism: A South African Debate”. Here, too, delegates got locked into long-standing ideological positions, much to the detriment of the debate.

Those who opposed federalism — and there were many — did so primarily because it has the support of the NP and the IFP, whose motives they find questionable.

While developments of the past two years in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are no doubt instructive — not more so than the lessons of apartheid in our own backyard — there are some differences with the situation here. In South Africa apartheid has tried for years through the homeland system to keep blacks apart from one another on the basis of ethnicity, and people in the urban areas have consciously reacted to that policy by emphasising oneness among blacks.
ANC wants spy back as defence force adviser

THE ANC hopes Dieter Gerhardt will be coming back to SA soon to advise the organisation on military and security issues and contribute to the remoulding of a future defence force.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus — who spent several years in prison with Gerhardt — said he was extremely knowledgeable on the SADF and military and security matters.

He described Gerhardt as "an incredibly strong and determined person" and said he had managed to cope well even though in virtual solitary confinement since other political prisoners were released.

While he only joined the ANC recently, Gerhardt was "strongly anti-apartheid" from the beginning and sympathetic to the organisation.

He had an official air about him from his days as commanding officer of the Simonstown naval base which he used to good effect with prison warders and officials.

"Dieter refused to be treated as an underling, He insisted on his own position in his dealings with the prison authorities and got away with it more often than not," said Niehaus.

His biggest regret during his nine years of imprisonment was missing out on the formative years of his teenage son, Gregory.

"He found it difficult to reconcile himself to the huge gap in contact with his son and felt it as a big loss."

Although the political prisoners — and Gerhardt in particular — came from very different backgrounds, he fitted in easily with the spirit of solidarity and comradeship in the prison.

Novels

Despite his age, he competed with the younger prisoners in various sports and acquitted himself well. He had kept himself fit throughout his imprisonment.

His prison comrades, Niehaus said, associated him most with a "spirit of sharing" — always giving to others from his food and gift parcels.

Gerhardt was a voracious reader of spy novels, ordering dozens at a time from the library — and a lover of classical music.

SAPA reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend he hoped Gerhardt would return to SA soon. He said Gerhardt's "sacrifices in the struggle against apartheid" were appreciated by the ANC.

Gerhardt, a former SA Navy commander who spied for the Soviet Union for more than 20 years, was released from Pretoria Prison on Thursday and put aboard a flight to Switzerland to join his wife and fellow spy Ruth, and his son.

The spy, now 56, was exposed in 1983, convicted of treason, and imprisoned. He was released after an appeal by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President F W de Klerk.

In a personal message to Gerhardt, a copy of which was released to Sapa yesterday, Mandela said he received the news of Gerhardt's release with great joy.

"That the government continued to imprison you, along with many other comrades, despite their repeated undertakings to release all political prisoners, was a source of great concern and anger," said Mandela.

"We hope that you will soon return to SA."

THE 6 lunch at the Plaz.

Johannesburg Palace the fl

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The 6 lunch at the Plaz.

Plaza Plaza the fl
Housing backlog can be met, says trust

DIRK HARTFORD

THE government-supported SA Housing Trust believes that if communities set up their own financial institutions - "like a massive stock exchange" - the enormous backlog in low-cost housing would stand a chance of being overcome.

In the meantime political uncertainty, the shortage of finance for low-cost housing and the threatened bond boycott had put new housing initiatives on hold, trust communications head Mike Foulds said.

By June last year the trust had financed 23,000 low-income units - about 1,000 units a month - but it is currently financing only 200 units a month. It says 170,000 new housing units are needed every year just to keep up with the population growth.

"If people become stakeholders in their own financial institutions they will be more inclined to repay their loans through peer pressure," Foulds said.

He said financial institutions had stopped providing money for low-cost housing because of township violence and their liability to repossess property from long-term defaulters. It would not be easy to get the institutions back into the market and, without their involvement, the building industry would "come to a grinding halt".

Foulds said the major need in the black market was for small loans of about R5,000 to enable people to buy materials to build their own homes.

The trust, which will take part in the housing forum, is involved in a "rationalisation initiative" with the Development Bank of SA, the Urban Foundation and the Independent Development Trust.

All the "major players" in the housing market were under a lot of strain as regards their future role, because of the current uncertainties, Foulds said.

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Alliance's campaign boosted membership

MEMBERSHIP of the ANC had increased over the past two months as a result of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's mass action campaign and general strike, the organisation said last week.

The PAC and Inkatha, who did not back the campaign, also reported a recent increase in membership.

One of the ANC's biggest gains was in the eastern Transvaal, where regional administrator Vuyani Mlumbi said the 5,000-strong membership had doubled.

A high increase was also reported by the ANC eastern Transvaal branch, where numbers rose 50% from 90,000 at the beginning of July, while membership in the western Transvaal jumped from 19,000 at the beginning of July to 25,000 at the end of August.

In the northern Transvaal, ANC membership rose by 5,000 from 40,000 at the beginning of July, regional membership secretary Willie Madikane said.

ANC western Cape spokesman Vincent Diba said his branch had registered between 200 and 600 new members a day last month and the Border region saw a similar increase, with 500 people being signed up at one rally.

Border region deputy secretary-general Donne Conney said the mass action campaign had "remobilised dormant branches and membership".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus described the increase as "very positive". Membership had been growing for a while and would keep on growing, he said. However, no nationwide figures were available yet.

Inkatha also reported an increase in numbers. National executive member Themba Khoza said between 12 and 15 new members were being signed up every day in the PWV area, compared with about seven a day before the start of the alliance's mass action.

He said Inkatha had not yet compiled national statistics, but put the increase down to people being "disgruntled at the mass action campaign which forced politically passive people to make choices".

The PAC had no national figures available, but West Rand regional committee member Bonginkosi Mlini said membership had increased by 20% in the Vaal area and by 25% in Soweto.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzee dismissed the claims by the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha as "propaganda".

He acknowledged there was a "fed-up factor" and said the NP's membership drive was reaping the benefits of this. No figures were available, but the NP was making inroads into the coloured community and, slowly, into the black community, he said.
ANC to offer services to Goldstone team

THE ANC would offer its services to the Goldstone commission's new investigative team, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

How it could become involved is one of the issues expected to be discussed at the ANC national executive committee meeting beginning today. Niehaus said the ANC had not been approached about the plan but would get more details from the commission this week.

Newspapers reported yesterday that the investigative team of policemen and lawyers, to be picked by Goldstone, could help break the two-month deadlock in negotiations by meeting the ANC's demands on violence.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Justice Department spokesman Nic Grobler said nothing had been set up yet, but his department would do everything necessary to assist the commission.

Although several policemen had been identified for the task, Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said details would be released later.  

The ANC's three-day meeting is also expected to discuss last week's meetings between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Niehaus said the international community, by sending UN monitors, was helping create the climate in which talks could resume. How the ANC could assist would be discussed at the meeting.

Niehaus rejected a weekend report which quoted diplomatic sources saying the ANC was coming under increasing international pressure to resolve the negotiations stand-off.

An ANC statement at the weekend said the question was not negotiations for their own sake, "but negotiations that will meaningfully address the crisis facing SA."
Pressure is mounting from all quarters for the resumption of talks between the ANC and Government—a move which, it is believed, will start the next phase of negotiations towards a political settlement in South Africa.

It is expected that this next phase of negotiations will produce "measurable progress", possibly in the form of an appointed transitional executive.

The Government is expected to prepare and, perhaps, pass legislation during the next mini-session of Parliament in October, which will prepare the ground for the actual establishment of the transitional executive and its complementary structures—all of which has already been agreed upon at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

These structures will focus on such issues as the registration of voters and the demarcation of electoral boundaries.

There is a greater possibility, too, that amendments to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1993 will be passed to extend the Government's present term of office to beyond 1994.

Based on the knowledge that the Government wants the present order, after much culling, to meld into an interim government of national unity, it is safe to assume that it wants to avoid another white-only general election—which in terms of the Constitution Act, has to be called by September 1994.

But while those are matters that are in fact contingent upon continued and successful negotiations, a swift resumption of multi-party talks represent only an outside chance of producing the confidence within South Africa that would positively influence the floundering economy and stop the violence.

Both the violence and the country's economy have in the past years gone from bad to worse, so there is no guarantee that high-level talks will produce this, much desired, effect.

In spite of the Government's protests, a resumption of talks does not mean the violence will end; in fact, the violence that has accompanied the negotiation process of the past two years have left at least 6,000 people dead.

The violence and economic growth can perhaps better be dealt with after an interim government of national unity has been established.

Investors in America and Britain have over the past week said that they were prepared to invest in South Africa only after an interim government has been established and only after all the political parties have agreed on an economic policy.

What has, however, become more pertinent, is the almost daily disclosures of the involvement of Government, its security establishment and its teeming bureaucracy in actions which more than verge on criminal behaviour.

This has somehow changed the dynamic behind the impasse.

Issues such as the re-opened inquest into the murder of Matthew Goniwe and his colleagues, the Boipatong massacre, Trust Funds, the ongoing deaths in police custody, to name but a few, has got the Government's blood rushing to its head.

The NP has, since it embarked on the liberalisation of its policies, been trying to sidestep the issue of the sins of the past under apartheid and indeed the crimes against humanity that were committed during those years.

However, after the disclosures of the past weeks and months, the Government, it seems, is no longer prepared to defend itself in the public arena, for the incriminations against it and wants, therefore, to see negotiations resumed as it would take centre stage.

The Government is expected to pass legislation during the next sitting of Parliament to prepare the ground for the establishment of a transitional executive and its complementary structures which have been agreed upon at Codesa, writes Sowetan's Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien:
In apparent attempts to woo the ANC back into talks, the government today announced the appointment of a new chief of staff for negotiations. The newly appointed official will be responsible for addressing the crisis facing the ANC, particularly the ongoing civil strife in the country.

The ANC has repeatedly called for negotiations to end thewar, and the government has responded with promises of reforms and talks. However, the ANC has been critical of the government's actions and has called for more concrete measures to be taken.

In a statement issued yesterday, the ANC's secretary general, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, said that the government's recent actions had not addressed the root causes of the civil strife. He called for a genuine and inclusive dialogue to resolve the crisis.

The negotiations process between the ANC and the government will be the subject of a major focus of the ANC's national executive committee meeting next week. The meeting will discuss the future direction of the negotiations and the implementation of the agreements reached so far.

Political analysts believe that the talks are at a critical juncture, with the ANC facing pressure from both the government and its own members. The ANC's failure to secure a political settlement would have serious implications for its stability and its ability to govern.

Meanwhile, the ANC's political field has been left confused as the negotiations continue. The ANC's national executive committee is expected to meet next week to discuss the negotiations and the way forward.

Talks on ANC Agenda

BY Marketa Psenickova
ANC urges boycott

African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is trying to scuttle President FW de Klerk’s conference on federalism by asking some likely participants not to attend.

This is a repeat of what he did in April 1990 when he persuaded four homeland leaders not to attend talks at Tuynhuys with De Klerk.

On that occasion Mandela said they should not talk to De Klerk until obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

De Klerk has invited all political leaders to the federal conference in Pretoria on September 7.

Up to 10 political movements and governments are expected to attend. They are the National Party, the New Right movement of Mr Andries Beyers, Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the National Peoples’ Party, Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu, Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, and the Conservative Party.

However, Mandela this week met separately with NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbahani and Solidarity’s Dr JN Reddy and asked them not to go.

Mandela apparently told them that they could not side with the Government, and that there was a perception the federal conference was a gang-up against the ANC and its allies.

People outside the National Party should stand together, Mandela said.

Reddy told Mandela he would have to speak to his party and let Solidarity decide whether to attend the conference.
Paso supports talks

The Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) annual congress held at the University of Durban-Westville over the weekend has come out in full support of the recent talks between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government. — Sovietan Correspondent. 11/10/19...
NEC in meeting to decide on talks

In his letter to President F W de Klerk on 9 July, ANC president Nelson Mandela criticised De Klerk for not initiating a programme “to restrain the security forces to serve a democratic society”, for not allowing “independent investigations into the conduct of the police”, for failing to protect witnesses, for failing to act against security force members implicated in violence and for failing to demobilise special forces like 32 Battalion and Koewoet.

Since the letter was written, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has announced changes to the SAP which include retiring senior officers and reorienting the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone has announced — with the backing of all major parties, including the ANC — a “super force” to investigate violence and has also announced his witness protection programme. Earlier De Klerk announced the disbanding of Koewoet and 32 Battalion.

The ANC has indicated that it has no intention of reopening talks without an agenda that would lead to elections for a democratic constitution-making body. The ANC has also come out strongly against an interim constitution that would run for at least three years and which would give disproportionate powers to homeland leaders.

The government source said that the Meyer-Ramaphosa discussions were in a sense a form of negotiation already, but the hope was that these would be broadened to bilateral meetings where delegations from both sides were involved and they could discuss ways of resolving the remaining obstacles.

© Comment, Page 8
Labour Party faces split

The Labour Party seems set for further disintegration as some of its members prepare to break ranks and join the Government at its conference on federalism next Monday. (11th)

The parliamentary caucus of the LP will meet in Cape Town on Friday where a decision will be taken on the issue. But either way, it will not affect the LP's participation in the Patriotic Front, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.
ANC seeks economists to draft policy

THE ANC has embarked on a major recruitment drive to appoint eight economists to the organisation's department of economic planning.

Spokesman Carl Niehaus said the drive was aimed at developing the ANC's economic policy guidelines and co-ordinating its network of researchers and allied organisations.

Two of the organisation's economists, Max Sisulu and Viv McMenamin, have left to study abroad on scholarships.

A third, Bongiwe Ncube, has joined a private research foundation. Economist Tito Mboweni said they would be replaced and five other economists were to be appointed.

The new posts to be filled include a mining and energy economist, a financial economist and a contact economist to monitor the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. An economist to develop the organisation's science and technology policy would also be recruited.

Mboweni said new staff would work closely with existing research groups and "throw their weight behind the development of the ANC's economic policy".

In the department's service division a data processor, land issues co-ordinator and an official to deal with documentation were needed.

Mboweni said so far applications for the positions had been keen and at least five of the eight posts would be filled soon.
ANC report on alleged torture in camps completed

By Patrick Laurence

The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Nelson Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Completion of the report comes as the ANC leadership deliberates on whether to resume negotiations with the De Klerk administration after breaking off discussions in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of June 17.

President F W de Klerk has served notice that his administration will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations are resumed.

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report. The three members of the commission, all lawyers, are Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture did take place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy. So too has Chris Hani, former chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He attributes the abuses to "paranoia and hysteria" caused by the infiltration of spies into ANC ranks.

In view of these admissions by senior ANC men it will be unsurprising if the report finds some dissidents were maltreated and ANC security personnel were guilty of abusing power.

Earlier unofficial reports have named Mazwai Pillane, a former head of security in the ANC, as one who allegedly abused power. The commission's terms of reference, however, do not mandate it to allocate blame.

The commission is required to make recommendations. These may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged detention and torture.

The commission is reported to have heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses, made up of both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

The detainees are understood to have included ANC information-chief, Dr Pallo Jordan. Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma are known to have been among the officials who testified.

The present commission is the second appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions at its camps. It differs from the first, known as the Stuart Commission, in two important respects: its members include a respected lawyer, Mr Marcus, who is not an ANC member; and the ANC has pledged to publish its report.
PAC youth back talks

The Pan Africanist Congress's involvement in exploratory talks with the Government received a blessing at the weekend from the organisation's student wing, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso).

At its congress at the University of Durban-Westville at the weekend, Paso came out in full support of the talks, saying it understood them to be "preparatory and aimed at clearing the ground for real negotiations" to be held at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

"Our position is that we identify with the tactical importance of clearing the ground now for further talks with the Government on the modalities of establishing a democratically elected constituent assembly," newly elected Paso secretary-general Siyabulela Nyobo said after the congress.

The students' organisation strongly criticised those in its ranks who, calling themselves "the Wits region" of Paso, took issue with the PAC leadership for holding the talks with the Government.

Paso's endorsement of the PAC's new stance on negotiations means that the organisation has finally managed to sell its position to its youth.

Paso and the Azanian National Youth Unity — the PAC's youth wing — have in the past been sceptical of negotiations.
Police, ANC meet

ANC representatives from Vaal Triangle branches and senior SA Police members will meet on Thursday to discuss reconciliation, ANC spokesman Sphiwe Motshibeli said yesterday.

According to Mr Motshibeli, the meeting will be attended by community representatives from Roipotong, Bophelong, Sharpeville, Evaton, Palm Springs and Orange Farm, as well as ANC delegates from these townships.

Police station commanders and senior police officers, and the independent Peace Action organisation, will also attend. -Sapa.
ANC officials discuss Ramaphosa-Meyer talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) is still locked in a three-day meeting discussing the progress in talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

ANC sources have indicated that it was unlikely that the NEC — the body which decided to break off constitutional talks on June 23 — would discuss the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Instead, the meeting will evaluate what progress, if any, has been made in the three one-on-one talks between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

At most, the NEC could decide on the upgrading of the one-on-one discussions to full-scale bilateral talks.

It is understood that the basis of discussion will be a report on the one-on-one talks by the ANC negotiations commission.

The ANC has repeatedly said the Government had to make "satisfactory" progress in meeting its 14 demands on violence and transitional arrangements.

It was therefore unlikely that the NEC would discuss the resumption of negotiations, ANC sources said.

The Star has been reliably informed that a call will be made at the meeting for broader consultation and report-backs should bilateral talks be resumed.

The three-day meeting is one of the regular three-monthly NEC meetings and has not been specially convened to discuss the negotiations deadlock.

Senior ANC sources have denied reports that the meeting was a crucial test of strength between "pragmatists" and "militants", pointing out that the so-called hardliners were not opposed to negotiations.

In another development, President F W de Klerk yesterday met Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope. Talks focused mainly on the negotiation and constitutional processes.
The National Party has condemned "an ominous indication" that the ANC is "blackmailing" foreign industrialists by promising not to nationalise them if they give it money.

The deputy head of the ANC's foreign affairs department, Aziz Pahad, has denied a Sunday Times report that ANC leader Nelson Mandela promised Swedish firm Atlas Copco privileged treatment when industry was nationalised.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe noted that the Sunday Times said its sources insisted that Mr Mandela made such a statement during May.

— Political Correspondent.
Goldstone to meet ANC, PAC armies

THE Goldstone commission would meet Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla soon to discuss how they could contribute to the peace process, a commission source said yesterday.

The talks follow an ANC offer at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two guerrilla forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative unit.

The source said Judge Richard Goldstone was likely to release details of the composition and structure of the unit by the end of the week.

It is believed the unit will be headed by a senior police official and be directly accountable to the judge.

Earlier Goldstone had suggested an investigation into the role Umkhonto and Apla could play in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation.

Centre for Applied Legal Studies lawyer Pink Haysom, an advocate of the need for an independent investigative team, said the unit would probably be made up of policemen who had proved their investigative abilities.

"The generals who have been appointed to head such teams up to now have appeared to be pretty ineffective. One hopes they won't simply appoint a tired general."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would not try to dictate the composition of the unit because it had to be independent of all parties.
Labour Party faces imminent split

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Labour Party (LP) is poised to split, with half of its remaining MPs ready to join the Democratic Party and the rest eager to defect to the ANC or get out of politics.

Last night, Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw began what could be a flood of resignations by announcing he had joined the ANC.

Former Ministers Council members David Curry and Chris April are strongly tipped to lead a group of up to 15 MPs into the DP, according to LP sources.

President de Klerk's federalism summit next Monday seems to be precipitating the disintegration of the LP and also presenting a dilemma to the DP.

Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw . . . joined the ANC.

About 19 of the party's 33 MPs don't want to attend the summit which they regard as a gang-up of a National Party "federal front" against the ANC, according to frontbencher Dougoy Josephs. They believe attendance would contradict the LP's membership of the Patriotic Front (PF) which includes the anti-federal ANC.

The remaining pro-DP MPs feel that the LP should attend the summit to be consistent with its avowed federal policy.

They favour the DP because of its strong federalism and believe the pro-federal LP should not belong to the PF.

However, the DP itself also has many of the same doubts about the intentions and merits of Mr de Klerk's summit.

LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse confirmed that the executive met in July to review the LP's future and decided to consider five options — to disband, to continue as an independent entity, to join another party, to form a coalition or to form a new centrist party with the DP or ANC.

He said he hoped the party would hold together until its annual congress at the end of the year but feared that growing tensions might cause an earlier split. The tensions could come to a head at a meeting of the caucus in Cape Town on Friday.

There is a widespread feeling in LP and other political circles that the party — which came into being in the absence of the ANC and other liberation movements — has served its purpose.

Mr Hendrickse said several LP MPs had been holding discussions with the DP to consider joining the DP or forming a new centrist party.

Mr Louw said he believed that, nine other LP MPs would join the ANC, 15 would join the DP and 10 retire from politics.
Winnie suspension inquiry to ‘reopen’

PATRICK BULGER

ANC-appointed lawyers investigating Winnie Mandela’s suspension from the ANC Women’s League national executive have been asked to reopen their inquiry to hear further evidence. BIDM 3/11/92.

Attorney Denis Davis of Wits University, who heard evidence together with Durban attorney Linda Zama, said yesterday he would be meeting ANC officials last night to discuss their request that the commission of inquiry be reopened.

A source in the ANC Women’s League said the commission’s report had recommended disciplinary action be taken against Mandela and supporters who staged a protest in May at the ANC offices in Shell House.

The protest was against Mandela’s earlier suspension from the executive of the Women’s League.

The source said: “The report recommended that those who had participated in the action had planned to bring the ANC into disrepute and should therefore remain suspended while a disciplinary hearing takes place.”

Davis said last night that he and Zama had been briefed “to investigate certain matters regarding the protest at Shell House.

“We heard evidence and presented our report. I thought we had finished.”

He was meeting ANC officials to clarify the situation.

Davis said Mandela had not testified and he would not say what recommendations he had made.

However, the Women’s League source said certain members of the league would insist if there was any new evidence it should be contained in a supplementary report to the original.
ANC team probing torture in camps reports to Mandela

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Mr Nelson Mandela.

President F W de Klerk has said he will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations on constitutional reform, broken off by the ANC in June following the Bophelong massacre, resume.

"The ANC owes the people of South Africa an explanation for the extreme form of violence perpetrated against its own dissenting members in detention camps," Mr de Klerk has said.

"Since South Africans are involved ... all investigations and findings, notably the ANC commission's report, should be tabled."

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report, compiled by three lawyers, Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because two of the commissioners, Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla, are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture took place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy.

In view of such admissions, it will be unsurprising if the report finds dissidents were maltreated and that ANC security personnel were guilty of abusing their power.

The commission's terms of reference do not mandate it to allocate blame but it is empowered to make recommendations, which may include the removal from office of men implicated in the alleged detention and torture of dissidents.

The commission is reported to have heard from more than 20 witnesses, made up of former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.
ANC 'atrocities': Probe on

JOHANNESBURG.—The chairman of an International Freedom Foundation-sponsored commission of inquiry into torture in African National Congress camps abroad said yesterday he would complete and present his findings to the IFF at the end of the year.

"The hearings are going very well, with testimony being presented every day. A lot of people have responded to advertisements placed in various newspapers, while we have also received requests from people missing their relatives and want us to help in this regard," advocate Mr R Douglas said.

The commission's hearings in Johannesburg should end by tomorrow, when it will move to Durban.

"I hope to present the report to the IFF by the end of the year, and it will be up to them to distribute it to whoever they feel needs the document."

Evidence had been received from a wide range of sources, including a document entitled "Mutiny in the ANC" as well as a US Senate inquiry into the alleged torture camps.

Meanwhile, ANC official Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said the ANC's own inquiry into alleged atrocities in its camps would be presented to the public within a fortnight.

Mr Niehaus said that several people, including senior ANC officials, had testified before the ANC commission. — Sapa
EC delegates meet Mandela, De Klerk

THE EC delegation which arrived in SA yesterday morning met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg in the afternoon after lunching with President FW de Klerk.

During a brief media photo session at the ANC headquarters, Mandela said he had briefed the delegation on events.

"They were very interested to hear our point of view," Mandela said.

De Klerk, who had hosted a lunch for the delegation before it met Mandela, said he expected the members to have a constructive approach during their two-day fact-finding mission to South Africa.

The group also had made it clear that it was here to see what was going on and to render help where required, he said.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said it was "interesting to listen to the ANC viewpoint after having met with State President De Klerk earlier in the day."

Hurd is accompanied by Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleran-Jensen, Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Barroso, and a large contingent of assistants. — Sapa.
Between the devil you know and the deep blue

The country’s leaders must sup together, watch TV and go for walks – on Robben Island, says Ameen Akhalwaya

It IS very easy, when backed in public by your supporters, to hurl invective at your rivals. But nothing is more sobering than to come face-to-face with your foe in a closed room, far from the mocking crowd.

The stalemate and the recriminations that followed the collapse of Codesa 2 have been predictable because of the dictates of constituency politics. But constituencies themselves become confused when they read that one organisation has sworn off negotiating with another, yet private talks are continuing. To the average constituent, the subtleties between real negotiations and talking about restarting negotiations are seldom understood.

If Nelson Mandela insists he won’t resume negotiations until the National Party Government meets the ANC’s demands, the public is confused when it learns his movement is discussing the position of political prisoners with the NP, directly or indirectly.

If Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists the ANC pulled out of Codesa because the majority of delegations outvoted it, the public is confused when the Inkatha Freedom Party claims Codesa is undemocratic.

If the Pan Africanist Congress insists it won’t negotiate with the “settler regime”, a confused public can’t readily distinguish between negotiations and preparatory talks it holds with the NP about conditions for negotiating.

If P W de Klerk insists he believes in non-racial democracy, a confused public cannot understand why the National Party wants all sorts of pre-conditions for the mechanics of a constituent assembly. And so intolerance and confusion are created when claims and counter-claims fly, while confused media, relying on leaks and claims from public platforms, try to interpret trends.

This illness eating up South Africa following the collapse of Codesa could well be controlled, if not fully eradicated, if we can get our politicians to demonstrate their proclaimed support for tolerance and a need to break from the past. They need to get away from their public posturing, their public point-scoring exercises, their playing to the gallery.

This may seem contradictory in the light of the confusion created by closed-door Codesa negotiations, but it would be the first of a two-step process.

The first would be the “Robben Island Option” and the second, the “Public Option”. The Robben Island Option is a summit in which only the leader of each political organisation would be invited to participate. The venue would be a remote place such as Robben Island, symbolic because it would bring together the jail, the jailers, and the non-jailed who fought for the release of the jailed. Robben Island may not, quite be the neutral foreign venue the PAC seeks, but at least its leader will be on familiar territory.

Give the leaders up to a week to find one another, face-to-face. Let them yell at one another if necessary. Let them sup together, watch television together, go for walks together, Naive as this suggestion may be, I believe it will quickly concentrate minds on the gravity of the bloodshed and poverty in our country.

The summit’s official discussions should be guided by a team of relatively neutral but prominent figures. I would suggest Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Oscar Didamo as co-chairs of a team that could include King Goodwill Zwelithini, a Contrasels nominee, Judges Mahmood and Schabot, who chaired Codesa, and a relaxation of the Greek poet, the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, and even perhaps the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference’s impressive Simba Makonde, should be present as observers.

Then let the political leaders agree to a broad principles of democracy and commit their organisations to negotiate a settlement on the basis of broad agreement on vital issues ranging from control of the security forces to the role of the SABC, to the functions of a transitional government and the modalities of a constituent assembly.

Let each leader then report back to his constituency and emerge, within a specified period, with a mandate to start full-scale negotiations.

And so to the “Public Option”. Those negotiations, between delegation led by those organisations’ leader, must be conducted in the full glare of media so that the public can judge for itself what is being agreed to, or disregarded in its name.

Of course, the answer is that if the Robben Island Option really achieves what it purports to achieve, the President and the NP will be more ready to negotiate. But as the event unfolds, it will be clear that this process could plunge our country deeper into one another, explaining hands, the Buthelezi and Mandela, and the President and the role in the KwaZulu-Natal elections, which could provide an early resolution of the Gupta case.
NEWS IN BRIEF

Prayers for the nation
TWENTY clergymen from different denominations will be conducting prayers for peace at a prayer meeting at Regina Mundi cathedral in Soweto on Sunday. The prayers for the nation day will start at 9 pm.

Democratic research
AN OVERSEAS expert, Jim Mulin, has been called by the ANC to facilitate the development of a national research policy for a democratic SA. Mulin, former chairman of the OECD's Committee on Science and Technology Policy, had already arrived in SA to assist in the project, the ANC said.

Fugitive stays in jail
FUGITIVE South African Katiza Cebekhulu, a co-accused in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial, is still languishing in Lusaka's central prison despite being served with a deportation order.

The Zambian authorities are considering whether to release him or deport him to SA, where he is sought by police.

Nicro to assist witnesses
THE National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) had agreed to assist the Goldstone commission with its witness protection programme, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

He said Nicro social workers would be appointed as security officers, in suitable cases, to ensure the general welfare of a protected person.
Coetsee's 'hysteria' under fire

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was engaging in "threadbare anti-communist hysteria" by advising the ANC to cut its links with the SACP and its general secretary, Chris Hani, said the SACP.

Opening the Free State National Party congress yesterday, Mr Coetsee said the ANC would be well advised to sever its alliance with the SACP.

In response, the SACP yesterday said it hoped there was no connection between Mr Coetsee's "unsolicited advice" and recent assassination attempts on Mr Hani. It said that Mr Hani had served on the organisation's national executive committee for almost 20 years.

"Mr Coetsee and his minority government must be told that the tripartite alliance of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu will continue to strengthen their common links to bring about a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa and the final death knell of apartheid..."
Azapo in unity call to blacks

GOVERNMENT was much stronger today than it was before February 2 1990, because of black political parties' failure to unite, Azapo president Phandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

Addressing a SABA conference at Sun City, Nefolovhodwe said black organisations should talk to President F W de Klerk with one voice, and not separately.

Government was much stronger because it had succeeded in "criminalising the armed struggle" and debasing it to the level of irresponsible violence.

He said most of the activities of the liberation movements abroad had been immobilised and the "regime" was now recognised by almost all, if not all, countries in Europe.

"Violence and reform have succeeded in dividing the black community, thereby weakening the collective struggle," Nefolovhodwe said.

It was Azapo's view that the only factor still in black people's favour was principled unity. Every single organisation from the oppressed majority should come together with liberation movements and confront the regime with one voice.

City Press editor Khulu Sibiyela slated politicians who, he said, harassed black business people.

He said: "Political gurus have made life difficult for those of our people who tried to survive from their little businesses.

"Even in this day, when a black person advances financially, he risks being accused of promoting capitalism."

Sibiyela also hit out at those responsible for the current schools crisis. He said blacks, and especially education groups and Sadtu, should make a clear stand on the issue.

Referring to the Soweto teachers' strike, Sibiyela said: "For children to be dumped when examinations are around the corner is a serious mistake indeed."

Urging SABA to get serious on the question of diversification, Sibiyela said: "On more than one occasion I proposed that we have our newspapers delivered by taxis."

However, he was asked: "How far can you trust the taxi people?"

"My answer to this has always been: 'Years of apartheid have conditioned the minds of those in power and with money not to trust blacks with anything.'"
Solution to talks crisis ‘within reach’ stemmed from the belief that agreement was imminent.

The ANC’s NEC said yesterday it was not yet ready to return to talks but it said government had indicated support for an elected constituent assembly which would be democratic.

Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg news conference government had agreed the constituent assembly should be bound only by general constitutional principles and that it should have a time frame and adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

The ANC agreed to maintain the channel.

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Talks of communication between Ramaphosa and Meyer.

Meyer warned that government would not simply accept any ANC decision to restrict talks to bilateral discussions. Ramaphosa said government had to take immediate and visible steps to end violence and release political prisoners.

The ANC wanted a complete and country-wide ban on the display of dangerous weapons. "Without meaningful steps on the part of government to deal with the violence and by way of releasing political prisoners it would be pointless to resume negotiations," Meyer said.

Meyer described the current state of play in negotiations as "inexcusable. "I have to get a mandate from my principals to see if we want to proceed on the current basis," he said. However, it seems highly unlikely government could afford to be seen as spoilers.

He said differences between government and the ANC on a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity had been "largely removed."

The major area of dispute between the two sides was the basis on which political prisoners would be released, he said. It is understood the ANC is demanding a blanket release of people it regards as political prisoners, while government wants the release to be related to general agreement on principles such as amnesty.

Meyer said the ANC’s demand on the ending of violence were "not related to reality" because government had introduced a number of mechanisms and instruments to address the problem.

Earlier he said the talks between himself and Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit. But he criticised the "reckless" attitude of some of the "radicals," saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Ramaphosa said the NEC had endorsed the intensification of the mass action campaign, reaffirming it as legitimate.
**Decision on PAC talks**

THE Pan Africanist Students' Organisation has still to decide whether it supports the Pan Africanist Congress talks with the Government. (A)

This emerged in a press briefing held by the student organisation to explain resolutions taken at their national congress held at the University of Durban-Westville last week.

Paso spokesman, Mr. Eddie Bosman, said the organisation adhered to PAC's congress resolutions taken in Umtata in 1991, which conditionally mandated talks with the Government.

"We will take a position after we have caucused with the national leadership of the PAC," he said.

Paso is due to meet the PAC leadership on September 11. - *Sowetan Reporter*
ANC says no to talks

**Mass action to be intensified:**

By Ismail Lagardien

THE African National Congress has decided not to engage in multiparty talks involving the Government.

In making the announcement yesterday, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said mass action would again be intensified, saying it was a people's legitimate right which formed an important part of the organisation's strategy. “We have come too far in the negotiations process for the people of our country to be lulled by continued dehy and double-speak,” Ramaphosa said.

The ANC's national executive committee endorsed proposals for the intensification of mass action.

It said the focus of the campaign includes:

- Practical steps to deal with the violence;
- The immediate release of political prisoners and
- Free political activity in all parts of the country, including the homelands and self-governing territories.
ANC proposals for a new constitution

THE ANC yesterday published comprehensive proposed amendments to its constitution to facilitate the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC described the proposed "Transitional to Democracy Act 1992" as a draft for discussion within the organisation and among its allies and the public.

Its provisions replace the own affairs and tricameral system and the President's Council with a single 400-member national assembly, elected by proportional representation, to serve as an interim legislature and a constitution-making body.

It defines SA by its 1910 boundaries, eliminating the homeland system. It sidesteps the issue of regionalism by retaining for the interim the existing provincial system as the only form of regional government — leaving the future of constitutional regionalism to the constituent assembly.

The president would be elected by a simple majority of the national assembly. The cabinet would have a multiparty character and take decisions by a two-thirds majority, as would the assembly when sitting as a legislature.

All parties with 5% or more of the membership of the assembly would be entitled to nominate cabinet members. Each party's cabinet entitlement would be in proportion to its assembly representation.

Deputy ministers need not be assembly members, and this would facilitate the appointment of individuals from excluded groups, including from "civil society".

The proposed law includes an interim bill of rights.

With regard to constitution-making, it includes a detailed deadlock-breaking mechanism. The ANC proposes a new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority. If not achieved within nine months, fresh elections would be called and the second constituent assembly would have a further six months to complete its task.

If this can still not be done, a proposed new constitution would be put to a referendum and adopted by a 55% majority. If not, a new election would be held and a new constitution adopted by a simple majority of the third constituent assembly.

The constitution would have to adhere to previously agreed principles, and a seven-member constitutional panel would be appointed to adjudicate on disputes over whether principles were being adhered to.

In the pre-election period, multiparty commissions would be established to ensure a level playing field. These would control the security forces and the media. And an independent electoral commission would be appointed to prepare for and conduct the elections.
PAC, Roelf Meyer to convene again

**FINAL SUMMIT** Another round of talks to arrange a better negotiating forum.

By Monk Nkomo

A delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress will meet senior Government officials in Pretoria today for another round of talks aimed at arranging a better negotiating forum.

PAC national executive member Mr Willie Seriti confirmed the meeting will be held in the afternoon. The delegation will be led by Seriti and political affairs secretary Mr Jackie Seleke.

The government is expected to be led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Today's meeting is the fourth "talks-about-talks" encounter between the two parties this year. Seriti said the PAC wanted to get a commitment from the government on the establishment of a common voters roll for all race groups and a constituent assembly.

"Thereafter a final summit of the PAC and government leadership will be held at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman," he said.
Africa and the Third World in general — including such ANC allies as Libya, Cuba and the PLO; and
- the speed with which the Department of Foreign Affairs should be remade in the image of the new SA — meaning a huge measure of affirmative action.

While the ANC was not the only liberation movement represented, it effectively pre-empted debate on most issues, arguing for diplomatic representation throughout Africa — although it was recognised that funding would always be a constraint. This thrust would be accompanied by a radical expansion of personnel — a new Minister, for a start — and a waiving of certain degree requirements hitherto sacrosanct to Foreign Affairs.

As Spence observed, the conference was a "typical New South African occasion," looking forward to an apartheid-free State but realising that world concerns were shifting to economic success and self-interest in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The New World Order, however, had lost the triumphant bombast displayed by George Bush after the victory of Desert Storm. Its limitations of power had been underscored by its impotence in ex-Yugoslavia and, in general, renaissance nationalisms in the former East Bloc foreshadowed a period of global instability. In this climate, SA would become "just another State," though preferably not "just another Third-World State."

As Mervyn Frost of the University of Natal (Durban) put it: "SA can compete — or harp on the past, be a professional victim."

The role of Foreign Affairs under Pik Botha was a subject of some controversy. Some comments were made about the "adulation" accorded the Minister from within its ranks — with which the ANC could not, of course, concur. There was instead an expressed will to rejoin bodies like the OAU and the Commonwealth. And some felt reunion with the latter could serve to defuse certain white fears about majority rule since they would become part of an organisation with substantial "Dominion" representation, in the form of Australia, Canada and Britain.

The FM's impression was that the serving officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs take the idea of new policy directions very seriously indeed — however much some of the ANC's standpoints remain unpalatable to them. After so many years of serving SA in an increasingly bitter climate, they may welcome giving up some of the burden. They are open to new ideas. But the idea-raised more than once — that "service" for the ANC could equate with formal professional qualifications is unlikely to find favour within the existing bureaucracy.

But then everyone agreed that the bureaucracy itself would be massively expanded, appropriately or otherwise, in terms of always scarce resources. The ANC's "turn" is coming up.

As a major component of the next government, the ANC may well have to swiftly choose between diplomatic ties with its "old friends" and the major economic blocs of the New World Order. This was one conclusion to emerge from a conference on foreign policy hosted last weekend by the SA Institute of International Relations and the Centre for Southern African Studies of the University of the Western Cape (see Leaders).

The conference was held at Wits and brought senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs together with representatives of the ANC and other liberation movements to see if consensus could be found on future diplomatic initiatives.

At the outset, it was apparent that ideological differences between the Nationalists and the ANC might not be as unbridgeable as first blush might suggest. Minister Pik Botha, for example, in his opening address, warned gruffly that SA business suffered from too great a concentration and that something might have to be done about it. For his part, the ANC's Aziz Pahad lodged a complaint about SA's business inefficiency — and put it down partly to excessive State control.

While the five working groups — Codesa-style — were closeted away from the press, summaries of their debates were presented at the end of the conference and an overview given by Prof Jack Spence of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It was apparent that there had been divergence on two issues of crucial importance:

- The amount of attention to be given to
BC Week kicks off

**Former Azapo leader to address mass rally**

**By Mokgadi Pela**

FORMER president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation Professor Itumeleng Mosala will on Sunday address a rally in Bloemfontein to mark the start of the Black Consciousness Week.

The Jabulani and Moletsane branches of Azapo will commemorate the BC Week at Entokozweni Community Centre at 1pm.

A documentary on slain BC leader Steve Biko will also be shown.

Yesterday Mosala said the BC Week was taking place against the backdrop of black revolt against white racism in Los Angeles, Canada and South Africa.

He said a return to BC would retrieve black peoples' humanity and dignity.

"We would do well by positively taking up our blackness not only to defend but also to liberate our people," he added.
The National Party believes it can beat the ANC in a one person one vote election. To achieve this, members were urged at the party’s Free State annual congress this week to open their homes to black and brown members. By Ismail Lagardien.

**Beat the ANC**

The theme of the congresses is Work Together, Win Together.

The three leaders hinted that there was a strong chance of an election being held in about a year and with a very real chance of the NP “beating the ANC”.

Members had to start working towards this goal.

If members of the formerly whites-only party would “open their homes to black and brown members and make their farms accessible to these non-traditional supporters” the NP would become the strongest party in the country, Coetsee told the crowd.

Coetsee was re-elected as Free State leader.

He said the NP in the Free State had three objectives to strengthen the hand of the leadership at the negotiations table; to strengthen the party in preparation for a regional power base in a future federal dispensation; and to work with other political parties with similar objectives as those of the NP.

**Canvassing black support**

And to give credence to its expressed ideal of canvassing black support, the NP in the Free State appointed two blacks, Mr Petrus Tsiane and Mr Donald Colbert, as organisers in the province.

On Tuesday the NP had a black minister, a Pastor Goliath, open this year’s OFS congress.

Botha told the congress that the NP had changed just in time to fall in with the changes in the world - especially after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union.

“The NP can win the election proposed for next year but it will take a lot of hard work,” he said.

Many NP supporters, he said, were concerned and confused about the future of the party and of the country which was perhaps justifiable.

He assured them that the international community was waiting for South Africa to take its place in the world.

In terms of his calculations and in terms of ‘scientific’ evidence, the NP could get about one million votes short of 50 percent in the next election out of a 70 percent poll of 20 million people eligible for the vote in the country.

**Moral high ground**

De Klerk in his address chose to elevate the NP to a moral high ground and criticised everyone else.

“To all Nationalists, and to the befriended political parties and organisations, my message today is that they dare not let themselves be seduced by (sic) strong-arm tactics. We should not allow ourselves to be pulled down to the level of street politics.

“Stand firm against pressure and coercion. We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism. We shall not allow ourselves to be overrun,” De Klerk said.

Banners on the walls of the City Hall in Bloemfontein were unambiguous, succinct and self-explanatory: In six languages, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and English (next to a picture of De Klerk) they proclaimed: “Everyone wins with the NP.”
Pressure grows for interim rule

By Esther Waugh and Shadi Johnson

The ANC last night ruled out an early return to "Codesa-style" talks, but a new consensus appeared to be emerging about the urgent need for an interim government in South Africa.

In a statement after a three-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC said mass action would continue in order to bring pressure on the Government, and expressed concern at Pretoria's "refusal to take urgent and practical steps to deal with the violence and create the necessary conditions for the unfolding of a democratic constitution-making process".

The NEC decided to keep open communication between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. While the responses to ANC demands had been "unsatisfactory", the discussions were still "incomplete".

It was noted with approval that the Government had "finally" given provisional support for a constituted assembly.

Demonstrated

Speaking at a press conference last night, Mr Ramaphosa said he had met Mr Meyer "more than three times". The Government had not demonstrated a seriousness in addressing the ANC's demands during these meetings, he said.

The ANC's call included that the Government take immediate steps to end the violence and release all political prisoners, to address the hostil issue and to ban the display of weapons in public.

Without meaningful steps on the part of the Government... it would be pointless to resume negotiations. We have come too far in the negotiations process, too many South Africans have been killed - over 6,000 - in political violence since February 1990, for the people of our country to be killed by continued Government delay and double-speak," he said.

However, the ANC reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement.

Mr Meyer's interpretation of the NEC meeting was that the ANC had not reached a decision on whether or not to resume formal negotiations.

Asked after the NP Free State congress whether he interpreted the outcome of the NEC meeting as a decision against resuming negotiations now, or a failure to reach a decision, he said it was "a sort of all intermediate decision".

Finance Minister Derek Keys emphasised the need for getting a representative government in place. He believed President de Klerk was moving forward quickly to address this issue.

Mr Keys's remarks echoed the view of the US government. President Bush's national security adviser Admiral Brent Scowcroft said the US would swing into action with wide-ranging support measures as soon as a nonracial interim government was in place.
ANC and AWB youth meet in seminar

Youth leaders may conclude one day that the deep divisions on the political front might have been unnecessary, judging by the high degree of consensus at a National Youth Conference on Peace and Reconstruction over the weekend. A SOUTH correspondent reports.

The polarisation of people in South Africa did not take long to manifest itself at a two-day seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and attended by 13 different political groups from South Africa, including the homelands.

Yet the conference was important for several reasons. It brought together not only the youth of the CODESA-partners, but also two rightwing groups: the AWB Youth and the recently-formed Afrikaner Jeugfront (AJF), the youth of the group which broke from the Conservative Party.

Yet, the conference was important for several reasons. It brought together not only the youth of the CODESA-partners, but also two rightwing groups: the AWB Youth and the recently-formed Afrikaner Jeugfront (AJF), the youth of the group which broke from the Conservative Party.

T HIS unprecedented broad spectrum of political groupings encouraged further discussion, be it bilateral or in similar and even wider forums.

The representatives almost unanimously endorsed a call for the resumption of talks and/or the restructuring of CODESA in order to reach an early interim settlement leading to elections for a constituent assembly.

The AWB, though, made it clear from the start that they were mandated to state their views, not to discuss or negotiate their position.

Observers at the conference, including church and cultural organisations, saw the participation as a landmark and noted the significance of them hearing their views debated, while also hearing views different to their own.

The AJF declared their willingness to keep talking about their aims for self determination and the formation of a Volksstaat.

Other participating parties were: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), the NP Youth Action, the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the DP Youth, the Intandile Yisizwe Party Youth League from KwaNdebele, the Labour Party Youth, the Dikwankwetla Youth League from Qwa-Qwa, the Inyandza Youth Congress of Kangwane, the Ximelo Progressive Party Youth from Gazankulu, the African Democratic Movement's Youth from the Ciskei and the United People's Front Youth League.

Four issues were discussed in commissions on Saturday: Democracy, Peace and Reconciliation, Economic Growth and Development and Education.

Although the democracy group, facilitated by Prof Willie Esterhuysen of Stellenbosch University, reached consensus on the processes leading up to a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly, a heated debate on federalism could not resolve deep divisions between major parties on this issue.

In the economics commission, led by Prof HW Vilakazi from the University of Zululand, substantial agreement emerged on many issues, specifically the need for redistribution of wealth, although debates on nationalisation, job creation and sanctions showed deep rifts between parties.

The education commission reached the biggest amount of consensus, although the right of teachers to strike was a point of contention.

The commission noted the “necessity for educational control on local levels”, with entrenchment of regional identities of education, like language.

Outstanding features of the commission on Peace and Reconciliation were, in the delegates’ words, the “willingness of all parties to display tolerance for the views of others while presenting, often vigorously, their perceptions of reality and political beliefs”.

Agreement was reached on the causes of violence and the requirements for ending it. The ANCYL objected to clauses stipulating the urgent need for the disbandment of “private armies”, preferring to call them “political armies”, which includes the SADF.

The movement’s youth, backed by other groups, dissented from the view that there was a “revolutionary atmosphere” in the country.

At the end a strong signal was sent to political leaders to resume talks as soon as possible.

In the last session it became evident the youth could not escape the riffs already carved on the political arena by their seniors and history. Powerplay and blockforming came to the fore as NP and ANC rallied their allies to support them. The DP remained non-aligned.

But Simon Ntombele of Idasa’s Durban office stated at the end that the fact that such a broad spectrum of people could agree to disagree, made the conference a success, while other observers noted many representatives seemed to break through the “smokescreen of ideological language to address real issues”.

Some ANCYL delegates even characterised their experience as a “spiritual liberation; breaking down barriers between ‘us and them’”.

YOUNG IDEAS: Political armies are out, private ones are in
ANC deny ‘no’ based on critique

A SELF-CRITICAL ANC document urging more mass protests did not influence the ANC’s latest refusal to rejoin constitutional talks, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday.

“Our taking issue with renewed negotiations is very clear: It hinges on the government’s failure to move on the release of political prisoners and the lack of visible moves to end violence,” she said.

Ms Marcus dismissed suggestions that the paper, circulated among SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions structures, might have determined the ANC’s most recent refusal to further negotiate.

“The document reflects the major successes of mass action: it did not influence our decision not to go back to talks.”

Ms Marcus had been asked to comment on the paper, published in yesterday’s SA Labour Bulletin.

The paper was presented for further discussion at the August 23 tripartite summit by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu and proposed direct bilateral talks between the ANC and government, renewed efforts to build the ANC-led alliance’s ability to fight elections, intensified mass action and a Convention for Peace and Democracy in mid-October.

Fourth-phase mass action included campaigning for a constituent assembly and interim government, free political activity in the homelands, democratising the SABC, a boycott of PAYE tax, and actions against corruption, murder and high food prices.

The document said the ANC believed the balance of forces had swung in its favour.

A settlement, if reached, could then be taken to a multi-lateral forum on condition that this wider body should not be allowed to undermine the basic bilateral agreement.

The document also calls into question the proposed terms of a rebuilt Patriotic Front.

The ANC accused its Africanist and black consciousness counterparts of “bankruptcy” and being more intent on competing with the alliance than on taking on the government. — Sapa
Gwala warns of return to arms

Staff Reporter

VETERAN ANC hardliner Mr Harry Gwala yesterday rejected a return to Codesa and the negotiating table — and warned that the ANC would resume the armed struggle if the government tried to use force against the people in their fight for democracy.

"The ANC have called for a suspension of the armed struggle, but if the De Klerk government try to take violent action against people in the struggle for liberation we will meet force with force," he said.

Mr Gwala, ANC Natal Midlands chairman, was speaking at the University of Cape Town, where he was greeted with a thunderous ovation by about 300 students.

He said negotiation was one tool in the fight against apartheid and oppression but mass action, if implemented properly, was more effective.

Mr Gwala slammed the United Nations, European Community and Commonwealth members who will monitor the ongoing violence in South Africa for not being impartial and for siding with the government.

Codesa, he said, was unworkable because it was impossible to reconcile capital with labour.

Asked last night if Mr Gwala's rejection of Codesa and a return to the negotiating table did not fly in the face of ANC policy, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he could not comment on Mr Gwala's speech until he had seen it.
Talking 'bout revolutions

AUTHOR Anthony W Marx
PUBLISHER Oxford University Press
PRICE R39.99

LET'S test how well you've learnt your lessons of struggle these past 30 years. Ready for a quiz, activists?

Quick! Name the anti-apartheid political movement that emerged out of a student constituency in the seventies, espoused an ideology of psychological liberation from racial inferiority and adopted an economic policy known as "communism".

Answer: The Black Consciousness Movement.

Political reflexes a bit dull these days? If you didn't make the grade, then head to your nearest bookstore and buy a copy of Anthony W Marx’s invigorating analysis of the lessons that can be learnt from organised black resistance from Sharpeville to the 1990 bannings.

This is a book about the ideas behind protest politics. Why, for instance, did black consciousness arise in the late sixties and seventies? Why did the idea of non-racialism experience a resurgence in the mid-eighties? And why is class consciousness much more of a major organising force in the struggle politics of the nineties?

Marx argues that these political ideas didn’t just come out of thin air. Rather, the lofty principles that sparked our political imaginations were shaped in the daily experience of material conditions and real struggles — the imposition of Value Added Tax on basic foodstuffs, the yearly increases in the price of mealie meal, the creation of a tricameral parliament that delineated shades of blackness, the imprisonment of activists holding diverse political beliefs, and so on.

Political ideas in South Africa, according to Marx, did not spring solely from other ideas, ideologies, or philosophies — much as the government would have us believe. Rather, these ideas are homegrown variants on universal themes, derived in large part from ordinary experiences of oppression that black South Africans have widely shared.

This book chronicles the history of those political ideas — about race, nationalism and class — that have sustained and informed the anti-apartheid movement in the last 30 years of struggle. Marx excludes concepts like gender and ethnicity from his study and this is the book’s greatest analytical shortcoming.

He contends, for example, that ethnicity has played little or no role in protest politics. The author should visit the Vaal Triangle and speak to schoolchildren caught up in the crossfire between Zulu and non-Zulu township residents. Surely they have learned brutal, ugly lessons about the role of ethnicity in organisational politics?

To be fair, Marx’s book only covers the period leading up to 1990 and stops well short of the Inkatha-ANC feud that has poisoned our recent history.

But make no mistake. This book, well-researched and provocative, is a valuable new contribution to our understanding of the successes and failures of revolutionary movements worldwide.

TOM WINSLOW
Service to mark death of Steve Biko

THE Western Cape regions of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) will hold a joint commemoration service to mark the 15th anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko. M. George Bonga, Azapo Western Cape regional organiser, said yesterday Black Consciousness Week will be observed from September 6 to 12 with the theme "Biko Lives: A Focus on State Repression and Torture". The main commemoration service will be held at the Bantu Presbyterian Church, NY 2, Guguletu at 2 pm on Saturday.
ANC demands right to vet potential diplomats

TOP ANC figures are demanding the right to vet all new appointments of cadets and senior officials to the South African diplomatic service.

And they want a freeze on the recruitment of any Inkatha-supporting person or homeland public servants until after an interim government is established.

This remarkable bid by the ANC to gain influence in the administration of South Africa's most educated and professional state department emerged this week at a conference co-hosted by the SA Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

Dr John Daniel, director of the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University and himself an ANC member, told the conference that such a move was necessary to achieve an effective, credible and integrated foreign service.

Reporting back to the conference on the discussions of a conference commission, Dr Daniel said it was felt that no new appointments of diplomatic cadets should be made without the approval of "liberation" movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

He said the commission, which comprised Foreign Affairs officials, members of the ANC's international affairs department and academics, had considered the position of Inkatha members and diplomats in the homelands administrations.

Although the commission accepting that these people might have experience, it felt that the lack of credibility of the institutions should preclude them from being appointed to positions in the diplomatic corps until after an interim government was installed, said Dr Daniel.

He made it clear that, in the interests of an effective integration of the foreign service, officials from the ANC's external affairs department should be brought in at senior levels. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said this week that Dr Daniel had been reflecting his own views on the issue rather than those of the Foreign Affairs officials in the commission.

"The policy of the department is that anybody who meets the criteria is accepted. It is in any case impossible for civil servants at a conference like that to resolve profound matters which are properly dealt with at the political level," he said.
Winnie faces leaked letter storm

By CHARLES LEONARD

WINNIE MANDELA has been plunged into new controversy with the leak to the Sunday Times of a highly incriminating letter written by her to Dali Mpofu, her young former lover.

The letter, which is being circulated in top ANC circles, has been confirmed as authentic by sources close to Mrs Mandela. But neither she nor Mr Mpofu could be reached for comment.

The four-page handwritten letter — signed only “It’s me” — contains:

- An admission by Mrs Mandela that she was in trouble with a Johannesburg bank for R160 000 she had drawn and given to Mr Mpofu;
- Reference to ANC social welfare department cheques which had been cashed on their behalf by an ANC official and then given to her lover — Mrs Mandela was then head of the department and had signing powers;
- Charges that Mr Mpofu was unfaithful and was “running around f****** at the slightest emotional excuse”;
- Confessions about her then faltering marriage to ANC leader Nelson Mandela — less than a month later the Mandelas’ formal separation was announced;
- Her bitterness at Mr Mpofu for having an affair with another woman — ostensibly as a cover to hide his relationship with her.

The highly damaging letter, dated March 17 and delivered to the Sunday Times in a manilla envelope, has been leaked on the eve of a meeting of the organisation’s National Working Committee.

The committee will consider an internal report on a recent abortive demonstr-
The letter's cryptic sign-off

stratification outside the ANC head office by a
group of women who demanded her rein-
statement as the head of the ANC's social
welfare department.

Behind the demonstration is a bitter
political struggle by Mrs Mandela to
regain her former prominence within the
ANC.

Mr Mpofu was part of Mrs Mandela's
defence team during her trial on charges
of having kidnapped and assaulted a child
activist. He later joined the social welfare
department under her.

Written after a row with Mr Mpofu in
the early hours of the morning, she an-
gryly accuses him in the letter of being a
"compulsive, sophisticated liar" and
complains about his "shabby treatment"
of her.

She adds: "You think you can just wish
away certain things Dali, not with me. I
tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmon-
s (sic) Street account
which reflects over
R160 000 drawn
over a period for
you, you don't even
bother to check
how we can over-
come this.

"I tell you (law-
yer Ismail) Ayob
has been sent by
Tata (Mr Mandela)
to get an accoun-
tant to investigate my
account".

It was reported in May
this year that the ANC was
investigating an alleged
fraud involving cheques for
R400 000 issued while Mrs
Mandela and Mr Mpofu
were still in charge of the
department.

On her relationship with
Mr Mandela, she tells Mr
Mpfou: "You are supposed
to care so much for me
that the fact that I haven't been
speaking to Tata for five
months now over you is no
longer your concern."

Mrs Mandela then refers
to somebody called "Ter-
reza", whom she brands a
"white bag".

Terreza is believed to be
Terry Oakley-Smith, who
is the mother of Mr Mpo-
fo's child. She was not will-
ing to comment yesterday.

"I am not another Ter-
reza you used when it suit-
ed you and dumped when it
suited you," the 38-year-old
Mrs Mandela rages.

Lie

"I will never be used by
you Dali for 'ukufuka
kwakho' (philandering),
and you use our 'things' we
acquired together for run-
ning around **********
at the slightest emotional
excuse.

"You lie to me and sug-
gest in order to preserve
our relationship you have
to have a relationship as a
cover to debase our prob-
lem," she writes.

"I understand and know
how difficult it was for me
to accept that reality, but it
eventually dawned on me
that because I love you so
much I had to agree with
you even though I shud-
dered at the thought of you
lying or pretending to love
this other woman and as
you said 'you were just
involved with Imogin (re-
ference to a prominent
black woman accountant)
and you never loved her.'

ANC information chief
Paulo Jordan yesterday did
not want to comment on
the letter. He suggested it
might have been sent by
government intelligence
sources who intercepted it.

"I don't know of anyone
in the ANC who intercepts
other people's post," he
said.

Mr Ayob, who repre-
sents both the Mandela's,
would only say that the
sum mentioned in the Sim-
monds Street bank account
was her own money.
Bloodbath feared as alliance gathers for Ciskei showdown

ANC MOVE TO OUST GQOZO

DARK CLOUDS hovered over the Ciskei yesterday amid fears of a bloodbath when the ANC defiantly marches on Bizana.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Osapu Gqozo has threatened to use all the force at his disposal to stop tomorrow's march.

But ANC leaders yesterday bluntly warned him: "Our people in Ciskei are coming to remove you from the seat of power. Come what may."

The ANC has pulled out all the stops for what is expected to be "the biggest march" staged in SAV, senior national executive committee member Raymond Nduna told City Press yesterday.

Nduna said the ANC had informed, which sources in the Ciskei Defence Force had confirmed, that Gqozo had brought in a notorious SA unit to stop the march.

The ANC conceded that "unexpected threats of violence are in the air" and said violence would not be in the interest of any party.

Unconfirmed reports alleged Umkhonto weSizwe members were setting up roadblocks in the region.

Meanwhile, Border Police spokesman Chris Le Roux said local municipality officials had met with Ciskei government officials but would not give details of the "planning meeting."

Yesterday Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel declared the districts of East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Colenso and Stutterheim - all in the border region - unsafe areas with immediate effect.

ANC supporters based in the area throughout the border region and the eastern Cape will converge on Victoria grounds in King William's Town at 11am tomorrow before marching on Bizana by 10km away. The march will be led by Nduna, fellow NEC members, SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, Steve Mbeki, Chris Nduna, Tony Yengeni, Hendrik Tshisa, Saty Litebe, and Cryis Khoza.

ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba and Western Cape ANC general-secretary Dr Tienie Cronje said they hoped the event could avoid bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the ANC's allied political parties met with Communist Party leader Chris Hani and ANC president Chris Dlamini.

In a joint memorandum to state president FW de Klerk on Friday, the ANC said it would re-emphasise its commitment to a process of reincorporation into SAV. The memorandum would be presented to the ANC and be re-emphasised to all parties.

The memorandum said that the ANC's role would be to create a political climate for all organisations to operate freely in the homeland and that no organisation, including the ANC, would seek to impose its own political will to the SADF's desire for the new constitution.
ANC kisses Codesa goodbye

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week gave the moribund Codesa its kiss of death. As the ANC adopts a more hardline position, the organisation has virtually declared negotiations to be between itself (including the Cosatu/SACP alliance) and the government.

As a sop to the other parties, it is suggested that a multi-lateral forum be established. However, this forum must not be allowed to undermine agreements between the government and the ANC alliance.

The document reproduced in the SA Labour Bulletin.

The ANC proposals also put paid to any hopes for the revival of a Patriotic Front which includes the PAC and Azapo. The document says the mass-action campaign exposed the "opportunism and ineffectiveness of a number of political formations (PAC, Azapo etc) whose main mission has been to compete with the ANC alliance rather than taking on the regime".

The document also proposes action against banks giant Standard and Anglo American Corporation, which are considered "major financial supporters" of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

More mass actions are also called for, leading to fears that the next three months could see serious social upheavals.

It is unlikely that Azapo and the PAC would form part of any multi-lateral forum whose brief is to rubber-stamp agreements between the ANC and the government.

Seven strikers wounded in hospital clash

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSIONS over a three-month healthworkers' strike peaked at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg on Friday when security guards shot striking workers trying to enter the premises.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) officials claim the guards intended to kill the strikers, as none were shot in the legs.

Nehawu shop steward Siphiwe Mabaso, who was one of seven workers wounded, said the trouble started when a delegation of 15 strikers tried to persuade the guards to open the hospital gates or call a senior hospital official to talk with them.

"We asked the guards to let us in, but they became arrogant and threatened to shoot us if we didn't go away," Mabaso said.

About 600 striking workers had come to hear the outcome of a meeting between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu, Mabaso said.

After police manned the main hospital gate refused the delegation entry, the group went to another entrance, manned by hospital security guards.

Mabaso said the guards suddenly opened fire, wounding several workers in the head. Mabaso was shot in the head and shoulder.

"When I tried to get treatment at the hospital a white policeman chased me off the premises," said Mabaso.

Hillbrow hospital superintendent, Dr Norman Smith, refused to comment about the incident and referred City Press to TPA headquarters in Pretoria, where a spokesman was not available.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the TPA is to launch an investigation into the shooting at the hospital. TPA director general André Cornelissen said: "I urgently appeal to the relevant parties to remain calm. An attitude of confrontation would benefit nobody."

Police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer confirmed that a shooting involving a security guard and protesters had taken place at the hospital.
MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiya

Unity a dream within reach

MY long cherished dream of unity among our people is reaching fruition. And if the Southern African Black Taxi Association (Saba) general meeting held in Sun City this week is any yardstick, I would say we are closer to unity now than ever before.

Representatives from Azapo, the PAC and the ANC had much in common and spoke in unison regarding the future of this country. They all agreed that negotiations were vital and if I read the signs correctly, future negotiations with the government will definitely take a new form.

The ANC will not go back to CODESA without the involvement of the PAC and Azapo, having realised how weak its bargaining power has become without a united front with other liberation groups.

These formerly divided groups have been united by the government’s strategy of alliances with the likes of Brig Oupa Gqozo, Chief Mangoruthu Buthelezi, Chief Lucas Mangope and rebels from the Labour Party and Conservative Party.

Azapo and the PAC predicted, long before CODESA, that the ANC might win the battle against the NP government but could lose the war. This seems to be beginning to make sense to the ANC leadership.

As a keynote speaker at the SABA conference, I stressed the importance of economic and political empowerment to our people, which can only be achieved through unity.

For those who missed the SABA conference, this is an edited version of my speech:

“Delays in finding a political solution are having serious consequences for our businesses and the country’s economy.

“Continued violence, the impasse in negotiations and the failure to tackle these issues effectively have driven our country to the brink of complete disaster.

“This political uncertainty and instability has forced foreign loans to be kept on hold and our business friends overseas have to play a game of wait-and-see before they can help us financially. We cannot plan and move forward for we do not know what tomorrow has in store for us.

“Furthermore, the mindless violence in our townships will result in a serious brain-drain in our country unless it is immediately put to an end.

“What is the solution you may ask? Nothing short of speedily establishing an interim government of national unity will solve our problems. We need a constituent assembly that will usher in a democratic constitution in SA.

“Violence is making this dream impossible, and those who benefit from this violence make things difficult. The longer the delay in reaching a political settlement, the worse violence will become and the stronger the NP will grow.

“My long cherished dream is to see unity among our people. It must not only be unity on paper. It must be a genuine effort that will put the aspirations of our people above party politics.

“My long cherished dream is to see Azapo, the PAC, ANC and IFP establish common ground—that is, to agree to work as a united force despite their ideological differences. That they owe to our people.

“We are going through a transition period which always brings with it some disillusionment and despair. We have to be resilient and able to move out of this valley of despair.

“Black people are resilient. We have the inner strength and ability to survive under difficult circumstances.

“Despite the gloom, we are still fortunate in this country. We can still sit around the table and discuss our problems, unlike other countries in Europe and Africa.

“I am optimistic that we will find workable political solutions and formulate a sound economic framework.”
Six Labour men set to join the DP

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SIX Labour Party members, including former Minister Mr Chris April and Mr David Curry, are set to join the Democratic Party next week — bringing to eight the number of MPs who have resigned from the party within the past two weeks.

The MPs who are expected to defect to the DP are Mr Clifford Nasion, MP for Bokkeveld and the chairman of Labour's Boland region; Mr Errol Gordon, MP for Berg River; Mr Neville Padlachy, MP for Genadendal; and Mr Teyn Andrews, MP for Rawsonville.

A source close to the six confirmed yesterday that they had all gone to their constituencies "to get a final mandate" to join the DP.

So far only Mr Sam Louw, MP for Rustem Vaal, has joined the ANC but sources say there is a possibility that a few more may follow him.

The other resignation was Mr Peter Klink, MP for Liesbeek, who says he will continue in Parliament as an independent.

The latest resignations brought Labour a step closer to its inevitable disintegration and beleaguered party leader Rev Allan Hendrikse now faces disappearing into the political wilderness.

Yesterday Mr April, the former Minister of Health and Welfare, told of his "trauma" in leaving "my dear friend" Rev Hendrikse, but he said it had become clear that the LP "had lost all credibility" when it lost to the NP by a majority of 2,300 votes in the Diamant (Kimberley) bye-election.

He joined the DP because of its "unblemished record of fighting for basic human rights and putting the plight of the voiceless first".

"Nevertheless I salute Allan as a man of great courage who has done more than most to hasten the dismantling of apartheid," Mr April said.
ANC under pressure to axe Winnie

THE ANC leadership is expected to come under renewed pressure to axe national executive committee member Mrs Winnie Mandela.

This is after a sensational letter she has allegedly written to her young former lover, lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu, was leaked to Sunday newspapers yesterday.

The letter, signed only "It's me" but allegedly in Mrs Mandela's handwriting, was sent anonymously to two Johannesburg newspapers.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday an investigation into "possible discrepancies" in the department was still in progress.

He said an initial investigation had been completed to set up proper accounting procedures for the department.

He refused to comment on the letter and its impact on Mandela's future in the organisation.

Mrs Mandela and Mpofu, who have denied they ever had an affair, could not be contacted for comment.

According to the letter, dated March 17, Mandela expresses concern over an amount of R160 000 she had allegedly drawn from a Johannesburg bank and given to Mpofu.

"You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmons (sic) Street account which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you. You don't even bother to check how we can overcome this," it states.

It also includes references to ANC social welfare department cheques which had been cashed on their behalf. Mrs Mandela was then head of the department and had signing powers.

The ANC in May said it was investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and Mpofu were still in charge of the department.

"I tell you (lawyer Ismael) Ayob has been sent by Tata (ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela) to get an accountant to investigate my account," it says.

Confessions from her then faltering marriage to Mandela are also made and exposes how her love for the young lawyer "helped destroy her marriage", newspapers report.
ANC plan to drive a wedge into the Nats’ alliance

PATRICK BULGER and ALAN FINE

ANC strategists also envisage Gqozo’s downfall as just the beginning of a series of events which will displace, or at least undermine, the NP’s key black allies and hence weaken its bargaining position. Therefore, while limited negotiations continue, mass action will carry on, this time focusing on the margins of the NP alliance.

At an alliance summit meeting on August 23 the ANC and its allies examined the mass action campaign and how it could move forward. Owing in part to the success of the march on Bisho last month — about 50,000 attended the ANC Bophuthatswana, the “weakest link” in the chain of black political figures who are, actually or potentially, the NP’s electoral allies. He is unelected, there is resentment in his security forces towards the white command structure, and he is highly unpopular among the civilian population, the argument goes.

“Part of our build-up is to appeal to Ciskei, to the leaders to allow us to come over to us. This could mean the collapse of the Ciskei public administration,” Suttner believes. But he is not yet making any firm predictions. “The ANC’s Ciskei initiative is a germ, an embryo, of a process, although not a process whose completion we can yet see. But it is, therefore, more than just a Border initiative. If Gqozo goes, (Lucas) Mangope would be our obvious next target,” argues Suttner.

The ANC also sees the campaign as a way of maintaining the strategic initiative, by forcing President FW de Klerk into making an uncomfortable choice now, rather than at his leisure. “At some stage De Klerk would have had to choose whether like Gqozo were worth their trouble. Now he will be forced into making that decision now. Can he afford a blemish as the price of maintaining that alliance, or is Gqozo becoming more a liability than an asset?” Suttner says.

But the ANC’s alliance-building strategy (and alliance-breaking strategy where the NP’s allies are concerned) is not limited to the old blunt instrument approach of mass action. The proposed Transition to Democracy Act — published by the organisation on Thursday — would, if made into law, remove the entire legal and constitutional base of potential NP allies.

It would achieve this through the simple device of redefinishing SA according to its 1910 boundaries, limiting regionalism during the interim period to the old provincial system and replacing the tricameral Parliament with a single 400-member national assembly to serve as an interim legislature and constituent assembly.

These steps would eliminate the independent homelands and the legal basis for the administrations of Mangope and Gqozo. They would subsume the self-governing homelands and their administrations and political leadership, such as Mangope’s Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwa-Qwa’s Kenneth Mopeli, under the four provincial administrations and central government. And they would eliminate the House of Representatives and Delegates, their political leaders (the majorities allied to the NP) and their administrations.

This feature of the ANC’s transitional proposals is therefore likely to be contested bitterly.

The only way these groups would be able to remain representative would be through election to the national assembly. A few, most notably Buthelezi, would probably be elected. But it is unlikely that the parties of the bulk of NP-aligned homeland and House of Delegates politicians would succeed in obtaining the requisite number of votes to be elected by proportional representation — unless they were given space on the NP list of candidates. Members of the NP majority in the House of Representatives are, of course, already there.

The same would apply to homeland and tricameral politicians in the ANC’s patriotic front camp — they, too, would lose their historical constitutional and legal base. But, says Suttner, those who are perturbed “They have committed themselves to a single SA. The basis of the alliance is agreement on a future which would alter their social base. They recognise that their existing base would disappear.”

Some of the homeland leaders who have allied themselves to the ANC may have done so through conviction, but others have done so for the sake of a reluctant assessment that the old game is up, and any hope of a political future will depend on the ANC’s largest.

Not all have assessed present circumstances in the same way. Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others believe that they will be able, through a strongly federalist alliance with the NP, to retain at least some of the regional powers they enjoyed under apartheid.

And that, in essence, is the basis of the divide between the old homeland and tricameral politicians.
ANC gets some new deadlines

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mhembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Congress and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangstas, the SAP and the SADF."

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

HRC's Coleman says business must act to save its economy

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said. He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state."

"We agree then... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ridiculous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."

Transkei SA
Federalism summit to kick off amid conflict

GOVERNMENT'S federalism summit is set to kick off today amid a background of a likely conflict on the Ciskei border and the non-participation of the DP — long time federalism campaigner.

Ciskei Ministers are adamant the conference is not a ganging-up on the ANC and the patriotic front and are confident that there will be a good show of support at the Presidency in Pretoria.

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo will no longer attend the summit because of the threatened march on the Bloem capital but it is understood that there may be a delegation from his territory.

The summit is planned to be the first of a series planned on regionalism and federalism and appears to be government's endeavour to show that it is not sitting back while the ANC is refusing to resume constitutional negotiations.

The afternoon summit will be opened by President F W de Klerk at 2pm and then, depending on the decision of delegates, it will continue behind closed doors ending in a news conference at 5.30pm.

It is understood that government will be putting forward more detailed plans of its regionalism proposals and trying to get the other parties to agree that this could represent a framework for negotiations.

It is known that Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Deport has been hard at work in the past weeks developing government's position. He presented portions of this at the NP Free State congress and will probably repeat this in more detailed terms.

Apart from the NP and Inkatha none of the other major political role players will be involved in the summit.

Public slamming widens gap

FAILURE to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners and an amnesty has resulted in public slamming matches between the ANC and government which could widen the possibility of rapprochement.

According to senior negotiators in both camps, the latest public criticisms cast around are likely to put a damper on the progress already made by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The government source said the two sides were "terribly close" to reaching agreement, but there was just not enough trust for the ANC to give the go-ahead despite the constructive relationship built between the two chief negotiators.

"This is a pity and the latest round of public posturing is going to weaken that trust further and make it more difficult for the two to move forward,

On one crucial point rather than expect our people to accept them at their word", he said.

The ANC source said full bilateral talks would have been on the cards had government moved forward on one crucial point rather than accepting us to accept them at their word.

Apparently Ramaphosa and Meyer had come close to clearing the prisoner obstacle, but on a crucial point the ANC had been told to wait until

Should apply to government's security forces as well.

The ANC expects a gesture of goodwill in the form of a unilateral release of identified prisoners. This would demonstrate government's sincerity and seriousness.

However, government negotiators, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee in particular, say the release of categories of prisoners who are still being held will require specially negotiated agreements.

Many of the "so-called political prisoners" were in fact common criminals trying to introduce political motives for their actions.

"We just cannot sell this to our people," the government source said.

"If there is to be a closing of books, it will have to be on both sides.

If ANC operatives such as Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride must be released, then prisoners like Church Square mass killer Barend Strydom would also have to go free. Such drastic releases could only be done under the terms of an agreed amnesty for serious crimes not covered by the accords reached so far.

The ANC says it finds government's proposals with regard to violence and the release of political prisoners inadequate.
ANC, PAC in bid to revive Patriotic Front

JAKARTA — The Pan-Africanist Congress will meet the African National Congress in Zimbabwe on Wednesday to try to revive a common front in their struggle against apartheid, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

PAC sources said they expected ANC leader Nelson Mandela to meet PAC chief Clarence Makwetu for talks aimed at convening a Patriotic Front conference.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said during the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Indonesia that the conference in Bulawayo had been arranged by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Mr Ebrahim said the meeting could pave the way for the Patriotic Front's revival and agreement on a common strategy to press for demands for a nonracial government.

"... at this particular moment, we feel there is a need for us to unite," Mr Ebrahim said.

Leaders of 10 African states urged the ANC at a Southern African Development Community summit in Windhoek last month to renew its alliance with the PAC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met Mr Makwetu at the summit, but ANC sources said no progress had been made towards forming a common front.

An ANC source said then: "We feel they are riding on our coat-tails and they are not willing to do any of the work or take any of the risks."

ANC officials could not be reached yesterday to comment on the proposed meeting with the PAC.

The ANC pulled out of talks with the Government after the massacre of 43 people in Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle in June. — Sapa-Reuters.
In the event of substantive talks ‘the PAC will be there’, writes Dikgang Moseneke

Cinderella readies for the ball

Mass action is a legitimate site of struggle for the ushering in of a democratic order in our land. This the founding fathers of the Pan Africanist Congress understood when they launched the unfolding mass anti-pass campaign of 1960. Little wonder the western Cape ANC mass action campaign was billed as a re-enactment of the PAC’s anti-pass campaign.

It would be nothing less than political obfuscation to detract from what must be the important event in the 80-year-old history of the ANC — its mass action.

Undeniably hundreds of thousands stayed away from work because they believed in “peace and democracy” and fervently wished for an end to the nightmares of white domination.

What is also true is the spectre of the “ungovernability” of the 80s weighed heavily on the minds of millions. That there was rampant intimidation with gunmen “running wild” terrorising, killing, looting, blackmailing, as well as arson attacks and necklacing, was admitted by prominent leaders of the ANC alliance and confirmed by their leader.

Despite earlier agreements, the education of our children was severely disrupted for political reasons that were transparent, namely to swell up through schoolchildren the low turnouts of the ANC marches which preceded the stayaway. Thus we saw a return of the disastrous slogan “Liberation before Education”.

The stayaway has been declared a success and said to be a referendum for the issues the ANC stands for. This is less than accurate. One need only remember that between 5 million and 7 million black people are unemployed, barricades were set up at entrances at a large number of townships, and taxis and other means of transport were simply not available to township dwellers.

Moreover, intimidation, as the PAC had predicted before the commenceement of the stayaway, was rampant.

In assessing whether the stayaway and mass action was the success the ANC claims, one should bear in mind that deals were made with employers for workers to make up hours lost during the stayaway.

The National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, with a membership in excess of 230,000, declared an official industrial dispute to coincide with the stayaway and, courtesy of Spoornet, free trains were provided for the Pretoria march. Strange bedfellows!

An ANC spokesman asks: “How is it possible to intimidate 4 million people?” (The employers put the figure at 2 million for the stayaway.) The answer to the ANC’s question must rest in the rhetorical question: “How was it possible for 5 million whites to rule 30 million blacks with extreme brutality over the past 42 years?”

The London Spectator has computed the results of all polls conducted in this country over the past two years assessing the popularity of various parties. Their findings are that popular support among blacks for the ANC stands at 34 percent, for PAC 15 percent and for the IFP one percent. Assuming a black electorate of 20 million, the PAC would poll 3 million votes.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that two days of stayaway can be viewed — bearing in mind that there are millions of non-aligned voters — as a referendum of support for the ANC. These are early days in the contest for electoral support.

Mass action was a course the ANC had to take when it was out manoeuvred at Codesa by the regime. Mass action was the necessary antidote for the resultant dissatisfaction within the ANC grassroots support. Mass action was also a form of electioneering that has peaked at least a year before democratic elections. It is therefore clear that the PAC can only grow as it gears itself for elections, peaking in voter support weeks before the elections are actually held.

Codesa is dead and discredited. The PAC predicted that Codesa would never be able to deliver a genuine constituent assembly as the only legitimate path for the transformation of the minority racist regime into a truly democratic order.

The step that the PAC now has to take is to act on its congress mandate, which is initially to engage the regime in bilateral talks at the very highest level as soon as possible. This process began at Abuja, Nigeria, when the PAC met Pik Botha.

We have to assert our point of view that Codesa is an undemocratic body and that an alternative forum is necessary to bring a constituent assembly into being. The PAC has to table its proposals for a transitional authority in order to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly are fair and free.

We believe it is the PAC’s view to ensure that in Parliament and in legislative fora, forces are placed in executive control of the people. We believe that the electorate, media and political forces are placed in executive control of the people. We believe that an election commission is placed in the hands of a people’s assembly. We believe that the PAC’s role in the election of a commission to investigate the horrific violence that has befallen the people of South Africa is essential to the PAC’s role in ensuring fair and free elections.

We believe that the PAC’s role in ensuring fair and free elections is essential to the PAC’s role in ensuring fair and free elections.
PAC, ANC to meet for talks

JAKARTA. — The PAC will meet the ANC in Zimbabwe on Wednesday to try to revive a common front, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

PAC sources said they expected the ANC to send Mr. Nelson Mandela to meet PAC chief Mr. Clarence Makwetu for talks aimed at convening a conference of the Patriotic United Front.

Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the PAC secretary for foreign affairs, told a news conference during the Non-Aligned Movement summit here that the conference in Bulawayo had been arranged by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. — Sapa-Reuters
Johannesburg. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's fall from grace was compounded yesterday by the leaking of a sensational letter she apparently wrote to her alleged former lover, lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu.

The letter, signed only “It's me” but allegedly in Mrs Mandela's handwriting, was sent anonymously to two Johannesburg Sunday newspapers which published extracts yesterday.

The newspapers said the ANC did not comment on the letter. Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu, who have denied they ever had an affair, could not be contacted for comment.

According to the letter, dated March 17, Mrs Mandela expresses concern over an amount of R160,000 she allegedly drew from a Johannesburg bank and gave to Mr Mpofu.

“You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I’m in trouble with the Simmons (sic) Street account which reflects over R160,000 drawn over a period for you, you don’t even bother to check how we can overcome this,” it states.

It also includes references to ANC welfare department cheques cashed on their behalf.

The ANC in May this year said that it was investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R460,000 issued while Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofu were in charge of the department.

“I tell you (lawyer Ismael) Ayob has been sent by Tata (ANC leader Nelson Mandela) to get an accountant to investigate my account.”

Mr Mpofu is also berated for allegedly having a relationship with another woman to cover his relationship with Mrs Mandela. — Sapa
ANC president Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu will meet in Zimbabwe tomorrow in an attempt to breathe life into the patriotic front alliance, reports said yesterday.

Makwetu confirmed he would attend the meeting, to be chaired by President Robert Mugabe, but ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma could not say if Mandela would be able to attend.
The memory of Biko lives on

By Mathatha Tsedu

S
ome recent history has been larger than life.
This is how a pamphlet issued by the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) starts describing the legend that Steve Bantu Biko has become.

Given Azapo’s close relationship with the man and what he stood for, many may dismiss the above statement as an exaggeration, but how else do you describe a man who at 32 had achieved world notice as a stalwart of the black man’s fight for freedom?

A man whose death at the hands of the police was to shake the country and the world and has led to films and operas being done in his name and memory.

As the 15th anniversary of Biko’s death approaches this week, the preponderance of deaths in police custody has again focused attention on this phenomenon that has taken more than 70 political detainees’ lives in South African jails.

Then, as now, detainees hanged themselves with shirts, torn blankets, or fall-over ropes, breaking their necks.

The ’70s saw many such cases, with detainees dying almost every week. But Biko’s death caused an uproar that had not been heard before.

The evidence of brutality, neglect and denial of doctor’s with the police, was so shocking that steps had to be taken by the Government to review detention conditions.

It was after Biko’s death that food improved, doctors were given a full hand and inspections of detainees were appointed to talk to detainees and look after their interests.

Today, 15 years after Biko, and with the political reform process on the way, there are fewer political detainees.

But blacks arrested for criminal offences have become the latest victims of this phenomenon, with 178 deaths recorded by police between January last year and the end of August this year.

And because the victims are not political activists, the outcry is minimal. It only gained ground when Biko’s pathologist, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, lashed out at what he called police murder of detainees.

Gluckman said he had performed post-mortem on detainees and had found that their deaths consisted of beatings and torture.

As a result, inspectors are to be appointed to look after the interests of ordinary prisoners to curb deaths in detention.

Who was this man Biko?

Born in the township of Ginsberg outside King William’s Town on December 18, 1956, Biko enrolled at the University of Natal where he was a medical student.

He became active in student politics and led a walkout by black students from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), which he accused of discriminating against blacks.

In 1968, Biko and fellow activists, such as Harry Ngcukuthula, Thembi Sono, Aubrey Mokoape, the late Peter Mashaka and others, were to gather at the University of the North to form the South African Students Organisation (SASO).

SASO was based on the principles of Black Consciousness which, briefly, stated that black people had to unite and reorganise their humanity before joining up with white liberals.

Black Consciousness also stated that blacks were the owners of the land and should fight to regain it and that in that fight, whites could only assist by organising their own communities separately to change white attitudes.

Biko became SASO’s first president and later honorary president of the Black People’s Convention (BPC), which was formed as a political arm of the movement.

Saso, and through it Biko, formed self-help projects in many parts of the country, the famous ones being the Zompelele Clinic and the Zompelele Trust, to help the families of detainees.

The formation of SASO was welcomed by the Government who mistakenly saw it as confirmation of its separate development policy.

Five years later, with the politicisation of black people in full swing, the folly of its analysis hit the Government and led to the banning of eight SASO leaders, including Biko, Bhengu Mshiwati and Rusty Poynter.

Biko was restricted to King William’s Town where he, however, continued to lead the movement despite the restrictions.

Ginsberg was to become a mandatory stopover for international political figures and pressmen who wanted to understand the politics of this country.

After the arrest of SASO leaders during the rallies that were to celebrate the victory of Frelimo in Mozambique, Biko came out to Pretoria to mobilise.

It was testimony that gave him the chance to expand on the Black Consciousness philosophy and was later to become a subject of a book and a play.

Biko was arrested near Port Elizabeth in August 1977 and was held in room 619 of the Sasol Building where he turned the security police.

It was here that he was kept chained to the grille and tortured, resulting in an injury that led to his death on a bare cell floor in Pretoria prison on September 12.

He had been transported naked from Port Elizabeth in the back of a Land Rover, with only a tin of water and mattress as medical provision.

Biko, the man who gave back to black people the pride and fighting spirit that has seen the emergence of guerrillas in large numbers, was dead.

But in death he was to loosen even larger than in life and become an everlasting symbol of resistance and a spirit of no surrender.

The movement that he founded continues today as AZAPO inside the country, and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), based outside.

Biko believed in the unity of the black oppressed. Biko had tried to unite the ANC, PAC and the NCM and was on his way from aunity mission when he was arrested on that fateful August day.

The failure to unite, is a blemish of sacrifices of men like Biko, who gave their life for the cause of black people.
Panic breaks out as ANC marchers flee as Ciskei security forces open fire on them outside.

'Crucial turning point in struggle'

Staff Reporter 8/9/92

The Bisho tragedy "marks a crucial turning point in the current phase of the struggle for democracy", the ANC said yesterday.

In a hard-hitting statement released shortly after the shooting, the organisation charged that Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Qqozo and President de Klerk would have to assume responsibility for the "popular anger" that would undoubtedly follow the killings.

The killings were unpro- voked and the lives of the Ciskeian troops were never in danger, said the statement, released by the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The claim that the troops were fired upon by the demonstrators was "a brazen lie" that was contradicted by witnesses.

According to the ANC statement, the killings started "with a controlled burst of automatic fire lasting more than two minutes, followed by a second burst of"

ANC didn't do its job

- De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius 8/9/92

Political Correspondent

The shooting in Ciskei could have been avoided if the ANC had adhered to the Goldstone Commission's guidelines for mass action, President de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing delegates at the start of his summit on federalism, he said that from the "fragmented" information available, it seemed that the conditions for the march laid down by the magistrate had not been adhered to.

Later at a press conference, Mr de Klerk was asked directly who was to blame for the killing.

He said that although information was still "some- what fragmented" the ample video material available indicated that the ANC marshals "didn't successfully"

JSE gains take afternoon dip

Gains on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday morning were pared back in the late afternoon following the news of the Ciskei shootings. 8/9/92

The Industrial Index was nine points weaker at 4102 and the Overall Index four points off.

Dealers said the killings should depress the market for most of the week. One dealer said buyers would pull out of the market until there was more clarity, but there was no panic selling yet. — Finance Staff.
A glimpse into ANC thinking on strategy to woo majority

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Thousands of African National Congress activists are being engaged countrywide to get the organisation's election machinery running by October 1 for the start of the ANC campaign to woo a two-thirds majority in South Africa's first all-race elections.

A document is being circulated in all ANC regions to brief members and fraternal organisations on the election strategy to be employed.

Although it is a discussion document, it provides a glimpse into ANC thinking on an election campaign which could cost the organisation more than R200 million.

The "Framework for election strategy" document is being discussed at all branches, regions and allied organisations of the ANC to spark debate, which will form the basis of a national strategy workshop to be held at the end of this month.

A key point is the organisation's acknowledgement that it will need hundreds of thousands of activists to reach the 21 million voters.

"The overall objective is clearly to win a two-thirds majority in the election," the ANC document states.

It also notes that a pre-condition to meet this objective is the removal of obstacles, most importantly, that of violence.

Several options for contesting the election are being considered — the ANC standing as an organisation on its own; the ANC with the alliance; the ANC with the alliance plus Patriotic Front organisations; and the ANC with the alliance plus some selected FP organisations and/or non-FP organisations.

"The general feeling seems to favour a form that involves an ANC-led campaign, which involves the alliance in an integral way. Other parties should be brought on board following bilateral discussion and agreement to participate in an ANC-led campaign."

"The ANC standing alone was not favoured as it will exclude many crucial partners in the democratic movement."

Accompanying what is likely to be a concerted push for popular support, with the use of mass action campaigns and the ANC's emphasis on its decades-long struggle against apartheid, will be a parallel campaign to ensure that voters understand the election process.

Once an election date is set, a total of 15,000 full-time people who are able to take leave for the last month of the campaign will have to be mobilised.

This and the question of raising hundreds of millions of rand will be thrashed out by the ANC regions, the document states.
Keeping all on their toes

IT WOULD have been easy — and fairly tempting — to dismiss the two-day fact-finding tour last week by the European Community's troika of Ministers as yet another of those unwanted visits by self-righteous, know-all foreigners who think they have a panacea for South Africa's ills.

Apart from putting pressure on the Government and the ANC to resume negotiations soon, it initially appeared not much was going to be served by the visit.

Not only did the EC no longer have the sanctions sword which might have needed review — a point made strongly by The Times of London on the eve of the troika's departure — but it had also become a somewhat parochial, inward-looking community which put Europe first and removed Africa from the top of its agenda.

Why the mission then?

In an outspoken editorial, The Times said the EC troika, consisting of British Foreign Affairs Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen and Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Manuel Barroso — had no business in South Africa.

"There are no EC troops in the region, nor is there EC aid that must be injected or withdrawn. There is no pressing role for the EC to perform in the intractable politics of black/white relations in South Africa."

"It is tempting to draw two conclusions from this trip, neither of them appealing. The first is that Europe still cannot quite believe that Africa is not its own backyard, that the politics of guilt have taken the place of the politics of colonialism."

"The second is that the EC will do anything and go anywhere rather than address its painful domestic agenda," The Times said.

But the troika's visit has been of greater importance than The Times and many others could have expected. At a time when Europe is pre-occupied with itself and its own economic and political problems, any attention given to South Africa is to be welcomed.

"Increasingly Africa — associated in Europe and in the West with starvation, poverty, widespread corruption and military coups de tat — is being "marginalised" in world affairs, and aid to many countries in the continent is being made conditional on "good government," among other things."

Mr Hurd made it plain during the troika's visit here that Europe's interest in South Africa was not "a fleeting one". The EC, he said, had every intention of playing an important role in the country's transition to a full-fledged democracy.

This has at least two implications. While the EC becomes more and more inward-looking, it will do more than take a keen interest in developments here. When political stability is eventually attained and an interim government is in place, it could be expected that more investment could flow our way from the EC and its member-countries.

More importantly, however, is the fact that the EC can now be relied upon to gently prod and persuade key political players in the negotiations process, most notably the Government and its chief interlocutors the ANC. Although Mr Hurd repeatedly said South Africa's problems were for South Africans to solve, he would have no doubt have urged the ANC and the Government to make sure negotiations resumed soon.

There is another level at which the troika's visit was important. By agreeing to send 15 observers to South Africa to work in tandem with observers from the United Nations and the Commonwealth, to second representatives to the Goldstone Commission's five commissions and help in the training of the South African Police, the EC is indirectly helping Pretoria meet some of the key demands made by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The involvement of the international community in the monitoring of violence is a demand made by both the ANC and the PAC, with the latter organisation going as far as arguing that negotiations should be chaired by "neutral" bodies such as the UN, the Commonwealth, the EC or the Organisation of African Unity.

As PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosekete observed after meeting the trio in Pretoria on Thursday, the EC delegation "understood the issues" here. Its visit, therefore, must have gone some way towards propelling the pace of behind-the-scenes detente to get the deadlock negotiations resumed soon.

But while in the past Pretoria has always been the villain — and therefore had a lot to do to "clear the decks" before negotiations could begin — that perception is no longer as pervasive as it once was abroad.
Now ANC targets three bantustans

Bop, KwaZulu and QwaQwa face wrath

By Ike Motsapi

THE ANC and its allies are now targeting Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu for "Phase Four" of their mass action campaign.

The action, which is similar to the one launched in Ciskei yesterday, is aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year. Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-leader of the mass action campaign, yesterday said: "In this period we must strive to finally release the remaining 400 political prisoners. We should also achieve free political activity in all parts of our country especially Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu."

The following actions would be undertaken:

- Build up pressure on the Government to meet the tripartite alliance's constitutional demands;
- Mobilise the broadest possible unity, stretching to all corners of the country in order to isolate the Government and its "puppets";
- Assist dismissed workers by way of regional or selected consumer boycotts, marches, pickets and occupation of offices where they had been employed; and
- March to the Mozambican border on September 29 to protest against the electrification of the fence.
Homelands issue a major obstacle to resuming talks, warns ANC

By Olga Gogo

The ANC in the wake of the latest killings has identified the homeland issue as a major stumbling block in the way of resuming constitutional talks. As government negotiations have stalled, ANC leaders, including deputy president F W de Klerk, have reiterated their position that homelands cannot be incorporated into a new South Africa. The ANC has also called for the removal of white military leaders.

ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus said recently that the ANC had set a list of conditions for resuming constitutional talks.

Two months ago, the ANC also announced that it would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa.

In a separate statement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said that homelands had to be removed as a precondition for the ANC to continue negotiations.

Mandela also said that the ANC would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa.

Gogo said the ANC would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa.

The ANC has also called for the removal of white military leaders.

Niehaus said that the ANC would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa.

Mandela also said that the ANC would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa.

He said: "The ANC would not accept any homelands that would be incorporated into a new South Africa."
ANC, PAC talks called off

A high-level meeting between the ANC and the PAC planned for Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, has been cancelled. The Ziana news agency said the talks were cancelled because ANC and PAC officials failed to turn up in Bulawayo. The talks, aimed at reviving the Patriotic Front, were to be convened in Bulawayo by the chairman of the Frontline States, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. — Sapa.
Boost for DP as group of Labour MPs joins ranks

By Peter Fabriex
Political Correspondent

Six Labour Party MPs and the party's entire Boland region defected to the Democratic Party yesterday as the DP's campaign to build a strong centrist party gathered momentum.

The MPs were former Minister's Councillors David Curry and Chris April — both old stalwarts of the LP — and Cliff Nason (Bokkeveld), Neville Padianchay (Genadendal), Errol Gordon (Berg River) and Barend Andrews (Rawsonville).

DP national chairman Ken Andrew hailed the move as a "major step forward for the Democratic Party and its strategy to take a lead in bringing about a strong, nonracial party of the democratic centre".

The decision by these "prominent public representatives and activists" to join the DP reflected the desire of millions of South Africans who had rejected both the NP and ANC.

"Our new members will provide valuable leadership qualities and much-needed political muscle in areas where the DP is under-represented, and will help in the process of transforming the DP in style and substance," Mr Andrew said.

The DP was now the second-largest party in Parliament and was engaged in a massive recruitment drive to build support to at least 10 percent of the adult population and to recruit prominent leaders.

A major media campaign was planned and a national fundraising campaign with a target of R15 million was underway, Mr Andrew said.

Mr Curry said the LP had been formed when coloured could join only coloured parties. Future elections would be fought on nonracial lines.

LP members were now joining other parties which reflect their views.

The six MPs had joined the DP to strengthen the political centre and reduce polarisation, he said.

Mr Andrew said the greatest danger facing South Africa was polarisation between two powerful blocs — "the System" versus "the struggle".

This would cause extremism, hostility, intransigence, violence and instability.

The shooting of Bishop on Monday offered clear evidence that the confrontation between the NP and the ANC inevitably led to violence and that South Africans dared not allow their future to be decided exclusively by these two parties.

The tragedy underlined the need for a strong centre party untainted by violence, corruption or racism to defuse the confrontation between the NP and the ANC and bridge the divide between have and have-nots, Mr Andrew said.
Churches push for referendum

Ciskei leader prepared to test support

BISHO — Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo — under pressure to resign after his troops opened fire on ANC marchers on Monday, killing at least 28 people — told church leaders yesterday he would accept his support being tested in the homeland.

Church leaders, who held a vigil for the dead yesterday, are engaged in negotiations on several fronts to get Gqozo to agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu telephoned President F W de Klerk on Monday night to get his support for the referendum. A church source said De Klerk had not yet responded. The ANC agreed on Sunday to a referendum.

"While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum," SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said after leading a three-man delegation to visit Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday.

Chikane said negotiations were being conducted around a possible referendum question. He said Gqozo would not commit himself to a timeframe, although church leaders were proposing a poll within six weeks. Chikane said only a referendum would ease the tension in the homeland.

Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he would be prepared to hold a referendum if his winning included full UN membership and international recognition.

Border Council of Churches executive member Simon Gqubule told reporters Gqozo was "highly emotional and angry" during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his soldiers did not have time to think about what was happening when they opened fire on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday.

Police blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5 600 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

Mandela said: "What happened here was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him."

He told a news conference that "Bishops will rank alongside Bolotlony in that roll call of infamy that recounts the past two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency". He said De Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process would bring the homelands into their own repressive structures that they could do what they liked to entrench their authoritarian rule.

Mandela demanded an independent investigation, the removal of Gqozo and the installation of an interim administration, the repeal of section 33 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, and the removal of SA military intelligence officers.

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activ-

PATRICK BULGER

it regretted the ANC decision to go ahead with the march, "with no apparent respect for human life and dignity".

Gqozo has not fled Ciskei and has no intention of doing so, he told Sapa in a telephone interview from his home in Bisho last night.

"I have no reason and no intention of ever abandoning my people. I am absolutely not going to give credibility to the undemocratic methods of the ANC and SACP and their mass action by fleeing."

Asked whether the SA government had put any pressure on him since the massacre, Gqozo said: "No. I don't believe the SA government will do that."

From Page 1

Ciskei

ity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

SA and Ciskei police visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into their circumstances.

Meanwhile, ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday he did not expect to be fired on when he led marchers out of the stadium towards soldiers on the outskirts of the town.

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise. No, I thought they wouldn't dare open fire."

Sapa reports the African Democratic Movement, which was formed by Gqozo, yesterday deployed the shootings but said...
Prospects for further contact between the government and the ANC appeared to be bleak today as both sides met to consider the damage done by the Ciskei massacre.

The consequences of the Ciskei bloodbath reverberated around the world and plunged South Africa into a new political crisis.

African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela said last month that the massacre was a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations.

He said an "enormous responsibility" rested with President de Klerk's government to bring about change in the Ciskei and "in all areas where no free political activity is permitted.

He called for:

- An independent investigation into the killings.
- The removal of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the establishment of an interim administration acceptable to all parties.
- The repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity.
- The removal of Ciskei South African military intelligence officials.

Mr. Mandela said after visiting the scene of the shootings yesterday, "I am ranked with hundreds of thousands of others who have been murdered in the ANC push-out from Ciskei.

"From this day, Bishop will rank along the list of the killings," Mr. Mandela said.

King William's Town, still being patrolled by police today and Ciskei Defence Force troops were all over Bishop.

The Goldstone Commission is gathering as much information as possible on the massacre, though Ciskei is unlikely to allow it to conduct an investigation of the type demanded by political parties.

"Restraint"

Brigadier Gqozo said he would not resign over the killing of up to 23 ANC supporters and insisted his troops had acted with restraint.

"If our troops acted irresponsibly they would have killed many people," he said.

He shrugged off a referendum call by church leaders and instead spoke of holding elections at an unspecified date.

A spokesman at Mr. De Klerk's office has dismissed as "absolute nonsense" an allegation by ANC official Mr. Patrick Leota that he had given Mr. Mandela an undertaking that no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces.

The spokesman said such an undertaking was not contained in the correspondence between Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela last week. The matter had never been raised.

In Pretoria, the government policy group on negotiations met to discuss the possibility of further contact, and in Johannesburg the ANC national working committee was due to discuss the matter at its weekly meeting.

The international community has cast the blame for the massacre on all parties involved.

MOURNING: ANC president Nelson Mandela salutes the singing of Nkosi Sikelelwa after laying a wreath on the 49 victims of the Ciskei massacre. See pages 3 and 15
Winnie gives up top jobs for family

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela has resigned from the national executives of the African National Congress and the ANC Women's League.

This follows newspaper revelations of a letter she allegedly wrote last March to Mr Dali Mpofu, her alleged lover and former deputy in the ANC social welfare department, about her fears of an investigation into her accounts at the department.

In a statement announcing her resignation, Mrs Mandela said it had nothing to do with her work or the way she had dealt with her private account. The ANC National Executive Committee had cleared her of any wrongdoing in relation to the account, she said.

She had resigned "primarily in the interest of my dear husband and my beloved family".

Mrs Mandela also resigned from the Regional Executive Committee of the Women's League and withdrew her membership of the league, but said she would remain a "convincing member" of the ANC.

In the letter that appeared in Sunday newspapers, Mrs Mandela allegedly wrote: "You think you can just wish away certain things, Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simons Street a/c which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you."

Mrs Mandela said in her resignation statement that she would not give her enemies the satisfaction of discussing her private life in public.

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn, yet ... this is not the time to expend our energies on deciphering battle lines that are deliberately confused, in a struggle for self-preservation."

Mrs Mandela, who separated from her husband in April, said the intensity of attacks on her had deeply hurt her family and friends.

She said: "I am deeply grieved that they have to go through all this." — Sapa.
Venues set for Azapo rallies

Black Consciousness Week set to be celebrated countrywide:

By Mokgadi Pela

THE Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) has announced venues for rallies to mark “Black Consciousness Week” and the death of Steve Biko.

Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the main rally would be held in Ginsberg, Biko’s hometown, on Saturday.

It will be addressed by Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley and Eastern Cape vice-president Mr Zingisa Twalo.

Cleaning the grave

The rally will be preceded by the cleaning of Biko’s grave.

In Johannesburg, Mr Nkadimeng and projects co-ordinator Mr Lyhon Mabasa will address a rally at the Eldorado Park grounds.

The rally will take place after the annual Steve Biko soccer tournament in Eldorado Park.

In the Northern Transvaal, three Azapo leaders will speak at rallies to be held there. They are vice-president for political education Mr Molathegi Tiha, senior official Mr Letsatsi Mosala and regional publicity secretary Mr Mnootie Phasha.
The Biko massacre illustrates just how thin the line that separates negotiation from outright war, and raises questions about the level of morality which accompanies political conduct in SA today.

The march was the subject of intense negotiations involving the ANC, the Ciskei government and the security forces of both SA and Ciskei. In the excitement of the moment, the ANC's protest march dropped its civil rights pretensions and became a poorly-co-ordinated attempt to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Chicken-and-egg-like, it is difficult to apportion blame. Apartheid gave SA the Ciskei homeland and its leader Dinga Ceniqeni. Were it not for apartheid, there would not have been 31 corpses lying around Biko's stadium on Monday. Were it not for Ciskei's soldiers, the shootings would not have taken place. In other words, the Biko tragedy becomes a typical SA situation in which individuals are blamed the blame. It is the system that is at fault.

The ANC, with the backing of prominent church leaders, refuses to accept that its engaging in certain protest actions can lead to disaster. The fight for peaceful protest in a society in which the majority do not have the vote is accepted as inalienable, regardless of the unique circumstances in which we find ourselves.

The ANC, convinced unashakably of the rightness of its cause, lays the blame for the shootings with President PW de Klerk. But what of the soldiers who pulled the trigger, what of the commander who gave the order? What of the role played by ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils in leading unarmed people towards a line of soldiers lying concealed with cocked weapons? In a situation in which the system is clearly against us, it is the exemption to believe their own propaganda. If anything, the Ciskei solders appeared to open fire with more than a dash of relief. Did the ANC's intelligence department not bother to inquire as to the loyalty or otherwise of Ciskei's soldiers?

The trials and tribulations have grave consequences for the success of a peaceful transition in SA. The ANC has had to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table, and has now incorporated mass action into its long-term strategy, reasoning that the De Klerk government is deaf to reasonable demands. On a national level, the ANC's commitment to negotiations will not be set aside by the paper. It is written on if peaceful tactics can be replaced by raging gun battle. The ANC has been forced to take the road that it has been forced to take. The road that has been forced to take. If the ANC has to fight, it will fight. If it has to be killed, it will be killed. If it has to be arrested, it will be arrested. If it has to be imprisoned, it will be imprisoned. If it has to be tortured, it will be tortured. If it has to be killed, it will be killed. If it has to be arrested, it will be arrested. If it has to be imprisoned, it will be imprisoned. 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FW calls for crisis meeting with ANC

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk put constitutional negotiations on the back burner last night, calling instead for an urgent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to resolve violence.

He told a news conference at the Union Buildings that he was taking strong action to deal with the violence and isolate leaders and revolutionaries who continue to cling to violence.

Agreeing with the ANC that meaningful negotiations could not happen while the level of violence was so high, De Klerk asked the ANC to help — through talks — to find ways of resolving it.

He did not, as indicated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Monday night, threaten to suspend talks. He said the preparatory talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa could continue. But he said it was time negotiations were upgraded to a leadership level.

De Klerk said: "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily."

"A meeting between government and the ANC has to take place urgently at leadership level now... I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

De Klerk also announced three other courses of action government was initiating to quell violence. These were:

☐ That the national peace committee convene within days, a meeting of the peace accord signatories so that parties' responsibilities could be reviewed and additional measures to help end violence could be worked out;

☐ That government would hold talks with all its institutions with security components to ensure uniform, effective and responsible action, within the framework of agreed codes, on public marches. Government would call all self-governing territories to an urgent meeting on this, and negotiate simultaneously with the TBVC states in the issue; and

☐ That government was seeking clarity on the causes of the Bisho killings and getting the Goldstone Commission to assist.

De Klerk said it was increasingly clear that the communists in the ANC were making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional talks impossible. "The vortex of violence in which the ANC/SACP is continuously involved is sucking the entire country ever deeper into it."

According to news reports, he said, the rules laid down for the Bisho march were deliberately breached by prominent communists, reportedly leading the breakaway group. Similarly, according to news reports, the peace accord was also breached by the Ciskei government. "That is condemned by us as well," De Klerk said.

The fact remained that the ANC, under the leadership of the SACP, could not escape the responsibility for having planned the Bisho march in the knowledge that there was a serious risk of violence. De

Klerk said.

He said government was not able to continue constitutional talks and could not meet its obligation to the country and the other negotiating parties while "the ANC alliance or any other grouping is doing all it can to foster a climate of instability, revolution and violence. The ANC alliance's good faith in negotiations was under suspicion, he said.

"We have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates violence and instability," he said.

☐ The ANC said last night De Klerk's statement would be tabled at its extended national working committee meeting today, for an in-depth response.

It said, however, that at face value government seemed to be offering "more of the same. The view of the ANC that needs no discussion is that mass action is not conflict-creating. It is the denial of free political activity by all kinds of government-supported petty tyrants that creates conflict."

☐ Comment: Page 6
Kastril blamed by E. Cape MP

Democratic Party MP Errol Moorcroft yesterday blamed ANC/SACP leader Ronnie Kasrils for the shootings and urged the ANC to cut links with the party.

Mr. Moorcroft, MP for Albany, called on Nelson Mandela to curb the SACP.

"The storming of the Bisho capital by Mr. Kasrils and his henchmen was the direct cause of the horrendous casualties suffered there," he said.

Mr. Moorcroft called on Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to practise "the utmost restraint in the face of provocation".

The ANC replied: "It is so sad that he and his party ... defend murderers such as Gqozo."

— Staff Reporter.
Winnie pulls out of ANC posts

Controversy-ridden Winnie Mandela has resigned from the ANC's National Executive Committee and the Women's League.

Her resignation comes only days after the publication in the Sunday Star of a letter she allegedly wrote to Dali Mpofu — her former deputy in the ANC's social welfare department and alleged lover — in March.

Mrs Mandela said although those who had relentlessly waged a "vicious and malicious campaign" against her had partly succeeded in their aims, she would not give them "the satisfaction of discussing my private life in public".

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn. Yet it is my belief that this is not the time to expend our energies on deciphering battle lines and are deliberately confused in a struggle for self-preservation," Mrs Mandela said in a statement.

Mrs Mandela said her resignation had nothing to do with her work or with the way she had dealt with her private account as social welfare head in the ANC. The matter, she said, had been dealt with "exhaustively and satisfactorily" by the organisation's national executive committee which had released a statement clearing her.

In addition to resigning from the national executive committees of both the ANC and the ANC Women's League, Mrs Mandela also pulled out of the League's PWV regional executive committee — which was suspended in June because of alleged attempts to get her reinstated as social welfare head in the ANC — and withdrew her membership from the League.

However, she said she remained "a convinced and loyal member of the ANC", saying she would continue to serve her people and her country relentlessly.

She appealed for understanding from those who had elected her into her positions in the ANC.

Her resignation, she said, was "no selfish move on my part or lack of appreciation of the mandate you have given me".

Mrs Mandela said the intensity and viciousness of new attacks against herself had deeply hurt her family, her husband and their many friends inside and outside the country.
By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba

President de Klerk last night effectively suspended the Government's participation in constitutional negotiations — already stalled by the ANC — saying the Government could not negotiate while the ANC-led alliance was "fomenting instability, revolution and violence".

Mr de Klerk said the Government remained committed to a negotiated constitution. He called for an urgent summit between Government and ANC delegations led by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela to find ways of stopping the violence.

Mr de Klerk addressed a press conference in Pretoria after a Cabinet meeting to discuss Monday's Bisho massacre in which up to 28 people were killed when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC marchers demanding homeland leaders Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's removal.

Deliberate

In a tough response to the massacre, Mr de Klerk again condemned the ANC for not sticking to National Peace Accord guidelines in its march on Bisho, and said it was quite clear that communists had "taken the ANC in tow" and were deliberately undermining constitutional negotiations.

But he also, for the first time, condemned the Ciskei government and said that if the ANC and the Ciskei government had fully honoured their Peace Accord obligations, "nobody would have died at Bisho".

He announced that the Government would be meeting all the homeland authorities which control security forces to ensure a "uniform, effective and responsible" handling of protest marches. The Government had also approached the Goldstone Commission to investigate the massacre and had asked the National Peace Commit-

tee to convene an urgent meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to review the accord and find new measures to stop violence.

Asked whether the Government was withdrawing from constitutional negotiations, he said: "I'm saying that negotiations must now be at leadership level." This did not rule out communication between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr de Klerk said four issues should be on the agenda of the top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC:

- The problem of violence.
- The role "conflict-creating mass action played in the transition to democracy".
- The ANC's "violation" of the Peace Accord.
- Other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

He said the aim of the new methods which the Government would be examining to control mass action were:

- To ensure that the right to protest peacefully and lawfully was maintained.
- To ensure that exercising that right should not lead to the disruption of society, disregard of the rights of others, or to violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) would today consider Mr de Klerk's request for a meeting with the ANC.

Mr Mandela, who visited the scene of the shootings on Tuesday, returned to Johannesburg with Mr Ramaphosa the same evening to chair the NWC meeting.

A well-placed ANC source said Mr Mandela was "quite angry" about the turn of events in Ciskei.

He said Mr Mandela was likely to persuade the NWC to add the removal of Brigadier Gqozo from office to the ANC's 14 demands.

The ANC's national executive committee last week decided not to return to full-scale negotiations until its 14 conditions had been met.

- More reports — Page 3
- Opinion — Page 10
ANC action plans rile the Right

By Peter Fabreins
Political Correspondent

ANC plans to launch mass action at right-wing-controlled towns have infuriated far-right parties, which yesterday threatened violent reaction and called on whites to take the law into their own hands if necessary.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbevægning warned of “greater bloodshed than at Bisho or Bophelong” if the ANC conducted illegal mass action in Conservative Party-controlled towns.

Last night, the ANC said it took “the strongest exception” to the AWB’s threats.

The ANC’s department of information and publicity said the organisation remained committed to peaceful protest.

“However, we will not be blackmailed by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity,” it said.

The ANC would not let its right to peaceful democratic protest be eroded by “a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB”.

In a statement, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said the AWB itself would act if the Government failed to prevent illegal ANC mass actions in white areas.

And HNP law and order spokesman Oscar Hartung called on whites to mobilise themselves to resist the ANC plans, and to take the law into their own hands, if the Government did nothing to protect lives and properties.

He said that after Bisho it was clear that the ANC had not abandoned its armed struggle and it was astonishing that the Government had not punished the ANC.

The ANC stressed that the aim of its campaign against conservative towns was to “secure free political activity”.

Earlier, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC’s national executive committee had decided last week to launch mass action against institutions which inhibited free political activity, including KwaZulu, QwaQwa and right-wing-controlled towns.

He stressed, however, that the ANC had only decided in principle to target right-wing towns and had not drawn up any specific plans.

No towns had been identified and no dates set.

*The white supremacist Boere Kommando yesterday warned in Hendrina that it was preparing itself and its allies to ward off what it termed an expected violent communist onslaught against towns and farms.

In a statement, the Boere Kommando said its people had a right to self-defence if the Government was incapable of protecting them.

In an apparent reference to this week’s ill-fated ANC march on Ciskei, the group said it strongly objected “to the Government allowing our country to be used as a basis for attacks on neighbouring countries”.


Azapo rethinks talks

THE Azanian People's Organisation is reconsidering talks with the Government following Monday's massacre in the Ciskei, Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape announced in Durban yesterday. 11/19/92

Azapo had also sent letters to the ANC and PAC to discuss a joint programme of mass action aimed at toppling the Government and calling for a meeting to try to "pool" their approach to negotiations, its publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said. (HRT)
ANC prepared to talk, but ...

Talks must take the country forward, says Ramaphosa:

A MEETING between the ANC and the Government could soon be on the cards if its aim was to take the country forward, the organisation said last night.

Speaking after a meeting of the organisation’s national working committee, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC was prepared to participate in the summit suggested by President FW de Klerk.

“The Government, however, should address the obstacles standing in the way of negotiations and should implement the Goldstone Commission recommendations with regard to bringing about peaceful political activities,” he said.

Ramaphosa said such a summit should be preceded by practical moves to remove the stumbling blocks to negotiations, such as the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

The ANC condemned what it called the pre-meditated murder of its supporters in Ciskei on Monday and said the primary responsibility lay with the Government.

“The ANC’s national working committee is convinced that the complicity of the South African Government and the SA Defence Force will come out,” Ramaphosa said.

He said there was an urgent need to remove Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to establish an interim administration in the territory. He said there should be free political activity in the area and that all officers seconded to Ciskei be removed.

“Peace-loving South Africans have the responsibility to rid the country of all kinds of despots who have turned their territories into personal fiefdoms,” he said. — Sapa.
THE African National Congress yesterday accepted Mrs Winnie Mandela's resignation and was expected to respond fully to her move by last night.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said a statement would be issued later today.

Mrs Mandela resigned on Thursday and pulled out of all ANC structures, including the national executive committee and Women's League.

Her resignation followed the publication last weekend of a letter she allegedly wrote to Mr Dali Mpofu, her former deputy in the department of social welfare and alleged lover.
DP ‘to mobilise millions of moderates’

THE DP yesterday lashed out at the government and the ANC, and said it would seek to mobilise the millions of South Africans who desired a moderate, centrist political solution.

Beginning with a march in Johannesburg next week, the DP would seek to gain the active support of “ordinary people . . . sick and tired of the violence”.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer told a meeting the ANC and the government were “squabbling like naughty schoolboys” while violence continued.

Government had sought to blame the ANC for the talks breakdown without taking into account its own history. Criticising the revolutionary element in the ANC, he said SAPC leaders like Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils gave the impression in the Ciskei that they had rejected negotiations. De Beer said President F W de Klerk had to get rid of the homelands, but had to act pro-actively. Transvaal leader Tony Leon said a SA led “by the Gogos and the Kasrils of this world . . . is to descend down the slope to anarchy”. But the DP believed some of the ANC’s 14 demands had merit, he said. — Sapa.
Azasco to focus on class boycotts

- Sharp but quicker methods in students' agenda

ONGOING class boycotts by students and teachers will be focussed on during the second annual congress of the Azanian Students Convention in Durban from tomorrow until Sunday.

Azasco publicity secretary Mr Mark Mfikoe said they said would look into “sharp but quicker methods in the students' struggles which do not alienate the working class”.

Early Bird draw due
ANC ready to meet govt on violence

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC’s national working committee which considered de Klerk’s invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was “ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit”.

A working committee statement said: “A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results.

“The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC.”

The failure of such a high-level meeting could take the country “irretrievably backwards”, the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC’s preconditions for a return to talks. At present, formal contact between the

ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

“This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities.

“We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners,” the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo “who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda”.

He said the ANC would put “the question of Gqozo” to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

“The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the ‘self-

Violence

governing’ and ‘independent’ bantustans regarding policing and other security matters must lead to a reining in of the repressive functionaries of the apartheid government,” the working committee statement said.

The committee meeting also considered the events at Bisho, but did not mention whether mass action would be pursued in

attempts to bring about political change in the other homelands.

Its statement said, however, that “the actions of administrations in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and other areas are in direct conflict with the provisions of the national peace accord, the Goldstone commission and recommendations of international experts on policing and mass protest.”
Winnie Mandela resigns ANC posts

Winnie Mandela — vowing to continue serving her people and country — yesterday resigned her positions in the ANC, saying she had enemies both inside and outside the organisation. Her decision leaves her as an ordinary member of the ANC.

She announced her resignation from the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), the Women's League NEC and the league's PWV regional executive a week after the NEC had considered a report by two independent lawyers on a demonstration in her support at ANC headquarters earlier this year.

The inquiry, led by Wits University attorney Denis Davis and Durban attorney Linda Zama, re-opened to hear evidence from Mandela after it had been closed. A second report based on her testimony was handed to the NEC last week. Davis could not say what the report contained.

Mandela said yesterday: "The generalised attacks against my person and, through me, my organisation have once again resumed. To my enemies I now neither have a family nor privacy. The intensity and viciousness of these attacks have deeply hurt my daughters, those of my grandchildren old enough to understand, my husband, our relatives and many of our friends inside and outside our country."

She said she was tendering her resignation in the interests of her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, and her family.

She appealed for understanding from those who had elected her to her positions.

"This is no selfish move on my part nor lack of appreciation of the mandate you have given me. I have dedicated my life to the kind of existence I know: the struggle for my people. I will continue to serve my people and my country relentlessly," she said.

"My support of our liberation movement will never cease. I appeal to all to help us to lead a normal family life."

ANC disrupts QwaQwa show

The ANC decided last week to disrupt the show, a major example of the sort of action campaigns which were polarising SA society and return to the negotiating table, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said yesterday.

Opening the QwaQwa National Show in Phuthaditjhaba at which the ANC alliances held its "people's assembly", Breytenbach reiterated government's position that negotiation was the only way to solve the country's problems.

"Mass action has to stop. Violence must come to an end. Intimidation must come to an end. Those actions which affect the dignity of others must be stopped," he said.

Government's door was open to players, he said. The will and attitude was all that was lacking in the ANC and its ally or boss, the SACP, in trying to get talks back on track. He called on the QwaQwa government to maintain present constitutional structures until new structures had been established and accepted.

"A person does not break down his old house before he has built a new one," he said. Nearly a million people were employed in the agricultural sector and in 1989 they were paid nearly R1,6bn in cash and a further R516m in kind.

He said farmers had to use resources better to prevent the country becoming poorer. QwaQwa owed this not only to its citizens but the whole of SA.

SAPA reports that Breytenbach dismissed the people's assembly protest as a circus. The protest was held alongside the show and organised by the ANC. The event was not conducted in the spirit of the government of national unity.

The tripartite alliance in QwaQwa protested on Wednesday and yesterday to highlight their call for Chief Minister Dr T K Mopeli to resign, and for the installation of a government of national unity.

Early attempts by the SA security police to get the ANC supporters to voluntarily disperse failed. A large contingent of heavily armed SA and QwaQwa police were present. At 4.30pm the ANC supporters marched out of the stadium.
PEOPLE’S LIVES  Instead of cleansing the air in new SA the nation is again drenched in blood

It was time to remember our martyrs

Steve Biko. He was cruelly beaten into a coma by the police while in their custody and allowed to die.

He’d always boasted that under no circumstances would he give in to oppression, whether it was from a man in the street calling him “kaffir”, a policeman trying to bully him or the government trying to restrict his movements.

He and his friends, founders of Black Consciousness in South Africa, had changed resistance politics in this country.

Towards the end of the 1960s, blacks appeared to have been cowed by vicious repression. The sentences meted out in 1963/4 — death sentences for many PAC members, life sentences for both ANC and PAC members, and long jail terms — had frozen the black community.

People in the black townships were scared to even whisper the names of the PAC and the ANC.

Biko and his friends restored our self-confidence. And it was largely as a result of their work that the liberation movements in exile then, the ANC and the PAC, got a new injection of life after 1976.

Here at home, the Black Consciousness Movement, did much more than restore our confidence in ourselves: it demonstrated black unity in practice.

Under the umbrella of Black Consciousness people who sympathised with the ANC brushed shoulders with those who sympathised with the PAC.

For a change there was one voice from the oppressed.

Sadly that voice has now been splintered and we are now on the Tower of Babel. Liberation is now of secondary importance to the liberation movements as they try to outmanoeuvre one another hoping to be the next rulers of this country.

This was the week to reflect on these matters.

Instead the list of martyrs has grown by a staggering 28.

How long does the list have to be before we shout Uhuru?

And that’s not all

PS: I had an interesting call from Mr Geoffrey Makwakwa, a spokesman of the Department of Education and Training.

“It’s about your column of August 20,” he says.

“We don’t agree with the figures that Mr Sisulu gave you.” He is referring to the figures about children dropping out of school.

“She says 23 percent drop out before they complete primary school A: our figure is 12.56 percent. The Human Sciences Research Council’s figure is 13.23 percent.

“She also says that less than 10 percent matriculate while our figures show that in 1991 39.26 percent completed Standard 10 and 60.42 percent completed primary school education.”

I get a little hot under the collar: “Mr Makwakwa, 23 percent and 13 percent, what difference does it make to the fact that there are millions of children out there who cannot read or write?”

“The Department is trying to bridge the gap and instead of showing the progress we are making, the wrong figures make the picture worse,” he responds.

“Ten percent of a million is 100,000 and that is a great number of children.”
Readers invited to select topics

Last week readers were invited to give their views about Saturday Star's Speak Out. While most people felt it served a useful purpose, many said they would like to suggest specific topics. This week readers are invited to phone in on any topic they like — and also to suggest future topics.

Phone (011) 633-2253 or 633-2591 today between 6 pm and 7.30 pm. Views will be published in the Saturday Star tomorrow.

Fiddle-dee-dee... South Africa's Edwina Sheridan (24) Frankly gives a damn about the role of Scarlett O'Hara. She was chosen yesterday as South Africa's best shot at the flighty heroine in the upcoming film based on the controversial sequel to Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind", due to be filmed next year. Miss Sheridan will soon be auditioning with other hopefuls to the title in the worldwide search for the new Scarlett. At present the Cape Town actress features in Peter Toerlen's production of "Out of Order".

Picture: Rebecca Hearfield

Winnie resigns from top ANC positions

By Kaizer Nyatsumba Political Reporter

Controversy-ridden Winnie Mandela has resigned from the ANC's national executive committee and its Women's League.

Her resignation comes only days after the publication in the Sunday Star of a letter she allegedly wrote to Dali Mpopo — her former deputy in the ANC's social welfare department and alleged lover — in March.

Mrs Mandela said although those who had relentlessly waged a "vicious and malicious campaign" against her had partly succeeded in their aims, she would not give them "the satisfaction of discussing my private life in public".

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn. Yet it is my belief that this is not the time to expend our energies on deciphering battle lines and becoming deliberately confused in a struggle for self-preservation," Mrs Mandela said in a statement.

Mrs Mandela said her resignation had nothing to do with her work or with the way she had dealt with her private account as social welfare head in the ANC. The matter, she said, had been dealt with "exhaustively and satisfactorily" by the organisation's national executive committee which had released a statement clearing her.

In addition to resigning from the national executive committees of both the ANC and the Women's League, Mrs Mandela also pulled out of the league's PWV regional executive committee — which was suspended in June because of alleged attempts to get her reinstated as social welfare head in the ANC — and withdrew her membership of the league.
The mob edges closer

Events leading up to Monday's massacre at Bisho raise serious questions about the willingness of SA's political leaders to negotiate a constitutional agreement.

The three main groups — the National Party, the ANC alliance and Inkatha — appear more committed to power plays aimed at a future election than the creation of a democratic platform on which to contest the election.

The Bisho killings mean the prospects of negotiations being resumed soon are now even more remote. A further round of exploratory talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has been cancelled — apparently at government's request.

On TV this week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said government would have to reconsider whether it could negotiate with the ANC while it was dominated by the SA Communist Party. The possibility of pushing ahead without the ANC has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but has not been regarded as a serious option up to now.

The situation may change if the ANC steps up mass action and refuses to compromise on pre-negotiation demands. Robert Schrire of UCT's Institute for the Study of Public Policy told the FM recently that an attempt to achieve a settlement without the ANC may become an option for government — if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal solution. As long as the elections are democratic, non-racial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate the ANC. If not fully accepted, the new government (Current Affairs July 31).

Even before the Bisho incident, government was taking a tough line. Last week's Free State Nat congress showed no sign of reconciliation. Senior spokesmen, including Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Law & Order Minister Hermus Kriel, led a bitter onslaught against the ANC and Pik Botha boasted that the NP would win the first democratic election.

In KwaZulu at the weekend, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the IFP Youth Brigade to "bugger up" the ANC to prevent the organisation taking over the country. And in response to ANC alliance threats to march on Ulundi and unseat Buthelezi, Inkatha spokesman Gavin Woods warned that if it did so the organisation would receive a "sound thrashing."

Taking cover at Bisho . . . no-one benefits

The strategic thinking behind Monday's ANC march is difficult to understand. It can't be equated to the previous round of mass action, which was aimed at making strong but peaceful political statements by taking grievances into city centres.

The Bisho march was confrontational from the outset. Its aim was to overthrow Ciskei's military dictator Oupa Gqozo and occupy his capital. The ANC was repeatedly warned by churchmen, politicians and peace negotiators of the potential for bloodshed, yet went ahead.

In that sense, the organisation must accept much of the blame for the massacre. But other parties are also guilty. The failure of leaders to put the future of SA ahead of sectarian interests shows how intellectually ill-equipped they all are to cope with the massive challenges facing the country.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says too many political leaders are only considering the narrow interests of their parties rather than the pressing need for peaceful negotiation and democracy in SA. He says this is reflected in Buthelezi's attitude towards the ANC, the SA Communist Party's role in the Bisho march, and even government's federalism conference this week, which was perceived as anti-ANC.

No-one benefits from what happened at Bisho. The anarchists who believed a street mob could overthrow a petty homeland despot and then move on to the Union Buildings were proven hopelessly wrong by Ciskei's lightly armed defence force. How they hope to challenge the might of the SAP and SADF is beyond comprehension.

Nevertheless, alliance radicals appear to have gained the upper hand, as was predicted following the failure of CBD mass action six weeks ago to bring any major concessions from government (Current Affairs July 31).

The real reason for ANC opposition to Brigadier Gqozo's rule is clear — he doesn't toe an ANC line and is an obstacle to the organisation's efforts to mobilise in the homeland. He also offers a means of getting at De Klerk in a way that makes it difficult for De Klerk to respond effectively, because of the absurd fact of Ciskei's constitutional independence.

Gqozo is condemned as Pretoria's puppet. His removal by De Klerk is expected to be added as a prerequisite to the resumption of negotiations. Yet, in theory, De Klerk cannot simply "remove" him: this is the mad harvest of global apartheid.

The ANC has no apparent problems with either Transkei or Venda, also ruled by military men who seized power undemocratically, but who are very pro-ANC.

Despite the killings, Ciskei-style mass action is expected to spread quickly to other homelands — KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana in particular.

The SACP appears to have played a significant role in organising and leading Monday's march. Eyewitness accounts show that the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils headed the defiant charge by a small group of marchers towards the waiting Ciskei troops. Considering the repeated threats by SACP spokesmen during the previous few days to oust Gqozo and occupy Bisho, it seems that the Kasrils manoeuvre was a well-planned and deliberate contravention of the restrictions placed on the marchers by a Ciskei magistrate.

But it's not clear at what level the militant approach is being co-ordinated.

Pik Botha blames the SACP. He may be right.

Apart from Kasrils' action on Monday, SACP secretary-general Chris Hani took the lead in drumming up support for the march during a whistle-stop tour of Border towns last week.

Strong and militant SACP leadership could seriously undermine the standing and influence of moderate ANC figures and raise the possibility that, in effect, the ANC
The killings at Bisho are a triumph for the forces of unreason and bitterness which stalk our increasingly desolate land. On one side, leaders of the ANC and SACP took their followers to their deaths; on the other, fearful and volatile soldiers loyal to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo appear to have fired indiscriminately.

How could such a thing happen? Here are a few reasons:

☐ The confrontation with the security forces of the Ciskei was deliberate. It was part of the mass action campaign aimed at overthrowing those homeland leaders hated most by the ANC: Gqozo, Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Elsewhere — in KwaNdwame and Transkei, for example — local rulers who side with the ANC are not threatened;

☐ This focus on vulnerable homelands — Gqozo has cracked down on ANC structures in his territory — arises because attempts to rattle central authority in marches on cities and the occupation of public buildings have not succeeded. The homelands are the soft underbelly of the white-dominated State, as the ANC sees it. But dictators like Gqozo are known to resort to brutal methods when they come under threat; and

☐ Government has wrung its hands over the homelands for too long. Its consistent attempts to give them political credibility — so that all were negotiating participants at Codesa — did not rest on an organic reality. It rested on ethnic theories, huge subventions from the SA taxpayer and, indeed, military intervention when one of its favourites (Bophuthatswana’s Mangope) appeared about to fall.

Ciskei — where Gqozo seized power in 1990 — lies in the heartland of ANC/SACP support. Once he set himself against the ANC, the probability of violent confrontation loomed. Now that it has happened — and in such vivid and awful images seen worldwide — the repercussions could be considerable. Certain attitudes are going to be hardened.

A profound responsibility rests with Nelson Mandela. He must make plain whether he is a hawk or a dove: does he want to negotiate or fight? After all, the whole issue of the homelands had been on the Codesa agenda — and it was the ANC which walked away from that.

Government’s choice is whether to pursue negotiations — and end up pleading — or prepare to handle more violence.

It may have no choice. If the telephone line between the Union Buildings and Shell House is severed and De Klerk and Mandela no longer talk to each other, even by proxy, moderates on both sides could well be radicalised.

The ANC — for a while, at any rate — could be overtaken by a sort of Ronnie Kasrils madcap triumphalism. On government’s side, there would be less turning of the other cheek and more emphasis on the use of the security forces to keep law and order — despite an inevitable intensity of criticism.

Needless to say, such a supersession of the moderates will have dire consequences for the economy. Less than ever will foreign investment be attracted to these shores; more people will struggle for a livelihood in a climate of contraction; township services will further deteriorate and emigration increase. SA will have embarked upon the low road to perpetual instability and destitution.

As the FM has pointed out in the past, the world does not wish this to happen. Countries such as Britain and Portugal have no capacity to absorb the hundreds of thousands of passport holders who earn their livelihoods in SA. A stable, wealth-creating SA would hold out inestimable benefits for Africa as a whole — a continent which estimates suggest will be alone in the world by the end of the century in growing poorer.

But since the major world economies are driven by free-market principles, investment in SA will always be conditional on stability and democracy. Today the world is prepared to feed Africa, but not to throw money at it.

What the world community can do for SA is to offer mediation. The principle of such outside assistance has already been accepted by government and the ANC. It would now make good sense for this process to be expanded. And the next time a figure such as Cyrus Vance says that negotiations had better resume, we need to believe him.
NEGOTIATIONS 1

**The sense of talking**

In its eagerly awaited statement on “the way forward” last Friday, the ANC’s national executive committee endorsed proposals for “the intensification of the mass action campaign.” The focus:

- Measures to achieve democracy through an elected, sovereign constituent assembly without delay;
- Practical steps to deal with the violence;
- The immediate release of political prisoners;
- Free political activity in all parts of the country, including KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and rightwing controlled towns; and
- Socio-economic problems including soaring food prices, housing and workers’ rights.

Details of the programme of action were to follow in due course. However, word was already out that there would be a massive march into Ciskei the following Monday, in a “final push” by the ANC alliance to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

It seemed obviously timed to coincide with and deflect attention from President F W de Klerk’s Pretoria conference on federalism, which Gqozo was expected to attend.

Before the march on Ciskei turned into a disaster (as some had feared and predicted it would), the ANC also “reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement.” But it placed the onus for meeting its preconditions squarely on the “regime,” which “still lacks the political will to take immediate and visible steps to stop violence.”

Based on Ramaphosa’s report on his “contact” with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the NEC agreed “unanimously” that government’s responses to the ANC’s demands were “unsatisfactory on the key issues of violence and the release of political prisoners.” There was no real fuss over Ciskei and the others.

Another hopeful sign amid this sullenness seemed contained in the NEC having “noted that the regime has now gone a long way towards accepting the idea of a democratic constituent assembly.” In this regard, said the ANC, government had indicated its support for the following elements of such an assembly:

- That it be democratically elected;
- Draft and adopt the new constitution (“implies that it should sit as a single chamber”);
- Be bound by constitutional principles;
- Have a time frame;
- Have adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- Function democratically by arriving at decisions with certain agreed majorities; and
- Be elected within an agreed predetermined period.

This important though provisional achievement was “attained through the struggles of the people of our country,” said the ANC. Even the obedient of the dividends that can flow from mass pressure employed as an arm of negotiations, following last month’s “peace and democracy” stayaway.

Further cause for optimism about talks resuming (even as protests were on the go) seemed implicit in the ANC’s unveiling of a draft “Transition to Democracy Act” (TDA). This is meant to serve as a framework for the transitional period pending adoption of a new constitution; and to address government concern at a legal and constitutional vacuum in the interim.

The TDA — which NP and government leaders are studying and will respond to fully in the spirit of negotiations — abolishes the present parliament, the distinction between “own” and general affairs, the all-powerful presidency, the President’s Council and other features of the tricameral system.

It envisages that the TBVC homelands will simultaneously make appropriate provisions for reincorporation into the new SA. Provision is made for the people of these areas to take part in all transitional and further arrangements, including elections.

The ANC’s transitional law envisages a parliament consisting of a single chamber made up of 400 “working men” and women elected on the basis of one person one vote of equal value, by citizens (including homelands) aged 18 and over. An electoral law will provide for proportional representation.

Parliament will perform two functions:

- It will act as the constitution-making body; and
- Act as the law-making body during the transition from the time elections have taken place until the installation of the first new government under the new constitution.

It will be defined in this way (constituent assembly and legislature) to ensure that there is no confusion between these two separate functions. Drawing up and adopting a new constitution must not become enmeshed with governing the country in the interim phase, explained the ANC’s Mohammed Vally — though it is difficult to see how the functions will be separated in practice.

This is perhaps why the ANC provides for an “executive authority” based on the principle of a government of national unity. The executive during this phase will be made up of representatives of parties which have won 5% or more of seats in proportion to their number of seats in parliament.

A clear decision-making formula, including time frames and a deadlock-breaking formula, is called for. Thus, when parliament sits as constituent assembly it will adopt each article of the constitution and the whole document by a two-thirds majority — and it must do so within nine months.

If 67% can’t be mustered in that time, a new procedure comes into play. First, fresh elections are held to create a new constituent assembly, which will have only six months to pass a new constitution.

If the second assembly can’t cut it, “then a constitution enjoying the support of a simple majority of the constituent assembly shall be put to the people for approval by way of a referendum at which the constitution must enjoy a majority of 55% to be adopted.”

If this also fails, a fresh election will be held for a third assembly, which shall have the power to adopt a new constitution by a simple majority.

In addition to the TDA, the ANC says various other measures will be necessary in the interim, to give legal effect to agreements designed to level the playing field and guarantee free and fair elections. They will provide for certain structures to be set up prior to elections — for example, a multiparty commission to control security forces.

On regional and local government during the transition, the ANC believes that the whole issue of demarcation of new regions, and the distribution of powers, functions and structures is the prerogative of the constituent assembly. Pendiing this, the present provincial system, with appropriate adjustments to include the homelands, should be retained.

The DP’s Tony Leon, in a preliminary response, said some of these proposals are a blatant negation of generally accepted democratic principles. Simple majoritarianism, which the ANC plan boils down to, is no guarantor of constitutional democracy. Institutional checks and balances must be entrenched to underpin the new constitution, says Leon; and the ANC is allowing a period of only 17 months for a new constitution to be drawn up before it is agreed by a simple majority of 50% plus one.
Allan Hendrickse’s Labour Party, once the most numerically powerful opposition group ever to face the National Party in parliament, crumbled further this week when six MPs quit to join the Democratic Party.

Among them were two of Hendrickse’s staunchest allies, David Curry and Chris April. The LP is now left with only 17 MPs in the 85-seat House of Representatives (HoR). After the first tricameral election in 1984, the LP held 80 seats. The party was effectively broken last year when a concerted Nat effort wooed most LP MPs and forced it into opposition in the HoR.

So far only one LP MP has quit to join the ANC, though a few of those remaining have strong ANC leanings. They include Hendrickse’s son, Peter, and son-in-law, Desmond Locke.

One MP who joined the DP, Cliff Nasson, says the majority of MPs still in the LP are keen to join a centrist party like the DP while a smaller group is likely to go to the ANC.

For Curry, joining the DP was like coming home. He was a member of the old Progressive Party until the now repealed Prohibition of Political Interference Act prohibited non-racial political parties.

The DP’s Ken Andrew says the addition of the six MPs makes the DP the second-biggest party in parliament and strengthens the base from which to grow.

“We are determined initially to build our support to at least 10% of the adult population and, in the process, to recruit leaders of national and local prominence.”
Winnie may still face a full ANC inquiry

Staff Reporter

MRS Winnie Mandela could still face a full-scale investigation and a disciplinary hearing by the ANC despite her resignation from the national executives of the ANC and its Women's League on Wednesday.

ANC national executive committee member Mrs Thandi Modise-Mkhwanazi said an inquiry investigating Mrs Mandela's suspension from the organisation's Women's League national executive was re-opened to hear fresh evidence last week.

The inquiry relates to a protest staged in May at the Johannesburg ANC offices in Shell House by Mrs Mandela's supporters against her suspension from the Women's League executive.

Wits Professor Denis Davis and attorney Ms Linda Zama had recommended a full-scale investigation after hearing evidence from Mrs Mandela and others, she said.

Professor Davis confirmed yesterday that Mrs Mandela had given evidence last week after a request by the ANC to re-open the inquiry but declined to release details of the completed report.

Yesterday's announcement follows revelations by Sunday newspapers of a letter allegedly written by Mrs Mandela to lawyer Mr Dalai Mpolo expressing fears of an investigation into her bank account. The letter also mentions ANC social welfare department cheques cashed on her behalf.

Mrs Mandela has said her resignation had nothing to do with her work nor her private account.

ANC sources said yesterday they believed the letter leaked to newspapers had been the "last straw".

There was also the question of serious irregularities in the department of social welfare's books, they said.

"An amount of R400 000 has been mentioned but it is believed to be slightly less than that. Nobody knows the figures because we are not being informed about it," said a source.
Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to sumn

By Peter Fabricius

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit to discuss violence at its top leadership level with the Government.

The seemingly consensual decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's position in the wake of Inkale's shooting of at least 28 ANC members last Monday.

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president, Nelson Mandela, and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk concluded on the ANC's second day in session, ANC deputy-secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top-level meeting of Government and ANC delegations — led by himself and Mr Mandela — to discuss violence.

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's earlier participation in constitutional negotiations pending restitution of violence.

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising reaction to the Inkale massacre.

Earlier foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and to put impossible demands on the Government, and that as the removal of the Inkale leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

They urged instead that the ANC reject the call for a Government to pressure Inkale to cease its killing of ANC members free political activity in Inkale. Mr Botha's threat to use executive powers — possibly financial sanctions — against Inkale was seen as helpful in this regard.

The context between the ANC and the Government to win international favor in the wake of the Inkale tragedy headed up yesterday as Mrs Mandela intercepted the ANC's meeting to brief leaders, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Inkale row to the UN.

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asking him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions like the Inkale incident, which led to loss of life.

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play a more active role in the Inkale conflict.

He also warned that the press conference for media and diplomats that coersive measures would be taken if the Inkale government refused to suspend the SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control Inkale violence.

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions.

Mr Botha was referring to Inkale's call for a UN peacekeeping mission to be established, and that he would call together all Inkale governments to ensure that they handled Inkale in an "effective and responsible" way.

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a special envoy to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the Inkale Peace Accord.

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative at the summit, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the Inkale Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence.

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation.

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha announced that the ANC had excluded the Inkale leader,inkale leader, inkale leader, inkale leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

He said the ANC had targeted Inkale for main action, because it did not allow free political activity, but it was anti-Inkale.

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Inkale massacre in which Inkale members were victims attracted worldwide publicity, but the Inkale virtually ignored massacres of Inkale Freedom Party supporters.

More reports — Pages 3 and 13

Cheeky cub... Ntomhlile seems to be shaping up as her mother's successor. Picture

White lioness missing

By Julienne de Torii

Whitey, the famous white lioness of the eastern Transvaal, has disappeared.

But her two-year-old cub Ntomhlile appears to be shaping up as her successor, and could now be the only white lion in the east.

Whitey, who would be about 11 years old now, has not been seen for two months, said Megan Cawse of the Motswari game reserve, near Hoedspruit in the eastern Transvaal.

"We don't know what has happened. She could have been poached... maybe she has just passed on."

Ntomhlile, a cheeky, robust young lioness, is showing dominant tendencies, just like her mother, who was matriarch of the 90-strong pride. The recessive gene which makes certain lions white at birth also seems to make them larger. "This gives them a lot of an edge as youngsters," said Mrs Cawse.

Many of the white lions, originally from the Tshing valley game reserve, are in 2002 all over the world.

Prices squashed
Slabbert: SACP "riding" on ANC

Political Staff

THE ANC had a deeply divided political personality and it had to decide whether it supported confrontation or negotiation, Judge's policy director, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has stated in an interview. He also said the times were too serious and critical to be misled by the sort of Mickey Mouse revolutionary politics advocated by the SA Communist Party.

Dr Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, said in the interview, being published in today's issue of Viole Weekblad, that the SACP was totally relying on the ANC's back to ride into the first election.

The interview is his most outspoken attack on the SACP and on its manipulation of the ANC.

He said he was not convinced that now was the time to start a new political party but what was more important was that people were talking about this possibility more often and with greater intensity.

The ANC was, on one hand, a liberation movement with ideals with which he could identify without much difficulty, but, on the other hand, strategically the organisation was the prisoner of its most coherent and determined partner, the SACP.

"The time has now broken for the alliance to decide what profile it would offer to the voters in the coming election."

One of the most important qualities of the communists that was they were absolutely honourable, open and unequivocal about their position.

"Therefore, in completely the same way I can say equally unequivocally that if they are part of the alliance in an election, I cannot vote for them in terms of their policies and strategies."

Said in private

Dr Slabbert said he had great respect, even admiration, for Mr Nelson Mandela, but he could not compromise his sacrifices for a communist strategy that had caused so much suffering and hardship this century.

It did not help him that individual members of the ANC said in private that the views of SACP members were not the official standpoint of the ANC because the SACP and the unions under its control were the most organised faction of the alliance.

It was clear that people like Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils regarded negotiations as only another terrain of struggle.

NP meet on disquiet over

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's parliamentary caucus last night began gathering for a "liberal" style, particularly his handling of the ANC. It is understood some party members believe Mr De Klerk argumented strongly on the need for the seizing the
Soweto Democratic Party leader Andile Mazidumile gets ready to address a spruce little meeting in Funda Centre on Saturday afternoon. He's nervous, he confesses, because he's never chaired a meeting before.

About 17 blacks and half that number of whites are perched neatly on chairs, listening intently, waiting for MPs Tony Leon and Lester Fuchs to talk to them on the issues of the day and tell them why they should join the DP.

At first blush the meeting seems to have more in common with a Bible study class than what one had come to expect of a township political event, but then the DP is a newcomer to Soweto.

Mazidumile admits the DP's recruitment drive in the country's largest township "won't be easy.

"There are lots of people sympathetic to the DP who would like to join. The problem is that most people are afraid to come out in the open," he has a point. Only three of the people The Weekly Mail spoke to after the meeting would divulge their names.

"They have to see the party is alive in Soweto. In time they'll want to come aboard as well," says Mazidumile.

Cesar Khumalo, 22, who signed up a year ago, explains he likes the African National Congress, but opposes its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

"It doesn't matter that we are small as long as we know our objectives for a new South Africa," he says.

Everybody seems to agree that the National Party has no growth potential in Soweto.

"The DP is a party of negotiation and non-violence. That's why I joined them," says Victor Khambule, who is unemployed. "The ANC is a violent party. They always want to propose mass action which people don't like. People are far too hungry. But the Nats are the party of apartheid. They will never get our support. People here are well aware they are suffering because of the Nats."

Fuchs kicks off the meeting on a hearty note: the time has come to recognize the DP as a party in its own right, not a dating agency set on marrying the ANC and Nats.

"We are a player not a referee, a bride not a bridesmaid. We are confident that if our resolve is strong and we can put the DP firmly on the map. Only our best efforts will ensure that democracy exists in the country."

For Leon and several other MPs, going it alone was not exactly first prize. Six months ago papers were written, and there was plenty of talk, in the direction of going into a new party together with the Nats.

That option was firmly quashed by the majority of DP MPs. And in the wake of further revelations about state involvement in violence, corruption and renewed evidence of NP duplicity on a range of issues, the debate is definitely over. Any doubts about this were dispelled by the party's refusal to participate in the NP's alliance-building conference on federalism on Monday.

The decision, however, has not been without its cost. It has been noticeable, for instance, that the SABC has recently been all but ignoring the DP (a perception most starkly illustrated by an "all-party" debate on Agenda this week which included the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana government, but not the DP).

Even the DP's opponents now agree that under the leadership of Dr Zach de Beer the party has played an exemplary role in negotiations. In particular, De Beer, party chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin have won just about everyone's respect as politicians of integrity by putting forward workable compromises and scrupulously maintaining their independence.

"Of all the political organisations, the DP and its predecessors are the only ones who have tried to reconcile black aspirations and white fears, and that is what negotiations are all about," Andrew says. "We've been in that game for 30 years, and the positions we adopt are not based on power but on what is best for South Africa, so it's not surprising when the compromises reached are close to what we argued."

The problem, though, is the party has not been particularly successful in translating this into structures, organisations or any other indicators of solid support outside the white electorate. Despite its record of opposing apartheid, and the existence of a considerable — and probably growing — constituency of black people who don't trust the National Party, hate Inkatha and are wary of the militancy, and communist links of the ANC, its township performance has been far from inspired.

De Beer is surprisingly frank on this point and acknowledges that few inroads have been made in the African or Indian areas.

In the black areas we are pleased and surprised by the friendliness with which we are received. But very few people have shown an inclination to join us. The majority are definitely ANC. We appear to be everybody's second choice. We now have a few branches — in Mamelodi, Soweto and the east Rand, but we haven't done more than scratch the surface."

Their last major foray into the Indian communities was in the 1989 election when they won three of the nine seats they contested. Little has been done since then.

"In the coloured areas we've been more successful and things are going well. We have seven branches in the Cape Flats, three in Port Elizabeth and one in Johannesburg, and new ones are being launched weekly."

"The coloured community tends to be conservative. Most people are terrified of communism, so they're not attracted to the ANC, and most will not readily join the party which gave them the Group Areas Act."

"The polls showing massive Nat support are not necessarily accurate because a high proportion of the community fears the government and doesn't understand polls."

In all three communities, he adds, the problem is one of leadership. The party took a controversial decision by accepting (or rather carefully selecting) six former Labour Party MPs into its ranks. David Curry, Chris April, Cliff Nasson, Neville Padiachy, Errol Gordon and Barend Andrews are among the more credible of the "tri-camera" politicians. This, the LP's recent dalliance with the ANC, combined with the growth of the coloured section of the NP, have made the issue less controversial. But it was a decision that wasn't taken lightly and De Beer notes that the DP's two most credible coloured stalwarts — Professor Richard van der Ross and Norma Daniels — were reluctant to accept the move.

In the African areas the party would love to attract the likes of Eron Mabuza and Oscar Dhiomo, but both are accumulating directorships and staying away from party politics.

The DP's problem is that despite its considerable non-racial potential it remains a party of well-off, largely English-speaking white people (who are not impressed by the party's poor performance in running the Johannesburg and Sandton city councils).

De Beer, however, is far from pessimistic. "In 1989 we got the vote of 20 percent of the white community. After that we lost a lot to FW, but most have since come back because of the widespread disillusionment with FW."

"Right now we could not be sure of getting even five percent of the vote in a non-racial election, but our aim is to get between 10 and 12 percent. I think it's realistic."
D-DAY FOR HOMELANDS

Symbols of a tragedy: The imaginary Ciskei border is marked by soldiers and wreaths.

Photo: SARAH PRALL

SA's negotiations by massacre

Behind the showdown: Both sides have an eye on elections.

THE African National Congress and the government are headed for a bloody showdown in the homelands. After this week's confrontation and massacre in Ciskei, the ANCkeeps it fresh to establish free political activity in these reproducible areas before any voting campaign can begin. The government yesterday signalled its determination to resist the attack on the homeland fathers. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ominously that the government was ready to use "concealed action in the interest of all the people of the region".

Both sides are driven by election strategy. The ANC sees it as essential to establish free political activity in these reproducible areas before any voting campaign can begin. The government has also been under severe pressure from its members in these areas to do something about tough conditions in the homelands.

"The National Party feels it has to defend its potential election allies if it is to survive a vote," Botha said that with the help of homeland leaders, the NP can win an election.

See PAGES 2, 4, 5 & 19
Homelands move to top of the agenda

By PHILIPPA GARSSON

At the National Party's 1993 policy conference, the issue of homeland elections was moved to the top of the agenda. The government has been slow to act on this, but the ANC has been active in homeland elections, which have become increasingly important as the campaign for constitutional assembly elections in South Africa grows. At the BophUTHA-Tsana conference, the ANC presented a plan for constitutional assembly elections, which have been systematically scheduled for 1994. The ANC has also been active in the homeland elections, which have been held in the last few months, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections.

The Bophuthatswana government has been active in the homeland elections, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections. The ANC has been active in the homeland elections, which have been held in the last few months, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections. The ANC has also been active in the homeland elections, which have been held in the last few months, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections.

At the Bophuthatswana government has been active in the homeland elections, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections. The ANC has been active in the homeland elections, which have been held in the last few months, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections. The ANC has also been active in the homeland elections, which have been held in the last few months, with the aim of preparing for the constitutional assembly elections.
Govt will block ANC win at 11/19-17/9/92

takeover at all costs

Weekly Mail Reporter

The government is convinced the African National Congress alliance has decided to use every tactic possible to bring all the homelands under its control in order to assume power when negotiations restart — and that it has no alternative but to resist this strategy.

It also believes that the Bisho massacre will look like a picnic if the ANC alliance takes its campaign to Bophuthatswana and kwazulu. Conflict would fan out through Natal and the Reef hostels would erupt.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent a memorandum to United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to send a representative to hold discussions with key political players and to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon “any further provocative actions”.

In a hard-line document released at a Pretoria press conference, Botha charged that the ANC/SACP actions at Bisho and withdrawal from Codesa violated UN Security Council Resolutions 765 and 772. Mass action, he said, was “aimed at eliminating leaders of those parties who refuse to be cowed and intimidated by them”.

He warned that the government was ready to use coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region. One of the major spinoffs of the massacre, say government sources, is that levels of trust between the government and ANC have plummeted to a new low: they say agreements were reached at Bisho but the ANC leadership deliberately decided to break them.

They did not expect Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s troops to use live ammunition as the first line of fire, but ultimately Gqozo was in power, legally and politically, and it was his responsibility.

“It was a grab for power. The ANC wanted to change the chess board,” one source said. “The ANC broke the agreed conditions and wanted to occupy Bisho. They should have known that Gqozo had his back to the wall. They wanted to oust him and they got their come-uppance.”

The government believed the march was aimed at taking control of Ciskei and the occupation of Bisho was the first stage of a campaign to bring all the homelands under its wing. “After this, all other issues pale into insignificance. It could not be tolerated.”

The source said the government had made a concerted bid to prevent conflict despite its scepticism about the real aims of the march.

It sent representatives down a week before, the National Peace Committee was alerted, the minister of law and order and two deputy ministers were on hand, the ANC leadership was continuously contacted, diplomats were briefed, and broad agreement was eventually reached, but these conditions were deliberately broken.

In the circumstances, it would be very difficult to restore reasonable levels of trust for meaningful negotiations to be resumed.

The sources also said Pretoria wanted to ensure that whatever happened, it would not be linked to the Ciskei government.

Botha had even phoned the SACP secretary general Chris Hani in the presence of foreign diplomats to reinforce the fact that it wanted to keep its distance from the Ciskei and persuade him not to force confrontation.

One source said the major beneficiaries of the massacre were those on both sides, who did not want to see negotiations succeed. “Only two people, Gqozo and Ronnie Kasrils, had their planning right,” the source said.
Nonviolence is a better bet

While the de Klerk government has at its disposal the full power of the state, ranging from its army and security forces through government-controlled television and radio, the ANC now has neither the threat of armed struggle nor international sanctions, says Barbara Harrell, writing in the International Herald Tribune. The most powerful weapon for the ANC is that of protest and other forms of "people power."
The 1980s provided striking evidence of the potential of nonviolent action in fighting political oppression. It was a decade in which the term "people power" came into its own. In the Philippines, China, Argentina, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and elsewhere, "people power" challenged long-standing dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, prompting important political changes. In South Africa, "people power" forced the government away from repression and into negotiations.
The ANC has much to gain in its struggle to achieve a democratic society by developing a program for the strategic use of non-violent direct action. Most immediately, it could provide vital leverage at the negotiating table when talks resume. Swift deployment of well-timed strikes or well-organized boycotts would be far more effective than time-wasting walkouts from the negotiations. Through the strategic use of "people power," the ANC could impose short-term but real costs for heel-dragging.

A platform of non-violent mass action would underscore both the ANC's commitment to peaceful change and its militancy. It would sharply distinguish the ANC from Inkatha, whose members have so frequently been captured by television cameras brandishing their "traditional" weapons, while enhancing the ANC's appeal to those who demand a tougher stance from it.

Further, a program of non-violent action could make contributions to the ANC's organizational capacities. Communications between leadership and the rank and file have been less than satisfactory. Lack of information about the talks has been a frequent complaint from ANC members. The strategic use of "people power" would require tight communication with the people on the streets via well-functioning channels of information.
The ANC has vast resources to tap among its membership, some of whom have felt increasingly alienated from the political process.
Blood and tears

ONCE again the crack of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable as it is difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have on the African National Congress itself, which despite its public relations campaign must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of its leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, it was necessary to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homelands. Puppeted from Pretoria's headquarters by puppet masters from Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignations of the brigadiers) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which could be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making it appear that the insurgents to the hunters of Africa, of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the false consensus trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more ammunition has been provided; it will be easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, romantics of the gun determined to provoke a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiators.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry weight, just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some say even months — saving theatre will be needed to persuade the negotiators that the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to re-open a settlement in the face of the popular fury in the townships which has paid little attention to the distinction between the brigadiers and the president, between puppet and puppet-master. The longer the term, emotions will not assuage the path towards a settlement re-opened. But it is not at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P.W. Botha era, will be wounded by F.W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to critics in the area from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. It is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.

It would be the sort of softening move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as over (some would say) when the victims are the mem- bers of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Friday night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the boldest of the negociation on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC-Matutu which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as for his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself. Chief ANIChukulup and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bi-lateral negotiations which have been taking place over the last few months between the ANC and Chokwe government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.
The ANC finally resolves its no-Winnie situation

The African National Congress dithered over Winnie Mandela’s fate until a leak to the press finally resolved the dilemma.

By MARK GEVISSE

The ANC finally resolves its no-Winnie situation

THE WEEKLY MAIL, September 11 & 17, 1992

The ANC no longer has to dither: the deed has been done. Will Winnie Mandela now be dropped from the South African public consciousness, or will she remain her prominent and indefatigable self, albeit no longer feted in the rhetoric and fashion of the ANC?

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The ANC no longer has to dither: the deed has been done. Will Winnie Mandela now be dropped from the South African public consciousness, or will she remain her prominent and indefatigable self, albeit no longer feted in the rhetoric and fashion of the ANC?
ANOTHER major obstacle has been placed in the way of negotiations by this week's massacre at Bisho — the ANC has vowed not to have contact with any forum that includes Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday said the organisation would not have any contact with Ciskei until Brigadier Gqozo had been removed.

"He has to go, there's no two ways about it," he said, adding that if the Ciskei leader was present at future Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not take part.

He said, however, that he felt the military leader's days were numbered. "We have precipitated a crisis for the de Klerk regime and they will have to get rid of him."

© Full report — Page 2
A competition for power,
says man arrested with Biko

Today is the 15th anniversary of the death in detention of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leader Steve Biko. Weekend Argus Reporter VUYO BAVUMA spoke to Peter Jones, the senior BCM activist who was arrested with Biko on August 13 1977.

PETER Jones believes the philosophy of Black Consciousness is more relevant today than it was when Steve Biko died 15 years ago today.

He maintains that then, in 1977, black people, though they were still oppressed, were united and did not indulge in “destructive competition for political turf”.

But today, he says, a lot of the creative energy of black political leadership is being wasted on internecine struggle that is engulfing the country.

Though this conflict is caused by many factors, Jones reckons BC philosophy’s most important tenet — psychologically liberating blacks so they can remove their own yokes of oppression — could lead to a more peaceful new South Africa.

And to help douse the flames of violence, black people should channel their energies towards the right targets and should shape their own destiny proactively.

The former Azanian People’s Organisation executive member spent more than 500 days in detention after being detained with Biko at a roadblock in 1977. He was released early in 1979 and was banned until 1983.

He recalled how “painful” it was when he heard about Biko’s death — three weeks and three days later.

An accountant and the father of two daughters, Jones is involved in community affairs in a strictly “academic” sense.

His accounting firm, which he started in 1984, takes in graduate students for intensive training and services more than 600 clients, including trade unions and co-operatives.

Although he holds no position in Azapo, he “remains a loyal member of the movement”.

Jones says he plans to return to active politics and will attend Azapo’s national congress in Port Elizabeth in November.

Although Black Consciousness is chastised in some quarters as being racist and followed by armchair believers, Jones maintains the philosophy is still concerned about black destiny.

Jones also credits the BC for attempting to seal a union between the then banned Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress so that they agreed to a more unified approach before the “idea of the Patriotic Front became fashionable”.

The BC also contributed quality leadership for black organisations in the late Eighties until now, he said.

When Biko died he did not sacrifice the black unity on the altar, but actually strengthened it.

Jones said: “The political organisations are currently caught up in a competition for power which is a severely self-destructive cycle.

“There seems to be no vision at all. The so-called main players in the South African political field are not focusing on how to consolidate the entire black community, but are seemingly after power.

“The liberation movements need to set their priorities and not allow anything to destroy the black people’s unity,” Jones said.

This would set the people on a proper road for liberation for all.

A service marking the end of a week-long commemoration of Biko’s death will be held at Eantu Church, NY2, Guguletu, at 2pm today.
Dragged back from the brink

THE Bisho massacre pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster this week — and jolted the Government and the African National Congress back to talks.

It took the slaughter of 28 ANC marchers by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo's troops to prod the two warring parties into agreement on a summit on violence — which would be the first meeting of full Government and ANC delegations in months.

The killings also shocked the international community to turn the screws on both of them to get back to talks and to accelerate efforts to mediate in the conflict.

The United Nations responded within 24 hours to an invitation by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to dispatch a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the UN

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent
A risk too far for Kasrils

THIS week things went horribly wrong for Ronnie Kasrils. The ANC's man of action, who is used to taking risks and staring death in the face, took one risk too many in Bisho and 28 people got killed. But, as he told Deputy Editor KEN VERNON, he thinks it was worth it.

THE ANC's Ronnie Kasrils is a man who takes risks. He has started death in the face many times, and lived to laugh about it.

This week in Bisho he was once again where he loves to be — at the cutting edge of the struggle, warning by example. But things went wrong and at least 28 people died.

Was Kasrils to blame? Was the dash away from the main march on Bisho and through the stadium, triggering the shooting, another case of Kasrils derailing gone wrong? Was the march itself an unnecessary provocatio?

In an in-depth interview he denied that he, or his organisation, was responsible for the Bisho tragedy. "The men who killed 28 people are the people who pulled the trigger and the men who ordered them to do so — they are the ones who are responsible."

Even when asked whether he did not cynically lead a group of men to their deaths in order to create the martyrs necessary to remove a political opponent, Kasrils did not lose his composure.

"If we really wanted to do that, to have people killed, would some of the leaders of the ANC have been at the forefront of the march? No, we may have miscalculated. We believed that a major element within the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us."

"We never believed that they would openly fire on a mass of people before the eyes of the world — the press, the international observers, the Peace Commissioners."

Kasrils says those who followed him on his dash through the stadium and towards Bisho were members of a hand-picked group who had been briefed on what to do, and that it was planned that at least half the marchers were to have joined them in the occupation of Bisho.

"Everyone knew what we were to do. Everyone knew there was a risk. There is no such thing as a risk-free strategy in this kind of situation. But we assessed the risks and believed that getting rid of Gqomo was worth the risk."

He said the final decision to dash through the stadium had been taken only minutes before, although the possibility of the action had been discussed and agreed to by the march leaders much earlier.

"I reconvened the stadium and realigned the potential that the gap in the fence represented. The plan was that we would rush away from the soldiers opposite the gap to avoid any head-on confrontation. But we got only about 30 m before they opened fire."

"To say that I was responsible for the dash for Bisho is wrong. It was a joint decision and had been approved by the leaders of the march beforehand and by the ANC leadership when the march was planned. Even the decision to go ahead through the stadium, taken in a rush as we approached the wire, was taken jointly."

Despite the deaths, Kasrils is adamant that the march was both necessary and the right thing to do. "We have been in a life-and-death struggle for decades and in order to get where we are, sacrifice has been needed. If we had not been prepared to sacrifice, we wouldn't have got where we are on the eve of liberation."

"The march was necessary because the people of Ciskei were crying to us that they were being beaten and killed by Gqomo. We had to respond. But the march is just one aspect of the pressure we believe is necessary to force real change."

"We need to make people motivated and mobilised to force change. Perhaps Gqomo would have fallen without the march, but I doubt it. Now he cannot survive. Pretoria can't afford to keep him in power."

Kasrils denied that the mass action campaign in Ciskei, and other campaigns against Bophuthatswana, were aimed at the ANC — also the target of mass action."

"We have never said that, because we are talking, we set aside our right to exert pressure through mass action. During the Vietnam War the US continued to fight while they talked. During industrial action people may continue to strike while talking with management. Mass action falls into the same category."

He also denied that Ciskei and Bophuthatswana had been singled out for mass action primarily because they disagreed with the ANC, not because they were undemocratic military dictatorships. "They have been targeted because they are half-bred and allow people to take part in normal political democracy," he said. Why that targeted, isn't Transkei, a question: it is ruled by a military dictatorship but one who happens to be well-disposed towards the ANC — also the target of mass action."

His reply was that in Transkei and Venda as well as the ANC-aligned homeland people were free to join political parties such as the ANC and to have peaceful protests.
Elections

they should not be giddy with the success.

"It is important to analyse what De Klerk is doing and respond accordingly. We need to put our organisations on an election footing," he said.

"The National Party is already focused on winning an election. We are the majority but we have to work hard to retain that status.

"The election for a constituent assembly will be the most crucial test of our struggle. Unless we put our organisations and leaders on an election footing we will be surprised at the polls."

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet the Government on violence, as recommended by the organisation's national executive committee, once certain preparatory work had been completed.

This included the immediate release of all political prisoners with no link to amnesty, the fencing of hostels and continuous searches of their premises and effective steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons.

"Tyranny is the so-called independent homelands will have to be addressed, particularly the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana."

"Another problem needing attention is the KwaZulu Police and the havoc they continue to wreak on our structures," said Ramaphosa.

"Only after the apartheid regime has done all that will we be able to agree that they have taken sufficient steps to warrant a full meeting."

Oppressive

Ramaphosa said the Bisho shooting had not deterred the ANC from staging similar marches in Bophuthatswana and in right-wing towns.

"These things are not launched from head office. In planning our campaigns we have to take into account the feelings of the people on the ground. Our people in these places experience oppressive measures taken against them."

Ramaphosa told delegates that while the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had "emerged victorious from our mass-action campaign"
Biko’s ideas still inspire

By MOSES MAMAILA

IT IS 15 years since Steve Bantu Biko died in police custody, yet the philosophy he was instrumental in carving out – black consciousness, known by its affectionate shorthand as “BC” – retains a powerful influence among SA’s black intellectuals.

Multitudes of BC adherents yesterday converged on centres around the country to commemorate one of the most inspirational leaders the country has produced.

Biko wrote that under racist white colonial rule, blacks had come to accept their subjugation in the form of a debilitating inferiority complex.

The complex had involved a destructive self-hate, a lack of respect for life and did untold damage to black self-esteem and dignity.

Black psychological and physical oppression had caused blacks to aspire to being “white” – for, in terms of white racist thinking, whites were human while blacks were...

Political observers argue that if BC was revived among all members of the black community, so-called black-on-black violence would end.

Calling for a return to BC, well-known community and church leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba said: “It is difficult for people who have been changed by BC to be manipulated by others for selfish ends or to resort to the primitive practice of violence.

“People must be taught to think for themselves and not to be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria.”

The far-sighted Biko had warned against tribalism, saying blacks should be united around their common objective – to free themselves from all forms of oppression.

BC activists say even in death Biko led the struggle against repression.
Winnie still faces probe

WINNIE MANDELA is still to be investigated by the ANC despite her resignation from all her party posts this week.

Referring to the alleged fraud in the ANC's social welfare department under Mrs Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The investigative process is still going on.

"If any financial mismanagement is discovered in the department, steps will certainly be taken."

Four months ago, the ANC said it was looking into allegations of fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and her lover, lawyer Dali Mropu, were in charge of the department.

On Wednesday, following publication last week-end of a letter she had written to Mr Mropu, Mrs Mandela resigned from the ANC's National Executive Committee, the national executive of the Women's League and the league's regional executive committee.

Mrs Mandela's resignation pre-empted possible disciplinary steps following an inquiry by senior ANC member Alfred Nzo, who was due to present his report to the national working committee meeting this week.

Mr Nzo's investigation followed a demonstration by Women's League members outside Shell House in Braamfontein, demanding Mrs Mandela's reinstatement as social welfare head.

Rumours

Youth League president Peter Mokaba said this week Mrs Mandela did not need executive positions in political organisations to maintain her support.

Her resignations gave rise to fresh speculation that Mrs Mandela planned to form her own political party.

Rumours to this effect first surfaced earlier this year following a series of secret meetings between Mrs Mandela and small groups of supporters.

Sources in the ANC believe it entirely likely that Mrs Mandela will try to mobilise support for a new party.

A senior official said: "She is still very ambitious, but moves in that direction could spell trouble for the ANC as Winnie is something of an unguided missile."
Anxious govt awaits ANC talks decision

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government is wait-
ing anxiously to see if the ANC will con-
firm its belief that the deadlock in negotia-
tions has been broken.

Today the ANC’s national executive
committee (NEC) will announce the deci-
sions reached last night behind closed
doors after three days of deliberations.

Hopes for a rapid resumption of talks
received a boost yesterday when President
P W de Klerk said he was confident they
would be on track soon.

His comments to the NP Free State
congress were, however, more muted than
those to a confidential meeting of the Insti-
tute of Directors on Tuesday. He told direc-
tors he was confident of a breakthrough
this week.

Yesterday, he appeared reluctant to
commit himself before the NEC’s decision
was known, saying: “Obviously things can
still go wrong.” But he told delegates at the
congress that progress had been made in
bilateral talks between Constitutional De-
velopment Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC
secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

De Klerk took several swipes at the ANC
and its SACP allies during his speech. The
NP’s political opponents were “making
themselves guilty of opportunism, intimi-
dation and ultimatum politics, disruption
of the economy and aggressive, distorted
propaganda.”

These tactics would “not get anyone
anywhere” and the NP and its allies would
not be intimidated.

His message to NP supporters was:
“Stand firm against pressure and coercion.
We shall not yield and surrender the coun-
try to radicalism. We shall not allow our-
selves to be overrun.”

He also outlined the NP’s “fundamental
bottom lines” for a new dispensation.
These were a democratic model that pre-
vented domination by a simple majority;
the effective protection of universal rights;
and a market- and work-orientated eco-

omy that went a great deal further than
“mere general declarations or good inten-
tions and vague fine promises”.

See Page 4
HUNDREDS of thousands of dollars supposedly raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his triumphant visit to New York in June 1990 have yet to be accounted for.

The missing money includes donations tour organisers said had been made by superstars Madonna and Michelle Shocked and $750,000 claimed to have been raised at a $2,500-a-head party co-hosted by Robert DeNiro.

At the time, organisers said Mandela’s three-day New York tour had netted the ANC more than $2-million.

But records belatedly filed with the New York state Charities Bureau by the Mandela New York Anti-Apartheid Welcome Committee last month show the ANC received only $270,000.

Nearly double that amount — over $500,000 — was drained away by administrative overheads for staff, hotels and travel, which the organisers had earlier said they would meet themselves.

Virtually all the $270,000 the ANC is shown as having received came from a rally at the Yankee Stadium — which organisers originally claimed had generated proceeds of at least $1-million.

By law, the Mandela Welcome Committee — which was supposed to handle all the money raised in New York — should have filed a final report to the Charities Bureau 16 months ago.

**Intrigue**

The committee finally filed under pressure from state authorities, but even now the books are strangely incomplete.

No mention is made of the money pledged by Madonna and other stars, nor of proceeds from the celebrity reception at DeNiro’s restaurant, nor of the $50,000 allegedly raised at an event at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Equally intriguing is the fate of the $215,000 donated by church groups. Only $9100 shows up in the report.

A spokesman for the Charities Bureau said the committee would be given an opportunity to respond before action was taken.
Crucial week for talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC's chief negotiators are expected to meet early this week to try to arrange the all-important summit on violence between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

By late yesterday ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — due to debate on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night — had not met and it became clear there would be bargaining before a date was set.

ANC sources yesterday said Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa first had to tackle the release of political prisoners, an end to violence, and the hostel issue before the violence summit could take place.

The summit was likely to have been discussed by the National Party caucus at its mid-recess meeting in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Meanwhile, hopes for a peaceful future ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of UN observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent violence investigating teams.

Monitors

Mr de Klerk last week said he would meet homelands controlling security forces to discuss uniform measures for marches.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend he hoped the presence of independent monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct" at marches.

The vanguard of a 50-person UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa to observe the ongoing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

It is understood the ANC agreed to the summit after the Government, recognised that constitutional negotiations could not proceed until violence had been curbed.

The leader of the UN advance team, Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, yesterday said his party's immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

The Johannesburg office will be run by the leader of the observer team, Angela King of Jamaica. Mr Steiner will work from Durban.
Conditions ‘must be met first’

ANC spells out its terms for summit

THE ANC adopted a hardline attitude yesterday to President F W de Klerk’s call for a leadership meeting on violence, insisting that government would have to meet its key demands in preparatory talks before a summit could take place.

Last week the ANC agreed conditionally to an urgent meeting between delegations led by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss ways to end violence.

The ANC has refused substantive talks with government until there is agreement on the issues of the release of political prisoners, action on the hostages issue and a ban on carrying weapons in public. It now appears these demands are being made conditions for the De Klerk-Mandela talks.

A government source said yesterday the ANC could not claim political points from agreeing to the summit if it was effectively refusing to negotiate by constantly insisting on preconditions.

Despite the gloomy outlook, however, there was a glimmer of hope that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would find a way through the impasse — possibly as early as this week.

Their first meeting following De Klerk’s call will take place within two days.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Vally Moosa said yesterday the summit on violence had to result in substantial agreement, but this depended largely on “adequate agreement being reached in preparatory talks” between Meyer and Ramaphosa. If there was not a successful conclusion to these preparatory talks, the summit “will not make much sense at all.”

Billy Paddock

The three areas the ANC was insisting on having resolved were the release of political prisoners without linkage to amnesty, a ban on carrying weapons in public and steps to prevent the hostages being used to launch attacks.

Valli Moosa said if government was serious about the summit being used to resolve violence, it would accommodate the ANC’s demands.

Meyer said he had not yet spoken to Ramaphosa since last week’s call for the summit and had not been given the preconditions personally. They still needed to meet to assess their respective positions.

Another senior government source on the negotiating team said De Klerk’s call was clearly in agreement with the ANC’s demands to act forcefully and purposefully on violence. The summit was not about constitutional negotiations but specifically to work out ways of combating violence.

De Klerk had insisted on a top leadership meeting to ensure the major decision-makers on both sides would be involved in the talks and that any agreements reached would be binding.

The source said it was vital that delegates be influential and in a position to ensure agreements were carried out. Otherwise it gets to be an exercise in futility with constant new demands being put every time the messenger goes back to his constituency,” he said.

The key issue to be resolved is still the release of prisoners, with government understanding that the ANC requires visible results to prove its decision to deadlock the talks has not been in vain.

Meyer, after studying the ANC’s statement on Thursday when the organisation agreed to the summit, said it appeared “the issues they want resolved in preparatory talks are the same as those we did not have time to resolve in the last round”.

He said the week before the Bishop Lavis march, he and Ramaphosa were close to reaching agreement following their first round of talks to remove the obstacles to full bilateral talks on constitutional negotiations. They had been in constant contact during the extended three-day national executive committee meeting but just ran out of time and could not strike a deal.

Meyer was hopeful that as the issues had not changed there was a good chance of reaching agreement.

Government still maintained that because the remaining political prisoners could not be released in terms of the agreed definition, amnesty was the only way forward. This would have to apply across the political spectrum to avoid problems from sectors such as the security forces.

Government is prepared to allow this to be introduced on a phased basis with a certain level of disclosure of the deeds for which people are being forgiven.

Talks

It is understood that Ramaphosa and Meyer are seeking a new principle to apply to the prisoners which dispenses with previous conditions. The principle being mooted was that if the crime was committed with a clear political motive then the person could be excused.

Both sides are fairly confident that the hostage issue will not be difficult to resolve adequately and government hopes it can persuade the ANC on the issue of weapons.

The government source said they were hopeful a formula could be found to deal with the weapons, but a blanket ban was impossible.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to withdraw from co-operating in constitutional talks if government “succumbs to this pressure from the ANC/SACP demanding a ban on the carrying of cultural weapons at all times in public”.

“I fear that will be the end of any cooperation in any talks they may have with us in the future,” Buthelezi said.

He said that if government believed it could resolve SA’s problems without “an input from the Zulu nation, let them proceed to ban our cultural accoutrements under all circumstances.”
How Codesa turned out to be an unwieldly animal

A few commentators are rather panicky and are talking about the abyss and other hair-raising eventualities facing us. It is useful to give a more cautious, if sombre, view of current events.

As people all around us lose their heads and put the blame on others, let us try and analyse the process up to and after Codesa.

A few months after the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political organisations, a startling political development was taking place.

There seemed to be, worldwide, the opening of closed political systems. A more intriguing movement in South Africa appeared to be the opening of space for debate between the Government and the African National Congress.

Black politics

A colleague described this new development in black politics in this fascinating way: He said there were a number of formations taking shape in black politics.

The first and most noticeable was what he called the optimistic left, a new grouping that was making deliberate if cautious moves towards talking to the Government. The ANC and its allies fell into this group.

At the opposite pole was what my friend called the pessimistic right, made up of the black groups that had always been working with the Government, like the homelands and black local authorities.

The formation of an optimistic left resulted in tensions moving more fiercely to the left in black politics to create what my friend called the pessimistic left.

Taking this paradigm as a perspective might help show the pitfalls that the negotiation process faced.

The first obstacle was that the Government and the ANC took the main positions at Codesa, simply because they had started the 'broadening' and also because they were quite plainly the most powerful parties.

This caused severe tensions to grow in left-wing and right-wing black groupings. The right-wingers, chiefly the Inkatha Freedom Party, panicked when they thought they saw a deal being struck between the state and their perceived enemy.

The groups to the left, the PAC and Azapo, were at first somewhat taken aback. They then entered the fray with gusto and undisguised delight by claiming that the ANC was selling out by speaking to the Government. It was rather difficult, almost impossible to speak of a Muzorenza option with Nelson Mandela as the centre-piece.

Mandela’s popularity, charm and attraction is plainly quite powerful.

The mega political shifts in the world could not be ignored. They were forcing local politics to take this inevitable direction, not just in South Africa but all over.

As a result of all this change, the inevitable historic process, Codesa became an unwieldly animal. Among other extraordinary things it recognised or gave credibility to weak and unpopular homelands regimes and their tinpot leaders, like Brigadier Oupa Gopo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contrela), a group of no particular consequence.

This increased the attacks from the extreme left, who quite rightly said there could be no negotiation with leaders who were so obviously unrepresentative and definitely unpopular. For who was going to give credence to decisions made by such people, particularly decisions that would involve the country’s future.

Tragedy, almost like in Classical Greek plays, began to weave its macabre spell and came to the “rescue” of more than one party. And perhaps the “rescue” eventually of the entire process.

I have always been against the revolutionary assertion that the tree of freedom should be watered with blood. For just too often it seemed the blood referred to belonged to ordinary people and not the intellectuals and leaders who mouthed these learned pronouncements.

In the saddest way ever, it seemed the blood spilt at Boipatong and now at Bisho might bring things to a head.

Unfortunately metaphor

To give the image an even more unfortunate metaphor, the playing fields are being levelled.

The realisation has come that the ANC and the Government, while they are the strongest contenders, cannot be the main parties at the negotiation table. Secondly, that while it is important to make the talks representative as possible, it is not useful to have too many petty leaders with very little or no following to encumber the process.

Finally, it points to the importance of having at least the extreme left in black politics and the extreme right in white politics at the table.
Services for 15th Biko anniversary

THREE Black Consciousness organisations held a service in Guguletu on Saturday to mark the 15th anniversary of Mr Steve Biko's death in detention.

The Azanian People's Organisation, the Azanian Student Movement and the Azanian Youth Organisation participated in the memorial service at the Presbyterian church in NY2.

And in King William's Town about 150 people, including his mother Mrs Alice Biko and Azapo leaders, held a memorial service at his grave in Ginsberg cemetery.

"Steve Biko died to liberate black people," Azapo official Mr Mzukisi Madlauv said at the service.

"The things that Steve stood for will be realised. It is our duty to carry out the liberation struggle to ensure they will be realised." — Staff Reporter, Sapo-AFP
THE African National Congress Women’s League PWV region has refused to accept the resignation of its chairman, Winnie Mandela.

ANC president Nelson Mandela’s estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week following allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressurised Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national executive committee, the ANC Women’s League NEC, and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

She said information regarding the group would be released at an appropriate time.

The group was not the cabal headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to which Mrs Mandela’s alleged former lover, Dali Mpofu, referred soon after he was fired from the ANC’s social welfare department some months ago, she said. Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela’s resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

She pointed out while members accepted the reasons for her resignations from the ANC NEC and the ANCWL NEC, they did not accept her resignation from the ANCWL PWV.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the region which was suspended after members allegedly demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.

Ms Mahlangu said a commission of inquiry into the suspension, established by the ANCWL, had found it to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

Mrs Mandela would have to continue as chairman, she pointed out. - Sapa.
NEWS Ciskei victims to be buried with Biko • Economic crisis can be overcome

Steve stood for liberation

Memorial service held to honour the man who popularised black consciousness:

Sapa-AP and Abbey Makoe

ABOUT 150 people gathered for a memorial service on Saturday at the grave of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who was killed in police custody 15 years ago.

In a quiet ceremony, his elderly mother, Mrs Alice Biko, and top Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) officials paid homage to the man who popularised black consciousness philosophy and who inspired Sir Richard Attenborough's film Cry Freedom.

The service in Ginsberg cemetery was five kilometres from the stadium where Ciskei soldiers massacred 24 African National Congress supporters Monday. Many of them will be buried in Ginsberg cemetery next week.

"Steve Biko died to liberate black people," Azapo official Mr Mzukisi Madlava said. "These things that Steve stood for will be realised. It is our duty to carry out the liberation struggle to ensure they will be realised."

At Eldorado Park near Soweto, Azapo's project co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mahasa said his organisation would never entertain any argument to allay so-called white fears.

"It's the majority that need to accept the minority and not the minority accepting the majority," he said.

He stressed Azapo strives to fulfil Biko's dream of black solidarity, black unity, and a complete seizure of power.

He said whites who wished to live in a liberated Azania would have to do so under conditions laid down to them, "as much as blacks living in Europe were doing so under the conditions laid down to them by Europeans."

Meanwhile, Russell Molefe reports Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng dismissed reports Azapo was about to enter into constitutional negotiations with the Government.

Empowerment before winning competition

Seminar addresses job creation, entrepreneurial spirit:

By Don Seokane

THE focus of Sowetan's job creation project was not on winning the competition but on empowering developing business people and prospective entrepreneurs, managing editor Mr Joe Tholoe, said at the weekend.

Addressing a job-creation seminar co-sponsored by National Sorghum Breweries at the University of the North, Tholoe said the country's economy was in a crisis, and ordinary men and women have to change.

Prospective entrepreneurs and developing business owners at the seminar were taught about business plans.

Get Ahead Foundation's marketing assistant, Mr Jackie Kola, said the job-creation competition was to encourage black people to enter manufacturing and service industries. Preparations are underway for a seminar focusing on budget analysis, drawing financial statements and preparing cash flow projections.
We won’t let Winnie resign

The ANC Women’s League PWV region has refused to accept the resignation of its chairman, Winnie Mandela.

ANC president Nelson Mandela’s estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week after allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressured Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national executive committee, the ANC Women’s League NEC, and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

She said information regarding the group would be released at an appropriate time.

The group was not the cabal headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to which Mrs Mandela’s alleged former lover, Dali Mpofu, referred soon after he was fired from the ANC.

Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela’s resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

She pointed out that while members accepted the reasons for her resignations from the ANC NEC and the ANCWL NEC, they did not accept her resignation from the ANCWL PWV.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the region, which was suspended after members allegedly demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.
ANC row over Winnie grows

JOHANNESBURG. — The row within the ANC over Mrs Winnie Mandela intensified at the weekend when the African National Congress Women’s League PWV region refused to accept her resignation as branch chairman.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela’s estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week following allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Ms Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference here yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressurised Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national executive committee (NEC), the ANC Women’s League NEC and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

Information regarding this group would be released later.

Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela’s resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the PWV branch, suspended after members demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.

Ms Mahlangu said a commission of inquiry into the suspension, established by the ANCWL, had found it to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the findings had not yet been presented to the ANC’s National Working Committee. — Saps
De Klerk ‘silly’ to suggest ANC split with SACP

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

It is “silly” of President De Klerk to blame the South African Communist Party for a hardening of attitude by the African National Congress over the Bisho massacre, says SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

The former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff was commenting on calls by the government and the National Party for the ANC to drop the SACP as its ally.

He said: “We are part of the ANC and there’s no way in which we can be taken out of the movement. We are fighting a common enemy. There can only be talks of a parting of ways when we’ve defeated apartheid.”

“Before that has been achieved it would be silly to talk about it.”

He said last week’s Bisho march had been planned by the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Hani, who was one of the leaders of the Bisho march, has recommended that the Goldstone Commission investigate several issues regarding the massacre.

He said it was equally silly for Mr De Klerk to claim the SACP was influencing the ANC.

“There’s no such thing as hawks and doves in the ANC. Let them give us a list of the so-called hawks and doves in the ANC.”

Mr Hani said he was not surprised by attacks on the SACP.

“It’s all part of an NP crusade, dating back to the 1880s, to destroy us. We were the first to be banned by the NP. What frustrates them is that they have failed to finish us off.”

He said the government had predicted the SACP would “die a natural death” after it was unbanned in 1990.

“But we are still here. They are frustrated by our resilience.”
ANC, Govt thrash out problems

Preparing for a Mandela-De Klerk meeting:

THE GOVERNMENT and the African National Congress met at a secret venue yesterday to prepare for a high-level summit between State President Mr PW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Although no formal statement was released after the meeting, it is understood that “relative progress” was made and three issues were dealt with: political prisoners, the violence and “dangerous weapons and hostels”.

The Government was represented by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC by its secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. Both were accompanied by aides and legal advisors.

Yesterday’s meeting was prompted by an invitation to a high-level summit De Klerk sent to the ANC “to discuss ways of ending the violence in the country” after the Bisho bloodbath last Monday.

Ramaphosa said a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk could only take place after the ANC demands - the release of political prisoners, the hostel issue and the banning of dangerous weapons - have been met by the Government.
DP march is a foray into mass action

THE DP-initiated march for peace and negotiations today through the centre of Johannesburg marks the party’s first foray into the controversial territory of mass action.

DP leader Zach de Beer and justice spokesman Tony Leon, formerly strong opponents of mass action marches because of the adverse effects on the economy and marches’ propensity for violence, yesterday called on employers to allow their staff time off for the march.

However, local DP city representative Jack Bloom said the march would be free of violence and intimidation and different from those of the ANC “because in our case there will be no toyi-toying.”

Leon said the DP guaranteed that the march would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

He did not spell out how the organisers would ensure this, as it was open to all.

Many parties and organisations, including the Black Sash and the Five Freedoms Forum, will participate.

Leon said the march was the perfect mechanism for the ordinary man in the street to voice his demand and send a message to political leaders to get on with negotiations immediately, and also to move on towards creating peace.

“All parties must immediately re-enter negotiations and recognise that only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution,” he said. This was the DP’s most important demand, he said.

But he took a swipe at the SACP and the security forces in stating the second demand of the “March for Negotiations Now! Peace Now!”

He said: “Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto must end. These are jeopardising prospects for a peaceful future.”

The march will begin at the Civic Spine’s Library Gardens and proceed up Rissik Street to the Civic Theatre, where De Beer and International Pentecostal Church of SA president Frederick Modise will address the expected crowd.

Leon said the DP had called on employers in the CBD to allow their employees time off between 12.30 and 2pm.

Motorists who could not participate were called on to show solidarity by driving with their headlights on during the march.

The DP’s northern Transvaal executive resolved on Sunday that people should encourage all those who identified with the purpose of the march to wear a blue ribbon or to place one on their vehicles, Leon said.

Mandela on Zambia visit

LUSAKA - ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks yesterday with Zambia’s President Frederick Chiluba in hopes of rebuilding an alliance diminished by political change.

“We are looking forward to closer relations with you,” Mandela told Chiluba before their meeting in Lusaka. “It doesn’t worry us if governments change…we are assured of your support in our struggle,” he said.

Under former president Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia was the ANC’s staunchest supporter in Africa, serving as the headquarters for its guerrilla leaders and giving sanctuary to thousands of South African exiles.

But after Chiluba came to power in elections last November his government established relations with South Africa and opened a trade office in Pretoria.

Relations with the ANC cooled as SAGoods poured into Zambia’s shops and SA government officials were invited to visit the country.

Mandela is scheduled to meet again with Chiluba today. He also will visit ANC exiles yet to return to SA, despite government amnesty pledges — Sapa-AP.
ANC alliance intensifies mass action

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance — stung by accusations of recklessness during last week's march on Ciskei — yesterday hit back by announcing an intensified mass action programme.

The mass action will unfold even as preparations get under way to haul constitutional negotiations back on track.

However, a planned march into Bophuthatswana to unseat President Lucas Mangope was yesterday called off during a meeting in Johannesburg of alliance representatives.

ANC campaigns committee chairman Ronnie Kasrils said: "Preparations in Bophuthatswana have not been adequate for any action by this weekend." It is understood the repercussions of the Ciskei incident in which 29 people were killed, and the relative weakness of the ANC in the western Transvaal, played a role in the decision.

But both Cosatu and the SACP gave additional impetus to the mass action campaign yesterday. Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shikowa, speaking after a weekend Cosatu campaigns conference, said mass action and negotiations were not mutually exclusive. And the SACP said mass action had given the alliance the upper hand over President F.W. de Klerk.

"Cosatu actions include a regional stayaway in the eastern Cape to coincide with the funeral on Friday of the Ciskei victims, a march to the electrified fence on the Mozambique border, a week of marches and other protests from October 11 to demand the release of political prisoners, and an attempt to prevent the sitting of Parliament on October 13 by mounting large-scale occupations and blockades of towns and cities," Cosatu said marchers should stop delivering memorandums but should demand responses.

Cosatu set November 1 as a target date for it and the ANC to stop paying PAYE to government and November 1 as a target date for employers to stop paying PAYE. In addition, Cosatu announced campaigns against companies responsible for dismissing workers during the August stayaway.

The SACP — defending the actions of its central committee members at Bisho — lashed out at what it called the victimisation of white communists for what had happened at Bisho, and said mass action had strengthened the alliance.

"Everywhere in mass action, throughout the length and breadth of our country, the red flag of our party has been in evidence," a party central committee statement said.

The committee said it had noted a very significant shift in the balance of forces in
Top PAC official in SA
THE PAC said its first deputy president and former exiled commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army Johnson Phillip Mlambo arrived in SA from Tanzania yesterday. (UP)
PAC sources said Mlambo's stay would be temporary until the NEC took a decision on his role either in or outside the country.
PAC chief arrives in SA

MR Johnson Miambo, first deputy president of the PAC, arrived in South Africa from Tanzania yesterday. He was expected to immediately consult with PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu on political developments inside the country, the organisation's publicity director, Mr Waters Toboti, said yesterday.
Mass action is a fight against marginalisation of the ANC Left, argues R W Johnson

The internal struggle continues

The tragedy at Bisho again prompts the question: What on earth is the ANC’s mass action campaign all about? All too frequently, even in South African newspapers, one reads that this strategy was launched when “the Bisho massacres caused the breakdown of negotiations” — when the breakdown actually preceded Bisho and came over the 70-75 per cent swing over constitutional amendment. But that issue was settled long ago — and mass action goes on. We are now told the major issues at stake are political prisoners and ending township violence, but mass action clearly aggravates township violence and the ANC agreed to a deal on prisoners last year.

Similarly, the campaign against Ciskei could hardly have been a principled protest against military dictatorship, for then why not campaign against Transkei and Venda? Nor can it really be about homeland reconciliation, since this was already agreed in principle at Codane: if the ANC wants to be rid of Brigadier Dapa Gqosile, it merely has to wait for elections to sweep him away. Similarly, the ANC can have an internal government under the Mandela-De Klerk competency: it would have been easy to agree on senior positions for Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Jacob Zuma; for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Frans Pienaar, Zach de Beer and Elias Mahumapelo; and for Ministers Tobias, Meyer and Kgsi, but after that?

On the ANC side one would have to rule out the veterans — Samora, Gwebu, Gwoneyana, and so forth — and select those with some technical background to have some hope of mastering their departments.

One would end up, probably, with names like Louis Skweyiya, Kader Asmal, Patricia Lekota, Linda Zuma, Ismail Mohammed and Tito Mboweni.

Such a list makes starkly clear the fact that the constitution of such an interim government would imply the marginalisation of the ANC Left, the group we may refer to in shorthand as the SAPC, but which also includes Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela and other ANC leaders as well as a plethora of Comtist figures led by Jay Naidoo.

It is possible that the gesture might be made of offering a post to a blunt Stevie or Naidoo, but they would, in any case, almost certainly reject it, knowing that they would find being part of a Cabinet competent within such a government both uncomfortable and compromising.

Such a prospect conjures up the ultimate nightmare scenario of the coming power of a bourgeois opportunistic ANC Right, which strikes a deal with the business class and Mr de Klerk at the expense of the ANC’s alliance. Mass action creates a climate of militancy and confrontation which naturally disadvantages and hobbles the ANC’s moderators and mediators, causing them to keep their heads down.

Loyalty means they have to support mass action if pressed, and it shows in their games and it shows they are passive and “independent” in the battle, even more than the Government is. In the mass actions themselves, the SAPC naturally plays the leading role — for it is playing the classic vanguard role by the (Leninist) book, attempting to put the Communist Party at the cutting edge of every confrontation, galvanising militants to their cause, percolating among non-party elements with them, and giving an example of courage and militancy which thrills the activists and influences the moderates.

Much of the criticism of the SAPC’s role at Bisho is ill-founded: there is no more point in blaming the SAPC for being lenient than there is in criticising the Pope for being Catholic. And while it would suit almost everyone else if the SAPC called for mass action and played dead, it would be quite unreasonable to expect it to do so.

Perhaps the key statement by Ronnie Kasrils after Bisho was that “the people are prepared to make sacrifices provided their leaders are with them”.

The point does not need much elaboration: the SAPC was there in force at Bisho, the Border region is Steve Tshimela’s constituency, so he had to be there. Cyril Ramaphosa gets dragged from one symbolic action to the next because — who would carry the can? — at ANC secretary-general level he can hardly refuse. But where, in the heat of mass action, does one say a Mandela, Thabo Mbeki or a Joaquim Chissano, a Thomas Thabane or an Alfred Nzo, or instead any of those in our imaginary interim government now?

Already we have been told this Moses Mabhida will play a leading role in the mass action against Lewis Manqane, a key piece of colour coding. For Mr Mayekiso heads the national cities association and concedes nothing to the workers. But the President of the University of Natal Berhane, out of Africa.

The unspoken art of diplomacy

A wink might be as good as a social ritual in business and academic circles, but not in the diplomatic world. There, the distinction might mean the difference between friendly relations and enmity.
ANC leader ‘frightened’ by state of economy

Mandela’s olive branch

By Richard Steyn
and Shaun Johnson

To “save the country from disaster,” the ANC is eager to restart negotiations — and wants to make it as easy as possible for the Government to do so, ANC president Nelson Mandela has told

The Star.

The Government needs to make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks under way again, he said; it had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations envoy

Cyrus Vance on the issues of

Interview — Page 13

hostile political prisoners
and dangerous weapons.

Mr Mandela made it clear
that if President de Klerk
delivered an earlier prom-
ise, the ANC was ready to
talk again.

Speaking before his depart-
ure for Zambia, Mr Mandel-
a said he was prepared to
accept undertakings in good
good faith from Mr de Klerk
on the three outstanding
issues, in order to get South Africa “out of the quagmire.”

Mr Mandela said that once
and above the political crisis
prompted by the Biko mass-
acree, he was deeply con-
cerned about the state of the
economy, following a report
from Finance Minister

Derek Keys.

He said the country had
come “very near to a disas-
ter” after the Lisho mass-
acree, and that the negoti-
ations deadlock had to be bro-
ten. He added that if the sum-
mits went ahead, the moves
made by Mr de Klerk and
himself could “save the
country from that disaster.”

The proposed summit
could breathe new life into
the stalled negotiations pro-
cess, and the ANC remained
committed to the National
Peace Accord and Mr Jus-
tice Richard Goldstone’s
guidelines for demonstra-
tions.

Mr Mandela said in a
wide-ranging interview with

The Star: “If Mr de Klerk
can just say to me ‘You’ve
expressed your three con-
cerns. I give you my under-
taking that I will address
them’... I will be able to go
back to my people and say
‘Look, he has met us. Let us
meet him.”

During an extraordinarily
frank discussion, in which he
stressed that the credibility
of negotiations had to be re-
established by all politicians,
Mr Mandela addressed sev-
eral other issues. He said:

Free political activity had to
be ensured throughout the
country, especially in homelands.

The ANC was discussing
what went wrong at Bisho, and would
take appropriate action.

Regional leaders had to ensure
that their actions did not im-
 pact negatively on national poli-

cies.

Mr Mandela emphasised
that South Africa still faced
great difficulties — the most pressing
being the continuing violence
and loss of life — but he made it
clear that his organisation
wanted to follow the path of nego-
tiation rather than confronta-
tion.

Peaceful mass action was
being used only because no
other alternatives were avail-
able to the ANC, given the
deadlock in negotiations.

Mr Mandela said he was com-
ing under increasing pressure
from ANC members who be-
lieved negotiations had not pro-
duced results, and said it was
urgent for the sake of the coun-
try that the benefits of talks be
obvious to all. This meant that a
speedy transition to democracy
was urgently needed.
LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, the controversial co-accused in the Winnie Mandela trial now languishing in a Zambian jail, should have nothing to fear from the ANC and the organisation would do everything possible to get him out of prison, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela said after meeting Zambian President Frederick Chiluba that he had raised the matter with Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanganga.

"The ANC has no interest in Mr Cebekhulu being in prison. We will do everything to get him out," Mr Mandela said at the end of a two-day visit to Zambia. — Star Africa Service.
FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls for help on peace summit

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night appealed for President F W de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an undertaking from De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the freeing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be sufficient to get the two leaders talking face to face.

Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line in regard to talks with government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would give the undertakings which would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country.

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophutatswana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the mass action has played an obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Denis Goldberg is concerned about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC-leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Mandela has also held meetings with business representatives in recent weeks.

Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel and others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Manuel conveyed this information to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The committee's presentation was made at the recent launch of the Montague economic scenario compiled by a widely representative team, including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario presents a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by the turn of the century if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA".

SACO chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the committee welcomed the "obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not".

We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action, which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life," Van Rensburg said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mohammed Vahli Moosa last night spelled out further details of the organisation's conditions for a summit between De Klerk and Mandela.

The ANC had identified at least 120
Code of conduct to be drafted for ANC leaders

THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga.

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mandela's resignation from three key posts but the former Mother of the Nation still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider a report on a demonstration in favour of Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before a procedural inquiry.

And a second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said.

Referring to a letter from Mandela to her former deputy and alleged lover Dali Mpofu that was leaked to the media recently, the ANC said it "finds it necessary to reiterate that the allegations contained in the letter of a campaign within the organisation aimed at Nelson Mandela are completely without foundation".

In a recent edition of the league's publication, The Rock, the league's general secretary Baleka Kgositsele said the suspension of Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

"Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society."
On why the ANC insists on mass action
One of the mistakes that has been made by both the ANC and the National Party is that we have embarked on an electioneering campaign while we are negotiating. One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now, that destroys the whole atmosphere of negotiations.

But I have explained that we must have free political activity, and the efforts we have made are to ensure that. In addition it is quite clear that the Government is now fighting an electoral campaign, and that they are using the homelands as areas where they can start with maximum votes, where they have no competition.

Look at our situation. We have done everything in our power. We are left with two years (before elections). We must make sure that all political parties can operate throughout the country. If we can’t make progress as far as negotiations are concerned, if we can’t make progress in discussions with the bantustan leaders affected, what are we expected to do? We can’t sit down and fold our arms. The ordinary people in these particular areas want action.

On the limits of acceptable mass action
We are very concerned about the situation, but as I’ve said, we can’t just fold our arms. However, while the regions can take decisions, they must always keep the national perspective in mind.

Nothing should be done by the organisation which suggests that we now want to violate the parameters of the National Peace Accord or the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. And in the last meeting of the NEC I stressed this point, as it did in King William’s Town the day after the massacre.

We do not feel that the mere launching of mass action in itself is anything which needs to worsen the position - no. The masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, want the right to operate in their own area. And they have been prevented by Gqozo.

But we must do something when people are being persecuted in these areas, when there is no democracy there.

On whether the Bisho march crossed the line between protest and insurrection
Regional leaders must always consider what effect their actions will have on the country as a whole. Now our image has been affected to some extent by what happened in Bisho. Even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration.

But you must understand that what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action. On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd behaved magnificently. That was the position throughout the country generally.

Shortly before his departure for Zambia, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave a wide-ranging interview to The Star’s Editor-in-Chief, Richard Steyn, and Political Editor Shaun Johnson. The following are extracts from this important interview.

You must also remember that the idea of the march, to which we all agreed, was that we would do the same in Bisho as we did in Pretoria. That was not the decision of Ronnie Kasrils, it was ours. Therefore his judgment may not have been a correct one, to go beyond the stadium once the magistrate had said we should not, but the idea of us going to Bisho was a decision of the organisation which he was merely carrying out.

But I can assure you that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further (independent) demonstrations by anybody (on behalf of the ANC), this was the decision taken regarding future demonstrations, I will get their maximum support.

On who was to blame at Bisho, and what is to be done now
There have been accusations and counter-accusations, some correct and others incorrect, from both sides. But leaving this aside, we still have to answer the question: Has the ANC any strategy to pull South Africa out of the morass in which decades of apartheid generally, and this massacre in Bisho particularly, have plunged it?

Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made. The crucial question is how to mobilise the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. I am talking about neither the ANC nor the Government, but we, the people of South Africa, black and white.

Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for demonstrations. The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a march, the other party is not entitled to use force unless it is threatened. They must meet during the march. Gqozo was not prepared to talk to us right from the beginning. He violated the peace accord right from the beginning. The marching out of the stadium towards Bisho was not actually a violation of the peace accord itself. But even if it was, then the task of the other party was to have called us and discussed it.
Code of conduct for ANC on cards

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga.

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mrs Mandela's resignation from three key posts but she still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider a report on a demonstration in favour of Mrs Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before an inquiry.

A second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said.

In a recent edition of the league's publication, The Rock, the league's general secretary Ms Baleka Kgotsiile said the suspension of Mrs Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

"SA is wriggling with pain from a past and present full of corruption and abuse of power and privilege to the detriment of the interests of the majority.

"Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society."

Govt responds positively to Mandela interview

Boost for negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New hope for a speedy return to negotiations has been raised by ANC leader Nelson Mandela's conciliatory remarks in an interview with The Star — and a positive response from the Government last night.

Mr. Mandela's overture to the Government for a quick resumption of negotiations — welcomed by the Government and others as "positive and conciliatory" — has improved prospects for a meeting soon between Mr. Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the issue of the ANC again.

This in turn is the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended in June.

The Government yesterday welcomed "the positive and conciliatory tone of many of the statements made by Mr. Mandela in his interview with The Star on Monday."

"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

"In particular, it hopes that it will be manifested in the talks which are currently taking place between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and which are aimed at bringing about a meeting between the State President and Mr. Mandela."

'Dogs killed by AWB instructors'

By Gian Elias
West Rand Bureau

An Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member has told an animal rescue centre that he attended a weekend training camp where dogs were killed by instructors demonstrating the quickest ways to dispatch humans.

Anne Cronje of the Irwin Animal Rescue Centre in the Vaal Triangle said the distraught AWB member had attended a camp in Heidelberg last weekend.

The man, whose name will not be disclosed, was interviewed on tape, which was played back to The Star yesterday.

Mrs. Cronje said camps were held every second weekend at Heidelberg.

The man and his family were horrified when three small dogs were killed in front of them in demonstrations by three different instructors.

He told chief inspector Stan Cronje of the Animal Rescue Centre that one dog's throat was slit, another was stabbed in the neck and a third strangled.

The man was so shocked that he telephoned AWB headquarters.
negotiations/4/4

by: People's Daily

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September 16, 1992

The fact that he has indicated a willingness to back up these words with action has made him welcome the decision to resume negotiations, and the more realistic terms in which Mr. Mandela demanded reparations for the apartheid regime, before the date set for negotiations by the Government, were welcomed by many. Dr. van der Merwe said that the negotiations would be a sign of the commitment of the ANC to the process of negotiation and compromise. He attributed this to the ANC's revolutionary agenda.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry received a Letter of Interest from the Government of the United States regarding the potential for economic relations between South Africa and the United States. The Chamber was pleased to hear that the US Government was interested in promoting trade between the two countries. It is hoped that this will lead to a strengthening of the existing economic relations and the development of new ones.

The Chamber also welcomed the decision of the Government to withdraw the ban on the publication of the weekly magazine, The Star. This is seen as a positive step towards the restoration of freedom of the press in South Africa. It is hoped that this will lead to a more open and transparent government.

The Chamber also supported the decision of the Government to issue a new visa policy for foreign visitors. This is seen as a positive step towards the promotion of tourism and investment in South Africa. It is hoped that this will lead to a more welcoming and hospitable atmosphere for visitors to our country.
ANC benefited little from hiring Washington lobbyist

THE ANC's decision to engage Washington's former non-voting congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy as its US lobbyist has yielded few results, documents filed by Fauntroy with the justice department show.

In a report on his activities submitted to the department's foreign agents registration unit last month, Fauntroy said the movement had paid him $229 890 on December 19 last year, to draft and lobby for a Bill, HR 5486, to establish a "SA-American enterprise fund" with government seed money to solicit private contributions for black businesses in SA.

The Bill is now in limbo, stripped by House Africa subcommittee chairman Mervyn Dymsky of the seed money, and unlikely ever to reach a vote in either the House or the Senate.

Under his original contract with the ANC Fauntroy was to have provided a far more ambitious list of services, including a major fundraising drive, from whose proceeds he would have been paid a further $470 000. He was to set up a nationwide ANC support network and revive SA Now, a syndicated pro-ANC television news programme.

Fauntroy undertook to "assemble a team" of economic and development experts to assist the ANC in obtaining US aid for health care, housing, education, business development, job training and "security services".

In a diary of "activity on behalf of the ANC", which Fauntroy included in his justice department filing, he also sought to develop a "SA-American business council".

This entailed a three day organising session at the London Hilton and trips to Chicago, New York and Baltimore, in the course of which, Fauntroy said, he ran up travel expenses of $19 300, excluding $7 400 for "seminars and conferences".

Fauntroy's contract expires next month and ANC sources have said it is unlikely to be renewed.
The massacre at Bisho last week has not only evoked anger and sorrow within the black community. It has also unleashed a massive attack on the organisers of the march, in particular those leaders of the ANC who are also South African Communist Party leaders.

The suggestion has been made that the SACP hijacked this march and that the masses were used as cannon fodder to gain political turf. The cynicism of this move is said to be underlined by the fact that the only targets of mass action in the bantustans are those that are unsympathetic to the ANC — as evidenced by no marches being planned for Transkei and Venda.

Where does the truth lie? Is the ANC guilty, along with the South African Government and the Ciskei?

What seems to be absent from most accounts is that the violence in the Ciskei did not start on Monday September 7. The march was decided on because of widespread and daily violence, killings and intimidation of the people living under Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's rule for a long period.

The places where this violence occurs are not reported in the commercial press. Many do not even appear in the conventional maps of South Africa such as Diddikane, Masakhane, Ngqwele, Qongqotha, Pakamis etc etc.

The people of this region demanded an end to the violence. What were we to do? Observers counsel patience because bantustan leaders are due to be reincorporated within a year. Is this an adequate answer to those who may not survive that year or may be maligned while they wait?

The idea of a march came from the Border region of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and other allied formations, including the churches and civic groups. It was endorsed as a national campaign by the tripartite alliance.

The Border region of the ANC requested a number of us to come down before the event to assist in mobilising people and organising the march. These included Chris Hani, Ron Krastil and myself.

We are, as the newspapers note, also in the leadership of the SACP. A number of other people were also requested to come or volunteered, such as Steve Tshwete and Thosamile Botha.

It is alleged that the SACP hijacked the march. But everything we did in the Border region, whether or not we were Communists, was under the direction of the Border alliance. In the case of people like Mr Hani, Mr Tshwete and Mr Krastil, they were asked to go round to factories and villages mobilising support. In my case I did media work. We did not choose the ways we were deployed.

The Border alliance also selected a strategising committee to take decisions on the day of the march. Mr Hani, Mr Krastil, Mr Tshwete and I were asked to join it. On the day of the march we were supplemented by Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the ANC, and John Gomomo, president of Cosatu.

In the course of the march, it was decided that a group would proceed to Bisho stadium and make its way into Bisho through a gap in the fence that had been reported. The rest of us would proceed to the razor wire blocking the entrance to Bisho. In neither case did we plan to use arms or face gunfire, but hoped nevertheless to proceed.

...As is well known now, before we could talk, we faced fire from a number of directions. Some commentators are suggesting that the leadership used the people as cannon fodder. It should be noted that the leadership was in front and we were the first target. Second, as mentioned before, the idea of the march came from the Border region and was endorsed as a national campaign of the whole alliance, as a way of trying to end the violence of the Gqozo administration.

Why do we not target Transkei and Venda? The answer is not the cynical battle for turf that some commentators talk.
Govt and PAC to confer in Gaborone

By Kaiter Nyatamba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will meet soon in Gaborone, Botswana, to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations. PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Serokw has told The Star.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation that has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Mr Serokw said Pretoria had finally agreed to the demand that a meeting at the highest level be held "at a neutral venue outside the country".

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral" chairman would be.

The PAC, he said, had suggested that the chairman of the Frontline states, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, should chair the meeting. Pretoria was insisting that the head of state of the host country, President Quett Masire, should be chairman.

Mr Serokw said the PAC's delegation was likely to be led by the organisation's two deputy presidents, Dikgang Moseneke and Johnson Mlambo.
TALKS between government and the ANC have been complicated by a police probe into the possibility of senior ANC members being involved in crimes before the ANC's unbanning in 1990.

The ANC warned that any attempt to arrest or prosecute its leaders would derail the current limited talks as well as any future negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been locked in talks since Monday in a bid to arrange a summit meeting between the two parties' leaders.

The ANC is demanding the freeing of political prisoners, without the release being linked to a general amnesty, before it is prepared to allow its president Nelson Mandela to meet President F W de Klerk.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday a police team had intensified investigations into unsolved crimes in which senior ANC, PAC and right-wing leaders could be implicated.

The ANC said the move showed government was not serious about negotiations and said the investigation was a cynical attempt to get a blanket general amnesty for government officials.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied this allegation last night.

Kotze said people who had been granted indemnity for certain crimes would not be prosecuted, but if they were linked to other crimes, it would be a different matter.
Cosatu is to go ahead with plans to mourn the 24 people massacred in Bisho last week.

The trade union federation has discussed a possible shutdown of workplaces tomorrow with Western Cape representatives of the Cape Chamber of Commerce, Cape Chamber of Industries, Cape Town City Council and Afrikaanse Handelinsitutuut.

"The employers' response to this request was sympathetic. They indicated they would recommend members adopt a sympathetic stance towards the workers' request. This would involve a 'no work, no pay' approach."

A lunchtime service is being planned for the Grand Parade. This will be followed by a march to the Ciskel consulate on the Foreshore, where a rally will be held at 2pm, to be followed by a march to Groote Schuur, President De Klerk's official residence, at 3pm.

**Cosatu fires salvo at Mandela**

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has been slated by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Western Cape) for his "unilateral" decision to restart negotiations.

In a hard-hitting interview, regional Cosatu secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said: "We in the region are closer to the people on the ground than he is. We know the people want action."

He also accused the ANC National Working Committee, the movement's shadow cabinet, of "sowing confusion".

He said Cosatu (Western Cape) was unimpressed by Mr Mandela's shift.

"Whatever he has said does not affect what we've planned for October 12 (the day when a special sitting of Parliament begins)."

"We will have a day of action and are not thinking of deviating from our plans. Regionally we don't accept unilateral decisions."

He said the ANC's decision to call off a planned protest march in Bophuthatswana had been taken unilaterally.

"The alliance comprising the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party, had planned that march. The ANC national working committee had no right to call it off. The committee is sowing confusion through its unilateral action."

He said "people on the ground" were angered by the decision.
No drama expected at NP Transvaal congress

THE NP Transvaal congress, which starts at the World Trade Centre today, is once again set to be overwhelmed by events beyond the control of the ruling party.

There are no great expectations of President F W de Klerk making ground-breaking announcements as he did at congresses in the past two years.

At the party's Free State congress two weeks ago, De Klerk stayed for barely an hour and confined himself to giving delegates a general overview of the political situation.

Today, delegates' attention will be focused on talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa rather than on the congress agenda. The aftermath of the Bisho killings and the possibilities of an ANC march on Pretoria will also divert attention.

Meyer will be addressing the congress later this afternoon, but the secretive nature of his negotiations with Ramaphosa means he is likely to give only a vague indication of the progress.

Either De Klerk or Meyer is also expected to provide more clarity on enabling constitutional legislation which government is to put before Parliament next month.

On Tuesday Meyer gave some indications of government's plans for the special short session, but said it had not yet been finalised. Cabinet met yesterday and it is understood that the issue was discussed.

Meyer said any Bills to set up a transitional executive, phase out own affairs and abolish by-elections would only be of an enabling nature, to be implemented once agreement with negotiating partners had been reached.

Transvaal leader Pik Botha will speak at lunchtime today before officially opening the congress tonight. Other speakers will include Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Terblanche Delport, who might sketch NP plans for federalism in a new constitution.

Also to be decided at the congress will be the changes to the principles in the NP constitution which scrap Christian nationalism.

PAC and govt set to discuss forum

THE PAC will take part in a forum in SA to plan elections for a constituent assembly, and intends meeting government in a neighbouring state this month to discuss the forum, says a senior PAC official.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, who took part in the first three contacts in SA between government and the PAC after the PAC was unbanned, said yesterday Botswana was a likely venue for the talks that were being set up.

However, both Namibia and Zimbabwe had indicated they would be prepared to host such a meeting.

Ebrahim said that at his last meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, government had agreed to the principle of meeting the PAC at a neutral venue outside SA and under a neutral chairman. Government and the PAC met in April this year in Abuja, Nigeria.

“We will be representing the position of the Patriotic Front aimed at creating a new and more representative forum which would pave the way for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly,” he said.

That forum would meet in SA, he said.

The Gaborone meeting, Ebrahim said, could still be convened as a summit between President F W de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu. However, at present it was envisaged as a meeting of delegations headed by Meyer and himself.
Botswana date for PAC, Govt

- Pretoria accedes to demand for a neutral venue.

Johannesburg 17/9/92.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government will meet in Gaborone, Botswana, before the end of this month to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Tsietsi Serake said yesterday the Government had finally agreed to his organisation's proposal for a neutral venue.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation which has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Serake said Pretoria had finally agreed to the organisation's demand that a meeting at the highest levels of both parties be held "in a neutral venue outside the country".

He said although agreement had yet to be reached on the date on which the meeting will take place, he was confident it would be held before the end of September or, at the latest, early next month.

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral chairman" would be at such a meeting.

"At first we were polling Hitler and Stalin on the venue and finally we agreed on Botswana. The regime was suggesting the Ivory Coast and we were saying it should be in one of the Frontline states," Serake said.
Hani treated
by doctor

JOHANNESBURG. -
SA Communist Party
chief Mr Chris Hani is
sick and being treated
for a glandular problem.

SACP national execu-
tive committee member
Dr Essop Pahad, stand-
ing in for Mr Hani at a
speaking engagement at
the Islamic Bank here,
said Mr Hani was not
feeling well on Tuesday
night.

By yesterday morning
he had to be treated by a
doctor at his home.

Dr Pahad assured the
50 people attending the
meeting that it was not a
"very serious matter".—
Sapa
Lecturers’ strike at Turf ends

IFP not impressed by Mandela’s proposals

THE INKATHA Freedom Party has rejected the hand of friendship offered by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. They say the conciliatory remarks by the ANC leader had been a “face-saving” gesture.

Mandela said in an interview published in Sowetan yesterday that the ANC was eager to restart negotiations, urging the Government to make good its undertakings on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that while the IFP welcomed steps to get South Africans back to the negotiation table, the organisation saw the ANC as the chief “wrecker” of negotiations.

Mdlalose said the ANC had bitten off more than it could chew and was now reaping the rewards of intensely negative international and domestic criticism of its revolutionary agenda.

“The organisation is now desperate to save face by negating its spoiler image through generous offers by its statesmanlike president.”
Police probe 'an attempt to pressure ANC'
ANC ‘may have to split’

THE ANC’s mass action campaign, if maintained, can lead only to a South African Yugoslavia — and beyond that to a South African Somalia. That’s the warning from a respected international affairs commentator, Dr Conor Cruise O’Brien, the former UN diplomat and Irish Minister.

He urges the ANC leadership to recognise that the mass action campaign must lead to “the disaster of civil war” among South Africa’s blacks, and to have the courage to face down their militants. And he calls on Western governments to reassess their attitude to the ANC if it fails to end the campaign and return to the negotiating table.

De O’Brien describes as ridiculous the attempts to blame President de Klerk for the killing of ANC marchers in Ciskei. In an article in the Irish Independent, he compares what happened in Ciskei to a bloody incident in Northern Ireland involving the British security forces.

He writes: “In Derry, on January 30, 1972, trained British troops shot dead 13 violent but unarmed rioters. Was a higher standard of restraint to be expected from the Ciskei troops, whose brutal conduct ANC speakers routinely denounce?”

He says there are two main reasons for the mass action campaign — one internal, the other external. “The internal reason has to do with actual potential divisions within the ANC. In June, the negotiations with de Klerk had very nearly reached agreement. The remaining difference was over a mere 5 percent in the minority representation to be accorded in the non-racial parliament.

“But the leadership was aware that if it reached an agreement on the lines towards which the negotiations pointed, it would be accused by the young radical militants of having consented to a sell-out. The leaders seem to have lost their nerve at that point. They shrank from the showdown with their left wing which must come at some point if there is to be a negotiated settlement leading to the creation of non-racial institutions. Compromise with de Klerk is possible, forcing his surrender is not.”

The external reason for the mass action, says Dr O’Brien, is the expectation that the outside world will blame Mr de Klerk for the bloodshed and pressure him to agree to the ANC demands. “Those demands are the programme of the radical militants. They involve one man, one vote without any protection for minorities. This is expected to lead to ANC rule, and probably permanent one-party rule, with no opposition allowed for, and no second free election.” Dr O’Brien warns that the National Party will never concede this, “and if they were to attempt to do so, the result would be a military coup.”

He adds that the only hope for South Africa is a negotiated settlement leading to a non-racial coalition government with safeguards for minorities, and adds: “That can probably not be achieved without a split in the ANC. The price is worth paying in view of what is at stake.” — Star Foreign Service. □
**UK move rocks markets**

By Magnus Heystek, Finance Editor

World financial markets were plunged into renewed crisis yesterday when the Bank of England increased its base lending rate from 10 to 15 percent in a desperate bid to prevent a formal devaluation of the pound.

The move sent shockwaves through currency and equity markets, including those in South Africa.

The 5 percent increase by the Bank of England came in two stages.

Yesterday morning the base lending rate was put up from 10 to 12 percent but when this failed to support the pound, it was further increased to 15 percent in the afternoon.

However, the move had little impact and sterling remained pinned to the floor.

According to international economists, the Bank of England now has no option but to formally devalue sterling.

Any further increase in interest rates is likely to harm the UK economy, already in the midst of a severe recession.

Elsewhere in Europe, Sweden increased its prime rate by a staggering 600 percent to 75 percent, in an effort to halt the slide of the Swedish kroner, and the recent run on the Italian lira continued.

The current bout of uncertainty on world currency markets was precipitated by the surprise cut in lending rates by the German Bundesbank.

Stock markets have also been badly affected by the volatile currency markets.

Yesterday's events in Threadneedle Street in London badly buffeted world bourses.

The All Share Index dropped 40 points to 3138, wiping out all of its gains earlier this week, and the Industrial Index dropped by 45 points to 4887.

Gold was the only beneficiary of volatile markets and was trading at around $349 an ounce after a morning fix of $346.20.

The Gold Index rose by 20 points to 913 and looks set to rise further in the face of extreme uncertainty on world markets, said analysts.

The rand slipped back against the US dollar and was quoted at R2.82 but strengthened against sterling to R5.28.
ANC strategy blamed for violence

PIETERSBURG — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said. Speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said the ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 1980s to focus on the Government. But it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community. — Sapa
RONNIE KASRILS

The red pimpernel

Among the ANC figures whom outsiders most love to hate — or poke fun at — is its ebullient campaigns chief Ronnie Kasrils. He sometimes comes across as a bit of an overgrown (and overblown) campus radical. Meeting Kasrils, however, leaves an altogether more benign impression. Though he is now criticised for being at best naive — if not cavalier with ordinary people’s lives — he has sincerity, charm and intelligence.

His image as a revolutionary Romantic predates the central role he played in the ill-fated ANC march on Bisho on September 7. It can be traced to his clandestine return from exile in 1989 as part of the ANC’s alleged insurrection plan, “Operation Vula”. The oddball fugitive in his famous leather jacket would surface as the “Red Pimpernel” to meet journalists at venues like Mike’s Kitchen in Parktown.

Kasrils (54) is the very image of a Yeoville “boykie”, which isn’t surprising since that’s where he was born and grew up. His boyhood buddies included some who went on to become top SA businessmen: Mannie Simehowitz, Tony Bloom, Leon Harker and the Bachers.

After Yeoville Boys’ he went to King Edward VII, where he was the half-mile champ. “Basically, from Grade 1 onwards I won everything I ran in — and there’s a connection with Bisho,” he explains wryly. “My problem in life has been that I’ve always run faster than any other bugger. Of course it gave the impression at Bisho that I was leading a ‘breakaway’.

But, as he points out, this was a strategic decision taken by the march organisers. “I wasn’t doing anything irrational or individualistic. It was all on the basis of a collective decision and very clear objectives... It is depressing and angers one when innocent blood is spilled this way. But the finger must be pointed to the perpetrators of the violence.”

Kasrils is a member of the SA Communist Party (SACP); he makes the familiar point that it’s not the ideals of socialism, but the way it was attempted that was at fault. Socialism should not be “foisted” on people.

“I go along with our present party policy, which is for a multiparty approach to politics. That doesn’t mean multiparty government, unless we’re talking about voluntary coalition.” While he has “undivided loyalties” to both the ANC and the SACP, the ANC has been his first home. He joined it after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

He left SA in 1963, having been in the regional command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He married his wife Eleanor, a South African, in Tanzania in 1964 and set up home in England. He has two grown sons there and a stepdaughter in SA. In 1970, he worked part-time on the archives of Bertrand Russell and, as a result, helped edit a book of the philosopher’s letters and co-wrote a two-volume biography (with Barry Feinberg) called Bertrand Russell’s America. He remembers the sage, at 90, as “an outstanding human being with a very open mind.”

In exile, Kasrils worked for the ANC in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other neighbouring states. His nom de guerre was “ANC Khumalo” and under this name he started writing revolutionary poetry in Tanzania. He acknowledges that he is not primarily a poet.

Kasrils was indemnified in June 1991. Last year, he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC and earlier to the central committee of the SACP.

His role as campaigns chief is certain to keep him in the forefront of mass action in the weeks ahead and raises serious questions over its suitability to volatile SA conditions. One can only hope that his image of himself as a Byronic spirit leading the masses will not again lead them into another Bisho.
Can the centre hold?

The DP protest march through the streets of Johannesburg this week will probably do little to end the petty bickering between government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But it is a stillbirth an increasingly prevalent view that mainstream political leaders have lost sight of their main goal — a negotiated settlement to the country's constitutional impasse. The aim of the march was to emphasise the need for peace and the resumption of negotiations and to demand that the "bullies of the Left and the Right" stop their political infighting and posturing.

There appears to be growing disillusionment, particularly within the besieged business community, with the performance of many politicians. The feeling is summed up by a delegate to a SA Chamber of Business regional conference in Stellenbosch last week, who stated cynically that "politics is too important to be left to politicians."

DP leader Zach de Beer says Tuesdays' march was neither an act of hostility nor a protest. It wasn't even a party-political demonstration. Instead, it was "an act of faith" by people who believed SA could succeed. He says radical change in SA would have been difficult even under the most favourable conditions. But with the domestic and international economies under severe pressure and in the face of "political opportunism and violence," change may appear impossible.

He says the "democratic centre" in which the DP stands believes the main task facing SA is to frame a new constitution that will be workable, just and acceptable to the vast majority of all South Africans. "Progress towards the new constitution is being held up because certain of the major political actors are having trouble keeping their own supporters in position behind them and are having to take specific action to remedy that and because they are eager to position themselves advantageously for the inevitable election."

"They are actually starting to fight that election before we have the constitution in terms of which it will be fought. In a way, I can understand this behaviour, but it is causing a long and harmful delay while we bleed economically and literally every day."

De Beer appealed to political leaders to "say and do what you know to be right and have faith that the people will follow." For-
Joint control of departments likely

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are set to reach agreement that legislation be tabled in Parliament next month to allow multi-party joint control over government departments.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night after his address to the NP Transvaal Congress that an announcement to this effect was possible within the "next day or two".

At Codesa all parties agreed that transitional executive councils be set up in terms of a transitional constitution. Until now government has been unable to include this in its plans for the October session because it required the ANC's agreement.

In saying this, Meyer lifted the veil of secrecy to show he and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had been discussing more than the immediate obstacles to a summit on violence.

Meyer said President F W de Klerk had not announced this part of the plan for the parliamentary session because it had not yet been finalised. He was hopeful agreement would be reached soon.

Meyer also disclosed that government was negotiating with the TBVC and the non-independent states on rationalising their functions to allow central government to have joint control over them.

Independent homelands would have two choices — reverting back to self-governing or having certain functions, such as police, defence and education reintegrated with SA, Meyer said.

He said that since April government had been having talks with the TBVC states to rationalise their defence and security forces into the SA forces.

Government was trying to reach bilateral agreements with homeland leaders before legislative action was taken.

Agreement with the ANC on legislation for the transitional executive councils would provide a carrot for homeland leaders to give up control of some functions as they would still have a say through membership on the executive councils.

Meyer also disclosed that solutions to ANC demands for hostels to be fenced and the carrying of dangerous weapons to be banned could soon be found.

The Goldstone commission recommendations and UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report had not fully considered the practical implications of a blanket ban on weapons.

He and Ramaphosa were involved in trying to isolate and identify the real problem area — which was not a single person on a hunting trip with a weapon but rather a group of people in a volatile situation provoking fear and violence. He believed the formula being worked on was reasonable and that the ANC could accept it.
ANC tries to get its regional leadership to stick to the party line

ANC's 14 regions have been told to in line with the movement's national policies and not to make statements unilaterally or mount campaigns with damaging and international repercussions. The development is a direct result of the 0 massacre and the blame attached to the ANC for actions that led to the killings, regional sources said yesterday.

ANC regions, even though the ANC was not a federal organisation.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier this week that the ANC would soon reach an agreement whereby all branches respect national decision. He was referring to a statement from the Natal Midlands region in which a spokesman said a march would proceed on the KwaZulu capital Ulundi.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the development was not an attempt to shackle ANC regions, even though the ANC was not a federal organisation.

"There are issues — like the march on Ulundi — that not only affect Natal but have national and international repercussions. If there is a decision to march, it's not something a region can do on its own. There is a need for co-ordination on the approach. We need consultation because things are very tense at the moment."

Some regions — in particular Border and the Natal Midlands — were regarded as more militant than the national leadership which came under intense criticism from ANC regional officials at the ANC's policy conference in May.

Regional officials complained that the negotiations process at Codesa proceeded without their involvement. Observers attributed the ANC's post-conference militancy largely to the radicalising influence of the regions.

The issue is complicated by the fact that ANC members are members of regions and it is the regions that forward delegates — in proportion to the region's strength — to national conferences where policy decisions are made and office bearers elected.

One regional official said former United Democratic Front structures, now under the ANC's national leadership, had tended to operate in an independent manner.

"We have to learn to work in a more unitary fashion. This does not mean that any one region has overstepped the mark but conditions in the regions — especially Natal, Border and Bophuthatswana — are such that the regional leadership is constantly under pressure to do something about the plight of its people."
On the day the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance unveiled details of its stepped-up mass action campaign — including plans for a PAYE strike (see Economy) — it, paradoxically, called off its planned march on Boiputhatswana. ANC president Nelson Mandela also appeared to soften the demands.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa duly met Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer on Monday to discuss the removal of “obstacles” in the way of the summit meeting proposed by President F W de Klerk between himself and Mandela, which Mandela believes is important. Both Ramaphosa and Meyer had earlier stated their optimism about clearing the way. They were due to meet again on Tuesday evening and possibly on Wednesday.

Mandela, evidently departing from the ANC National Working Committee’s firm insistence on tangible government action on the demands before talks could resume, said in an interview with The Star: “If Mr De Klerk can just say to me: ‘You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them’ . . . That the (remaining political prisoners of the 180 already identified) will be released in the next two months. Give me a date on which hostels will be fenced and secure them. Give me an undertaking that within a month or two we will be able to ban dangerous weapons.

“I will be able to go back to my people and say: ‘Look, he has met us. Let us meet him. We would then be able to ask ourselves the question whether, in that particular atmosphere, we should continue with mass action.”

ANC spokesmen, however, were sticking to the letter of the demands as presented in the working committee statement — adding that it was logical that mass action would be lowered in intensity once negotiations started again. Alliance lieutenants like Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa had reiterated that there was nothing contradictory in the simultaneous use of mass action and negotiations; muscle-flexing is, after all, part and parcel of negotiating. Meanwhile, the post-Boipatong 14 demands seem to have been boiled down to three equally insistent ones.

None of this confirms that there are splits in the organisation. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent there is tension between the “negotiationists” — pushed along by the dynamics of negotiation — and the “mass activists” in the trenches.

This division does not appear necessarily to follow ideological lines, with communists automatically in the insurrectionist camp — though a good many, as good Leninists, naturally are. So there is no great antipathy between, for example, Ramaphosa and leading activist Ronnie Kasrils. There are also strains, for instance, between some former exiles, the Robben Islanders and the UDF.

Rather, it would seem to be a battle between (for want of a better label) the Cosatu-type insiders and those on the outside who may be apprehensive regarding being left on the sidelines when it comes to cutting a deal with the “regime” and dividing the spoils of high office. Indeed, some inside observers feel that for nearly all the ANC top brass, barring Mandela, this jockeying for power and influence is uppermost, rather than a selfless, statesmanlike search for a way out of the abyss. This may explain the apparent confusion in the ANC’s political strategy.

On the other hand, it could be argued that government must accept that until there are representative structures in place, the ANC will continue to use its muscle and extra-parliamentary channels of protest and mobilisation; whether this is wise or efficient is not the point. Yet it remains disingenuous of the ANC to set up events such as the Ciskei march, and then retreat into a sulk when the predictable occurs.

Those like Kasrils will tell you that “the peasantry and the townspeople of that region are determined to do everything, including sacrifice, to see that this tyranny is brought to an end,” and that “a struggle cannot be conducted on the basis of risk-free strategies. It necessitates sacrifice, and it's a sacrifice over decades that has brought the liberation of this country to the stage it has reached.”
Lekota quits intelligence for ANC elections post

A shake-up in the ANC's intelligence department, director Patrick "Terror" Lekota has been replaced by national executive member Alfred Nzo.

Mr Lekota, a prominent leader in the United Democratic Front, has moved to the organisation's elections commission. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr Lekota's appointment was "an administrative move that has been in the pipeline for some time".

His appointment reflected the importance the organisation attached to upcoming nonracial elections, said Mr Niehaus.

Mr Nzo was the secretary-general of the ANC until July last year when he was replaced by Cyril Ramaphosa.
Red for danger

It has never been easy to work out where the ANC ends and the SA Communist Party begins. In theory they are two separate organisations in alliance; in practice, for historical reasons, there are several key leaders who occupy senior posts in both organisations. To complicate matters further, there is also an overlap with Cosatu, the third group in the alliance.

Which leader is wearing which hat when? The answer may not matter when everyone in the tripartite alliance is emotional and angry with government. But when negotiations resume — whether on the subject of violence, the transition or a constitution — no real progress will be made if the ANC is continually hamstrung by divided loyalties.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's image of being at one with the communists may well strengthen the hand of President F W de Klerk among moderate blacks when elections are held — yet the ANC remains in thrall to romantic revolutionaries.

Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert argued forcefully last week in Vrye Weekblad that the ANC is “strategically the prisoner of its most coherent and questionable (aanwegbare) alliance partner, the SACP. The time has now come for the alliance to decide what profile it will offer voters in an election.”

If there are differences between the ANC and the SACP on vital issues such as mass mobilisation, democracy and the economy, says Slabbert, “it is only fair that the voters must know . . . and if there is no difference, it is high time that we stopped the laughable pretence that there is one. The times are too serious for us to be misled by this kind of Mickey Mouse revolutionary politics.”

Slabbert continues: “It does not help if individual members of the ANC say that militant communism is not the official standpoint of the ANC. What is happening in practice indicates that, for the present, the SACP and the communist-controlled unions are the most coherent and organised faction . . . the rest of the alliance is basically powerless against them.”

Chris Hani is both secretary-general of the SACP and a member of the ANC’s National Executive Committee. In which capacity did he, with the most intemperate language, exhort the mob near Bisho to march and overthrow the Ciskei leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo? And dismiss negotiations as unnecessary and petty?

It is on the clarification of such issues that Mandela may soon have to stake his political career — and, along with it, the future of the country.

FINANCIAL MAIL • SEPTEMBER • 18 • 1992 • 27
No, the reds aren't steering they're gearing down

Government charges that communists are manipulating the African National Congress are way off mark. PHILIPPA GARSON discusses the SAC's diminishing influence and its crucial future role.

The period between the Soweto uprising and the Pretoria accord saw an emphasis on mass action, during which the communist influence was on the rise. However, any notion of a communist push being the main event is fallacious. The SAC's role was significant, but not in the way that the media would have us believe. The SAC's influence was not as strong as suggested by its leaders, and the ANC must take responsibility for this.

The SAC's influence is diminishing, and this is a cause for concern. The ANC must take steps to ensure that it is not being manipulated by outside forces. The SAC's role in the past was to push for democratic change, and this must continue to be the case.

In conclusion, the SAC must continue to push for democratic change, and the ANC must ensure that it is not being manipulated by outside forces. The SAC's influence is diminishing, but this is a cause for concern, and the ANC must take steps to ensure that it is not being manipulated.
ANC backs off from confrontation

**ANC—** The fixer who let out the genie

As government and ANC agree to talk again in South Africa the policies and pragmatism of F.W. de Klerk come under scrutiny once more.

By Stanley Uys

**Drawing by Peter Clarke**

ANC has finally bowed to the inevitable, but it is not clear that the end of its confrontation with the government will necessarily lead to a peace that is free of tension.

Reluctant, ANC leaders are beginning to recognize that the time has come for a compromise solution. The party has been forced to make concessions, but it is not clear whether these will be enough to satisfy the government.

The ANC is not the only one that has been forced to make compromises. The government, too, has been forced to make concessions. The question is whether these will be enough to satisfy the ANC.

The ANC has been forced to make compromises, but it is not clear whether these will be enough to satisfy the government.

The ANC has been forced to make compromises, but it is not clear whether these will be enough to satisfy the government.
Can SA look forward to some after-mass-action satisfaction?

The week has ended optimistically, just like it began. That’s something to be able to say about South Africa in these times, and it is well worth repeating: A whole week in which hope outweighed dread. It is an indication of how low we had sunk that we are, correctly, feeling buoyant simply because the politicians are putting out signals of reason and responsibility. They’ve not acted upon them yet, of course, but the national psyche is being soothed.

There is now a chance that the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence could take place within a matter of days. If it does not, we should all insist on knowing why not. Things are now somehow different in the aftermath of Bisho; that shame might be encouraging us to demand higher standards from those who presume to speak in our names.

But Bisho has created one unrealistic expectation among those outside the ANC, and it should be clarified before it leads to inevitable disappointment and another fit of depression. The fateful march did not mark the end of mass action, despite the calling off of the Mmabatho protest.

The ANC was fiercely attacked, and quite rightly so, for going beyond the bounds of peaceful demonstration and entering the realms of outright insurrection in Ciskei. The comparisons with the students of Tienannmen Square or the crowds which toppled the Romanian regime simply do not apply: neither group had entered into an agreed process of negotiations with its enemies, as the ANC has done.

In his interview with The Star this week Nelson Mandela indicated that this message had penetrated. We should expect him to make sure that the fatal line is never crossed again; the ANC has now seen in close-up the consequences of such recklessness, and it knows that tin-pot tyrants will react with deadly fusillades.

But this does not, and cannot, mean that the democratic right to peaceful protest has now been surrendered. It is a pity that protest is still a part of our lives, but that is because we are still far from being a democratic society, and those who haven’t full democratic rights think that’s a greater pity. Therefore they will insist on using the only means available to them, in the absence of the vote, to apply pressure on recalcitrants who refuse to allow free political activity.

Whoever of us who have no need to resort to demonstrations now would be foolish indeed to withdraw that right from others — it would justify similarly illiberal attitudes in some future society where power-balances had shifted. The establishment of free political activity in every area of the country is a sine qua non for democracy. There can be no free and fair elections if political "no-go" areas such as Brigadier Gqozo’s Ciskei continue to exist.

From the ANC’s point of view, this means that when someone like Chief Buthelezi threatens “civil war” if his opponents so much as dare to protest in his fiefdom, that is total confirmation of the need to protest. As a matter of principle, the ANC must have the right to organise its supporters in a peaceful, orderly and non-provocative demonstration anywhere it likes, and against whoever it likes.

But in exercising this right, the ANC assumes some important obligations as well. First and foremost, it has a solemn, principled duty to extend such freedom, in daily practice, to everyone else. This means that a peaceful march on ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, by whoever feels like it, is acceptable. It means that if the IFP or National Party want to set up a branch in Transkei, or Sebokeng, or wherever, the ANC must make sure that its members do not interfere with their opponents’ rights.

I have said that the nature of protest must be carefully controlled: if you go to someone’s stronghold with the stated purpose of “overthrowing” him, you have perverted the principle. The ANC has to draw the line and stay behind it.

There are other obligations, dictated by the peculiarities of our situation in this country rather than overarching principle. Mandela has accepted that the economy is in a parlous state, and has undertaken to protect it as far as possible from further damage. This view must impact on all decisions regarding mass action: organisers must at every turn ask themselves whether it is absolutely necessary, and how the desired ends can be achieved while causing the least damage to the economy, and avoiding potential outbreaks of violence.

All negotiating avenues must of course be utilised before taking to the streets.

Mandela said this week that all mass action could fall away when agreement is achieved on interim government. That is a bright prospect.

He also criticised De Klerk for having agreed at Codesa to ensure political freedom throughout South Africa, and not delivering. This is manifestly true. We cannot expect a sudden end to mass action until these obstacles have been overcome, and we must look to a political summit, soon, to do precisely that.
Mood lifts as central issues are tackled

AFTER a week of intense horse-trading, South Africa is poised for agreements that will usher in the first stage of interim rule.

The depressed political mood of the past three months began to lift this week with a series of optimistic signals that resumption of negotiations was imminent.

The Bisho massacre last week jolted the Government and the ANC into action. ANC leader Nelson Mandela set a positive tone at the start of the week with an overture to President F W de Klerk for renewed talks.

Top negotiators from both parties met every day this week and cleared their weekend diaries in a determined bid to lay the foundations for a Government-ANC summit on violence.

Both sides hoped they would be able to hold the summit — the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations — as early as this week.

Apart from wrestling with the three issues the ANC says are pre-conditions for returning to negotiations — releasing political prisoners, controlling dangerous weapons and securing hostages — Government and ANC negotiators also seem to have tackled the central issue of transitional measures.

As a result, the Government is increasingly optimistic that at next month's special session of Parliament it will be able to pass legislation to begin the process of establishing interim rule.

This legislation would enable the appointment of a multiparty transitional executive council made up of representatives of the ANC, Inkatha, the Government and other negotiating parties once agreement was negotiated.

The new mood of optimism was evident at the NP's Transvaal congress yesterday, when De Klerk hinted at an imminent breakthrough in negotiations to set up the summit on violence.

He also suggested that legislation to set up a transitional executive council was under negotiation.

Less than a week ago it seemed unlikely that agreement would be reached in time to pass this legislation at the special parliamentary session in October.

A meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday contributed to the optimism. The two leaders discussed the three obstacles to the summit on violence. Indications were that the problem of dangerous weapons was close to resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the congress good progress had been made in negotiations on the other two problem areas.
Hunt the chameleon

BOTH the Government and the ANC have been painting harsh caricatures of each other since Codesa 2. Now that they are edging back to the negotiating table, the badmouthing is likely to be toned down, and the politicians will be ready to adapt their views when they sit down at their summit. But will ordinary people be able to forget what they've been told to believe? SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH look at the process of demonisation.

To illustrate the point further: Dr Jordan, the ANC's information chief, is regarded as a "hardliner" in the sense that he endorses tough action against a Government he does not trust. But at the same time he is one of the most convinced and articulate opponents of the SACP. It is more complicated than it seems.

The truth is that it is unwise to attach permanent labels to anyone in the ANC or SACP. They, like other politicians, adapt to changing circumstances. The ANC's "Mr Fluorite" Steve Tshwete - regarded along with Thabo Mbeki as a leading dove - spoke in 1988 of taking the armed struggle into white areas. Mbeki was a longstanding member of the SACP politburo and apparently the author of the slogan "Make the country ungovernable, make apartheid unworkable." Jacob Zuma was a prominent SACP member. SACP chief Chris Hani recently argued against the calling off of the Wallabies rugby tour. And so it goes on and on.

Within the Government, there is a similarly labyrinthine set of conflicting views, not all of which are constant in terms of the individuals promoting them. De Klerk, like Mandela, can be a hawk and a dove on consecutive days. This does not mean he has changed his mind on negotiating a new South Africa. Pik Botha is the Government's first political stormtrooper - but this does not mean he is an eternal hawk. The question is: when, how and to what.
is in effect a structural tool for
reinstating the essential process of
installing an interim government.
At this stage of South Africa's transition, attitudes are
tightly linked to whether or not the leaders are genuinely
looking for solutions, they will
find at least some. South African's
take the ANC's position that it is
determined that, if there is a
peaceful way of achieving these goals, they will
attempt to find it. This brings us back to mass action.

Put simply, there are today
in South Africa two incompatible
views of what the ANC is
doing. If the ANC is doing and why, and
what the ANC's objectives are.

Unless these views can be
united and reconciled, it is unlikely
governments will achieve anything.

The ANC is the only liberation
movement that has taken control,
and the ANC has not yet accepted
the need to negotiate a settlement
with the government.

For its part, the ANC is pro-
military in nature, whereas the
Government presents a different
image to the country and the world.

White South Africans, and
in general, believe the former to be
tougher and more principled. Anything
to achieve this goal, even if it means
sacrificing some short-term
interests.

The ANC, on the other hand,
believes in the need to negotiate
with the government, and
in the eventual achievement of
universal suffrage.

White South Africans, in
general, believe that the ANC
is a more pragmatic
solution, whereas the ANC
believes that only a negotiated
collective approach can achieve
the desired outcomes.

Interestingly, ANC leaders are
labelled as "hardliners" according to
their views on the role of mass action.

But Jeremy Cronin and
Raymond Satunor — both members
of the ANC national executive
commitee — have argued
against insurrection but in
favour of mass action.

As Biko showed, there are
African differences over how far mass
action should be taken, and the
style in which it is applied.

But some observers,
including the London-based
N Perlman, have interpreted the Biko massacre as
demonstration of the "ascendancy
of militants within the
ANC.

It is possible to argue that
precisely the opposite is the
case, and that many so-called
"hardliners" are having second
thoughts as a result of the
bloody attack.

If one is stuck with immovable
views about the ANC and its
leaders, then he is a hardliner,
and therefore he is in conflict with
the "softliners". It becomes more
difficult to make sense of ANC
moves and impossible to predict
trends accurately.

In an interview this week,
Mandela pleaded for a more
sobered-up understanding of the
internal dynamics of the
ANC. "It is not correct to say
that there is a conflict between
"radicals" and "moderates" in the
ANC," he said. "I give you an
example. I started discussing
the question of violence with
Mr de Klerk before I was
released from jail. I continued
going to see him when I was
released.

"By September 1990 I had
given up hope. I was convinced
that Mr de Klerk had lost control
over the security forces,
many of whom were doing what
they were told to do."

In a special meeting of the ANC
executive, I said we should
pull out of negotiations.

"Do you know who opposed me?"
Joe Slovo, Chris Hani,
Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils
and others. They were the
leading figures in persuading me
to pull out. They said: "We give
people a chance" — this was
Ronnie Kasrils's phrase. I was
eventually convinced the
majority were against pulling
out, and I withdrew.

"In April 1989 I raised the
matter again, and this time
everybody was convinced that
we had done everything in our
power to persuade Mr de Klerk
to stop the violence. So we
gave up and let him.

"In May 1988 I raised the
matter again, and this time
everybody was convinced that
we had done everything in our
power to persuade Mr de Klerk
to stop the violence. So we
gave up and let him.

But now, in 1990, the
circumstances have changed.

A negotiated settlement is
still the best outcome. But we
must be careful not to find
ourselves in the midst of a
conflict.

Mandela, like every
politician, is of course concerned
to keep internal conflicts out of
the public domain. But the
evidence of his argument is that
simple membership of the
ANC is not a guarantee that
an individual is a 'hardliner'.
Women plan how to capitalise on their voting power in future SA

On Saturday, women from all walks of life will meet to begin writing a Women's Charter.

AMY WALDMAN looks at why this is such a crucial time for South African women:

ONE IN every two South African women will be raped in her lifetime; a rape occurs every 83 seconds.
- Of 328 Members of Parliament, eight are women.
- There is one female cabinet minister.
- There are eight women on the ANC executive committee.
- There are 200,000 illegal abortions annually.
- There are no laws that specifically address sexual harassment.

But amidst these grimy facts there are, for women, two points of light. Fifty-one percent of the population is female, so in the face of democratic elections women’s votes are an increasingly hot commodity. And South Africa’s immediate future will see a new constitution.

The prospect of elections and a new constitution make the next year potentially historic for South African women.

The Department of Justice, for example, will announce soon that it has begun scoping the nation’s lawbooks for evidence of discriminatory laws. An honest attempt to combat sexism? Maybe. But also an attractive campaign issue.

The question is how best to capitalise on these opportunities. The National Women’s Coalition, initiated by the ANC Women’s League in 1993, brings together women from over 40 national women’s organisations, drawn from a diverse range of political, social, and religious orientations: ANC, IFP, the Rural Women’s Organisation, Women for Peace, the South African Council of Churches, and many others.

The coalition aims to influence the writing of the constitution and ensure that a charter will guarantee the delivery of the rights articulated in the constitution.

At a recent Women’s Bureau seminar on the “Role of Women in the New South Africa” academics and activists warned that constitution writing, coalition building and campaigning are not easy tasks.

“A parliament without women is unacceptable as a parliament without black people,” Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts said. “Women must begin organising within political parties” — to make sure their issues are addressed and their voices heard.

“Women need to ask political parties, ‘What can you do for us? Why should we get on your bandwagon?’,” said Sarah Christie of the University of Cape Town law faculty.

In the US, some are labelling 1992 the Year of the Woman, due to the unprecedented number of women running for office.

But it took national ire over the Judge Clarence Thomas hearings and threats to reproductive freedom to reach this point, and even then, Smuts noted, there may be only five women in a Senate of 100.

Women’s equality must be written into a constitution’s preamble, Christie said. A bill of rights must be narrowly phrased, or women may wake up and find themselves at the mercy of a loosely worded amendment. The charter in particular must address specific issues — child care, equal pay for equal work, sexual harassment — that cannot be incorporated into a constitution.

The history of South Africa’s struggles for women’s rights has been a largely divided one: white women fought for the vote, black women against pass laws and for the vote. Though the coalition seems to bridge the divides, several panelists stressed that race, religion and class differences cannot be ignored in a women’s movement.

“Powerful women aren’t going to support a revolutionary class struggle that threatens class interests,” said Rhoda Kadali of the University of the Western Cape.

“The differences among women are real — we cannot come together in a way that wipes out those differences,” agreed Pregs Gwenveld, coordinator of the Worker’s College.

The gaps can be difficult to close, observed Beatie Hofmeyr of the ANC Women’s League: “There is no easy access to women who live in rural villages, don’t read or write, don’t travel.”

The charter wants particularly to address black women’s issues — but even within that parameter, Hofmeyr said, “there are probably issues we will never agree on.”

The example of black workers who went on strike on behalf of a white woman who had been sexually harassed proves, said Gwenveld, that coalitions can and should be formed.

“The only non-racial institution in South Africa is patriarchy,” Albie Sachs once said. Carla Sutherland of UCT’s Equal Opportunity Research Project observed: “Men have been rewarded by patriarchy in unbelievable ways, and they are going to fight, kick and scream not to have to give it up.”

Discrimination may be informal and covert, Sutherland said — from height requirements for policemen to age limits for adults applying for bur- saries. Women have been channelled into low-status, low-paying jobs, she said, arguing that “affirmative action is not reverse apartheid or reverse sexism — it’s a strategy by which employment equity is achieved.”
Minority fears unfounded, says ANC

MEN and women in SA were more concerned with power than peace, ANC President Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg this week. He was addressing a memorial service for the victims of the September 7 shooting in Bisho.

"There is a feeling within the minority in power that once democracy is installed, they would lose everything and be thrown into the streets."

Also addressing the service, ANC Women's League deputy president Albertina Sisulu blamed the government for the violence.

"The government has been using Gatsha Buthelezi in Natal and has now resorted to using Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei in the same manner."
Pow-wow is on the cards

CP Correspondent

Acting President Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are likely to meet this week in an effort to defuse the crisis of violence in the country.

It was learnt on Friday that talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had reached a "very sensitive" stage and would resume tomorrow. Should they come to an agreement, Mandela and de Klerk could meet within 10 days.

De Klerk told the Transvaal congress of the National Party this week that there were positive signs for such a meeting.

Meanwhile, Meyer and Ramaphosa are trying to remove obstacles in the way of a summit between the ANC and the government.

"For the ANC these include the fencing off of the hostels where violence occurs; a ban on carrying dangerous weapons and the release of certain prisoners.

Meyer told the congress this week that their talks were not limited to obstacles, but embraced progress with constitutional talks.

He said the government was holding back a final announcement on legislation which would make the introduction of an executive transitional council possible. A final decision depended upon what happened in talks with other parties.

The transitional council will be the first phase of a government of national unity for SA in which all parties will be represented.

Earlier statements by the ANC and the government indicated that they had agreed on aspects of the second phase of transitional government.

This entails the election of a constituent assembly which will simultaneously serve as a legislative body."
Property law opens up

By SOPHIE TEMA

SEVERAL black lawyers have broken through the barriers of what was once considered the enclave of the white legal profession – Property Law.

Recently a number of black lawyers entered into a nine-month conveyancing course – which in the past was impossible for them to pass and qualify.

Because of the growing interest among black lawyers in this area, eight would-be conveyancers were taken on by the biggest firm of lawyers in SA.

“They were all in private practice working a full day, and the course, which is extremely difficult, required a monumental effort,” says Gaby Norton, whose firm single-handedly almost doubled the number of black conveyancers in one year. Of the eight who signed up for the course, three passed.

They are Nozipho Sithole, an articled clerk with the firm, City Serobe and Philemon Tsoka, both in private practice.

“Until recently there were only four black conveyancers in SA and now there are seven,” said Norton.

He said in May 1992, director of the Black Lawyers Association Legal Education Centre Justice Moloto launched an attack on the legal profession at a conference held by the Johannesburg Attorney’s Association on the future of the legal profession.

Moloto said: “Property law (conveyancing) was an enclave of the white legal profession and it was impossible for black lawyers to qualify as property lawyers.

“There was a growing interest among black lawyers in the area of law, and with the repeal of the Land Act and Group Areas Act individual land tenure is open to blacks and this represents a substantial source of income.”

Says Norton: “Plans are afoot to continue not only with property but also with commercial law.”
Mandela to get Miami honour

By ZB MOLEFE

ANC president Nelson Mandela will have another feather added to his cap when he is honoured by a 22-person US Council on Foundations delegation this month.

Mandela will receive a special Miami Beach Medallion of Honour at a function hosted by the Kagiso Trust in Johannesburg on September 29. Council on Foundations president James Joseph will lead the delegation.

In a statement this week Kagiso Trust general secretary Eric Molobi said in arranging the Americans' itinerary his organisation "had made sure the delegation will be exposed to the real actors in the South African development arena".

The Council on Foundations has a long history of involvement in the US anti-apartheid movement.
Strategic industries under ANC review

CAPE TOWN — A future ANC government would reconsider the multi-billion rand strategic industries created during the sanctions era by "a paranoid regime".

ANC economic advisor Patrick Ncube told the Cape Assurance Industry Liaison Committee conference at the weekend that SA was in dire need of domestic savings for domestically generated investment, and one way to create this would be to deal with strategic industries which were not economically viable.

The parastatals had been operating at a deficit for some time, and in 1982 the deficit amounted to R5bn.

Money had been squandered on public enterprises which consumed most of the nation's savings.

Ncube said the ANC did not believe that foreign investment would be the engine of economic growth, but that it would rather supplement domestic investment. Most of the savings would have to come from individuals and the private sector.

He also said he personally believed corporate tax rates were too high and should be revised downwards as they acted as a disincentive to investment.

Companies should be given tax incentives to create jobs. Ncube said price signals would dictate the choice of capital or labour intensive methods of production and the only way to influence the choices made would be through tax incentives or subsidies. Job creation would be one way to redistribute wealth.

The ANC would like to see the formation of a fiscal commission to formulate guidelines on tax and to advise government on realistic tax levels.

It would also "clean up" the budget and generate savings which could be used on public works, the aim of which would be to build infrastructures for future investment and not simply to create jobs.

The ANC regarded price stability as vitally important and believed that the Central Bank should be charged with this responsibility.

Inflation would have to be kept under control to achieve economic growth. The ANC also believed that the state should provide a social net for citizens. Pensions and welfare handouts should be part of the definition of human rights, he said.
ANC march 'declaration of war'

IPF president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled as a declaration of war what he terms ANC intentions to march on his capital to topple him.

Facing the media in a pre-recorded interview screened on the SABC's "Agenda" news programme last night, he said: "If they are coming to talk with me, if they are going to do so through illegal means, then they must expect people to resist through illegal means."

He said he would "not raise a finger" to stop the ANC's planned march on KwaZulu, but warned there was much anger among Zulu people in particular, not just among the IPF.

The chief said it was nonsense to assume that because he had recently issued warnings of a possible civil war, it meant he was going to cause it.

He said there was already a low-intensity civil war in KwaZulu. "And now, if the ANC-SACP-Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance say they are coming to Ulundi to topple me and the government when so many of our people have died at their hands, this will only make this low-intensity war escalate into a bigger war."

Chief Buthelezi denied there was political repression in KwaZulu, claiming the Zulu people were "quite free to exercise their options" because the homeland was part of SA.

He alleged that attempts at setting up other parties besides the IPF had failed because of lack of support, and put forward the possibility of a referendum to let people decide on the homeland's political future.

On ANC demands for the banning of cultural weapons, he questioned the "fuss" made about them when, according to Institute of Race Relations statistics, most people were being killed with firearms. — Sapa.
A police investigation of 17 ANC members for past crimes is threatening negotiations between the ANC and the Government aimed at setting up a violence summit.

The ANC has slammed the investigations as an attempt to pressure it into accepting a general amnesty.

The ANC's staunch opposition to a general amnesty at this stage, and the Government's view that political prisoners across the spectrum should be released at the same time, is bogging down the pre-summit talks.

The police, confirming the investigations yesterday, staunchly denied that their agenda was to push through a blanket amnesty, saying the probes were routine and applied to everyone who had committed a crime.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was "totally unacceptable and contradictory" to talk about negotiations while investigating past political acts.

Among those who police are probing are SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, SACP member Ronnie Kasrils and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Maseko.

Others are Harry Gwala, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Mac Maharaj, Jacob Zuma, Zola Skweyiya, Alfred Nzo, Mmabatho Nhlanhla, Siphiwe Nyanda, Gertrude

**Spanner in the works — Page 11**

Shope of the ANC Women's League is also being investigated, along with Ismael Aboobaker, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander.

Meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa continued throughout last week to try to find a solution to the political prisoners issue.

The Government view is that all those who qualify under guidelines agreed to by the Government and the ANC have already been released, and that those remaining are guilty of very serious common crimes, such as the murder of civilians. It would be unjust to release them without also freeing similar offenders of other organisations — including people such as the policeman sentenced to death in the Trichardt massacre.

Meanwhile, both Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Mr Meyer have denied a Sunday Times report saying Mr Coetsee had wrecked a "provisional agreement on political prisoners and general amnesty struck by Mr Meyer with the ANC on Friday. They said the information was apparently propaganda, which was damaging the summit prospects.

In a joint statement they said there had been no conflict within the Government over its position.

"It is the ANC which is intransigent ... The ANC wants only its own people in custody to benefit," they said.

The summit on violence — which President de Klerk called for two weeks ago and the ANC accepted in principle — is the key to a return to multiparty constitutional negotiations.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela last week told The Star the ANC would attend the summit if the Government dealt satisfactorily with the release of political prisoners, curbing of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels.

The Ministers' statement said no agreement had been reached on weapons and hostels.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has warned that any agreement between the Government and the ANC prohibiting the carrying of cultural weapons was a "sure way to court defiance and civil disobedience."
While leaders talk, people die

THE Boipatong massacre left 40 people dead and shocked South Africa, even though the country had become numb by endemic violence. Memorial services were held, strong commitments were made, international assistance was sought, in order to start negotiations afresh and in the hope that this would end the violence. Despite all the pious commitment, the strong declarations, the new initiatives, South Africa continues to bleed. Now another slaughter has taken place, this time in Ciskei.

Since Boipatong, almost 1,000 people have died and at least 2,000 have been injured. Most victims of violence are women and children. The figures are chilling: 58 people died and 54 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape between August 25 and September 1 alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August.

Against this background, what are the political leaders in Natal saying? Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi is on record that “the ANC must be buggered up”, and when Dr Mandela is challenged on television, he concedes that the statement was made but that it really meant that the ANC must be “buggered up” peacefully! Harry Gwala, a prominent ANC leader in Natal, is given a standing ovation by a large number of students at the University of Cape Town when he declares that violence is not taking place in Natal. What is happening is a liberation war”.

In addition to that, he warns that the ANC may be forced to return to the “armed struggle”. Elsewhere, despite the fact that the PAC in recent weeks has been meeting with the Government to seek common ground for negotiations, their spokesmen continue to emphasise that “the armed struggle” is part of the strategy to end apartheid.

As preparations were made for the march on Ciskei despite the volatile climate which exists there, ANC leaders were quoted as saying, “we are prepared to die in the attempt to secure freedom for our people”. The question is, was the death count in Ciskei on September 7 really necessary? Is this the price the people must pay for freedom? Meanwhile, despite all the pretensions by the Minister of Law and Order, the overwhelming perception of blacks who are subject to violence almost every day of their lives, is that some elements in the police and security forces are playing a sinister role in the continuing violence. It hardly inspires confidence when deaths in custody continue at an ever-increasing rate.

What is being done to stop the violence? The National Peace Accord under the indefatigable leadership of John Hall continues to hold meetings, to discuss strategies, to strengthen their forces. And whilst they deliberate, people are dying. Monitoring agencies seek co-ordination, more teeth and whilst they monitor, people continue to die.

On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotiations between August 25 and September 1 alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August.

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On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotiations because the Government and the ANC cannot agree on the release of political prisoners and the ending of the violence. So while they talk about ending the violence and about the release of political prisoners, people die.

Is it asking too much from the Government and the ANC to appoint an independent arbitrator to resolve a matter such as the release of political prisoners which has been on the agenda for years?

Is it well known that the causes of violence are legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans is a major cause.

Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha.

The carnage taking place cries out for political and community leaders who are prepared to come in good faith and negotiate to bring about peace and democracy in South Africa.

Fact is, South Africa bled, died and will still bleed and die until something is done to heal the wounds of the wounded and the broken and to prepare a safe environment for the South Africa that no longer bleeds and dies.

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ANC's R13m for voter trust

THE Washington-based Free Mandela Fund has released almost R13m raised during the ANC president's 1990 US visit to a trust to educate voters for SA's first nonracial election.

The money — subject to several delays since it was collected during Mandela's tour — has been forwarded to the Matla Trust, which is to be officially launched next week. The trust's board of directors includes well-known public figures sympathetic to the ANC, among them attorney Ismail Ayob, Nobel laureate Nadime Gordimer, businessman Richard Maponya and cleric Smangalisile Mkhatsanya.

It is understood the money has been handed to the Matla Trust because the fund's donors did not want it channelled to a particular political party.

Matla Trust executive director Billy Modise said the trust was being funded by the Free Mandela Fund.

"We are using the money collected publicly in the US during the visit of Nelson Mandela," he said. Modise said the directors had been selected because of their record in the field of development and opposition to apartheid.

The trust aimed to teach instructors who in turn would popularise the idea of voting and elections among people who had not taken part in an election. The trust would also mount advertising campaigns popularising elections and conduct voter education workshops.

Modise said the fund intended embarking on an aggressive fund-raising drive locally and internationally.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi confirmed that the Mandela money was now in SA. He said the ANC collected money on behalf of all South Africans when it raised funds and that was why it had been given to the trust to disburse. He said the ANC needed millions of rand to run a competitive election campaign.

Meanwhile, some of the R20m set aside by the US Congress for the ANC and In-
Mandela, De Klerk summit in balance

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

The proposed summit between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela hung in the balance yesterday following disclosures of disagreement among Government negotiators on political prisoners.

And the African National Congress yesterday refused to speculate on future talks between its secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

A Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that an ANC team led by Ramaphosa returned empty-handed from a meeting on Saturday at which an agreement with Government negotiators led by Meyer was to have been signed on the crucial issue of political prisoners.

The discord emerged on Friday with the linking of the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty by the Minister of Justice; Mr Kobie Coetsee.

TRICKY RIDER Amendment by Justice Minister

...scuppers agreement on political prisoners:

He reportedly proposed an amendment to the agreement stipulating that amnesty should apply to any person not in prison but who might be convicted of politically motivated offences in future.

Behind closed doors

The original agreement defined a political prisoner as any person in jail for a politically motivated crime, irrespective of the offence concerned. It provided for a phased release of prisoners beginning this week.

The ANC delegation was reportedly told Government negotiators could not agree and the meeting to document the verbal agreements was aborted.

Until then, Ramaphosa and Meyer had been holding meetings behind closed doors to remove obstacles to the Mandela-De Klerk summit on violence proposed by President De Klerk and which would pave the way for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

The ANC had stated these obstacles as political prisoners, carrying of dangerous weapons and the Government's failure to implement the Goldstone Commission's recommendations on stepping up security at hostels.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said he would not, at this stage, speculate on the future of the talks between Ramaphosa and Meyer and that he would not say whether there was optimism about the proposed summit getting off the ground.

President de Klerk told a leading Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that he was hopeful about the country's future and that the huge presence of international observers did not pose a threat to the country's sovereignty.
ANC spells out health policy

Sad day for 'Truck Lady'

LENORE OLIVER, Staff Reporter

ALTHOUGH she is 79 years old, Mrs Grace Bolton still has a lot of vroom in her.

To be precise, she has a collection of 27 miniature trucks.

The only spanner in the works is the fact that she will have to sell them before moving to Johannesburg later this year.

"They are my proudest possessions and I feel very sad that I will have to part with them soon," said Mrs Bolton, who calls herself a "truck" person.

"The trucks, all manufacturer's models, date back to the time when she was editor of the South African Transport magazine and cannot be bought at any shop.

"I was the only woman in the business at that time and I asked everyone to give me trucks instead of the usual gifts of perfume," she said.

Mrs Bolton says she will not be selling the trucks individually because they "belong together".

The collection includes Mercedes Benz, Volvos, Mitsubishi, Scania, Isuzus and Fiats.

PROUD COLLECTOR: Mrs Grace Bolton poses with some of the valued trucks in her collection.

ANDREA WEISS Health Reporter 11/2

THE African National Congress envisions a national health service and is looking into the feasibility of a national health insurance.

Speaking at a policy forum on health, Ms Cheryl Carolus told a packed audience in Sea Point that the idea of a national health service was not the same as a "nationalised health service".

"The ANC believed, however, that there needed to be central responsibility by government to coordinate resources within a mixed economy.

She said the public and private sector would have to be rationalised, harnessed and unified to allow for accessible and affordable basic health care.

A priority would be the vulnerable, who should have access to free health care.

"Health care is a basic right which should be written into a Bill of Rights," she said.

Ms Carolus added that the ANC was committed to maintaining decent standards of health care, but there was also a need to set new standards.

Primary health care did not exclude other levels of health care.

A national health system also would have to evolve through a proper process of consultation and it would have to give priority to education and the promotion of healthy lifestyles.

The ANC also realised that health care would have to be dealt with on a central, regional and local basis, but rejected the notion of federalism.

It believed the public sector needed to be strengthened by improving working conditions.
ANC fails to attend Dali Mpolo case

Pallo Jordan says hearing does not enjoy priority over action campaign:

THE ANC last month failed to attend the conciliation board set up to resolve a labour dispute it has with a former employee because it did not regard the matter as serious.

Head of the organisation's publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, was responding to Mr Dali Mpolo’s complaint that the ANC had failed to attend the conciliation board's hearing set for August.

Mpolo, fired in May, is former ANC deputy head of the welfare department.

He said the case would now go to the industrial court at a date still to be determined. He is claiming unfair dismissal.

Mpolo also discounted claims that the ANC wanted to have the matter settled out of court.

"I have not been informed the ANC wanted to settle out of court."

Asked whether it was true that the ANC had failed to attend the conciliation hearing, Jordan said: "The conciliation board hearing was not our priority, at least in the context of our programmes which included mass action and Bisho."

He said he was not aware the ANC wanted to settle out of court.
Choice between negotiations and turmoil, UK warns

Chaos was the alternative to negotiations on non-racial democracy, and the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres were a taste of what awaited the country unless talks resumed, Britain told South Africa on Saturday.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker said in a speech prepared for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged by the signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The killings at Boipatong, Ciskei and elsewhere had persuaded some that there was an alternative to talks, she said.

"If the talks are not resumed, we will have seen in Boipatong and Ciskei a foretaste of the fate that awaits the whole of South Africa."

Mrs Chalker said bitterness over apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The Government had to maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said.

She added that police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled.

Commenting on the Ciskei massacre, Mrs Chalker said: "Whatever the provocation, the response at Bisio was out of all proportion to the threat posed by the demonstrators."

South Africans, Mrs Chalker said, had to tackle the issues of carrying dangerous weapons and the security of migrant-worker hostels, said by the ANC to be launching pads for violence.

These issues, and the release of political prisoners, are ANC conditions for the proposed summit on violence.

Mrs Chalker's party made her speech available to reporters in Durban in advance of her speaking on Saturday.

Hours before she spoke, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Commonwealth peace monitors visiting KwaZulu: "There are no prospects of establishing a sound transitional government in the climate created by the upward spiralling of violence we see around us."

He said the ANC, by retaining its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, made political violence seem respectable to black people. — Sapa-Reuters.
Government team to meet PAC for talks about talks

GOVERNMENT and PAC delegations are due to meet again on Thursday for talks aimed at securing PAC participation in future constitutional negotiations.

The two delegations, which will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, will continue discussions on a possible meeting at a neutral venue outside the country, probably in Botswana.

Details have not been finalized, but the PAC wants to discuss the setting up of a forum inside SA on the modalities of elections to a constituent assembly.

Government has not ruled out such a meeting but it wants solid agreements with the PAC first.

Meanwhile, Azapo has begun setting up a summit of the liberation movements and has written to the ANC and PAC. Azapo is proposing a two-sided negotiating table with government on the one side and the liberation movements on the other.
ANC leader to defy ruling

ANC national working committee efforts to pull militant regions into line suffered two more blows yesterday as its western Transvaal region announced new plans for a protest march in Bophuthatswana and a Natal Midlands leader vowed to defy a peace accord judgment.

ANC western Transvaal spokesman Ike Moroe said yesterday that October 9 had been set for a march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

A march planned on Garankuwa earlier this month was cancelled after Judge Richard Goldstone intervened.

In another development, ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe described a ruling that the ANC had breached the national peace accord as "a gross miscarriage of justice".

A national peace committee panel found that a mock trial organised by the ANC in which 11 Inkatha leaders were sentenced to death had breached the peace accord.

Sapa reports Hadebe said he was unable to defend the action at a panel hearing on the issue because he was recovering in hospital from an assassination attempt.

The NP yesterday called on the ANC to remove ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala "from his leadership position immediately" because of the findings.

An NP statement said ANC statements that it wanted to conduct its own investigation before reacting to the findings were "an undeserved slap in the face of the national peace committee".

In the western Transvaal, Moroe said the detention at the weekend of 15 ANC supporters and members by Bophuthatswana security police had aggravated tensions in the homeland.

A planned meeting between the ANC, Bophuthatswana's government and the region's peace accord structures to create a climate for a peaceful march could be called off following the detentions, he said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Themba Khoza said an ANC march on Ulundi would be regarded as an invasion which could lead to "a major event of violence".

"We call on responsible South Africans to prevent this march and attempt to topple the KwaZulu government."

Commenting on Khoza's statement, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said threats directed at free political activity were unacceptable.

"There is no invasion. The people of SA can't invade their own country," he said.

ANC southern Natal publicity head Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday the organisation was "not married to a march and was considering other forms of protest, our Political Staff reports."
Bid to save vital summit

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

Government and ANC negotiators were locked in intense bargaining last night to try to rescue the crucial summit on violence, threatened by disagreements over the release of ANC political prisoners and a general amnesty.

New urgency has been injected into their discussions by hints that an early cut-off point for removing obstacles may be introduced. If the deadline is missed, the summit between President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will not take place before the ANC leader leaves for Pakistan and China next Wednesday.

Observers fear that further delay will squander the momentum that has gathered over the past week for a resumption of negotiations.

After a serious hitch in the Government-ANC talks on Friday, it is understood that progress was made on Sunday.

And Mr de Klerk sounded an optimistic note yesterday.

A breakthrough back to negotiations was “hopefully just beyond the horizon”, he said at the Presidensi in Pretoria while receiving credentials from new ambassadors.

Mr de Klerk’s positive remarks suggest that there is still hope of an early resolution, despite bellicose signals sent out by Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel yesterday.

Addressing the Johannesburg Press Club, he attacked ANC claims that the SAP’s investigations of 17 top ANC members could prove to be a stumbling block for negotiations.
Govt, ANC meet to overcome political prisoner obstacle to negotiation

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegations met yesterday in Pretoria in a bid to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners in time for a summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela within 10 days.

Sources in both camps refused to discuss details of the discussions.

However, one government source said the prisoner issue was the most important hurdle still to be cleared before the summit could take place.

The one-on-one discussions between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were broadened to allow delegations from each side to take part.

The senior government source said that the weekend events, when it appeared a tentative deal fell through, were just a hiccup that could be resolved.

If both sides were committed the problem could be resolved, he believed.

It was reported that agreement had almost been reached when Justice Minister Robie Coetsee scuppered the deal by insisting on linking the release of prisoners to a general amnesty. However, Meyer and Coetsee denied on Sunday night that Coetsee had delayed the process.

The ANC is sticking firmly to its demands that prisoners be freed, hostels be secured and that the public carrying of weapons be banned before the organisation's national executive committee will approve the the summit on violence.

Government wants the summit to take place before Mandela leaves for a two-week overseas trip next Wednesday.

A senior ANC negotiator said yesterday the resolution of the political impasse was "just over the horizon".

During a marathon diplomatic session in which six new ambassadors presented their credentials, he said the key to the resumption of negotiations was a resolution to the question of violence, and he repeated his belief that stumbling blocks to the violence summit with Mandela would be overcome soon.

First to present his credentials was US ambassador Princeton Lyman, formally ambassador to Nigeria.

Lyman said every day that passed without political agreement added to the burden of economic decline.

Romanian ambassador Sorin Mircea
THE ANC's proposed march on Ulundi was not a declaration of war but rather an act of protest against the lack of political freedom in KwaZulu. ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

He was responding to statements made by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the TV programme Agenda on Sunday night.

"This march is to highlight the point that political tolerance is unavailable in KwaZulu. It's not a declaration of war," Radebe said.

Ulundi was not "sacrosanct", he said, adding that people had the right to protest against the denial of civil rights.
KwaMadala Hostel closure delayed

Talks stalemate symptomatic of political intolerance:

THE KwaMadala Hostel in Boipatong, scheduled for closure on Monday, will continue to exist because residents of KwaMaziza Hostel are refusing to allow the remaining 400 inmates to move into their domain.

Iscor, whose workers occupy the two hostels, announced yesterday that efforts to bring the relevant parties to the negotiating table had failed and that the closure of the KwaMadala Hostel could not be finalised.

This new development follows an agreement reached in July between Iscor and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), acting on behalf of the Vaal communities, in which September 21 was set for a negotiated integration of KwaMadala Hostel residents into KwaMasiza.

Most of the inmates of the KwaMasiza Hostel, which houses over 4 000 workers, are reportedly supporters of the African National Congress while KwaMadala Hostel is dominated by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

KwaMadala earned its notoriety after the Boipatong massacre. - Sapa.
Wide rift hits talks

SERIOUS RIFT Differences on important issues are left hanging as Mandela leaves for China:

HOPES for an urgent summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk were dashed yesterday when the ANC announced that its president would be leaving on a visit to the People's Republic of China next week.

Mandela leaves as serious differences on the carrying of cultural weapons, police investigations into ANC and PAC activities before unbanning and the Government intransigence on political prisoners persist between his organisation and the Government. The PAC also entered the fray yesterday when it said it would retaliate if the Government took action against any of its leaders.

See story page 2
Hopes for talks take a nose-dive

Prospect of early talks fade with news that Mandela is leaving on overseas trip:

By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe

Hopes for the emergency summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk received another blow yesterday.

It was announced that the ANC leader was leaving on an overseas trip as the gulf between the two widened.

Mandela leaves for China next week.

According to informed sources, the following issues are now driving the two apart:

- The police investigation of 17 ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leaders for offences allegedly committed before the organisations were unbanned;
- The Government’s insistence on linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty for State operatives; and
- The Inkatha Freedom Party’s statement that it would withdraw from negotiations if the Government banned traditional weapons.

The PAC entered the fray yesterday when its publicity director, Mr Waters Tobotu, said: “It is a perfectly bathed ploy by the enemy to have all leaders in the same kraal and then hit in one swoop.

“But I must warn that we will hit back if this plan is carried out.”

After a weekend of increased tension and acrimony between the Government and the ANC, negotiators from the two parties met yesterday to try and restore the severely eroded links.

The ANC hopes the summit can still be held before the October session of Parliament.

At the weekend IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that he would withdraw from all negotiations if the Government unilaterally banned the public display of dangerous weapons.

The IFP also said in a statement that if the ANC proceeded with its march on Umtata, the result would “make the Bisho massacre look like a Sundayschool picnic.”
Boesak for UN inquiry

ANC NEC member Allan Boesak has been asked to serve on a commission to examine the future direction of the UN. The commission will review the system and institutions of international cooperation created for the post-war era.
Summit on violence in the balance as govt, ANC battle to strike deal

He said the next week's talks in Cape Town will be crucial to the ANC's survival. The ANC's top officials, including President Thabo Mbeki, will meet with provincial leaders to review the republic's performance in the run-up to the September 11 election.

The talks are being described as a ``summit on violence in the balance'' as the ANC struggles to contain violence from its own supporters and to ensure that its supporters do not use violence to protect their interests.

''The summit will focus on the balance of violence, especially in the rural areas, which is a major concern for the ANC. It is important that we find a way to balance the interests of the province with the interests of the national government,'' Mbeki said.

The talks will also focus on the ANC's performance in the run-up to the election, including the role of the national executive committee, which has been criticized for its lack of leadership.

Mbeki said the ANC's performance in the election will be crucial to its survival, and that it is important to ensure that the party does not lose its majority in parliament.

''We must ensure that the ANC maintains its majority in parliament, as this is essential for the country's stability and development,'' Mbeki said.

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''We must ensure that the ANC maintains its majority in parliament, as this is essential for the country's stability and development,'' Mbeki said.
Sacob meets PAC group

By Michael Sparks

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) met a delegation of five Pan Africanist Congress members yesterday as part of its efforts to get negotiations on a new constitution back on track.

The meeting was one of a number arranged by Sacob with political organisations — including the ANC, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Inkatha Freedom Party — to discuss political and economic issues.

At a press conference after the meeting, Sacob president Hennie Viljoen reiterated his group's view that it was the obligation of politicians to put any new political structure in place, and that a strong economy was necessary to underpin any new dispensation.

Since it appeared that no end was in sight to negotiations, the economic downward spiral would continue, he said.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the political problem had to be solved first, since the economy could prosper only in a climate of tranquility and peace.
Manuel outlines ANC position on sanctions and investment code

By David Canning

NEW YORK — Business and political leaders here are worried substantial US state and local sanctions will be maintained after democratic elections in South Africa.

The concern was raised repeatedly at a National Foreign Trade Council Foundation seminar on South African investment yesterday after Herman Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, urged that remaining sanctions should be quickly removed following installation of an interim government.

Mr Cohen called on South Africans, including the ANC, to send “a clear signal” to state and local authorities in the US to remove remaining sanctions legislation after elections in SA.

In view of its parlous state, the South African economy could ill-afford the continuing effects of these impediments,” he said.

Harry Schwarz, the South African Ambasador, Dr Conrad Trevor Manuel ... wants financial pressure maintained.

Strauss, chairman of Standard Bank Investment Corp, and several business chiefs echoed his concern that legislation could be retained in an effort to achieve “social engineering” in South Africa.

Dr Strauss said maintenance of such codes would hinder growth. “I am nervous about elements of social engineering which could creep into the process.”

Another fear expressed by speakers by South Africa and American company executives was the shape of the “investment code” being proposed by the ANC. They wanted to know whether they would get an opportunity to participate in its formulation.

Answering questions on behalf of the ANC, Mr Trevor Manuel, director of its department of economic planning, said consultation with US companies would take place in the drafting of the investment code.

Such a code was important to create a sense of “transparency” for overseas investors.

Fielding questions about the ANC’s threat to remove debt being incurred by the present authorities, he noted that “very little” of this money was finding its way to disenfranchised groups.

He personally felt a future government would meet its foreign commitments, but would retain the right to reschedule in terms of the many priorities which it would face.

In his main address to the conference, Mr Manuel appealed to the international community to maintain financial pressure on the SA authorities until an interim government was established.

There was growing consensus about the need to fundamentally restructure the economy on the basis of a sustainable growth path. From the ANC viewpoint, this restructuring should be aimed at reducing economic inequalities and improving the quality of life of the majority.

The ANC remained deeply concerned about the deleterious stranglehold that a few conglomerates held in the SA economy. It also believed trade policy should be geared to raising levels of productivity.

While SA manufacturers were quite highly protected, trade barriers would have to be adjusted in a way that did not permit rapid destruction of jobs and domestic producers.

SA had the capacity and will to establish a deep-rooted democracy. “Never do we want to see South Africa balkanised or go the route to the wasteland that the former Yugoslavia has become.”
Winnie to face disciplinary inquiry

WINNIE Mandela was suspended from the ANC after she stepped down from her position as the organization's national executive committee (NEC) member. She was charged with two counts of misconduct, including the use of witchcraft to influence people.

The inquiry follows an investigation by the ANC disciplinary committee, which found that Mandela used witchcraft to influence people. The committee also found that she had violated ANC rules by engaging in witchcraft.

The ANC has previously said that it will hold a disciplinary inquiry into Mandela's alleged witchcraft activities.

"Occult" crimes rise

The Police have confirmed an increase in the number of occult-related crimes in South Africa. The increase is due to a rise in the number of cases involving black magic, voodoo, and other spiritual practices.

The rise in occult-related crimes has been attributed to a growing interest in spiritualism, particularly among younger people. The Police have warned that these crimes are often linked to other criminal activities, such as theft and robbery.

Policeman jailed for murder of detainee

PRETORIA - A policeman has been sentenced to 20 years in prison for the murder of a detainee. The policeman, who was accused of torturing and killing the detainee, was found guilty of murder and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

The incident occurred at the Pretoria Central Police Station in 2019. The detainee was subjected to violent and inhumane treatment by the policeman, who was accused of using excessive force and administering electric shocks.

The police have pledged to continue investigating cases of police brutality and to take necessary action against any officer found guilty of such crimes.

Interim results for the half-year ended 31 August 1992

The following table shows the financial results for the half-year ended 31 August 1992:

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<tr>
<th>Income statement</th>
<th>Figures in R000's</th>
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<td>Six months</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turnover</td>
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<td></td>
<td>285 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating income</td>
<td>10 068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest received</td>
<td>287</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The results show a decrease in turnover and operating income compared to the previous period. The decrease is attributed to a decline in sales and a rise in operating costs.

Bids to quash fraud

Minister loses appeal

The Minister of Finance has lost his appeal against a court decision to quash a fraud investigation. The court had ruled that the investigation was unlawful and did not comply with the law.

The Minister had appealed the decision, arguing that the investigation was necessary to protect the public interest. However, the court ruled that the investigation was unlawful and ordered the authorities to stop it.

The government has pledged to continue investigating cases of fraud and to take necessary action against any official found guilty of such crimes.
The PAC meets business leaders

A HIGH-powered delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress met business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the state of the economy and negotiations for a new dispensation.

Addressing a Press conference after the two-hour meeting, both parties pledged themselves to ending violence and to ensure that the downward trend of the economy “bottomed-out”.

The PAC delegation was led by Mr Johnson Mambo (first deputy president); secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim, secretary for legal affairs Mr Willie Sertill, executive member Mr Carter Soleta, chief of protocol Mr Count Pieterse and director of economic affairs Mr Mos Malatsi.

The South African Chamber of Commerce was represented by president Mr Hennie Viljoen, deputy president Mr Spencer Sterling, director-general Mr Raymond Parsons, chief economist Dr Ben van Rensburg and manager of labour affairs Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout.

Ebrahim said the PAC had noted the downward trend of the economy and other problems that had been caused by apartheid. It was also concerned about the escalating violence and pledged itself to ending the senseless carnage that was gripping the country.
Bisho plan hatched in Pretoria, says Hani

Violence part of a political plan

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The SACP has produced an interesting argument to substantiate the tripartite alliance’s allegation that the Government was busy with a low-intensity war against the ANC and its allies.

By way of example, based on American military strategy, the SACP explains that the bloody carnage in the country was a direct result of “a strategic use of violence for political ends” by the Government.

Reflecting on the Bisho massacre, the SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani says it is becoming increasingly clear the slaughter was not an accident.

“The triggers were pulled in Bisho but the plan was hatched in Pretoria. Why did the heavy SAP escort that accompanied us from King William’s Town suddenly melt away minutes before the massacre, only to return after the firing had stopped?”

He points out that the Government did not once voice critical opposition to the actions of the CDF.

“From about August 1990, until some time this year, de Klerk was successfully projected, at home and abroad, as the man of peace, the negotiator, while the ANC (and Inkatha Freedom Party) were seen by many as culprits in a spiralling and mindless ‘inter-ethnic’, ‘black on black’ war.

“If it was ‘inter-ethnic’ violence, then what were the original killing fields in Natal in which thousands of Zulu-speakers murdered other Zulu speakers? If it was just political rivalry, then who was behind the train massacres? These are random killings in which party affiliation or ethnic background are absolutely irrelevant.

“And who was benefiting from the violence, strategically? Certainly not the ANC-led alliance,” the SACP secretary-general says.

Sketching recurring patterns in the violence, Hani explained that the violence ostensibly came in two forms: “general mass destabilising violence (such as) train massacres and (and) attacks on vigils (which are) designed to disrupt and terrorise, and the more professional surgical assassinations of key second and third-layer leadership in the township.”

“The brand of violence that we have been seeing in our country is known in US military parlance as ‘low-intensity war’... it involves the extensive deployment of proxy rather than US (or in our case SADF) forces.

“Its objective is political victory. It aims to destabilise and then impose a political settlement on a war-weary people.

But violence has permeated South African society and is not inherently political. More than 11 000 people died violently in South Africa, he says, and more than 8 000 were not politically related.

“We have the highest known per capita rate in the world for other violent crimes as well, notably rape.

“These are the symptoms of a radically sick society. This is the legacy of apartheid and decades more of segregation,” Hani says.
ANC archives arrive

The African National Congress archives promised to the Congress by
clarities promised to the Congress at
the ANC archives arrive.

The archives promised by the Congress at
the ANC archives arrive.

The archives promised by the Congress at
the ANC archives arrive.
ANC, PAC train diplomats

CAIRO - Twenty representatives of the ANC and the PAC have arrived in Egypt for a month-long course in diplomacy that is intended to help them qualify as diplomats representing a democratic South Africa.

Dr Abdullah Al-Ashul, director of Egypt's Diplomatic Institute, said the course was part of growing ties with South Africa. However, Foreign Ministry officials were reluctant to talk about the visit or other ties with South Africa, apparently because the Organisation of African Unity has not yet approved of member states opening diplomatic relations with the Republic.

Egyptian officials say formal relations will not be opened with Pretoria until apartheid is fully dismantled. However, they say Cairo is willing to work with all political groups in South Africa.
Winnie to face ANC inquiry

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. Mrs Winnie Mandela faces a disciplinary inquiry with some of her supporters who held a protest at the ANC's headquarters in May. The ANC's national executive committee said the date of the inquiry would be announced soon. The protest was investigated by two attorneys.
ANC, Govt 'narrowing economic differences'

WASHINGTON — A top South African finance official says the Government and the ANC are narrowing their differences over the country's economic future, in spite of continuing political problems.

"It is essential to do something about the economy and I think the ANC is beginning to realise that," Gerhard Croesen, director-general of the Finance Department, said in an interview during this week's International Monetary Fund meetings in Washington.

"We cannot wait until everything is in place to start ensuring growth. It will be necessary to take those decisions now, even in an interim government," he said.

His remarks follow praise by Finance Minister Derek Keys for the ANC's evolving economic policy, which he said was emerging out of a period of "virtual civil war".

Mr Croesen said the Finance Ministry would publish a tough economic blueprint for the country's transition to majority rule at the end of October. The study would map out a comprehensive economic strategy, addressing capital flows, investment, government spending and taxation. — Sapa-Reuters.
ANC president Nelson Mandela is to be presented with the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour by the Washington-based Council on Foundations in recognition of his contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

In a statement the council said its president, James Joseph, accompanied by a delegation of 20 Americans, would travel to South Africa on September 29 to present the award to Mr Mandela.

"The presentation of the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour to Mr Mandela is a significance recognition of the council’s commitment to racial justice, not only in South Africa, but worldwide," the council statement said.

The US delegation would meet leaders of non-governmental development sectors to discuss the "interchangeability of the South African and American development experience, and the role of the US independent sector and internationally in addressing deep-seated socio-economic problems", the statement said. — Sapa.
ANC, PAC members learn about diplomacy in Egypt

Star Africa Service

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Egyptian officials say formal relations will not be opened with Pretoria until apartheid is fully dismantled, but Cairo is willing to work with all political groups in South Africa.

The government is known to have been conducting a dialogue with several political groups in South Africa since the beginning of the year. Nelson Mandela was to have visited Cairo a few weeks ago but the visit was cancelled.

Despite its reservations about diplomatic ties, Egypt is keen to promote trade with South Africa. It has recently begun to look south to African countries for new business as it grows more disillusioned with Arab markets.

A group of South African businessmen has been in Cairo and an Egyptian group will visit South Africa soon. Some South Africans have established themselves in Cairo and are learning Arabic.
Will Mandela's writ run?

The Loneliest time for a political leader is when there is no obvious path forward. When there are competing contradictory options that generate powerful feelings and his leadership is appropriated by partisan factions to strengthen their respective causes.

At such times, history begins to shape its judgement of political leaders. That judgment has little to do with whether the leader was kind, charismatic, revered, admired, how much he suffered for his cause, or battled to keep all his followers together.

The brutally simple question that history seeks to answer is: Did he lead when it mattered? When few knew what to do or where to go, and no one knew what would turn out to be the right course of action.

Nelson Mandela finds himself in the inauspicious political spot at the world at the moment. He is not the leader of the ANC-SACP-Contra alliance, nor the main political leader in South Africa. His life and suffering constitute an icon, a symbol of the people's struggle against the regime that was once called South Africa in the 20th century.

And yet, he is the leader of the ANC-SACP-Contra alliance. At critical junctures in South Africa's transition, his history begins to shape its judgment of him as a leader.

Can he lead his alliance, and the country, through the transitionary process of authorizing and legitimizing the ANC's political leadership in the new South Africa?

As the country's president, Nelson Mandela must now lead his movement's revolutionary struggles on hold. He must strike the political strategy of negotiations as the mode of transition to a new South Africa. And he must do so without being seen as compromising his principles.

This statement is not to be taken lightly. His actions and words will be scrutinized, as well as what such negotiations could do to the solidarity of the alliance.

The negotiations however appear to be not totally extended. Whether through incompetence, corruption, arrogance, ignorance or deliberation, the Government has psychologically compromised the country by allowing itself to be divided and isolated.

Those who were left strongly about mobilizing and protests were deeply embittered by the Government's ability to deliver through negotiations, as well as what such negotiations could do to the solidarity of the alliance.

The negotiations have proved to be not totally extended. Whether through incompetence, corruption, arrogance, ignorance or deliberation, the Government has psychologically compromised the country by allowing itself to be divided and isolated.

The negotiations however appear to be not totally extended. Whether through incompetence, corruption, arrogance, ignorance or deliberation, the Government has psychologically compromised the country by allowing itself to be divided and isolated.

In principle, mobilization and negotiations need not be incompatible in practice. They are often more often than not are very difficult to synchronize effectively and in South Africa at the present moment, virtually impossible.

After deciding the strategy, the Government has shifted to the 'negotiators' and the most articulate spokesmen once again turned out to be members of the ANC.

Revolutionary rhetoric, so familiar during the people's war period, began to emerge more clearly and acutely. The negotiators were taken a beating. It is not so much a question of the ANC's 'bickering' the nice, never mind a compromise.

Within the ANC alliance, differences about the priorities and relationships between the strategies of mass mobilization and negotiations began to emerge. The 'negotiators' were not the same group as the 'conductors', although all had to pledge loyalty to both strategies.

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Govt promises concern ANC

PROMISES broken by government in the past on the release of Magoo’s Bar bomber Robert McBride had prompted the ANC to insist on his immediate release rather than trust new assurances on the issue, a senior ANC negotiator said yesterday.

This had led directly to the impasse in negotiations for a summit on violence between President PW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are still trying to find a way around the problem.

According to the ANC negotiator, government, through Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, told Mandela in July last year that McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres — Mzondeleli Nondula and Mkhetheli Mncube — would be released soon. On the basis of this, Mandela persuaded the three to call off a planned hunger strike, he said.

Since the promise was never fulfilled, there was deep suspicion of current government assurances that the three men would be released after legislation was passed in Parliament next month, he said.

The ANC argued that if Coetsee promised the release a year ago, there was no reason to believe it was now impossible, in terms of powers vested in the President.

Coetsee had not responded to inquiries on the ANC allegations by the time of going to press.

Mandela yesterday expressed cautious optimism that the summit could still be held before he left for a trip abroad next week. It is understood Mandela may con-

ANC

sider postponing his trip should Meyer and Ramaphosa not reach agreement in time for the summit to take place before his departure.

Speaking to journalists after meeting ambassadors yesterday, Mandela said “a lot of loose ends” still remained and he was only prepared to meet De Klerk if they were tied up.

“The summit is important because I want it to lay the basis for a resumption of (constitutional) talks, and the whole of SA is looking forward to it. It would be tragic if it failed,” he said.

A senior government source said yesterday it was likely that Mandela and De Klerk would have more than one meeting.

Meyer and Ramaphosa met yesterday and the national working committee of the ANC also met again to deliberate on the discussions between the two negotiators.

TIM COHEN reports that McBride’s wife Paula yesterday accused government of hypocrisy for not releasing her husband.

In a case almost identical to that of her husband’s, two other ANC members had been freed, she said.

Two MK members, Bonnie Maoba and Steve Vilikazi, were given 18-year prison sentences after being found to have been responsible for a car bomb in Witbank.

Three people were killed in the explosion, which also injured 69 people. The prisoners served about 10 months of their sentences.

McBride said the only distinction between this case and that of her husband was that those killed in Witbank were black.

McBride was given the death sentence for planting a bomb near Magoo’s Bar in Durban.
Women unite to secure future

FEMALE DYNAMICS Time is ripe for ‘weaker’ sex to stand and be counted as SA is at crossroads:

By Lulama Lutl 25/11/92

POLITICAL differences among women will be put aside this weekend when they come together during a high profile conference on women and the constitution.

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation, will be held at the Escom Conference Centre in Midrand today until Sunday. Panelists include advocate Ms Mojantu Gambi (AZAPO), Miss Jill Noere (DP), lawyer Ms Bridgette Mabandla (ANC), Ms Xoli Gasa (IFP), Ms Sheila Camerier (NP) and Ms Nomhetho Mionzi (PAC).

Further input will be from psychologist Ms Thandeka Ngoduso and ANC lawyer Ms Linda Zama.

Conference co-convenor Ms Nomlotha Mazibuko said conference objectives include:

- The need to highlight the women’s participation in the new constitutional dispensation;
- The generation of discussion on issues affecting women;
- The mapping out of the way forward with regard to women’s involvement in meaningful economic participation, affirmative action, family life together with education and development;
- The examination of obstacles encountered by women in a society undergoing change; and
- Finding a mechanism through which the potential and ability of women can materialise.

Dr Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of South Africa will speak on women and economic activities; Ms Bongiwe Njube of the Foundation for Research and Development will speak on education and development.
ANC media official is slandered

It has been suggested Carl Niehaus, expelled from RAU, is a spy.

By Lulama Luti Soweto 251997.

THE ANC has backed its outspoken official, Mr Carl Niehaus, following a claim that he was a spy and a man of dubious character.

During the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show about a week ago, a caller from Cape Town suggested Niehaus was planted in the ANC as a spy.

ANC chief of information Dr Pallo Jordan said the remarks were slanderous and hurtful to a person such as Niehaus, who had suffered as a political prisoner and whose wife suffers from mental scars.

After joining the ANC in 1980, he was expelled from Rand Afrikaans University for putting up posters on the campus for equal education and calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. In 1983 he and his wife, Jansie, were convicted of high treason and sentenced to 15 and four years respectively. They were not allowed to see each other for two-and-a-half years.

He is presently a senior ANC media spokesman and an executive member of the organisation's Johannesburg northwest branch.
Self-confessed killer Gabriel Mahakoe arrives at the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein, yesterday with his lawyer, Mr Moss Mavundla. He has been convicted of the killing of a Free State farmer, his wife and daughter. Mahakoe faces a possible triple-death sentence today. See story page 3. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

SUPER WOMAN
A black woman gets a top position in the Government - as chief of national housing PAGE 4

Talks breakthrough

SUMMIT RESCUED Top-level meeting between De Klerk, Mandela on after deal:

A LAST-MINUTE deal worked out last night between the African National Congress and the Government has rescued a summit on peace due to take place this weekend.

The summit, seen as a crucial bid to end the violence in South Africa, will signal the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the ANC. The two top-level delegations are to be led by State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

An earlier deal, hammered out by the two sides' key negotiators, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, came unstuck on the issue of the release of remaining political prisoners.

The ANC's demand centred on three key Umkhonto weSizwe cadres - Magoo Bar bomber Robert Mbhite and Messina landmine operatives Mzumile Nondula and Mthethwa Masabane. They, and several other prisoners, are expected to be released on Monday.

Government and ANC sources remained tightlipped last night on the full details of the deal. It is believed, however, that the intervention of Mandela and De Klerk sealed it. The Government has apparently agreed to fence off certain hostels and act on the carrying of traditional weapons.

See story page 2
LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY
FM 25/9/92

The ship of fools sails tonight

Have you noticed how — despite all our leaders piling on the rhetoric for democracy — we are becoming seriously undemocratic? On a range of issues, from the call for a general amnesty to the abolition of by-elections, the Nationalists propose major legal changes remote from any mandate they received in the referendum. The ANC speaks the language of power, not conciliation.

Between the two, they are impeding a settlement, and scare foreign investors stiff. The press clutches at straws, such as a possible summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk on violence, but both seem intent on entrenching inflexible positions which prejudice the sweet talk of the Codesa exercise.

Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel’s announcement of a police investigation into crimes committed by ANC and SACP leaders radically contradicts the entire spirit of the indemnity process which allowed these leaders to return home to talk about a new constitution.

The investigation can only proceed now, he disingenuously argues, because the ANC men have returned to SA. In fact, their misdeeds have all already been considered in terms of the indemnities they have been granted; so the timing of the latest probe is extremely suspect.

We may not like what the ANC men stand for — or what they have done — but the matter hardly deserves to be whipped up by Kriel right now. Anyway, his krugerdagheid will not result in prosecutions. It amounts to the kind of red baiting that John Vorster and P W Botha capitalised on to defend increasingly indefensible positions.

As for the elimination of by-elections, the precedent would be bad. It obviously makes little sense to hold more all-white elections if a bicameral MP becomes tired or dies. But a statutory block on all by-elections foreclosing a parliament of perpetual members who have been elected once, and whose ranks can be puffed out by co-option. Until we have a new constitution, this parliament would consist of those who benefit from De Klerk’s patronage; after that, one that would thrive on alliances of elites.

The argument that a by-appointment-only Cabinet would enable men like Derek Keys to stay above politics is bizarre. The Governor of the Reserve Bank should have more independence — but the Minister of Finance is a profoundly political figure since he gives taxpayers’ money to various departments depending on the strength of their political pitch. Actually, Keys should fight an election for a party.

This unrepresentativeness is typical of the new order. NP and ANC alike make great play of being guided by their constituencies — but as the last election recedes in time and the next one stays on ice, “the people” are less and less consulted. Look at SACP chief Chris Hani ranting against capitalism in Bisho, his inflammatory message immediately given reality in a looting spree.

This is pure Leninism whereby the vanguard elite knows best — even if, like Harry Gwala in Natal, it entails laying plans for more martyrs, which is all that a march on Ulundi would provide. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — feeling marginalised — utters intensely ferocious warnings.

Meanwhile, again between them, the ANC and the Nats have destroyed the meaning of negotiation. It means talking without preconditions. The proposed meeting between De Klerk and Mandela — which may be delayed by yet another foreign fund-raising trip by the ANC president — is meant to concern ways of combating violence. But the ANC set certain conditions relating to violence which had to be met before the meeting could even take place.

In return, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee appears to have reinforced the Kriel line by insisting that political prisoner releases be balanced by a general amnesty.

Now, all these various rolertalkers doubtless see themselves as principled men, safeguarding the interests of those who once voted for them in constituencies or smoke-filled rooms. But the killing goes on (35 unrest deaths over the weekend) and economic renewal becomes a matter of faith rather than fact.

Much of the acrimony and posturing arises from the murky climate which rolled in at the Codesa breakdown. It was as if the parties had been gritting their teeth, storing up resentments, while superficially wafting from one compromise to the next. Surely this is too simple an explanation? The agreements reached in Codesa will stand at the next round of full-scale talks — whenever that may be — or will have to be arrived at again through negotiation.

The idea that a settlement will be reached by either a patched-up, co-opted government of national unity, or by the NP handing over all power to the ANC, cannot be seriously revived. Yet the antagonists behave as if this may be so — a sentimental, ruthless and undemocratic view.

A further danger lies in the potential loss of international goodwill. As this generation of world statesmen has rediscovered in attempting to bring peace to ex-Yugoslavia, the problem is that nobody — Serbs, Croats, whatever — keeps his word. In the end, the democracies maintain a token, humanitarian presence but otherwise leave the place alone. You don’t set sail on a ship of fools.
Finding the right formula

The deadlock-breaking summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela — which could clear the way for a return to Codesa-style negotiation — looks set to take place soon. It could occur as early as the weekend, or at least before Mandela flies out next Wednesday on yet another foreign visit.

The exact date appeared to be a question of "practicality" only — assuming the whole thing wasn’t called off altogether.

Guarded optimism was based on indications that an agreement on the critical hurdle of the release of political prisoners was imminent. According to a government spokesman, prospects for the summit hinged on the outcome of Tuesday’s "very crucial" preparatory meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mandela, who reiterated that the ANC’s "minimum demands" would have to be met first, said the Ramaphosa/Meyer meeting would be "decisive" if his summit with De Klerk was to take place at all. Other sources, however, indicated that the ANC appeared almost impatient for the summit to take place at the weekend, suggesting an agreement on the minimum demands was all but clinched.

This was despite last week’s apparent disagreement between Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee and Meyer. A Sunday press report had suggested that Coetzee had "wrecked" the planned summit by opposing a tentative agreement struck between Meyer and Ramaphosa in their bilateral meetings the week before. Coetzee, said the report, wanted the release of political prisoners linked to a "general amnesty" for political crimes in which security forces personnel (and members of other organisations) are or might be implicated.

However, in a joint statement, Coetzee and Meyer flatly denied any disagreement. Instead, they accused the ANC of being "intransigent over the (government’s) reasonable demand that all parties be treated on equal terms regarding the release of prisoners and the handling of relevant offenders." The ANC "only wants its own people in custody to benefit."

The Ministers said there was no conflict in the government’s stance and pointed out that no agreement had yet been reached on the ANC’s other central demands — to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and the securing of hostels. The report, allegedly based on a one-sided leak, "jeopardises the search for an agreement which would serve as a firm foundation for the summit" between the State President and Mandela.

At the same time, the SA police confirmed they were investigating 17 top ANC members — among them Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Joe Modise — for various alleged crimes on which the book has not yet been closed, technically speaking. It was not a special investigation aimed at the ANC only, the police said, and it included the rightwing, security force members, Azapo and Inkatha as well.

The ANC, not surprisingly, finds this totally unacceptable and sees it as a ploy by government to force the ANC to "agree to its general blanket amnesty which benefits its security forces." The ANC sees a contradiction in government saying, in one breath, that it wishes to create the right climate for talks to resume while, at the same time, it wants to prosecute "the very people it wants to talk with." It was "foolish" for De Klerk to pursue these investigations, since ANC members were effectively indemnified when the organisation was unbanned — precisely because government needed to talk to them.

The deal on political prisoners could take the form of a phased release programme so that about a quarter of the prisoners on the ANC’s list of 400 are freed soon, leaving the difficult cases (in terms of definition) to be sorted out later. If so, it would mean that government has accepted the olive branch proffered by Mandela last week when he appealed for some sign of movement from De Klerk to report back to his followers.

The ANC’s demands concerning weapons and hostels would appear to have been more tractable matters — though Inkatha has warned that any deal between government and the ANC on the carrying of weapons would provoke Zulu defiance.

Of the summit, a National Party spokesman points out that the main item on the agenda will be the whole question of violence, which is what De Klerk called the summit for in the first place.

The Democratic Party’s spokesman on constitutional affairs, Tony Leon, says government’s linkage of political prisoner releases to a general amnesty presented a problem in indemnifying members of the police and SA Defence Force. If an amnesty is seen as an overall sweeping under the carpet, or a substitute for full disclosure, then it would be "misconceived," says Leon. The problem would linger and the families of the victims of violence would not be satisfied. The lack of punishment and the lack of accountability should not be collapsed into one and the same thing.

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow this week proposed that an amnesty law should be passed by an interim government (which is also the ANC’s stance), as this would help promote reconciliation and a smooth transition. "Such a law should clearly define the offences in respect of which an amnesty is to be granted, whether the culprits were security force members or opponents of apartheid."

Gastrow said that while indemnities removed obstacles to longer-term stability, they were ad hoc, detrimentally affected the legal system and provided fertile ground for political manipulation.

DURBAN

Friendly persuasion

Durban city’s beachfront task force — established in the wake of crowd problems on the Golden Mile during the last festive season — has revealed strategies aimed at preventing a recurrence.

Two things stand out. One is that there will be no attempt to limit the number of people using the beaches; the other is that most of the proposed remedies were drawn from suggestions from the public, rather than imposed by officials.

The group also puts the record straight about Durban’s beaches last Christmas. City communications director Peter Denheim says the figure of 100,000 people on the beaches is a myth: “Using aerial photographs, taken at peak times, we counted them individually and established that there were only about 41,000 people. This means
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Last-minute intervention by
ANC leader Nelson Mandela
and President F W de Klerk
has brightened prospects for
a summit on violence to take
place tomorrow.

It is understood the Gov-
ernment has undertaken to
fence certain hostels and to
ban the carrying of danger-
ous weapons in public.

It has also put up new pro-
posals for the release of ANC
political prisoners, including
Magoo's Bar bomber Robert
McBride and two other Um-
honto we Sizwe cadres,
Mzonderele Nondula and
Mthethwile Mncube.

The leaders have been in
telephonic contact several
times since Wednesday night.

Mr Mandela earlier said
his organisation would attend
the summit if the Govern-
ment gave an undertaking
committing itself to "practi-
cal" steps on these three
issues.

An announcement on the
summit is expected today.

The Government's un-
takings were discussed yes-
terday at an ANC national
working committee (NWC)
meeting, but no statement
was issued afterwards.

It is understood Govern-
ment and ANC negotiators
remained in contact last
night.

In a day of hard bargain-
ing, proposals were ex-
changed between the Gov-
ernment's negotiations pol-
icy group and the NWC.

Earlier, Constitutional De-
velopment Minister Roelf
Meyer and ANC secretary-
general Cyril Ramaphosa
had set the ball rolling.

At 6.30 pm the Govern-
ment was waiting for a re-
sponse from the NWC to its
latest proposal.

It is understood the core
issue was still the ANC's de-
mand that the Government
unconditionally release Mc-
Bride and the two MK ca-
dres, held for their part in
landmine explosions in the
northern Transvaal, in accor-
dance with an earlier un-
derstanding to release them.

The Government's position
had been that it would only
release them in terms of pro-
posed legislation that would
enable it also to pardon of-
fenders of other parties — ef-
flecting a general amnesty.

Tight-lipped negotiators
would not divulge whether
and how either party had
shifted from these positions.

If no agreement was
reached last night, it was un-
likely the violence summit
could be held tomorrow as
planned.

It would then have to be
postponed for more than two
weeks, until Mr Mandela's
return from a visit to China
and Pakistan.

This would mean that the
summit would take place
after the October 12 start of
the short session of Parlia-
ment. This in turn would cre-
ate new complications for
negotiations. It might close
one option which the Gov-
ernment has offered as a so-

ution — releasing McBride
in terms of new legislation.
ANC leaders battle to hold back militants

THE national leadership of the African National Congress is battling to keep a rein on grassroots militants intent on stepping up mass action campaigns in the homelands.

Despite a desire at national level for free political activity in the homelands, particularly as elections loom, a leadership locked in sensitive discussion with the government is more than aware that the faintly beating heart of negotiations could not survive another Bisho.

But it may be too late to put the brakes on, as campaigns intensify in Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu.

The three ANC Natal regions issued a statement yesterday saying the march to the kwazulu capital of Umvoti would go ahead, though no dates have been set.

And an ANC member in Bophuthatswana said that there was tremendous anger on the ground over the decision to suspend the planned march on Mmabatho in the wake of Judge Richard Goldstone's call for postponement. "The first time we heard of this was through the press," he said.

He revealed that the three ANC regions affected still planned to march on Mmabatho and would stage a rally in Ga-Rankuwa at the weekend in defiance of a ban.

Already the mere announcement of an intention to march on Ulundi has pushed the political temperature in Natal to volcanic heights. Inkatha Youth Brigade members were reportedly chanting in the streets of Ulundi on Wednesday night, threatening to "do the ANC in" before the movement gets its chance. Statements by Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a march on Ulundi would be tantamount to a declaration of civil war have stoked this fever.

Confusion reigns over the national leadership's stance on the Ulundi march. The three Natal regions are also divided on the issue. While the ANC has publicly supported the regional decision to forge ahead with the march, several senior ANC sources admitted it was highly unlikely that the event would happen and attributed the regions' declarations to face-saving rhetoric.

"Planning of the Ulundi march is under discussion. Our position has never changed. We have never said the leadership is against the march," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

"Clearly the issue is complicated and this is exactly the reason why we aren't rushing into it. We are not giving dates and we are continuing with further discussion. Marches are not the only way to press for free political activity."

Niehaus said the ANC could not be pushed into a corner where "some despots" could dictate its actions by threats of violence. He said a decision to march would ultimately depend on "interaction and discussion" between national and regional levels.

Large-scale marches are not likely to go ahead until the outcome of the Goldstone commission's report on Bisho is made public, along with its recommendations on preventing a repetition of the tragedy. Judge Goldstone is to send his report to President FW de Klerk at the end of the month.

Through the judge made a specific appeal regarding the proposed march on Mmabatho two weeks ago, the ANC is taking cognisance of a call for restraint.

"We can't say that there is a definite undertaking that marches will be put on hold until this, but (Goldstone's point of view) is being taken into consideration," said Niehaus.

Meanwhile, fiery Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said he was "not aware of any attempts by the leadership to put a brake on the march". He said differences centred on when rather than whether it should go ahead. But he added that the march would not happen without consultation with the national leadership.

Despite signs of tension between the regions over the march — with the southern Natal region showing a far greater eagerness than northern Natal and the Midlands regions — Hadebe articulated a joint approach: "Our regions feel quite strongly that the march should go ahead."

The Midlands leader said key issues were the attempt by the government to give kwazulu more land and the fact that the ANC was effectively banned in parts of the homeland.

Hadebe said there would be a variety of mass activities leading up to the march.

He referred to logistical problems such as financial constraints and security measures, which would determine the nature of the march: "It may be done Gandhi-style where we march for a number of days."

Marchers, said Hadebe, would be unarmed and peaceful. Any violence would be "Buthelezi's fault". He added that threats of violence would not deter "the fight for freedom."

There is a growing lack of clarity over whether head office intends taking policy decisions to rein its regions. The fact that the regions are capable of causing a stir shows that the ANC functions to some extent as a democratic entity.

Also, in the ANC's perpetual wardance with the government, the more militant regions' genuine desire for mass action is a way of maintaining pressure on the government's allies. The growing participation of regions in an era of stepped-up mass action has created a stronger ANC.

However, these activities are not always compatible with negotiations. ANC president Nelson Mandela implied last week that regions would be expected to fall in with national decisions and not take unilateral action. And the PWV region said while no change of policy had been received from the national leadership, the issue would be hotly debated at its regional executive committee meeting next week.

Confirming that no policy changes had been made, Niehaus said: "Issues that are clearly regional will be dealt with by regions. They will issue their own press statements, but head office will get them too. Concerning actions that will have a national impact (like the Ulundi march), consultation takes place."

A Border region ANC official said that communication problems between regional and national levels were slowly being ironed out. "The ANC's campaigns department doesn't always get through to everything it should. Before we launch a big campaign we now have consultation and keep everyone informed at every step."
ANC may concede blanket amnesty

The issue of political prisoners remains the major stumbling block to the summit on violence — but indications are that the ANC is willing to concede a general amnesty.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

The National Party is reluctant to release the prisoners before passing legislation at the special sitting of parliament next month. This would apply to those across the political spectrum found guilty of serious crimes, paving the way for a general amnesty.

The ANC is under great pressure to drop its demand for the release of the three. According to a well-placed source within the ANC, the organisation was preparing to accept the release of rightwing leaders like Barend Strydom as a trade-off in exchange for the three MK cadres.

Agreement on the other two key demands central to the bilateral discussions paving the way for the summit on violence — the banning of dangerous weapons and the policing of hostels — is reportedly close. There is some consensus that the actual details on practical implementation could be hammered out at the summit, which set to take place either tomorrow or when ANC president Nelson Mandela returns from his visit to China.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is demanding that cultural weapons be allowed at certain meetings, including those where the Zulu king is in attendance. For the ANC, however, this would amount to another loophole in the legislation on dangerous weapons, which is now at the forefront of demands on the government to take action to curb the violence.

The summit, likely to look at other violence-related issues like the role of international and local monitors, is not, however, a substitute for the one-on-one talks between ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Koelf Meyer.

The ANC source said these would continue regardless. He added that before full-scale bilateral talks could resume in earnest, the ANC was looking for a formal announcement from the government on the constitutional issues it has provisionally conceded to, such as no veto powers over the constitution-making body and a fixed time frame for the interim government.

For the moment, the amnesty talks have remained the only genuine political breakthrough on the ground. But the issue remains an important one.

The ANC has repeatedly stated that a government in power cannot pardon itself and that immunity of powerful politicians committed to the concept of an amnesty in this period and that the ANC is in principle open to their doing so.

Cassie Smith has strong backing from top ANC officials, even though there are smaller amounts of wealth found among their ranks that would have been the case with political prisoners. Many of those who met Kieseling in his own office were not aware of Cassie Smith's immediate handling on his behalf. The ANC source said:

"The ANC and the power-sharing talks may emerge as the key stumbling block to the reinstatement of political prisoners. The ANC has already announced a dormant state of innocence for all those who were not in the political prisoners."

The source added that the ANC's aims are to ensure that the government is not under the influence of its own officials and that the ANC has already announced a dormant state of innocence for all those who were not in the political prisoners. The ANC has already announced a dormant state of innocence for all those who were not in the political prisoners. The ANC has already announced a dormant state of innocence for all those who were not in the political prisoners.
The party in the Western Cape has over the past few months been working tirelessly to ensure that the National party's policies are on track. This has been achieved through a series of meetings and discussions with various stakeholders. The party has also been actively campaigning in the region to raise awareness about its policies and programs.

In addition to this, the party has also been focusing on strengthening its local branches and ensuring that they have the resources and support they need to carry out their activities effectively. The party is committed to ensuring that the Western Cape remains a vibrant and prosperous region, and it will continue to work towards this goal in the months and years to come.
It's not who you must vote for but how

ALL parties are gearing for elections, perhaps as early as early next year, and they have the task of teaching first-time voters the mechanics of casting their ballot, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

A GROUP of township youths hear that the election result has gone against the party they backed for the first time, and they go to take to the streets again. Then one stops and says: "We must take the blame for losing the election. We lost because our people didn't know how to vote.

This is the opening scene in a play which will hit the streets next month, just one of many voter education initiatives that are getting under way in South Africa. With talk of deadlock all these months and violence worse than ever, it's a little strange to hear people talk about preparing for elections. But preparing they are, with growing urgency, all over the country.

The National Party has already embarked on "an education campaign for first-time voters." A session last weekend on the East Rand, for instance, drew 200 people, three-quarters of whom black. The African National Congress has also done some work and has ambitious plans, for which it is currently raising funds.

The play is a project of the Matia Trust, which, with a wide-ranging voter education campaign which this week was boosted by a grant of R15 million from the United States.

Expectations

Matia, in the words of executive director Billy Modise, is "a breakthrough of Nelson Mandela's. When he came out of prison and the organizations were unharmed, the expectations of people were overwhelming. He knew the ANC would be tied up discussing the politics of the country and felt that there should be a trust to attend to social and developmental issues."

Mandela's US money was raised at dinner and street collections during Mandela's time in the States. But Modise says this does not mean it will be used to campaign for an ANC election victory.

Workshops already held to train election educators have attracted 30 different groups, including the Pan African Congress and the Zanzibar People's Organisation.

"Our aim is to assist as many South Africans as possible to reach the ballot box," says Modise, who was in exile for many years and has himself voted in South Africa since he was a universtiy lectuer and development consultant. "We must get across to people how voting works, how they can qualify to vote, why they vote. Don't forget that most people have never seen a ballot box. But we are not telling people who they should vote for.

"If your opponent start doing voter education it should not make you suspicious or afraid, because our people need to be educated. A new government, no matter who they are, will be in trouble if South Africans don't know how democracy works."

"At the moment we have no political tolerance in South Africa, where you accept that someone can be your opponent without being your enemy."

One of Matia's plans is to broadcast voter education programmes on three African-language radio stations. But the full weight of State media and other national resources cannot be harnessed to this vital task - not while talks on the larger national political questions are tangled up.

The Department of Home Affairs says "no specific arrangements for voter education" can be made as the format of a future election has not yet been decided upon. Once this has been determined and the date of an election determined, a comprehensive programme of education of voters will be made.

Home Affairs has manufactured 5 500 ballot boxes and 11 000 additional polling booths at a cost of around R11 million. And it has been allocated to promote the issuing of ID documents. Part of this involves assistance to governments in six countries - Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Morocco - following recent talks with Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.

"It is expected that the possession of a South African identity document will be essential to vote in the next general election," the Home Affairs inforative said.

No steps have been taken regarding the more than 3 million voters Home Affairs estimates to live in the "independent" homelands. This, too, must await progress in larger political negotiations. But once political parties do get down to hammering out electoral procedure, some gaps may have to be bridged.

"We do not necessarily accept that the present ID document should be the only basis for voting," he believes Pienaar, who heads the ANC's election commission.

Advantage

"We think there should be a flexible attitude in that regard, that birth certificates, alien's papers and a range of documents could be used for identifying voters," he says.

"But at least political leaders do seem to agree, if only in public, that mass voter education will ultimately be to their advantage.

"The National Party is going to underwrite voter education because they believe it will help us," says Sheila Camerer, MP for Rosettenville and a director of the NP's information service.

The key point is to show voters that their vote is secret."

Modise says: "We do not believe the present Government has the will to run a voter-education campaign because it is not in their interests to have more black people voting. If many black people do, then we have the surest way of getting the ANC into power."
De Klerk gamble brought SA back from the brink

THE decision to bite the bullet was taken on Thursday afternoon.

President FW de Klerk and his senior lieutenants had before them a draft agreement that promised to end months of tedious bickering with the ANC and a golden opportunity to kick-start the stalled negotiation process.

The only snag was that part of the deal was the release from prison of three men — Magosa Bar bomber Robert McBride, 39, and Mzondelele Nondula, 29, and Mtshethelele Mncube, 32, who had been found guilty of the Messina landmine murders in 1987.

President de Klerk was acutely aware that should he accede, as the ANC insisted, to the release of these three — most of whose victims had been white — it could cost him dearly among his own supporters.

On the other hand, should he refuse to release them and the summit did not take place, the cost to the country in terms of dashed expectations and another failure of negotiations could prove even more devastating.

Compromise

Reluctantly, Mr De Klerk and his ministers accepted that the three would go free. But, unlike other political prisoners who would be freed without conditions, they would be let out on parole.

It was a compromise suggested, according to diplomats, by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who had spoken to both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha earlier that morning.

Of the three prisoners around whose release the fate of the nation turned this week, Robert McBride is the best known.

A tall Allan Boesak look-alike, he is the least experienced of the three ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. A teacher, he became a member of the ANC under default, recruited by childhood friend Gordon Webster.

He received no formal military training by Umkhonto we Sizwe, but proved an enthusiastic recruit, conducting a bombing campaign around Durban in 1986, culminating in the Magosa Bar bombing, which led to the deaths of three people and left more than 20 injured.

McBride was sentenced to death, but on review last year his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, as were the sentences of Nondula and Mncube.

Mncube and Nondula were what was known at the time as the Messina trialists.

Both are highly trained MK officers. They were part of a unit that crossed into South Africa on more than once occasion.

However, in 1987, after laying a number of landmines in the Messina district which cost the lives of 10 people, including seven whites, and

injured 20 others, they were arrested.

They refused to testify in their own defence, claiming that they were soldiers and should be treated as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva convention.

Mncube was initially arrested by two policemen who placed him in the back of a bakkie next to an AK-47. Mncube managed to free himself and killed his captors.

During his trial his defence claimed he was tortured after his arrest, including being forced to eat his own excrement.

Raised in Soweto, Mr Mncube also married while in prison late last year.

Schooling

Mr Nondula, who is being released a few days after his birthday, is a gifted writer and poet. He was transferred to prison in East London early this year. An orphan, he grew up in extreme poverty in Mdantsane near Ciskei and left South Africa to join the ANC while in his teens.

His first schooling took place at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania along with Mr Mncube.

Mr Mncube was instructed in firearms and politics in Angola before infiltrating South Africa in 1986 through Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mr Nondula received training in Mozambique — where key ANC prisoner-release negotiator Mathews Phosa was in charge of military operations — before getting further training in Angola and East Germany. He was for a time a trainer at an Angolan training camp and infiltrated South Africa a number of times on various missions.
What was decided

BY MIDDAY yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY it was agreed that:

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On an INTERIM GOVERNMENT it was agreed that there will be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

On POLITICAL PRISONERS it was agreed that:
- One hundred and fifty will be released before Monday — 140 have already been released;
- Only prisoners who committed offences prior to October 8, 1990 will be released;
- Robert McBride and the two Missina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
- The remaining political prisoners — about 250 — will be released by November 15. After the summit, they will be categorised — not in terms of their crime, but rather its political motivation;
- Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once passed, McBride and the others' parole conditions will fall away;
- The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of DANGEROUS WEAPONS it was agreed that:
- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions will be granted by magistrates. These could include gatherings such as Shaka day.

By lunch time, the question of SECURING HOSTELS was still being discussed. However, the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV region, that need to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:
- Security will be implemented in terms of recommendations contained in the latest report of the Goldstone commission;
- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels involved;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced.
Mahakoe: PAC paid for my team

By MONWABISI NOMADOL

THE PAC has declined to comment on a claim that it funded the legal defence of multiple-killer Gabriel Diphepeng Mahakoe.

Grey-haired Mahakoe, 43, was sentenced to death four times for the murder of a Free State farmer Willem Christoffel Engelbrecht, 71, his wife Bette, 68, of Verkeerdevlei, their daughter Lena Smit, 39, and her daughter Michelle, 14, of Kimberley.

He was also sentenced to nine years’ imprisonment for theft of the Engelbrecht’s car and clothing.

A further sentence of 12 years was imposed on him for attempting to murder Smit’s daughter, Petronella.

The revelation that the PAC paid for his defence comes from Mahakoe.

Throughout the trial Mahakoe enjoyed extensive support from members and supporters of the PAC who came to court in the organisation’s clothes and chanted “One settler one bullet” and “iAfrika izwe lethu” at various points.

The killer had gone to rob the Engelbrecht homestead but ended up killing them after he was trapped inside the house.

He is a fully fledged member of the PAC. He showed us his green and black membership card (No 017835) and said his membership fee was R12.

He only joined up on June 7 while awaiting trial.

Mahakoe told City Press: “I was born with PAC blood in me.”

According to a clinical psychologist’s report his father was shot by police while in police custody.

Mahakoe, of Bochabela, said the PAC was paying for his defence.

Mahakoe initially said when asked who was footing the bill: “It is the nation.” He added that “the people” were paying through the organisation.

Pressured, he said he was referring to the PAC.

Mahakoe was represented by three well-known lawyers who are also senior members of the PAC.

The team was the third to represent Mahakoe who refused to be represented by a white pro deo advocate.

This led to the appointment of advocate Dennis Mosepwe from the Pretoria bar to represent him. Mosepwe represented him until Mahakoe was sent for mental observation in April following days of open defiance and confrontations with the judge.

Attorney Molefi Lithoko said he had no instructions to disclose who had paid for the defence.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti denied funding the defence team, going so far as to say he was uncertain if Mahakoe was a PAC member.

Head of the PAC’s legal department, Willie Seriti, said “this is a sensitive matter” when City Press first phoned him to inquire.

He asked to be given “some time to think about it”. He later said the PAC had “no comment” to make on the issue.

The Seriti legal firm is also handling the case.

Advocate B Ngoepe said he didn’t know where the money had come from. He was paid by the instructing attorney and did not ask about the source.
ANC's archives find a new home

By BILL KRIGE

FORT Hare University has taken delivery of valuable ANC records and artefacts which will form the nucleus of a huge project to house the archives of all the resistance movements.

Crates of documents were shipped in from Tanzania last week and stacked behind bars on a campus dubbed the "cradle of liberation".

The man in charge of the operation, Professor Themba Sirayi, believes they will yield gems for researchers.

Shrine

"It is evident that Fort Hare is fast becoming a mecca," said Professor Sirayi, director of the centre of cultural studies on the picturesque campus in the small Ciskei town of Alice.

He leaves for Europe today with the university's principal, Professor Sobusiso Bengu, to raise money to help enshrine the long and bitter struggle for liberation.

There are elaborate plans to build a museum of resistance, an archive of resistance and a theatre which will highlight the black performing arts.

The ANC's decision to make Fort Hare the custodian of its past is echoed by similar commitments by the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and the Unity Movement.

"It's a multi, multi-million rand venture — I can put it no higher," said Professor Sirayi.

"It will enhance the image of Fort Hare internationally, restoring it to what it was before it was tainted by apartheid and Bantustan education.

"This is not a bush university. Rather, it is the cradle of the liberation movement and of the black intelligentsia.

"The negotiations are over. What we have here (from Tanzania) is a realisation of decisions already taken."

The archival and museum material from East Africa comes from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, home of an ANC exile community.

"There are archives situated all over the world which will come here when we are ready to receive them — documents relating to the ANC's political, military and international relations," said Professor Sirayi.

Professors Bengu and Sirayi will tour Scandinavia, Holland, Britain and Germany.
Paso wants PAC jet-set to give up plane seats for Apla effort

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) has asked the PAC leadership to allocate 50 percent of PAC funds to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Paso secretary for publicity and information Adam Bosman said the decision was taken by Paso's national executive last weekend.

"We've decided that instead of flying around, the PAC leadership should spend that money on supporting its guerrillia army," he said.

Bosman also took the PAC leaders to task for their tendency to distance the organisation from military operations carried out by Apla inside SA.

He said the PAC could no longer pretend for legal reasons that it was a separate entity from the military wing.

He said Paso believed Apla was implementing the PAC call for the intensification of the struggle against Pretoria on all fronts.

It is standard PAC practice to refer all media questions about Apla military activities to Apla leaders outside the country.

Observers believe this is a tactic to prevent the government taking heavy-handed action against the PAC.

"We won't condone the PAC distancing itself from Apla. If they avoid questions about Apla they are distancing themselves from the armed struggle," charged Bosman.

He pointed out that Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo was the second vice-president of the PAC.

Bosman also announced that Paso was planning a summit with SA's two progressive student movements in Zimbabwe next month with a view to forming a united student organisation.

The League was prepared to invite Paso, the Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and the South African Students Congress (Sasco) as these were the only "genuine student representatives in SA," Bosman said.

However, he warned Sasco against sending white delegates to the summit because they did not represent the "true needs and aspirations of the oppressed masses".
The ANC's Natal region has vowed to go ahead with its march to Ulundi, despite the threat of a bloodbath on the scale of the Bisho massacre.

And Inkatha leadership has not minced its words, saying outright that the Bisho massacre would be like a Sunday school picnic if the ANC went ahead with the march to Ulundi.

Spokesmen for the ANC's three Natal regions have said everything would be done to prevent a repetition of Bisho and that the planned march was about free political activity in KwaZulu.

Any thinking person will tell you this is a recipe for disaster, given the history of bloodshed between the two.

Every political group should have a right to express its point of view and of course, no one, least of all leaders of the discredited homelands, has the right to declare no-go areas for political activity.

We have no vote and it is acceptable that we vote with our feet. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is well placed to understand this.

He is a man who carved his niche in the annals of black history by steadfastly rejecting homeland independence on the grounds that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned and black political organisations were banned.

When people like Matanzima, Mphephu, Sebe and Mangope rushed to please Pretoria by accepting "independence" Buthelezi refused to be browbeaten by PW Botha to further oppress his own people.

Buthelezi sells himself all over the world as a man of peace, a Christian, a committed leader of his people and a man who upholds true democratic values.

If he is such a man, why does he make blood-curdling utterances? Why does he suppress free political activity when it threatens his position? And why has he been unable to stop almost nine years of violence in Natal?

Why does he use ethnic ties to deal with a political matter when he himself has claimed that Inkatha is not just a Zulu organisation?

Only Buthelezi knows the answers to these questions. He is a seasoned and astute politician. But nor can the ANC and its allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, be exonerated. Their ambition to gain political support in the homelands, whose populations constitute nearly half of the future electorate, seems to know no bounds. But at what cost?

Once they have established a political stronghold in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, they can be fairly confident of the support of Holomisa (Transkei), Ramushwane (Venda), Zita (KaNgwane), Mahlangu (KwaNdebele), Ramokgwe (Lephalale) and Ntswakanzi (Gazankulu).

Frankly, I doubt the ANC will go ahead with its march to Ulundi.

The ANC has nothing to lose but everything to gain by postponing the march. It is only a matter of time before an interim government is put into place and the ANC looks sure of a strong following in Natal anyway.

More than 100 000 people turned out to hear Mandela's "throw your spears and pangas in the sea" speech - indication enough of ANC support in Natal.

Marching to Ulundi would be venturing into the lion's den and would endanger the lives of ANC and IFP supporters alike.

The scale of such a clash is too awful to contemplate.

Buthelezi is not a man to be taken lightly, especially when he thinks his chips are down.

But, of course, the most pathetic thing is that the government and those unaffected by the violence are smiling all the way to the political bank as black people destroy one another on the eve of their political independence.

We warn the ANC to rethink the strategy and direction of mass action.
New hopes pinned on summit

By THEMBA KHUMALO

ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk expressed hopes that their all-important summit at Kempten Park yesterday would bring the political stalemate closer to an interim government and a constituent assembly.

In brief speeches before they went to a closed meeting, Mandela and De Klerk indicated that the first batch of 150 political prisoners might start breathing freedom from as early as last night.

They did not divulge details as Prison Correctional Services authorities were busy finalising documentation of the phased releases.

Speculation among ANC and government officials was that the first prisoners to be freed would include Mthethethlo Mncube of Dieploof, Soweto; his co-accused Euclid Nondula of Mdantsane in East London; and Robert McBride of Durban.

All three are Umkhonto weSizwe commanders whose continued imprisonment was a major stumbling block to the summit.

Mandela said the ANC had come to the summit to earnestly tackle the problems facing the country rather than to score victories.

He said: “We have come here with the hope that the summit will a firm basis for the resumption of negotiations.

“Difficult as it is, it would be a grave mistake for any organisation to remain blinded by sectarian interests during talks.”

De Klerk also expressed hope that the decisions of yesterday’s summit would herald a breakthrough in establishing an interim authority that would lead to a new constitutional dispensation.

He emphasised the urgent need for a speedy end to the country’s violence.

“We can’t talk while our people are fighting. The summit today must be seen as milestone to peace and prosperity for all South Africans,” he said.

Political prisoners get their freedom

By DESMOND BLOW

ABOUT 150 ANC political prisoners, including the last of the Upington 25 and one of the last two Sharpville Six, were released from jails throughout the country between Friday night and yesterday following the agreement between the ANC and the SA government.

The three well-known MK cadres - Robert McBride, Mthethethlo Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula, who were all sentenced to death for murder - will be released from tomorrow.

It is believed that more than 500 ANC inmates will be released by November 15 as well as Inkatha warlords and right-wing prisoners.

The Boerestaat Party on Friday appealed to State President FW de Klerk not to think only of ANC prisoners but to release “all black freedom fighters” as well.

A Department of Correctional Services spokesman said although only ANC prisoners have been released, all prisoners who committed crimes with political motivation would be freed.

This, he said, would include Barend Strydom.
FW, Mandela shake hands and get down to tough talk

By EDITH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

COMPELLED by unprecedented international pressure, President FW De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday shook hands and began the long haul towards installing a government of national unity.

The two leaders were locked in talks all day after committing themselves at the outset of their summit on violence to finding the basis on which constitutional negotiations could resume.

The meeting, in the shabby surroundings of the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, signalled the end to a tedious negotiations stand-off that began with the massacre at Boipatong three months ago and ended with virtually every Western power and the United Nations acting as mediators.

The leaders and their delegates yesterday ratified a series of measures aimed at curbing violence and removing final obstacles to the resumption of constitutional talks.

Shortly before meeting behind closed doors, the leaders chatted amiably and shook hands. Both expressed hope that the meeting would lead to a resumption of democracy talks.

Mr Mandela said the simple act of their coming together was bound to send a signal of hope to all South Africans. "We are duty-bound not to disappoint them.

The ANC leader added: "We have come here in the hope that by the time this summit ends, a firm basis will have been laid for the resumption of negotiations."

Echoing these sentiments, President De Klerk said: "I am confident that today we will take the process forward — forward to the goals about which there is really no difference of opinion."

The summit was made possible after the parties' chief negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, closed a package deal after three weeks of closed-door partering.

The three elements of the deal were an agreement to release remaining political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the securing of hospitals.

Most of the haggling centred around the release of political prisoners.

The government initially insisted that all political prisoners, as defined in an earlier agreement with the ANC, had been released. Later, it backed down, but continued to refuse to free Magoo's bar bomber Robert McBride, and Mzondi...
My thug for yours! We are building a nation

THERE was a time, I must confess, when I thought that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela had created for us a rare opportunity to lay down for ourselves the principles of democracy, as America did after 1776 and Germany after the Second World War.

Instead, we have come down to squabbling about which murderous psychopath in the jails should be released among us. My co-bombed bums are your mass murderer; my midnight assassin for your sneaky poisoner.

This sort of evil bargaining is necessary. Nobody wants lingering blood to poison the future. If we are to become one nation we cannot embark on a set of Nuremberg trials in which the victors inflict judicial murder on the vanquished.

But if anybody expects national conciliation to flow from the release of prisoners, or from a general amnesty, the nation itself must be party to the process. It must all occur in the open. The terms of the prisoner release and the amnesty must be disclosed and understood.

Instead, what have we had? There was some talk of using the so-called Norgaard principles, drawn up by a Danish professor of law for Namibia and used with reasonable success there, but they had a weakness: they were principles. They didn't necessarily suit political agendas.

There was some talk of judges deciding, which was a good idea if the judges had operated "in open court", as it were, so that the rest of us could understand what was happening. Instead, the judges have vanished from sight and a bewildered public saw only that the scum of the jails went free, including vile murderers who could make no claim to having acted from idealism.

Why? The answer seems obvious: the release of prisoners was, in the end, cynically manipulated to serve political appearances. If the ANC's murderers were to be released, a couple of popular white murderers also had to go free. That way, it was thought, our kraaladiges leaders would not be seen to be backing down.

President De Klerk rode to national popularity, and to international esteem, on a wave of populist idealism. That idealism, it turns out, was misplaced: the National Party is not so much trying to create a new democracy as to win an election by all the old tactics of trickery, gerrymandering, rigged margins and denunciations.

The cynics of the Democratic Party warned me almost two years ago that I was being silly to prattle all the time about constitutional principles. Even constitutional-making, they said, was politics: vanity by other means. And so it has turned out.

There's precious little talk now about constitutional principles. The best offerings on the table come from Albie Sachs, the non-practising communist, who peddles a constitution that looks as good as the old Soviet constitution. It's got all the popular bits like the universal franchise and the bill of rights, but it has been carefully crafted, I believe, to eliminate any chance that the constitution will prevent an ANC government from putting the boot into the rest of us.

I don't trust it.

Sachs's ideas would be improved by German-style federalism, a near-perfect system for South Africa (as Colin Eglin told me enthusiastically when we met by chance in Brussels a couple of weeks ago). But the National Party is rapidly discreditng both the word federalism and the system itself by its efforts to sell us a distorted version, a federalism monique, which is little more than a disguise for its electoral coalition with the Bantustans.

DEMOCRACY? Who talks of democracy, or of constitutional principles, while the ANC and the National Party bargain in smoke-filled rooms, hidden from the eyes of the people? Who talks of democracy while the power-brokers manoeuvre for power? Or take the flight to the streets?

Educated Europeans, I found in recent weeks, are reduced to giggles by the kind of socialist rhetoric that still clutches around the ANC, but they watched with incredulous horror as the Bishop tragedy unfolded. Revolutionary tactics, like Ronnie Kasrils' Boys' Own Paper charge, do not lead to conciliation, and democracy doesn't mean stomping on your opponent until he agrees with you.

The ANC's idea of democracy, it has become increasingly clear, owes more to its Stalinist roots than to its more recent conversion. Like the warlords of Yugoslavia, the ANC leaders sign a peace agreement one day and violate it the next. No wonder peace commissioner John Joubert, that decent man, looks so miserable.

MEANWHILE, I am beginning to suspect that the government has just about given up any pretense of trying to govern while it devotes its energies to such urgent tasks as securing the fantastic pension rights of civil servants and MPs. The civil servants, for their part, are running up debts which will put an albatross around our necks into the next century.

Social spending on Bantustans for apartheid is discarded; instead, we have social spending on Bantustans for the noble purpose of buying off the masses, so that the National Party can build an electoral coalition around impotent elites in Bishop and Mmabatho. The civil servants give it: the same old gang, spending the same vast sums on the same old rackets in the same old, corrupt way. It makes one sick.

Between the ANC's grasping for power and the National Party's cunning manoeuvres, there's no time for prattle about freedom, or the rights of individuals, or the rule of law. There's no occasion for big words like principles or democracy, or public debate, or nation-building. Dogs over carrion don't fuss about principles.

It tempts me to adopt an old joke about little men. A desperate nation cries: Will South Africa's leaders please stand up? Mr Mandela and President De Klerk respond indignantly: We are standing! And so they are, so they are.

KEN OWEN
Govt-ANC accord marred by IFP reaction

Buthelezi quits talks

By Peter Fabricius

The optimistic mood for a speedy resumption of negotiations generated by Saturday's Government-ANC summit was badly marred yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vehemently denounced the summit agreements and withdrew from dialogue with the Government.

At the summit President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed a "Record of Understanding" for the release of all remaining ANC political prisoners by November 15, for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons - except with a judge's permission - and for the fencing and guarding of 28 hostels, also by November 15.

Mass action

A first batch of 150 ANC prisoners was freed over the weekend.

As a result of the agreements, Mr Mandela said the ANC delegation would recommend to the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) that the ANC return to constitutional negotiations - from which it withdrew in June.

It is expected that the NEC will give the nod after which a round of "intensive" bilaterals - and an in-depth "bosberaad" to iron out differences on transitional arrangements with the Government would follow.

The ANC also agreed to review its strategy of mass action.

The agreement has been widely hailed, locally and internationally as a breakthrough for negotiations. Business organisations have especially welcomed the ANC's decision to rethink mass action which they regard as bad for commerce.

But Mr Buthelezi's dramatic move yesterday has soured hopes and destroyed any illusions that the Government might have persuaded him to accept a ban on the carrying of Zulu cultural weapons and tight security measures for hostels.

Speaking at Shaka Day in KwaMashu, Durban, he warned that he would never ask for permission to carry Zulu cultural weapons and that hostel dwellers would

From Page 3

Foreign soil

Meanwhile, the Government pressed ahead with its plans to include as many parties as possible in negotiations, announcing that it would soon meet the PAC in "a neutral venue" - probably Gaborone in Botswana or Harare in Zimbabwe - to discuss a constituent assembly.

Government sources said they had agreed to the PAC's demand for a meeting on foreign soil to help the PAC out of the corner it had painted itself into.

The issue of a general amnesty for all political offenders - including State officials - could not be resolved at Saturday's Government-ANC summit. This thorny issue is likely to feature at bilateral meetings.

However, Mr de Klerk announced afterwards that the Government intended going ahead with legislation next month which would allow him to indemnify political offenders of all parties - including those not yet charged and sentenced.

Mr de Klerk promised at a media conference on Saturday night that the Government would only grant such an amnesty on the basis that offenders would have to apply for indemnity - as ANC members had.
Wit Wolf goes free today

MULTIPLE killer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom will be released from the Pretoria Prison today. This was confirmed by Department of Correctional Services spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Garndale in Pretoria yesterday.

Gamble confirmed that Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride would also be released today from the Westville Prison, outside Durban.

Strydom was sentenced to death eight times for having shot dead seven blacks on Sturdom Square in Pretoria, and for having shot dead a black woman in a previous incident.

McBride detonated a car bomb in 1966 which killed three white women outside a crowded beachfront bar. - Sapa

PAC, Govt to meet soon

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government have agreed to meet soon at senior leadership level in a neighbouring country to discuss a new constitution, the two sides said in a joint statement yesterday.

"The Government will be represented by senior members of the Cabinet and the PAC by senior members of its national executive committee," said the statement released by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and the PAC's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gora Ebrahim.

"The meeting is to take place soon. Details of the venue, date and agenda of the planned meeting will be released in due course." - Sapa

Marching to Benoni

THOUSANDS of Daveyton and Wallsville residents are to march on the Benoni Town Council today to demand a written reply to a memorandum they handed to the municipality a week ago.

They also resolved to pay a R50 flat-rate only and threatened to call a three-month consumer boycott of all businesses in Benoni if their minimum demands in the memorandum were not met. They demand - among other things - a single municipality for Benoni and its satellite townships.

The ANC, PAC, AZAPO, Inkatha Freedom Party, local taxi associations, churches and business groups endorsed the march. - Sowetan Reporter

More power to women

WOMEN should be in the forefront of efforts to rebuild the family along lines that benefit society.

This was said by Ms Thandeka Mgodiso of the Umzimbele Women's Organisation during a women's conference at the Eskom conference centre in Midrand at the weekend.

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation titled "Women and The Constitution," was addressed by women from various organisations including the ANC, PAC, IFP, Azapo and the Democratic Party.

Some issues tackled were: Women's Rights, in a Constitution, Women and Economic Activity and Education and Development. - Sowetan Reporter.
Mandela pays tribute to Gandhi

The Gandhian philosophy of peace, tolerance and non-violence may be the key to human survival in the 21st century, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his first public address since the summit with President F W de Klerk on Saturday.

Officially opening the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia yesterday, Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation when he said negotiations between the ANC and the Government had resumed.

He said the Gandhian philosophy began in South Africa as a powerful instrument of social change.

"South Africa has a legacy of racism and violence perpetuated by decades of apartheid rule," he said.

"If the Mahatma was here today he would tell us that the root cause of the violence in our country is apartheid. He would have warned us not to allow the philosophy of divide-and-rule to sow seeds of division in our midst, but to unite and restore human freedom to all South Africans.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had spearheaded "the path to lasting peace" in South Africa.

"Our initiative to negotiate with the Government and the suspension of our armed struggle arose out of our desire to bring about an end to the systematic violence that apartheid created — indeed, to bring an end to the racial division apartheid implanted upon us.

"We have established that we, the ANC, want to have freedom for all in this country but, I have..."
ANC to decide on mass action strategy

ANC national leaders have begun a series of meetings with militant regions about their mass action plans, following a weekend agreement with government to return to talks and review planned protests.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu met the ANC's southern Natal and Natal Midlands regions yesterday and was expected to meet officials from the northern Natal branch today to discuss a planned march on Umzimvubu.

The ANC's western Cape regional branch met national officials this week to discuss a planned blockade of the October 12 opening of Parliament by President F W de Klerk.

It is believed the regions will argue for the continuation of mass action.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said mass action and negotiations could not be divorced from one another.

In another development, Hadebe yesterday rejected a national peace committee offer to reopen the inquiry which found him guilty of violating the peace accord during a mock trial which sentenced Inkatha leaders to death.

Hadebe said the panel would have to publicly apologise for its judgment before he would consider testifying.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday to answer questions on manipulation of the ANC by radicals, including the SACP's Ronnie Kasrila.

In a strongly worded statement, Mdlalose accused the ANC of "a covert programme to dovetail with its overt one" which included "incitement, intimidation, sabotage and assassination".
McBride reconciled with
State witness co-accused

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Released Umkhonto we Sizwe
commander Robert McBride
has been reconciled with his co-
accused, Matthew Lagordier,
who testified as a State witness
against him and was subse-
sequently not charged.

Mr McBride was released
from Durban's Westville prison
yesterday after an agreement
on the release of remaining
prisoners was reached between
the ANC and the Government at
the violence summit. He was
sentenced to death in 1986 for
the Magoo's bomb blast which
killed three people.

He told The Star from his
parents' Wentworth home yest-
erday that he had initiated the
contact with Mr Lagordier, who
first visited him in the Westville
prison two weeks ago and was
among the many well-wishers
at his parents' home yesterday.

Mr McBride said reconcilia-
tion first meant admitting that
there had been conflict in the
past and people either fought
against or in favour of apart-
heid.

"Our energies were directed
at the Government — to get the
Government to talk to us — and
that was the purpose of the
armed struggle."

He said reconciliation in-
volved fostering political toler-
ance and stopping "rabid incite-
ment".

Mr McBride said he would
now work towards reconcilia-
tion in the country. He had al-
ready started after his release
by not making inflammatory
statements or recalling ill-
treatment in prison or the years
of oppression, he said.

"We must move from the em-
phasis on the past to a vision for
the future."

He understood that relatives
of the three people killed in the
bomb blast, for which he was
responsible, were bitter.

"I am sorry people were kill-
ed. In conflict situations people
do get killed. I did not want
anyone to die," he said.

He denied that there was no
link between his release and
that of Barend Strydom.

Mr McBride said: "Strydom
was imprisoned in the Govern-
ment's jail and they could do
with him what they wanted to.

"I always expected they
would release him," he added.

Mr McBride has not taken
any decision on his future but
would "fit in where the ANC
needs me."

In a message to South Afri-
cans, Mr McBride said: "Think
of the future. Think of your chil-
dren and your children's chil-
dren. Would you like them to
grow up in the stubbornness and
racism (of the past) or do you
want them to join the fellowship
of human beings?"
Freed cadres have no regrets

By Brinn Sokatu
and Musa Mapiya

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres Mzondodile Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube, who spent years together on Pretoria Central Prison's Death Row, walked to freedom at opposite ends of the country yesterday.

The two men, sentenced to death in 1987 for a spate of fatal landmine bombings in the Messina district, expressed the same sentiment of loyalty to the ANC.

When Mr Mncube (32) walked out of Pretoria Central, he expressed his thanks that ANC president Nelson Mandela had saved his life.

Outside Fort Glamorgan Prison in East London, Mr Nondula (29) said: “Even if we were hanged we wouldn’t regret what we did because those were the darkest days in our history.

Free... Mthetheleli Mncube hugs his wife.

"Our mission was to free South Africa from apartheid."

At the home of Mr Mncube’s parents in Diepkloof in Soweto, ululation was heard throughout the day as old friends, relatives and neighbours came to visit the family.

The neighbourhood was bustling with activity, as women, including Mr Mncube’s wife and sisters, served visitors with food and drink.

Mr Mncube said he was happy to be back home and he had never really lost hope.

He had not made up his mind on future plans and needed to “readjust to the life outside the prison first”.

He expressed the hope that negotiations between the Government and the ANC would succeed.

Speaking to The Star from the ANC’s East London offices, Mr Nondula said although he was thrilled about his release, he realised he had to face the reality of poverty at home.

“I’m happy to be home. But the reality is that conditions at home are terrible.

“I’m from a family of seven... there are school children and most of my family are unemployed.”

Mr Nondula, transferred from Pretoria Central to Fort Glamorgan in May after his death sentence was commuted, had planned to complete his matric in jail.

He received his first batch of lectures from a correspondence college only three days before being released, and now plans to continue.

“Hardship won’t deter me from continuing my studies,” he said.

Asked about his arrest with Mr Mncube at a police roadblock on the border of Bophuthatswana and South Africa on January 2 1987, Mr Nondula said: “To me that part of my personal history will be difficult to erase.

“It was up to me to prove whether I’m committed to what I am... a member of MK.

“When the judge sentenced us to death, the challenge was more frightening.”
Summit accord ‘flawed’

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has criticised a “major flaw” in the Government and ANC’s agreement at Saturday’s summit on the workings of a constitution-making body and an interim/transitional government.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night the agreement that a constitution-making body should also serve as an interim parliament was “most unwise” and was repeating the errors that led to many of the problems at Codesa 2.

The type of person suited to drafting a new constitution for SA was in many ways very different from the person best suited to be part of an interim government. The constitution-making body would do its work best if it concentrated entirely on writing a new constitution.

“It should operate in a cool, calm and collected way to produce a good constitution for our country. Making the same people responsible for interim government means that disputes over interim government administration will inevitably sour the constitution-making process and vice versa.”

Combining the two functions in one body would also mean falling into the same trap that precipitated the Codesa 2 deadlock. A constitution-making body working also as an interim legislature under an interim constitution would be working with a constitution drafted by a Codesa-type multi-party conference rather than working from scratch.

The DP believed that there should be a transitional government and free and fair elections as soon as possible. Following the Codesa 2 route of an interim government under an interim constitution would slow the whole process.

“There is always the danger that the constitution-making body/interim parliament will enjoy being in power and be so impressed with its own abilities that it succumbs to the temptation of perpetuating its own existence for a prolonged period.”

For these reasons, the DP favoured separating the constitution-making body and interim government bodies.
Fears of anti-ANC front in making

Govt in bid to woo Buthelezi

By Peter Fabriceus
Political Correspondent

The Government is trying hard to woo back into dialogue its estranged ally, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amidst fears of a separatist front forming among anti-ANC homeland leaders and the Conservative Party.

Mr Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government at the weekend in protest against President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's summit agreement on a constituent assembly, banning dangerous weapons, guarding hostels and releasing political prisoners.

The IFP leader was due to meet Mr de Klerk today but cancelled the meeting and will instead meet Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope.

President Mangope met Mr de Klerk and members of his Cabinet yesterday and gave the impression that he was more inclined than before to keep his homeland independent, according to senior Government sources.

They believed he had been encouraged to take this position by his recent talks with the IFP, by support from Ciskei leader Oupa Qoozo and now by Mr Buthelezi.

The formation of a separatist bloc had the potential "to move things in the wrong direction and make it harder to get negotiations going again", one source said.

Mr Buthelezi announced at a press conference yesterday he would begin today to meet with Brigadier Oupa Qoozo, President Mangope and TK Mapedi of Qwa-Qwa to discuss their way forward. Mr Buthelezi said it was important that he should not be seen as a spoiler who just wanted to hurt the negotiation process.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday welcomed the objections by Chief Buthelezi and Brigadier Qoozo against the agreements reached on Saturday and said:

"The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC-SACP tyranny or betrayal by the Government."

To Page 3
ANC to challenge amnesty legislation

THE ANC warned yesterday it would not accept President F W de Klerk's unilateral decision to proceed with amnesty legislation during October's parliamentary session and was assessing how to challenge it. It was considering retaining the right to review and reassess the situation regarding all prisoners released under De Klerk's amnesty, a senior negotiator said.

He said De Klerk had tried to manipulate the agreement concluded at the summit to include all prisoners, including security forces and state officials. There was no threat that this would become a stumbling block to talks.

"There is no way that the government can grant amnesty to its own forces. We are happy to consider amnesty as a mechanism to forge reconciliation but this is the preserve of an interim government of national unity," he insisted.

The ANC's cadres had had to sign forms and state openly the crimes for which they were seeking indemnity. The ANC would insist on full disclosure.

On Saturday, De Klerk said the legislation he was proposing would be on the same terms as the indemnity law applied to the ANC and he rejected the ANC view that an interim government should decide.

Meanwhile, the DP has criticised elements of the summit agreement. National chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday that the proposal that a constitution-making body also act as a interim parliament was unwise.

Prisoners

from the visitors' hall at Pretoria Central Prison to be greeted by family members, attorney Azhar Cachalia and ANC officials.

Mncube, a former police officer, appealed for reconciliation, but said he had no regrets for what he did "in good faith."

"I am very happy, I have no bitterness in my heart because the new SA should not be established on the basis of anger, revenge and bitterness, but on love, forgiveness and reconciliation," he said.

With Mzondeleli Nondula, released in East London yesterday, Mncube landed a farm in 1965, killing eight people, among them arrested and tied up with shoelaces in the back of a police truck with four loaded AK-47s, he broke loose and shot dead two security policemen. He and Nondula were sentenced to death, but the sentences were later commuted to life in prison.

Walking free from East London prison, Nondula said he regretted lives had to be lost as a result of armed struggle, but had no regrets at taking up arms to restore his people's dignity.

"There is no crime worse than that of depriving a person of his dignity."

Former police captain Brian Mitchell, sentenced to death for the murders of 11 people in the Trust Feed trial in June, could be one of those freed in terms of government's proposed amnesty legislation, a Correctional Services spokesman said yesterday. The Trust Feed massacre took place in December 1986.

Buthelezi propose a multiparty conference to review what went wrong at Copasa. NF secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe called on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to approach the latest developments in a positive spirit as their contributions were essential to a speedy movement towards peace.

Buthelezi's reaction was based on mis-perceptions, because the fencing of the hostels was a Goldstone committee recommendation, which Inkatha had accepted. The banning of weapons was also a Goldstone recommendation as well as that of

Gengold are the two operating divisions of the Buffelsfontein mining company.

Beatrix also receives royalties from Buffelsfontein equivalent to 15% of that mine's gross yearly income from gold and other metal sales.

Oryx's Gengold's R1.5bn developing mine, is a division of St Helena, and the new mine was developed on the assumption that its capital cost could be largely offset against the St Helena mine's profits.

Those profits have proved inadequate because of low gold prices which led St Helena to announce more restructurings at the weekend. Oryx has depended on interest-free loans from its major shareholders to fund its development work.

Oryx, 97% owned by Gencor, Genbel, Sanlam and Anglo American, is scheduled to pay 15% of its distributable profit from its Beisa section to St Helena, plus 2.25% of the profit from the Ventures section.

Maude said Gengold was looking at establishing Beatrix and Oryx as self-standing companies, a move which would involve the compensation of Buffelsfontein and St Helena shareholders for the loss of their rights in Genbel.

Genbel MD Anton Botha said the complexity of the structures, particularly the Beatrix/Buffelsfontein arrangement, was confusing those trying to assess the mines' real value. It was likely that Oryx, tightly held by its major shareholders at the moment, would want to make its stock more marketable once development work was finished.
Matla Trust is launched by Ramphal

Foreign intervention in the electoral process was also unnecessary. "You have an inherent capacity to do it yourselves," he said.

Matla chairman Ismail Ayob said that after talks with Ramphal, it would attempt to "broaden its project base" to reach millions of voters.

Invited to SA to officially launch the Matla Trust — an educational charity established to empower the disenfranchised — Ramphal said leaving voter education and registration to government was not a credible option, former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal said yesterday.
ANC president Nelson Mandela leaves tomorrow on an official visit to Pakistan and China. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Mandela would meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan during his three-day visit to Pakistan.
Keys came not to bury the ANC, but to promote it

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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Y ANY standard, Finance
Minister Derek Keys's per-
formance at last week's
IMF and World Bank annual
meetings was extraordinary.
The impression he gave was
intended to be, was that he
had come to plead not on behalf
of his own government, but of the
next one.
The task he had set himself was
to persuade the international financial
and investment community that
notwithstanding the terrifying things it
had said in the past — and continued
to say, albeit more intermittently,
the ANC would manage SA's econ-
omy soundly and with respect for
market principles.

It was a sell at times made easier,
at times undercut, by ANC economic
planning department head Trevor
Manuel.
He was unable to contain the occa-
sional threat to renegotiate foreign
debt entered into by the regime and
while it may be true, as Assistant
Secretary of State for Africa Her-
man Cohen put it, that "the Freedom
Charter has been abandoned", there
were moments when he made his
listeners wonder whether it had per-
haps not simply been temporarily
whitewashed.

Yet, by and large, he redeemed
stilled vivid memories of last October's
Notre Dame investment conference.
Mach the same audience that had
left that event in disarray, emerged
from last week's National Foreign
Trade Council gathering at the Plaza
in New York, if not enthused, at least
relied on that certain home truths
drenched had penetrated.

And while there was unhappiness
that Manuel did not renounce the
concept of a labour code for US comp-
panies administered and enforced by
sanctions-swindling state and local
governments, there was at least a
citable willingness to concede that
hands were tied that, in all
likelihood, when the political dust
of transition settled the ANC would
remodel.

Much of that charity must be attrib-
uted to Keys.
His case and the existence of what
he called "a healthy degree of prag-
natism and realism" on the part of
the ANC (if not of Cosatu and other
parts of the alliance still obsessed
on "economic civil war") was consid-
erably stronger than Manuel's own.

Keys placed his upbeat remarks
about the ANC's getting of com-
pliance with a phrase that spoke volumes:
"At the risk of embarrassing Trevor
Manuel and any other ANC represen-
tatives here..." His meaning was
clear: Manuel and Co (his colleague,
Tito Mbombo, could not make it for
want, apparently, of airfare) were
really much more at fault with eco-
nomic realities, and much less ide-
ological, than they dared, for constitu-
tory reason, admit in public.

After all — and this was the point
Keys stressed — it was they who
carried the grim economic news to
ANC president Nelson Mandela
which persuaded him to return to the
negotiating table.

What Keys did not say was that he
was the one who had given them the
message, though many of his listeners
instinctively grasped the point.

They understood that the Finance
Minister had already moved some
distance on the road of bringing
the ANC into the running of the econ-
omy, as apprentices perhaps, but
hands-on ones.

In a very tangible sense, the "next"
government Keys had come
to speak for was already forming
der his tutelage.
This goes some way to explaining
why certain things did not occur at
the IMF/World Bank meeting.

On the face of it, SA had a great
opportunity last week to become a
"normal" member of the fund and
the Bank.

It could have joined a shareholder
constituency to regain the free
voice on the fund's board of directors
it lost a decade ago. Indeed, had it
gone in with the Swiss, it might even
have had an alternate director in
government headquarters right now instead
of a lonely observer in the suburbs.
With only a little more difficulty,
it could have obtained a commodity
financing facility to underwrite its
reserves against the drain of
drought-necessitated food imports.

Thus might natural disaster have
returned to useful account to drive a
state through the heart of the
Grameen Amendment and help
improve the country's international
credit rating.

To some it may seem tragic
the moment was not seized.
In his address to the meeting, Keys
himself called it "unfortunate". Yet,
both he and Reserve Bank Governor
Chris Stals had clearly concluded
that, as long as the prices locked
in to grab them would have endangered
the altogether more important
project of ensuring the soundness of the
economy's future management.
Perceptions, a little more flexible
and less indecision, the prizes
would have been had.
There are indications that some in
the ANC were willing to give at least
tact approval on the understanding
that they could harangue in public.
Yet on the whole, it probably made
sense to wait.

"Our present position is tolerable,"
said Stals. "It is not necessary to
force the issue." The process now
under way is delicate in the extreme.
The apprentices not only have to
be wooed, persuaded and convinced;
they have to be protected from those
who are only too ready to denounce
them as sellouts.

Quite soon, as Manuel herself
admits, they are going to have to take
some extremely unpopular decisions
with regard to reducing government
consumption for the sake of long-
term growth.
In every sense, they need all the
help they can get.

Because the next government is
going to have a hard row to hoe in
terms of disappointing popular
expectations, it may not be reas-
sonable for the present authorities to
derect, if only for a brief period, what
borders the outside world has to offer
so that, that their successors may
make the credit for achieving them.

The politics and symbolism mat-
ter because, assuming Manuel is se-
rious about foreswearing the Mont
Fleur scenarios, it's a good and
rather option in favour of the disci-
pline and steady growth of the Flan-
ing route in the near to medium
term there is not going be much else
to dish out.

T

here is, of course, one rather
serious flaw in all this: the inherent
assumption that the ANC will form
the next government, and the con-
comitant decision to work exclu-
sively with, through and on its
officials.

The words "other black power-
makers" occasionally leaked from
Keys's lips, but entirely without
conviction.
In the end, to some, a few brave
souls — including, interestingly
enough, the head of the African De-
velopment Bank — were heard to
murmur "what about Inkatha?"
They were politely ignored, as though
they had belched in church.
The feeling, on the government's
part at least, seemed to be that one
cannot have everything.
ANC leadership to discuss mass action

Political Correspondent

THE ANC executive would not dictate to its Western Cape region on whether mass action like the planned blockade of Parliament in two weeks should go ahead, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The same applied to plans for ANC marches on Umtata in KwaZulu and Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC's undertaking at the weekend summit with the government to review its mass action campaign did not mean that head office would lay down the law to ANC regions.

He said the ANC executive would consult with the regions about the gains made at the summit and a joint decision would then be taken as to whether it was appropriate to press ahead with the protest actions.

ANC Western Cape spokesman Ms Sue de Villiers said yesterday that consultations between the region and the national executive on the proposed blockade of Parliament on October 12 were expected to take place soon.
ANC expected to resume talks with Govt

The ANC is today expected to announce the resumption of fully fledged negotiations with the Government, thus marking an important step towards restarting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the Government - and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off contact with the Government.

After the weekend summit, Nelson Mandela said the ANC delegation would today recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to the NEC - the body which broke off bilateral and Codesa-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the Government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC undertook to examine urgently its programme of mass action in the current political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took.

The sources argued that despite the apparent revival of constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that possible loss of life should be taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday briefed diplomats in Pretoria on the summit, and the ANC is expected to do the same tomorrow.

Sapa reports that the western Cape leadership of the ANC alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on Parliament on October 12 and demanded that the alliance be allowed to address the parliamentary session.

In a statement the regional secretaries of the alliance said their supporters would occupy the Parliament precincts until the Speaker gave in to their demand. It noted, however, that the mass action programme planned for October '92 would still be discussed with the ANC's national leadership this week.
We will not target Popcru — PAC army

By Brian Sokutu

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has undertaken to exclude members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) as targets for its armed attacks.

The decision announced at a joint PAC-Popcru press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, was taken at a two-day meeting between the two organisations in Harare at the weekend.

A statement signed by Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels and Popcru president Gregory Rockman said the guerrilla army would maintain its armed attacks "against the structures of the settler-colonial regime".

At the meeting Popcru expressed concern about Apla's campaign of violence against South African policemen, who included Popcru members.

According to the latest SA Institute of Race Relations figures, more than 120 policemen were killed in South Africa in the first seven months of 1992.

Asked how Apla forces operating within the country would be able to identify Popcru members, Popcru general-secretary Peter Nkuna said: "Popcru is to meet local structures of Apla and the PAC to introduce our members."

Apla's new stance was yesterday condemned by the SA Police.

"This is just another form of intimidation. Although policemen have been targets of violence, there are very few acts Apla has been responsible for," said police spokesman General Leon Milet.

He added: "Popcru has no stature as far as the police force is concerned. If a policeman wants to join Popcru, he should choose between his career and being a Popcru member. No one is allowed to join a union in the force."

Dr Jackie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Politics in Midrand said: "Apla has not waged any well-orchestrated armed struggle. This is part of an armed propaganda campaign."

Professor Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand's Department of Political Studies said the PAC's armed struggle was insignificant in South Africa.
Patrick Laurence analyses the rationale of Buthelezi's withdrawal gambit

IFP out to match Mandela

By withdrawing from the negotiations process, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party president, and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has embarked on a similar tack to that taken by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela's decision to sever ties with the De Klerk administration and to withdraw from constitutional negotiations in June had two central aims to pressure Mr de Klerk into taking concrete action to halt the carnage in the townships and to mobilise and consolidate ANC support.

The ANC leader's tactical manoeuvre, prompted by outrage over Bophaloe, succeeded spectacularly at both levels.

Mr de Klerk's administration agreed to take action to control Violence in the township war — and to prohibit the possession and display of dangerous weapons in public, including the "traditional weapons" (spears, battle axes, sticks and shadufs) often carried by the IFP's Zulu members.

During the hiatus in its contact with the "De Klerk regime," the ANC turned the full blast of its formidable propaganda machine onto Mr de Klerk and used its "mass action" campaign to mobilise support for its demands, including the immediate installation of a government of national unity.

The question posed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to withdraw from negotiations — announced after the signing of a "Record of Understanding" between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at the weekend — is simple: can he duplicate Mr Mandela's achievement by forcing Mr de Klerk to back down on his concord with the ANC and, at the same time, galvanise IFP members and sympathisers for the ensuing struggle?

Chief Buthelezi is not in as strong a position as the ANC. Judging from opinion polls, his IFP has lost out heavily to the ANC in the past five years. Its support in the black community appears to be largely confined to the Zulu people and even there it is challenged by the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi, a tough and resilient politician with prodigious energy, is not in a hopeless position. The 10 to 15 percent of the vote which exports think the IFP would win in its general election is indispensable to Mr de Klerk's hopes of winning an election against the African National Congress or — at worst — of forestalling an ANC landslide victory.

It is significant that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's calculations that an IFP alliance victory is possible assume a vital contribution from the IFP.

President de Klerk's election strategy, with its associated policy of regionalism or federalism, depends on forging an alliance with regional black leaders, of whom Chief Buthelezi is undoubtedly the most important.

That gives Chief Buthelezi greater leverage on the De Klerk Government than opinion polls suggest.

Believing that the ANC has singled out KwaZulu for special attack — the present campaign against the selected "bantustans" was preceded by one in June 1989 where KwaZulu was singled out — Chief Buthelezi talks of the need to defend "the Zulus" against threats from the ANC and its South African Communist Party allies.

Political analysis describes Chief Buthelezi's response as "playing the tribal card". If so, it is not a bad card — in the tactical sense — to play.

The Zulus, the largest ethically defined community in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi is the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, having held that position for more than 20 years. He is a descendant of Zulu Kings and he has the backing of the present Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini.

In the past week Chief Buthelezi has addressed three mass rallies: in each he abandoned Western for traditional Zulu drumming, dressing a leopard skin across his shoulders and holding a shield, a stick and a spear in his hand; at each he warned Zulus their very existence was at stake and their fees planned to wipe KwaZulu "off the face of the earth".

More specifically, he compared the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi with the invasion of Zimbabwe by a British army in 1970. The implication was not missed by his indigenous audience, the ANC is an alien force and the Zulus who support it against KwaZulu are comparable to the "loyal natives" who fought for the British against their own kinmen in the last century.

Speaking last week at Natale, Chief Buthelezi said: "The last march on Ulundi was that of the British soldiers."

Linked with his appeal to Zulu history and pride is a thinly veiled threat of secession, a move which could activate the latent but potentially powerful centrifugal forces in South Africa.

Many of the ANC's political foes, from Lucas Mangope's nominally sovereign state of Bophuthatswana to Afrikaner right-wingers who dream of establishing a separate Afrikaner state, have put secession on the agenda as a last desperate option.

In a recent speech in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi told KwaZulu's civil servants: "KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid...it has a historically established sovereignty. We can either negotiate to become part of a new federal South Africa acceptable to us or negotiate out of whatever contractual relationships the rest of South Africa would wish to establish with the ANC."

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi, who believes that Mr de Klerk has been manoeuvred and forced to give way to its demands and harming the cause of the IFP, has announced that he plans to begin a series of meetings with black leaders who are similarly threatened by the ANC's drive to establish a unitary state with a powerful central government.

Significantly, too, the IFP's stand has already acted as a catalyst by encouraging the formation of a separatist front favouring secession above federalism.

Chief Buthelezi has already touched on a theme which may strike a responsive chord in anti-Apartheid quarters: the contrast between President de Klerk's "apartheid" and the ANC on its demands for firm action on both fronts, and the apparent failure to insist on the dissolution of the ANC's underground arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the surrender of its arms caches.

Chief Buthelezi told journalists in Durban that President de Klerk had responded "simply" when he raised the issue of the ANC's guerrilla war with him at a recent meeting:

"Mr de Klerk's public silence on the ANC's underground army since he raised it last December, is only to be verbally mauled by Mr Mandela in front of whirling TV cameras and frantically scribbling journalists, will not help him. Nor will the findings by the Institute of Race Relations that the vast majority of deaths in South Africa's on-going township war are due to gunfire, not stabbing..."
Election dream has led us into dead-end street

One could weep at what has happened since CODESA deadlocked in May — at the time wasted, the lives lost, the damage to our economy and its prospects of recovery, the harm done to our international image, the attitudes soured and the negotiating climate fouled.

All for what? The Government has now effectively conceded all the constitutional points that led to the deadlock in the first place, and all the 14 conditions the ANC made for resuming negotiations after Boipatong in June.

What has it gained by its stubborn reluctance? The only concession won from the ANC is a commitment to review its "mass action" programme — and mass action was only introduced to pressure the Government into yielding to those demands.

Perhaps what is needed now is another "bosherraad" to reassess the attitudes and strategic thinking which led us into this disastrous cul de sac. Things started to get wrong, paradoxically, with the white referendum in March. Instead of interpreting the big "yes" majority as a signal to move swiftly towards a bold political settlement, the Government saw it as a sign of electoral strength which fired up hopes that with a little luck and cunning it might not have to give up power in the new South Africa after all.

With a whiff of desultoriness for the ANC and some alliance-building it might win the election — or at least get close enough to hobble an ANC-led regime.

Pure fantasy, given the racial arithmetic of this country, but the Nationalists believed it. And so a strategy of electioneering and political gerrymandering began to overlap and dominate the negotiating process.

Almost immediately the Government started playing hard-ball with the ANC in the negotiations. For its strategy to work, it needed time to weld its alliance together, and weaken the ANC by drawing it into a relationship where it would share responsibility for government but be able to deliver little to its own constituencies.

The thrust of its approach at CODESA 2 was to try to get an indefinite period of interim government. It refused to accept any time-frame. The word was that it waited five years, maybe 10, of all-party interim government before an election was held under a new constitution.

The ANC refused, knowing that by then it would be a dead duck among its own people. As the haggling continued, the Government demanded a 75 percent majority to reach agreement in the constituent assembly, then agreed to the ANC's compromise of 70 percent — on condition there was an advance commitment to having a Senate with minority veto powers.

Both were demands that it knew had no chance of acceptance.

That is where the deadlock occurs. Since then the Government has backed off those demands, switching to federalism as its plan for protecting minorities. And at Saturday's summit it agreed that the constituent assembly and interim government should operate within a fixed time frame. So it has retreated from all its positions that caused the CODESA 1 deadlock.

It has done the same with the 14 conditions the ANC set for returning to negotiations after Boipatong, which Nelson Mandela endorsed in a letter to F W de Klerk in June.

Now the Government has met them all. This is no victory for the ANC. It is no victory for anyone. It has been a terrible setback for all of South Africa, for it's been a big business for a lot of people and those people have suffered a lot from the delay. Nor will it be a quick victory. Frustration swung the townships to militancy. This weakened the ANC's pragmatic leadership, which had to respond to the mood to avoid alienating its constituency.

It strengthened the "Leipzig option" militancy, and although the tide has been turned somewhat by the bloodshed at Bisho, "mass action" has in the end been justified by its results and by the perception that the Government responds only to klipper-instrument politics. It will remain in the wings, to be brought out again whenever deadlock threatens.

Not least is the fouling of the atmosphere. Trust has been broken, personal relationships damaged and a mood of anger and suspicion prevails.

Chief Buthelezi's latest outbursts, threatening to "bugger up" the ANC and breaking off negotiations with the Government, are a symptom of this.

He is a tragic figure who did an important job in keeping a black voice of protest alive through apartheid's darkest years, but he is becoming dangerously frenetic now as he feels his constituency shrinking beneath him.

The Government has aggravat ed this by drawing Chief Buthelezi into its machiavellian scheming. It ends up playing a cat-and-mouse game, one day using him as an electioneering weapon against the ANC, the next making a placatory deal with the ANC to repair the damage this is doing to the negotiating process.

In the end Chief Buthelezi is a problem of the Government's own making, and it must find the solution. It will not be easy and Mr de Klerk may have to do tough, but he cannot allow the consequences of his "small politicalkery" to go on fouling up South Africa's future.

The President must understand one thing above all else: the success or failure of the transition depends on the ability of the pragmatists in the Government and the ANC to work together to build a solid centre that can drive forward to agreement with sufficient momentum to carry both constituencies with them.

If the momentum flags, the initiative will pass with catastrophic results to the militants on both sides, to the "Leipzig option" mobilisers and the hard men in the Cabinet who want to crunch Mr Mandela.
Investigations into past politically motivated crimes, including those allegedly committed by members of the ANC and the security forces, have been temporarily suspended.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday: "In the light of the release of political prisoners announced at the weekend, investigations into all so-called politically motivated crimes committed before October 8, 1990 will be postponed.

Investigations which had already become legal proceedings, such as inquests, would continue. So, Captain Kotze said, the investigations into the murders of David Webster and Matthew Goniwe had not been suspended.

Investigations into all crimes committed after the October 8, 1990 cut-off date agreed to by the ANC and the Government would still be investigated.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday there was a need to investigate crimes by people in State sectors. "The ANC still insists strongly on these people being investigated." — Crime Reporter.
Homeland leaders reject pact

pressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the Government on Sunday. Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying it is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist and in favour of self-determination for their people."

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded an exasperated note yesterday when reviewing the latest turn of events. He said political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreement reached with the ANC had been misunderstood: it was not "aimed at any other party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks."

In a separate statement from Mmabatho, Brigadier Gqozo rejected the Government-ANC agreement, demanded the disbandment of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and rejected the imposition of an interim government or constituent assembly. He believed the Mmabatho meeting would prove to be the turning point in a time dominated by political compromise and agreement unacceptable to a silent majority of concerned South Africans.

The Afrikaner Volksunie said yesterday it would like to attend the proposed meeting of leaders and parties who are concerned at the weekend agreements between the Government and the ANC.
DAC will call for a cash freeze for arts councils

**Sowetan Correspondent**

**Funds earmarked** Arts and culture must be used for the benefit of all the people of South Africa:

"There should emerge a non-sectarian, national culture...I should be seen as having the potential to bring us together" - Sowetan 30/9/97

Recruitment and art

Annually more than R450 million had been earmarked by the State for culture, recreation and the arts, which included such institutions as museums and libraries, but these were not accessible to the majority, he said.

"Diversity in this country must reach its fullest expression," he argued, calling for the democratisation of the governing bodies of the arts councils, museums and other nationally endowed bodies.

Blacks had been "dealing from a disadvantaged position" and it was time to "redress imbalances", through mass action. The focus was on the music industry, the arts councils, film industry, Civic Centres and SA National Gallery.

Regarding the DAC's highly publicised dispute with Pact, he said it was his intention to speak with the Administrator of the Transvaal.

He said in the future South Africa, funding for the performing arts and for culture as a whole should come from the State, private sector, public at large and from international contributions.

Individual companies in the private sector should "create their own trust funds" for the advancement of the arts.

He also hit out at the "pomp and circumstance" of the Civic Theatre's opening two weeks ago, complaining that a minority of blacks had been invited.

"The manner in which the Civic was opened could easily cause problems," he said.

He was particularly biting about speeches from the stage at the opening night performance, saying that they "raised a spectre" by being spoken "first (in) Afrikaans, then (in) English".

If there had been an acknowledgement in Sotho or Zulu, it might have implied that "we are moving an inch forward". he said. "One got the perception that this was a conscious decision."

And, "it brings doubt in the mind whether they are repentant".

**Assistance to exercise**

Asked if the DAC was acting to bring about reconciliation or intended to dominate the arts, Seroat said the DAC was a facilitator and he agreed that people such as Steve Tswana could be of invaluable assistance to the exercise.

He declared that it was the intention of the DAC to "put culture on the agenda of the nation" and that he had had assurances from ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa that cultural requirements would receive a sympathetic hearing.

"There should emerge a non-sectarian, national culture. I don't think culture should be used to gain political mileage. It should be seen as having the potential to bring us together."
ANC debates meeting with Inkatha leader

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are poised to take urgent steps to placate Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders who yesterday rejected the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will meet today to decide whether it is willing to approve a top-level ANC-Inkatha summit.

Government is separately involved in an all-out effort to woo Buthelezi back to the negotiating table.

Buthelezi was in Mmabatho yesterday to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to rally support for his opposition to the agreement reached between government and the ANC at the weekend.

The three leaders rejected the agreement and decided to call a meeting soon with other leaders and organisations sharing their concerns.

In a vociferous statement yesterday, Buthelezi slammed the Record of Understanding, comparing it to a campaign of "ethnic cleansing".

The agreement was an attempt to hijack the negotiations process and would result in "Zulu concentration camps", he said.

The Record of Understanding was intended to support the violence and the "continuous string of assassinations" of Inkatha members, he said.

A senior ANC source yesterday predicted a tough NEC debate over whether the ANC should "swallow its pride" and agree to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in an attempt to patch up relations with the KwaZulu leader who withdrew from negotiations at the weekend.

Some NEC members believed that, following the weekend concessions from government on prisoner releases and violence, the ANC was in a sufficiently comfortable political position to rejoin a meeting with Buthelezi.

This would alienate elements of the ANC's rank and file but, the argument holds, the organisation had delivered enough to its membership to mitigate these effects.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela himself was believed to be cool towards the idea of a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi because of recent verbal attacks by Buthelezi. Ntuli representatives who have been involved in a bitter war of words with Inkatha were also expected to oppose the idea.

Meanwhile, it is expected President F W de Klerk will suggest a high-profile leadership meeting with Inkatha in the next few weeks. It is understood that government also plans to emphasise Buthelezi's importance in the negotiating process.

De Klerk is to communicate by letter with Buthelezi within the next couple of days and is expected to explain that there are few, if any, differences of principle between Inkatha and government.

He would also urge him to agree to a high-profile meeting with Mandela.

Government's negotiations commission, which meets today under De Klerk's leadership, is expected to formulate the approach to Buthelezi.

Government now believes it probably

Inkatha 30.9.72

underestimated Buthelezi's sensitivity to the way in which the summit with Mandela was handled, and it is desperately trying to correct the oversight.

However, it is also understood that De Klerk would not accept an Inkatha veto over legislative transitional processes and a new constitution. Should Buthelezi refuse to accept broad agreements necessary for the process to move forward, then De Klerk would go forward without him.

Government sources insist the agreement with the ANC did not even go as far as the recommendations of the Goldstone commission and UN special envoy Cyrus Vance which Buthelezi had accepted. Therefore Buthelezi's objection was not one of principle so much as protocol.

At the same time, government negotiators had travelled to QwaQwa, Lebowa and Venda to inform and consult leaders on the summit discussions.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday said he could understand Buthelezi's feelings at being excluded. The DP was also excluded.

"But I believe Inkatha and the DP and all others must recognise that co-operation between the NP and the ANC is absolutely pivotal if we are in the end to achieve agreement of which, of course, we must all be part," he told a meeting in Grahamstown.

In a joint communiqué, Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo said the public was profoundly concerned at the bilateral agreement dealing with issues which had an impact on all other parties. The meeting decided to call for the rejection of the Record of Understanding.
ANC ‘to announce restart of talks’

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is today expected to announce the resumption of fully-fledged negotiations with the government, thus marking an important step towards restarting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the government — and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off contact with the government. Nevertheless, the ANC is proceeding with plans for an intensive round of meetings with the government.

After the weekend summit, Mr. Nelson Mandela said the ANC delegation would today recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to its National Executive Committee — the body which broke off bilateral and Codesa-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC underlined the urgency of its programme of mass action in the present political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took. The sources argued that in spite of the apparent revival of constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight, and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that possible loss of life should be taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday briefed diplomats in Pretoria on the summit and the ANC is expected to do the same tomorrow.

Sapa reports that the Western Cape leadership of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on parliament on October 12 and demanded that they be allowed to address the parliamentary session.

In a statement the regional secretaries of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said their supporters would occupy parliament until the Speaker gave in to their demand.

The statement noted however that the mass action programme planned for October 12 would still be discussed with the ANC's national leadership this week. Finalised plans would be disclosed at a Press conference on Friday.
ANC is urged to stop abusing human rights

FRANKFURT.—The International Society for Human Rights, based in Germany, has called on the ANC to release prisoners held abroad and to end its continuing human rights abuses outside South Africa.

The ISHR said in a statement that the ANC was holding prisoners in two countries — in safe houses and small sites in Tanzania — and in a remote camp in Tanzania.

"The camp in Tanzania is at Kigwa, about 320 km west of Dar es Salaam," the ISHR said.

The ISHR said according to reports, more than 100 former ANC supporters were detained there.

"The camp suffers like the whole region from a shortage of water and food. Medical care for prisoners is absent. The detainees include a number of people who, according to interpretations of reports, appear to be mentally ill or mentally handicapped and several badly injured people."

The ISHR said a small group being held at Kigwa originally came from Namibia and might be some of those imprisoned by SWAPO in exile before 1989.

"Communication between prisoners is forbidden and the camp houses a group of ANC fighters who act as guards," the ISHR said. — Sapa.
ANC call to address Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in the Western Cape demanded yesterday that the national leadership of the tripartite alliance be allowed to address the opening of the “racist” Parliament on October 12.

In a departure from earlier plans for a blockade of Parliament to prevent the opening of the short session, the alliance now wants to participate in proceedings.

A statement last night by the regional leadership of the alliance demanded that the “the true leadership of South Africa’s people be allowed to address the opening of the racist Parliament to put forward the views of all democratic South Africans and insist that they are acted on”.

The alliance called on its supporters to march on Parliament to back demands for its leaders to address MPs.

“If our request is denied by the Speaker of Parliament, we will call on our people to sit around Parliament until our request is met,” the joint statement said.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr Eli Louw, said last night that he had not yet received a request for alliance leaders to address the opening of Parliament.

He said the rules of Parliament did not allow for “strangers” to enter the debating chamber.

Even British Prime Minister Mr Harold McMillan’s famous “Winds of Change” speech in 1960 had to be delivered in the MPs’ dining room.

However, it was technically possible for an MP to propose that a non-member be allowed to address MPs from the bar of the House.

ANC head office spokeswoman, Ms Gill Marcus, said last night that the national executive committee would be evaluating the organisation’s entire mass action programme at its meeting today.

“The proposed march on Parliament will be one of the items on the agenda,” she said.

A final decision would take into account the views expressed by the regions.

Leaders of the tripartite alliance in the Western Cape accused the National Party of “trying to pre-empt and unilaterally define” the work of an interim government.

Ulundi march is ‘still on’

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Natal regional ANC leaders, still determined to march on Ulundi, have met ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu to discuss the issue.

Southern Natal organisser Mr Bheki Cele said yesterday: “The march goes on, but a date has not been finalised.”

Mr Sisulu met Natal branches on Monday and yesterday.
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela received the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour at a ceremony in Johannesburg last night - more than two years after the American city had snubbed him.

He also heard that Miami mayor Sey mour Gelber had proclaimed April 27 Nelson Mandela Day.

The presentation was made by Mr Jim Joseph, president of the Council on Foundations.
March on Telkom offices planned

About 4 000 Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) members will stage a lunch-hour march to the headquarters of Telkom and the SA Postal Services tomorrow.

The march is part of a campaign to press home political and economic demands including a stop to unilateral restructuring of the two companies without worker involvement. — Pretoria Correspondent.

ANC official held in Cape

CAPE TOWN — Police have confirmed the arrest of the ANC's branch chairman in Villiersdorp, Thomas Jansen, following an incident yesterday in which a policeman was knocked down.

Mr Jansen (38) will appear in the Caledon Magistrate's Court today charged with attempted murder, escaping from custody and assaulting a policeman.

The incident occurred yesterday morning while municipal officials were evicting the Jansen family from their home because of alleged rental arrears. A policeman allegedly jumped in front of Mr Jansen's vehicle as he drove home.

Police at the scene arrested Mr Jansen and took the injured policeman to a local doctor.

Meanwhile, lawyers acting for Mr Jansen are seeking a court order to allow the family to return to their home. — Sapa.
Homeland leaders reject Govt-ANC pact

The leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei yesterday furiously denounced the Government-ANC “Record of Understanding” and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to “share out” South Africa between them.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mnabatho to assess the political situation after the success of the weekend meeting between delegations led by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communiqué issued in Mnabatho said there was “profound concern” about the Government-ANC agreement — which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders — and a further meeting including other “organisations sharing these concerns” was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but “we object to decisions being made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making”.

The angry tone of the meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully fledged negotiations.

In his address Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the “Record of Understanding” which he repeatedly likened to the infamous Von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Soviet Union).

He accused the Government and ANC of concluding a deal to “hijack the negotiation process”. He intimated that the two parties were sanctioning violence against Zulus and were agreeing to “a strategy of ethnic cleansing”.

The agreement to fence Zulu hostels was an attempt to create “Zulu concentration camps”, he said, and to bar the carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a “well-planned form of cultural castration”.

The overall aim of the “Record of Understanding” was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders “with a very effective governmental action of genocide” against the IFP.

After the Mnabatho meeting, fears were also expressed...